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MUSICAL LANDSCAPE: A DEFINITION AND A CASE STUDY OF
MUSICAL LANDSCAPE IN ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT
OF QUEBECOIS IDENTITY

by Stephen Lawrence Thirlwall

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts**

Department of Geography

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

July 1992

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LANDSCAPE IN ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF QUEBECOIS
IDENTITY**

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chairman, Dept. of Geography

In Memory of Elianna Layla Thirlwall
and in honour of my parents
William James and Phyllis Alexia Thirlwall

ABSTRACT

Musical landscape is the 'imaginary' landscape within each person's mind, filled with cultural tradition; socio-cultural and political ideas of change; notions of what is beautiful in the surrounding physical and cultural reality and what is not; as well as the notion of identity, of being associated with 'a people' in a common music. Musical landscape is also the cultural landscape of musical institutions, performance locations, regional differences of sound, migration paths of musical exchange, the social stratification of musicians and audiences, and the participation of musical artists in social or political movements for cultural change. The quebecois people exhibit all of these aspects of musical landscape. In one sense, they share a tradition of music and elements of common sound, exhibiting a regionalism and at times a nationalism. At other scales, they exhibit great personal diversity, Canadian nationalism and universalism. The quebecois musical region and political territory do not coincide with one another.

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Stephen Thirlwall,

July 1992

**MUSICAL LANDSCAPE: A DEFINITION AND A CASE STUDY OF
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Then Iluvatar said to them: 'Of the theme that I have declared to you, I will now that ye make in harmony together a Great Music. And since I have kindled you with the Flame Imperishable, ye shall show forth your powers in adorning this theme, each with his own thoughts and devices, if he will. But I will sit and hearken, and be glad that through you great beauty has been wakened into song.'

Then the voices of the Ainur, like unto harps and lutes, and pipes and trumpets, and viols and organs, and like unto countless choirs singing with words, began to fashion the theme of Iluvatar to a great music; and a sound arose of endless interchanging melodies woven in harmony that passed beyond hearing into the depths and into the heights, and the places of the dwelling of Iluvatar were filled to overflowing, and the music and the echo of the music went out into the Void, and it was not void. Never since have the Ainur made any music like to this music, though it has been said that a greater still shall be made before Iluvatar by the choirs of the Ainur and the Children of Iluvatar after the end of days.

J.R.R. Tolkien

The Silmarillion

AN INTRODUCTION TO GEOGRAPHICAL

LANDSCAPE AND MUSIC

"Geography is, above all, the study of landscape" suggests geographer Douglas Porteus.¹ But which landscape is reality and which illusion: the physical landscape of nature, the human cultural landscape of built form and human action or the internal landscape of thoughts, inspirations and perceptions within the human mind? Or are they all part of the same reality and geographical sense of space - i.e. does reality for humans come from the interplay between these landscapes of nature, culture and mind? On observing people's behaviour, it is most often their perceptions, unconscious promptings and even personal whims, that cause them to act rather than their actions being based consciously on physical or social realities. The one common denominator of these landscapes appears to be *order*, and not just form; order which has geographic (spatial and relational) characteristics and purpose.² This thesis will explore the issue of

¹ Porteus, J. Douglas, Landscapes of the Mind Worlds Of Sense And Metaphors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) p.3.

² Unfortunately, in science, reality has often been reduced to form (natural or cultural), even though science itself proves this to be false. Form is merely a part of order and has generally been based only on the human visual sense. There are numerous physical entities such as sound, air, etc. which are not visible but they are detectable. When visual perception or scale are altered, visual form alters too. If you observe a person standing in front of you they are seen as a body but from a high flying airplane or satellite, they don't appear to exist. If you take a piece of 'solid' skin or bone and view it under a high powered microscope, its solidity dissolves. If a person is daydreaming with their eyes open what do they 'see' more clearly the imagined picture in their mind or the 'reality' in front of them. There are many other examples, such as mirages, which show that our visual sense alone

geographical landscape using music, whereby music becomes a tool for investigating various concepts in geography, as well as itself becoming cultural landscape. This metaphor, of music as landscape, is one which will be shown to unite mind, form and relationship (action, interaction, communication, etc.) in the continuous processes of 1) the acculturation of nature, 2) social and territorial identification and 3) cultural transformation, all necessary for human existence. As a case study, a definition of quebecois music (and therefore people and place) will be sought after to discover how spatially unique it is in the world and how this uniqueness came to be. At the root of this exploration is the relationship of individuals to the land ('their' land), a group of people ('a people') and a culture (comprised of artifacts, structures, ideas, values, attitudes, behaviours and interactions). These in turn are expected to show the feelings of the people towards 'a region' as well as a sense of how they use the land within it. Behind this analysis is the consideration of human concern for order in the universe. At present human order is developing in two apparently opposite directions, one towards globalization of order, the other towards regionalization or localization into cultural (in the sense of ethnic nationalism) or social associations (as in counter-cultures). Both trends run somewhat counter to the present idea of the political state, threatening to transform the concept of state.³ Music reflects these processes and will perhaps give insights to

is faulty.

³ Vaughn Williams, Ralph, National Music and other essays, 2nd. Ed. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1987, p.154) comments, "I believe that it was George Trevelyan who, in one of his early essays, wrote that the ideal would be for every nation to be different and at peace; adding, prophetically, that what we are tending towards is to be all alike and all at war." The entity of the state (both its existence and definition), which has really

explain whether these are opposing forces, counter-balancing forces or in fact different aspects of the same process. Regardless of what process is taking place it will be shown that it is evident that there will always be musical, and similarly cultural diversity in the world, this being a 'natural' human trait. Lastly, music and the other arts are both catalysts of change and ballasts of tradition within culture and, therefore, geography. By seeking to move beyond what is known within a culture, the arts move that culture evolutionarily forward, while, by maintaining a core of tradition, they help to maintain order in life.⁴ It may well be that these two apparently contradictory forces are also part of one larger process.

Cultural geographer George Carney, in a recent (1990) review of literature on the geography of music, identifies the need and potential of future research in this area of study, stating that, "the wedding of cultural geography with the study of music constitutes an important research frontier - a frontier complete with ready-made questions, more than ample data base, and a seemingly endless future."⁵ Carney's review shows that until only been in existence in terms of decades, is under serious question.

⁴ This seeking beyond the culture is not just a quest for material knowledge and wealth but more importantly is directed towards increasing spiritual understanding (finding meaning / purpose in life). Vaughn Williams (1987, p.122) states, then queries, "that the object of an art is to obtain a partial revelation of that which is beyond human senses and human faculties - of that, in fact, which is spiritual? And that the means we employ to induce this revelation are those very senses and faculties themselves?" - That is our physical senses can aid us in understanding our human nature, spiritual purpose and need for ordering of life in space.

⁵ Carney, George O., "Geography of Music: Inventory and Prospect," Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol. 10, No. 2 (spring/summer, 1990) p.45. Carney comments that with the

the late 1960s music was noticeably absent from geography.⁶ Much of the available geographical data that he talks about is not under the scrutiny of geographers but rather is being studied in other fields of the sciences and arts. Geography's contribution continues to be lacking. R.W. Butler, for example, says that "geographers too have been conspicuous by their relative absence in the analysis and examination of rock and roll," a major ingredient of modern culture, in North America, Europe, and increasingly, other parts of the world.⁷ Whether considered cultural imperialism or cultural development, rock and roll, as explored by Larry Ford, has changed from being a music of localized area and interest to becoming a global phenomenon, marking a process which should be of interest to geographers.⁸ It will be shown in the unfolding text that cultural geographic significance is present to be found in all music. In so doing, music is also found to be inherently geographical and historical in its nature.

On the broader scale than *geography of music* is *geography of sound*. This area of study is also relatively unexplored. Porteus shows that "Interest in the sonic environment has, until recently, been highly specialized and problem-specific. Research has

publishing of Peter Hugh Nash's article, "Music Regions and Regional Music," The Deccan Geographer, Vol. 6 (July-Dec. 1968) pp.1-24, the study of geography of music was born as a "subfield (music) of a subfield (cultural) of geography" (p.35).

⁶ To a great extent this is true of other disciplines but they have pursued its study at a much more rapid pace since then.

⁷ Bulter, R.W., "The Geography of Rock - 1954-1970," Ontario Geography, No. 24 (1984) p.1.

⁸ Ford, Larry, "Geographic Factors In The Origin, Evolution, And Diffusion Of Rock And Roll Music," Journal of Geography, Vol. LXX, No. 8 (Nov., 1971) p.463.

concentrated almost entirely upon a single aspect of sound, the concept of noise or 'unwanted sound'.⁹ He continues explaining that, "true soundscape study examines the entire continuum of sound, including both negative and positive qualities".¹⁰ The importance of this approach is that musical and sound geographies challenge geographers to open themselves to the use of human senses and capabilities other than strictly the visual sense and to accept what they detect from these as all part of an encompassing sensual environment or landscape, and not just a visual picture. Because of the dominance of the visual in geography, as well as many other disciplines, sensory inputs from the other *outer* senses of touch, smell, taste and hearing, plus the *inner* human senses of memory, time, direction, imagination and intuition are often rejected or just not considered as accurate or relevant data for study.¹¹ This displays a great discontinuity with our oral cultural past which takes in most of human history up to the last 100 years or less.¹²

APPROACH OF THE STUDY

The approach in this thesis is similar to what is suggested by ethnomusicologists,

⁹ Porteus (1990) p.48.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.48.

¹¹ Tuan, Yi-Fu, Topophilia A Study Of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, And Values (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentic-Hall, Inc., 1974) pp.6-9; Porteus (1990) pp.5-7. By *outer* senses I refer to those directly interfacing with the surrounding environment. *Inner* senses are those operating in the mind.

¹² Porteus (1990) p.48.

Marcia Herndon and Norma McLeod, only the ethnomusicology terms need replacement by geographical ones. They say that "In moving towards an ethnomusicological perspective, knowledge of what the analysis of sound reveals about culture is needed. Also, knowledge of what the analysis of culture reveals about sound is needed. Whatever its particular form may be, the inter-relationship of music and culture is real, integral, basic and approachable."¹³ The thesis will thus investigate what music and geography reveal about each other, examining music's role in generating culture and creating cultural identities tied to specific places or regions. Culture, music and physical environment integrate into one landscape, which will be referred to as *musical* landscape. In pursuing these issues, the geographic database is insufficient, therefore the study looks at any source which may contain geographic information generating a mosaic of ideas and observation that will hopefully coalesce into meaningful geographical conclusions.¹⁴ Johan Fornas describes this, saying "we should not always stay within the predictable limits of well-established theoretical systems, but should try to draw new lines in different places, by being disloyal disciples to more than one master thinker and by combining concepts operating on different levels. If such montage work is cleverly done, the result far from being superficial eclecticism, will be a creative *bricolage* where theoretical elements from various traditions are put into new and fruitful contact in order

¹³ Herndon, Marcia and McLeod, Norma, Music As Culture (Darby, PA: Norwood Editions, 1980) p.iii.

¹⁴ Wright, John Kirkland, Human Nature In Geography, Fourteen Papers, 1925-1965, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966, p.83) would call this geosophy. "Geosophy, to repeat, is the study of geographical knowledge from any or all points of view."

to shed light on multi-layered aspects of culture."¹⁵ It is well recognized that in this process there is great complexity involved but this does not necessarily mean total confusion or loss of any perspective.¹⁶ Paul Chamberland, in a search for "a common 'poetics' in the writers" of Quebec said: "I started out confidently, convinced that my insights would serve, like Ariadne's thread, as a guide through my survey. Now, however, I find that I have become entangled in a vast web of rambling, detailed studies" but this led to a freeing of his thinking from certain biases, narrow assumptions and 'conclusions' that he started with and led to greater understandings.¹⁷ The research will not only deal with outward facts but with the internal activities of the human mind since music comes out of these recesses. It will follow directions similar to the investigations of geographers Gould and White. They state that "From maps of their (people's) 'space preferences' we attempt to explain the ways in which 'mental maps' are related to the characteristics of the real world."¹⁸ Finally, drawing from the advice of Persian and Arabic tradition, dating from pre-1100 A.D., the approach of this work is that of Majnun, "one must judge of search by the standard of the Majnun of Love. It is related

¹⁵ Fornas, Johan, "Moving Rock: Youth and pop in late modernity," Popular Music, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1990) p.292.

¹⁶ I personally find that I cannot focus on too narrowed a topic of research because to me it ceases to be connected to reality. I leave those studies to others. For me order is simple on the surface but infinitely complex just below the surface; yet it is the heart of the matter and not just the exterior which is meaningful to me.

¹⁷ Chamberland, Paul, "Founding the Territory," in Shouldice, Larry (ed.) Contemporary Quebec Criticism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979) p.123.

¹⁸ Gould, Peter and White, Rodney, Mental Maps, 2nd Ed. (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986) p.3.

that one day they came upon Majnun sifting the dust, and his tears flowing down. They said , 'What doest thou?' He said, 'I seek for Layli.' They cried, 'Alas for thee! Layli is of pure spirit, and thou seekest her in the dust!' He said, "I seek her everywhere; haply somewhere I shall find her."¹⁹

¹⁹ Baha'u'llah, The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys, translated by Ali-Kuli Khan and Marzieh Gail (Wilmette, IL: Baha'i Publishing Trust) p.6. The story is "Symbolizing true human love bordering on the divine" and expresses the potential of being able to find answers, even if they are spiritual ones, for our questions in the workings of this physical existence.

"Blessed is the spot, and the house, and the place, and the city, and the heart, and the mountain, and the refuge, and the cave, and the valley, and the land, and the sea, and the island, and the meadow where mention of God hath been made, and His praise glorified."

Baha'u'llah

Baha'i Prayers

"Change is generated by forces spiritual as well as by technical. Poets, philosophers, and artists continue to play a role in creating a regional feeling. Historical experience suggests that what begins as poetry often finishes as politics."

W. R. Mead

"Regional Geography"

CHAPTER 1

LANDSCAPE IN GEOGRAPHY

DEFINITIONS:

LANDSCAPE, PLACE, TERRITORY, REGION, CULTURE, NATIONALITY

**"definitions define things. When the things
change so do the definitions. Perhaps music
has changed since your dictionary was written."¹**

If music is to be considered as geographic landscape it becomes necessary to investigate how landscape is defined and how the understanding of the concept of landscape has changed in the past for geographers, and other scientific and artistic researchers. What constitutes a landscape? Is it a panorama of scenery before us, observed with detachment? Something superficial with no depth? Is it an environment in which we participate as either dominant, equal or minor contributors? Or is it a commodity that we use? Is landscape an external human 'built' creation or something

¹ Schafer, R. Murray, The Thinking Ear Complete Writings On Music Education (Toronto: Arcana Editions, 1986) p.19. Words are continually being redefined: with each redefinition are a new set of implications to be considered.

which we create and use internally, inside the mind? The following text will reveal that landscape is a highly variable term, related to all of these ideas, but still tied to certain core elements. A second query is: If music is also to be considered as one of the prime mediums for generating culture, cultural identity and sense of place, how do these concepts tie in with landscape? As this exploration unfolds it will become evident that the term *landscape* approaches and, at times, becomes synonymous with or a metaphor for other terms (*culture, nationality, nation, region, environment, milieu, territory, place* and others) - i.e. there is a merging of meanings.

In the broad view, the ideas and definitions of landscape have changed or evolved through time and space and through their usage in different cultural-linguistic contexts. At differing times, between different peoples, definitions have diverged or converged. The *meaning of landscape* is thus temporally dynamic, as well as being spatially differentiated with its movement and adaptation from place to place.² Linguistically, the *concept of landscape*, in Western tradition, has its roots in ancient Indo-European cultures, which moved from Asia across Europe. Indo-European language "became the basis of almost all modern European languages: Latin or Celtic or Germanic or Slavic or Greek."³ There is, therefore, a commonality in all variants of the words used for *landscape*, in that they all relate to a piece or portion of the earth's surface. At the same time there is a wide diversity of specific application of these words. Definitions range

² Jackson, J.B. "The vernacular landscape" in Penning-Rowsell, Edmund C. and Lowenthal, David (eds.) Landscape Meanings and Values (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986) p.65.

³ *ibid.* p.65.

in size, form, content, image, value and as to whether the observer is a participant or not. *Landscape* has been defined as an administrative unit, a rural district, a natural setting, a cultural setting (especially rural), etc. dependent on the context of the human grouping, place and time concerned.⁴ Dutch landscape painters redefined landscape (*landschap*) as scenery in general and in particular scenes.⁵ "As a common verb, to 'landscape' means to 'prettify.'"⁶ Landscapes meaning also changes connotation with discipline of use.⁷ To complicate matters the word *landscape* is formed from two words,

⁴ *ibid.* pp.65-6. Mikesell, Marvin W., "Landscape," in English, Paul Ward and Mayfield, Robert C. (eds.) Man, Space, And Environment Concepts In Contemporary Human Geography (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, p.10) says that in Old English, it (*landscape*) referred "to a district owned by a particular lord or inhabited by a particular group of people." He further observed the more popular usage (as encapsulated by Philip Gilbert Hamerton): "In the general sense, the word 'landscape' without the article means the visible world, all that can be seen on the surface of the earth by a man who is himself upon the surface; and in the special sense, 'a landscape' means a piece of the earth's surface that can be seen at once ... this piece will have a certain artistic unity." This definition carries "a subjective connotation, for the reference is to area or scenery as viewed by a particular observer" (p.10).

⁵ *ibid.*, p.10.

⁶ Lewis, Pierce F., "Axioms for Reading the Landscape Some Guides to the American Scene," in Meinig, D.W. (ed.) et al., The Interpretation Of Ordinary Landscapes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) p.11.

⁷ Meinig, D. W., "Introduction" of Meinig (ed.) et al. (1979) p.1. "Landscape is a technical term used by artists and earth scientists, architects and planners, geographers and historians." This means that there are problems in translating meaning between disciplines (p.2). In contrast to its technical application, landscape starts with the senses and feelings. It "begins with a naive acceptance of the intricate intimate intermingling of physical, biological, and cultural features which any glance around us displays. Landscape is, first of all, the unity we see, the impressions of our senses rather than the logic of the sciences" (p.2).

land and *scape*. *Land* has variably meant soil (earth), a well defined piece of the earth's surface, any bounded or enclosed area, any definitely locatable area (not necessarily bounded), a sub-division of a larger space, a habitat, a ploughed farm field, a sub-division of a farm field, the holdings (land possessions and workings) of a village, a measure (length or value of an area), a legal entity, a division of buildings, an owned property or territory (e.g. a country/state), and a commodity to be traded, bought or sold.* Definitions of *scape* include: things having the same shape, "a composition of similar objects", people having a membership in a group or fellowship, "a bundle or collection of similar stalks or plants", "collective aspects of the environment", a township, a collection of land, an instance, an organized system of farm space or elements of a rural area, an ordered arrangement of things, an administrative unit, an association of things.⁹ These scapes sound very much like Jordan and Rowntree's definition of a *formal cultural region*, "a uniform area inhabited by people who have one or more cultural traits in common."¹⁰ Douglas Porteus describes several scapes, each

* Jackson (1986) pp.66-67. Of special importance to later chapters of this thesis are the French terms *pays*, *paysage*, *terroir* and *patrie* which relate to land. According to Collins * Robert French English English French Dictionary Atkins, Beryl, et al. (eds.) (London: Collins Publishers, 1978) *pays* means a country (also implying the inhabitants), lands, a region, and a village; *un paysage* is an actual or painted landscape, scenery, and something that lies before us or through which we pass; *terroir* is soil, the (local) land, and suggestive of regional rural flavour; and *patrie* is homeland or home.

⁹ Jackson (1986) p.67.

¹⁰ Jordan, Terry G. and Rowntree, Lester, The Human Mosaic A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geogrpahy, 5th Ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990) p.7. They also say (p.3) "Both periods (of history) and regions (of geography) are characterized by certain unifying traits" perhaps making them *scape*.

one based on either: one of the non-visual human senses (sight, smell, taste or touch), other human attributes (e.g. imagination), human states of maturity (e.g. childhood), the human body form itself, a place of familiarity (homescape) or one which is foreign (escape).¹¹ He uses the human quality as either the means of describing the scape or a metaphor for it. Within French geography the term *place* (*lieu*) either "connotes a concern for integration, for wholes", as with scapes or "implies a meaningful portion of geographical space", as with land.¹² Schafer and Truax have explored the details of individual soundscapes to show that they are the complex amalgamation of a great variety of changing sounds that make for unique scapes.¹³ Presence, absence, predominance, background, and association of features are all key factors in delimiting scape. In recent times land, scape and landscape have also been applied increasingly to town and urban systems in the way that they previously were to rural and 'natural' systems.¹⁴ To sum

¹¹ Porteus (1990). "The sensuous worlds of smell, sound, taste, and touch, as well as the visual sense, are closely integrated with the *paysage interieur* of our minds" (p.197). He calls these *paysage interieur* "the convoluted, intricate and always rewarding landscapes of our minds" (p.7).

¹² Berdoulay, Vincent, "Place, meaning, and discourse in French language geography," in Agnew, John A. and Duncan, James S. (eds.) The Power Of Place (Boston: Unwin Hyman, Inc., 1989) pp.124-125. "Place involves meaning for the people who build it, or live in it, or visit it, or study it. This is why it is close to notions such as territoriality (*territorialite*) and landscape (*paysage*), in the sense that there is a special, usually emotional, link between people and place" (p.125). In French, the word *meaning* (*sens*) also means orientation, direction, movement or change (p.125).

¹³ Schafer (1986) and Truax, Barry, Acoustic Communication (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1984).

¹⁴ For example, Kevin Lynch in Managing the Sense of a Region (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1976) discusses the urban region but describes it as if it were landscape definable by its sensual (sensorial) qualities. Relph, Edward, The Modern Urban Landscape

up, Jackson says that "'land' meant a defined space, a space with boundaries, though not necessarily one with fences or walls" and the word *land* is "always implying a space defined by people, something that could be described in objective terms", though these terms vary with context.¹⁵ *Scape* implies a commonality at some level, either through similarity of certain qualities or association through certain relationships, allowing a categorization of people and/or spatial regions and their elements. It tends to be based on predominant features and relations but may in fact also be unique in terms of its sub-elements. Landscapes all have the components of non-human things and creatures,

(Breckenham, Kent, UK: Croom Helm Ltd., 1987) considers variations in urban landscape. Barrie B. Greenbie in Spaces Dimensions Of The Human Landscape (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981) through photos and text discusses private spaces (home space, street space, village space), borders (fences, hedges, etc.), neighbours, and public spaces (urban space, market place of goods and symbols, parks, etc.) as landscapes and leaves out countryside and wilderness.

¹⁵ Jackson (1986) p.67. It has been found more recently to be equally defined by subjective symbols. If bounded, mentally or physically, land becomes territory. David Knight in "Identity and territory: Geographical perspectives on nationalism and regionalism," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 72, No. 4 (1982, p.526) defines territory as "space to which identity is attached by a distinctive group who hold or covet that territory and who desire to have full control over it for the group's benefit" a definition related to his term **group territorial identities**. Robert Sack in Conceptions of Space in Social Thought (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1980, p.167) says that "social organizations are often territorial ... Territoriality here does not mean the location and extension in space of a social organization or of its members. Rather it means the assertion by an organization, or an individual in the name of the organization, that an area of geographic space is under its influence or control", a definition related to larger orders such as states. Hugh Brody in Maps and Dreams; Indians and the British Columbia frontier, New Edition (Vancouver: Douglas, 1988). gives an example of how the Native American Indians and Innu mentally 'map' or 'know' their territorial boundaries. Original edition with same title was published in 1981.

humans and their structures, and the interactions (communications) between all of the things and humans, yet the balance between these components varies temporally and spatially. All aspects must be *of human relevance*.

Culture is also variously defined and its study taken from many perspectives. Jordan and Rowntree say, "For our purposes, we will define culture as learned collective behaviour, as opposed to instinctive, or inborn, behaviour. These learned traits form a total way of life held in common by a group of people. Learned similarities in speech, behaviour, ideology, livelihood, technology, value system, and society bind people together in a culture. It involves a communication system of acquired beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes that serve to supplement and channel instinctive behaviour."¹⁶ If this is so it suggests that human collectivity (or order) and not place is the major determinant of culture and because it is learned, people have the potential of choice regarding the joining or leaving of association with any particular culture. Jordan and Rowntree continue by saying, "Cultural geography, then is the study of spatial variations among cultural groups and the spatial functioning of society. It focusses on describing and analyzing the ways language, religion, economy, government and other cultural phenomena vary or remain constant from one place to another and on explaining how humans function spatially ... (and) is, at heart, a celebration of human diversity."¹⁷

¹⁶ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.4.

¹⁷ *ibid.* p.4. To study cultural geography they break it down into five general themes: cultural integration, cultural landscape, cultural region, cultural diffusion, and cultural ecology (pp.5-6). I would add that culture is how people, in collective groups, celebrate the fact of living and acknowledge their distinctive human traits. When culture focusses on the strictly material it becomes decadent, corrupt, and unjust, thus operating at a survival

Therefore, even if it were not defined by space, culture would still have inherent spatial qualities.

Landscape as culture or organized groupings of people leads to the concept of landscape as nations or communities with national regions or territories, 'belonging' to them, and national cultures.¹⁸ The term *nationality* is equally as evasive in definition as is *landscape*. Theodore Veiter identifies three main types of 'nationality'.¹⁹ First is ethnic belonging or inclusion in a group (large or small) based on blood and cultural ties.²⁰ Second is citizenship or inclusion in a group based on some criteria of acceptance, and thirdly are sub-group minorities (some of these are the same as small

level for most people. When it focusses on the intellectual and spiritual it is progressive and manifests qualities of justice, mercy, cooperation, etc. and operates at a multitude of levels. The former is based on human's animal qualities only, the latter is based on human's animal qualities but more so on qualities unique to humans (be they called intellectual, spiritual, or otherwise).

¹⁸ Nation and territory are being used here in a very broad, and not necessarily, a political sense. Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) and "A View Of Geography," The Geographical Review, Vol. 81, No. 1 (Jan., 1991 #1) pp.99,101-102, alternately uses the terms *community* and *home* for *nation* and *territory*, respectively. Tuan further comments and queries in "Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative-Descriptive Approach," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 81, No. 4 (1991 #2, p.690) as to whether "Homes are 'cold' without people, and come alive with them. But how?".

¹⁹ Veiter, Theodore, "The Rights Of Nationalities And Ethnic Groups To Their Ancestral Soil," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1986) p.125. These were derived through studying the common words in different languages which related to human groupings.

²⁰ This is the one used by Carl Engel in his book An Introduction To The Study Of National Music (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, And Dyer, 1976) previously published by (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1866). These would be classified by Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.7 as *formal cultural regions*.

ethnic groups) that exist within a larger national population and who differ significantly, in some way, from the general population, whether by language, attitude, etc.²¹ The first is culturally based, the second mostly politically (and often religiously) based. The third mostly formed around social movements or ethnic minorities is often the seedbed of change within the nation. But any one of these categories could become another one with changes in the human order. Each of these 'nations' defines a bounded region, and usually sub-regions, in space as well as defining a 'place' (status) for each individual within the group. The boundaries of these may be fixed or approximate (flexible within a zone of freedom). They may be invisible boundaries (held in the minds of the people) in relation to certain physical landmark points or 'lines' (natural features or built structures some of which may have symbolic meaning) or some form of symbols. They

²¹ Veiter (1986) p.125. Colin H. Williams in "The Question of National Congruence," in Johnson, R.J. and Taylor, Peter J. (eds.) A World in Crisis? Geographical Perspectives (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986, p.229), deals with the first two types of nationalisms labelling them, state nationalism and ethnic nationalism. Jordan and Rowntree (1990, p.11) call the second type a *functional culture region*, which "is generally not culturally homogeneous. Instead it is an area that has been organized to function politically, socially, or economically. A city, an independent state, a precinct, a church diocese or parish, a trade area, a farm, and a Federal Reserve Bank district are all examples of functional regions." David Knight in "Territory And People Or People And Territory? Thoughts on Postcolonial Self-Determination," International Political Science Review, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1985, p.250) uses and prefers the term 'group territorial identity', applicable at any scale, rather than the more constricted terms, such as subnations or mini-nationalisms, to deal with labelling the variety of human groupings. Harold Issacs in "Basic Group Identities: The Idols of the Tribe," in Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D.P. (eds.) Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975, p.29-30) uses the term 'basic group identity'. I would use these terms only to deal with a group's relationship to place and simply use the word (a) 'people', which can also apply at any scale, to describe the grouping of people, as not all their identities are related to land.

may also be marked boundaries (such as political borders with cutlines, signposts, barriers and guards).²² In defining one's own territory there is also an automatic defining of regions outside, as being of contrast. Gottmann insists that "Nationalism , in its modern expression, has been built on territorial foundations, and it required a territorial base upon which the sovereignty of the nation could apply its jurisdiction. A nation may perhaps exist without being able to exercise any sovereignty, but nationalism implies firstly a claim to promote the existence of the nation as a distinct group, with a distinct system of laws, which means independence; and secondly, it implies a promise to promote the welfare of the people, which means a set of material resources at their disposal and, if they so decide, at their exclusive disposal. It is this right to exclude others that could not be implemented without territorial sovereignty."²³

Historically, human groups are all seen to have originated as ethnic groups who defined territories.²⁴ These groups enlarged, became more complex and interacted more with one another causing sub-cultural minorities to develop. There arose points of unity (based on religion, politics, and other ideologies), beyond the ethnic social structures, permitting other scale nationalities to develop, ones based more on 'citizenship' than

²² Gould and White (1986).

²³ Gottmann, Jean, The Significance of Territory (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1973) p.95. This situation applies very directly to the politics and cultural concerns of Quebec and the growing view of the quebecois people as a nation both internally and from outside.

²⁴ Knight (1985, p.251) comments "People were defined by the social group into which they were born" continuing (quoting P. Bohannon) "and their territory could (and in places still can) only be understood in terms of 'social relations and the juxtaposition of social groups'".

exclusively birth and marriage rights. Most, if not all, world cultures now reflect the presence of all three types of 'nationality' at work, nested within them.²⁵ What naturally binds people together in groups is a sense of identity or close relationship with the group but this sense has never meant complete homogeneity, except perhaps in theory, yet "State unification necessitated uniform legislation, taxation, conscription, defense and to an increasing extent, cultural compliance".²⁶ Enforced formation of states through power structures, which try to force uniformity and conformity on a people, have always given rise to inherently very unstable human orders covered by a thinly veneered appearance of stability which eventually erupts and collapses at great expense.²⁷

So what does *cultural landscape* mean? If landscapes are to be considered cultural how important is it for humans to be an integral part of the landscape, or need they only be squatters or foreground figures against a scenic backdrop? Should cultural landscape include nature at all or has **all**, including natural, landscape become cultural? If so, then how has this happened? In the last hundred years, with its rapid and massive movement and mixing of people, has the world gradually become one homogenous cultural

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.249. "Most states have plural societies with minorities." These three concepts of nationality will appear again in the discussion of national music in a later chapter.

²⁶ Williams (1986) p.234. This is certainly true of Europe and European colonial expression but would be no less true for other formalized nations such as China and Japan as they developed.

²⁷ For example, the present restructuring of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union with the collapse of their communist regimes.

landscape or will it remain a cultural mosaic of regional variation?²⁸ Cultural landscape seems to have two major levels of meaning. The first is the making or transforming of the natural landscape into a cultural one by human land use (or abuse), laying of claim, showing of human appreciation (i.e. based on human standards of aesthetic beauty) of the natural landscape or symbolizing of the landscape with human meaning. The impacts of humans on the landscape are therefore both visible and 'invisible' but in some fashion recognizable and acknowledgeable by humans. The second consists exclusively of people, their interactions with one another, and the human structures which they build. It is the replacement of nature by culture. In the former humans have been seen to act (and impact on), label, and symbolize. Part of this is participation in the landscape but another part is only action on it. In the latter humans must participate to survive, this is human life. Those who do not participate very much become marginalized, sent to the fringes of the social order. A person's participation with landscape also changes as they move from one landscape (location and circumstance) to another. For example, a foreign visitor would understand our landscape differently from their own (or perhaps it could be said that the foreigner would not understand our landscape) and therefore may find it difficult to participate in. Complications are ever present in understanding relations to landscape since different people living in the same region may become attached to the place but not to each other. Conversely, a group of people may strongly associate with one another but

²⁸ Kidron, Michael and Segal, Ronald, The State of the World Atlas (London: Pan Books Ltd., 1981). Maps 32 and 38 are two examples showing global movements. Rowntree and Jordan (1990) certainly view the world as a rich mosaic of cultures and landscapes.

have an attachment, not to where they presently live or are, but to a place far away, perhaps where they used to live or where they are visiting away from. In these situations, who is visitor and who is inhabitant in the landscape? How does each understand the concept of landscape? How much do their definitions of landscape change with changing place? Porteus, Tuan and others have explored some of these visitor-inhabitant relationships with landscape.²⁹ Jordan and Rowntree discuss the *vernacular or perceptual region* which perhaps deals with the less understood, more complex relations with region and landscape. "Some vernacular regions are based on physical environmental features, while others find their basis in economic, political, historical, or promotional aspects" but each is "a region perceived to exist by its inhabitants, as evidenced by the widespread acceptance and use of regional names."³⁰ It may also include regions previously, but no longer, inhabited by a group of people - i.e a 'relic' region.

As part of every nation there is a place (or group of places), territory, and homeland; whether ancient, permanent, temporary or new. These locations have been variously called the people's 'ancestral or native soil', 'land of birth', 'homeland', 'aboriginal land', 'habitat' or 'ethnic region' and so forth.³¹ Some individuals use a homeland by hereditary right, others join a group to attain membership rights, still others are forced

²⁹ Porteus (1990, pp.107-143) discusses the contrasts of the different experiences and actions while being in homescape (a familiar place, where one lives all or most of the time) and escape (an unfamiliar place). Tuan (1974).

³⁰ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.13.

³¹ Veiter (1986) p.125.

into groups through political or legal arrangement.³² Homeland thus implies legal status for members and ownership and entitlement to use land but sets in place an order of rights and responsibilities which must be maintained for individuals to remain part of the group life, thus placing some controls on personal behaviour.³³ Gottmann suggests that all groupings of people are 'political' and that "Organized society partitioned the space it used into political units, each with its 'territory.'"³⁴ But the meaning of territory has varied from "a certain extent of land and water delimited by lines" to "a relationship established between a community of politically organized people and their space", a "jurisdiction" and "a base of operation and as such a shelter."³⁵ "It signifies also a distinction, indeed a separation, from adjacent territories that are under different

³² *ibid.* pp.126-127

³³ *ibid.* pp.126-127. Non-adherence to the rules can mean expulsion from or marginalization within the group.

³⁴ Gottmann (1973) p.121.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.121. Involved in definition making are other factors such as density of population, unity of the group, concepts of distance and accessibility, perceptions of resources and doctrines (separate systems) of order (p.94, pp.96-97). For Gottman, territory is a social or cultural term and not a physical one. He states, "the word territory conveys the notion of an area around a place; it connotes an organization with an element of centrality; which ought to be the authority exercising sovereignty over the people occupying or using that place and the space around it" and "it involves accessibility and therefore location, must not be classified with physical, inanimate phenomena" (p.5). Taylor, Peter, Political Geography: World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality, 2nd. Ed., (London: Longman, 1989, p.139) cites Gottmann's work showing that the word territory initially derives from Latin and "applied to a city's surrounding district over which it had jurisdiction."

jurisdictions."³⁶ The purpose and functioning of territory appears twofold, according to Gottman, to be a haven of security and shelter and to be a space wherein one finds opportunity to pursue 'the good life'.³⁷ The interaction between, and relative behaviours of, different groups and internal cohesion (unity) of groups will determine the stability, extent and integrity of each and thus determine the clarity of delimitation of their homeland territory. Invasion, immigration, refugee migration, occupation of apparently vacant land, squatting, inter-group treaties and agreements and other processes have altered the arrangements of groups of peoples over time. In modern times, there has been an increasing tendency to set fixed political and administrative boundaries but how well do these reflect the realities of associations of peoples and territories?³⁸ We know from

³⁶ Gottmann (1973) p.5. Taylor (1989, p.139) cites Hinsley saying that "The modern meaning of territory is closely tied up with the legal concept of sovereignty ... (which) implies that there is one final and absolute authority in a political community". Yet territory also provides a potential for complementarity with the outside which can be realized through trade and other processes of human exchange (Gottmann, p.156). At present, however, "it relies on the privilege of sovereign states to participate with a vote in debates of international portents" (Gottmann, p.156).

³⁷ *ibid.*, (1973) pp.1,14. Territory has an individual importance but an overriding collective importance. "The concept is one of self-preservation, but also one of preserving the community's way of life, the right to self-government, freedom, and whatever opportunity a free people is entitled to" (p.15). See also Taylor (1989) p.140. However, when repression is applied, rather than freedom, individuals lose many of their rights supposedly for the sake of the group.

³⁸ As Knight (1985, p.252) puts it, "the politically bounded territory came to define the people" rather than the people defining themselves as a group identifying with a particular territory. Therefore, people lived with two or more senses of territory, one or more in the mind plus the fixed land demarcation.

conflicts right around the world that they do not.³⁹ With the advent of legally defined territories over most of the world, clashes between these boundaries and natural or human group territorial boundaries are causing great difficulties in the daily operations of human life. A large part of the conflict has resulted because "the modern concept of nation came to signify the dominant social grouping" ignoring inherent diversity within the structure, thus creating national structures composed of at least two and often numerous sub-cultures.⁴⁰ The dominant group tends to suppress or marginalize the others. Within the world system of states there are different sets of rules for legitimacy of groups and claims to land and autonomy depending on the scale of decision-making (international - controlled through the United Nations, trans-national, national or smaller sub-divisions).⁴¹ Each group, which sees itself as 'a people', seems to try to establish a place within which they can function within their own culture (or sub-culture) to a

³⁹ Kidron and Segal (1981). See maps 2,12,7 and others.

⁴⁰ Knight (1985) p.252. See also p.250. Territory belonged to leaders and a dominant core group and not to the people. In Europe "with multicultural national societies, so inherent in their structure was the potential for later division", a potential which has begun to be released in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Eastern Europe. Less successful voicing of self-determination have existed for long period of times with the Basques in France and Spain, Irish in Northern Ireland, and others.

⁴¹ Veiter (1986) p.127; Knight (1985) pp.252-253. Knight (1985, p.248) notes that within the present international system of law, "Self-determination is said to be a universal right, yet it is also said to apply only to those people who seek an end to colonial domination within their colonial-derived bounded territories; it is not intended for people who form a minority within an existing state territory." Some ethnic groups have been subdivided between two or more state territories, and with the passage of time, have developed identities which do not fully attach them to the current state or the original ethnic group. Therefore, successful ethnic group reunion may be impossible or extremely difficult.

relative degree of autonomy and protect themselves from any threat of cultural genocide (especially the threat of assimilation by a larger group).⁴² But this does not necessarily mean that they seek to keep out all outside influences and interactions or to totally dissociate themselves from an overriding state and territory as long as an acceptable level of autonomy is established and maintained.⁴³ Unfortunately, the state system, while providing security for an overall territory, does not in most states provide cultural protection, except for the ruling group.⁴⁴ There is seldom equal access to use of the

⁴² Williams (1986) p.229. "The size and shape of contemporary states are as much a product of international rivalry as they are reflections of the settlement pattern of constituent 'national' populations. Indeed, the quest for national congruence, defined as the attempt to make both national community and territorial state into coextensive entities has been a major feature of modern history, particularly in Europe." This was happening both during the process of state formation and later state reformations or deformations. In this process were two main definitions of a national group. Gottmann (1973) states that "National claims were put forward not only by 'oppressed' nations seeking independence and more sovereignty but also by well-established, powerful states desiring more territory, usually overseas. While in places colonial empires gave way, in other places they expanded." Gottmann (p.1) further said "Civilized people seem to have early aspired to universality, but have always partitioned the space around them carefully to set themselves apart from their neighbours."

⁴³ Waterman, Stanley, "Partition and Modern Nationalism" in Williams, Colin H. and Kofman, Eleonore (eds.) Community Conflict, Partition and Nationalism (London: Routledge, 1989) p.118. Waterman refers to Nordlinger's six methods for regulating conflict within states: coalitions, proportionality, mutual veto, purposive depoliticization, compromise and concession. Unfortunately these do not directly turn to mutual understanding, respect and equality of rights or the turning to higher shared values but focus more on confrontational decision-making and trade-offs to get the best materially-based deal.

⁴⁴ Williams (1986) p.229 refers to the "emergence of the 'territorial-bureaucratic state' " with the collapse of European colonialism. He quotes Smith who says, "The central point ... of the Western experience for contemporary African and Asian social and political change has been the primacy and dominance of the

territory by all members. Therefore, there are some strong centrifugal forces operating towards separation in many states. In the opposite direction to fragmentation, states are finding a need to form larger associations with other states to increase security, trade and other needs.⁴⁵ How each group of people is viewed by others and is able to assert itself, as far as its 'legitimacy', express its sense of self and its degree of independence will determine whether it is a local group (locality or ghetto), a regionalism (region), a nation (state) or transnational association (global region) thus indicating its degree of freedom from or suppression and cultural confinement by the majority.⁴⁶ Each is associated with a different landscape view.

"A persistent thread in international politics during the last half of the twentieth century, both in developing and developed countries, is the growing importance of regionalism. Regional interests and concerns are being raised at the same time as there are efforts to centralize and consolidate decision-making. Within a number of countries, cultures and groups unintentionally or deliberately excluded from the existing government's economic and social policies are seeking greater political representation (or autonomy) and territorial control over their own destinies ... Regionalism translated into

specialized, territorially defined and coercive monopolistic state", ones which tended to divide and mix ethnic nationalities.

⁴⁵ Rubinstein, Alvin Z. (ed.), The Great Game - Rivalry in the Persian Gulf and South Asia (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983) discusses the formation of transnational associations in response to perceived (from West European, Soviet, Middle Eastern and South Asian perspectives) security needs.

⁴⁶ Knight (1985) pp.250,253.

nationalism has been important in developing countries".⁴⁷ If minorities remain within a larger state this has many implications in terms of ordering of the state and its policies concerning language, religious and other rights.⁴⁸ If a region achieves secession from a larger group or state, "At that point, they would cease to be a regionalism, for there would be a new territorial identity that, if there was a close regional fit between nation and state, could be referred to as a nation-state."⁴⁹ Major reorganizational implications are required by the new segments of the previously unitary state in terms of their self image and their landscape order and operations. Within all these processes groups of people define themselves, and thus their territorial extents and spheres of influence and attachment to place, by certain predominant cultural or sub-cultural traits: language, religion, custom, politics, economics, fashionable trends, etc. Included in this listing is also music. Each people has its own prioritizing of these characteristics thus creating

⁴⁷ Brunn, Stanley D., "Geopolitics in a shrinking world: a political geography of the twentieth century," in Burnett, A.D. and Taylor, Peter J. (eds.) Political studies from spatial perspectives (Chicester, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1981) p.143. For Canada he cites the issues of Native peoples and French-Canadians (Quebeckers).

⁴⁸ Veiter (1986) p.128.

⁴⁹ Knight (1985) p.250. Taylor (1989, p.141) says "Territory is the platform for engaging in international relations; sovereignty provides the legitimation ... (but) not all territories are sovereign states." Taylor (p.141), in quoting Wallerstein, states that "Today , as in the past, it is not possible to become sovereign just by declaring yourself thus. Sovereignty is never a matter for a single state, it is an inter-state arrangement because sovereignty can only exist for 'states who reciprocally recognize each other's legitimate existence within the framework and norms of the inter-state system.'" This suggests that a world culture and tradition, of a sort, already exists within which are other levels of regional culture and tradition.

different cultures.

CHAPTER 2

THE EVOLUTION OF LANDSCAPE IN GEOGRAPHY

Within the past few hundred years Western cultures, from their perspectives, have defined landscape in widely divergent fashion, from consisting purely of natural physical forms and processes to consisting almost entirely of human forms, processes and/or symbols. Similar definitional changes have happened in Eastern cultures as well.¹ Accompanying or underlying these changes in definition have been the changing meanings of our conceptions of the physical environment, society, culture and human nature.² These definitions seem to be in an evolutionary sequence, but one which is

¹ Francis L. K. Hsu in "The Self in Cross-cultural Perspective," in Marsella, A.J.; Devos, G. and Hsu, Francis L. K. (eds.) Culture and Self: Asian and Western Perspectives (London: Tavistock, 1985) reviews some of these through the Eastern view of man and looks at their cross-cultural use along with Western concepts.

² Meinig, et al. (1979, pp.2-3) makes a case for what *landscape* is not by comparing its definition to other terms. However, in doing so he has forgotten that all of these terms have dynamic meanings which seem to cross over one another from time to time. By linking these terms as different Meinig is actually suggesting *landscape* is a part of each one of them or *they are* parts of *landscape*. "Landscape is related to, but not identical with *nature* ... *landscape* is always inclusive of man and nature, rather than a way of distinguishing, or at least emphasizing nature" (p.2). Meinig continues, "every landscape is a scene, but landscape is not identical with *scenery* ... *Scenery* has connotations of a set piece, a defined perspective, a focus on certain features ... whereas *landscape* is ubiquitous and more inclusive, something to be observed but not necessarily admired" (p.2). "Landscape is all around us. It is related to, but not identical with, *environment* ... *Environment* is an inherent property of every living thing, it

cyclic, in which the later approaches seem to have cycled back towards the former in a spiralling fashion. It needs to be kept in mind that there are temporal overlaps in the use and application of these different views.³ Furthermore, in its time, each concept was applied by a sub-group of the people and critiqued by others within the larger population. Though each has had significant impact there has never been, necessarily, a majority approval and acceptance of it by the public. Their uses have been promoted by rulers, planners, and academics.⁴ The definitions appear to change by what is considered the predominant force of control which shapes the landscape and the perspective from which the landscape is viewed (from outside or inside). Is the dominant force nature or humanity (culture or individuals?)? Stated in other ways: 1) are regions or landscapes

social constructs or do culture and society create landscape and region? or 2) does space is that which surrounds and sustains" while "Landscape is defined by our vision and interpreted by our minds." As well, "landscapes are related to , yet not identical with, places. Place commonly refers to a definite area, a fixed location; events 'take place' and we can be in a place. But place, too, has ambiguities. There is, most basic of all, the difference between general recognition of certain areas as places, and a personal sense of place ... Still landscape tends to be something more external ... it is a continuous surface rather than a point, focus, locality, or defined area" (p.3) Finally "Landscape is a portion of the earth's surface, related to, but not identical with region, area, or geography" (p. 3).

³ The predominance of one way of thinking does not preclude the continuance of the other previous ways of thinking. For me this indicates a certain validity in all of the concepts which have at some time come to be generally accepted, suggesting that they all explore different aspects of the same thing. Their inadequacies are in each case, to the limiting of their point of view and horizons of exploration.

⁴ It should be noted that popular literature such as magazines and newspapers, even now, often discuss concepts such as environmental determinism as if they were current ideas, where in scientific circles they are no longer prominent.

define culture and society or do they define space? To explore landscape further, the general sequence of concepts is as follows:⁵

LANDSCAPE VIEWS IN GEOGRAPHY

THE COSMIC WORLD

- 'primitive' or 'tribal' landscape

NATURE OVER MAN

- environmental determinism

⁵ In my understanding all of these forces and factors are interplaying. In any one area they are operating in a particular order of prominence. For example, obviously in an area of limited human population and activity physical processes will play a more dominant role while an urban centred region is essentially a human transformation. The bottom-line, however, is that all of these approaches are measured in terms of human relevance, nature doesn't comprehend its own processes but humans can. In this sense **all landscape is cultural**. I can find truth in all of the following approaches to understanding landscape. However, the limited horizon's (near-sightedness) involved in their applications and/or the narrowness of the area of study (the results often not being transferrable or applicable elsewhere) are at the centre of the critique of each. Note that there are not always well defined lines of separation between these approaches and other researchers have grouped and classified them somewhat differently than I have. What is a major difference to a researcher may not even be perceptible to someone of the general public.

- geomorphology and developmentalism

MAN OVER NATURE

- the cultural region
- landscape mapping or description
- socio-political landscape
- the economic-quantitative landscape
- landscape of social change and revolution - structuralism
- the photo landscape

THE HUMANIZED WORLD

- holes in the cheese (landscapes of terra incognitae)
- landscapes of the mind
- cultural landscape as (humanistic) experience

1. THE COSMIC WORLD: PRIMITIVE LANDSCAPES

Mostly through the work of anthropologists and ethnologists, it has been discovered that landscape for much of human history has been viewed as a cosmology, a totally encompassing, involving environment where everything is alive and intimately attached

to everything else.⁶ The various cosmologies function according to Divine laws.' In hindsight, from a Western industrial perspective, we have labelled this form of landscape-lifestyle as 'primitive' or 'tribal', even though Westerners still maintain many tribal practices themselves.⁸ Human culture and nature were considered as one integrated, interconnected landscape. Humans were part of nature, though some tribal groups understood that humans had a special role within nature, seen in concepts such as people having stewardship over the land, which implies acculturation of the land. In many respects the 'primitive' environment and landscape view (or rather views) are very close to the presently evolving views of the *environment and landscape*. These were (and are, for present tribal cultures) also cultural landscape, though the people do not often consider them as being cultural. Acculturation of non-human nature was (is) carried out symbolically through ritual, legend (storytelling) and song. Tuan states that in the case of the Yanomamo people of the Amazon, which bears similarity to many present and past tribal cultures, "Their impact on the natural environment is small, but they are able to

⁶ Only recently, it has become the geographer's role to take what are often viewed merely as customs (disassociated from nature) and find them to be "verbal and gestural efforts to construct and maintain place - to create a world that resonates to human needs and desires out of neutral environment" Tuan (1991, #2, p.687).

⁷ Sauer, Carl, "The Morphology of Landscape," in Leighty, John (ed.) Land And Life A Selection From The Writings Of Carl Ortwin Sauer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967) pp.319-320, reprinted from 1925. Note that the 'primitive' landscape description is a gross generalization taken from the activities and structures of numerous differing cultures, in varied locations and over a very long time period, for which little information has actually been recorded.

⁸ For example, decorating of Christmas trees comes not from Christian rites but from 'pagan' tribal rites long pre-dating Christianity. What about Hallowe'en?

assert themselves in other ways, one of which is storytelling."⁹ The imprint of people on the land and environment for the most part is invisible but space is rich in cultural values, therefore outsiders (foreigners) say that the landscape is natural while "insiders see 'homeplace' - an environment that is familiar to them, not because they have materially transformed it but because they have named it. It is their place - their world - through the casting of a linguistic net".¹⁰ Landscape is an event space involving a multitude of ordinary and some extraordinary events resulting from interrelationships amongst the people and between the people and place.¹¹

⁹ Tuan (1974) p.62. Tuan (1991, #2, p.686) states that "they live in a deeply humanized world" where "storytelling converts mere objects 'out there' into real presences. Myths have this power to an outstanding degree because they are not just any story but are foundational stories that provide support and glimmers of understanding for the basic institutions of society; at the same time, by weaving in observable features in the landscape (a tree here, a rock there), strengthen a people's bond to place." Interestingly enough, "frequently the myths are delivered through songs" (Berndt and Berndt cited in Tuan, 1991, #2, p.687). Because basically all these tribal cultures are oral, and their process of acculturating nature is oral, the particular language of each group is of very great (core) importance to the system of meaning and mode of expression of each. The language system in effect defines landscape and place.

¹⁰ Tuan (1991, #2) p.686. This is part of the reason why Europeans, on first arriving and on then moving across the land, viewed much of America as uninhabited land, 'free for the taking'. Where in fact it was highly used by Native peoples. To be fair, in some tribal cultures, land in small areas was very intensively used and the environment essentially destroyed (in the short term), as in Swidden farming cultures. But since the people moved location very often, within a larger region, the depleted land was left to regenerate naturally before being used again. With added massive population growth and disrupted cultural systems, over the last few centuries, certain tribal cultures now place great pressures on the land and environment.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.687.

At the root of all cultures, ancient or modern, is tradition.¹² The modern cultures often unconsciously draw from ancient traditions which they think they have cast off. "Cultural heritage provides a traditional design for life. Tradition is relevant to the interpretation of the cultural landscape because it is the basis for the perception of a set of natural features as resources and also provides the technology, equipment, tools, and institutions for resource exploitation" when looking at human impacts on the physical landscape.¹³ It also is the carrier of cultural behaviour of the people thus exhibiting impacts on the human moral organization of landscape.

2. NATURE OVER MAN

A. ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINISM

The concept of environmental determinism upholds that the surrounding physical

¹² Issacs (1975) p.32. Part of this tradition involves naming. "The baby acquires a *name*, an individual name, a family name, a group name. He acquires the *history and origins* of the group into which he is born. The group's culture-past automatically endows him, among other things, with his *nationality* or other condition of national, regional, or tribal affiliation, his *language, religion, and value system* - the inherited cluster of mores, ethics, aesthetics, and the attributes that come out of the *geography or topography* of his birthplace itself, all shaping the outlook and way of life upon which the new individual enters from his first day." Education and socio-cultural pressures help to maintain this tradition.

¹³ Hill, A. David, "The Process Of Landscape Change: Bicultural Implications," in English and Mayfield (eds.) (1972) p.44

environmental conditions of any one place fixed the inhabitant's socio-cultural destiny in life. Place was defined by purely physical forms and processes (though, in fact, only became 'place' through its human recognition as such). Humans lived by nature's laws, therefore cultural development and adaptation were determined by natural environmental conditions - "humankind was essentially a passive product of the physical surroundings."¹⁴ Geographers Frederick Ratzel, Herbert Spencer and others promoted these ideas which eventually took on political imperialist and racist overtones through their application, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as Social Darwinism - the fittest survive or are at the top of the social hierarchy. Sir Halford McKinder developed these concepts in a geopolitical-territorial sense.¹⁵ The concepts transferred to America

¹⁴ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.18. Also Holt-Jensen, Arild, GEOGRAPHY History and Concepts A Student's Guide, 1st Ed. (London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd, 1980) pp.24-25,44. By looking at the environmental causes, through searching for the immutable, overriding physical laws, all socio-cultural and political outcomes could be completely predicted (Holt-Jensen, pp.53,57).

¹⁵ Holt-Jensen (1980) pp.24-25. Richard Muir in Modern Political Geography (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1981, p.5) says of German geographer Ratzel and determinism that "The state was regarded as an organic entity, its success depending largely upon its ability to obtain space, and itself an expression of the imperishable ties between men and the land. Ratzel formulated a potentially dangerous view of world in which the competitive aspects of state behaviour were flattered with the dignity of natural laws. Elsewhere his ideas were less controversial and more realistically based". Taylor (1989, p.131) states that because of his theory of the 'organic nature' of the state, Ratzel has become recognized as the 'father of political geography'. McKinder's heartland is based on geographic determinism related to sea access and landform placement. Taylor (1989, p.132) states that in such an "organic case the territory evolves slowly by accretions around a core-area." However, in reality, perhaps more of the territorial formation is a response to the difference in the conflicting lifestyles of the sedentary European communities and the still nomadic nature of Asian tribes from the steppes (Muir, p.193). Burghardt (cited in Taylor, 1989, pp.132-133) critiqued that this

through geographers, such as Ellen Churchill Semple and Ellsworth Huntington.¹⁶ Determinists created stereo-typic people through descriptions consisting of attributing the qualities of physical settings to the people who 'naturally' lived there.¹⁷ The determinist rules, though pointing to certain conditions and constraints laid down by nature on humanity, were overly rigid in not allowing any deviation to expected physical trends. They therefore failed to adequately account for human choices which did not conform and for massive physical changes to the land due to human action, which became increasingly apparent in the world. Environmental determinism (often referred to as *environmentalism* or *causation*), in hindsight can be seen as a rationalization of European empire building and domination of Europeans over other cultural groups. Therefore, it was in fact a politico-aculturizing landscape process which disrupted previous cultural activities and structures in many parts of the world replacing them in part with tentative foreign ones. The process of empire building in itself disproved that humans were limited in action because of wide seas and high mountains and other physical conditions which were surmounted and adapted to. The process of European exploration and claiming of territory throughout the world was therefore in many respects completely counter to the theory of environmentalism. At the same time colonialism eroded tribalisms in other

basic organic model was still being used in 1964 by Pounds and Ball to explain the development of the European states but unfortunately was being applied in hindsight and overlooked that the people themselves had the unity before the territories were firmed up and thus created the territory.

¹⁶ Holt-Jensen (1980) p.25.

¹⁷ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.18. For example, "isolated mountain dwellers were rugged and backward and coastlands pitted with fjords produced great navigators and fishermen."

lands to aid the development of nationalisms back home in Europe. This was accomplished by laying claim to lands through oral, gesture and written rituals or deeds and then naming (or renaming -through word, writing or mapping) of places and their features in European terms, or local terms adapted to European acceptance, as Tuan calls "The ritual creation of space".¹⁸

Through the popular literature of Robert Ardrey, biological determinism rose again in the 1960s.¹⁹ "Ardrey makes some statements political geographers can hardly ignore. 'A territory,' he writes, 'is an area of space, whether of water or earth or air, which an animal or group of animals defends as an exclusive preserve' ... 'territorial nature of man is genetic and ineradicable'".²⁰ He obviously did not pay attention to symbiotic relationships between many groups of animals and that in order to be able to feed, different animal territories must cross over one another or be nested within or around one another. Nature is balance rather than dominance.

B. GEOMORPHOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENTALISM

Coming out of environmental determinism was the theme of physical landscape

¹⁸ Tuan (1991, #2) p.687.

¹⁹ Ardrey, Robert, The Territorial Imperative (New York: Atheneum, 1966).

²⁰ Ardrey quoted in M.I Glassner and H.J. DeBlij, Systematic Political Geography, 3rd Ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980) p.9. Caution is required in extending research on individual human or animal behaviour directly to human groups (p.9). See also Soja, Edward, The Political Organization of Space (Wash., D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1971) p.30.

development, which leads directly into present day physical geography and surficial geology. Landscape began to be studied in detail and through geographic models from the perspective of geomorphology. Landscape was a description of the surface form and detail of surface geologic or physical geographic features of the land from the point of view of a 'biological' evolution.²¹ It was in the United States under the work of William Morris Davis that these landscape models, displaying the "cycles of physical landscape evolution" became widely known.²² This form of landscape ignored human presence suggesting that nature's processes were the overriding shapers of the land, and not humanity. "Most determinists were well trained in the study of natural process" but "their grasp of cultural process was vague and instinctive" and extremely naive.²³ In its cultural form, developmentalism is expressed as a political evolution of the state through phases of youth, adolescence, maturity and old age, as in Morris's geomorphology, where "all states are autonomous entities that proceed along parallel paths but from different starting times and at different speeds. The rest of the world only exists to 'possibly' interrupt the sequence."²⁴ The exploration of physical laws has since led to knowledge of the modern concept of resources (humanly defined) and their exploitation and engineering controls of the natural processes assisting humans to overcome natural constraints and modify natural conditions thereby contesting determinism.

²¹ Taylor (1989) p.131.

²² *ibid.*, p.131. See also Holt-Jensen (1980) p.25.

²³ English and Mayfield (1972) p.4.

²⁴ Taylor (1989) p.131 citing De Blij (1967).

constraints and modify natural conditions thereby contesting determinism.

MAN OVER NATURE

A. THE CULTURAL REGION

Landscape as cultural regions is first evident in the French tradition of geographers arising from the ideas of possibilism.²⁵ It clearly counters environmental determinism because people have power in these landscapes. It is the blending of natural and human processes which create the landscapes which are no longer natural but are **countryside**, a new nature, as distinct from **wilderness** (places with no obvious visible human imprint). An early major proponent of cultural regions was Paul Vidal de la Blache who initiated an evolving school of thought and study. Within his concepts, humans have free will rather than being totally bounded by physical limitations. Therefore, they can make choices regarding their activities both on the land and between each other.²⁶ Important to him were "concern for place" and "its strong historical dimension".²⁷ Nature and

²⁵ Jordan and Rowntree (1990, p.18) say that "According to possibilists, people, rather than their environment, are the prime architects of culture ... Possibilists claim that any physical environment offers a number of possible ways for a culture to develop." The more technically advanced the society "the greater the number of possibilities and the weaker the influences of the physical environment (p.19).

²⁶ Holt-Jensen (1980) p.27.

²⁷ Berdoulay (1989) pp.125,127.

culture are inseparable and each adapts to the other. While being "well aware of the importance to be given to physiographic features for explaining the regional organization of France", he also considered the role of human action.²⁸ Therefore his approach was "to focus not on one-directional deterministic influences but rather on the interaction of all elements pertinent to understanding of man-nature relationships."²⁹ The methodology was also different from that of determinism. It comprised trying "to *understand* a society and its habitat through field study of the ways of life and attitudes of mind of the inhabitants of the area concerned. This method, in the form of *participating observation*, characterises the work of many social anthropologists today."³⁰ The Vidalian school has been criticized as being too local or 'vertical' in their view, as if 'vie locale' is an isolated, closed system. But recent supporters say that 'vie locale' was intended to be balanced by 'vie de relation' which placed each locale within a wider perspective. Buttimer comments that "He seems to be more at home with local (site) considerations; *genres de vie* adjusted ecologically to local resources."³¹ But various scales have been taken, from tiny rural *pays* to all of France, using basically the same approach only with different resolution of detail. "At all scales, although it is more apparent at the local level, the feelings of the inhabitants are used to explain the very special links which exist

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.126.

²⁹ *ibid.* p.126.

³⁰ Holt-Jensen (1980) p.49.

³¹ Buttimer, Anne, Society and Milieu In The French Geographic Tradition (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally and Company, 1971) p.171. Vidal's work is, for the most part, a localized rural, agricultural geography (p.111).

between man and his environment. These feelings have resulted from long-time and effort-loaded interaction between them."³² Some possibilist geographers still carried on the thread of environmental determinism through following "the premise that culture is the human method of meeting physical environmental challenges - that culture is an adaptive system" only responding to physical promptings, even if the adaptative strategies are varied.³³

For the Vidalian school, *milieu* and *civilization* were core concepts. "Milieu," wrote Vidal, "is a composite capable of grouping and holding heterogeneous beings in vital mutual relationship" acknowledging that milieu is a unity (integration) yet of diverse, and not just similar, elements.³⁴ This milieu involves ecological and human inputs. Civilization is the human use of milieu, as humans are not considered as passive elements of the system.³⁵ Those following more closely Vidal's principles kept to his "original emphasis on spiritual and psychological dimensions (ideas, attitudes, and values)" which sought a landscape orientation "between culture and landscape".³⁶ This was the

³² Berdoulay (1989) p.126. In more recent French studies of L'Identite de la France, I. Espace et histoire (Paris: Arthaud-Flammarion, 1986), and other works, historian Fernand Braudel, has returned to a similar approach. "He is particularly fascinated by the place-oriented plurality of French social life" (Berdoulay, p.128) but also his "emphasis was upon a vast territory, and took on a meso-scale significance, much beyond the individual's daily life" (p.127).

³³ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.19-20.

³⁴ Buttimer (1971) p.166. See also p.167. Vidal's vision of milieu was a holistic one (p.168).

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.169.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.170. See also p.112.

ideational approach. It described "landscape and life as molded by a cultural tradition" giving each *region* of civilisation a "'personality' inscribed on their landscapes" which "could not be understood apart from the civilisation which created it."³⁷ Sorre's equivalent *paysages humains* were "large realms over which a reasonably uniform pattern of culturally dictated perceptions and uses of milieu prevailed" creating "the meaning of milieu; social groups gave significance and orientation to particular spaces."³⁸ In the 1960s Mlle. Renee Rochefort updated the Vidalian approach to "a dynamic, changing world, as the great pioneer (Vidal had) applied it to the relatively static, agricultural world."³⁹

In her survey of new directions in geography, Doreen Massey comments that in the teaching of geography pre-1960, "human geography, or at least a central part of it, was plainly about 'regions' ... The focus was on place, on differences, on distinctiveness on uniqueness. The concern was to understand how localities come to be as they are, how they get their particular character."⁴⁰ The various approaches all gave the false

³⁷ *ibid.*, pp.170-171. "*Genre de vie* was a product of civilisation rather than a response to locally available natural resources" (p.171). "In (Marc) Bloch's view each civilisation had a particular type of agricultural technology and a typical form of spatial organization" leading to the identification of a wide diversity of French landscapes (p.112. See also p.172).

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.173.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.174. "Social geography, in her view, is the 'social history of the present landscape.'"

⁴⁰ Massey, Doreen, "New Directions in Space" in Gregory, Derek and Urry, John (eds.) Social Relations and Spatial Structures (London: MacMillan, 1985) p.9. This focus, in terms of places, regions, and localities; "was concerned with putting things together, rather than tearing them apart; with trying to understand links, relationships, synthesis, rather than being concerned only

impression that cultures and places were completely or relatively isolated, that most of their characteristics were unique only to themselves and that regions had a homogeneity. Yet it is well known that movements of people, interaction between different groups (trade, marriage, etc.) and invasions have been going on throughout human history.

B. LANDSCAPE MAPPING AND DESCRIPTION

In France, some individuals coming out of the Vidalian school chose a more material approach to regional description and mapping which "interpreted *civilisation* in more concrete and tangible terms (livelihoods, settlements, roads)" having a landscape orientation "which sought connections between culture and livelihood."⁴¹ This is the *artifactual* approach.⁴² "Brunhes ... was the first to itemize the landscape features of a *civilisation*, the phenomena (*faits*) of human geography" while "Vallaux stressed the transforming capabilities of human groups as they developed their *milieux*".⁴³ The regions de *civilisation* of Vidal became more economic (functional) regions leaving out a concern for kinship, love, prejudice, socio-economic status, etc. as forces of civilization being directly reflected in the landscape.⁴⁴ Likewise there was, as present

with the dissection of analysis" (pp.9-10).

⁴¹ Buttimer (1971) p.170.

⁴² *ibid.*, pp.170, 174.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.174-5. *Faits* are works or constructs.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp.175,177.

in Faucher's work, a "separating (of) technological and natural milieux".⁴⁵ Vidal's concept of *circulation* was concretized in study of the modes of transportation: "pedestrian, vehicular, by water, road, rail or air - (which) is seen to produce a characteristic interaction grid; the foci of intersection varying in size, structure, and spacing according to the functions served by particular modes of travel".⁴⁶ This permitted a shift of study to the growing urbanization of the landscape.

In America, Carl Sauer (in 1925) adapted and extended concepts from Germany and France. English and Mayfield, claim that the "definition of landscape as a formal concept in modern geography emerged in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century" in the *Landschaft* studies, whose approach was "stressing the role of man in reshaping the physical environment, in transforming physical landscapes into cultural landscapes".⁴⁷ As well as acknowledging the physical base of the land and its processes of natural evolution this approach analyzed the human *prints* on the land surface, in this interactive process, which made landscape cultural.⁴⁸ He developed a systematic approach to geographical regions or landscapes.⁴⁹ His "term 'landscape' is proposed to denote the

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.168. Note that later French studies "by Deruau, Cholley and Sorre, all demonstrate the interlocking of subjective and objective components in the geographic expression of civilisation", a reintegrated view (p.176).

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp.117-118.

⁴⁷ English, Paul Ward and Mayfield, Robert C., "The Cultural Landscape," in English and Mayfield (eds.) (1972) p.4.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.4.

⁴⁹ Sauer (1967, pp.315-350) gives some equivalency to the terms landscape, area and region (p.321).

unit concept of geography, to characterize the peculiarly geographic association of facts having "identity based on recognizable constitution, limits, and generic relation to other landscapes, which constitute a general system."⁵⁰ The landscape is a generalization or recognized reduction from an observed scene consisting of the main characteristic elements of the scene. Distinct regions, once identified, were classified according to their traits.⁵¹ Like the Vidalian view, these regions reflected "the interplay of man and nature."⁵² Though continued on and further developed by Jan Broek and the 'Berkeley School' of landscape geographers, Sauer's methods were too focussed on the visual, on land use and not the overall human impact (which arises later with the ecological revolution).⁵³ Although Sauer did provide a picture of the changing of landscape in relation to certain changes in human culture within the American frontier, they appear as different cultural overlays one on top of the other rather than a flow of changes related to various events or social rearrangements. It is concerned more with description than

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.321. English and Mayfield (1972, p.4) say that he relied on "accurate, systematic description, stressed those visible, concrete elements associated with human occupation and utilization of the land. The emphasis was on facts more than theory, content more than context, and form more than process". Mikesell (1972, p.13) says that Sauer's landscape is a tangible one. He (p.11) further comments that from this viewpoint "facts of geography could be regarded as place facts and their association could be expressed by the concept of landscape."

⁵¹ I view this therefore as in fact an interpretation of the landscape based on the identification of only certain features whose meanings for humans are functional in terms of land use only, very much like cultural features plotted on a topographic or land use map.

⁵² English and Mayfield (1972) p.4.

⁵³ *ibid.*, pp.5-6.

meaning. For example, the quality of life can only be estimated by assessing which forms were present and which absent. There is also an underlying assumption that there is a natural baseline from which to rate the degree of acculturation and classify the cultural landscape. Yet because human presence predates history, it is impossible to have a proven natural baseline.⁵⁴ Although providing a useful picture of some detail of settlement, land use and natural patterns within the landscape this approach does not analyze the relationship between elements or the overall context of features. The concrete aspects of culture are over-emphasized while the aspects of cultural history, events, activity (other than construction) process, behaviour and value are absent.⁵⁵

Similarly in Britain, there was study of rural landscape change led by historical geographer H. C. Darby starting in the late 1930s.⁵⁶ In his work he noted that there were differential rates of change for different elements of the landscape, for example draining of marshes proceeded much more rapidly than heath reclamation. Therefore he

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.5; Mikesell (1972) pp.11-12. Broek realized this and therefore chose a datum line pre-European arrival, "not at the time of initial human occupancy but rather the period immediately preceding the great phase of forest clearing, draining of marshes, and reclamation of heathland", digging of quarries and mines, building large structures and planting of farmland, representative of the European view of land use (Mikesell, p.12).

⁵⁵ English and Mayfield (1972) p.4,6. My own personal criticism of this method, is that it is essentially an interpretive one, though claiming to be a method of objective facts. From ten years work in remote sensing interpretation of cultural developments and geological field work, I have found that form often does not equate to apparent function or meaning of features. Also landscape features can be extremely varied and not always neatly classifiable.

⁵⁶ Williams, Michael, "Historical geography and the concept of landscape," Journal of Historical Geography, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1989) p.92.

established an approach of successional cross-section description.⁵⁷ Like Sauer, Darby did not deal with meaning of landscape nor negative impacts on it but described a taming of the land. "Instead of seeking the material foundations and lineaments (patterns) of the landscape in the past, in a vacuum outside the world of the productive human relationship that produced that landscape, Darby sought to integrate people and the world they inhabited to subsist. The human use of the earth was a bond or relationship between society and land, and the processes of alteration were the focus of the study, emphasising, sometimes the results of the processes, sometimes the processes themselves and sometimes the social and technical ideas behind the processes."⁵⁸ However, on the surface, Darby maintained a very cosy, pastoral English landscape view in spite of growing urban-industrial intrusions.⁵⁹

C. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL (TERRITORIAL) LANDSCAPE: FUNCTIONALISM

Functionalism is concerned with the integration of people into vertical social groups and horizontally into territorial groups emphasizing people defining territories based on

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.93.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.95. This refers to Darby's work "The changing English landscape," Geographical Journal, Vol. 118 (1951) pp.377-397.

⁵⁹ Williams (1989) p.95.

integrative human functions.⁶⁰ Hartshorne's theory of territorial integration considers two main forces causing landscape - "centrifugal forces pulling the state apart and centripetal forces binding it together."⁶¹ Centripetal forces include those beneficial to nation-building - the positive aspects of physical size, shape, terrain and relative location of the territory; "diversity of the character of the population of the state"; and the overwhelmingly important *state-idea*.⁶² Centrifugal forces are essentially the 'negative' (reverse) aspects of the same things. "Language, ethnic and religious differences are the most common cause of territorial conflict in states but other features such as political philosophy, education and levels of living (regional inequalities) varying with region may be disruptive."⁶³ Gottmann described another set of functions controlling order and thus territorial landscape development - "movement which causes instability and iconography which causes stability. In this approach, movement includes all exchanges throughout the world whether of peoples, commodities or ideas. Iconography is a system of symbols in which people believe, encompassing elements of national feeling from the state flag to the culture transmitted through the state's schools. These two forces oppose one

⁶⁰ Taylor (1989) p.135. Thus it somewhat dissociates itself from nature.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.135. Hartshorne in 1950 saw these as opposing forces. I tend to see them as safety valves or electric breakers that signal to the state or social order that it has gone beyond a certain point of centralization or decentralization and become socially or culturally unhealthy, stagnant or repressive.

⁶² *ibid.*, pp.135-136.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p.136.

another".⁶⁴ Jones united these concepts into a 'unified field theory' claiming that in "the modern states the political-idea is the *raison d'être* and the decision is the specific treaty recognizing the viability of the idea. Movement is Gottman's concept as required in operationalizing the decision to produce a field as the arena in which the movement occurs. Finally a political area is defined as the territory of the state."⁶⁵ Unfortunately, all of these theories assume that the state and its territory are 'givens' but not all states succeed in forming or lasting. Because of the diversity within most states (i.e. not everyone being fully supportive of it) regular reorganizations are necessary to maintain this human structure.⁶⁶ Both the state (people, idea, territory) and the inter-state system

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.135. Soja (1971, p.34) similarly defines territoriality as having "three essential ingredients. First is a sense of spatial identity ... usually manifested in the development of a territorial symbolism or iconography ... Secondly, there is a related development of a sense of exclusiveness with respect to territory" prompted by a citizen-alien (or foreigner) dichotomy. "A Third feature is the compartmentalization or channeling of human interaction in space. Territoriality is associated with the concentration of activities and communication within localized areas, inserting boundaries as it were into normal distance-decay relationships" (p.34). Again I feel that Gottmann's forces of movement and iconography, though apparently opposite, can in fact both work towards stability. As will be seen through quebécois music it is movement which causes the spread of ideas allowing a group to attain a shared vision through centring on an iconography. Movement also encourages creative growth which aids the group to continually redefine their iconography in order to keep their culture alive and non-stagnant. Iconography is probably, underneath the surface, the same as or a part of symbolism (to be discussed a little later in this chapter) only symbolism is primarily an unconscious projection while iconography, as used here, is specifically generated by the state as a means of socio-cultural control or ordering.

⁶⁵ Taylor (1989) p.136.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp.137-138. "The state can only be understood as a response to the need of certain groups at the expense of other groups" in the form it has taken in the past and takes at present (p.138).

of interaction are dynamic spatial structures.⁶⁷

D. THE ECONOMIC-QUANTITATIVE LANDSCAPE

With the increase in industrialization and urbanization an ever rapidly increasing amount of landscape was being physically transformed by human modification and built structures.⁶⁸ The land surface was being groomed in certain places at the expense of damage or destruction to others. Positivist ideas during these times (especially in the 1950s and 1960s) described society as either an economic ("human behaviour is largely dictated by economic motivation") and spatial construct (the characteristics of location determined those of society) where human populations were reduced to impersonal numbers.⁶⁹ Possibilism thus became probabilism, analyzing the human practices and landscape changes as probabilities of how humans would act in and impact on landscapes.⁷⁰ Spatial relationships and processes were studied through a rigid application

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, (p.138), speaking of the world political map, says that "the map itself is quite misleading since it gives an impression of stability that is completely false."

⁶⁸ Hill (1972, p.48) describes this physical transformation. "Man, in mediating with the natural environment, creates various 'artificial environments' which reflect his natural milieu as well as his system of economy, social organization, and technology; the resulting 'artificial landscape' of a place thus represents the type or combination of types of systems possessed by the place's inhabitant - past and or present" as well as those introduced from outside.

⁶⁹ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.25.

⁷⁰ Holt-Jensen (1980) p.54.

of the scientific method, based on objective facts, following the assumption that "behind every spatial pattern lies a spatial cause" and strict spatial laws.⁷¹ So began the search for mathematical models which would describe, explain and predict all geographical patterns.⁷² Massey says, "we built mathematical models of trip distribution, of modal split, and agonized over questions of the length of the journey to work ... only the general and the generalisable were scientific."⁷³ The intimacy of human relationship became described in terms of networks, nodes, hierarchies, surfaces, volumes of flow and interstitial zones while places were defined by lists of classifying attributes.⁷⁴ Social behaviour was reduced by some researchers to physics. "Stewart stated that human beings

⁷¹ Massey (1985) p.11. Jordan and Rowntree (1990, p.25) state that "Theorists and model builders tend to regard geography as a nomothetic, or law giving, science, believing that the chief purpose of geographical scholarship should be the discovery of universal principles." They continue saying that this outlook is based on "logical positivism, the attempt to apply the methods of science to the study of humankind. Knowledge, in this view, is derived from an analysis of the properties and relationships of phenomena, as verified by scientific method" (p.26).

⁷² Holt-Jensen (1980) p.54.

⁷³ Massey (1985) p.10. For example, see Haggett, Peter, Geography A Modern Synthesis, 3rd Ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983) Chapters 13-18. This includes numerous approaches and models from the land use models of von Thunen, Central places of Christaller, diffusion fields of Hagerstrand, Mercantile theory of Vance, trend surface mapping, gravity models, to bid-price curves locational theory and systems theory. See also Berry, Brian J. L.; Conkling, Edgar C. and Ray, D. Michael, The Geography Of Economic Systems (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976). In terms of understanding a few aspects of human geography these approaches are excellent. Their failing is that they deny other approaches, don't include the details of human existence and are rigidly tied to systems which are no longer functional and are presently under great pressure to transform or collapse.

⁷⁴ Berry, et al. (1976) citing Haggett (1976) p.8.

'obey mathematical rules resembling in a general way some of the primitive 'laws' of physics.'⁷⁵ The predominant Western capitalist economic and political systems were the focus of study at the expense of knowledge of other human systems.⁷⁶ This was accompanied by the belief that technology could solve all human problems.⁷⁷ This neo-classical economic geography was able to capture an understanding of the general trends within groups of people but in order to do so it had to ignore any inconsistencies or deviations and treat them as abnormalities though they were actually realities and normalities of certain people's lives. There is some consideration of invisible cultural expressions, such as language. But these were generalized classifications, placing people into broad groupings and territories.⁷⁸ The fingers of urban life and urban ways of thinking have stretched out into the development and analysis of the countryside around via suburban extension, transportation growth, tourism, conservation and so on.⁷⁹ For resource and land use/land cover surveys detailed locations and counts of select features were made. "By means of survey, sampling, or detailed inventory, he (the geographer) achieves the comprehensive but synthetic perspective of a helicopter pilot or balloonist

⁷⁵ Holt-Jensen, quoting John Q. Stewart, (1980) p.56.

⁷⁶ Berry, et al. (1976) p.10.

⁷⁷ Massey (1985) p.10.

⁷⁸ Mikesell (1972) p.14.

⁷⁹ For example, some of the economic and spatial theories and models are discussed, in light of their relevance to rural development and change in Pacione, Michael, Rural Geography (London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd., 1984)

armed with maps, photographs, and a pair of binoculars."⁸⁰ The focus, however, is on collecting and manipulating data to find general trends and not on extracting any social detail or social meaning.

As humans became primarily urban or sub-urban, landscape decreasingly included nature. It became cement, brick, and structured human interrelations (what humans do, trends of how they behave). Study became so heavily modelled and quantified that both people and structures dissolved into abstract and overgeneralized numbers and representative curves and became judged in economic dollar values. Individuality, and small group behaviour, were lost in this landscape where people became part of an average, a monetary value (production in person hours), or a deviation from the mean. Society became highly classified and partitioned in rigid classes: male/female, married/single, old/young, employed/unemployed, black/white, English/French, and so on. This landscape, rather than defining reality, was symbolizing it (as numbers) and evaluating it in very strict terms. Cultural activity, especially regarding artistic works, was irrelevant in this approach to landscape. The behaviour of people was reduced to 'man' the controller, the producer, consumer, trader and populator.⁸¹ The limitations of the modelling approach became most critically shown in "that physical planning had not been as effective in fostering social change and equality as many people had hoped" indicating that economics and spatial factors were not the only factors in the cultural

⁸⁰ Mikesell (1972) p.13.

⁸¹ Berry, et al. (1976) p.9.

landscape.⁸²

E. LANDSCAPES OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND REVOLUTION - STRUCTURALISM

"Every change in environment is criticised by someone. The bigger the changes the greater are the criticisms, so modernisation and modernism have come in for resounding condemnations."⁸³ Beginning in the 1970s was a period of great social, often radical critique.⁸⁴ These critiques were quite varied in form but contained a common message that "the spatial is a social construct" - i.e. "not just that spatial patterns are caused by social processes, but that they are caused by *common* social processes."⁸⁵ Some geographers and other scientists turned to "structuralism. They believe that all cultural phenomena rest upon a few basic structures that are universal to the human mind and provide motivating forces in society. The basis of these structures lies in the material

⁸² Holt-Jensen (1980) p.68.

⁸³ Relph (1987) p.211.

⁸⁴ Massey (1985) p.12.

⁸⁵ Massey (1985) pp.11-12. Marxism critiqued capitalism/neo-classical economics, feminism critiqued the patriarchy of social order, hippies critiqued the traditional 'American Dream' of economic and technical progress, etc. Anne Gilbert in "The new regional geography in English and French-speaking countries," Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1988, p.210) says that in these concepts, their followers see "society as the prime agent in regional formation." Massey (p.12), and I would agree, modifies (critiques) these critiques putting them into more of a balanced view, saying that "Space is a social construct - yes. But social relations are also constructed over space, and that makes a difference."

conditions of existence, and the search for explanations must be directed accordingly ... structures can be discovered by looking beneath superficial spatial patterns to seek basic economic, social, ideological, and institutional processes."⁸⁶ The scientific method was no longer considered adequate to explain landscape.

Marxism is perhaps the most prominent structuralist approach. Marxists "focus upon the search for socio-economic structures that they feel guide human behaviour. In geography, Marxists emphasize the organization of production as the shaping structurer of society."⁸⁷ Unfortunately, most Marxist analyses are strictly critiques of capitalist economics. As such, some are extremely observant and accurate as to some of the capitalist failings.⁸⁸ This however, has produced a blinder in terms of understanding other systems, which are either not considered or not given the same degree of critique as capitalism, and provides little in the way of constructive alternatives to capitalism. Gilbert comments that the "underlying 'necessary' relations are not seen as aspatial" in fact, though they should be according to theory.⁸⁹ Instead there is a regional specificity. More recently some Marxist thought, as with David Harvey, has begun to open up somewhat "to incorporate difference and 'otherness' (including race and gender)", to acknowledge "that cultural practices truly matter" and that see "historical materialism as an open ended, dialectic mode of enquiry, not as some meta-theoretical statement of

⁸⁶ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.26. See also Gilbert (1988) p.209.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.26.

⁸⁸ See the various works of David Harvey for one.

⁸⁹ Gilbert (1988) pp.209-210.

'total truth'".⁹⁰ Gilbert summarizes the structuralists views of regional development through *process*, "regions are ... formed through a historically determined sequence which stems from the social relations specific to the region and allows them to be reproduced ... Regions develop from regional social interaction while being both the condition and the outcome of the social relations between individuals, groups and institutions in regional space ... the region is itself a process".⁹¹

Another important structuralist view is that led by French scholars who have turned to semiotics involving the finding of meaning in the identified arrangements.⁹² This approach focusses on the collective, rather than individual, meaning of a region.⁹³ Modes of transmission of culture ("collective ways of thinking about places and space") and "spatial settings of interaction, such as urban nodes" are the major controllers of landscape and its change.⁹⁴ "The organization of geographical space and thus place by

⁹⁰ Dear, Michael, Book Review of Harvey, David, "The Conditions of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change" (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) in Annals of the American Association of Geographers, Vol.81, No. 3 (Sept. 1991) p.536. 'Otherness' refers to "the meaning and significance of alternative human subjectivities and experience" (p.536). Comments refer to p.355 of Harvey.

⁹¹ Gilbert (1988, pp.216-217) citing various others.

⁹² Berdoulay (1989) p.128.

⁹³ Gilbert (1988, p.211) says that within Bourdieu's, Claval's, Poche's, Ricq's work "it is from common sets of information, of practices and knowledge that bind together individual understandings of the material environment that regional consciousness and identity emerge. The focus here is on culture as a relational system by which meanings are transmitted and as a system inseparable from the other elements of the social networks".

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, (p.211) citing Claval and others.

society constitutes its means of reproduction and development" - space is defined by "the all-pervasive context of social meaning."⁹⁵ Roger Brunet identified places by 20-30 *choremes* "the elemental structures in the organization of geographical space."⁹⁶ He understood these choremes "as signs, as the building blocks of a semiology of the organization of space. According to semiology a *sign* is composed of a *signifier* and a *signified*. Brunet identifies the signifier as the identified spatial arrangement (form) which either hides or reveals the signified, a strategy of domination over nature or social groups ... (it) consists of identifying static rules which are like phrases produced by society in order to achieve some project, goal, or finality."⁹⁷ The interplay of the signifier (form) and the signified (functions) within the particular context of a place balances out the spatial and social determinants on landscape.⁹⁸ For Claude Raffestin and Paul Claval there is an interaction between human power relationships and space.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Berdoulay (1989) p.129.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.128.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.129.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.129.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.129 Raffestin believed that "Territoriality is the lived or experienced inside of power relations." These social power relations are seen to mediate all other human experiences with their environment and thus lead to the structuring of territory.

F. THE PHOTO LANDSCAPE

Perhaps the most widely known popular source of regional geographic information, at least in the Western influenced world, is National Geographic. It presents foremost a photographic (and sometimes map) view of regions and their differences all around the world. Text tends to be very secondary. The content of the magazines has moved gradually away from presenting fairly stereotypic images of regions, from a Western viewpoint, defined by state and administrative boundaries and distinct cultural groups (e.g. Chinese, Portugese). They have moved towards more ecological (grasslands, aridlands, riverine environments, island habitats, forests, the arctic, highlands, and sea coasts), trans-national (e.g. the Sahel) or other thematic regions (garbage dumps, hurricane paths, etc.).¹⁰⁰ Both old and new cultural traits are shown, however, discussion of the increasing intermixing of world peoples is played down. Regions remain relatively culturally unique. In the pictorial landscape and within the minimal text the reader has always been given a lot of leeway for interpretation. Some of the texts are becoming increasingly scholarly, and less travelogues, with such contributors as Mikesell, Colin Turnbull and Farouk El-Baz.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ See National Geographic magazine and related books such as Mikesell, Marvin W., et al., Living On The Earth (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1988).

¹⁰¹ Mikesell (1988).

Two current photo books are linked to television portrayals of regions.¹⁰² The first by Wallace focusses on the natural environmental ecosystem (the skies, the wetlands, the grasslands, the mountains, etc.) and only carries the odd reference to humans and the environmental problems which they have created and some steps that have been or can be taken to improve these situations. Timberlake also provides a regional environmental picture but focusses much more on people. He selected eight local regions with specific environmental problems giving a descriptive and photo view of how the people there have responded to their natural and social landscape forces. It assesses attitudes of the people, the influences from outside regarding international scale development projects, the present state of development and the internal creative development actions. These regions are defined by unique regional responses to unique environmental and social situations.

The British Automobile Association has produced a series of travel guide books which through extensive and fairly comprehensive text, maps, ground photos and oblique airphotos provide fine detail of the British natural and cultural landscapes.¹⁰³ These are detailed impressions, district by district, of all life forms, constructs and artifacts present there. In recent years there has also been a flood of airphoto books and articles displaying landscapes and landmarks across countries, theme regions or historical

¹⁰² Wallace, David R., Life In The Balance, Companion To The Audubon Television Specials (New York: Harcourt Brace Janovitch, Publishers, 1987) and Timberlake, Lloyd, Only One Earth - Living for the Future (London: BBC Books and Earthscan Limited, 1987).

¹⁰³ For example, British Automobile Association, Illustrated Guide to Britain (Basingstoke, Hants., England: Drive Publications Limited, 1981).

regions. Though usually treated as coffee table books they contain a wealth of cultural information for those interested in exploring.¹⁰⁴ Remote sensing satellite picture books display broad regional panoramas from all around the world.¹⁰⁵ Clearly visible within the images are a mixture of natural and cultural features far from the map atlas view of place names and boundaries. On one level the images show the commonalities of humanity the world around (e.g. humans tend to live in somewhat similar sites like river valleys, human mega-structures look much the same wherever they are) while pinpointing specific landscape details within each region that make it unique. Satellite images, like airphotos, are taken from above. Though the landscape features they contain are usually coloured differently (false colour) from what we normally see, these difference in fact extend our comprehension of the landscape after only a short familiarization with them. The resolution of information presentation of these satellite perceptions is coarse, however, (i.e. - only major features are visible and often only as shapeless blobs instead of shaped objects - the forest not the trees) and the information is surficial. Because Western-style land developments tend to be larger scale, the satellite images tell more about Western technological development and civilization and little of the life of say Native peoples, whose presence (mark on the land) is almost entirely absent both in

¹⁰⁴ Curtis, Bo and Kraulis, J.A., Canada From The Air (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1981); Kiely, Benedict, Ireland From The Air (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1985); Wolman, Baron, Above the Holy Land (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1987); Muir, Richard, History From The Air (London: Mermaid Books Limited, 1987); Goldberg, Vicki, "Ancient Landscapes" in *Archaeology* (Nov./Dec. 1991) p.32-39.

¹⁰⁵ Sheffield, Charles, Earth Watch (London: Sigwick and Jackson Limited, 1981) and Man On Earth (Toronto: Fleet Publishers, 1983).

actuality and on the images.

THE HUMANIZED WORLD

The 'humanized world' view involves a return to an understanding of humans as feeling beings who have both individual and collective experiences. It is a return to diversity of experience and action (and interaction) and moves away from a focus on structure, objectivity (alone), and reductionism. It moves instead towards the more subjective.

A. HOLES IN THE CHEESE (LANDSCAPES OF TERRAE INCOGNITAE)

During earlier human history it was a challenge for humans to explore unfamiliar lands, the frontiers and beyond.¹⁰⁶ But once the world had been 'discovered' by certain people or groups, it became obvious to others that by looking at the world on a different scale or from a different perspective, there was much more yet to be discovered. Due

¹⁰⁶ Taylor (1989, p.145) defines frontier in a political sense: "A frontier zone is the area between two social systems or entities." In North America there was a problem with this definition in that the frontier was perceived as primarily vacant land where in fact it was entirely inhabited by Native peoples. Because of a different understanding of landscapes Native peoples and their use of the land were treated as being invisible (more or less non-existent, any presence was felt merely as a nuisance) by the Europeans.

to human tastes, priorities, values, biases, ignorance (lack of development in the use of the senses and comprehension), quick assumptions and general lack of awareness many *gaps* remain in people's views and understandings of landscapes, both of their own and especially of foreign ones. Some of these gaps have been identified by geographers and noted as realms to explore. It has become evident that people live within closely **horizoned** views and a limited number of perspectives. Today these views are increasingly becoming challenged by alternate views and experiences of life (Marxism, feminism, native peoples the world round, Third World, the poor and other perspectives). The alternatives are both new points of view and the re emergence of updated older points of view. The scientific method and quantitative models eventually led to their own limitations. Science discovered new concepts such as relativity and n dimensional space, which shattered the previously held concept of absolute space and its Euclidean geometry.¹⁰⁷ Because of *relativity* "Nothing in the world of physics may be characterised as pure chorology or pure chronology; everything is process" as it also became for many geographers opening up new 'relative' spaces to explore like perceptual space.¹⁰⁸ While computerization permitted geographers to handle more voluminous amounts of information and models reduced these to managable 'maps' of what was going on in the cultural landscape, these products themselves **required interpretation to be useful**. There were also **large holes** found in the data "since massive quantities of data on human behavior are only available for the advanced countries, and then only for

¹⁰⁷ Holt-Jenson (1980) pp.62-63.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.63.

at best a century, the theorists tend to construct their models from facts of the 'here and now,' virtually ignoring former times and other cultures."¹⁰⁹ Probabilistic models had led people "to believe that a trend, once ascertained, will continue to operate in the future" but did not take into consideration that value systems (as evident in human history) could change thus changing the trends.¹¹⁰ The technologies of remote sensing and global communications have provided new visual images of landscape from vastly different scale, perspective and spectrum of vision rather than confirming the scientific expectation that we are close to knowing everything. Chaos theory no longer defines space and time as four finite dimensions but as an infinity of dimensions 'between' the four dimensions.¹¹¹ All of these new or renewed approaches expand the defined and accepted limits of science in general and geography specifically, as well as all of the terminologies within each (i.e. landscape, place, etc.).

John Kirkland Wright was the first to extensively explore these *holes in our perception*, labelling them *terrae incognitae*. Wright pointed out that something was known about many *terra incognitae* by a few individuals or a certain cultural group, who

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.62 quoting Broek.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.68.

¹¹¹ Peterson, Ivars, The Mathematical Tourist Snapshots in Modern Mathematics (New York: Freeman, 1988). Chaos theory presents dimensions of $2 \frac{1}{4}$ or $7 \frac{1}{2}$ and so on. The common geographical example of Chaos's fractal geometry is that between any two points on a shoreline are an infinity number of points and convolutions. Through our perceptive and mapping processes we smooth out the view of the shoreline. Chaos theory does however define a self-sameness (similarity of form) that repeats (reflects) itself at many scales, therefore, rather than leading to chaos it leads to order and unity in existence (pp.114-115).

lived or had visited there, but they were almost completely unknown or falsely known to others around them or separate from them.¹¹² The known and the unknown "depends both on whose knowledge and on what kind of knowledge is taken into consideration".¹¹³ For Wright there is a place for imagination in geography, it being the major stimulus drawing us into seeking an understanding of "terrae incognitae, both literal and as symbolizing all that is geographically known".¹¹⁴ Having some element

¹¹² Wright, John Kirkland, "Terraes Incognitae" in Human Nature In Geography (fourteen papers, 1925-1965) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966) p.74. Originally published under same title in the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 37 (1947) p.1-15. Very often people within their tradition seek conformity and hold all else as separate instead of seeking the truth, even if this truth is relative.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.70. Elaborating on this point Wright says that "depending on our point of view, there are personal, community, and national *terraes incognitae*; there are the *terraes incognitae* to different cultural traditions and civilizations; and there are also the *terraes incognitae* to contemporary geographical science" (p.71). If not recorded as observed facts or plotted and labelled on a map or commonly known to the public then a place, for example, "the interior of my place in Maine, no less than the interior of Antarctica, is a *terra incognita*, even though a tiny one" (p.71). Therefore what is known or not is relative to place and context (p.72).

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.68. It is the Siren song (within our imagination) of material rewards or discovery of new knowledge, etc. which calls us into the *terra incognitae* and "Voyages into this shadow became a favorite theme of poets and storytellers" leading the way for others to follow (p.69). To keep one from blind response to and acceptance of imagination, matching it with rational analysis may prove both correct. Ulysses provides the role model. "He was well advised to hearken to the Sirens, to allow the charm of their voices to kindle his imagination, but nevertheless to have himself bound to the mast" (p.76). I agree with Wright when he says, "I do not regard the scientific and the aesthetic either as mutually exclusive or as antagonistic in geography" (p.80). Wright further states that "Much of the world's accumulated wisdom has been acquired, not from the rigorous application of scientific research, but through the skillful intuitive imagining - or insight - of philosophers, prophets, statesmen, artists, and scientists" (p.75). It is these ideas which most often set human value systems.

of creativity and imagination in one's research is what defines Wright's 'true geographer', whose purpose is to discover, learn and transmit the geographically unknown, from wherever it exists.¹¹⁵ Wright, therefore, put forward a series of new philosophies and approaches to geography (e.g. geosophy - "the study of geographical knowledge from any or all points of view" - p.83) paying specific attention to the evolution of geographical knowledge, especially concerning the interaction of humans with environment/land and encouraged an evaluation of the biases within our modes and directions of perception.¹¹⁶

Others such as David Lowenthal have continued this process though using other terms, such as lacunae.¹¹⁷ Lowenthal applied many of Wright's ideas to 'invisible' or 'unknown' small groups of people and individuals, extending them into new and creative areas of research. He pursued two issues "the nature of these terrae incognitae, and the

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.72. This approach, though at first bringing on strong criticism from those scientists who only deal in observable 'facts', is now gaining wider recognition. Wright comments (p.71) that in our factual way of thinking "Science has reached a point where we may interpolate sound, if incomplete, geographical knowledge into every gap." But is not interpolation an imaginative interpretation of what lies between two things. Do we really have enough lines and points from which to interpolate and what exactly are we to interpolate between the 'facts'? Do we only have a surficial picture of a lifeless landscape or can we include the microdetails of daily reality? Culturally, in Canada and the United States we expect to see typical landscapes dominated by cultural traits of English-speaking peoples. Our cultural interpolation ('mental assimilation') ignores the presence of the French, Ukrainian, and other cultural based landscapes.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.82-6.

¹¹⁷ Lowenthal, David, "Introduction," in Penning-Rowsell and Lowenthal (1986) p.1.

relationship between the world outside and the pictures in our heads."¹¹⁸ In order to accomplish this he focussed on "knowledge and ideas about man and milieu" and "the variable forms and contents of the earth's surface, past, present, and potential."¹¹⁹ A listing was made of many types of individuals who do not necessarily fit into any group shared view of the world (idiots, psychotics, drug users, the very young, the very old, etc.).¹²⁰ Each has developed their own personal milieu (and therefore, geographical landscape) both in their mind and within their environment, which transcend outside the generalized objective reality view of the people around them.¹²¹ Lowenthal concludes that each generation needs to construct a new geography.¹²² Geographical reality is relative to the time, place, and the state of human preoccupation suggesting that geographical definitions, instruments, and methodologies require changing at least generationally.¹²³ It is the increased interaction between different groups of people,

¹¹⁸ Lowenthal, David, "Geography, Experience, And Imagination: Towards A Geographical Epistemology," in English and Mayfield (1972) p.219. Previously published in Annals of the American Association of Geographers, Vol.51, No. 3 (1961) pp.241-266.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.221.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.223-225. Michelle S. Lowe and John R. Short in "Progressive human geography," Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Mar. 1990, p.4) says "Women, young children, adolescents, the poor, and the carless are marginalized by the structure of the city" thus becoming less visible groups.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p.229.

¹²² Similarly, an artist friend told me that in each generation there must come a renewal of art to keep culture alive. This certainly correlates with the development of quebecois music to be discussed in later chapters.

¹²³ Lowenthal (1972) pp.225,227.

throughout history, which adds to a broadening of view and a changing from a one to a multi-perspective view.¹²⁴

With the conquering of the wildernesses of the world fairly well completed, the eyes of those individuals, who were socially aware, turned towards urban poverty and blight, situations created or enhanced by the urbanization process.¹²⁵ They began speaking out on subjects which the society had mentally or physically blocked out - those terra incognitae we have maintained as invisible. "Invisibility, whether of poverty, or toxic wastes, unemployment, the elderly or nuclear arsenals, is only one among many problems of modern urban landscapes."¹²⁶ Short comments on how the new wilderness (to be discovered and tamed) is a wilderness within (the city or the nation), one of cultural diversity, class divisions, poverty, crime, etc.¹²⁷ Feminists would add sexual discrimination and abuse. Recently child abuse has reared its ugly head. This wilderness was created to hide many social realities from the middle and upper classes.¹²⁸ "It acts

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p.224.

¹²⁵ Relph (1987, p.264) commented "As a result of intensive planning and welfare efforts the urban poor are now largely invisible, hidden in apartment projects" behind "the no-frills modernist exteriors of which reveal little of the miseries within." Today we have just begun to look into these unexplored parts of our landscape as we study the growing phenomenon of the *homeless* and other urban realities.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p.265.

¹²⁷ Short, John Rennie, Imagined Country Environment, Culture and Society (London: Routledge, 1991) pp.62-64

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p.64. "Middle-class fear of the urban other has fastened on to images of crime." By projecting such images invisible walls were placed between peoples, prejudicing how landscape segments were viewed. In the French-Canadian experience The Church and State until the 1940s, and to a lesser degree

like a Freudian sink of repressed and forbidden feelings, the ultimate source of evil or good, an atavistic reservoir of very strong positive and negative imagery. In the expansive phase of British imperialism, the wilderness was transposed overseas and far away to alien peoples in foreign lands. In its waning phase, the wilderness is the dark continent of the inner city."¹²⁹ Through over-generalizing of our histories and geographies to those of the elites and empire builders, other geographies and histories of common people (the vast majority of humanity) is forgotten. It is, however, the geographies of family and local community traditions, common people, Native peoples, 'Third World' peoples, women, children, those whose voices are not usually listened to in the realm of geography and history, that deal with the real forms and activities of the daily life of humanity.¹³⁰ Life contains so many activities and people that fall outside of reductionist models of society. Many individuals and groups, are constrained by economic factors but are often not motivated by them, placing limitations on the meaning of neoclassical economic models. For example, extensive volunteer services and social relations operate through religious communities, humanitarian organizations, peace

beyond, controlled thinking through dogmas, in order to hide social realities.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p.66. Many stories circulate about why one should go to certain parts of town and not others yet in today's cities crimes and social problems are everywhere.

¹³⁰ Lowe and Short (1990, pp.3-4) cite many others in expressing that "a consistent theme has been the need for a people's geography". Along with this is "a consensus that a fundamental restructuring in all spheres is the overarching process in the present period and that part and parcel of such a reorganization has been the growth of new economic, social and political formations" -i.e. landscapes.

groups, environmental groups, clubs, social and cultural associations, and so on. The most important underlying factor of culture is that "you should not make the mistake of assuming that the individual person is culturally unimportant or powerless. A culture, after all, is not an organism or an irresistible force compelling its members to behave in a certain way. At the most basic level, culture is simply people interacting with one another. An individual is therefore potentially able to modify the culture he or she shares with others. Partly for this reason, change is an ever-present cultural phenomenon."¹³¹

In terms of general Canadian and American society and culture there are a multitude of holes. Prominent ones are: Native peoples, French Canadians, Franco-Americans, Blacks, Spanish Americans who are kept out of the general societal norm. Present American and Canadian societies are composed of so many minority elements (Italian, German, Irish, Greek, etc.), that probably the 'majority' social view, is not based on a cultural majority but, is actually based only on a large minority group within the society. If this is not true within the country as a whole then it definitely is within certain large regions of the country.¹³² To date, these social values must have been reasonably acceptable, at some level, to many of the other minority groups and therefore have continued to function. Otherwise, other minorities are biding their time waiting for an

¹³¹ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.5.

¹³² For example the large Ukranian population in Alberta. It is very difficult to assess this from looking at data such as census statistics because, having worked on the census in 1991, I became immediately aware that a lot of people who were from non-English backgrounds played down their ethnicity, when possible in answering questions, to give the appearance of fitting into the norm of Canadian society.

opportunity when they can feel comfortable about more openly expressing themselves.

B. LANDSCAPES OF THE MIND

In the 1970s new ways of viewing and understanding things were being increasingly explored. It was at this time when the mind as a geographical landscape became more widely recognized, especially through the work of Gould and White on mental mapping.¹³³ They itemized various perceptual factors, of individual people or groups, which have affected people's choice of places to live and visit or have affected people's reactions and adaptations to places in which they have no choice but to be in. Some of these major perceived factors, of opportunity or barriers, are: Climate (comfort level), survival (and health), aesthetics of scenery, "the sense of bustle and exchange" (level of activity), childhood or other memory experiences, degree of cultural and linguistic variation, political and social attitudes, accessibility as a relative location, "accessibility to other people and services" and resources, quality of services and environment, and economic opportunity.¹³⁴ Our perceptions are influenced by our social milieu which includes many sources of information beyond just person to person conversation and first

¹³³ Gould and White (1986 -first edition in 1974) took both the imaginary aspects of the mind, previously discussed by Wright and Lowenthal, the perceptual studies of Lynch and matched them to the more accepted 'scientific' study of relations between humans and with the land. Wright (1966, p.88) wrote, in the 1940s, "perhaps, the most fascinating *terrae incognitae* of all are those that lie within the minds and hearts of men."

¹³⁴ Gould and White (1986) pp.4-6.

hand experience. "While we acquire some (information) through personal travel, we also form mental images of places with the information we get from reading, radio, television, talking to other people and even from travel posters in railway stations and airports."¹³⁵ These 'communication' systems both enhance or subdue our feelings towards different places and are themselves reflections of individual and group perceptions. Therefore, humans function through 'perceptual filters' ('cultural or social filters') which operate to a large extent unconsciously.¹³⁶ These filters are highly selective and therefore biased in terms of what information an individual actually acknowledges and gives out. Our mentally envisaged landscapes, as well as our physical maps, are highly detailed and accurate in locations which are familiar and comfortable but filled with gaps and/or misinformation in other locations. Only with very conscious effort can individuals receive and communicate beyond them to any degree. In judging of places people have a tendency to look at it in 'black and white' stereotypic terms, "to evaluate a particular state, either highly on all scales, or condemn it as undesirable right across the broad spectrum of political, environmental, economic and social values."¹³⁷ Filtering can, and has been, also used very consciously as a means of socio-cultural control, especially in terms of national politics.¹³⁸ Our human perceptive modes

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, p.4. Because these are communication systems, the language of presentation makes a very great difference in how information is presented and received.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p.28.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.72.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p.28. This same filtering process (cultural programming) is observed in the production, sales and programming of music within much of today's music industry.

therefore do not always transmit accurate information. Landscape information is usually simplified through selective acceptance of information, like reading road signs or a map.¹³⁹ Places, which have been directly experienced, are more familiar and have proved acceptable, are more likely to be 'known' more accurately. But there are many places we hear about second-hand. Their reality is usually distorted for us because we usually receive them as they are described by 'outsiders' or as we imagine them to be.¹⁴⁰ Through making oneself aware of such systems of bias and accepting them as part of human nature and reality, interpretation of human spatial behaviour may be heightened by the acceptance of apparent, irrational actions of people along with the rational ones.

Other types of explorations of the mind have been pursued by geographers. There exists a body of works that study the *quality of life* aspect of the landscape and then use this information for setting of public policy, making locational decisions or designing and managing environments.¹⁴¹ Susan Cutter says: "Quality of life is broadly defined as an individual happiness or satisfaction with life and environment including needs and desires, aspirations, lifestyle preferences, and other tangible and intangible factors which determine well-being."¹⁴² The landscape preference and acceptance are measured by

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p.82. They comment that "there need be no direct correlation between preferences and accuracy of location, nor between inaginability and the task of locating a place exactly."

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, (pp.82-84) call these *patterns of ignorance*.

¹⁴¹ Cutter, Susan L., Rating Places A Geographer's View On Quality Of Life (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1985) p.63-64. Also Lynch (1976).

¹⁴² Cutter (1985) p.1.

a series of physical and psychological based indicators or indices.¹⁴³ Kevin Lynch explored the sensual qualities of place with the explicit purpose of being able to better manage its landscape.¹⁴⁴ Though beginning to study the mind of people, Lynch still upholds that society is primarily a spatial construct.¹⁴⁵ He states that "Space and rite are stabilizers of behavior and serve to bind human beings together, just as they do for many other animals. Institutions and forms, acting in support of each other have a powerful psychological effect and were thought invincible in reality" but "Behind these concepts lie certain primary values: order, stability, dominance, a close and enduring fit between action and form" which function within our minds and in the relationship of our internal being with the external.¹⁴⁶ He suggests that there are sensual indicators present in every place which mark it as either 'good' or 'bad' (accessible/equitable or

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p.9. These consist of pollution standards indices (p.26), perceptual indicators (p.16), indicators of progress both physically and mentally (p.38) collectively resulting in systems for ranking places (p.33).

¹⁴⁴ Lynch (1976) p.4. "Sensuous (sensory) quality refers to the look, sound, smell, and feel of a place." Typically this type of work is only done in separate very localized problem sites. "Sensory quality is infrequently considered at a city or regional scale and rarely with success."

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.23. "Much social behaviour is territorial; that is, it is spatially defined and changes according to place." Society uses space to control people's actions.

¹⁴⁶ Lynch, Kevin, A Theory Of Good City Form (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981) p.79. The source of the values is therefore of utmost importance, whether it be Divine, individual or group derived. Unfortunately, within his work Lynch focusses on human interaction in terms of structures and social norms and does not deal directly with the intimate human relationships.

excluding/inequitable).¹⁴⁷ Lynch discusses identity with place in terms of the city; however, the means which he uses to isolate identity formation (identity, structure, congruence, transparency and legibility) could apply anywhere.¹⁴⁸ *Identity* involves having a *sense of place*, a recognizable, memorable local or alternately a *sense of occasion* - a space of festival or celebration, action or event.¹⁴⁹ It may be intensely

¹⁴⁷ Lynch (1976) p.21-23. "Access and territory are aspects of the mental image of space, considered as potential movement and action. But the identification of places, as well as their organization into mental structures, not only allows people to function effectively but it is also a source of emotional security, pleasure and understanding. Orientation in space (and time) is the framework of cognition. We have powerful abilities for recognizing places and integrating them into mental images, but the sensory form of those places can make that effort at understanding more or less difficult." Some other geographers would view these sensual images as part of a cultural symbolic system and therefore are in place but not necessarily fully determined by that place, but more so by the people who project them into that place. This projection may be done in response to the place or be the result of other, even 'outside', factors.

¹⁴⁸ Lynch (1981) p.131. "By sense of a settlement, I mean the clarity with which it can be perceived and identified, and the ease with which its elements can be linked with other events and places in a coherent mental representation of time and space and that representation can be connected with nonspatial concepts and values ... (to) join between the form of the environment and the human processes of perception and cognition." Lynch continues "Sense depends on spatial form and quality, but also on the culture, temperament, status, experience, and current purpose of the observer." His summary proposition is "a good place is one which, in some way appropriate to the person and her culture, makes her aware of her community, her past, the web of life, and the universe of time and space in which those are contained" (p.142).

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp.131-132. "Occasion and place reinforce each other to create a vivid present" which may also commemorate the past or lead to future change (p.132).

familiar (emotion charged) or have left a significant good or bad impression.¹⁵⁰ *Formal structure* provides a *sense of orientation* and connection of "knowing where (or when) one is, which implies knowing how other places (or times) are connected to this place."¹⁵¹ To this it adds significance of place and instills a psychological mood over the place (security, fear, awe, suppression, etc). These forms create landscapes in our minds: mental linkages, directional relations, landmarks, edge (dis)continuities, gradients, panoramas and other understandings of the lay of the land and society.¹⁵² *Congruence* is the set of qualities "which help us to connect settlement form with other features in our lives" - how well do form and function of a place match with our inner conception of how they should?¹⁵³ Does the meaning projected by form match with a personal or social meaningfulness.¹⁵⁴ Where these clash major social problems are likely to exist.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.132. "A good place is accessible to all the senses." He adds that for a special place "There is sheer delight in sensing the world: the play of light, the feel and smell of the wind, touches, sounds, colors, forms."

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.134. Lynch does not discuss informal structure or smaller structures which may be part of a sub-culture or ethnic community which provide an intimacy and hominess to those people within them.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, p.135. A sense of time is fixed by "anchoring and extending our temporal orientation: clocks, natural processes, activity rhythms, signs, lighting, historic preservation, celebrations, ritual, and the like."

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p.138.

¹⁵⁴ I grew up in the English parts of Montreal, thinking back it is obvious that the structures there represented English ideals and traditions making these districts difficult or dysfunctional for many French-Canadians (quebecois). There were also similar French, or other cultural districts, dysfunctional places for English-speaking Canadians. But the potential was always there to cross the lines between. The barriers were, however, as strongly in the mind as in the structures.

Congruency leads into the *fit* of form to behavior and the nature of control of the place.¹⁵⁵ Fit is affected by human physical attributes but also social ones since "it is intimately dependent on culture: on expectations, norms, and customary ways of doing things."¹⁵⁶ *Transparency* (or *immediacy*) is "the degree to which one can directly perceive the operation of various technical functions, activities, and social and natural processes that are occurring within the settlement."¹⁵⁷ It is the degree to which one can see life at work and grasp meaning in the functioning of this life.¹⁵⁸ To a great extent it determines whether we feel part of (accepted by and understand the meaning of) the environment or not. *Legibility* is the communicative nature of the environment "via its symbolic physical features".¹⁵⁹ "The urban environment is a medium of communication, displaying both explicit and implicit symbols: flags, lawns, crosses, signboards, picture windows, orange roofs, spires, columns, gates, rustic fences. These signs inform us about ownership, status, group affiliation, hidden functions, goods and

¹⁵⁵ Lynch (1981) p.150. "The fit of a settlement refers to how well its spatial and temporal pattern matches the customary behavior of its inhabitants ... the match between action and form" (p.151).

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.151. Lynch concludes that there is a sort of reciprocal control mechanism between place and culture. "Places are modified to fit ways of behaving, and behaviors are changed to fit a given place." From my personal view if only these forces were in action there would be no real change or advancement in culture or landscape development because it is generally not the majority culture as a whole which initiates change.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp.138-139.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.139. The modern highrises make activity opaque while the open marketplace makes it immediate.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.139. Is information communicated accurately to inhabitants? And who is it directed to?

services, proper behaviour, and many other things".¹⁶⁰ Legibility and symbolization are the deepest rooted forms of identification where "some symbolic connections are always made between a person's environment and her central beliefs."¹⁶¹

LANDSCAPE AS EXPERIENCE (TEXT AND SYMBOL) - HUMANISM

For humanist geographers, "an understanding of culture and of the individuality and subjectivity of people is essential to an analysis of spatial variations. Humanists feel that all knowledge is subjective and perceived, and that no universal truth is attainable. Instead they advocate the search for *meaning* on the individual level, placing research on a very personal plane, where intuition and imagination prevail."¹⁶² Specificity of place

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.139. See also Firth, Raymond, Symbols Public and Private (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press and George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973) which deals with symbols from anthropological and sociological view points.

¹⁶¹ Lynch (1981) p.142. Rapaport, Amos, "On the Cultural Origins of Settlements," in Catanese, Anthony J. and Snyder, James C. (eds.) Introduction to Urban Planning (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979, p.39) also links formal structure (building and ritual) and their trimmings (legibility) with social order but ties them to deeper underpinings of value and understandings of life. "Ritual is a powerful way of both legitimizing and preserving culture. Physical elements help in this process by reminding people of ritual, providing a setting for it, being supportive of ritual, and expressing both ritual and its underlying schemata and cosmologies in permanent, and often impressive form."

¹⁶² Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.26. I basically agree with the humanist approach, although I do not do so at the exclusion of other points of view. It is my personal feeling that humanists, many of whom acknowledge religious or spiritual leanings, understand that certain universal truths do exist but are unattainable by us as humans within the constraints of this physical existence. What humans have to deal with are relative truths that apply within the context and circumstances of people

and the importance of regions strongly re-enter geography with the humanists who believe that "the conceptualization of the region in cultural terms is an attempt to reverse the perspective of regional study from the geographers' to the inhabitants'. The leading concern is with the subjective and the experiential, with the intentional."¹⁶⁴ For the humanist inner and outer worlds are part of the same thing, the objective and subjective are not a duality but a unity, just as are the knower (the researcher) and the known (the subject).¹⁶⁴ Thus he/she follows "A perspective seeking to reveal nature of experience and phenomena 'as they are'."¹⁶⁵ The physical is not all that counts but rather there is a "premise that ideas are important to an understanding of culture"¹⁶⁶ At the fringe of

and place. It is through searching, dialogue and exchange that an understanding closer to the universal truth is attained.

¹⁶³ Gilbert (1988, p.210) with reference to works by Fremont and Tuan. Douglas Pocock in "Preface: Humanistic Approaches in Geography," in Pocock, D.C.D. (ed.) et al., Humanistic Approaches in Geography (Durham, UK: University of Durham, Dept. of Geography, 1988, occasional publication new series no. 22, p.iv) says humanistic geography is "observational, experiential, reflective" and "focusses on our humanness - on the values and meanings in human experience and behaviour. The aim is the interpretive description and understanding, and is undertaken with an empathy towards subjects and a minimum of violation to the world being studied" even though the specific approaches are many and varied.

¹⁶⁴ Pocock, Douglas, "Aspects of a Humanistic Perspective in Geography," in Pocock (ed.) et al. (1988) p.2. The "humanist rejects that the knower and the known constitute a discrete dualism; rather, they are inseparable, interacting, and influencing each other."

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.3. He further says "the whole - person, people, place, thing - is always more than the sum of the constituent parts; always more than the sum of its attributes and measurements" (p.5).

¹⁶⁶ Machor, James L., Urban Ideals and the Symbolic Landscape of America (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) p.xii. Ideas are sources of change and transforming agents. Though ideas come from individuals they result from the interplay of

humanistic thought is phenomenology which concerns direct, 'free' (from restricting theories) and conscious *experience* of people and place, describing both the landscape and their own feelings associated with it, while investigating the value systems associated with the people in that place.¹⁶⁷ Many humanists have reacted strongly to the dominant neo-classical presentation of mathematically smoothed landscapes by pointing a finger of notice to differences and inconsistencies. "Confronted with realities too complex to be subsumed under mere generic models, geographers are rediscovering the study of the specific" as witnessed in the emergence of a new "regional geography practiced since the mid-1970s ... as a response to recent developments in social theory, notably the

individuals and groups of people which temper perception to some degree making it not totally independent. Machor says "culture constitutes a matrix of interconnected experiences and shared patterns of thought" and "physical events and their records are bound up with the meanings ascribed to them".

¹⁶⁷ Jordan and Rowntree (1990) p.26. See also Relph, Edward, "An Inquiry Into The Relations Between Phenomenology And Geography," Canadian Geographer, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (1970) pp.193-201. Relph notes that Carl Sauer was the first geographer to refer to phenomenology though it is quite different from the experiential phenomenology (Relph, pp.195-196). Relph itemizes two key elements of phenomenology, both of which appear very anthropocentric, 1) "man is the ultimate point of reference for all the objects and facts of nature" and 2) "the world can be understood only in terms of man's attitudes and intentions towards it; as these attitudes change so does the world" (p.196). The term *man* in humanist literature means people (men and women) where in some other approaches to geography it may relate predominantly to men (males). As far as anthropocentrism, it is my understanding that nature is not conscious of itself it just functions as it was created. Humans, however, through their internal thought processes are the consciousness and conscience of nature. Pocock (1988, p.5) suggests that through the intimacy and immediacy of the phenomenologists relationship to the world and his/her point of study, consciousness of nature and human nature are increased and "the existential significance of a landscape or essence of place is in its holistic togetherness consisting of a web of relationships in a particular context."

reacknowledgement of 'agency' within the 'structure', as well as to changing societal goals, of which the enhancement of diversity is not the least."¹⁶⁸ Saint-Exupery, in particular, critiqued the neo-classical approach in its "abstraction and bureaucratization of human life through economic and technological progress made possible by Cartesian science."¹⁶⁹ His writing expresses a dissatisfaction with "a process of dehumanization of lives and landscapes".¹⁷⁰ He sees his and other writers' roles (as partial geographers) to emphasize "the mute yet poetic subjectivity and artistry of human acts that pass unnoticed unless there is someone who has the understanding and ability to bring them forth into the light of day ... to illuminate the human condition ... (and) enlarge human perception, knowledge, and overall consciousness of the world"¹⁷¹ If nothing else does, literary humanism can return atomized individuals and societies to values, perhaps renewing myth, magic and religion.¹⁷² At the same time he did accept the technologies

¹⁶⁸ Gilbert (1988) p.208.

¹⁶⁹ Bunkse, Edmunds V., "Saint-Exupery's Geography Lesson: Art and Science in the Creation and Cultivation of Landscape Values," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 80, No. 1 (1990) p.97. "Saint-Exupery has purposefully juxtaposed individual sensory, pragmatic, and poetic encounters with landscape against the generalities and abstractions of (conventional) geographers, which he clearly finds meaningless and insignificant."

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.97

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.99.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, p.106. "Many human-oriented values were being lost in the wave of increasing mechanization. The greatest loss by far was that of spirituality, not spirituality in the context of formal religion, but in the general sense of the ineffable and mysterious, of transcendence attached to things and events. Saint Exupery argued ... for spirituality and the mind as the two essential aspects of human nature. Moreover he believed that life of the spirit is higher than that of the mind, that it 'alone satisfies man'" (p.101).

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which he saw as useful to the positive development of the world.¹⁷³

The study of landscape as text comes out of literary theory which "provides us with ways to examine the text-like quality of landscapes, and to see them as transformations of ideology" and also "provides us with theories of reading and authorship which we can adapt to explain how landscapes are incorporated into social process".¹⁷⁴ Further it allows us to analyze the idiosyncracies of human existence, which are equally as important, and as ever present, as the fixed structures and interrelations. Reading the landscape also brought the humanist, and subjective study of people and space, back into geography. However, for geographical use literary theory requires some alterations since many of the post-structural literary critics seek "an integrated illusion" this is not very satisfying for geographers who are normally seeking an integrated reality.¹⁷⁵ Some

¹⁷³ *ibid.*, p.101. The airplane was his symbol of what was good in technology. This same acceptance of technology is echoed in the music of Robert Charlebois, as discussed in a later chapter.

¹⁷⁴ Duncan, J. and Duncan, N., "(Re)reading the landscape," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Vol. 6 (1988) p.117. Denis Cosgrove in "A terrain metaphor: cultural geography 1988-89," Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 14, No. 4, (Dec. 1990, p.567) says that cultural geography has reordered itself firstly by reassessing its faith in modernist science and technology and secondly by "rewriting of the history along cultural lines". "As we adopt such a culturally informed historiography so the metaphors of our geography alter and become more reflexive - indeed more cultural" (p.567). Referring to the works of others he comments that spatial metaphors are found now in literature, theatre, carnival, spectacle, etc. and this forces change in methodology as well. Music, certainly a potential entry to this list, is not mentioned.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, (1988) p.119 citing Eagleton, T., Literary Theory (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983). I would maintain that the general concepts of text and intertextuality tend to be used in a deconstructionist fashion breaking down previous traditions of research through the creation of seemingly logical nonsense and replacing them with nothing. But using the same

researchers balance off literary criticism with other methods, such as myth-symbol analysis. Machor states that myths (related to collective understandings) help to identify symbols and how they are used in literature (an individual expression) thus illuminating the cultural meaning in literature while literary discourse illumines the variability and evolution of meaning of mythology.¹⁷⁶

There are perhaps two main types of landscape reading.¹⁷⁷ One is to interact with

information in a more constructive sense useful alternatives to traditional research arise. In deconstructionist style, for example, "The concept of intertextuality ... is a nonindividualistic concept, emphasizing the anonymity of discourses or texts; yet it is also nonsocial in that it posits an autonomous intertextual realm of interacting texts divorced from the historical, social, and political processes by which interpretations of text are negotiated, contested, and maintained or transformed" while "A text encourages the reader to carve it up, to rework it, to produce it. Although it cannot mean anything at all, it is a space in which the reader as writer can wander, in which signifiers play, signifieds becoming signifiers in an endless process of deferment" (Duncan and Duncan, p.119). These ideas lead nowhere, except to deconstruct or destroy 'older' ways of thinking (a parallel to biological decomposers) making way 'unintentionally' for new ideas. Yet if one wanders through text and both observes and participates in the landscape of text then meanings become evident and useful and are not quite so unlimited. On the contrary, as discussed in a later chapter regarding song, texts are shown to be based first on the individual. Even anonymous music is individually generated and social change is sparked by individuals within their landscape (textual) context. Unlike Derrida, who sees "infinitely unstable meanings" true landscapes display changes of meaning in landscape but these meanings evolve overtime and are fairly rationally connected to the cultural and social changes, and so in this sense, are rather stable within periods of time and are connected in sequence historically.

¹⁷⁶ Machor (1987) p.xiii. "This union of mythography and discourse analysis is particularly valuable for clarifying the relation between literature and culture and for guarding against simplistic approaches to literature itself."

¹⁷⁷ Cosgrove (1990, p.568) defines text and landscape within text reading as they are commonly used: "They (the researchers) regard text as a set of beliefs made intelligible through the organization of space as a symbol, and in spatial symbols as such."

the actual landscape and interpret it, not just for physical appearance and a listing of features (as with Sauer), but for the invisible or differently 'visible' actions and interactions and the meanings behind them. One approach within this type of landscape reading is "Semiotics, which deals with the structure of meaning in symbolic communication and developed out of studies of language and of cultural anthropology, (and) has recently turned to meanings of settlements" through study of symbols in their forms, artifacts and activities.¹⁷⁸ The second type of reading is to gain landscape understanding through 'reading' its subjective interpretation or representation through art (literature, autobiographies, painting, drawing, sculpting, theatre, film, architecture, dance and, of course, music). These readings can also help us to understand our own subjectivity - i.e. through knowing other things, one knows oneself better.¹⁷⁹ In the former type, landscapes are denaturalized, a la Barthes, through the revelation of

Dominant meanings are ascribed to places and landscapes are 'produced'".

¹⁷⁸ Lynch (1981) p.141. Lynch notes that there are problems in translating verbal language (a pure communication system) concepts to environmental language, which is neither sequential nor comprised of distinct, separable symbols. Some researchers worry that facts in literature are too wound up with fiction to be separated. But R. Barthes, The Pleasures of the Text (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975, p.32) said "There are those who want a text (an art, a painting) without shadow, without the 'dominant ideology'; but that is to want text without fecundity, without productivity, a sterile text". Even the photo interpreter knows that without shadow there can be no terrain or identification of many landscape features. Nuance and particular details and feelings are necessary in the decoding the layers of meaning in literary images.

¹⁷⁹ Pocock (1988, p.6) says "it is the duty of the researcher to make evident his own subjectivity" in a process of (self-) criticism and clarification.

ideology, while society and culture are tempered ('naturalized'?) by the landscape.¹⁸⁰ In the latter, varied and personal experiences are shared and symbolized. The study of landscape text is difficult for scientists who hold to the scientific method because text reading involves multiple levels of meaning and not just one answer. Also the 'read' "interpretations are the product of social contexts of historically and culturally specific discourses".¹⁸¹ All of these levels of meaning are valid since society responds to each one in some fashion. Thoughts, ideas, and feelings are as much cultural structures as buildings since they affect how people interact with each other and with the environment.¹⁸² Reading of landscape text also differs between societies which are literate and those which are based on oral tradition, those which operate on a religious theocracy and those which are secular societies and so on.¹⁸³ But what of societies and cultures that fall in between, for example, those who are literate but still operate to a great extent orally, especially through music, as with the quebecois culture? Historian B. Stock's notion of a textual community, "a group of people who have a common understanding of a text, spoken or read, and who organize aspects of their lives as the playing out of a script" is a very useful concept if we realize that the script comes from

¹⁸⁰ Duncan and Duncan (1988) p.117.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, p.119. There is no simple one-to-one relationship between something in the landscape and a symbol. Texts "are not transparent windows through which reality may be unproblematically viewed" (p.118).

¹⁸² Thoughts and feelings are invisible but become manifest through gesture, action and construction (or destruction) which change outward form and movement.

¹⁸³ Duncan and Duncan (1988) p.120. See also p.118.

somewhere, either a Divine source, an individual or a group of people within a society or culture working together.¹⁸⁴ And if known very well a script can be effectively improvised away from by individual actors. Stock goes on to define intertextuality "as the relationship, not only between different texts, but also between written texts and a set of social practices which have become textualized" bringing intertextuality into a social context.¹⁸⁵ The bottom line in geographical understanding is that "Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, and all our cultural warts and blemishes, our ordinary day-to-day qualities, are there for anybody who knows how to look for them."¹⁸⁶ On the micro-scale it may reflect us individually (or familywise). On the meso- and macro-scales it reflects humans collectively in a variety of groupings. To 'read' culture from the landscape, however, requires more than reading, it requires both disciplined and imaginative interpreting. John Western ties place to authorship stating that

¹⁸⁴ Stock quoted in *ibid.* (1988) p.120. M. Folch-Serra, in "Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical landscape," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Vol. 8 (1990) p.258, states that "This dominant ideology ... fails to acknowledge that control of particular communities over the means of production does not necessarily entail control over the creation of meaning or the mode of consumption."

¹⁸⁵ Stock quoted in Duncan and Duncan (1988) p.120.

¹⁸⁶ Lewis (1979) p.13. "The basic principle is this: that all human landscape has cultural meaning, no matter how ordinary that landscape may be" (p.12). Lewis puts this into an axiom, "The man-made landscape - the ordinary run-of-the-mill things that humans have created and put upon the earth - provides strong evidence of the kind of people we are, and were, and are in the process of becoming. In other words, the culture of any nation is unintentionally reflected in its ordinary vernacular landscape."

"all places have authors"¹⁸⁷ By this he means that people create places (*loci*) through 'writing'(literature, movies, etc.) about them or by their actions within them.¹⁸⁸ The places which appear in literature, poetry and song may be fictional, accurate description of *real* places or fictionalization of *real* places.¹⁸⁹ The 'stories' of many places have in fact been rewritten over time.¹⁹⁰ Pocock puts this into a collective expression where

¹⁸⁷ Western, John, "Places, Authorship, Authority: Retrospection On Fieldwork," in Guelke, Leonard (ed.) Geography and Humanistic Knowledge, Waterloo Lectures in Geography: Vol. 2 (Waterloo, Ont., University of Waterloo, Dept. of Geography, 1986) p.29.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp.28-29. "Not every place in the world, however, has been depicted by a writer whom one has read. There are plenty of places no-one has written about (or made a movie of, or whatever). But these places too, in a much wider sense, have been created and negotiated ... People or groups of people, sometimes cooperating, sometimes contending, have always been creating places, have been their authors ... as time has passed, so one authorship and its works are overlain by another, meanings and monuments are changed" (p.29).

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.* pp.28-29. "A writer with a large audience created imaginary loci which through their graphic force commended themselves to the readers as real" (e.g. Sherlock Holme's Baker St. apartment, which eventually became 'realized' for the tourist industry) (p.28). There are "loci that are real, that we have visited in the flesh, (and have) become changed subsequently for us when some writer powerfully impresses their associations upon us. The associations can be factual - one simply didn't know them before" (p.28). Those "loci that are real can have totally fictitious associations which are implanted in our minds" which have a powerful effect on us (p.29). Whichever way is used it puts life into landscape. Pocock (1988, p.iv) states that "Sensing and making sense of an environment or milieu go hand in hand, while the actual encounter is within the context of reflection and anticipation related to previous encounters, either first-hand, or vicarious through secondary sources. Memory, imagination, fantasy are important modalities." Literature, poetry and song also place nature into a combined individual and socio-cultural context.

¹⁹⁰ Western (1986, p.28) states that "history depends on who is writing it, and for whom, and with what end in view." He continues, "As with history, so with society and social groups ... Who defines? Who makes up words for South Africa, such as 'non-white' or 'homeland', with which we have to go along". "All history is in

"If community is the social experience of place, then place is the geographic expression of community."¹⁹¹ Also in a collective sense the search to identify 'a people' as 'a nation' or 'a (nation-)state' interplays with an awareness of ones' own experience of territory or place - territory is the geographic expression of nation.¹⁹²

Women writers in particular have begun reconstructing (rewriting) the previously masculine landscape through "womens' voices in landscape representation"¹⁹³ Landscape becomes represented in terms of female physiology, feminine values, and the removal of male terminologies.¹⁹⁴ From a male literary perspective "The geographical features of the prairie landscape are seen as separating these two entities (man and environment); man is an upright, alien being on a horizontal plane" to which there are

a sense myth - filtered, molded, manipulated. Even 'tradition' can be invented" (pp.27-28). According to Osborne, Brian S., "Fact, Symbol, And Message: Three Approaches To Literary Landscapes," The Canadian Geographer, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1988, p.268) geographers following semiotics and structuralists ideas "examine how language encodes meanings and underlying ideologies with a focus on language itself as a determinant of social life rather than a mere medium of communication of that life ... we must not lose sight of the role of literature as part of a mass communication system concerned with the creation and maintainance of shared consciousness" and that it is not just a reflection of, but partly a maker of landscape and place.

¹⁹¹ Pocock (1988) p.iv.

¹⁹² Neuberger, Benyamin, "What is the 'Self'?", in his Space and Place: Perspective of Experience (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977) pp.149-160. Neuberger examines peoples' search to define national selves.

¹⁹³ Cosgrove (1990) p.568. He continues, "women have constructed nature and human relations with the earth in fundamentally different ways from the dominant heroic interpretations of pioneer, cowboy, frontiersman, battling an intransigent environment, imposing culture on a recalcitrant nature" (p.569).

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.569.

two responses Man the conqueror or man the threatened or defeated.¹⁹⁵ Women writers have begun to challenge these concepts. Each seeking "a female perception of the land - an identification with nature" where she "symbolically destroys the vertical man in a horizontal world and its attendant implications."¹⁹⁶ Avery gives the example of Marta Ostenso's novel *Wild Geese* (1925) in which "The quest in the novel ... is for the acceptance of nature."¹⁹⁷ Doris Lessing describes through conversation, gesture and song how men and women send and receive different messages, as if they are very often, perhaps always, operating on different planes (not necessarily higher and lower, just different).¹⁹⁸

Philip Wagner sees landscape as a communication field from which we are communicated understandings. He claims that the cultural divisions we delimit and classify "have evolved through communication of ideas."¹⁹⁹ Environments, natural and socio-cultural, communicate to individuals and groups and these respond and

¹⁹⁵ Avery, Heather, "Theories Of Prairie Literature And Woman's Voice," *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1988) p.270.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.271. "Women writers of the prairies can reject this vision, either by denying the need for the assertion of culture or working to deconstruct the binary opposition between man and culture." In either case culture will be reconstructed to include womens' voices.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.172.

¹⁹⁸ Lessing, Doris, *The Marriage Between Zones Three, Four, And Five* (Canopus in Argos: Archives - As Narrated by The Chroniclers Of Zone Three) (London: Granada, 1980) pp.130-139. Even when the heroine (Al*Ith) gestures and speaks directly to the hero (Ben Ata) he mis-reads what she is saying and reads in what he wants to hear (pp.137-139).

¹⁹⁹ Wagner, Philip L., "Cultural Landscapes And Regions: Aspects Of Communication" in *English and Mayfield* (1972, #1) p.55.

communicate back again, calling for responses from the environment, creating an exchange of 'information'.²⁰⁰ Exchange is sparked by *things* (individual entities within the environment), their *activities* (those actions that are unconscious or innate) and *acts* (those actions that are behavioural, motivated and intentional) making the individual environmental change rich in meaning, both natural and human directed.²⁰¹ On another scale there are exchanges between one environment and another (trade, diffusion, etc.).²⁰² "The world is a kind of discourse among men. Their handiwork communicates, and societies are conversations."²⁰³ Wagner identifies an intimate attachment and interaction between humans and their land and social environments. "Man's individual person ... cannot be fully detached from a matrix of (relationship of) times, places, and acts in which it becomes manifested and realized."²⁰⁴ Although each impacts on and responds to the other, ultimately, humans provide landscape with meaning, that is, "activate it and actualize it. Otherwise it may be mute."²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.56.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.56.

²⁰² *ibid.*, p.58.

²⁰³ Wagner, Philip L., Environments and Peoples (Foundations of Cultural Geography Series) (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972, #2) p.1.

²⁰⁴ Wagner (1972, #1) p.66.

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.59. I would add that humans may be the only creatures capable of comprehending the landscape meaning. The present existing landscape is probably behind the *landscape vision* of forward thinking individuals, who are potential cultural leaders or catalysts of transformation. There is always a lag between initial expression of ideas and the acceptance, if there is one, by groups or even sub-groups of society. Once accepted to a critical degree (dependent on context) these 'idea' landscapes can be

For some, landscape is not purely physical features or visible human activities, but rather "the aesthetic landscape is a symbolic creation, designed with care, whose form reflects a set of human attitudes. Those imprints which man has left on nature, therefore, reveal the thinking of a people about the world around them."²⁰⁶ The aesthetic puts life and meaning into landscape and brings landscape close to us, as a part of us, rather than as a detached static scene. Wright comments that "a geographer may portray a place or region, either with conscientious but unimaginative attention to all details, or with aesthetic imagination in selecting and emphasizing aspects of the region that are distinctive or characteristic."²⁰⁷ Aesthetics encourages an appreciation landscape.²⁰⁸ The symbols, within these landscapes, are seen as internal signposts within our minds. Within the psychological and psychoanalytical disciplines, the symbols move from our unconscious to express themselves in the conscious world, operating in an intuitional,

expressed into the environment as forms, details of forms, relationships and action-events. Some ideas may become popular yet show few concrete physical signs rather displaying themselves in small-scale daily actions of the public. Some may not show in gross structural changes but in the alteration of the internal detail of forms (e.g. - the urban gentrification process).

²⁰⁶ English and Mayfield (1972) p.7.

²⁰⁷ Wright (1966) p.75. "The functional purpose of aesthetic subjectivity is to heighten the effect by increasing the clarity and vividness of the conceptions that we seek to transmit to reader or hearer" (p.78).

²⁰⁸ Bunkse (1990, p.100) says geographers, like Tuan, extend this such that "geographers can also express their unique love of the earth and its varied phenomena, human and physical, in intellectual and artistic creations that would broaden and deepen humane attitudes and perceptions of landscape and nature" reinforcing all of the beauty in geography.

non-rational fashion.²⁰⁹ Jung developed the concept of collective consciousness, which deals with symbols shared between individuals and which are passed on and evolve from generation to generation with groups of people. Symbols have been given traditional meanings within each society but they are in essence unknown or mystical in meaning. "What we call a symbol is a term, a name, or even a picture that may be familiar in daily life, yet that possesses specific connotations in addition to its conventional and obvious meaning. It implies something vague, unknown, or hidden from us."²¹⁰ In this sense they are spiritual, even Godly. Thus symbols have inner energy and a vibrating meaning. They are not just lifeless geometric forms. "The history of symbolism shows everything can assume a symbolic significance: natural objects (like stones, plants, animals, men, mountains and valleys, sun and moon, wind, water, and fire), or man-made things (like houses, boats, or cars), or even abstract forms (like numbers, or the triangle, the square, and the circle). In fact the whole cosmos is a potential symbol."²¹¹ But symbols do not apply only to art: they are, as seen by many geographers, sociologists, and anthropologists, turned into built structures and actions in human life. Rappoport claims that, "Built environments represent physical expressions of ordering

²⁰⁹ Jung, Carl, "Approaching The Unconscious" in Jung, Carl, et al., Man And His Symbols (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1968).

²¹⁰ ibid., p.3.

²¹¹ Jaffe, Aniela, "Symbolism In The Visual Arts" in Jung, et al. (1968) p.257. Jaffe continues, "Man, with his symbol-making propensity, unconsciously transforms objects or forms into symbols (thereby endowing them with great psychological importance) and expresses them in both his religion and his visual art." See also Lawlor, Robert, Sacred Geometry (New York: Crossroad, 1982).

systems. The ordering systems are the result of a universal property of the human mind. the need to impose order on the world and make it meaningful: the individual forms of ordering are culturally specific."²¹² Anthropologist Levi-Strauss, through the use of semiotics, acknowledges "these systems of signs, along with many others: mythical language, the oral and gestural signs of which ritual is composed, marriage rules, kinship systems, customary laws, and certain terms and conditions of economic exchange."²¹³

Tuan states that "The meaning of an actual physical place is the result of a historical and social process, built up over time by large and small happenings."²¹⁴ Landscape is event space. He comments that large events become remembered orally through lore but that small events require being written down to be remembered. Up coming chapters will show that music, for some peoples, serves the same purpose as writing in keeping track of daily life events and places. With the recording, writing and publishing of music the stability of memory, and ability to propagate it, are greatly increased and would seem to be identical to those of a written book, though in briefer form.²¹⁵ Planned human events, such as festivals, are not merely performances.²¹⁶ At the generic level "A

²¹² Rapoport (1979) p.38.

²¹³ Levi-Strauss, Claude, The Scope of Anthropology (London: Jonathon Cape, 1969) p.17

²¹⁴ Tuan (1991, #2) p.692.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*, (1991, #2) p.692. Tuan refers to this as 'public visibilty' with the ability to endure.

²¹⁶ Getz, Donald, Festivals, Special Events, and Tourism (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991) pp.55-56. Music is very often a central part of festivals as is dance, which is based on music. The music plays a key role of focus for socialization and communication of messages (pp.53-57).

festival is a public themed celebration".²¹⁷ Some are charged with political meaning, others with traditional social meaning, others with alternate meanings.²¹⁸ "Farber (1983) argued that the study of festivals and events can reveal much about a community's symbolic, economic, social, and political life, as events create links between people and groups in a community and between the community and the world."²¹⁹ For example Canada Day celebrations lead the public into a celebration, socialization and discourse promoting Canada as a unity. Similarly, the Jean Baptiste Day celebrations promote quebécois cultural unity.

Landscape, in literature and art, is a means of social interaction and identification on an internal (mental) level and involves more often the unconscious rather than the conscious participation of reader (and perhaps writer as well). It is a communication of an assemblage of fact, feeling, myth and fantasy - all of which we respond to and act upon as human beings. All are relevant to our lives and therefore have a sense of reality. Landscape's first review study as *literary geography* was done in 1977 by Christopher Salter and William Lloyd.²²⁰ What comes under literature is not just the novel, but

²¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.54.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp.56-7. See also p.52.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.54. The reference is to Farber, C., "High, healthy and happy: Ontario mythology on parade," in Manning, F. (ed.) The Celebration of Society: Perspectives on Contemporary Cultural Performance (Bowling Green, KY: Bowling Green Popular Press, 1991) pp.33-50.

²²⁰ Noble, Allen G. and Dhussa, Ramesh, "Image and Substance: A review of Literary Geography," Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol. 10, No. 2 (spring/summer, 1990) p.49. "Literary geography may be defined as the study of literary works as interpretations of landscape or other geographical phenomena" This updates Dhussa's "Literary Geography : A Bibliography," Journal of Cultural

rather "Literary creations by writers in the form of novels, short stories, poems, plays, reportage, diaries, memories and essays are viable and rich resources within which are extremely valuable, and sometimes, unique, types of information conveying feelings, viewpoints, values, attitudes, and meanings associated with landscape and place."²²¹

Richard Lafalle encourages the taking of the use of literature in geography beyond just a surficial use.²²² Literature has been used as a tool in geographic education and as various methodologies for exploring geography.²²³ "Through literature, the lived experience of the social worlds of status and control, beliefs and values, work and home, norms and deviance come alive in writers' documentation of them."²²⁴ Those geographers who use literature believe that literature has a basis in reality (though this may not be overt) and "the geographer's knowledge can help ground even highly

Geography, Vol 1, No. 2 (spring/summer 1981) pp.113-117.

²²¹ Noble and Dhussa (1990) p.50. Note again that **song and music have been left off the list again.**

²²² Lafalle, Richard, "Depart: Geographie Et Poesie," The Canadian Geographic, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1989) p.118. Roughly translated, in his citing of various humanist geographers Lafalle says that the imagination of the artist, his sensibility vis-a-vis certain attitudes, values and perceptions, his wisdom in discovering hidden dimensions of experience, his talents extracting the essence (essential) or for capturing the ambiguous is for many a precious aid, an irreplaceable vision, for a better comprehension of the interaction of people and paysage (landscape) for discerning the significance that humans project onto places.

²²³ Dowd, Frances, "Geography Is Children's Literature, Math, Science, Art and a Whole World of Activities," in Journal Of Geography (March-April, 1990, pp.68-73) is an example of the use of literature in the study of geography.

²²⁴ Osborne (1988) p.267.

personal and symbolic literary landscapes in reality."²²⁵ Novelists' unique and detailed descriptions cast a light of meaning on both present and past local landscapes.²²⁶ This has permitted the alert geographers, sociologists, historians, etc. to analyze the various

²²⁵ Sandberg, L. Anders and Marsh, John S., "Focus: Literary Landscapes - Geography And Literature," The Canadian Geographer, Vol.32, No. 3 (1988) p.266 citing Mallory and Simpson-Housley (1987). Paul Simpson-Housley in "The Idiosyncratic Mode Of Regard," The Canadian Geographer, Vol.32, No. 3 (1988) p.270 says that in this process "Novelists are able to transfer their experience of place to their readers by descriptions of sights, sounds, smells, and feelings ... (also) Novelists' imagery is evident in the total structure of their works and in their local descriptions." "Each Writer looks at the world with personal eyes and interprets it differently" (p.269). Osborne (1988, p.268) cites Panofsky saying that not only overt content of literature is important but that the "discovery of the inaccessible associations and attitudes through an analysis of symbols, imagery, and metaphor in a search for primary (factual), secondary (conventional) and tertiary (intrinsic) meanings that can be appreciated only in the context of the culture, class, ideology, and psychology of the writer and reader" are also essential. According to Osborne (1988, p.267) accepting geographers act on the understanding that "the author is knowledgeable, the author is skilled, the author is talented, and, therefore, the literary creation is reliable evidence." Both Sandberg and Marsh (1988, p.266) and Bordessa, Ronald, "The City In Canadian Literature: Realist And Symbolic Interpretations," The Canadian Geographer, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1988, pp.272-3) raise a word of caution. This is warranted in that fiction is a part of all literature and that different individuals can have very different views of the same place, but that doesn't invalidate information and meaning which are there to be discovered. It is just a warning for the geographer to take care.

²²⁶ Osborne (1988, p.267), citing various others, states "The novelist's concern with the particulars of setting and locale has allowed the reconstruction of the physical and social fabric of past landscapes and places". This type of information was not often part of the text of history or other 'scholarly' books. Even fantasy books, such as de Lint, Charles, Yarrow (New York: Ace Fantasy Books, 1986), can contain a lot of accurate place detail. The story in this book takes place in the neighbourhood where I have lived for many years. It documents the past existence of both stores and utilities that no longer are present and also many landscape features that are still here in 1992, but adds to them a new horror they never had before.

workings of society and culture. "Through literature, the lived experience of the social worlds of status and control, beliefs and values, work and home, norms and deviance come alive in writers' documentation of them."²²⁷ Literature is especially important in understanding the change in landscape and being part of that change.

THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE

Not only does the definition of landscape change but so does the landscape itself, in terms of its components, organization, ideas, and actions. Doris Lessing writes, "a new idea (or an old one in new form) is accepted by a minority, while the majority are shouting treason, rubbish, kook, Communist, capitalist, or whatever is the valued term of abuse in that society. The minority develop this idea, at first probably in secrecy, or semi-secrecy, and then more and more visibly, with more and more support until ... guess what? This seditious, impossible, wrong-headed idea becomes what is known as 'received opinion' and is loved and valued by the majority. Meanwhile, of course, a new idea, still seditious etc. and so forth, has been born somewhere else, and is being cultivated and worked out by a minority."²²⁸ This describes one process of change in the socio-cultural landscape driven by human ideas. Examples of this, relating to music, are the evolutions of jazz and rock and roll. Both began within small groups in localized

²²⁷ Osborne (1988) p.267.

²²⁸ Lessing, Doris, Prisons We Choose To Live Inside, CBC Massey Lectures (Montreal: CBC Enterprises, 1986) pp.67-68. She says that "this is a process continually at work ... making it inevitable that today's treason is tomorrow's orthodoxy" (p.68).

areas. Their practitioners were persecuted by the general public at first, claiming that these musics were from the devil. Eventually, a 'watered down' mainstream jazz developed and became accepted by a sizable public, while new experimental off-shoots were denounced. Rock and roll went even further, infiltrating all of America, Europe and large segments of the rest of the world's population.²²⁹ In this process rock and roll transformed into a somewhat different 'mainstream' entity *ROCK* from which more objectionable new social fringe musics (Heavy Metal, Punk, etc.) arose.²³⁰ Not all minority ideas become accepted but this process is very prevalent in society and culture. Paralleling this is the process of individuals who work within the accepted socio-cultural milieu to present fresh ideas (improvements and embellishments to the culture), which again may or may not be absorbed by the majority with time. The ideas don't come from a vacuum, but from the surrounding cultural landscape itself, and parallel its other changes.²³¹ Much of our lives as individuals is relatively stationary within our home

²²⁹ Wicke, Peter, "Rock Music - Culture , aesthetics and sociology" (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987) translated from German by Rachel Fogg, p.1, pp.16-17. Wicke discusses both jazz and rock evolutions.

²³⁰ *ibid.*, pp.11-12. At first "Rock 'n' roll also broke the conventional functional pattern of popular music forms" but "had the same cultural relevance for its young fans as Beethoven and Tschaikovski had for adult music lovers" (p.11). Now, "Rock stands at the end of this process which led to the intermingling of the experience of art and experience of everyday life, and represents a new and emerging concept of music" much more widely accepted. (p.12).

²³¹ *ibid.*, (pp.8-10) explains that changes in acceptance and production of music advanced or declined with changes in technology, modes of production, amount of personal leisure time, amount a money available to spend and other economic conditions, as well as shifting social values and other factors.

place and socio-cultural traditions yet from time to time "we come to certain stages when we feel we would like to break away from familiar routines and strike out afresh" thereby moving beyond established physical and social horizons.²³² Again one noticeable time for many people is during the teen years.²³³ Lessing again discusses how the individual, when taken from their own context and placed into relationship with another cultural context, eventually broadens their own and advances forward in their understanding of life and places.²³⁴

On a completely different scale - the universal - a shared global human experience is growing. "As the ecological crisis grows, as distances shrink, we are finally becoming aware that we are all inhabitants of a single world - what Barbara Ward (1966) termed the 'Spaceship Earth'."²³⁵ Mass movements of people through refugee displacement, rural to urban migration, labour movement, tourism, etc. have led large portions of the world population into living and experiencing unfamiliar places.²³⁶ Some of these moves are made by choice, others by force and allocation of new location. Some are permanent, while others are temporary. Whatever the case this has challenged individuals and groups of people to re-assess and re-establish landscape perceptions. Gould and

²³² Gould and White (1986) p.31.

²³³ *ibid.*, p.31.

²³⁴ Lessing (1980). Though this process was painful it was intellectually and spiritually progressive.

²³⁵ Gould and White (1986) p.135.

²³⁶ *ibid.*, (p.2) say "the world is becoming increasingly mobile". They continue, "Persistently high levels of rural-urban migration are the most outstanding feature of spatial reorganization in the Third World today" (p.135).

White argue that "our mental images of other places and other people are also slowly changing as we can no longer escape the reality of a closely connected world - a spider web of human relationships that transmits a quiver of distress or danger through the whole system."²³⁷ New technologies of communication, computerization and transportation have created a certain spatial freedom of movement where "Both people and industries are already enjoying a locational freedom known to only a few half a century ago."²³⁸ But this has not removed a sense of place, location or landscape but simply redefined it.²³⁹ The same space technology that brought us remote sensing imagery, through which to classify landscape into a multitude of elements, also brought humanity (and nature) the unifying view of the globe as seen from space, which has now entered the psyche of people the world over. Increased movement has been somewhat paralleled by a seemingly contrary force of centralization. "One of the most profound changes that has come about during the past 100 years is the incredible consolidation and centralization of administrative control in many areas of public and private life."²⁴⁰ In the past few years we have seen that this centralization may not have been all that it

²³⁷ *ibid.*, p.134.

²³⁸ *ibid.*, p.138.

²³⁹ Gilbert (1988) p.214. "Regional differences are seen as vanishing and the regions still visible to geographers as symbols of ultimate resistance to standardization. This assumption has deep roots." She continues citing Pred (1986) "On the contrary, they would always be present because they express an essential element of society. Society is seen as constantly transformed and reconstructed through individual and institutional place-particular practices and regions are conceptualized as being constantly 'becoming' "

²⁴⁰ Gould and White (1986) p.121.

appeared. At first it was evident in the formation of the world's states but with the rapid erosion of the concept of states, as previously held (especially visible in the collapse of the Soviet Union and reorganizations in Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and parts of Africa) consolidation has moved towards either globalization or regionalization.

Who or what then constitutes landscape? How else does it change? J. R. Short claims that landscape composition and transformation relate to mental images that we hold of what we label *the landscape*.²⁴¹ The main images humans have focussed on are: wilderness, countryside and city. With each our relationship may be either positive or negative. Value primarily rests on whether we are in a home landscape or a foreign one; whether we are accepted in its community or alienated from the general milieu and, as Short explains, whether we have a more classical or romantic view of things.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Short (1991) pp.xv-xvii. He looks at three types of mental landscapes which he sees as interconnected. "Myths, ideologies and texts are not separate sets of ideas but different ways in which ideas are used. Myths are stories which are widely shared. Ideologies have a more limited production and a more selective quality. They record the experiences of some groups and ignore others. Texts are produced for specific audiences yet they make general reference to myths and particular reference to ideology. The analytical distinction should not hide the connectivity between the three." (p.xvii).

²⁴² *ibid.*, p.6. "The classical perspective sees most significance in human action and human society. The creation of livable places and usable spaces is a mark of civilization. Human use confers meaning on space. Outside of society, wilderness is something to be feared ... Wilderness for the romantics is a place to be revered, a place of deep spiritual significance and a symbol of an earthly paradise ... The classical stance tends to be avowedly progressive ... The romantics are more pessimistic. They tend to have a regressive view of human history." For the classicist wilderness is chaos: for the romanticist it is Divinely ordered. In every human age both exist but one may predominate. For example, much of the North American lifestyle of the past forty years has been geared towards material progress in a classical mode. However, there are increasing numbers of dissenters from this view. Current

Because landscapes can have smaller landscapes within them, different scales of view create different images and feelings. Short states that it is the contrast of the images of wilderness, countryside and city that provide the understanding of each just as it is probably more the contrast between cultures or territories that define them than each's characteristics on their own.²⁴³

"That countryside became, and still is, the most important landscape in the national environmental ideology. It holds pride of place. In England the two meanings of country, as countryside and nation, are collapsed into one another; the essence of England is popularly thought to be the green countryside - the enclosed fields, the secluded/excluded parklands of the country houses, and the small villages."²⁴⁴ This image was imported

environmentalist, for instance, display a basic romanticist's view of human use (abuse) of the landscape. Anne Buttner in "Geography, Humanism, and Global Concern," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 80, No. 1 (1990, pp.1-33) uses the images of the mytho-poetic figures of Phoenix, Faust and Narcissus in a similar way to how Short separates classical and romantic views. The Phoenix mirrors times "when new life emerges from the ashes" giving out two cries "one seeking freedom from oppression, oblivion, or constraining horizons, the other seeking freedom to soar toward new heights of understanding, being and becoming" (p.2). This reflects very much the 1960s and 1970s for quebecois culture. Faust embodies the typical "Western ways that once a fresh idea appears, energies are directed toward the building of structures, institutions, and legal guarantees for their autonomous existence and identity" (p.3). Narcissus is the reflective mood, half self-absorbed, half searching "towards a better understanding of history and an appreciation of the drama of events and their context" (p.3).

²⁴³ *ibid.* (p.xvi) states that "the concepts of wilderness, countryside and city (are): meso-scale ideas which cover a continuum from the 'natural' to built environments, a progression which mirrors the long-term human occupancy of this planet ... Each of the three terms resonates with meaning about the other two, each helps to define the others."

²⁴⁴ Short (1991) p.75.

worldwide as the 'real' England, inspite of its extensive physical and social reality of urban-industrial life.²⁴⁵ "Since 1746 there has been no wilderness on the British mainland" and even earlier continental Europe had been tamed.²⁴⁶ Therefore they turned to the rest of the world as their contrast, as wilderness to be explored, conquered, and civilized in European terms.²⁴⁷ Thus inhabitants of other places became either *savages* or *exotic foreigners* and their habits and structures considered as strange and foreign.²⁴⁸ Savageness and foreignness meant inferiority, in the eyes of the European colonial powers.²⁴⁹ This sense of superiority was projected into the European-like orders established in the colonial territories often forcing a "constant demeaning of their

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.75.

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.57. "The use of wilderness imagery and language within Britain has always been linked to questions of social control and public order" (p.62). What was wild required grooming - chaos must be brought into order.

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.58. "From the seventeenth century onwards, the concept of wilderness was employed in the growing expansion of British commercial and political interests. It sustained and legitimated the colonial adventure which incorporated much of the world's territory into the British sphere of commercial influence and power" creating vast 'Britified' landscapes in various parts of the earth. Similarly there were 'Frankified' landscapes of the French empire as well as landscapes imitating images from Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Low Countries.

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp.58-59. "Edward Said (1978) has shown how the Orient became a European invention" (p.59) referring to Said's book Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978). Not all Europeans saw foreigners as wild, ignorant savages, those with a more romantic view of the world saw *noble savages* and *exotic cultures* from which to take artifacts or borrow ideas (p.60).

²⁴⁹ It must be remembered that from the point of view of the people in certain 'foreign' lands, for example, China and Japan, Europeans were considered pagans.

status" on the local people.²⁵⁰ Eventually it also transferred to the European colonists who went to permanently live in these foreign lands, they were no longer pure European or superior, but took on a second class status in relationship to Europe. In some respects these attitudes continue today. Therefore, when bi- or multi-cultural communities exist together each perceives the same landscape differently.²⁵¹ Because of this more than one landscape are co-existing (often inharmoniously) together in the same region. In the

²⁵⁰ Short (1991) p.59. Those locals who participated (collaborated?) with the European systems, in their own lands, found themselves between two worlds, between two cultural landscapes, partially alienated from each. Mudimbe, V. Y., "Discourse Of Power And Knowledge Of Otherness" in his The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge (London: Indiana University Press, 1988) p.5. "Marginality designates the intermediate space between the so-called African tradition and the projected modernity of colonialism." Mudimbe continues, "this intermediary space could be viewed as major signifier of underdevelopment. It reveals the strong tension between a modernity that often is an illusion of development, and a tradition that sometimes reflects a poor image of a mythical past" (p.5). He describes how European discourse redefined African landscape first as the black continent (p.10) and then through other symbols, such as tourist art (p.10-12). Bunkse (1990, p.104) comments that Saint-Exupery takes the concept of alienation in a wider perspective addressing "the issue of the relationship between the interior life and landscape of people, to their specific situations and to the material conditions of the world" noting that "Discontinuities (or alienation) between individuals and their milieu are a facet of modern life, and the human letters and arts abound with illustrations." Separation from one's sense of 'significant cosmos' or order and its familiar and meaningful landscape symbols results in a loss of sense of place, value and thus identity (as a person, a people, etc.) (Bunkse, p.105).

²⁵¹ Hill (1972, p.42) comments, regarding a bi-cultural area in Mexico, that "the Indian perceives the natural environment differently than does the commercially-oriented segment of the population." Hill quotes John Gillin as saying "The principal and fundamental goal of Indian cultures is to effect a peaceful adjustment or adaptation of men to the universe. In contrast, the main goal of the Ladino culture is to effect control of the universe of man" (p.48).

case of colonial experiences "the new features of the cultural landscapes are largely products of stimuli imposed from beyond the region ... (these) 'modern' elements are localized because the outside stimuli have well developed foci."²⁵² Around these foci and in patches within are the different landscapes of the original and general inhabitants of the land.²⁵³

"Frontiers and boundaries have been the most popular topic in political geography."²⁵⁴ With the taming of the frontier and its transformation into countryside, or at least harvested frontier, boundaries were established to mark arbitrary regions or landscapes, from the viewpoint of those establishing the borderlines. As this process continued states and other political-administrative units were defined. "Frontiers everywhere have been replaced by boundaries. Boundaries are a necessary component of the sovereignty of territories. Sovereignty must be bounded."²⁵⁵

²⁵² *ibid.*, p.42.

²⁵³ It must be noted that some of the original inhabitants chose to become part of the modern system and so greatly, but never completely, change views and the inhabitants as a whole were disrupted somewhat from their traditional view due to the dominant presence of 'modernization'. Hill (1972, p.48) explains that participation in the modern landscape is based on certain requirements and acceptance, such as a willingness to promote outside interests. Therefore there is a 'social distance' between the different people and between the different landscapes (Hill, p.53).

²⁵⁴ Taylor (1989) p.144.

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.145. Gottmann (1973, p.134) supports the distinction between boundary ('the limiting line') and frontier (a zone either between two countries that border each other or 'at the borders of civilization') within which rights and conditions are different than those of the country. He says that frontier connotes in several languages "a concept of zone, containing some population rather than just a concept of geometric line" (p.134).

Politically, with the growth of cities, core-areas of power have developed. These act as the major control centres, but also the major generating centres, for society and culture.²⁵⁶ "One of the features of core-areas is that they usually have the capital city of the state located within them."²⁵⁷ Once this urban control is established the greater region (semi-wilderness, countryside, smaller cities), within its influence, tends to fall into a periphery dependence relationship with the core city.²⁵⁸ Therefore, landscape of the region, on one level, becomes evermore defined from an urban perspective and values. On another level, the myth of urban pastoralism still exists as a pervasive component of the culture in American cities.²⁵⁹

In America the images of wilderness, countryside and city have continued as deep rooted myths recurring continually in the literature.²⁶⁰ The images on which people have acted or to which they have reacted have often been in contradiction to some of the natural and social realities. Countryside or the garden relates to images of paradise,

²⁵⁶ In the chapters on quebecois music, the prominence of Montreal and Quebec City in relation to musical development will be made evident.

²⁵⁷ Taylor (1989) p.146. In North America, the capital cities are replaced by substitute primary cities (e.g. Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, New York, New Orleans, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles).

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.148.

²⁵⁹ Machor, pp.xiii-xiv.

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, pp.3-7. It should be noted that the ideas behind these myths are partly an American creation but are also partly imported from European tradition (p.xii). Machor says that in defining myth it is the recurrent ideas of a culture and "the deeper regularities and rhythms that form cultural myths - those shared patterns of belief, often in the form of tacit premises, by which a group gives order and significance to experience" (p.xii)

innocence, health and the newness and virgin vastness of America and its opportunity.²⁶¹ Symbolically, nature was associated with the nation and its building (from the Jeffersonian 'green republic' to the United States), as well as with other ideas, such as Christian democracy.²⁶² For many Europeans moving to America it was a hope for a return to a simpler life.²⁶³ The idea has recurred in advertisements "equating the good life with rustic settings", the spread of country houses and cottages, the sixties back-to-the-land movement, and nature tourism.²⁶⁴ A lot of the ideals of today's environmentalist movements also echo these images. Therefore, both in actions and in literature this image of nature has made "the impulse to withdraw from society into an idealized rural landscape a cardinal theme of their works, suggesting that a more meaningful life is possible closer to nature beyond the constraining, complex, and corrupt city."²⁶⁵ As in Europe, the countryside was alternately sometimes a symbol of

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp.4,121. Historians have labelled it "the 'agrarian myth', the 'pastoral ideal' and the 'myth of the garden'" (p.4).

²⁶² *ibid.*, p.122.

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p.4. Yet in reality most Americans opted for city life. Machor comments "Despite the prominence of this ideal in American life, however, we have not remained a rural society - an indication that not all Americans have felt a repugnance toward urbanization." He backs this up with demographic statistics: "The tremendous increase in American urbanization from 1790 to 1850. At the opening of this period 5 percent of the population lived in urban areas; by 1850 that figure was approaching 20 percent. The 24 incorporated places of 2,500 or more had become 236" (p.121). Sixty of these latter exceeded 10,000 people. Updating the figures, "today 70 percent of our population is urban" (p.211). Although discussing the United States, the percentages are similar in Canada.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.4.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.3.

backwardness and ignorance, a perception which also still exists today, from the city perspective.²⁶⁶ The city, in the same way, was a centre of progress, prosperity and success, a place of excitement and opportunity, and "a valuable factor in individual and national development" yet people were also surprised by its rapid invasion and many saw it as an evil.²⁶⁷ Therefore, "the image of the dark, threatening city has been so common in our literature, particularly in the nineteenth century, has seemed to be almost anti-urban."²⁶⁸ The common view was that whatever the countryside was the city was its opposite, or vice-versa.²⁶⁹ Another common point is that both ideals called out to a symbolic dream of the 'West', a place of opportunity and prosperity. But there have been strong movements in America to synthesize these opposites.²⁷⁰ "Though willing to depict the callousness, duplicity, and artificiality of the urban milieu, many American writers have incorporated in their works an appreciation of the city's rich diversity and

²⁶⁶ Short (1991) pp.35-39. It was for anti-pastoralists also a place of hardship and brutality.

²⁶⁷ Machor (1987) p.122. Short (1991) reviews several pro-urban (pp.41-44) and anti-urban (pp.44-48) images of landscape. Bordessa (1988, pp.272-274) points out how authors mix realism and symbolism in their descriptions (pro and con) of different cities or districts within them.

²⁶⁸ Machor (1987) p.3.

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.5. The conflict of city and countryside could even be found in political and socio-cultural events such as the American Civil War where the already excessively urban and industrialized North clashed with the still largely rural agricultural South.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.211. Ultimately, "Americans in general seem to have reacted to mass urbanization by seeking some kind of compromise between city and country. For nearly half of our population today lives in suburbs."

interesting complexity."²⁷¹ Movements and developments involved in the synthesis are: urban parks and green spaces (New York City's totally built nature - Central Park being a prime example), urban gardening (indoors and outdoors), tree-planting programs, "the frequent meetings of sensitivity groups where alienated urbanites seek to 'get in touch with' their 'natural' feelings", the abandoning of parts of the inner city, various architectural and planning theories (e.g. the works of Frank Lloyd Wright), certain municipal zoning restrictions, renovation of slums, of course suburbia "with their lawns and well-spaced houses" and separation of work and leisure functions and more recently the urban composter boxes.²⁷² Within the rural or wilderness setting are urbanizing themes or other 'groomed' parks, hobby farms, trailer colonies and extension of highway access into the countryside. Some writers even proposed that urbanization was an extension of nature's pattern.²⁷³ Others have felt the disintegrating effect of suburban and other synthesizing changes. "Instead of a blend of rural and urban, suburban life too often has produced alien commuters using the central city as a mere economic tool."²⁷⁴ As well as aesthetic value, cities and countryside have been identified as having market (land is strictly a commodity) and use values which affect "the production of place".²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.3.

²⁷² *ibid.*, pp.5-6,212.

²⁷³ *ibid.*, p.122. A common image was "to depict a particular city as arising, like agriculture, from natural laws and the distinctive features of the native terrain" (p.123).

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p.212. Short (1991, pp.48-52) debates the pro and con images of the inner city vs suburbs.

²⁷⁵ Logan, John, "How To Study The City: Arguments For A New Approach," Urban Geography, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1990) p.200.

Included is the concern for whether people are residents or not of the place in question and not just consumers or workers as in neoclassical economics.²⁷⁶ These views imply different "choices over the development of land parcels", and therefore change in landscape, and concern for the future, individually or collectively.²⁷⁷

In another perspective, the landscape of the North American cities, since the early 1930s, has been controlled by two main forces (based on human ideas) modernism and post-modernism. Each has sought in its own ways certain improvements in the aesthetics, social justice, physical quality, etc.) of the city. Each has had its own failings as well as successes.²⁷⁸ Modernism began in the 1930s and continues through to today, though it has waned in the rapidity of its spread and has come under increasing criticism. "Modernist designs are totally designed packages which allow for no scope for additions or modifications" creating a landscape that is rationally ordered and easier to plan and administer but one which is totally inflexible, especially to the varied human needs which exist.²⁷⁹ It is a *hard* landscape of brick, concrete, steel, pavement and glass as compared to the *soft* landscape of the 'natural' countryside filled with grasses and trees.²⁸⁰ The sensual view of the city was intended to be seen from the automobile, in order to grasp its magnificence. However, for many of those living daily on the streets

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p.201.

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp.200-201.

²⁷⁸ Relph (1987) p.265.

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p.244.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*, pp.248-9. "The aesthetic inspiration behind hard cityscapes may once have had something to do with creating a style appropriate for machines and mass-production" (p.249).

of the city this was not the view seen. "Magnificent in the abstract and in isolation, modernism had in reality and *en masse* turned out to be repressive, ugly, sterile, antisocial and generally disliked. Since there was now so much of it around this presented a considerable problem" with which we are still trying to cope.²⁸¹ The visual view (as well as other sensual experiences) of this landscape became serialized, discontinuous.²⁸² It was a view of "street canyons" "interspersed with right-angle turns which abruptly reveal new views not unlike those which just vanished from sight" and "stop and go, crowded with other vehicles and pedestrians, the magnificent tops of the buildings out of view, their bases disconnected and hard to see since attention must be directed ahead, signs to watch for and signals to obey", a controlled environment on the interior and exterior.²⁸³ The buildings form huge blinders on sight and movement. Although styles have changed with new generations, still the "sleek styles of late-modernism have done nothing to mollify modernist landscapes. Indeed the mirror glass, grand structural displays and concrete boxes have carried opacity and hardness to new levels of space-age sophistication."²⁸⁴ But this structural view contrasts with the more

²⁸¹ *ibid.*, p.212.

²⁸² It is interesting to note that some of the trends in the instrumental music in urban Europe and North America of the 1950s to 1970s turned to serial and disjointed forms.

²⁸³ Relph (1987) pp.249-250. See also p.252. The daily life of many people within the city, however, runs a very contrary course to that directed by the signs or supposedly controlled by the structures. These people lie within the *terra incognitae* of the planners.

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.250. The realities of the daily life of many people are certainly not reflected in the mirrored surfaces of the glass highrises though they do reflect the alienations and restrictions on social functioning placed on others through their structuring.

internal view of districts, neighbourhoods, ghettos and in the 'Third World' shanty towns. "The concept of a neighbourhood is an important mental image both" for the general public and for planners and administrators.²⁸⁵ It sets the general living dimensions and parameters of social space for individuals such "that social space and physical space are so tightly linked that most people simply do not distinguish between the two."²⁸⁶ At this finer human scale are perceptions of awe, progress, affluence, poverty, fear, etc.²⁸⁷ Lynch states that "Cities are systems of access that pass through mosaics of territory. Access to places enables people to do what they set out to do. Territory, on the other hand, involves spatial control of access and action, and man is a territorial animal. Territories range from the immediate bubble of personal space, through the home ground and the home range, to the domains of the largest social groups".²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ Gould and White (1986) p.15.

²⁸⁶ *ibid.*, (p.16) citing the work of Terrence Lee (1963).

²⁸⁷ Both Gould and White (1986) and Short (1991), for example, deal with mental visions of places of fear. Short (pp.6-10 and 62-66) shows how fear of the unknown natural wilderness has been now projected into fear of undesirable districts he refers to as *wilderness within*. Gould and White (p.12) cite David Leys work (1972) in mapping the "invisible, mental topography" of "the local people's fears as an environmental stress surface." These are "invisible surfaces lying over these areas, whose peaks represent places of high psychic stress, while valleys are safer channels through the urban jungle" (p.12). They also discuss (pp.134-135) the role of the environmental impact of man-made environments and activities in "creating invisible landscapes of environmental stress that directly affect human behaviour and mental health."

²⁸⁸ Lynch (1976) p.21.

The post-modernist urban landscapes began in the 1960s and include various forms.²⁸⁹ Essentially, "A process of deliberate diversification now seems to be hard at work in many cities, a process which saves, celebrates and yet integrates into the existing social order almost everything to do with visible differences."²⁹⁰ Styles vary from "hand-crafted qualities, detailed textures and intricate spaces" to odd assemblages which mock modernist structures.²⁹¹ Accuracy either in reproduction of structures or in their meanings were (are) not the intents of post-modernism. Post-modernism has created cityscapes which are more livable in than those of modernism and which reflect more of the variations of the culture. However, they are rooted in qualities of the past (some of which are no longer very relevant) and somewhat decadent hopes for the present and future but not very much on human realities.²⁹² Unfortunately, post-modernist design

²⁸⁹ Cosgrove (1990, pp.570-571) briefly reviews some examples of post-modern landscape.

²⁹⁰ Relph (1987) p.252. This is done through a very "self-conscious and selective" process (p.213).

²⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.252. The latter styles were accomplished by trying "to transcend modernism by exaggerating, decorating and even ridiculing it" (p.227). "Buildings are polychromatic" and polystylistic made up of "fragments of past styles" (p.225). Perhaps this also reflects within the mixing of the styles of popular music today. Certainly polyphonic sound was something which began and developed within the urban centres and was generally absent in rural societies until radio came along. "In contextual post-modernism new buildings" do not recreate any past styles but "replicate the main features of the surrounding structures without reproducing them exactly" (p.227).

²⁹² *ibid.* (p.229) says the post-modern landscape design is 'half rooted in the decorative qualities of the past, and half reaching out towards a fast changing, stylish, affluent society indulging itself in fashions for little more reason than that they look interesting ... it is materialistic, superficial and arbitrary.' For example, "Ethnic identities are emphasised in festivals" etc. within the post-modernist landscape but the full realities of those

has ended up by being used by the same (or new ones similar to those) bureaucracies that brought in modernism. Diversity has become standardized. Relph explains that "in spite of their recent diversity landscapes are increasingly pre-mixed, ready-made and imagineered, and it may be that post-modernism is little more than a disguise for ever more subtle and powerful types of rationalistic organisation by corporations and governments alike ... the post-modernist street is still usually a product of large-scale economics and intense design efforts."²⁹³ Both modern and post-modern urban landscapes are human constructed landscapes based on creations from the mind. The modern landscape image was supplanted without regard for reality. It was hoped to create an improved reality to replace the problematic one which really did exist. It was one where structure controlled society and culture. Post-modernism does much of the same

ethnic districts are left hidden from view (p.253). Relph lists many other characteristics found in post-modern landscapes (p.253). He mentions that post-modern "urban design attends to coherence of townscape ... " but in fact what work has been done is based only on certain aspects of what has been decided on as being a coherent community area or development district where in reality it may not have been (p.229). In this process some people find themselves being displaced from gentrified districts having to find new living space somewhere between such redeveloped areas. Instead of focussing on people and real needs, urban design focusses on "heritage districts, the relationship between buildings both new and old, the forms of spaces, the small-scale improvements to streets - for instance, wide sidewalks, benches, attractive street furniture, provisions for outdoor cafes, and trees and landscaping", all of which are nice to have but at what social expense (p.229)? Cosgrove (1990, p.570), citing C. A. Mills "Life on the upslope," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Vol. 6, (1988) p.169-189, comments on "the subtleties and contradictions of the new class of genrifiers - 'lifestylers' - who retain the form but discard the content of 1960s counterculture, negotiating with the construction and development corporations spatial meanings in the new inner-city".

²⁹³ Relph (1987) p.259.

thing only it acknowledges some selective aspects of the real daily life and turns them into physical structures or events, while ignoring or blocking out other aspects of cultural and social expression.²⁹⁴

THE COMMON FACTORS

It appears that the common ground in the usage of the ideas of landscape, nationality and related terms is that each defines some humanly recognizable unity present within the elements and operations of the landscape or national group. The type of order (what or whom it includes, whether it is bounded or not, etc.) depends on the beholder/creator, who may be an individual or a group of people.²⁹⁵ Their meanings are evolutionary, not static. Humans use this process of naming or classifying regions or their elements to 'know' (understand) and to apply control or order over things; people and their actions and territories or places. This need not be only a negative control. Through *knowing*, one is able to gain self-control; a group attain an ordered, harmonious set of relations; and an appropriate use is made of things in the landscape by its inhabitants. Control or order can be benevolent, educative, encouraging and aiding or, alternately, dictatorial, narrow-sighted, excessively exploitive and subduing of its members. The option (and the resulting landscapes) lie in human judgement, choice and the degree of *unity of vision*

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*, (p.229) says that "The planning equivalent of post-modernism is urban design, just as the planning equivalent of modernism was institutionalised practice of planning by numbers."

²⁹⁵ note that the individual view always has some connection to a particular group or sub-group view.

between people.

This overview of different geographic landscapes is necessarily sketchy since the geographic literature is voluminous. The intention of this text is to show that there is relationship and connectivity between the different views of landscape. Perhaps from those that have complimentary elements a more unified view of the complex nature of landscape can be arrived at. The concept of landscape space has, at some time and place, been applied at all scales from micro to global and from numerous approaches. Following the same general order, in the next chapter musical landscapes will be presented, starting with the physical aspects of sound and moving to structures of music and finally cultural meaning and value in music. Of note is the fact that each of the above mentioned peoples and territories or landscapes have their 'own' music or musics.

CHAPTER 3

MUSICAL (SOUND) LANDSCAPES

MUSICAL LANDSCAPE AND HUMAN PERCEPTION - A BEGINNING

Do you recall a time when you were sitting quietly listening to a piece of music and a visual picture formed in your mind related to the sounds or words of the music? Were you transported in this vision to another, yet familiar, place and time? Do you also ever remember hearing a phrase of music and envisioning in your mind the continuation of the theme-line within it, as a logical progression of the music? The expected answers are all yes, because music, as a "sound plays a crucial role in the anticipation, experience and remembering of places."¹ Composers consciously or unconsciously, have images, or at least ideas or feelings, in their 'mind's eye' as they originate a new piece of music, thereby expecting or hoping that the music will trigger images, thoughts or feelings in the minds and movements in the bodies, of those hearing their music. "Composers are architects of sound ... devising effects to bring about specific listener-responses; and the best of them are masters at modulating the flow of these effects to provide complex and

¹ Pocock, Douglas, "Sound and the Geographer," Geography, Vol.74 (1979) p.193. On hearing music from twenty years ago I can still envisage, in fine detail, the place where I was, the people with me, and the circumstances of the time and place. I remember feelings, concerns, and moods of myself and the other people I was involved with then.

variable experiences which some philosophers have described as a metaphor for the life-experience itself."² They do so by finding cultural significances (whether readily distinguishable to others or not) through sensing of the surrounding visual, aural, and perhaps other sensual landscapes and then representing them in some way through music.³ This is a process of perceptually simplifying or altering 'real' space through heightening an awareness of certain of its aspects and the removing of unwanted details. Much of the music composed and played is representational or symbolic of the spatial and social features, selected as important from the environment or landscape, rather than attempting an accurate portrayal. Through condensing of the landscape into key symbols, ideas can be much more simply and directly passed on to and understood by others.⁴ Similarly, music alters the sense of time.⁵ Essentially the composer has made a musical map (in oral or written form) of the physical and social landscape. The performer, who may not be the same as the composer, further interprets and translates

² Schafer, R. Murray, "Listening," Langlois, W. J. (ed.) Sound Heritage, Vol. III (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1974) p.11.

³ The various sensual landscapes created by the interaction of the human brain and senses in relationship with the world around are extensively discussed in Porteus (1990).

⁴ Finkelstein, Sidney, How Music Expresses Ideas (New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1970) p.11.

⁵ Hamm, et al., "Introduction" in Hamm, Charles; Nettle, Bruno and Byrnside, Ronald (eds.) Contemporary Music And Music Cultures (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975) p.22. "All music exists in time, and all composers - past, present, East, and West - organize time on both the general, or formal level and the particular, or rhythmic level. In so doing a composer can create in his audience a feeling about time that is in some respects different from conventional notions of actual time."

the composed work adding to it other meanings, as does the listener whose 'picture' of the music and relationship of significance to the music may be quite different from, even though guided by, those of the composer or performer. But a social communication has been made. Alphons Silbermann said, "that music is chiefly a social phenomenon: social because it is a human product, and because it is a form of communication between composer, interpreter and listener."⁶ I will refer to the mental images formed in composing, performing and listening to music, as the essence of musical landscapes, landscapes of perception strongly influenced by the physical and cultural landscapes enveloping, interacting with and interconnecting with each of us in our human experiences. These 'inner' musical landscapes project themselves onto the 'outer' landscapes as concrete forms, thus influencing and communicating with the 'outer reality' in the process. Neither is free from the other. For instance, the jazz improviser, attempts to overleap the social constraints and create sound free of structures, yet each piece he/she plays, in all its uniqueness still has form, creates images and contains tradition. "In making his music the improviser cannot escape his own musical habits, his previous musical experiences, his performance facility and compositional procedures. The music he creates while improvising is conditioned by these things, and is, considerably more reflective than purely spontaneous in nature."⁷ When we store music in our memory we

⁶ Quoted in Supicic, Ivo, Music In Society: A Guide to the Sociology of Music (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987) p.88.

⁷ Byrnside, Ronald, "The Performer as Creator: Jazz Improvisation" in Hamm, et al. (1975) p.224. Brynside continues, "the improviser is a creator of non-fixed and essentially non-duplicatable music, who composes with reference to some pre-planned idea and structure, which he borrows from another source" (p.225). Often the better one knows the rules the better one can improvise

also store with it associated thoughts, feelings and images. As with the sense of smell when we smell a distinctive odor, there is an instinctive and immediate recall triggered in our memory when a familiar piece of music is heard. In all, music serves as an extensive, and quickly responding, socio-cultural, historical and geographical memory bank. Ralph Vaughn Williams reminds us that folk memory is enshrined in an oral culture via folk music and other oral arts, rather than being written.⁸

A person might ask, "What is the dominant human sense or is there one?" Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan says that, "The eyes gain far more precise and detailed information about the environment than the ears but we are usually more touched by what we hear than by what we see. ... Music is for most people a stronger emotional experience than looking at pictures or scenery."⁹ Truax expands on this, explaining that "hearing gives us a less detailed, but more comprehensive image of the entire environment in all directions at once."¹⁰ With vision we have only a forward 'canvas' view of landscape, somewhat flat and detached. For sound (and the other non-visual senses) we have a landscape environment of image and feeling completely enveloping us; much closer, more personal and alive.¹¹ This environment is filled with active forces and voices that impact on us,

from them.

⁸ Vaughn Williams (1987) p.28.

⁹ Tuan (1974) p.8.

¹⁰ Truax (1984) p.15.

¹¹ Porteus (1990) pp.7,49. "Whereas the visual sense may be restricted at both close and far distances, the sonic environment can extend from the most intimate distances (the sound of one's own bodily functions) to the farthest distances at which sense data can be perceived (remote thunder, explosions, or war)" (p.49).

within which "These hot, emotional senses are highly arousing, filling the self with feelings of pleasure, nostalgia, revulsion, and affection."¹² But hearing, like the visual sense, involves cognition, the intellectual senses as well. Music 'touches' people's hearts and thoughts simultaneously, and moves us to respond. It affects our body movements, thinking patterns, emotional state, spiritual condition and consequently our behaviour and actions. "Whatever is in the heart of man, melody moves and awakens ... if there be love in the heart, through melody, it will increase until its intensity can scarcely be borne; but if bad thoughts are in the heart, such as hatred, it will increase and multiply. For instance: the music used in war awakens the desire for bloodshed."¹³ In referring to the use of music for teaching of geography, John Lehr states that, "Nothing has the power to galvanize our emotions, to ignite our imaginations, or to soothe a troubled mind, more than music."¹⁴ But regardless of how well tuned human senses are, each culture places its own set of priorities on the importance of each of the human senses according to the circumstances and conditions of the group. "Every culture has its own sensory model based on the relative importance it gives to the different senses. This sensory model is expressed in the language, beliefs, and customs of a culture."¹⁵

¹² *ibid.*, p.7.

¹³ 'Abdu'l-Baha quoted in Lucas, Mary L., A Brief Account of My Visit to Acca (Chicago, IL: Baha'i Publishing Society, date not known).

¹⁴ Lehr, John C., "Music As An Aid In The Teaching Of Geography," The History And Social Science Teacher, Vol. 19, No. 4 (May 1984) p.223.

¹⁵ Classen, Constance, "sweet colors, fragrant songs: sensory models of the Andes and the Amazon," American Ethnologist, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Nov., 1990) p.722.

If music is to be considered as musical landscape and representative of cultural landscape, then it is necessary to explore more fully the various components of music which make this so, to elaborate on them and examine how they have been understood and used by different peoples. It warrants noting, however, that all of these aspects are intimately united in an indivisible whole. Any breaking down of the whole into categories is artificial and merely serves as an aid in trying to better comprehend the totality of the subject of music. In discussing one aspect of music, invariably other aspects become mentioned. Musical (and sound) form and content have been approached by only a few geographers but much more extensively, by researchers in other disciplines from a variety of directions and perspectives. I have selected the following major categories for assessing sound and music for geographical study:

1) Qualities of Music and Sound

- defining space

2) Landscapes Within Music / Music Within Landscapes

- music / terrain conversions

3) The Music Business

- musical structures in society and culture

4) 'Sound Regions' and Musical Migration

- musical styles and genres in motion
and music as culture

5) Music, Sound and Meaning

- cultural symbolism in music

As will be shown in the following text, landscapes of sound and music include: sound in the mind, sound bodies, sound sites, soundlines, sound surfaces, sound regions, sound environments, soundscapes, sound rhythms, sound diffusions (patterns) and sound mixes.¹⁶ Music and sound, on the one hand, are contained by physical space and mental 'space', yet on the other, transcend to go beyond as well, with one foot in each place. The second step is into spiritual 'space', the unknown (*terra incognita*) of heaven or chaos (places of unknown or perhaps non-physical order to which we in our imagination give form).

¹⁶ The word sound could be replaced interchangeably by music, song, land, life or people in each of these compound words or expressions.

CHAPTER 4

TYPES OF MUSICAL LANDSCAPES

1. THE QUALITIES OF MUSIC AND SOUND

The qualities within sound and music define time, space, environment, and activity within them. Music becomes a metaphor for creation and life, an idea which will be elaborated on later in the chapter. Music and movement are a natural part of each person's body movement and rhythmic cycle. Likewise they are a part of what we observe in the movements and cycles of all other things that we know.¹ On studying music's individual qualities (e.g.- tone, timbre, rhythm) it becomes evident just how music defines space, order and the energy of life in an environment.² Tones are sound

¹ Driver, Ann, Music & Movement (London: Oxford University Press, 1936) p.3. Driver says that "Rhythm is an attribute of man's nature and the foundation of all art". Her thoughts continue, "The body is a living and vital organism, rhythmic in its laws, and moving in time and space in a world which itself has a vast and cosmic rhythm." Some of these movements are involuntary, others willful.

² Slobin, Mark and Titon, Jeff Todd, "The Music-Culture as a World of Music," in Titon, Jeff Todd, et al. (eds.) Worlds Of Music An Introduction to the Music of the World's Peoples (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984) p.5. "This includes everything related to the organization of musical sound itself: pitch elements (scale, mode, melody, harmony, tuning systems, and so forth), timbre elements (voice quality, instrumental tone color), and sound intensity (loudness and softness)." These qualities together are what make up musical style.

bodies (and events) expressing existence and life.³ Each tone is given uniqueness through other aspects of music which clothe the tone.⁴ Timbre gives to tone its unique colour, structure and individuality, defining it as a specific individual and variety of sound and life.⁵ Amplitude (loudness/softness) sets a sound's relative location (nearness or farness) in space and its weight (the effect of gravity it bears).⁶ Amplitude, while setting the

³ Schafer, R. Murray, "Ear Cleaning" in Schafer (1986) p.53. It is also published as a separate book Ear Cleaning (BMI Canada Ltd., 1967). "The tone cuts silence (death) with its vibrant life. No matter how softly or loudly, it is saying one thing: 'I am alive.'" The tone, "intruding on the darkness and oblivion of silence, cuts a light into it."; The Holy Bible Revised Standard Version (Common Bible), An Ecumenical Edition (Toronto: William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1973, Genesis 1:2-3) says "The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep ... And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light.". Schafer, R. Murray, "The New Soundscape" in Schafer (1986, p.144) again refers to tones as sound objects or musical 'bricks' which go through stages: 1) silence and anticipation, 2) attack/growth, 3) body of sound, 4) decay/fade-out, 5) echo and reverberation, 6) return to ambient level (p.146). He sees this, in itself, a metaphor for life experience: conception, birth/growth, adulthood (steady-state), old age, death, biography and memorabilia (p.146). It is also published separately as The New Soundscape (BMI Canada Ltd., 1969).

⁴ Schafer (1986) p.144. "Let us understand the sound object as one completely self-contained acoustic event. A unique event." This event can change over time in frequency (pitch), intensity (loudness), duration and timbre (tone colour). Driver (1936, p.30) says that with all of its qualifiers, "Tone is a dynamic element and a strong emotional stimulus."

⁵ Schafer (1986) p.55. "Timbre is that characteristic overstructure of a tone that distinguishes one instrument from another at uniform frequency and amplitude." And "Timbre brings the colour of individuation to music. Without it everything is a uniform and unvarying grey". It is like the unique body (appearance) and personality of a person containing or expressing their true self or soul (the tone). It represents diversity.

⁶ *ibid.*, p.57. "A soft sound is instinctively thought to be behind a loud sound, hence the echo" thus giving "illusion of perspective". "A loud sound may also be characterized as carrying a heavy weight, and therefore the downward pull of gravity."

extent of different sounds within space, also sets the dimensions to the overall space. It gives to tones size and strength as 'beings' or things in space and also either a distinctiveness or nebulousness which creates a sense of atmosphere in the environment.⁷ A Tone can be (sound) stationary in space or move through sound space (the range of our hearing) as rhythms and melodies.⁸ Rhythm establishes a sense of the passing of time in space and a pulse to life like the beat of the heart - the pulse of the tone.⁹ Nuances and variety (the 'spice of life') are set within rhythm through accents.¹⁰ Rhythm further creates a sense of direction and orientation, establishing where someone

⁷ *ibid.*, p.57. "A soft sound is constantly dissolving, fleeing like mist, escaping from itself."

⁸ *ibid.*, p.57. "If amplitude is perspective in music, then the tone moves at the composer's will anywhere between the acoustic horizon and the eardrum."

⁹ *ibid.*, p.65. "Rhythm divides the whole into parts. Rhythm articulates a journey". Then "A regular rhythm suggests the chronological division of real time - clock time (ticks). It lives a mechanical existence." Regular rhythms are characteristic of Western music and Western interest in regular (squared) human constructs and social arrangements. We are now even moving away from analogue sound to digital (in ticks) sound just as we have moved away from the analogue view of life to a digital TV and computerized view of life. Many North American boys live in a computer game landscape of Western male fantasy. "An irregular rhythm stretches or compresses real time giving what we may call psychological or virtual time." Polyrhythms also create irregular time. But is this only irregular to Westerner's ears? Could it not be real time to Africans, Arabs and Orientals, as well as Aboriginal American peoples, who prefer these rhythms? Do not Westerners, when daydreaming within their own minds, sometimes understand this as real time? But rhythm is not just time (duration) and metre. Driver (1936, p.2) says "Rhythm is that ceaseless, ever-varying movement of an intangible force interwoven with all that can be comprised in the word 'LIFE'."

¹⁰ Driver (1936) p.34. "Without accent there is no life. The beat becomes monotonous and wearisome" and thus noise or meaningless sound. It is the excitement of the heart-beat.

or something begins, what its purpose is, and where its final goal lies, whether reached or not in the music.¹¹ It sets a pace, a passion, a suspense, and depth of feeling to life.¹² Melody, also having uniqueness, defines movement in the life, action and transformation of a single tone; while texture is the complex interaction of many individual moving tones (the counterpoints, etc.).¹³ "Melody is by musicians often called the soul of music; nevertheless, it is lamentably neglected by many of our composers for the sake of harmony", one form of elaboration on the tone.¹⁴ Melody,

¹¹ Schafer (1986) p.65. "Rhythm is direction. Rhythm says: 'I am here and I want to go there.'" It is "the motion of a journey" and "the object of any rhythm is to reach home (the final chord)."

¹² This establishes a morality of life. One type of beat suggests a regulated life (very steady), another a meditative life (soft and steady). On the opposite extreme is the 'uncontrolled' rapid beat or loud and fast paced regular beat which generate passion and ecstasy often expressed culturally through wild abandon in dancing (e.g. - ecstatic dancing of dervishes, voodoo cult music, disco music or in punk sub-cultures). For Plato "beauty and ugliness result from good rhythm and bad" which are controlled by the words (the poetry) which in turn are dependent on degree of goodness of character, proper performing of functions in daily life and ones general behaviour (discipline). Plato, The Republic, translated by Lee, H.D.P. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd.) pp.141-2.

¹³ Schafer (1986) pp.60,63. "A melody, to paraphrase Paul Klee, is like taking a tone for a walk. To achieve melody we must move the tone to different altitudes (frequencies). This is called changing the pitch." (p.60) The other musical qualities enhance the melody. "The texture produced by a dialogue of lines (melodies) is called counterpoint" where "Counterpoint is like different speakers with opposing points of view" but with each one lucid. (p.63) The lines may in fact not always be counterpoint. They may be parallel, oblique or contrary to each other. There may be two or more.

¹⁴ Engel (1976) p.157. Note that this book is reprinted from an earlier edition (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, And Dyer, 1866). "A really fine melody is expressive without harmony, and does not necessarily demand an accompaniment." (p.157) However, on the other hand, harmony need not be a negative quality, as Driver (1936, p.46) indicates, it can add substance and impulse to a melody and

in showing motion displays topography (ups and downs), while texture puts these into a terrain scape.¹⁵ "Music has a varying texture. Sometimes there is only one strand of melody; sometimes it is complex and close-knit, with many strands woven together. As we listen we should be able to unravel the various threads, so that the wealth and richness of contrapuntal music opens before us."¹⁶ At some point rhythm essentially becomes identical to melody.¹⁷ Once organized into a piece of music, a musical theme (or themes ,or perhaps only theme fragments) appears and expresses a musical thought. This may also symbolize a cultural idea to be communicated.¹⁸ A field of different tones, therefore, becomes an event space. Tempo (or timing) sets an overall pace for the landscape, or the piece of musical movement to which, many but not necessarily all, of the individual rhythms and melodies of the music may be aligned.¹⁹ The tempo is a quality which may be quite changeable. Singers or musicians may change tempo with the

enhance the vertical aspects of the sound. In fact, harmony has been one of the mainstays of European music since at least the 1700s. In a variation from Engel's comments, I would call the tone the soul or being moving to the Holy Spirit through a melody.

¹⁵ Driver (1936) p.44. Melody moves up or down scale but not always in even steps, since notes can be o'erleaped.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.57. Schafer (1986, pp.149-150) sees the various harmonies and counterpoints as metaphors for human sociabilities (harmonious or antagonistic, or perhaps somewhere between).

¹⁷ Driver (1936) p.44. "Melody has been termed 'the highest expression of rhythm', and is the outline and tracery of the music as it flows to a point or points."

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.51. "Its (the theme's) innate expressiveness can be in rhythm, harmony, or melody or a combination of them." Which basis is used depends on the individual composer or performer and their cultural milieu.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.23.

mood or conditions of the environment within which they are performing or with changing emotions in the piece of music as it progresses, identifying particular changes in expression in the music, just as amplitude provides an emphasis of expression.²⁰ True silence, or complete absence of sound, does not exist for us since life is continually vibrating, even if only at a sub-atomic level. Everything emits sound, some of which we hear, some of which we feel as vibration or even see as a heat wave in the air.²¹ What we call silence is actually the space of time between the dominant part of one sound that we can clearly detect and pay attention to, and the dominant part of the next sound. We do not 'hear' the continued minor build-ups or reverberating dissipations of sound between the noticeable parts of sounds.²² In music, silences are rests, spaces in which the listener and performer may relax, reflect, or wait in anticipation of what is to come and focus attention. They have definite purpose.²³ Cadence in the music, is closely tied to rests, as it describes either a point of pause, resolution of the melody (theme) or

²⁰ Engel (1976) p.177.

²¹ Schafer (1986) pp.50,102-103. "Silence is a container into which a musical event is placed." - i.e. the void into which creation comes and space is laid out.

²² *ibid.*, p.104. Just as in the visual sense, within the aural sense there is (are) a figure(s), the dominant listened to sound(s), and the ground, or background ignored (or unfocussed) sounds, heard only because of the contrasting interaction they have with the figure. Just as each tone is a build-up and then dissipation of sound Driver (1936, p.2) states each "rhythm is threefold in its sequence of effort, fruition, rest."

²³ Driver (1936) p.40. "Rests are not dull, dead things. They have significance. ... They are either pauses, arrested moments (humorous or dramatic), or conclusions. What is important is that musical meaning flows on through the rests, and that the rests form the necessary contrast to sound."

finality within the music or the event or action described in it.²⁴ With these sounds many worlds (realistic in sound appearance or imaginary) can be created.

Music is the same as natural sound, only the human processes of sound acceptance, selection, and ordering, plus the conscious making of many of the sounds, are added, thus acculturizing sound and transforming it into music. At a basic level, naturally generated sounds, if accepted by humans as music, are music. At the other extreme are sounds created by humans through use of human made machinery, some being instruments specifically built for the creation of music. Either way the sound of music is intended to be understood and meaningfully accepted by people, for some kind of reason, be it pleasure or message. Those sounds which are not meaningful or are overly regular, monotonous, not clearly perceptible, excessively loud, abrasive, annoying or disturbing comprise what we generally label noise. But what is noise to one person, in one time and place, may be music to that person or another within a different context.²⁵

In order to move (act) within space our senses provide us with an awareness of the degree of freedom we have to move (act) in any one direction within our environment. Our awareness depends on developing our 'listening' to what all our senses tell us of the environment. If humans act out of tune with their environment, their own progression, and that of the environment, are offset, just as it is necessary to listen to the progression

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.33.

²⁵ Schafer (1986) pp.107-110.

of a piece of music to follow its movement.²⁶ To form a progression in the music the elements of music come together in various units: motives, phrases, sections and periods (which nest within one another from smaller grouping to larger grouping in length and complexity, respectively).²⁷ Driver states of phrasing that, "It is the articulation and breath of music, giving it life, coherence, and shape."²⁸ There are also differing perceptions of music's nature which make up differing planes of sound. Modes or keys (eg. major and minor keys) are different planes of music each providing a unique perspective on whatever is being portrayed in the music.²⁹ As well as listening, there must be interaction, communication with the environment. A non-human example of this is the movement of a bat through space, that bounces its own sounds off the surroundings to determine its direction and actions. A simple example of the combination of several of the above mentioned qualities of music into musical landscapes is provided in the series of pieces by Eric Satie, *Trois Gymnopédies*.³⁰ Within each part of the music a simple space is created with a background of alternating base notes and chords filled by

²⁶ Driver (1936) p.21. Also (p.28) Driver says, "Progression without aim usually shows faulty listening or failure to listen at all." "It must never be lost sight of that music is 'progression' and towards definite points, so that aimless stepping should never be allowed." (p.57). Some modern composers, in contrast to Driver's comments, have explored the putting of purpose in 'seemingly' aimless sound combinations.

²⁷ Engel (1976) pp.82-83.

²⁸ Driver (1936) p.32. Phrasing is "The grouping of notes into phrases that travel, and the building of these into an ordered progression, gives proportion to the whole."

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.46.

³⁰ McCabe, John, Piano Music By Eric Satie (London: Saga Records, 1974) Audio-recording SAGA 5387. (Audio cassette: Tape 1).

the movement of a simple, unique and stark foreground melody which describes only the outline of movement of a gymnast or other athlete through the space.³¹ The listener's imagination fills in the rest of the picture.

Since one of the main qualities of music (or sound) is that it is a medium of communication, language, as words, plays an important role in music as song.³² In fact music and language may be portions of the same thing.³³ Bruno Nettl states that, "Music is a universal phenomenon, but each culture has its own, and learning to understand another culture's music is in many ways like learning a foreign language."³⁴ Even in instrumental music, without words, the goal of many composers has been the creation of musical sound languages that can transcend the bounding limitations of word-based language, and thus become more universal forms of 'speech'. But yet music always retains a spatial variation. "The 'language' of music is a social creation. Every

³¹ Of course other images could be generated by the listener; a ballet dancer in motion or a person wandering somewhat aimlessly amidst drops of rain.

³² Zelinsky, Wilbur and Williams, Colin H., "The mapping of language in North America and the British Isles," Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1988) p.337. "Indeed, in a most fundamental sense, we cannot begin to understand the nature and dynamics of human society without coming to terms with the central role of communications and, more immediately, the ways in which our minds, singly and collectively, dwell within a fearfully complex enveloping cocoon of language."

³³ Herndon and McLeod (1980, p.7) contend that "the authors (themselves) believe that music and language represent parts of a continuum of patterned sound, particularly since songs may have texts."

³⁴ Nettl, Bruno, Folk And Traditional Music Of The Western Continents, 3rd Ed., (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1990) pp.6-7.

society has a music basically composed of songs, dances, melodies and melodic phrases, in which various groupings of notes have coalesced into units evoking various states of life" relevant to themselves.³⁵ Language is also an important cultural geographic unit since it is often a central cause for the uniting or separating of groups of people in geographic space.³⁶ "For geographers, language is particularly important, because speech is so basic an aspect of culture and of creating a sense of place. It is a major means by which cultural elements pass from one generation to the next. Thus language is one of the principal means of preserving a way of life."³⁷ And this root is very deep seated following a long evolution.³⁸ On hearing spoken or sung words we tend to make quick assumptions regarding the speaker as to their origin of birth and homeland; their way of life and behaviour patterns; whether they are local or foreign; and so on. It may prove that a map of musical preferences may coincide in many respects with a map of language groups, when viewed at the same relative scale. For language to be meaningful between people it needs to be composed of an ordered variety of sounds providing shading and contrast to clarify meanings. In this manner language operates in the same

³⁵ Finkelstein (1970) p.13.

³⁶ This makes language a strong base for study and mapping of culture. See examples in Jordan and Rowntree (1990) pp.158-162.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.157.

³⁸ J. G. Hamann (from Aesthetica in Nuce) quoted in Chatwin, Bruce, The Songlines (New York: Penguin Books, 1987, p.271) wrote that language as "Poetry is the mother tongue of the human race as the garden is older than the field, painting than writing, singing than declaiming, parables than inferences, bartering than commerce...".

fashion as music.³⁹ The "'musical' aspect of speech, because it involves inflection (pitch contours), rhythm, phrasing, emphasis (or accent), punctuation, timbre (or sound quality), silence (rest), and even cadence - exactly those variables which are used to describe a single voice melody."⁴⁰ Each has a vocabulary. Both in musical performance and talking between people, the visual image (the visual side of performance or body language in conversation) is always combined with the aural. In making use of the various options of sound, therefore, each language group uses different combinations of sound qualities in their talking and singing which best match the form and nature of themselves, making the meaning within clear to members of the group. As a by-product, meaning is difficult to pick up by others from outside the group who are used to a different system of sound presentation.⁴¹

2. LANDSCAPES WITHIN MUSIC / MUSIC WITHIN LANDSCAPES

Conversions can be made between music (sound) and landscape through the use of

³⁹ In a song by Joni Mitchell, *Shadows And Light*, the contrasts of individual sounds, silence, words and ideas enhance one another to heighten the effect and meaning of the music (Asylum Records, 1975) Audio-recording 7ES-1051. (audio cassette, tape 1).

⁴⁰ Truax (1984) p.33. Also Engel (1976, p.178) says, "Quality, pitch, compass, and power of voice differ essentially in different nations."

⁴¹ The basis of this is naturally inherent (and therefore unconscious) in voice but can also be consciously used to purposely include or exclude certain people(s) from understanding.

human technology and techniques. The first to be discussed is the converting of physical landscape into sound or music. The second is the reverse process of converting sound or music into landscape. In the process of each there is an interpretation of both the music's (or sound's) and the landscape's features, patterns, etc. The interpretation is much the same as is done in photo (or image) interpretation or map reading.

Stephen Glavin (1987) wrote "Sound symbols can represent complex, multiple-variable data sets. A simple visual symbol can have simultaneous shape, location, texture, size, colour and orientation variation and still be sensed by the eye as having separate qualities, each representing a different data set. Similarly, audible symbols can vary in frequency, duration, modulation (timbre), loudness and location simultaneously and still be detected by the ear as separate variables."⁴² Inherent in sound is also its presence or absence (silence).⁴³ Inherent in a landscape is the obvious presence or absence of cultural structures or grooming of the land and actions (showing the degree to which the landscape is a cultural one or a natural one). Glavin creates a symbolic correspondance or association between sight and sound through the matching of three of the individual qualities of sight (describing visual features and location) with three of the qualities of sound.⁴⁴ A digital terrain model is subdivided into polygon sections, each described by elevation, slope and orientation (or aspect). Each polygon is converted to

⁴² Glavin, Stephen John, Creating Sound Symbols from Digital Terrain Models: An Exploration of Cartographic Communication Forms (Graduate Thesis: Master of Arts, Carleton University, 1987) p.218.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.216.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* explains this selection on pp.36-40, pp.57-9, and pp.108-116.

its equivalent sound symbol association on the basis of frequency, duration and modulation in a one-to-one correspondence, respectively.⁴⁵ By placing the different terrain segments in a particular sequence and converting them to sound, a sequence of sound (which by some may be considered a piece of music) is created which gives an aural representation of the visible terrain sequence. Change the sequence and a new piece of musical landscape is composed. Glavin set up several different path choices ('walking the terrain') in order to explore the terrains of both sight and sound.⁴⁶ This concept is not so different from that of the Australian Aborigine on 'walkabout' across the countryside following along their songline, except that it also involves the reverse process. The songlines, describing each individual's path in life, had been sung for each piece of landscape, by the Ancestors in the beginning, matching every feature of landscape, no matter how insignificant, with song.⁴⁷ The Ancestors 'converted' or 'made' landscape as song. The person on the walkabout sings it back as a 'living' landscape.

If one converted Glavin's complete visual terrain experience at one time into an aural experience, the process would be expected to produce a corresponding 'tapestry' of sound

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.72.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp.66-70, pp.146-155.

⁴⁷ Chatwin, Bruce, The Songlines (New York: Penguin Books, 1987) pp.12-14. "'A song', he said, 'was both map and direction-finder. Providing you knew the song, you could always find your way across country'" (p.13). The man who went "'Walkabout' was making a ritual journey. He trod in the footprints of his Ancestor. He sang the Ancestor's stanzas without changing a word or note - and so recreated the Creation" (p.14).

representing that particular sound surface.⁴⁸ If this concept were applied at a different, say finer, scale and resolution of information then broad sound and land features would be broken down into finer nuances. If instead of a digital terrain model a topographic map, displaying cultural features, were divided into polygons small enough to be affected by the cultural features, the resulting musical landscape would represent a cultural terrain instead of a physical one only.⁴⁹ Without computer technology, this is similar to the musical programming method applied by Claude Champagne in creating several pieces of music. For his composition *Symphonie Gaspesienne*, Champagne converted not so much the actual terrain of the land but the feelings which that terrain communicated to him and added to this musical representations of both the visual and sound experiences (elements) of the cultural environment.⁵⁰ Performance of the piece was intended to create in the audience or listener a similar visualization and emotional experience to that of the composer. Champagne thus created an impressionistic poem rather than a precise feature-for-feature representational work, but captured the cultural component and atmosphere of the landscape which Glavin did not.⁵¹ The skill of the composer(s) and performer(s) in applying techniques such as used by Champagne are

⁴⁸ Glavin (1987) p.108. This was not done by Glavin but he mentions the possibility with which I agree. It would be expected that each surface as well as having a terrain 'fingerprint' would have a sound 'fingerprint' which was unique.

⁴⁹ Glavin did not discuss this possibility.

⁵⁰ For a strictly musical analysis of this work see Bradley, Ian L., Twentieth Century Canadian Composers, Vol. 1 (Agincourt, Ont.: GLC Publishers Limited, 1977) p.21-23.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.20.

extremely important in ensuring that the feeling or message gets transmitted. The composer through establishing specific musical tones/timbres (shades and colours), themes, differing orchestrations and instrumentations, dynamic range (highs and lows), amplitude (loudness and softness), amount of silence, crescendo/decrescendo, augmentation/diminution, changing pace, altering rhythms, changing modulations, melody, harmony, discordance and so on, as the piece of music progresses, can recreate many aspects and imitate features and moods of a particular environment.⁵² The listener mentally fills in any gaps left within the music, leaving the listener not only with a view of the scene but a sense of 'being there' within the landscape or environment. Schafer explains that if the work is successful, the site of the performance becomes transformed in the minds of the audience into the landscape described in the music causing the listeners to transcend their normal perceptions and sensitivities. He states, "a descriptive piece of music turns the walls of a concert hall into windows, exposed to the country."⁵³ The listener can be transported to a rural scene, an urban back alley, a lunar landscape or an imaginary world regardless of where they actually are.

Another reversal of the terrain to sound conversion is found in remote sensing. The remote sensing visual image or data on digital tape are created by the receiving ('listening to') and translating of electromagnetic or other energy vibrations. These

⁵² Refer back to the previous discussion of these musical qualities. Also Schafer "The Composer In The Classroom" in Schafer (1986) pp.20-26. It was previously published separately as The Composer In The Classroom (BMI Canada, 1965). The composer or performer uses instruments or voices to imitate sounds of nature or human culture and activity.

⁵³ Schafer, R. Murray, The Tuning Of The World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977) p.104.

vibrations (light, sound or heat) were reflected or emitted from a ground surface and then received by the sensor and recorded. As the remote sensor records each unit portion of the earth, variations in the landscape's response to electromagnetic vibrations are automatically assigned different tones or colours to represent the differing land characteristics. Depending on the resolution of detection every object (tree, boulder, house) or feature (group of trees, large outcrop of rock, village) is expected to have a reasonably unique spectral (or vibrational) 'signature' by which it could be identified. Similar types of trees would have similar signatures and thus can be potentially identifiable wherever they were found alone or identified as a community where they are found in a group. In the special case of radar or sonar sensors, a sound pulse is sent out by the sensor and the time delay (doppler shift) of its echo or reflection (or lack thereof) is recorded by the sensing instrument. Once transformed into picture form the analyst sees a terrain-landscape reflecting the original landscape but enhancing certain spectral aspects of its appearance as they relate to sound reflection. What specific land characteristics are enhanced will depend on which portion of the energy spectrum was sensed. Being derived from sound, the resultant image is in a sense a musical composition or musicscape in digital recorded or photographic (analogue) notational form. For those people who consider music as a metaphor for creation, any remote sensing image would be a musical landscape.

In a second piece by Champagne, "Altitude", he came closer to doing what Glavir had done digitally.⁵⁴ Champagne still worked impressionistically but he drew out first

⁵⁴ For the musical analysis of the piece see Bradley (1977) pp.25-27.

a landscape 'map' inspired by the appearance and the feelings projected by the Canadian Rocky Mountains.⁵⁵ "The work is both descriptive and reflective: it evokes the rise and fall of mountain slopes and the mountain top atmosphere; it looks spiritually inward and reflects on the communion with time and space which mountain-top sojourns so often arouse."⁵⁶ Glavin's approach deals with the physics of sound and vision and the technology of computer conversions and computer cartography. In contrast, in music there is another side, as shown by Champagne: one of meaning within the visual and audio symbols. Glavin places sound as second-class, yet complementary, to sight in his research. He states, "Sound should be used to convey information when:

- (i) there is a lack of visual information;
- (ii) the visual sense is already overloaded;
- (iii) attention is needed; or
- (iv) it simplifies complex events."⁵⁷

I think this may need some reconsideration, as to the roles of sound and music in society. People involved in the music business certainly wouldn't confine music's or sound's role so narrowly. More will be said about the aspect of human feelings and perceptions in the

⁵⁵ Ford, Clifford, Canada's Music: An Historical Survey (Agincourt, Ont.: GLC Publishers Limited, 1982) p.148. Champagne called it a "Schema topographique". Bradley (1977, p.24) says it was "a topographical sketch which depicts the profile of the mountains. The various ascent, descent, summit and plateaus are linked with a number of emotions and thoughts which these contours and changes of scenery evoke in man, both primitive and modern." Champagne, therefore, also converted the natural landscape to a cultural one.

⁵⁶ Michel Oliver quoted in Bradley (1977) p.24.

⁵⁷ Glavin (1987) p.35. I would prioritize item (iv) first.

section on meaning and symbolism in music.

Soundscape, which comes out of the discipline of acoustic ecology, is a means of turning sound into maps, recorded recreations and data sets, descriptive of the landscape environment. As Schafer defines it, "Ecology is the study of the relationship between living organisms and their environment. Acoustic ecology is therefore the study of sounds in relationship to life and society."⁵⁸ Its methodology of study is essentially a mapping and recording of sound in different specific environments, as accurately as possible. Aural historian Imbert Orchard commenting on soundscape analysis says, "you approach a sound, partly for its own sake and partly for what it suggests, what it manifests of social history, of location, of all of the things that are implied in the sound."⁵⁹ On the technical level instruments (audio tape recorders) can record sound or can take sound measurements or isolate specific sounds from the overall background 'noise' of the environment. Individual sounds, or groups of sounds, can be electronically graphed as flat-line profiles (a time signature of the sound's wave pattern).⁶⁰ Humans have used knowledge derived from such studies to generate specific environmental conditions and moods, establishing a background hum or enhancing distinctive sounds in the foreground of human activity. For example, through the selection of a tranquil drone of music a

⁵⁸ Schafer (1974) p.10.

⁵⁹ Langlois, W.J. (ed.), et al., "Commentary: Aural History and The World Soundscape Project," Sound Heritage, Vol. III, No. 4 (1974) p.4.

⁶⁰ Schafer (1977) p.78-9. In a flat-line graph a repeating sound is shown as a series of blips (wave peaks). Many sounds have relatively very distinct signatures characterized by their unique sub-elements: "the attack, the body, the transients (or internal changes) and the decay." (p.79)

meditative mood can be enhanced, while alternately, loud rhythmic music sets conditions for an ecstatic dance environment. Sounds can be used to positive or negative effect on human behaviour, stimulating, calming, sedating or annoying.⁶¹ Uplifting music is used by music therapists to help people with serious depression or other problems. The well known example of modern background sounds is the omnipresence of 'shopping centre' or 'elevator' MUSAK.⁶² On occasion intruding on the background is the startling intervention of the police or ambulance siren. Humans since the industrial revolution have created an environment filled with the background sound of machinery.⁶³

The soundscape or sound environment of a place can be studied by experiencing it, paying attention to its details. This is because "The sonic environment ... is taken to comprise a vast array of stimuli, each representing a wealth of information capable of providing a variety of environmental experiences."⁶⁴ One method is through 'soundwalking'. Hildegard Westerkemp describes that in its broadest sense, "A sound walk is any excursion whose main purpose is listening to the environment. It is exposing

⁶¹ Porteus (1990) p.52.

⁶² Triax quoted in Langlois, W.J. (ed), et al. (1974) p.4 states, about acoustic design, "It's background now - the Muzak, the ventilators, the traffic, the refrigerators. ... now we're designing the fog, not the loudspeakers."

⁶³ Part of this sound is the unintentional bi-product of the operation of the machinery but it carries also an intentional cultural meaning with it: PROGRESS, CIVILIZATION, DEVELOPMENT.

⁶⁴ Porteus (1990) p.49.

our ears to every sound around us no matter where we are."⁶⁵ At another level, there can be a very structured approach to it. "The soundwalk is an exploration of the soundscape of a given area using a score as a guide. The score consists of a map, drawing the listener's attention to common and unusual sounds (keynotes, signals, soundmarks) to be heard along the walk."⁶⁶ The map is a musical or sound composition in which the listener can take part in the composing. It defines the sounds which may be found in that unique environment but the sound combination heard at any one time is unique to the hearer. The listener may detect new sounds, unexplained sounds or sounds coming in from other areas while on their walk. Every place will undergo a cycle of events and sounds according to daily, work, seasonal and other rhythms of life as well as now and again having anomolous special sound events.⁶⁷ The cycles of sound exist at various scale from micro to macro, internal body sounds to global sounds.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁵ Westerkemp, Hildegard, "Soundwalking," Sound Heritage, Vol. III, No. 4, W.J. Langlois (ed.) (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1974) p.18.

⁶⁶ Schafer (1974) p.17; Schafer (1977, p.272) says "In music, keynote identifies the key or tonality of a particular composition. ... In soundscape studies, keynote sounds are those which are heard by a particular society continuously or frequently enough to form a background against which other sounds are perceived". They may be natural sounds of sea and wind or human initiated sounds (e.g. car engines). A sound signal is "Any sound to which the attention is particularly directed", like a figure against a background in visual terms (1977, p.275). A soundmark is the sound equivalent of a landmark, refering "to a community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by people in that community" (1977, p.274).

⁶⁷ Truax (1984) p.69. Seasonal profiles of the composite sounds of a soundscape can be compiled.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.65. There is an interplay between continuous and regular sounds with variation of sound and intermittent sounds.

maps are prepared by researchers who map locations of sound sources; count and classify sounds by some identification system; determine the number of sound occurrences (frequency) for each type of sound; assess and piece together sound associations (patterns and dialogue) and relate them to events or activities; note sound volumes; and record isolated sound types or characteristic patterns of sound wherever possible.⁶⁹ Specific sounds and characteristics of those sounds can be systematically isolated by listening and recording and then documented for the specific time and place. During the soundwalking the listener is also participating in creating their own sounds (footsteps, talking, etc.) in contrast or harmony with the specific environment. Chatwin's discussion of the Australian songlines parallels the concept of soundwalks only provides with it a deeper meaning and understanding of the landscape. The Aborigines each have a tjuringa which "is an oval plaque made of stone or mulga wood. It is both musical score and mythological guide to the Ancestor's travels ... his title-deed to country; his pass port and his ticket 'back in'."⁷⁰ The system of walkabout and tjuringa (symbolically the musical map of one's individual life course) comprises the basic order and laws of society and life in general tied to spiritual origins through the medium, music. "In Aboriginal Australia, there are specific rules for 'going back' or, rather, for singing your way to where you belong: to your 'conception site', to the place where your tjuringa is stored. Only then can you become - or re-become - the Ancestor."⁷¹ Once certain

⁶⁹ Truax (1974) pp.13-15; Westerkemp (1974) p.25.

⁷⁰ Chatwin (1987) p.287.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.293.

stages, or song cycles, of individual's lives have been completed (followed) tjuringas may be joined together forming a larger collective musical composition, whereas loss of a tjuringa means the end of existence and song.⁷² There exist various audio-recordings of environments (e.g. seascapes, forests, rainstorms, the womb) and animal sounds (e.g. bird calls, wolf howls) intended to set a mood or sensitize people towards these environments and specific sound communications.⁷³ For some they replace the need to leave our home and do a nature soundwalk. For others they stimulate a heightened appreciation of our environment and encourage its further exploration. They may also tell us something about how animals use 'song' in a territorial sense, marking boundaries with sound signals to define areas of home, food stocks, protection and control. Some individuals, such as Ottawa composer Ian Tamblyn have merged these natural sounds into human organized patterns or have placed them within instrumental music and song forming a new sort of musical creation.⁷⁴

The origins of the soundwalk lie deep in human behaviour, acting as a socializing function while keeping us in touch with the natural world around. For many Europeans and Americans there is the taking of the traditional "Sunday-walk" which in modern

⁷² *ibid.*, p.287.

⁷³ One example is a series of audio recordings entitled, Solitudes and subtitled either "Environmental Sound Experiences" or "Exploring Nature With Music". The former present sounds of nature in different environments. The later does the same only combines it with pieces of music. A specific example is Volume Three with Among the Giant Trees of the Wild Pacific Coast and Spring Morning On the Prairies (Toronto: Dan Gibson Productions Ltd., 1981) Audio recording 5DG-81003. (audio-cassette: tape 1).

⁷⁴ Tamblyn, Ian, Over My Head and Magnetic North both on (North Track/Ambiance Records). (audio cassette: tape 1).

times has transformed into the taking of the "Sunday-drive".⁷⁵ Unfortunately, where the walk exposed us to sound, the drive has shielded us from many sounds replacing them with the roar or hum of its own engine noise.⁷⁶ Soundwalks, therefore, provide us with a spatial sense of the aural landscape and environmental experience, where we can transfer our knowledge of the sounds to visual objects or to actions of even things in the environment which we do not directly see. The travelogue of this experience can be stored or archived in our memories, sound recordings, soundscape maps and written data for further future analysis.⁷⁷ Most of the soundscape research so far has been carried out in urban park or urban neighborhood districts but could just as easily be performed in and applied to rural and more natural settings. In fact regions could be mapped out showing different concentrations and types of human sound as an expression of where people live or don't live and the degree of machinery used in their lives.⁷⁸ Just as in Kevin Lynch's description of the city in terms of landmarks, nodes, paths, edges and districts, music and sound of a place define somewhat similar elements of space.⁷⁹ Most characteristic are church bells or muslim minarets from which a call to

⁷⁵ Westerkemp (1974) p.20.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, pp.20-21.

⁷⁷ Schafer (1974) pp.14-15.

⁷⁸ Porteus (1990) p.52. "Whole regions may equally well be identified by sound, from the mechanical cacophony of the modern metropolis to the primarily natural sounds of desert and ice-cap."

⁷⁹ Lynch, Kevin, The Image of the City (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960).

prayer is given.⁸⁰ They define both a landmark point but also a field of sound in turn defining the limits of a 'parish' district, one basis of social organization.⁸¹ "The ability of a signal to be heard over some distance made it a useful means of communication" while at the same time the "fact that everyone within that area can hear the same sound provides the basis of a sense of community for those people", especially when the sound is characteristic of the place and not common to other nearby places.⁸² Once assembled in the church or mosque the people are further united in community through the sound of familiar hymns or prayers being sung or chanted, which assist in reinforcing religious and cultural norms. In the church would also be the ever familiar organ music sounding out a mass. If one pays attention to the words of a famous English nursery rhyme, *Oranges and Lemons*, it becomes obvious that each bell tower has its own distinct sound(s).⁸³ Lighthouses operate in similar ways having different clearly identifiable fog horns so that ships in fog can tell not only where danger lies but where they are located. With the coming of new electroacoustical technology the sound of 'call' could be extended many orders of magnitude further and could be more highly directed and

⁸⁰ Porteus (1990) p.51.

⁸¹ Truax (1984) pp.111-113. Truax states that, "the raised voice, a high-pitched horn, bells, whistles, and other devices were commonly used historically for signalling." (p.111)

⁸² *ibid.*, p.111.

⁸³ The words go' "Oranges and Lemons say the bells of St. Clemmons, You owe me five farthings say the Bells of St. Martins. When will you pay me say the bells of old Bailey. When I get rich say the bells of Shore ditch ... ". (audio cassette: tape 1).

controlled.⁸⁴ This opened the possibility for development of wider orders of human association (such as having a regional image, the "image of a nation", or a global view) but also for new scales of social control.⁸⁵ In spite of any standardization of sounds over large areas, endless examples can be given of sounds (musics) which are place specific.⁸⁶

Another means of creating structure out of sound is in acoustic design. Buildings have for thousands of years been designed to take into consideration the acoustics within or even outside or between buildings. Temples, churches and halls are often designed to create special effects (such as echoes) or amplification of sound, creating a sense of awe, wonder or power. Schafer says that the first step in acoustic designing is "to regard the soundscape of the world as a huge musical composition, unfolding around us ceaselessly. We are simultaneously its audience, its performers and its composers."⁸⁷ He continues

⁸⁴ Truax (1984) pp.111-112. The coverage area or 'acoustic profile' of sound and music expanded with each new electroacoustic invention: telegraph, telephone, radio, television, loud-speakers, record players, cassette players, satellite communications, etc. As will be discussed later concerning the development and spread of quebecois music, transportation technology (canoes, ships, railways, cars, airplanes) was also important in terms of what, how much, to where and how quickly music was moved.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp.112-3. "The control of spatial communication, as H.A. Innis (1972) has made us aware, is essential to centralized power and domination." (p.113) Examples of this were witnessed during WWII, through the efforts of Sir Winston Churchill and others, in battles over who controlled the air waves, as well as the physical battle fields.

⁸⁶ Porteus (1990) p.51. Two examples, Bombay and Cape Town are given.

⁸⁷ Schafer (1974) p.10. Only by being attuned to this can the designer effectively improve any soundscape.

this metaphor between music and creation through peoples' roles as mini-creators, in God's image, saying, "God was a first-rate acoustical engineer."⁸⁸ We can all partake in the landscape activities "for the universal concert is always in progress, and seats in the auditorium are free."⁸⁹ Flutist Paul Horn produced a series of music albums on which were recorded the interplay of voice and instrumental music with the acoustic design of famous buildings (the Taj Mahal and the Kremlin). He relates the experience of entering the room of the central dome of the Taj Mahal and the effect of the guard giving out a 'call' every few minutes. "From the first time I heard his voice in there I couldn't believe my ears. I never heard anything so beautiful. Each tone hung suspended in space for 28 seconds and the acoustics are so perfect that you couldn't tell when his voice stopped and the echo took over. Also the individual tone didn't spread as in other great halls, but remained pure and round to the very end."⁹⁰ It was symbolic to play flute within the Taj Mahal since Lord Krishna, God of the Hindus, was always depicted as carrying or playing a flute. Horn ended up only playing in an antichamber of the building but "Even here with a rather low ceiling the sound was amazing as it bounced around and off the solid marble walls."⁹¹ Each building like this has a characteristic sound space unlike any other, where sound and form merge into one. In the same fashion church organists and choirs have worked unique sounds out of the great cathedrals. But

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.12.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.10.

⁹⁰ Horn, Paul, Inside (EPIC, 1968) Audio recording BXN 26466. Quote from liner notes.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, liner notes. For examples of the 'call' and flute sounds listen to (audio cassette: tape 1).

even spaces such as shopping centres, museums, art galleries, and university halls have their own unique 'ring' that matches their own unique meaning to our lives.

3. THE MUSIC BUSINESS

Structures develop within society to deal with music and music related activities. For lack of a name, I have collectively termed them the "music business".⁹² These structures display themselves as units of the cultural geographic landscape. Apart from the music itself, the music business comprises organizations (musical, religious, governmental, industrial and private), music buildings (music schools, concert halls, recording studios, coffee houses, clubs, discotheques, dance halls), reconverted buildings (bars, arenas, stadiums), musical performance structures (orchestras, bands, pop groups, solo acts, choirs, audiences), events (auditions, concerts, sing-a-longs, fairs, competitions, dancing, media events), media structures (radio and television shows, music press), policies (including degrees of Canadian or Francophone content), social groupings (fans, fan clubs, gangs, 'scenes' for different musical tastes), background ambiance music for the public (Musak), statistical data (pop charts, playlists) and artifacts and performance or archival materials (sheet music, books on music, discographies,

⁹² I intend this to be a broad term. Perhaps other terms could be used as sub-divisions of the music business - e.g. the 'music industry' might be used to label the present day integration and conglomeration of music in multinational recording and promotion structures.

musical instruments, audio records, audio-tapes, music video-tapes, music movies, record players, tape decks, 'ghetto blasters', CDs, VCRs, fan memorabilia related to pop trends, fashions that go with musical trends).⁹³ Once music has been made it is acknowledged through awards, reviews, exhibits, halls of fame, and tourist recreation and pilgrimage sites for fans (such as Graceland for Elvis Presley lovers or Nashville Tennessee for Country and Western music enthusiasts).⁹⁴ Each of these groups of landscape elements breaks down further into functional or other type units. For example within the organization of the music industry are producers, managers, agents, performers, studio musicians, technicians and so on., each having a place both physically and relationally within the socio-cultural order. Newspaper, Radio and television interviews or reviews become important to the promotion of music. On the sub-culture side there are buskers, scalpers, roadies, groupies, etc.⁹⁵ The structures that have developed to assist the

⁹³ Slobin and Titon (1984, pp.7-8) refer to the 'music business' as the 'material culture of music' and draw a somewhat sketchier picture of it than presented here. They do emphasize the impact of electronic media as "part of the 'information revolution' a twentieth century phenomenon as the industrial revolution was in the nineteenth" in mushrooming music to an international scale. Regarding Canadian policies on minimum Canadian content, these were established in the 1930s due to "a persisting fear for cultural sovereignty in the face of the corporate American broadcasting penetration." according to Grenier, Line, "Radio Broadcasting in Canada: the case of 'transformat' music," Popular Music, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1990) p.221.

⁹⁴ The song *Graceland* on the recording Simon, Paul, Graceland (Warner Bros. Records Inc., 1986) Audio recording 92 54474, immortalized the place and the social fact of pilgrimage. (audio cassette: tape 1).

⁹⁵ Buskers are street musicians usually located in downtown urban areas or high people traffic. Scalpers, buy blocks of concert tickets, to resell at a higher value to public desperate to obtain tickets. They usually locate themselves near concert sites. Roadies travel with performers on musical tours working as technicians and

growth of musical expression or to control it are very tangible and therefore quantitative and mappable. Together they form an extensive worldwide landscape of physical structures and socio-cultural relationships with regional and local landscape segments, which link to different degrees with higher up structures. They evolved and elaborated with time and appear in different combinations within different cultures. Their presence or absence in any one region and time could be mapped out as a general category or as a specific detail (e.g.- street address).

Murray Schafer has very thoroughly combed through the sounds (as structures themselves) present in various environments. In one of his works he lists common sound, natural and human derived, within North America and some other places.⁹⁶ What is perhaps more important are his studies in identifying the changing structure of sound and music within the world through time.⁹⁷ For ancient cultures natural sounds greatly predominated (about 69%) the group sound and music experience. With pre industrial urbanization about half of human sound experience was human speech and activity with a small content (about 14%) of technological (tool) sounds. With industrial and post industrial cultures the sound of machines predominates (about 68%) and human speech and activities take up most of the rest (about 26%). As Driver acknowledges, many of

helpers in setting up the shows. A vast entourage of managers, make-up artists, prop men, friends and other 'hangers oners' often follow on the tour. Groupies seek sex with star performers just as less obsessive fans seek autographs.

⁹⁶ Schafer (1977) pp.139-144. He also sampled sound preferences in four locations around the globe to show variations in sound acceptance (pp.268-270).

⁹⁷ Schafer (1986) p.101.

these machine sounds come from the using and harnessing of nature, expressed in the rhythm of the machines which create new things.⁹⁸ Accompanying these changes has been the vast expansion of musical sound to which people listen, their horizons have been greatly widened.⁹⁹ The organizational structures of music have also changed. Different parts of the music business disappear and new parts are formed. Some people are saddened by the changes and other joyful. For example, Max Wilk says, "At one time, the songwriter had control of the ballgame, so to speak. When he wrote a song, he took it to his publisher; then that worthy took it and bet his own money on it. He published the song, put it out in front of the people, and worked to get it on records, or pushed to have it performed by leading stars in cabarets, or on vaudeville, or on radio and TV."¹⁰⁰ In contrast, he states, "That, alas, is a gone era. Nowadays, the publisher doesn't control anything. Everything is in the hands of the performing and recording artists. Most artists have their own publishing companies, and their own crew of writers - that is, whenever they don't write their own songs. As for the publisher ... chances are he's owned by a conglomerate, and when you are controlled by such a massive structure, it's what that organization wants done that counts."¹⁰¹ Musical instruments, come and go and evolve, as do musical styles, the invention of one influencing the development of

⁹⁸ Driver (1936) p.3.

⁹⁹ Schafer (1986) p.132.

¹⁰⁰ Wilk, Max, They're Playing Our Song (Mount Kisco, NY: Moyer Bell Limited, 1991) p.21. The stars of his time (Doris Day, Frank Sinatra, etc.) were unknowns discovered by individual publishers and promoters.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.21.

the other. To the Lyre, Hurdy-Gurdy, Lute, Harp, Crwth, Guitar, Rebec, Psaltery, Monochord, Panpipes, Shawm, Oliphant, Vielle (fiddle) and Organ used pre-1300 in Europe, were added improvements and new instruments such as the carillon, clavichord and recorder in the Early Renaissance (1300-1500) and the harpsichord, spinet, crumhorn, various woodwinds and the large church organ of the High Renaissance (1500s).¹⁰² Some of the earlier instruments such as the lyre were pushed out of common usage.¹⁰³ Musical instruments brought a change from unaccompanied vocalizing of Gregorian chants and monophonic song to polyphonic music and accompanied singing.¹⁰⁴

Technological development has played an important role in the continual restructuring of the music business landscape, ever increasing the degree and extent of the impact of music. "In the world in which we live music plays an increasing role in our lives. The electronic revolution and the proliferation of devices which can disseminate music make it so."¹⁰⁵ Changes in the spread of new devices has led to the development of vast networks in radio, television and advertising ensuring that music from any one place can potentially reach everyone in the world. However, the full range of technologies are not equitably distributed (nor necessarily desired) everywhere. Their presence or absence and level of advancement could be mapped, as well, for specific regions and times.

¹⁰² Geiringer, Karl, Instruments in the History of Western Music (New York: Oxford Press, 1978) pp.45-62, pp.69-89 and pp.100-119.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, pp.42-43.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, pp.42-44.

¹⁰⁵ Lehr (1984) p.223.

Technology has also turned music engineers, technicians and editors into 'behind the scene musicians' tailoring the music for certain audiences or to attain certain effects.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately along with technical advances comes the threat of increasing control over individual expression in music and taste in listening to music as decided by organizations. Any such controls may also be an indicator of a culture's desire in general for certain controls over its peoples.¹⁰⁷ Controls affect what music gets recorded, widely distributed, and played on radio and television. Within such structures there are rules to be followed in order to succeed according to general social and music business standards.¹⁰⁸ They affect what venues the music can be publicly presented in, what audience it is directed to or whether it should be banned. Other forms of social control in the music business are: who can participate, where and how? For example, up until very recently there has been a very low presence of women in popular music. In Britain and North America this appears to be related to sexual biases causing functional

¹⁰⁶ Hebdige, Dick, Cut 'N' Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music (London: Comedia/Methuan, 1987) p.10. These are the people who 'cut and mix' the music. Also with computerization of musical sounds musicians can 'sample' out segments of music and computer store them. These 'samples' can be replayed identically or distorted or altered through editing them either in concert or on recording.

¹⁰⁷ Grenier (1990, pp.221-224) discusses the formatting (genre selection) by CRTC (Canadian Radio-Television Commission) in regulating radio stations to control what is radio broadcast where, and how often.

¹⁰⁸ Kroll, Stephen, "How a composer-producer packages Quebec superstars," Canadian Composer (May 1974) p.4. Successful quebecois producer Stephane Venne says, "There are rules in this business - you just have to understand them" to succeed.

divisions, based on sex, within the music industry.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, it is a social indicator that imbalances may exist within these cultures, in general.

The audience is, at one time both a highly structured musical form and a diverse group of people.¹¹⁰ It is composed of a group of people ranging from 'devoted admirers' of the music to those who are disinterested but were dragged by others into being present.¹¹¹ It covers those who are musically sophisticated but also those with little or no knowledge of musical theory or symbolism. Whether massive rock concerts of the past few decades or opera concerts over the past few centuries; concerts are just as much social and cultural events as they are musical events.¹¹² The concerts and dances compete with or supplement other social occasions, such as going to church, picnics or fairs, as nodes for socializing and as dominant sounds of the environment.¹¹³ In these modern times where music is listened to both live and through electronic devices (radios, stereos, etc.) audiences and audience circumstances vary even more. However,

¹⁰⁹ Wells, Alan, "Women on the Pop Charts: A Comparison of Britain and the United States, 1960-88," Popular Music & Society, Vol. 15, No. 1 (spring, 1991) pp.25-32.

¹¹⁰ Herndon and McLeod (1980) p.35. "An audience is the person or persons who hear the process through time of those aspects of patterned sound which is called music." The first major categorization of audience types is whether the audience and the performer(s) are separated and how they are separated.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p.36.

¹¹² In terms of popular culture a good example (on a very large scale) is the "Woodstock" concert encapsulated in a movie, by the same name, which provides a glimpse at and record of both the event and the changing social attitudes of youth and young adults during the late 1960s and early 1970s in North America.

¹¹³ Porteus (1990) p.50.

one thing remains consistent, only specific reactions to music are socially acceptable under each social situation."¹¹⁴ "Audiences take their cues from particular contexts; their reactions are defined, delimited, and constrained by the nature of the occasion. Those who stray from approved audience behaviour in a given context soon learn what behaviour is appropriate."¹¹⁵ Other individuals 'sssh', stare, frown or point to signal to those who do not conform. Some of the required responses (e.g. cheering and clapping at appropriate times) create a sound (or music) of their own. Fans are a special case of audience, those that are loyal to and follow the progressive works of a composer or performer. Through having or not having fans determines whether or not music becomes a career for pop performers. The main ways of determining the fan following are by ticket sales to concerts and sales of recordings, not the number of appearances on stage or television, because "sales tell you that the audience puts value on the artist." ¹¹⁶

4. 'SOUND REGIONS' AND MUSICAL MIGRATION

a) Sounds - Universal Yet Diverse

Music is one of the elements at the core of culture, a stimulant of culture, an

¹¹⁴ Herndon and McLeod (1980) p.35. "Audience responses involve a range of obligatory and possible behaviours, whether the audience is isolated from the performers or not" and whether the audience is a group of people or a single listener.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.35.

¹¹⁶ Kroll (May 1974, p.1 , quoting Stephane Venne.

ingredient of culture, "a basic cultural form. Every society and culture on earth has musical expression of some form or other. It can range from the tapping of a simple rhythm to the intricate complexity of an orchestrated symphonic composition, but it is a cultural genre toward which few, if any, can remain indifferent."¹¹⁷ On one level, music is a universal of humanity. Music and song spatially cover all parts of the earth where humans live but music is not identical everywhere nor does it remain the same, over time, in any one location. A variety of musics can coexist in any one region at the same time. It is highly divided spatially and temporally by different musical styles (or forms) or sub-styles (genres). "Although the creation and performance of music are universal human impulses, it requires little or no special study to realize that distinct, and sometimes vast, differences in content, structure, intent, and socioeconomic importance may be heard and seen in the almost limitless music traditions of the world."¹¹⁸ Herndon and McLeod state, "although agreement is reached that music is human structured sound, its particular aspects vary from culture to culture" as well as changing with changes within a culture.¹¹⁹ Slobin and Titon again confirm this, explaining that

¹¹⁷ Lehr (1984) p.223.

¹¹⁸ Booth, Gregory D. and Kuhn, Terry Lee, "Economic and Transmission Factors as Essential Elements in the Definition of Folk, Art, and Pop Music" in The Musical Quarterly, Vol.74, No. 3 (1990) p.411. Also Engel (1976) p.167. "Although the feelings of the human heart, which music expresses, are, in the main the same in every nation; yet they are, in individual instances, considerably modified by different influences. It cannot surprise us, therefore, that the same feeling expressed in music should in different nations exhibit many modifications."

¹¹⁹ Herndon and McLeod (1980) p.1. They say that two of the successes in present understandings of music in culture are that "music is not a universal language, but that it differs markedly from one society to another" and "that the meaning of music differs

variation is due to cultural meaning. "Music is universal; but its meaning is not. ... Music, then, though a universal phenomenon ... gets its meaning from culture, and different cultures interpret it differently."¹²⁰ Music, the universal language in its nature, is composed of spatial and temporal dialects (is regionally and temporally multilingual) and has different vocabularies.¹²¹ A music different from one's own can only be learned by either growing up with it or through being interested in it and studying it.

In each region (or sub-local) of the earth, therefore, only certain styles of music have been selected to be used in the composing and performing of music. Slobin and Titon refer to these regions and groupings of people as 'music-cultures'; other researchers (e.g. Herndon and McLeod) refer to them as 'sounds', and so on.¹²² They may be very distinct musical regions or ones that overlap with or grade into neighbouring regions. Sounds can also exist in spatially separated but socially connected (at some point in time) regions. Between regions differing usages have been made of each of the musical qualities composing style, as previously examined, dependent on the circumstances of the place and the people present there. Accompanying this, music and song are given

radically from one society to another" suggesting that human values are in some ways "provincial, local and culture-bound". (p.12)

¹²⁰ Slobin and Titon (1984) p.1. They continue, "by culture we mean the whole way of life of a people, learned and transmitted from one generation to the next."

¹²¹ Engel (1976) pp.167-168; Vaughn Williams (1987) p.1.

¹²² Slobin and Titon (1984) p.1.

different names and 'places' (significances and statuses) within the associated culture(s).¹²³ As an example of varying musical style, "An interval describes the difference between one pitch and another (whether they are sounded successively or simultaneously). In most Western music the standard unit of interval measurement is the step or tone and its standard component, the half step or semitone."¹²⁴ Alternately, "Some musics make use of intervals that are smaller than the Western half step (quarter tones and microtones) or larger than the Western whole step (but not as large as the Western minor third). This is particularly true of several Far Eastern and a lesser number of Near Eastern musics."¹²⁵ Examples of scale common to European music are the Chromatic, Major, Minor (with the minor 6th) and Minor (with the major 6th) scales.¹²⁶ What appears like a minor difference when explained verbally or in written

¹²³ *ibid.*, p.2, pp.4-5. Worldwide, it should be noted, song and instrumental music are, by many groups, considered as separate entities. I consider them both under the label 'music', though from time to time within the text I discuss them separately.

¹²⁴ Hamm, *et al.* (1975) p.22. In a simplified view "Suffice it to say that a definite pitch is a single sound measurable in terms of its frequency, the number of times it regularly vibrates per second."

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.23. Also Engel (1976, pp.24-26) says that there are varying intervals divided into tones and different sized semi-tones. The differing scales do not all have the same top and bottom limits and some appear fragmentary. A performer may separate individual tones in playing the music or glide over them.

¹²⁶ Engel (1976) p.24. In comparison Engel also gives examples of the common Hindu scale (pp.45-46), the Arabic Scale (p.47), the Chinese Scale (p.48) as well as Irish, Scottish and Russian scales (p.70). Each relates to wide areas of dominant musical use and smaller sub-cultural areas where the sound has moved to other locations.

form can make the difference of the music sounding familiar or foreign when listened to.¹²⁷ Similarly, there are characteristic measures: motives, phrasings, sections, and periods as well as timings of music in each region.¹²⁸ But "Ultimately, a music-culture rests in the people themselves - their ideas, actions, and the sounds they produce."¹²⁹ What is common about all the scales and periods is that they are based on humanly selected sounds. They are all more simplified and streamlined than nature.¹³⁰ Also, in spite of biases which say that each group of peoples has its own musical susceptibilities different from others, there is research showing that all peoples have the same potential to explore any form of music and there exist many examples of peoples using musical forms generally not associated with themselves but they have developed preferences to only certain types.¹³¹ Certainly, in recent times a few musicians have crossed cultural

¹²⁷ An interesting comparison is found between Iranian santour music and the music of the hammered dulcimer (essentially the same instrument) used in rural Europe and America. Haghighi, Kui, Santour Virtuoso Music From Iran (Winnetka, IL: Candle Records) Audio recording U-56136 and Spence, Bill, the hammered dulcimer (Voorheesville, NY: Front Hall Records, 1973) Audio recording FHR-01. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹²⁸ Engel (1976) pp.82-83. For example an eight bar period is very common in European music but not in many other musics (p.106-107). In European music there are three 'root' timings used 2/4, 3/4, 3/8 but to differing degrees (some statistics are provided) in different regions or countries of Europe (p.81, pp.84-85). In some other regions, such as parts of Africa, though ordered the timings and rhythms are not obvious to Europeans (p.88).

¹²⁹ Slobin and Titon (1984) p.2.

¹³⁰ Engel (1976, p.32) gives the example of the diatonic scale, thought by many to be natural, yet is definitely humanized.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p.77. This challenges the concept that music is determined by the physical environment, which Engels even considers (p.168). Also most musics can be heard all over the world in at least small subcultural enclaves within the broader society

barriers, with musicians from one cultural milieu collaborating with musicians from other milieus. Ravi Shankar, an East Indian Hindi musician has produced several recordings with Western musicians creating music with intermixed cultural-musical elements.¹³² Other musicians from one culture have explored and used musical elements from other cultures within their own musical creations.¹³³ A wide variety of other examples exist of musical sound regions and mixes between them.¹³⁴

definitely transgressing physical environmental boundaries.

¹³² An example is Shankar, Ravi and Glass, Philip, Passages (Private Music, 1990) Audio recording 2074-4-P. Also Ravi Shankar Inside the Kremlin (Private Music, 1989) Audio recording 2044-4-P and West Meets East Yehudi Menuhin * Ravi Shankar (Angel/EMI, 1966) Audio-recording 36418. Alternately, moving west to east, Mann, Herbie Impressions Of The Middle East (Quality Records Limited, date not available) Audio recording SD 1475 (or Atlantic AT 1475). (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹³³ In quebecois music two examples are Francois Dompierre and Bertrand Gosselin both of whom used sitars, Gosselin also using various other musical elements. An example from outside Quebec is Rampel, Jean-Pierre and Laskine, Lily, Sakura Japanese Melodies For Flute And Harp (Nippon Columbia Co., Ltd., 1976) Audio recording M 34568. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹³⁴ Peter Manual in his book, Popular Musicis Of The Non-Western World An Introductory Survey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Bruno Nettl (1990) and Malm, William P. in Music Cultures Of The Pacific, The Near East, And Asia, 2nd Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), as examples, each show how different senses of rhythm and tempos, scales and melodies, and so forth, have developed within different societies. Joe Stuessy in his book Rock And Roll Its History And Stylistic Development (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1990) shows how differences in these same musical qualities work at sub-style levels by applying them to the music of the Beatles (pp.141-152) and other bands in the last thirty years.

b) Regions and Sub-Regions

Cultures are also not limited to having only one 'sound' at a time, there are internal variations (sub-groupings) which occur within any one cultural region.¹³⁵ Nettl describes two levels of cultural acceptance of music related to social grouping and order. On one, "in order for a song or other music to be viable in such a culture, it must be understood and accepted by a large segment of the population."¹³⁶ The second level is that not all members of the population carry the music but that there are musicians within the culture who produce and hold music for that culture in which all the other members may participate.¹³⁷ The musicians may have religious functions, be professionals or have no particular obvious status at all, but they play an important cultural role. To be included in a 'sound group' one must participate in the music either as a composer, performer or listener. This not only allows acceptance by the group but releases understanding and joy in the music.¹³⁸ Otherwise the music will be foreign and one may find oneself socially excluded.

Slobin and Titon identify another cultural division in music. Each piece of music composed relates to either (or sometimes both) traditions and changing styles of the

¹³⁵ Hamm, et al. (1975) p.23. For example, "Several Western composers in this century have written music containing quarter tones and microtones."

¹³⁶ Nettl (1990) p.3.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.3.

¹³⁸ McAllester, David P., "North America/Native America" in Titon, et al. (eds.) (1984) pp.12,15.

surrounding cultural environment.¹³⁹ It may conform to the general cultural traditions or be an attempt to transcend or escape them, often through the use of musical ideas picked up from another cultural environment. The first group is the same as that described by Nettl, the mass traditional public. The second is the subcultural aspect of a culture, which itself has two components. Subcultures may be sub-groups ('minorities') within the overall population who show some significant differences from the general culture, based on region, ethnicity, religion or some other specific characteristic.¹⁴⁰ Subcultures may also be groups who are expected by the general public to bear the same general characteristics as the mainstream culture but who choose to deviate from this culture to promote change in the culture or separation (or perhaps just more social distance) from it.¹⁴¹ To enter the mainstream of culture any change in the music or new piece of music created must receive the approval of the general public or else it will disappear, remain on the fringe of society (go 'underground'-a term from the 1960s and 1970s North America), or be altered to fit the social norms.¹⁴² Vaughn Williams

¹³⁹ Within certain groups in North America cultural-musical lingos were developed to accentuate inclusion and exclusion. The term 'scene', for example (in the 1950s and 1960s), was used to denote a particular social environment. This was an environment often tied to a specific place and the circumstances of a specific (limited) group of people. On entering this milieu one was supposed to immediately be able to feel the 'vibes' (vibrations, mood, and interactions) of the environment and fit within its structure and rules. If so the scene was comfortable and you were considered 'cool', 'hip', 'in', otherwise you were excluded and considered 'out', 'square', 'a drag'.

¹⁴⁰ Slobin and Titon (1984) p.3-4.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁴² Engel (1976) p.79; Nettl (1990, p.4) calls the norms "the needs and desires of the people".

suggests that there can be bad traditions (or at least ones which new generations come to view as bad and needing change) and traditions can become convention thereby rigidifying and imprisoning the culture from changing in a healthy manner.¹⁴³

A third major division of music, which has caused a division of groups of people, is the separation of folk music, art (or formal, classical) music and popular music. Nettl sees folk music as consisting of tribal music, "the music of nonliterate cultures, that is those people without a tradition of literate, sophisticated musical culture living alongside the musical folk culture" and "folk music, which is found in those cultures and areas in which there is also longtime development of urban, professional, cultivated musical tradition" (art or classical music).¹⁴⁴ Both could be totally oral based musics, but some of the later folk music is also notated. Nettl goes on to explain that "oral tradition means simply that its music (like its stories, proverbs, riddles, methods of arts and crafts, and, indeed, all its folklore) is passed on by word of mouth. Music is learned by hearing; instrument making and playing are learned by watching. In literate musical culture, music is usually written down, and a piece need never be performed at all during its composers lifetime".¹⁴⁵ Pop or popular music is music which uses mass media for its propagation and is designed as music for widespread consumption in the public or large selected

¹⁴³ Vaughn Williams (1987) pp.59-60. He stresses that however much the new generation rejects tradition they also inherit portions of it (p.60).

¹⁴⁴ Nettl (1990) p.1. European folk music would be an example of the latter type of folk music and Native American Indian music an example of the former. Tribal music is sometimes referred to as 'primitive' by researchers.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.3.

groups within the general public. Much of the pop music has an electrified element in it. Folk music usually involves all of the people who sing or play simple instruments, often together in groups, along with other life activities.¹⁴⁶ Art music usually involved (involves) select groups of performers and listeners. Pop music consists of very select performers and a more distanced mass audience, the music often not being heard in 'live' performance but from recordings.¹⁴⁷ These divisions can separate people in a few ways: 1) spatially, as differing districts where the people have differing ways of life (ethnic, racial, etc.); 2) into different sub-groupings based on musical tastes (genres) having lifestyle variations from what is considered mainstream culture; or 3) status-wise within any one group and space by socio-economic stratification.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.2.

¹⁴⁷ Riesman, David, "Listening To Popular Music," in Frith, Simon and Goodwin, Andrew (eds.) On Record Rock, Pop and The Written Word (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990) pp.7-9. The music is used "for purposes of social adjustment and social protest, or role of music in socializing the young, teasing the adolescent, and quieting the old" (p.7). The audience of pop music centers around teens and young adults. It is split between a majority who are indiscriminating in taste and "seldom express articulate preferences" (p.8). They are led by major radio stations and the pop music star machine. "The functions of music for this group are social - the music gives them something to talk or kid about with friends; an opportunity for competitiveness" and an opportunity for identification with star singers or band leaders" (p.8). The minority group (or groups) "comprises the more active listeners, who are less interested in melody or tune than in arrangement or technical virtuosity" (p.9). This group contains a rebellious fringe who misfit or have chosen to separate from mainstream society. They either have a strong social conscience or no direction but either way have "a preference for the uncommercialized, unadvertised small bands rather than name bands; the development of a private language" (p.9).

¹⁴⁸ See Nettl (1990) and Qureshi, Regula Burckhardt, "Whose Music? Sources and Contexts in Indic Musicology," in Nettl, Bruno and Bohlsman, Philip V. (eds.) Comparative Musicology And

Paralleling the preceding musical divisions, or perhaps more likely just a different perspective on them, are the divisions of nationalism, cosmopolitanism and commercialism. There are really several main types of 'national' divisions described between groups of people depending on the level of social order accepted by or for the group.¹⁴⁹ For simplicity these can perhaps be looked on as two broad divisions, one more 'tribal-cultural' in operation ('a people') and the other more 'economic-political' oriented ('a state'). The former is based more on blood and social ties, which generates and comprises a host of songs (and music); the latter is based on a more abstract ideology and symbolism, which usually selects a single national anthem and recognizes a more finite number of songs supporting the state concept.¹⁵⁰ Religious ties are often an important element of both systems and elites may be found in either. In a very few regions these forms may approach one another, in others the population making up the state is far too culturally mixed for them to be the same (for example India). Engel says, "The term National Music implies that music, which, appertaining to a nation or tribe, whose individual emotions and passions it expresses, exhibits certain peculiarities more or less characteristic, which distinguish it from the music of any other nation or tribe."¹⁵¹ Vaughn Williams notes that nationalism can come from different sources: the

Anthropology Of Music (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990) pp.152-3.

¹⁴⁹ They are not necessarily called nationalities by themselves or by others but form relatively cohesive groups.

¹⁵⁰ Paul Nettl in National Anthems, enlarged edition (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1967) discusses Origins and developments of various specific state national anthems.

¹⁵¹ Engel (1976) p.1.

development of a culture in relative isolation (probably at the root of many major musical styles), the seeking of opportunity (either the means to make better music or the will to attain wealth and status), spiritual-cultural values, or the will of a small group to change and regroup the social order (creating a renewed sense of a people and national music through revolution).¹⁵² National music can also arise out of the threat from groups outside to submerge one's own group's music and a fear of the overstandardization of music.¹⁵³ Today many non-Western Cultures are threatened by Western culture. But in other times and places similar threats also exist, where the power, technology and skill of the outside music is greater than that of the inside music of a region.¹⁵⁴ Yet rather than permitting the extinction of their own music by invading foreign national music a renewed spark in the public attempts to create its own music in defense or to take the foreign music and alter or adapt it to its own internal needs.¹⁵⁵ Finkelstein states that national music is more than just a musical language (set of notes in a certain pattern). "It consists basically of musical works, folk songs, dances and large-scale compositions, created by people in their struggles for progress, and by composers with close ties to the people. (They are) Part of the living cultural history and artistic treasure house of each

¹⁵² Vaughn Williams (1987) pp.53-56.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, pp.154,156.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.* (1987, p.156-157) cites the example of many British people rising up against the growing predominance of German and Austrian music within Britain. Through time the British have produced several stirring nationalistic pieces. One example is *Pomp and Circumstance for the British*. (audio cassette, tape 1).

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.156; Engel (1976) pp.1-2.

nation, (but) these national works can be deeply moving to people of other nations."¹⁵⁶

As mentioned before, national music may also arise from "the gradual development of the mental and moral faculties of the people ... (which) affects most deeply the destiny and happiness of the main" rather than just major events, thus being populace based and centered on tradition.¹⁵⁷ Under these conditions, nationalism is more unconscious and primarily inward looking. Composers of music were generally anonymous and the music performance constituted a collective act, where all or almost all community members participated.¹⁵⁸ From this gradually evolved in some regions, such as Greece, where performers and choruses (the continuation of populace participation) began to separate from audiences.¹⁵⁹ But with the economic, political and other evolutions within the world, conditions for national music changed.¹⁶⁰ Cosmopolitanism brought a centralization of music skill (a musical 'brain drain') from the land into centralized locals (often courts of kings and princes or religious leaders) creating systems of patronage which gave certain privileges to musicians. The music thus produced was nationalistic

¹⁵⁶ Finkelstein (1970) p.85. He continues, "As national struggles have been a continuous part of history from the 16th century to the present, so the rise of national cultures has been a continuous process in musical history", the music reflecting struggle.

¹⁵⁷ Engel (1976) p.3; Vaughn Williams (1987, p.59) states "Closely connected with nationalism is the question of tradition."

¹⁵⁸ Supicic (1987) p.90.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.91.

¹⁶⁰ Vaughn Williams (1987) p.53. "Thus arose on the one hand the self-conscious cosmopolitans and on the other the self-conscious nationalists with their evil counterparts, the truculent chauvinist and the lovers of every country but their own."

music for the empire or other region dominated by the political-religious leaders but was not really music of the people.¹⁶¹ This music became more art music than folk music and became more secularized and defined by social class.¹⁶² Continued social and technological evolutions brought a return to a more democratized music. The audience spatially and socially greatly widened, especially with the inventing of the phonograph and the spreading of commercialism and revolutionary ideologies causing renewed involvement, to a new degree and fashion, by the public.¹⁶³ Therefore as conditions change, the national regions and sub-regions change, as do the social structures within.¹⁶⁴

c) Social Class and Musical Role

Sidney Finkelstein claims that "Music, like all art, is not a substitute for life. The arts

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.54. Cosmopolitanism also means urbanization is a factor of musical change.

¹⁶² Supicic (1987) p.93. In this process "The individuality of the musician as creator and interpreter imposes itself still more on the public. This public is completely passive musically (but not sociologically), not participating in the performance".

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, p.95.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.* (p.94) says that "This era shaped the transition from participation-oriented to performance oriented music". Today we live with many musical situations: mass pop music, elite music, subcultural music scenes, experimental music, and private music (p.100). Within each form of music are different systems of who performs, who generates, who controls and manages the music (p.100).

are artifices, conscious creations of the human body and mind, through channels created by society for addressing a public. They evoke states of internal life that also involve states of human relationships, through objective means, or socially created languages and forms."¹⁶⁵ There do exist such obvious relationships between music and social order. Commenting on this sociologist Ivo Supicic states that, "It has been often observed in the course of history, starting with primitive societies, that a musical fact was related to a social fact. ... divisions appear everywhere according to sex, profession, or rituals in which individuals or groups of individuals participate" based for example on the musical instrument they are socially permitted to play.¹⁶⁶ This means that both the social functions of people and music show matched differentiation.¹⁶⁷ Supicic also identifies a musical division between children and elders.¹⁶⁸ A musical instrument or type of music may be used by one social grouping, sometimes at the total exclusion of other groupings. Even in today's North American society, for example, the electric guitar, with a few notable exceptions, is a male musical instrument. A certain music form can be a symbol of one's status in the social hierarchy or order of one's community, as well. "Finally, today as in the past, there exist different genres of music that belong

¹⁶⁵ Finkelstein (1970) p.12.

¹⁶⁶ Supicic (1987) p.85. Supicic repeats this conclusion (p.88) saying that both the facts of music and musical life are at the same time social facts.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.99.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.85. Nettl (1990, p.3) also identifies: "a tendency for certain songs or pieces to be reserved for specific groups, such as men, women, children, members of religious cults, political subdivisions and so on."

respectively to the 'masses' and to 'individuals' (or to small circles of listeners)."¹⁶⁹ Therefore, the meaning of a person's place in society can be musically bound. In separating art music from folk music there enters the factor of an educational differentiation between people thus creating "the development of a separate musical life for an educationally sophisticated and economically or politically powerful segment of the population, while the rest of the people held on to the older musical tradition."¹⁷⁰

By focussing on the composers and musicians and their source environments, their movements and the roles they have played in creating culture, the study of musical systems takes on a humanness. Within the broader group musical identities, individuals have their own personal 'sounds' each with unique qualities. Since the individual tends to create music which expresses in some way their response to their life experience within their cultural and land environment, there are, as well as individual feelings, common threads in their music often tying this music to a group sensibility and style, and is thus a group culture or sub-culture. The music is at once collective yet personal, that is the individual is never fully free of the culture, yet continually seeks some level of originality and individuality in music making. On the one hand "People are *socialized* as songwriters; they learn their craft from others. They also learn the norms, values, argot, ideology, etc., that are conveyed in any occupational socialization process."¹⁷¹ On the

¹⁶⁹ Supicic (1987) p.89. "Every period has produced music for both large publics and limited groups, and both types are more or less socially and artistically relevant."

¹⁷⁰ Nettl (1990) p.2.

¹⁷¹ Groce, Stephen B., "On the Outside Looking In: Professional Socialization and the Process of Becoming a Songwriter," Popular Music & Society, Vol. 15, No. 1 (spring, 1991) p.34.

other hand "the function of art: to open out new modes of perception and to portray alternative lifestyles. Art is always outside society and the artist must never expect to win popularity easily".¹⁷² Going back to cultural roots, all cultures at one time existed in forms which are now often referred to as being 'primitive'.¹⁷³ "An examination and analysis of large numbers of songs of various primitive peoples has revealed the fact that songs identified with certain specific activities, as groups in the minds of the peoples, tend to develop common musical as well as textual features, differentiating them from other groups associated with other activities."¹⁷⁴ Although the music becomes collective in nature it begins every time with individual members of a group (or individuals who come and join or exchange with a group). They serve the role of creating the music thus initiating a part of the cultural development and imparting the first layers of meaning in the music. they are the corner stones of musical order. The group will remodel or apply new meaning to the music as it chooses thereby creating the true cultural element. "Folkloric and anthropological theory have established one point which is generally accepted with regard to primitive musical composition: any item of music, a song, an instrumental piece, or a series of pieces, is the product, originally, of the creation of an

¹⁷² Schafer (1977) p.239. Art here includes music. Many composer-performers only became 'known' (popular) after their time.

¹⁷³ Today, many groups of people still follow surviving variants of these so-called 'primitive', tribal or clan group forms.

¹⁷⁴ Roberts, Helen H., "The Pattern Phenomenon In Primitive Music," in Shelemay, Kay Kaufman (ed.) Cross-Cultural Musical Analysis, Ethnomusicology, Vol. 5 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990) p.131. Robertson stresses that this is a tendency and not a universal law. The music is often ceremonial and associated with religious ritual dancing.

individual or group of individuals. In this way it is close to cultivated music. Few scholars today accept the theory of communal creation which indicated that the beginning of musical production lurks in the collective creativity of undifferentiated human masses."¹⁷⁵ In Native societies the individual often creates or receives a song or music as a result of a mystical or divinely transcendent experience, which may also be accompanied by an associated mental 'vision' or 'totem' image.¹⁷⁶ The belief is that there is a connection between a spiritual realm and this physical world, the songs and music recreating aspects of the spiritual landscape of earth and acknowledging the spiritual significance of the things within the landscape of the earth.¹⁷⁷ Though individually initiated, the intention of music and song are always social, therefore inherently having racial, cultural, national, etc. elements within. "Art, and especially the art of music, uses knowledge as a means to the evocation of personal experience in terms which will be intelligible to and command the sympathy of others. These others must clearly be primarily those who by race, tradition, and cultural experience are the nearest

¹⁷⁵ Nettl, Bruno, "Notes On Musical Composition In Primitive Culture," in Shelemay, Kay Kaufman (ed.), Musical Processes, Resources, and Technologies, Ethnomusicology, Vol. 6 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990) p.81. The term cultivated music refers to formal Western ways of musical composition having specific individual composers and lyricists. Except for 'primitive' music often not being written down, its resemblance to cultivated music increases as research into 'primitive' cultures continues.

¹⁷⁶ Nettl, Bruno, Blackfoot Musical Thought: Comparative Perspectives (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989) Chapter 3; Also Chatwin (1987) p.12.

¹⁷⁷ Within these systems of thought music can make its first migration from the spiritual landscape to the landscape of the individual mind and then onto the earth's physical landscape. This concept arises in a later chapter on early French-Canadian folk songs.

to him; in fact those of his own nation, or other kind of homogeneous community."¹⁷⁸

d) Musical Migration

Once a style has begun, if accepted, it evolves and eventually begins to migrate to places of acceptance. "Of course, people respond differently to different styles: they grasp their inherent meanings (are 'affirmed' by them) or do not (are 'aggravated'); they identify with the delineated meanings or are repulsed by them."¹⁷⁹ The sources of musical creativity, the pattern of the spread of popularity of musical styles and themes, and the influence of one style on another, together form a flowing historical and geographic map or landscape of cultural variation, change and movement.¹⁸⁰ These fields of migration of musical style (from birth places to present locations) help answer questions about when, where, for how long and with whom a sound was popular, as well as the regional extent or range covered by that sound and perhaps even provide an indication of the variance within the sound. This information contributes to the

¹⁷⁸ Vaughn Williams (1987, p.1) elaborates by quoting Hubert Perry "True style comes not from the individual but from the products of crowds of fellow-workers who sift and try and try again till they have found the thing that suits their native tastes ... Style is ultimately national." (p.2).

¹⁷⁹ Middleton, Richard, "Reviews," Popular Music, Vol. 8, No. 3, (1989) p. 319, a book review of Green, Lucy, Music on Deaf Ears: Musical Meaning, Ideology and Education (Manchester, England: University Press, 1988).

¹⁸⁰ Hebdige (1987) p.10.

delineation of relatively unique musical-cultures or sound regions, the sequence of internal changes they have undergone and the exchanges with other places. This migration can happen under many different circumstances and over short or long distances. Migration occurs due to socio-cultural movements (eg.- invasion, trade, moving of settlement home, refugee movement and especially transportation and communication technology).¹⁸¹ It can spread by the movement of one individual or the mass movement of a group. Individual travelling musicians (bards, minstrels, troubadors, gypsies, jonglers, and so on) have been found in numerous places in the world.¹⁸² There is also the migration of musicians to places where they will study, compose, congregate to exchange ideas, perform, teach, etc. Nowadays, there are the paths of the concert tour circuits moving between large population centres, either within their area of sound acceptance or beyond in an attempt to extend this region. Bruno Nettl and other ethnomusicologists devote an entire book to exploring in different cities, within developing nations, around the world "the role of the traditional music of a culture in the process or changes toward modern, essentially Western urban life" as groups of people move from the traditional rural lifestyles to modern city life.¹⁸³ "Each (study) is concerned with the interaction of traditional and Western musics or musical cultures, including musical style and sound, and inseparably associated cultural background,

¹⁸¹ Hamm, Charles, "Technology and Music: The Effect of the Phonograph," in Hamm, et al. (1975) p.253.

¹⁸² Engel (1976) p.207.

¹⁸³ Nettl, Bruno, "Introduction," in Nettl, Bruno (ed.) Eight Urban Musical Cultures Tradition and Change (Urbana: University Of Illinois Press, 1978) p.3.

context, and behaviour."¹⁸⁴ In present day North America and Europe people tend to classify music they hear as belonging to a certain group of people or coming from a specific place. Comments such as, "That's Caribbean music", " This is music for wild teenagers" or "Those are children's songs" might be heard. The identity with place becomes even more fixed than the musical reality. For example a person may say, "That's East Indian music" yet they have just heard it on the streets of Toronto. Therefore 'sounds' are classified as fitting with certain life styles, and are not solely conditioned by only one place, but pockets of places. After the passage of enough time, "No culture can claim a body of music as its own without admitting that it shares many characteristics and probably many compositions with neighbouring cultures. But we must also assume that some of the essential and distinctive qualities of a culture somehow find their way into its music."¹⁸⁵ In this way all music eventually displays shared traits with somewhere else (not only with neighbours but with any group with whom they have even had indirect contact) yet retains certain national, regional or local flavours.¹⁸⁶ No music is uninfluenced. With its transference or migration, songs and music, can change to be variants of the original forms and sounds, increasing their spatial specificity. The spread of the original music as well as its variants will depend on its original degree of isolation and the ease of cultural acceptance by a group, and therefore, the degree of interaction with other areas and freedom of movement from one place to another. This will be

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁸⁵ Nettl (1990) p.7.

¹⁸⁶ Engel (1976) p.189. The origins of and influences on even national anthems, such as the Marseillaise are greatly questioned.

discussed thoroughly in the chapters on French-Canadian folk songs. The case of folk music can be contrasted with that of popular music. Pop music is spread through coordinated channels of communication over wide areas at the same time thereby homogenizing the music over these regions much more fully. The first major examples of this are the music of Elvis Presley and of the Beatles. Within a short period their music was distributed worldwide in the standardized form of their concerts and records, within a wide range of very different cultural groups. Even so, with the passing of time the sound was diversified by many imitators, who altered the sound to some degree.¹⁸⁷

On researching back to find the places of origin of songs or music, the researcher travels "through the various fascinating adventures which have befallen them (the songs) on their long, circuitous and whimsical wanderings."¹⁸⁸ What is often forgotten in this process of musical transference is that "The roots don't stay in one place. They change shape. They change colour. And they grow. There is no such thing as a pure point of origin, least of all in something as slippery as music, but that doesn't mean there isn't history" and an accompanying transforming geography.¹⁸⁹ Also forgotten is that cultures are not uniform and monolithic. There can be great diversity present in any one culture, as well as the contrasts between cultures. With regard to cultures based on oral

¹⁸⁷ Wallis, Roger and Malm, Krister, "Patterns of Change," in Frith and Goodwin (1990) p.165. "When Sweden had its first pop boom (inspired by the Beatles) in the mid-sixties, there were said to be over five thousand groups singing variants on 'All You Need Is Love' in a country of only eight million."

¹⁸⁸ Roberts, Helen H., "A Study Of Folksong Variants Based On Fieldwork In Jamaica," in Snellemay (1990) p.13.

¹⁸⁹ Hebdige (1987) p.10

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PM-1 3 1/2" x 4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
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tradition, as with early French culture in America, there still exist and existed systems and structures of musical and other cultural dissemination, parallel to the urban conglomerate music business of today. Helen Roberts observed about orally transmitted music that, "A very wide-spread impression is that among American Indians, at least, where great care has been observed in training memories of student-priests, story tellers, genealogists and the like, so that the lore of the tribe shall be transmitted accurately, and where complicated and exacting ceremonies are rather the rule than the exception, very little variation occurs, or that well-defined limits govern it when it is found."¹⁹⁰ Even so, individual variations of shared songs can occur and even abound with the passing of time.¹⁹¹

Several geographical articles map out the movement of sounds. George Carney produced a series of maps showing nuclear hearth (core) areas, and later diffusions, of certain forms of singing, musical instrument usage, and musical styles as they have existed in the United States.¹⁹² Similarly Larry Ford created a map of the core areas and diffusion of rock and roll music but also a flowchart of the interconnections of musical style and individuals that (who) were ingredients going into the formation of rock

¹⁹⁰ Roberts (1990) p.13.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.13.

¹⁹² Carney, George O., "Country Music and the South: A Cultural Geography Perspective," Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol. 1, No. 1, (fall/winter, 1980) pp.16-33. There are maps for ballads, harmony singing, dulcimer, fiddle, banjo, (acoustic) guitar, autoharp, and country music (pre-1945). The hearths are innovative core areas, where the sounds or usage first germinated (as closely as this can be proven).

and roll and its transformation into a somewhat different form labelled 'Rock'.¹⁹³ R. W. Butler mapped out the birth places of rock and roll artists and recording centres, from where their music was distributed as records, across the United States, providing a sense of musical origins or hearths.¹⁹⁴ John Crowley provides a more detailed view through mapping membership distribution for old-time fiddler associations in settlement centres throughout the State of Montana, from which the reader may interpret core areas and degree of diffusion and interest.¹⁹⁵ Music becomes transmitted and diffused through the structures of music: oral tradition, music education, radio, television, performance.¹⁹⁶ Rosenberg claims "the phonograph recording - creates, conveys, and shapes folk expression."¹⁹⁷ For any one structure, for example, education, it may be possible to map out a family tree (genealogy) of how the musical ideas were passed on and altered.¹⁹⁸ As will be discussed in detail in the chapter on

¹⁹³ Ford (1971) pp.455-464.

¹⁹⁴ Butler (1984) pp.1-33.

¹⁹⁵ Crowley, John M., "Old-Time Fiddling in Big Sky Country," Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol. 5, No. 1 (fall/winter, 1984) pp.47-59. If fiddling is assumed as being equally accepted across the state then the membership distribution may closely represent the general population distribution of Montana.

¹⁹⁶ Booth and Kuhn (1990) p.415. "A musical transmission system includes all the ways that a particular musical content and repertoire is passed on from an individual to other individuals and from one generation to another."

¹⁹⁷ Rosenberg, Neil V., "The Folklorist and the Phonograph Record: An Introduction to Analytic Discography," Canadian Folklore, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1981) p.127.

¹⁹⁸ Schafer, R. Murray, "The Rhinoceros in the Classroom" in Schafer (1986) p.255. It was previously published separately as The Rhinoceros in the Classroom (Universal Edition (Canada) Ltd., 1975). Schafer presents a student's flowchart of how different

Quebec classical music, as each individual learned composition and various other musical techniques they chose their favoured influences (other individuals and styles) and then went on to develop their own style outwards from them, but always seeming to have shades of the styles of their mentors within their music. They also shared styles with their contemporaries. The cycle repeated itself as they, in most cases, then began teaching both old and new techniques to other younger musicians of the next generation, therefore assisting in the further development and elaboration of musical structures and styles. This geneology was tied to space since musical teachers were found in specific location and they tended to concentrate in certain 'hot beds' of musical generation which became cultural hearths (source areas). For the quebecois musicians their path of education usually led in the early stages to Montreal or Quebec City, then to Paris, France (or a couple of other European cities such as Brussels), and then back to Montreal or Quebec City. Few went outside this pattern. Those that did replaced Paris by Boston or some other music centre in the United States. Within Paris, Montreal and Quebec City the classical musicians migrated to churches, universities, the artist hangouts, radio/television stations, and more recently, concert halls. Therefore maps of musical nodes and flow patterns and statistical counts of numbers of individuals involved could be produced. Vaughn Williams explains that ultimately "Art can only thrive in an atmosphere of art", be it painting, literature, poetry, or music.¹⁹⁹ He continues "We

musical styles could be considered to be connected from a Western cultural viewpoint. Following through a book such as Ford (1982) one can trace the individual connections between teachers, other influences and composers.

¹⁹⁹ Vaughn Williams (1987) p.158.

must not suppose that composers invent their music out of the blue, without forerunners or surroundings. The innovators are the small men who set the ball rolling. The big men come at the end of a period and sum it up. Thus it was with Bach. The period of Haydn and Mozart, not to speak of the smaller people like Cherubini and Hummel, led the way to the supreme master, Beethoven."²⁰⁰ Likewise for inheritance: some music can seem to have disappeared for a time, but reemerges with a new group of people and a new energy. "True, we may have lost dear Ira Gershwin, but it is very clear, his and George's songs are here to stay, so long as there's an Ella Fitzgerald, a Lena Horne or a Sarah Vaughn to chant or croon them to us. Harold Arlan has departed, but he's not the man who got away, not when a Liza Minelli or a Peggy Lee or a Margaret Whiting is standing up there reminding us of his wonderful melodies."²⁰¹ When a sound reemerges it can take on new form (and of course meaning) because of social and technological changes. "The pianoforte of today is not the instrument for which Beethoven wrote, the modern chromatic trumpet has nothing to do with the noble tonic and dominant instrument of the classics."²⁰²

Specific maps and tables have been developed for jazz, country and western. rhythm

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.323. There are a long line of ancestors and decendants. The latter build on the foundations of the former, the new branches different from the old but still part of the same tree. "So when Chopin appeared on the scene with his Polish rhythms and cadences he was hailed as the first nationalist, though he was only building on his own foundations just as Beethoven and Mozart had built on theirs." (p.55). "Is not the mighty river of Wagner but a confluence of the smaller streams, Weber, Marschner, and Liszt?" (p.3).

²⁰¹ Wilk (1991) p.292.

²⁰² Vaughn Williams (1987) p.57.

and blues, traditional folk, urban folk, rock and roll, and 'rock' musics, as previously mentioned. The raw data for sound region surveys generally comes from music hit lists, discographies, concert listings (including names of places where held), recording studio locations and radio broadcast locations and extents.²⁰³ These archival materials are not just static 'dust collecting' entities if they are used.²⁰⁴ Quebecois researchers actively pursued and collected archival folk song material in order to aid the process of cultural advancement through music, as is talked about later in the text. Data collection of French language folk music started at Canada's National Archives but later decentralized to L'Universite de Laval. More generally, music has moved through a sequence of structures. At one time it was confined to somewhat isolated groups with limited connections to other groups. The systems of wandering musicians (minstrels, troubadors, jonglers, voyageurs, vaudeville groups, etc.) expanded and connected localities into wider regions. In villages and towns music provided a point of social gathering, therefore dance and singing or music halls became established. With the growth of cities bars, coffee houses and clubs appeared which provided certain informal types of song and music for select sub-groups within society, while concert halls were built for more formal music. Both the music and the society had become more varied and fragmented. Then came

²⁰³ A hit list is a chart showing the rating of songs/music which are current and available within the popular forum. Songs or music are ranked according to some measure of public popularity (record sales, amount of radio 'airplay', amount of music video plays) at a specific scale (local, regional, national, international) within a set hierarchy (top 10, 40, 60, 100, etc.) and a set time period (week, month, year, decade, etc.).

²⁰⁴ Rosenberg (1981) p.128. "Like 'bibliography', the word 'discography' has two meanings. It can describe a mere list, or it can refer to an analytic process."

festivals and massive stadium concerts for both popular and formal music. Musical trends of this sort roughly parallel the socio-cultural trends of increasingly larger organizations of people: from localized clans and tribes to city states, empires, and states and finally to transnational and global associations. The example of the Live Aid concert covers a range of scale from the local live performance sites at Wembley Stadium in London and J.F.K. Stadium in Philadelphia to the world at 'near-real time' via global satellite networks.²⁰⁵

Timothy White presents what appears to be an exhaustive , annotated discography of Jamaican music between 1963 and 1989.²⁰⁶ It lists who recorded what pieces of music, who produced them, where they were produced and distributed. The rest of the book, and another similar book by Dick Hebdige, describe the development of various Jamaican and other West Indian sounds. They have changed from being dominated by steel band and calypso music from Trinidad and Tobago; to copying American rhythm and blues, jazz, and boogie woogie; to being influenced by Latin American rhumbas, sambas, and mambos; to creating homegrown sounds of dub and talk, ska, rock steady, reggae, slack and rap; and then exporting them to Britain, the United States, Canada and elsewhere.²⁰⁷ Of course, almost all of these sounds have roots in various African musics and are more rhythm based than the European-American melodic music.

²⁰⁵ Hillmore, Peter, Live Aid The Greatest Show On Earth (London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1985) p.56.

²⁰⁶ White, Timothy, Catch a fire The Life of Bob Marley, revised and enlarged ed. (New York: Henry Holt And Company, 1989) pp.392-444).

²⁰⁷ White (1989) pp.17-20; Hebdige (1987) pp.35-46, pp.62-89.

"Ultimately, all West Indian music places emphasis on the rhythm rather than the melody."²⁰⁸ Each style had a chance to mix and brew with musical influences from elsewhere.

²⁰⁸ Hebdige (1987) pp.29-34.

Little boxes, on the hillside,
Little boxes, made of ticky-tacky,
Little boxes, little boxes, little boxes, all the same
There's a green one and a pink one and a
blue one and a yellow one,
And they're all made out of ticky-tacky and
they all look just the same.

Malvina Reynolds

Little Boxes

commentary on American suburbia

CHAPTER 5

SYMBOLIC MUSICAL LANDSCAPES

5. MUSIC, SOUND AND MEANING - SYMBOLISM IN THE MUSICAL LANDSCAPE

a) Music as Creation and Life Experience

Music can be defined as being humanly controlled sound but its meaning and importance go well beyond this.¹ Firstly, in culture, music is a metaphor for creation. As creation it, therefore, includes everything we can sense and understand about it: all of space, the things in it and the interactions, functions and processes involved within.² Creation gives to all humanity a commonality (a music all its own) in spite of the many superficial differences. "Rhythm is common to all humanity - it is at once common and

¹ Herndon and McLeod (1980) p.6. "What all musics share is the concept of patterned sound, even though the components of the pattern differ from one situation to another" or one place to another. "Perception is limited by biological mechanisms and altered by culturally acceptable regularization of sound." The human control of sound may be in the producing of it and/or the listening to and appreciating of it, therefore potentially, all sound is music. Also Schafer (1986, p.18) says, "Music is an organization of sounds (rhythm, melody, etc.) which is intended to be listened to."

² Therefore music would also be a metaphor for landscape or environment.

divine."³ Humans use this creative rhythm to create things for themselves. One of which is music. In this creative form music is a religious or spiritual event for humans.⁴ Thus it is played or sung as religious service or ceremony in religiously significant places. Each individual person and/or group of people define significant places associated with creation (and music). Religiousness or spirituality lies at the base of all cultures, past and present and the experience of it is located firstly in the most important place, or rather places, for humans, their heart(s).⁵ The next most important place or centre of music is in each person's brain; their intellect, memories, imagination, and intuitions, which operates in conjunction with all sensory inputs and spiritual promptings. Memory, whether unconscious or conscious, holds cultural heritage; while imagination and intuition continue creation, unfolding and advancing civilization. Intellect brings a comprehending of the whole. Functioning together the heart and brain are the mind or soul of people, connecting the spiritual realm (considered a place within most people's understandings) with the physical realm (earth and earthly life).⁶ Music also takes

³ Driver (1936) p.3.

⁴ Creation may be perceived as a continuous event or a series of events in sequence or even a one time event in different cultures.

⁵ Engel (1976) p.167.

⁶ Knight, David "Perceptions of Landscapes in Heaven," in Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol. 6, No. 1 (fall/winter 1985) pp.127-132. Knight explores different peoples' views of heaven but goes beyond this to say that, "Many people, individually or in groups, 'see' meaning in or 'obtain' meaning from landscapes around them, fully believing in the landscapes as living entities that are filled with meaning" (p.127). Also Vaughn Williams (1987, p.122) expresses that musicians don't just try to create new works but "the object of an art is to obtain a partial revelation of that which is beyond human senses and human faculties - of that, in

physical, as well as mental form, by its projection into what is normally considered geographic space. It takes shape and fills spaces, through human action resulting from a combined will to express and a rational nature, as audible musical sounds, human behaviour and related structures of music. These sounds and structures are also of religious origin and consist of sacred places of worship, awe and respect - shrines, temples, festival gatherings - within which religious ritual and sacred music are carried out.⁷ One of the thousands of examples of this is found within Inuit communities. The Inuit of the western part of the North American Arctic, in their traditional lifestyle, centre their social life around the Dance-house (Kashim or Kushga).⁸ This place is meant for communal gathering and ceremony consisting of music, dance and storytelling tied to a system of beliefs, rituals and taboos.⁹ Those Innu of the eastern part of the Arctic had similar Singing houses (qaggi).¹⁰ Although details of the content are very different, the general aim, functioning and form of such buildings and gatherings is the same for the oral country and village life of the quebecois people.

fact, which is spiritual? And that the means we employ to induce this revelation are those very senses and faculties themselves?". He continues "The human, visible, audible and intelligible media which artists (of all kinds) use, are symbols not of other visible and audible things but of what lies beyond sense and knowledge."

⁷ For example, *Queen of Carmel* on Kime, Donna, Inspirational Music (Evanston, IL) Audio-recording C-78. and *Jewel in the Lotus* on the recording of the same name, Music Dedicated To The Baha'i House Of Worship Of India (Goodwood, Ontario: Don't Blink Music Inc., 1987) Audio-recording DBMI-003. (audio cassette: tape 1).

⁸ Hofman, Charles, Drum Dance (Charles Hofman, publisher, 1974) pp.30,46.

⁹ *ibid.*, pp.44,49.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.48.

Music is also a metaphor for life experience, as an extension of creation. It is the rhythm and pulse of life. At the very basic human level it is the movement of the body. Music also speaks of daily life events, small or large, mundane or grand.¹¹ Life is constantly in motion in time and space. On a cosmic level, music has been seen as representing the movement of the heavenly bodies (stars, sun, moon, planets, etc.) in both the East and West.¹² This has also been seen as tying in with the mathematics and geometry which were seen by humans in nature.¹³ Motion indicates the presence of waves, with the proper device (ears or sensors) for collecting and listening to waves one hears sound. Humanly directed or accepted sound is music. While sound in general is not oriented (i.e. disperses equally in all directions), music has orientation in terms of cultural meaning and can be projected in terms of spatial direction. Light, and therefore our visual sense, is part of the continuum of electromagnetic and other energy waves, along with sound, and as such is sound (or sound, light). Sound further connects us to 'visions' by the use of symbols which tie us to certain shared life experiences and identification with places, other people and things.¹⁴ The same process takes place with

¹¹ One of the special characteristics of quebécois musical pieces are their descriptions, often in close detail, of daily life and ordinary people, rural and urban.

¹² Schafer (1977) pp.260-2. Also Schafer (1986) pp.132-136.

¹³ Schafer (1977) pp.260-1. Pythagorus and Kepler are examples of two scientist-philosophers of the West who explored the relation of music-astronomy-geometry. Also Schafer (1986) pp.132,135.

¹⁴ Note that 'vision' is not just visual seeing but the having of a picture within your mind which may relate to the past, present or future. However, music and lyrics of songs often describe images that we have at some time seen visually in common experiences thus strengthening a common 'vision' between musician and audience.

all of the other senses.¹⁵ Ethnologist Constance Classen says, "sensory perception is a cultural as well as a physical act, insofar as certain cultural values are ascribed to different sensory perceptions."¹⁶ There are musical structures, as well, for life experience in general (i.e. not necessarily or strictly religious in form, though they may still be in some cultures). These are performance structures, places for study and analysis of music, and the use of music to stimulate, order or control people in socio-cultural situations. As such, music both constructs parts of society and is a social construct. The structures of music carry meaning as do the other social structures which impinge on music. There is a significance to "the weight of institutional and ideological structures, not the least ... music education ... it is obvious that these structures powerfully affect the values and meanings associated with different kinds of music - 'folk', 'avant-garde', 'ethnic' and 'jazz' as well as 'pop' and 'classical' - and these differences can be correlated with social divisions."¹⁷ Control and influence are not just applied to only certain styles of music but to all music.

The playing of music is attached to life cycle events or occasions, a foremost example of which are the numerous and varied "rites of spring" and harvest festivals.¹⁸ Bob

¹⁵ Classen (1990) p.732. "While each sensory modality may have specific inherent properties - for instance , sight is unidirectional, hearing is multidirectional ... - cultures remain free to emphasize certain of these properties and imbue them with their own values."

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.732.

¹⁷ Middleton (1988) p.319.

¹⁸ Stravinsky's *The Rite Of Spring* (RCA Victor, 1957) Audio recording LM-2085, deals with humanity's basic instinct to worship the forces of Nature, or perhaps rather the spiritual forces behind

Janiskee surveyed the thousands of rural American (typically farm) festivals taking place right across the United States every year, all of which have music as an essential ingredient, along with dancing, games, speeches, crafts, and so on.¹⁹ Each rural community has their own specific time and manner of celebrating, relevant to its area, on which the occasions are held. Birth, death, maturity, graduation, wedding, Holy Days, and other events mark days of celebration marked by singing or playing of music from *Happy Birthday*, to the wedding march, to a funeral dirge.²⁰ Each event is also associated with a place or places: home, church or other house of worship, convocation hall, mountain top, etc. Many types of music, therefore, have a sense of meaning for social occasion. These forms are ones which change very slowly over centuries because of the very central meaning they have in the lives of people.²¹ An individual family occasion can be turned into a national occasion if a person involved has a significant role in and identification with the national group of people. One example is the interment of Bela Bartok in his native land, Hungary. To make the event of national significance,

nature, in causing a flourishing of fertility each spring (liner notes). (audio cassette, tape 1).

¹⁹ Janiskee, Bob, "South Carolina's Harvest Festivals: Rural Delights for Day Tripping Urbanites," Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol. 1, No. 1 (fall/winter, 1980) pp.96-101. The same holds for all of rural Canada and other places in the world.

²⁰ Engel (1976, pp.266-316) gives various examples of occasions and accompanying pieces of music. He even includes some perhaps outdated or declining forms of regular cyclic activity - e.g. the carrying out of the watch (pp.294-295).

²¹ *ibid.*, p.331. "In music employed in sacred rights and ceremonies, or in old and cherished popular usages of a secular character; innovations are generally considered as inadmissible; and it is for such purposes that most nations chiefly use their music."

"allegory, decontextualization, and myth were used to reinforce and recreate the image of Bartok as a national hero", a common practice used throughout Europe during the process of formation of the European states.²²

b) Naming

One type of sound structure, which is often overlooked is that of 'names', which is also a system of establishing meaning. It is based on the power of words. The giving of names to things, places, animals and people is part of creation (and humans as creative beings have a great fascination with categorizing things) and it is based on the aural senses. The spoken Word of God gave people speech, the power and right to name and thus empower and control creation. Naming affects one's character and can mean holding of power over others by naming them.²³ Similarly, through the oral naming and

²² Gal, Susan, "Bartok's funeral: representation of Europe in Hungarian political rhetoric," american ethnologist, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Aug. 1991) p.440. Gal continues, " the representation of Bartok as hero relied on a much older set of images and arguments about the relationship between Europe and Hungary, images and arguments that have constituted Hungarian identity and pervaded Hungarian political and economic life for at least 200 years."

²³ West, James King, Introduction To The Old Testament. Hear, O Israel (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971) p.124. "Parents chose the names for their children with utmost care so as to express their individually distinctive character - real or imagined; and, as we have seen in the examples of Abraham and Jacob, radical change in a man's character might result in his receiving a new name to express it. To know the name, moreover, was to possess a degree of power over its bearer." Tuan (1991, #2, p.688) says "Naming is power - the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain

repeating of the name of a group, group identity and distinction are developed. Another aspect of the spoken Word of God is the Law of God, which creates moral structure. For the Inca peoples "Viracocha is the one who speaks. ... He names all the plants and animals ... In the cosmology, the first order given to humans is to 'hear and obey' the command of Viracocha".²⁴ Where this oral basis of life is established music has become an important element of life. For Jews, Christians, and Muslims around the world, the Word of God is no less significant than for the Incas.²⁵ A third aspect of naming is the naming of places often done in the past by assigning a name to a location which represented an important event which happened in the specific place. This creates an event space of nodal and route names filling up a region not that dissimilar from Australian songlines. Singers very often evoke the names of places (the world, countries, regions, cities, neighbourhoods) in their songs, the name signifying something about the

character to things." He adds, "the new name has the power to wipe out the past and call forth the new". For example, St. Petersburg became Leningrad with the formation of the U.S.S.R., then rebecame St. Petersburg after its collapse. With each change came new socio-cultural, as well as, politico-economic meanings.

²⁴ Classen (1990) p.724.

²⁵ The Koran, 4th Ed., translated by Dawood, N.J. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1974, p.19) says, "He created man and taught him articulate speech." Though formal music is not accepted in Islam, music is ever present especially in the chanting of prayers, essential to one's life. The Old testament of the Bible, followed by Jews and Christians, tells about God filling the void with form through speaking. "And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light. ... And God said ...", "The Common Bible", Genesis 1:1-26. It continues, "the Lord God formed every beast of the field and bird of the air, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name." (Genesis 2:19)

contents, people or events of the place and the priority of that place within their lives (its context for us and our context in it).²⁶

c) context and control

Our location and situation place social and personal controls (or lack thereof) on sound and music.²⁷ In public we can not easily block out sounds or music, when confronted with it, even if we put our hands over our ears. But we can close our eyes effectively blocking out all sight of events and surroundings.²⁸ In a milieu of friends we usually listen to the current music which is popular and acceptable to the group, that is we are influenced by peer pressures. Similarly our musical selection in the general public can be tempered by broader public pressures. Privately, within our own home environment, however, we may be very selective and controlling of sound and music, quite differently from other situations. Truax contends that the base level in the meaning transmitted by sound and music lies in personal human reflection and plays a role in self-

²⁶ For example, in the song by quebecois singer, Robert Charlebois, *Les Ailes D'Un Ange* the name Quebec is continually called out in a joyeuous, festive party fashion by Charlebois and a host of background singers. Charlebois, Volume Un (St-Laurent, Quebec: Groupe de Musique Trans-Canada Inc., 1987) Audio recording SN4-803. (audio cassette: tape 2).

²⁷ Truax (1984) p.24 "The way in which sound functions for the listener depends on its social and environmental context."

²⁸ Tuan (1974) p.8.

identification, just as looking at oneself in the mirror does visually.²⁹ Individuals also explore and develop their self-image through interaction with other people. In this process "soundmaking produces an immediate aural feedback, and frequently a reaction from other people as well" where "unlike the passive quality of 'being seen,' to 'be heard' requires an active gesture, one which is a strong manifestation of self and contributor to self image."³⁰ This feeling of identification and purpose is especially heightened in the performer, on receiving positive audience or other participant feedback. The goodness of music is always relative, dependent on who is playing it, who is hearing it, the time, the place and the grouping of people.³¹

Context of place leads to the development of place-specific sound. Inside a unique region with its unique milieu of influences, typical characteristics of that region become enhanced and eventually broadcast beyond the region. Once "a distinctive musical style or sound, or even a general category of music , that has come to be identified with a specific place, typically a city" (or other local or regional area) it has not only an internal significance to those involved with it, but takes on a significance that is readily identifiable as of place-specific origin to outsiders nationally or internationally who hear it.³² At first, as it is developing, a sound is very localized and is not available or really

²⁹ Truax (1984) p.32. This is in effect an analysis or reflection on ones inner mental landscape.

³⁰ *ibid.*, pp.30,31.

³¹ Vaughn Williams (1987) pp.5-10.

³² Curtis, James R. and Rose, Richard F., "'The Miami Sound': A Contemporary Latin Form of Place-Specific Music," Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol.4 (fall/winter, 1983) p.111.

listened to elsewhere. As a sound and the performers producing it 'make it' (that is receive a wider acceptance, within their own milieu and more importantly beyond their region either nationally or internationally) then the sound becomes more meaningful and distinct in its contrast to other sounds within the wider context. In the process the place-specific sound evolves and moves from a local musical scene and market to a much broader scale. The particular sound will most readily move first to regions bearing similarities in sound and musical sensitivity. For example, the Miami Sound (and specifically the songs of the Miami Sound Machine) is "now broadcast regularly on radio stations in other major Latin cities of this country, (the United States) and nationwide record sales ... have increased significantly." ³³

Context can be important in terms of the time period of a music. "No music is timeless. All art forms are the product of a particular culture at a particular time.", says Lehr.³⁴ In the same way no music is placeless. But Lehr forgets that remnants of 'old' music or musical structures often continue and are becoming revitalized and transformed, given new meaning in a different context of time, place and circumstances.³⁵ This happens extensively everywhere with music. Some examples are discussed in the chapters on quebécois folksongs and pop songs. One that I will give here is a song by Paul Piché,

³³ *ibid.*, p.110. Gloria Estefan and Miami Sound Machine, Let It Loose (CBS Records Canada Ltd, 1987) Audio recording OET 40769. (audio cassette: tape 1).

³⁴ Lehr (1984) p.227.

³⁵ In terms of musical structures, in the 'modern' orchestra different instruments are positioned only in certain locations within the orchestra. These positions reflect European social class structures and musical instrument preferences from centuries before.

La Rue Berri. He tells the tale of a rural people's loss of their home and way of life on moving into the city (Montreal) from the farms.³⁶ This new song is interwoven with themes from the old folk song *V'la le bon vent*, previously used by the voyageurs to assist in their paddling canoes through the wilderness, and previous to that used in France under very different circumstances.³⁷ In Western Europe of Medieval times, monophonic music was the major musical form.³⁸ In later periods, monophonic sound was almost entirely replaced by polyphonic music in Europe through the 1700s and 1800s, as well as in the United States. However, because of its physical and social isolation during these times, French-speaking regions of North America continued monophonic music, causing a musical separation of regions, even though they had the same roots. Within polyphonic music in Europe: musical-social subdivisions occurred, spatially and temporally, dependent on whether the music was based on functional harmonies, romantic progressions, and chromaticism, or various contrapuntal forms.³⁹

³⁶ Piche, Paul, *L'Escalier* (Montreal: Kebec Disc, 1980) Audio recording KD 987. (audio cassette, tape 1).

³⁷ In the old folk song *le fils du roi* is the king's son who goes hunting and wickedly shoots a white duck. In Piche's version he becomes a symbol of the landlords who take advantage of the rural villagers who arrive in the big, bad city.

³⁸ Hamm, *et al.* (1975) p.23. Monophonic music is simply one-voiced music as opposed to polyphonic or many-voiced music.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp.25-29. "Western art music of the so-called classical era (roughly, the last half of the eighteenth century) is dominated by these strong, unequivocal chord progressions" of functional harmonic music (p.27). "Western art music of the romantic era (the nineteenth century) is dominated by these less direct progressions and by chromaticism" (p.28). Contrapuntal music appears in the simple form of *rounds* but also in imitative counterpoint which "has been a feature of much Western art music since the Renaissance", for example, in the *fugue* (p.29). In

Music also has a continuity, a passing on of musical tradition both in form and ideas. New musical creations in some ways, even if not readily detectable, are based on social traditions. "In this sense all music is made largely out of already existing music. This does not detract from the originality of a musical work. It only states why an original work of music is also understandable", whether immediately or over a period of time, by the listeners.⁴⁰ The changes in style of music are steps in a progression of musics, sometimes like a straight flight of stairs, sometimes a spiralling staircase or a series of uneven steps. There can even be a few alternate pathways at the same time. In Western music these periods, eras (or steps) are named and defined by certain central characteristics, different from other styles yet somehow developmentally related.⁴¹ These periods of renaissance, baroque, classical, romantic, avant-garde and so on have strong correspondance to major changes in European society or sub-societal movements within the overall order.⁴²

contrast to European contrapuntal music is the Afro-American Dixieland jazz (p.29).

⁴⁰ Finkelstein (1970) p.13.

⁴¹ Composers or performers do not ususally label their music but the society and music business around them have a tendency to compartmentalize their music into certain styles and genres.

⁴² Finkelstein (1970) p.9. He reverses a common misunderstanding by explaining that music is not abstract, pure from outside influence and separate from daily life but is "significantly influenced by the outer world of nature, society and history."

d) Music as Representation and Symbol

"Music is useful to different people in different ways, but whatever its uses and meanings, it is inextricably bound with the human condition."⁴³ Music carries within itself an element of response or reaction to both the surrounding physical and social environments and the originator's internal psychological and spiritual environment. The response may represent that of an individual or a group. Because of this, knowing about the lives and the activities of individual composers and performers becomes important to our understanding of the original meanings within song and music, and perhaps how these meanings have changed in our time.⁴⁴ Finkelstein comments, "In creating a work the artist (musical or other) draws more or less upon his entire personal and social experience. What results is therefore not merely a random mood but a set of concentrated psychological states that represent an attitude towards life" which is socially tempered and environmentally influenced.⁴⁵ A musical work can carry a description of interesting aspects of the landscape or insights into the significance of the landscape to the lives of

⁴³ Hamm, et al. (1975) p.33.

⁴⁴ For education of children in meaning and appreciation of music a few series of musical biographies have been produced. One series produced by Susan Hammond includes Beethoven Lives Upstairs (1989), Mr. Bach Comes To Call (1989), Mozart's Magic Fantasy (1990) and Vivaldi's Ring of Mystery (1991) all audio-recordings (Toronto: Classical Kids). Other series are Meet The Classics (Mississauga, Ontario: Shan-Lon Enterprises, Inc.) with titles The true story behind ... (works by Bach, Handel, etc.) and Music Masters (New York: Allegro) entitled His Story & His Music (Dvorak, Mendelssohn, etc.).

⁴⁵ Finkelstein (1970) p.12.

certain people. It may focus on very striking elements of the society and nature or on ordinary ones. Music may tell stories, sketch out life or review historical events forming musical vignettes or tableaux (mini-unframed landscapes). Fictional landscapes can also be created, but which are often, charged with fragments of cultural symbolism, social philosophy, moral value codes and cultural and physical reality. "Through such 'human images' and 'portraits' music can be said to embody ideas. These are not the ideas that may be found in a scientific tract but commentaries on a society showing what it means to live in it ... music joins the other arts in creating social consciousness, or the individual's awareness of the internal life he shares with society, and in revealing the internal history of society."⁴⁶ They are observational critiques and impressions of social reality. As well as entertaining, music passes on messages, educates, opens up new cultural horizons, and sometimes even signals important changes in society. When the imagery used to describe a particular location is matched with music familiar to or acceptable to the people living there then the music becomes very meaningful to those people's lives.⁴⁷ As Lehr says, "Evocative imagery accompanied by music of a genre closely associated with the region described is extremely effective both in creating a lasting picture in the mind of the listener, and in isolating the salient features of life in

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.11. He also says that music "does have 'sound' images of the outer world like imitations of bird calls, footsteps, wind and rain, but these are only superficial to the art. Music differs from other arts in its mode of expression, not in its fundamental nature as an art embodying the human being's response to the world outside of him, or his 'interior' life" (p.9).

⁴⁷ This applies even if the song's tune has no political intonations or obvious socially descriptive elements.

the area."⁴⁸ The symbolic image is the core of music, acting as a mirror of understanding for the composer/performer and for society. The clearer or more socially recognizable the image the greater the communication, understanding, and education that is made. "The composer may be called an intermediary, who returns in enriched form the material he has gotten from the people, reflecting in the process the conditions of life of the nation in his own time."⁴⁹ Music, and other art forms, "operate as art by creating images of outer reality so as to evoke in the onlooker certain states of interior or psychological life. The work appears to speak not only 'to' the onlooker but also 'of' him."⁵⁰ Symbolically, sounds and music can act, as well, as cultural signals of warning, gathering or social ritual act.⁵¹ Music also has an economic component (and therefore meaning). The music system can be viewed as a system of economic exchange.⁵² But "Popular music is never 'nothing but' exchange value or cultural capital. Individuals and groups using popular music are situated in the life world composed of culture, society and personalities, where they also use inter-subjective communication to develop

⁴⁸ Lehr (1984) p.226.

⁴⁹ Finkelstein (1970) pp.85-86.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.9. "These 'human portraits' ... for all their individuality, are also illuminations of a society" (p.10).

⁵¹ Schafer (1977) p.173. The sound of the bell, for example, in different parts of the world or different ages has been used to drive away evil spirits or bad weather, to warn of danger nearby, to gather community members for worship or news, to attract business, or for sexual attraction. Thus it initiates centripetal and centrifugal social forces.

⁵² Booth and Kuhn (1990) pp.411-437. "The concept of an economic support system reflects the strength, pattern, and direction of the flow created by goods and services in one direction and economic reward in the other direction" p.415.

meaning, solidarity and identities."⁵³

Vaughn Williams argues that music must be played to really be music and that notation of music is not music.⁵⁴ On the one hand, he says of musical notation: "This code of signals or series of orders is known as a musical score and has about as much to do with music as a time table has to do with a railway", not acknowledging that a schedule is critically important to arriving at a musical destination.⁵⁵ On the other, he partially acknowledges the score's significance saying: "A musical score is like a map. The expert map reader can tell fairly exactly what sort of country he is going to visit, whether it is hilly or flat, whether the hills are steep or gradual, whether it is wooded or bare, what the roads are likely to be; but can he experience from a map the spiritual exaltation when a wonderful view spreads before his eyes, or the joy of careering downhill on a bicycle"⁵⁶

To establish a specific atmosphere within the Quebec Pavilion at the World's Fair

⁵³ Fornas (1990) p.292.

⁵⁴ Vaughn Williams (1987) p. 123. "But a musical composition when invented is only half finished, and until actual sound is produced that composition does not exist." In one sense I agree with this comment and in another I do not, for I feel music also dwells in the mind. A composer hears music when they write it into notation. In fact, Beethoven, and some other great composers, wrote some of their music before it was ever heard. A trained musician will be able to hear music in their mind on looking at a musical score.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp.123-124.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.125. I would agree that the reader does not hear the same music or receive the same feelings and experience as when the music is performed but they experience another internal music out of partly out of memory and partly out of their ability to re-create the music from the page.

EXPO '67 in Montreal, quebécois musician Gilles Trembley composed some theme music as a representation of Quebec. In an eight minute piece of music he embodied key symbols of how many Quebeckers perceive their existence and landscape. The music started with sounds of nature, centring on the sound of water, then juxtaposed this with the noises of industry which were treated as bird songs in the music. This was followed by the sounds of thunderstorms and rain flowing down, again moving into the sound (noise) of industry and the city. the piece ended with a poetic sound description of the Aurora Borealis. Throughout the music there was a sense of vast space, deep forest, challenging climate, streams, rivers, resources, struggles, drama, victory and the modern sound of electronic music.⁵⁷ Referring again to one of Claude Champagne's pieces of music, symbolically, "Altitude is not merely a tone poem depicting the Canadian Rockies. It is a poem concerned with man's relationship with nature and its creator."⁵⁸ In an early portion of the work subtitled "La montagne" a rising sound and "rising tension in the music is like a description of the ascent towards the summit" of the

⁵⁷ Duguay, Raoul, Musique de Kebec (Montreal: Editions Du Jour, 1971) pp.278-279. This work is definitely a period piece. It represents a time just before the environmentalist age began, when industry was still in vogue and new technology, especially in electronics, was booming. The symbolism of the water is very significant on several levels. Quebec's discovery, exploration and settlement were all highly dependent on the St. Lawrence River system and other waterways. The Rivers were used to move furs and logs and were involved in the processing of metal ores and forest products. Water ran the small industrial mills. Water was the economic base of Quebec society. Quebec's present economy is almost wholly based on water for hydro power. Disruption of this economic base for some, especially political and industrial leaders, means a threat to the socio-cultural survival of the people. Quebeckers, also every year, have to cope with long seasonal periods of rain, snow, fog and heavy cloud cover.

⁵⁸ Bradley (1977) p.24.

mountain, where, upon reaching, "a choral recitative in the language of the Huron Indians is introduced to symbolize man's act of worship".⁵⁹ Schafer explains that at a basic level different musical qualities imitate natural and human sounds and suggest environmental atmospheres and human conversations.⁶⁰ But as Finkelstein explains "Musical realism does not consist, of course, of the imitation of wind, water, bird calls and the other sounds of nature. Beethoven's realism shows itself in many ways. One is the understandable human imagery of his melodies and themes, a social product of the musical life of his times. Another is his mastery of the new stage of development of music, the possibilities of ... the symphony orchestra and ... the public concert hall."⁶¹

e) Music as an Indicator of Social Change and as Social Action

Musical tastes can greatly define sub-cultures (sub-groups) within a society/culture. One of the largest of these groups in North America and Europe is the youth, who, especially through rock and roll and its spin-off rock, have become a much more powerful (though not always cohesive) force in society. Most new popular music is directed specifically towards them. Therefore since the 1950s, music has been a point of

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.25. Specific mountains are locations often considered sacred places. Note that Huron Indians have no direct contact or relation to the Rockies, while for some local tribes in British Columbia this is their homeland. Therefore reality in music is perhaps more in ideas than strict facts.

⁶⁰ Schafer (1986) pp.20-26, pp.33-39. Individual sounds or moods are isolated and identified then replaced by musical qualities that in some way share their central characteristics.

⁶¹ Finkelstein (1970) p.58.

identity for youth with one another in separation and independence from adults, the previous controllers of all of the social order. In this sense some of the "Young people today use sound as a wall, a stone wall between you and them."⁶² In this and other ways "music is involved in the forming of counter-movements and resistance to dominant power structures" just as it is used by those power structures to help maintain the order and tradition desired by the leaders.⁶³ In another very popular musical genre, country and western, the lyrics of the songs put forward, very directly, specific attitudes and prescribed social roles, upon which the listeners must decide whether these are positive or negative values to follow.⁶⁴

In the United States in the late 1960s large musical concert events began to happen, first in California and later in New York State and elsewhere. Early on was the Monterey Pops Festival (1967) which gathered together many of the leading rock and folk musicians from United States and included a few from England as well as Ravi Shankar from India. It, and the various previous and post-musical developments in the California music scene, led to the spreading of new social images of the Love Generation and the Hippies.⁶⁵ In the early sixties songs by the Beach Boys and Jan and Dean filled

⁶² Orchard in Langlois (1974) p.5.

⁶³ Fornas (1990) p.292.

⁶⁴ Wanzanreid, John and Woody, Robert Henley, "Country And Western Song Lyrics: Intentional And Extensional Orientations," Popular Music In Society, Vol. V, No. 5 (1977) pp.89-92.

⁶⁵ These lifestyles encouraged a more open, communal society with free love (sex). For hippies it meant abandonment of the previous American Dream lifestyle and work ethic. Many youth turned to these and other alternate (different from parents) lifestyles, as a result of these social movements, which included music as an

the American airwaves spreading a message of carefree fun and beauty (mostly in the women) in California. They "depict California as *the* place to be, a place of sunshine, sand, sea, surf, and - by implication or innuendo only - sex."⁶⁶ Probably the most significant (in terms of wide impact) of these events was the Woodstock festival.⁶⁷ The event was important because it signalled to the American public that profound changes had already taken place in American society and that further major changes were likely to take place. For many individuals, whether present at the festival or not, it marked an individual changing point in their lives. Musically it marked either a positive or negative transition in the careers of musicians who did or didn't take part in the concert. Bands

integral part of the lifestyle. Some of the other events were a series of social-musical 'happenings' and 'Be-Ins' in parks and halls which led to the opening of the Fillmore musical venue. For details on these and the Monterey Festival and Movie see Gleason, Ralph J., The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound (New York: Ballantyne Books, Inc., 1969) pp.1-82. Stokes comments that San Francisco developed a very strong local-regional sound which took a long time before it spread nationally and internationally, because Los Angeles was considered the point of departure for California music onto the wider scene. Stokes, Geoffrey, "The Sixties," in Ward, Ed; Stokes, Geoffrey and Tucker, Ken, Rock Of Ages The Rolling Stone History Of Rock & Roll (New York: Rolling Stone Press/Summit Books, 1986) pp.331-336.

⁶⁶ Lehr (1984) p.225. The Beach Boys 20 Golden Greats (Capital Records Inc.) Audio recording GGC 1403, (audio cassette: tape 1). Interestingly enough, quebecois singer Robert Charlebois follows up this theme with a song of his own *California*.

⁶⁷ The concert was immortalized in both a movie and a record album of the same name (Woodstock) yet represent only a few hours out of the three and a half days of multiple recordings throughout the different locations at the event. (New York, Cotillion Records, 1969) Audio recording SD 3-500. See also Makover, Joel, Woodstock: the oral history (New York: Bantam Audio Publishing, 1989) Audio recording BAP 158A and book of the same name and author (New York: Doubleday, 1989). Also, Curry, Jack, Woodstock: the summer of our lives" (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989).

such as Crosby, Stills and Nash became overnight successes, while veterans such as Country Joe McDonald found themselves musically constrained thereafter because of the image created by the concert and follow-up film. Country Joe's rendition of *I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag* was a light farcical protest against the Vietnam war, which would be replaced by much heavier musical expression in the years to follow.⁶⁸ Joni Mitchell, who was not present, scored success through writing a song entitled *Woodstock*, which commemorated and captured the spirit of the event and the driving mood of young Americans.⁶⁹ From such concerts and related events the message of change was spread.

In another part of the United States, Hawaii, a different kind of social movement and change was taking place, which was regionally and nationally (in terms of a people) oriented. Through music, the native Hawaiian culture entered a new resurgence in response to the over-commercialization of Hawaiian culture, which began in 1915, that initiated a process of assimilation of native Hawaiians into mainstream American culture.⁷⁰ A regeneration of traditional ('authentic') music, song and hula dancing began in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but this 'traditional' music was to a great extent new

⁶⁸ On *Woodstock* (1969) audio recording. Jimi Hendrix's version of the American national anthem, *The Star Spangled Banner* ending the concert perhaps bore the omen of heaviness to come to American music, his guitar producing sounds of explosion and chaos. (audio cassette: tape 1).

⁶⁹ Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young - Dallas Taylor & Greg Reeves, *Deja_vu* (Atlantic, 1969) Audio recording SD-7200. (Audio cassette, tape 1).

⁷⁰ Lewis, George H., "Music, Culture And The Hawaiian Renaissance," *Popular Music and Society*, Vol. X, No. 1 (1985) p.47.

and original, only carried on the flavour of past tradition.⁷¹ George Kanahale says "Some have called it a 'psychological renewal,' a purging of feelings of alienation and inferiority. For others it is a reassertion of self-dignity and self-importance" as individuals and a people of this place and "concomitant with this cultural rebirth, is a new political awareness which is gradually being transformed into an articulate, organized but unmonolithic movement."⁷² In time and form this very much parallels the popular music movement within Quebec. It also closely matches "the efforts of mainland American cultural minorities to assert their own identities ... fused with social and political concerns revolving around identity."⁷³ Peter Moon and other Hawaiian musicians sought out tradition from some elder musicians, who had retained the traditional culture.⁷⁴ From this base they developed new music in which "The lyrics are Hawaiian, the themes are Hawaiian, the composers, for the most part, are Hawaiian. It has not come from the outside, nor from the tourism industry". In turn, they took care and taught this style to other native Hawaiians.⁷⁵ The re-emergence of the use of Hawaiian language, the hula and traditional song became "a potent symbol of rediscovered pride and signposts of the Hawaiian renaissance" in essence symbolic

⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp.47,49.

⁷² quoted in *ibid.*, p.47.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.48. Of importance are black and Hispanic and Native American movements in America, as well.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p.50.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.51

identifiers of Hawaiian-ness.⁷⁶ In this process the musical traditions were symbolically transformed from something discarded to something living and vital. Hula dancing was transformed from something which had become a symbol of foreign exploitation and hyped up sensuality, devoid of meaning to the people, to renewed meanings more in keeping with the native traditions.⁷⁷ But musical and social struggles are not new, for example Beethoven was alive during the period of the French Revolution, as well as that of Napoleon, and though German was influenced by the spirit of both. The reason was that the musical and socio-political ideologies were not contained but spread. Finkelstein comments that, "The revolution, however, was a world event ... the declaration of the 'Rights of Man', universal male suffrage, the separation of Church and State. The peasants and working people of France ... beat back the armies of Feudal reaction led by German and Austrian princes."⁷⁸ The era of major social change marked a new musical surge when "This cataclysm shook all Europe. The best feudal armies were being trounced by the French working people singing the '*Marseillaise*'."⁷⁹ Beethoven responded, courageously, by supporting France and the new ideals through his music, in confrontation with his own German leaders.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p.52. Only if one knew the appropriate accompanying Hawaiian 'lingo' could one fully participate or be accepted as a 'brother' or 'sister'. Also see pp.48-49.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp.48,52.

⁷⁸ Finkelstein (1970) p.52.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p.52.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.53. A few examples are his apparent initial dedication of his *Third Symphony* to Napoleon (p.53) and his *Ninth Symphony's* last movement, the *Ode to Joy* in "praise of human

In the 1970s, once rock music had been strongly established as a mass socio-cultural influence, some rock musicians began to think that they could use the music as a tool to provide assistance to those undergoing hardship resulting from natural environmental disaster (eg. floods, drought, earthquake). This soon turned into using music to promote social justice when it became obvious that the effects of such disasters were usually heightened by inadequacies and injustices within the world system of nation states.⁸¹ There had already been an established tradition of this regionally, within the United States, over concerns of racial equality and justice for labourers, but now the process became more international.⁸² The first major musical event was the "Bangladesh Concert", accompanied by a song entitled *Bangla Desh*, designed to bring public attention to the plight of people living there who had lost lives or home, belongings and food supplies as a result of political upheaval and massive flooding.⁸³ The concert

cassette: tape 1). Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture not only commemorates the French defeat and retreat from Russia but also, in contrast, pays respects to the beauty of the Marseillaise, which forms part of the music's theme.

⁸¹ Environmental, food (starvation), population, and human rights issues as they increased found their way into music which sang of the cracks in a global system of independent states who did what they liked within their own borders.

⁸² For details on the black freedom movement, labour movements and urban folk revival see Goczy, Daniel J., "The Folk Music Movement of the 1960s: Its Rise and Fall," Popular Music and Society, Vol. X, No. 1 (1985) pp.15-31; Lumer, Robert, "Pete Seeger and the Attempt to Revive the Folk Music Process," Popular Music & Society, Vol. 15, No. 1 (spring, 1991) pp.45-57 and Ward et al. (1986) pp.252-262.

⁸³ The song was written by George Harrison, already a world famous star for having been in the band "The Beatles", who also was a central organizer of the concert. Harrison, George, I ME MINE (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980) pp.60-61. The song words are provided on p.224. (audio cassette: tape 1).

gained international status through the participation of renowned Indian musician, Ravi Shankar, who had a personal attachment to what was happening in Bangladesh.⁸⁴ Due to the ignorance and naivety on the part of the performers regarding political and physical events of these sorts and inexperience in organizing such concerts, the concert ended up generating debt rather than aid. But it did set a process in motion at the global scale. Another Beatle, John Lennon and his wife Yoko Ono went on a world crusade to bring Peace, not War, to the minds of people. In various locations, one of which was Montreal, they held "bed-ins" where they sang songs and gave interviews to the press. At the same time they bought billboard space to broadcast the idea of making love and not war. Although this brought attention to peace, it did not provide any strong suggestions as to how to attain peace in reality. Another series of concerts, "Concerts For The People Of Kampuchea", was a collaboration between musicians and the International aid agency, UNICEF, were presented in December 1979. They were held to bring public awareness to the political upheavals in Kampuchea causing the death and displacement of thousands of people at the hands of the Khmer Rouge, and to bring in financial support for refugees.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Harrison, George and friends, The Concert For Bangladesh (California: Apple Records, Inc., 1971) Audio recording Apple STCX 3385 and accompanying booklet. Recording of the concert held on August 1, 1971) Associations such as this between Eastern and Western music caused an exchanging of elements of style between those involved.

⁸⁵ Concerts For The People Of Kampuchea (Toronto: Atlantic Recording Corporation, Music For UNICEF, 1981) Audio recording SD 2-7005, liner notes. This project was spearheaded by ex-Beatle, Paul McCartney. As part of these shows he created a rock orchestra. Paul McCartney has pursued other social courses such as his collaboration with black American musician Stevie Wonder on *Ebony*

The next major efforts were better planned and more successful. The earlier projects triggered off a process whereby many musicians began collaborating together on musical recording and in performance. In Britain singers and musicians got together to produce a single record "Do They Know It's Christmas" to bring public awareness to its own narrow sightedness (and closed-eyedness) in terms of social issues and needs in other countries.⁸⁶ This began from the personal response of musical performer Bob Geldof on hearing about and seeing pictures of the horrible plight of millions of Africans affected by drought conditions in North Africa.⁸⁷ He decided to make a supreme effort to use music to help with the problem. Through contacting others in the music industry he acted as a catalyst and leader for direct action gathering with himself other musicians who responded to the situation similarly to him or who thought the idea was good for a variety of reasons (such as improving their own public image). His first idea was to produce one 'singles' recording having many big name artists performing, in order for it to sell very well. The concept and the band were called *Band Aid*.⁸⁸ The plan succeeded in more than one way. The record reached number 1 on the music charts, bringing in a high volume of sales.⁸⁹ This time to make sure that the money got to

And Ivory, encouraging black and white unity. Tug Of War (Don Mills, Ontario: CBS Records Canada Ltd./Columbia, 1982) Audio recording TCX 37462. (audio cassette: tape 1).

⁸⁶ Geldof, Bob and Vallyely, Paul, Is That It? (Markham, Ont.: Penguin Books Canada Limited/Viking, 1986) p.234

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp.216-217.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.223.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.234.

where it was supposed to go, Geldof took direct charge in making contacts with key aid organizations, government offices and the media. Geldof became informed of the realities of both African life and politics and the operation of foreign aid systems and therefore was able to act effectively as a 'good will' ambassador from a non-politically aligned, populous supported stance.⁹⁰ Following on the heels of the Band Aid project were releases of other recordings geared towards African food aid. Especially important were, *We are the World*, in the United States, and *Tears Are Not Enough*, in Canada.⁹¹ Socially conscious and active American singers got together and contacted Geldof to collaborate on *We are the World* and composed a band consisting of the cream of American pop singers calling themselves *USA for Africa*.⁹² A series of other composite bands followed suit in Germany, France, other parts of Europe and elsewhere.⁹³ *Tears Are Not Enough* was the song recorded by the major Canadian pop music artists under the group name of *Northern Lights*.⁹⁴

It was "Live Aid", a series of concerts, however, transmitted live for television around the globe, designed as a fund raising device to provide aid to famine victims in

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.228, pp.235-255. His populous support being composed of various popular groups around the world.

⁹¹ Though these songs were recorded separately, they were later combined on an album with other songs of social concern, entitled We Are The World USA for Africa / The Cassette (CBS Records, 1985) Audio recording BENT-40043. (audio cassette: tape 1).

⁹² Geldof and Vallyely (1986) pp.257-259.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.261. There were about 25 bands in all under various names such as, Austria fur Afrika, Chanteurs Sans Frontiers.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.281. This group was started up through the initial catalytic efforts of rocker Bryan Adams.

Ethiopia and a number of other north African countries, which brought musical collaboration fully into the international arena.⁹⁵ Rock musician Bob Geldof who, again, headed the project ran into many problems in getting aid money and supplies to those who really needed them, yet had also learned some lessons and sought more advice from planning advisors than previous aid concert organizers. This project was just another part of the snowball effect of the earlier recordings. Now, people, who were not directly involved in music, approached musicians to offer them their services or to encourage them to do more.⁹⁶ Due to the very strong voice of the Western populace in responding to the call of "Live Aid", the hands of governments and media were somewhat forced to take notice of the plight of the affected African nations. Geldof commented, "Even journalists cried. Thousands cried, millions cried. For those who were dying and for themselves. For whatever it was they had lost through the sheer crap of living and had rediscovered in a fleeting moment of clarity."⁹⁷ He continues, "We had wanted governments to react. They were forced to. Next day Parliament in Britain debated. Money was given. The R.A.F. were allowed to keep their crucial airlift in Ethiopia, and politicians left for Africa to see for themselves ... In America talk of massive airlifts,

⁹⁵ Hillmore (1985). See Garfalo, Reebee, Rockin' the Boat. Mass Music & Mass Movements (Boston: South End Press, 1992) for more on world scale musical movements.

⁹⁶ Geldof and Vallyely (1986) p.262. It was the offer of Wembley Stadium for a massive concert site that got the project started. Then it took months of hard work convincing musicians, communication industries, and others to donate time, assistance and money to allow it to take place. (pp.262-279)

⁹⁷ Quoted in Hillmore (1985) p.6.

food, emergency measures, congressional committees activated."⁹⁸ The main focus of the concert was to embarrass governments into action and awake the minds of the general public and it worked. This concert was not only significant for the fact that it did generate a large amount of food and supply aid for North Africa. On the broadest scale it promoted a sense of one world, a common place for all people who must care for one another, one place, one homeland for humanity. In doing so the concert utilized all of the major human social constructs and technologies of that time, ones which exhibit the potential of a world order. The technologies of satellite communication and jet air travel and the systems of international agencies and interstate relations had to be tied into the music system creating a 'global jukebox' and 'global telethon' for social assistance."⁹⁹ The July 13, 1985 concert closed with the song *We are the World*, stressing this point.¹⁰⁰ In being truly international, the project demanded responses not only from developed Western Nations but also from other countries (e.g. Japan, USSR, as well as the countries receiving the aid) since both the giving and the receiving mechanisms had to be in place.

On the musical side, "Live Aid" encouraged a connection between music and social issues which the fans supported. The music business, itself, made at least a temporary social change since they have "always had a reputation for being a 'Me Me' industry; tantrums and excesses are commonplace - even among some of the stars appearing today.

⁹⁸ quoted in *ibid.*, pp.6-7.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, pp.56-7; Geldof and Vallyely (1986) pp.264,290.

¹⁰⁰ Hillmore (1985) p.8.

But, for this day at least, the industry could show what it could do for other people."¹⁰¹ Social attitudes were beginning to change and broaden and the music reflected this change. The concerts also became 'hot beds' of musical exchange and enthusiasm and many performers who were previously not widely known gained world exposure to audiences of billions of people. The spin-off effect of "Live Aid" stimulated other more regional or national scale socio-musical efforts. Within portions of the United States concerts were held under the name of "Farm Aid" seeking to improve the lot of private farmers across the country. Not only were there aid concerts. There were also concerts developed over environmental concerns. In September of 1979 a concert was held entitled, "NO NUKES" which was to protest against nuclear energy development within the United States and its problems of nuclear waste, production of nuclear arms and potential of nuclear reactor accidents. It was the first of a series of activities and concerts, a 'talking out against nukes', undertaken by a platform of musicians, MUSE.¹⁰² In Canada, Bruce Cockburn has been the main proponent of social protest, especially against uncontrolled nuclear development, the world arms trade and interference of the United States in the internal affairs of other countries, particularly Nicaragua.¹⁰³ He along with other musicians such as Crosby, Stills and Nash sang out for Amnesty

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.59.

¹⁰² NO NUKES (Elektra/Asylum Records, 1979) Audio recording ML-801 and accompanying booklet. MUSE stands for Musicians United For Safe Energy. The booklet includes commentaries by the musicians as well as environmental experts.

¹⁰³ Cockburn, Bruce, Waiting For A Miracle (Singles 1979-1987) (Epic/CBS Records Canada Ltd., 1987) Audio recording TN2T-67. (audio cassette: tape 1).

for Amnesty International in the cause of protecting human rights internationally.¹⁰⁴ Valdy has also focussed attention on the nuclear environmental threat in his song, *Hot Rocks*, while further protesting what he feels are negative trends within the music industry itself.¹⁰⁵ Raffi promotes certain environmental politicization and global consciousness in his music for children. In his song *Baby Beluga* he calls for protection of the Beluga whales off Canada's (including Quebec's) coastlines.¹⁰⁶ In another song *One light One sun* he draws attention to the commonalities between all peoples of the earth.¹⁰⁷ Several of Canada's major musical performers Gordon Lightfoot, Murray McLachlin and Sylvia Tyson joined forces with environmentalists, Native peoples and other concerned individuals to protest the construction of a dam on the Oldman River in Alberta, holding a concert to raise money for the cause.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ One of Amnesty International's concerts was held in Montreal and included participation by several quebecois musicians and singers.

¹⁰⁵ Valdy, *Hot Rocks* (Scarborough: A&M Records of Canada, Ltd., 1978) Audio recording SP-9034. Valdy tells a tale of nuclear waste (could also apply to toxic chemical waste spills) accidents polluting our water and land making it unfit for use within many (generations) lifetimes ("hot rocks never break down") and presents a personal moral ("I am a father and I'm concerned, / Seems our kids've already learned / if you don't play with fire you won't get burned" (from album notes). Valdy, *Family Gathering* (Scarborough: A&M Records of Canada, Ltd., 1974) Audio-recording SP-9013. The songs *Hello Mr. Record Man* and *Rock'N'Roll Song* tell of the clash between performers and the music business, and the fan system that this propagates. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹⁰⁶ Raffi, *Baby Beluga* (Willowdale, Ont.: Troubador Records Ltd., 1980) Audio recording CTR-0010. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹⁰⁷ Raffi, "One light One sun" (Troubador Records Ltd., 1985) Audio-recording TR-0028. (audio cassette: tape 12).

¹⁰⁸ See "Singer-songwriters protest Alberta dam," *Canadian Composer* (Sept. 1989) p.8.

There are an almost endless number of examples of individual songs protesting against social problems in North America and various other cultures, locations and situations. Both in Canada and the United States, in the late 1980s and 1990s, concerts were given, and statements made to the press, by many musicians and singers (e.g. Sting, A.D. Lang, Madonna) concerning national and global issues of AIDS, literacy, environmental pollution and destruction of tropical rainforests. Madonna is a good example of the parallels of music and society, on the one hand she embodies all of the excesses of America in her star image, yet on the other hand she directly points a finger to major excesses and concerns within society, which the American public, themselves, do not want to face up to.¹⁰⁹ She is their mirror image which they both love and hate. American music is, on the whole, a confused mix of excess with a seed of social conscience in the middle.

Australian band, Midnight Oil, went so far as to take concert protest into the street, performing a concert on May 30, 1990 in front of the EXXON building in Manhattan to protest the damage created by unnecessary oil spills from ships.¹¹⁰ At home in Australia they sang for the cause of Aboriginal rights.¹¹¹ In the song *Gimme Hope Jo'Anna* by Eddy Grant, a hopeful call is put out asking for non-violent resolution of the political

¹⁰⁹ St. Michael, Mick (ed.) in her own words madonna (London: Omnibus Press, 1990) pp.80-81.

¹¹⁰ Midnight Oil, Black Rain Falls (New York: CBS Music Video Enterprises, 1990) Video recording 19V-49048.

¹¹¹ Midnight Oil, Diesel And Dust (CBS Records Canada Limited/Columbia, 1988) Audio recording BFCT 40967. *Beds Are Burning* tells of the outback land of the Aborigines threatened by white-oriented 'development' of the land and calls out "it belongs to them / let's give it back". (audio cassette: tape 1).

social problems of South Africa, centered around the apartheid policy of the government.¹¹² Peter Gabriel reinforces the theme by telling the story of the South African government's treatment of Stephen Biko, one of the black leaders pushing for removal of apartheid, in his song *Biko*.¹¹³ At the same time the public became confused when American singer Paul Simon joined musically with the black South African group, Black Mombassa, and performed a collage of Afro-sounds laden with American images for white South African audiences.¹¹⁴ But it made a statement that for musicians, music perhaps comes before politics, being a social force of itself, and not all protest needs to be blatantly given in song lyrics. The most recent massive scale social action through music is *A Concert For life - Freddie Mercury Tribute: Concert for AIDS Awareness*.¹¹⁵ An interesting observation about this concert was its nationalistic flavour. Almost all of the performers were British and at the end they sang together *God Save The Queen*.¹¹⁶ The performance at Wembley Stadium in London

¹¹² Grant, Eddie, File Under Rock (London: Blue Wave Records/EMI Records Ltd., 1988) Audio recording C4 90343. Jo'Anna refers to Johannesburg and the government of South Africa. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹¹³ Gabriel, Peter, peter gabriel (Charisma Records Ltd., 1980) Audio recording CA-1-2215. On the same album is a song *Games Without Frontiers* which deals with the topic of superpowers and their political meddlings inside other countries. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹¹⁴ Simon (1986) Audio recording. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹¹⁵ It took place on April 20, 1992 and was broadcast globally by satellite.

¹¹⁶ This had the double meaning of the band "Queen" but also a strong British monarchical ring as well. David Bowie, likewise, sounding like a representative of the Church of England, bowed down on one knee and recited *The Lord's Prayer*.

(again) was linked up to a large concert in the town centre of Johannesburg, South Africa, promoting white-black cooperation, following closely on the heels of the recent referendum in that country which supported more rapid movement towards balancing white and black political power there.

A song entitled *From A Distance* generates an image of the world as viewed from a satellite (captured by a remote sensor or an astronaut) where the world and its people appear unified and have a certain commonality and harmoniousness in apparent contrast to those songs proclaiming region distinction.¹¹⁷ The popular music of Uruguay and Argentina was a force of "alternative communication" and populist politics with many songs containing "fierce social and political satire on the public events and personalities of the same period."¹¹⁸ The music, unique to this region, however was derived from Africa, Spanish and local roots with influences from the United States, Europe and surrounding neighbours and consisted of revised folk songs and original pieces.¹¹⁹ Social movement, and thus musical movement, arose from the poverty and other social problems which resulted from the widening social gap between a small number of elites

¹¹⁷ This is a song composed by Julie Gold. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹¹⁸ Martins, Carlos Alberto, "Popular music as alternative communication: Uruguay, 1973-82," Popular Music, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1987) p.77.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp.77-78. Some specific individuals and bands are recognized initiators in the canto popular musical movements. The father of it is "Bartolome Hidalgo, the nineteenth-century poet and singer who recorded the struggle of Jose Artigas, leader of the fight for independence early in the century" (p.78).

and the large masses of the population in general.¹²⁰ The Canto popular was also just a small part of the Latin-American New Song movement happening right across South and Central America. "It shared the major characteristics of that movement: its use of national and regional folklore, its preoccupation with the poetic level of the sung text and its expressed desire for political, economic, social and cultural change."¹²¹ In Grenada, calypso music became a socialist tool of revolution and a focal point for the people. Not only did "calypso reflect the people's own cultural experiences" but developed "alternative communication systems ... to help articulate the concerns of the times."¹²² Older tradition and current revolutionary ideology met, blending freedom and work songs with socialism.¹²³ As such it did not repeat the old significances of the music but gave it a new popular base (by awakening mass consciousness), history and sense of culture, "suggesting that culture is dynamic and constantly evolving as it responds to changing

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p.78. The people sang out, and rebelled through other actions (popular theatre, film, literature, as well as more violent struggle), as "their distance from the economically dominant social groups led them to evolve a culture critical of the existing order."

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p.78. Parallel to this strongly foreign influenced music also took on "themes, lyrics and rhythms (that) were largely 'nationalized'."

¹²² McLean, Polly E., "Calypso and Revolution in Grenada," Popular Music and Society, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1986) p.89. McLean identifies that while serving as a vehicle of protest, calypso also acts as a communication medium and tool for assessing social relationships and imbalances and for highlighting social and economic problems (p.87).

¹²³ *ibid.*, p.87.

societal needs and goals."¹²⁴ The political authorities in Grenada were hindered from stopping this process due to two critical factors (events). The first is that people met at musical gatherings (which were also political gatherings) called 'We Tent' and when authorities tried to break these up, the calypsonians played a martyr-like role causing a reverberation of their message (and therefore music) throughout the society.¹²⁵ The second factor was that the carnival festival, where calypso could be openly performed, was so deeply rooted in the culture that it could not be stopped or hindered in its celebration.¹²⁶ Post-revolution, calypso was used to propagate and entrench the dominant party line of the new leaders, with words of songs calling for people to arise to support the cause and act together and confirm their anti-imperialist stance.¹²⁷ Examples from other places are too numerous to mention, but those of Cuba and China are referred to by Peter Manuel.¹²⁸ Regionalism has expressed itself not just on political grounds but also on musical ones. Southern rock music of the south eastern United States has succeeded in "developing a unified southern image and has tried to fuse two

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p.88. See also p.87. It is interesting for Quebec in that rapid social awakening took place similarly in the late 1960s and the 1970s but before this social evolution was extremely slow, an issue often referred to in quebecois songs.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.89. Mention is made in some of the songs of the local martyrs killed by the authorities, as well as martyrs in other countries falling to similar fates (p.92). 'We Tent' was in fact the nascent political party which would come into power after the revolution.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p.89.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, pp.91-93.

¹²⁸ Manuel (1988) pp.15-16. An example of populous protest is the reggae song *Get Up Stand Up* by Bob Marley and the Wailers. (audio cassette: tape 1).

two formerly separate styles: blues and country music. The result has been a commercial success and has presented the country with a counter-culture image of the South."¹²⁹ Quebecois singer, Raoul Duguay, in many of his songs captures both the regionality and universality of message together, as being part of the same process. *O Kebek*, for example, embodies both a deep love of his home place and national (ethnic) roots, yet he seeks and calls for all people to combine these two in a universal order which accepts regional diversity (individuality).¹³⁰ As always, the suggested, but rarely practiced, solutions to social problems are love and fellowship.¹³¹

6. THE INTERTWINING OF MUSICAL LANDSCAPES

The various types of musical landscape mentioned above, find themselves intimately

¹²⁹ Hey, Kenneth R., "I Feel A Change Comin' On: The Counter-Culture Image Of The South In Southern Rock 'N' Roll," Popular Music In Society, Vol. V, No. 5 (1977) p.93.

¹³⁰ Duguay, Raoul L. Y., On S'M O Kebek (Missassauga, Ontario: Capital/EMI du Canada Limitee, 1979) Audio recording SW3C 70-066. (audio cassette: tape 1). Note that 'M' means aime (love) and 'O' means au (in) in the song title. I strongly share his outlook that both the local/regional and universal loyalties can and must be acceptable for human organization to advance. Though apparently countervailing centripetal and centrifugal forces, they are working together towards a new awareness that large scale social unities can only be attained and maintained if regional diversity and equality of human rights are accepted and respected by the full group.

¹³¹ For example the songs *Love Is The Seventh Wave* by Sting and *A Higher Love* by Steve Windwood. (audio cassette: tape 1. The primary theme of quebecois music is love, often expressed openly and passionately, but sometimes it is just implicit, as shown through the sensitivity of the composer or performer for the land, its people and their way of life.

combined in an intertwined arrangement. One example is the musical piece *The Moldau* by Smetana. A theme recurs throughout the work which represents musically and symbolically (simultaneously): a specific musical form and pattern, a river in general, a specific river in Czechoslovakia, the water of life of a people, the people themselves as a nation (hopeful to become a state), a homeland and territory. Nationalism pervades much of Smetana's music adding cultural meaning to his other elements, such as the descriptive details of the natural landscape.¹³² As the piece progresses, a moving, evolving picture is 'painted' of a river starting as two small streams, that merge and then gradually grow into a broad strong river. A parallel can be made with the coming together of the Czechs into 'a people', 'a nation' with a strong and developing homeland.¹³³ This music and social movement were very self-conscious and did not rise up from all the people at once but started with a small core, "a coterie of Bohemian literateurs" who awoke others, the public, and its political and social leaders, eventually taking over the movement, making its artistic originators mythical in status.¹³⁴ Though deeply connected with growth of nationalism, music also has its own aloofness and detachment from politics and remains much more imbedded in the cultural aspect of the

¹³² Vaughn Williams (1987) p.56. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹³³ Vaughn Williams (1987) pp.55-56. As a personal aside, a cycle was completed for me. I became exposed to *The Moldau*, and its basic meanings, through a music teacher in grade six. Eventually, I grasped a much deeper significance to these meanings in terms of understanding the world situations and people at a new level. This allows me to transmit parts of this meaning to others, perhaps adding new meaning, and continuing a process of cultural growth. The same process takes place in the telling of nursery rhymes or folktales (and fairy tales), by parents to their children.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p.56.

people. For example, Wagner, in his many compositions used folktales in the promotion of national identity but did not attach himself to the specific politics of Nazism, but rather the general politics of cultural growth and his music transcended any of the negative attachments it temporarily gained by other individuals trying to make it part of Nazism.¹³⁵

In summary music exhibits great variety just as life does, both of which are spatially and temporally segmented, while at the same time having an inherent coherency and unity. Hamm and others suggest that "everything in a piece of music is interconnected, and that every piece is ultimately reducible to a germinal idea, which is the piece in microscopic form" even though it consists of a variety of different notes and patterns.¹³⁶ Without this acculturated order sound is noise, yet without variation of sound there is also no music.¹³⁷ They continue: "It is a paradox in music, and perhaps elsewhere, that unity and variety can be conceived as phenomena that occur simultaneously as well as consecutively."¹³⁸ Perhaps there is a lesson in these ideas that

¹³⁵ Szell/Wagner, Great Orchestral Highlights from the Ring of the Nibelungs, The Cleveland Orchestra (Columbia Records of Canada, Ltd.) Audio recording MS 7291. (audio cassette: tape 1). Wagner's works embodied Germanic, Scandinavian and Icelandic tradition and folklore of Gods, giants, warriors, and so on presenting both a cosmic order and an internal psychological exploration to explain this heritage. "The Ring has survived all the discussion that it first provoked and even misguided 20th-century efforts to elevate it to the status of political doctrine. It survives on the operatic stage not as the model of dramatic idealism that Wagner intended but as a triumphant musical experience, eloquent and powerful" (liner notes).

¹³⁶ Hamm, et al. (1975) p.31.

¹³⁷ ibid., p.30.

¹³⁸ ibid., p.31.

applies as much to the 'composition' and 'performance' of culture and human order, in general, as they do to the composition and performance of music.

"We cannot fully understand other people's music and their environments merely by superimposing upon them our understanding of ourselves. Similarly, we cannot fully grasp the nature of meaning, and essence of all music by interpreting them in terms of one music."¹³⁹ It bears out in example that we also cannot replace another's culture or music through forcing our own upon them nor can we assume our music will remain the same in meaning if we transport it to a new place, even if the sound and words remain the same. With change of place comes adaptation of the music or mixing of it with other musics, thus creating either new music or altered meaning and expression.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p.33.

CHAPTER 6

THE BEGINNINGS OF QUEBECOIS MUSIC

1. INTRODUCTION¹

La chanson est "comme dit Vigneault, 'le miroir d'un peuple', surtout du peuple quebecois."² In commenting on Maurice Carrier's study of the Quebec folk song, Robert-Lionel Seguin suggests that song can also be "le miroir de la pensee et du climat politiques de l'epoque".³ He states that nowhere else is there a record that portrays the social, economic and political issues so purely, at any one time, than the folk song, because it carries the sincere sentiments of the people.⁴ He continues, saying that many

¹ For a detailed listing of French and Quebec folk songs and their interconnections see the six volume Les Archives De Folklore series: Laforte, Conrad, Le catalogue de la chanson folklorique francaise (Quebec: Les Presses De L'Universite Laval, 1977).

² Norman, Pascal, La Chanson Quebecoise (Montreal: Editions France-Amerique, 1981) p.13. Song is like (Gilles) Vigneault says, 'a mirror of the people', above all the quebecois people. 'La chanson' can include both folk and pop songs.

³ Preface to Carrier, Maurice and Vachon, Monique, Chansons politiques du Quebec 1765-1833, Vol. 1 (Montreal: Les Editions Lemeac Inc., 1977) p.10. Song also mirrors the thought and political climate of the times.

⁴ Preface to *ibid.*, p.9. "Il n'est pas de chronique sociale, economique et politique plus sure que la chanson ... C'est qu'elle traduit fidelement la volonte et la sentiment populaires." Some would say that the modern pop song has replaced the traditional

folk songs are 'political' songs that carry a message for the purpose of informing or politicizing people.⁵ In Quebec, these political songs reflect the primary problems facing the collective French-Canadian people, thus contributing to their collective national consciousness, as well as being an expression of the people's daily struggle in life.⁶ The words of the songs provide the concrete meanings while the melodies provide not only atmosphere and impressional meanings, but a link between members of the group's population, through their memory and sharing these tunes, many familiar from even childhood experience.⁷ The performer adds subtle nuance and innuendo to meaning in the song, enhancing the message already there and perhaps adding his/her own new meaning. Projecting the meaning is the performer's passion of expression, calling for emotional response from the people. Michel Bibaud suggests that songs have two sides. One side can be taken at face value but this side can often have little direct meaning and seem frivolous. The other side is serious and loaded with meaning for the audience to whom it is directed.⁸ The less serious part of the song generates fellowship, while the serious side is a powerful vehicle for stimulating patriotism, political movement or social

folk song in this role (see chapters 9 and 10).

⁵ Preface to *ibid.*, p.11. Seguin goes on to say, "cette chanson politique vehicule un message, une intention."

⁶ *ibid.*, p.331. Carrier and Vachon say, "Parce que la chanson politique refleete les problemes premiers de la collectivite canadienne-francaise, elle contribue, pensons-nous, a la connaissance du passe collectif de la nation quebecoise. Nous croyons que ces chansons sont autant d'echos de gemittements d'un combat quotidien pour l'existence."

⁷ *ibid.*, p.331.

⁸ Bibaud quoted in *ibid.*, p.332.

direction for the public, especially when used by those who know how to manipulate this power. At times, the seriousness may just be within the social context in which the songs are heard and not even in the songs themselves, yet the songs provide the social and communication links and the places where songs are sung become the collective centres of shared understanding and, sometimes, action. Thus song has ideological force. Similarly, it provides a strong economic force, in being used to market products and economic values. All aspects of song are essential for the grasping of the full meaning of songs. The quebecois people, in particular, have been culturally refreshed as 'a people' through the use of *la chanson* in developing a quebecois identity and the concept of *pays* (region, country, etc.).

Carrier and Vachon, indirectly seem to suggest, through their research, that by becoming more aware of the social, cultural and political meaning in songs, it becomes possible to achieve an understanding of the people, their thoughts and the events and symbols that 'compose' their lives. At the same time it is important to recognize that meanings are directed to only certain people, and that therefore, meaning can be cloaked in song, particularly for an outsider to the group of people, making access to it extremely difficult. There are also natural barriers for the interpreter, especially language. Each language functions on its own system of meaning and direct translations are not enough to result in clear understandings. Historians, ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, sociologists and music critics have been actively pursuing the issue of meaning in song over the last two or so decades. The presence of geographers in this work, sadly, lags far behind. However, within what the other disciplines have uncovered is a wealth of

geographical information. What is apparent, is that the geography is intimately intertwined with the information threads of the other disciplines, particularly the history concerned with those experiences and events related to cultural development and change.⁹ In the following chapters on quebecois music, an outline will be sketched of the key elements of the geography and music and how they meet in forming a quebecois cultural identity and how this relates to the territory known as Quebec.¹⁰

2. ROOTS AND NATIONALISM: A TURNING TO THE PAST

Under increasing technological and social modernization and urbanization of life, folklore has appeared to have declined and even disappeared from the local culture in Quebec in the 1900s. "When modern life hushed all folk singers alike, few doubted that song, tale and legend had vanished forever, along with most other relics of a bygone age."¹¹ There is some truth in this statement but also illusion, since these traditions did

⁹ Patricia Carpenter, in "Aspects of Musical Space," in Narmour, Eugene and Solie, Ruth A., Explorations In Music, The Arts, And Ideas (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1988) p.343, says: "Space and time are categories invented by the human mind for the apprehension of facts, but are inseparable in experience. In experience we are given a world which both extends and endures and is filled with meaning."

¹⁰ *ibid.*, (p.20) say that it is most precise to locate the songs by saying that they are the political songs of *here*, les "Chansons politiques d'ici". After some exploration, it will be shown that *here* has several possible meanings, most of which do not coincide with the boundaries of the Province of Quebec.

¹¹ Barbeau, Marius and Sapir, Edward, Folk Songs of French Canada (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1925) p.xiii.

not disappear but had merely become hidden to the majority of the general public.¹² With Western-style modernization also came a fixation on the visual sense and a forgetting by many North Americans of oral tradition.¹³ But there was not a forgetting by all. Certain individuals had orally kept alive the older cultural traditions within different confined rural areas all across the land. Researchers in Quebec, such as Ernest Gagnon and Marius Barbeau, who had maintained an interest in cultural tradition, began to record this musical heritage, in written or sound recording forms. But they did not do this just so that it would be merely collected and stored; it was their belief that wider knowledge of these traditions would, in fact, stimulate musical and cultural growth. It was their intent to see that this information was used by their culture. Through the mid- and late-1900s there has been a gradual rediscovery, by the quebecois people as a whole, of traditional music and song, along with other aspects of the past culture. Its influence has played a significant part in the reviving, renewing and transforming of Quebec life. In this process, what had been for centuries patches of local traditional culture, thought to have been outdated and discarded, became integrated with modern ideas from the public sphere to form a common base of larger regional and quebecois nationalistic thought and action. The old tradition thus gained new meaning and the modern became connected in meaning with past reality.

The first large systematic collection of French-Canadian folk songs and music, to

¹² In the same way the quebecois have remained their 'own people' with their 'own traditions' under the surface of the Canadian public veneer.

¹³ Pocock, Douglas, "The Music of Geography," in Pocock, et al. (1988) pp.62-71. He says "We live in a visual world ..." (p.62).

become available to the public in printed form, was compiled by Ernest Gagnon.¹⁴ It was musically, historically and geographically of landmark significance since in his research Gagnon noted background information on the regions from where the music was found and the people who had kept the songs.¹⁵ He further explored the roots of the folk songs, following them back to their origins in medieval France. Gagnon then presented a theory of musical linkage between the French-Canadian folk song and the much older Roman Catholic plain-chant, with its specific Gregorian modal qualities.¹⁶ The musical linkage brought cultural geographic and historical linkages. The folk songs' origins appear to be religious because religious music heavily dominated the music to which the people of France, of these earlier times, were exposed.¹⁷ There were, however, a few major forms to come out of religious music in France: 1) an informal music used by the peasants, which often combined profane, as well as religious themes, with a monophonic-chant sound; 2) formal, strictly religious musics, taught within the

¹⁴ Gagnon, Ernest, Les Chansons populaires du Canada (1865). It was a songbook comprised of precise written recordings of both song lyrics and melodies for over 100 folk songs.

¹⁵ These people (informants, sources) were local individuals who remembered songs and sang them for others in their region, as a shared heritage. Only a few key individuals in the larger population of the region had the role of remembering a large number of songs.

¹⁶ Smith, Gordon, "Ernest Gagnon's 'Chansons Populaire Du Canada'," Canadian Folk Music Journal, Vol. 15 (1987) pp.3-4,9; Smith, Gordon, "Ernest Gagnon On Nationalism And Canadian Music: Folk And Native Sources," Canadian Folk Music Journal, Vol. 17 (1989) p.32. Tetu de Lapsade, Francoise, Le Quebec un pays, une culture (Quebec: Les Editions du Boreal, 1990) p.347. This same form has even continued in some of Quebec's contemporary pop music.

¹⁷ Smith (1987) p.5.

rural monasteries and the churches in the towns and cities. There existed both monophonic plain-chant and polyphonic musics; and 3) secular art music which incorporated elements of religious music with profane themes. The latter was based primarily in the cities and courts of the land and the educated classes. The French-Canadian folk song is primarily related to the peasant form. It was not transmitted by formal musical teaching but was passed on from home to home, through social gatherings, or 'on the street' (or 'in the fields'), through daily activities. The informal music was sung by the populace, and was not easily sung by the more 'cultured', trained singers.¹⁸ Gagnon in identifying this popular base to the music, saw that it could, therefore be a means of connecting the French-Canadians more strongly as 'a people'. Gagnon took as his first role; in assisting the cultural survival, continuation and transformation of the French-Canadian people, the recording, as accurately as possible, what the local people sang. The songs were transcribed in their 'untrained' musical form and not edited or interpreted by Gagnon.¹⁹

Gagnon was influenced in his research by a French-Canadian priest Pierre Lagace, who was in turn influenced by the work of French scholar Niedermeyer and various

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.8. Carrier and Vachon (1977, p.331) echo Gagnon's findings of a common source and popular base of the French and French-Canadian folk songs.

¹⁹ Smith (1987) p.10. There was a tendency for many musical researchers to add harmonies and other embellishments to folk song materials collected, thereby changing their earlier forms and sounds.

German nationalists.²⁰ Gagnon studied plain-chant and established direct contact with the French and German Romantic nationalist movements of the time, while staying in Europe. These movements were actively working towards the conscious building up of national identities, within their respective communities of people, through the study of historical and folkloric pasts.²¹ This caused Gagnon to turn his own efforts towards explaining the heritage of the French-Canadian through their folk past, particularly their folk songs.²² Essentially, he followed the belief expressed by the German scholar Johann Gottfried Herder, that "each nation is an organic unit with its own unique culture: in order to survive and grow this culture should be cultivated."²³ At this time, however, the French-Canadians found themselves drowned in the sea of Anglo-America, almost completely isolated from their original homeland of France.

At home in Lower Canada (the 'Quebec' of that day), Gagnon was able to cultivate these European ideas but within the context of the French-Canadian milieu. He actively participated with and was influenced by the few others in the stirring of a movement for French-Canadian nationalism. His compiling of songs was, thus, part of the process of preserving and keeping alive the French-Canadian reality, countering pressures of assimilation which came from anglophones within Lower Canada and in the surrounding

²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.5-6. Lagace published, in 1860, "a collection of plainchant harmonizations" entitled Chants d'Eglise. He was the main advocate of the plainchant restoration movement in America before Gagnon.

²¹ Smith (1989) p.33.

²² He also carried out some exploration of the folk heritage in Iroquois and Huron Indian communities.

²³ Smith (1989) p.34.

Upper Canada and the United States. It proved to be a common focal point for many individual francophones, whether elite or peasants, to rally around, since all equally shared the experience of these folk songs. It was also a major achievement done in French by a French-Canadian. "In French Canada Gagnon's collection was the source of much praise and pride ... as a distinctive and emphatic affirmation of its national consciousness."²⁴ Through the song collection, Gagnon not only confirmed musical linkages, with past and place in France, but a linkage between the hearts of people via song. Therefore, "Gagnon's collection may be assigned an ideological position" by creating "a work of nationalist literature" and music.²⁵

The goal behind Gagnon's work was to develop French-Canadian identity through, firstly, seeking out its root musical language(s), and secondly, using this to stimulate the creation of an original French-Canadian music. This would also reunite traditional folk music with art music, which had become increasingly separated, both in 'sound' and within social class.²⁶ He wished for something which belonged to and was unique to only themselves but which acknowledged where they had come from. He believed that "the national 'soul' of a people is expressed best in folksong" and legends and, therefore, these become "powerful sources in the creating a nationalist musical idiom" and giving the people something to value in their lives, a common connection to each other and to

²⁴ Smith (1987) p.4.

²⁵ Smith (1989) p.34 and (1987) p.10.

²⁶ In the mid- to late-1900s, the various folk song collections, of Gagnon and others, would also provide source materials for a lot of modern popular music.

where they live.²⁷ "It has always been my belief that the 'discovery' of our roots would help establish a sense of national identity," wrote Gagnon.²⁸

Gagnon was successful in establishing solid linkages with the past through careful documentation and began presenting these within the social and musical context of Lower Canada in the 1860s. However, his ultimate goal, in terms of the creation of a collective French-Canadian music, was never realized during his lifetime. One of his shortcomings was perhaps that he had not yet uncovered the full breadth of the musical heritage and cultural experience of the French-Canadian people. He had only scraped the surface of the culture with his song collections. There were still many local songs which he had not heard of and written down, both adapted from France and of local composition. There were details of the 'French connection' not yet elaborated on.²⁹ Furthermore, leaders of nationalist thought were still too few in number to have a significant impact on the population at large, and the people too scattered in relatively isolated regions.³⁰ Smith concludes that "Gagnon's work as a musical nationalist was part of a broader cultural movement aimed at establishing a sense of French-Canadian identity," therefore, his time was diffused between creating a national music, developing musical institutions and working on various other fronts.³¹ Along with his musical compilations, Gagnon was

²⁷ Gagnon quoted in Smith (1989) pp.34,37.

²⁸ Gagnon quoted in *ibid.*, p.32.

²⁹ Barbeau, Marius, Chansons Populaires Du Vieux Quebec (Ottawa: Musee National Du Canada, 1936) p.5.

³⁰ Smith (1989) pp.38-39.

³¹ *ibid.*, p.39.

busy helping in the establishment of the Union musicale de Quebec and the Academie de musique de Quebec. He was a lobbyist and journalist focussing on nationalist themes, while being involved in a variety of nationalist leaning organizations, which were just in the process of forming.³² Many nationalist socio-cultural institutions had begun to grow, during the mid-1800s. They were urban, intellectually based and therefore did not directly extend themselves into the rural areas, where the bulk of French-Canadians still resided, but they did begin to have an effect on some of the people. "Organizations such as the institut canadien, established in Montreal in 1844 and in 1849 at Quebec City, were important for the nationalist movement because they served as forums which attracted increasing numbers of sympathetic and active participants."³³ A nationalist literary movement had also begun in Quebec City.³⁴ Music was just one small activity, taking second place to many other activities of the time. Gagnon's musical attention was also divided between studying French-Canadian roots and those of Native peoples.³⁵

To achieve his goal Gagnon had tried "to encourage composers of art music to develop a national musical style derived from these sources. He was one of the first in

³² *ibid.*, p.32.

³³ *ibid.*, p.33; Royer, Jean, Introduction a La Poesie Quebecoise, Les poetes et les oeuvres des origines a nos jours (Montreal: Bibliotheque quebecoise inc., 1989) p.22.

³⁴ Smith (1989) p.39.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.38. He was the first French-Canadian scholar to seriously study Native music and then try to put it in the perspective of their own identities, at least in the eyes of other non-Native Canadians. Here too he was somewhat unsuccessful since his view of Native peoples remained limited by his own French-Canadian ethnocentrism.

his country to articulate a nationalist stance regarding music."³⁶ Gagnon's commitment to his goals and leadership in preparing a way for others to follow is a characteristic that arises again in the works of certain later quebécois musicians and researchers.³⁷ Some of his immediate followers, such as Marius Barbeau and Gagnon's own daughter, Blanche, focussed their time specifically on folk music, not becoming side tracked in too many other pursuits. They uncovered a much vaster body of folk songs and made greater steps forward in cultivating the French-Canadian musical language spoken of by Gagnon, while still emphasizing "the importance of the plainchant argument."³⁸ Post-Canadian Confederation, some anglophone Canadian researchers, particularly Gibbon in the 1920 30s and Edith Fowke since about the 1940s, began researching and collecting the past heritage of both French and English-Canadian folk songs, with the intent of promoting a Canadian rather than a French-Canadian nationalism.³⁹

Marius Barbeau extended folk song collection far beyond where Gagnon had reached. He focussed his attention on the various isolated regions and individual informants of the local folk songs. He and his co-workers categorized the types of folk songs and the regional variances in those folk songs known over wider regions. He noted the variation

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.32.

³⁷ *ibid.*, pp.38-39.

³⁸ Smith (1987) p.4 and (1989) p.32.

³⁹ Fowke, Edith, canadian vibrations canadiennes (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972) is one of several collections. Alan Mills was another, one whom Fowke acknowledges as someone giving her inspiration and direction. Due to Barbeau's influence 'Canadian' collections tended to be dominated by French-Canadian folk songs.

in individual abilities in remembering songs and thus the effectiveness of the role of these individuals in maintaining and transmitting oral tradition. It was Barbeau who produced some of the very early phonograph recordings of folk songs and stories, starting in 1911.⁴⁰ The better of the rural singers (in effect 'keepers of culture') stored in their memories the tunes and words of as many as 100 songs.⁴¹ These songs were each normally ten to seventy lines in length. The same singers also recited ballads (stories) which had been memorized. Most of the songs^{we've} passed down generation to generation with only a very few original songs being added to the body of songs. There was, however, always a local and individual originality in the variation of songs and stories and their expressive interpretation, giving them an expanded relevance to the local way of life.

Almost all of the songs had their origins in rural France, but a few of the songs had been adapted to French town or city life, before arriving in North America.⁴² The songs had migrated through various parts of France primarily due to travelling musicians. Those songs which crossed the ocean to America, however, seem to relate to a specific time slot in France's history and to specific musicians and regions within France. It was from the jongleurs of the 15th to 17th Centuries in the northern provinces of France (Normandie and the Loire from where the majority of early settlers came to travel to

⁴⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.444.

⁴¹ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) say that Francois Saint-Laurent of La Tournelle, Gaspé and M. de Repentigny, of another locality, could each recall over 350 songs.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.166.

New France in America), rather than the minstrels and troubadors (as previously thought) who gave the French-Canadians their folk song sources.⁴³ In France, earlier versions of many of the song's lyrics, and sometimes music, had been written down in manuscript collections or in inexpensive 'chapbooks' for wide public distribution. This suggests that they had a 'popular' provenance, being sung in some aristocratic circles, but more so on the streets, in the villages and homes and in the country fields of the rural landscape.⁴⁴ The themes and styles of these *monophonic* songs are not often found in the elite music of the 1500s, suggesting a strong social division within French society, as shown through the differentiation of musical tastes and instruments.⁴⁵ The cultured music of the court was already beginning to become more *polyphonic*; this multilayered sound would eventually take over from monophonic music within the rural life of France as well. The French-Canadian songs almost all connect to the popular style and themes of the peasant

⁴³ Earbeau (1936) pp.11-12. The minstrels and troubadors were of an earlier period and were more widely spread throughout France. Les jongleurs de foire represented the Gothic artistic tradition of the post-14th Century, which had its roots in the ancient Celtic culture. The minstrels and troubadors, of the 11th to 14th Centuries, were from the classic Roman tradition, which came out of the south and did not fully infiltrate the north. As the troubadors disappeared with changing social conditions, so did the jonglers begin to disappear with the coming of printing and also the increasing proportion of singing and playing of harmonic (polyphonic) music in the late 17th and 18th Centuries. Traditional folk and art music also became very separate musical forms in France. While the jongleurs disappeared in France their tradition flourished in New France. By the time harmonic music attained dominance in France, the French-Canadians had been separated from direct exchange with France.

⁴⁴ Rahn, Jay, "M'en Revenant De La Jolie Rochelle: A song from ca. 1500 in the current French-Canadian repertoire," Canadian Folk Music Journal, Vol. 16, (1988) p.17.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.23.

based social structures and relationships reminiscent of the peasants of northern France, perhaps having implications for the relationship of the French colonists in America with their native France. The monophonic songs had stylistic traits; such as partial rhyme, non-rhyme and assonance, which appear extensively in those French-Canadian folk songs passed on by oral tradition.⁴⁶ Rahn states that "much of the subjects and genres have been used in the French monophonic tradition over vast reaches of time and space."⁴⁷ In New France, these musical forms have survived better than in France, where they were almost obliterated by other musical forms considered to be of 'higher culture', and have continued right into the modern times in Quebec.⁴⁸

3. THE FOLK SONGS, LIFE AND EVENTS: AN ORAL TRADITION OF REMEMBERING THE PAST IN LIVING THE PRESENT

The settlement process of the French colonists began in America with the arrival of Jacques Cartier on July 24, 1534 but did not solidify until Port-Royal and Quebec were founded as permanent towns by Samuel de Champlain and Des Monts in 1604 and 1608, respectively.⁴⁹ As the process continued, French settlers moved further and

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp.16-17.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.20.

⁴⁸ Barbeau (1936) p.12.

⁴⁹ Normand (1981) p.17; Tetu de Lapsade (1990) pp.435-436. With Cartier came the symbol of the *fleur de lys*, which he planted on a cross at the time of his landing in Gaspé. This symbol would

further inland following the St. Lawrence River and its major tributaries. Trois Rivières was formed in 1634 by Lavolette, followed by Ville-Marie (later Montreal) in 1642 under the direction of de Maisonneuve and Jeanne Mance.⁵⁰ There were also temporary settlements of French (mostly Basque) fishermen along the outer reaches of the northeast coast of America.

Northern France was the hearth of the French-Canadian folk song, the root for form, style and content. Nineteen out of twenty, or more of the seemingly endless numbers of folk songs, were of ancient origins having passed down orally through many generations.⁵¹ Common songs, art music and religious music and hymns had been brought, from the very beginning of the colony, to the New World. They were brought by the explorers, administrators, missionaries and settlers from their respective home provinces of France.⁵² Between 1608 and 1642, the majority of settlers came from the province of Normandy, leaving from Rouyn, Dieppe and Honfleur and locating themselves in the Gaspé and lower St. Lawrence River coasts, as far as the town of

continue with the descendants of the early settlers, becoming the provincial symbol of Quebec and the prime nationalist symbol of the québécois, ever present at both social and political events but also musical concerts. Amtmann, Willy, La Musique Au Québec 1600-1875 (Montreal: Les Editions De L'Homme, 1976) calls this their "symbole de persévérance et de foi dans l'avenir" - symbol of perseverance and hope or faith in the future.

⁵⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.436-437.

⁵¹ Barbeau (1936) p.5.

⁵² *ibid.*, p.13; Norman (1981) p.18.

Quebec.⁵³ After 1642, the settlers primarily came from the Loire region (Loire inferieure) leaving from La Rochelle and settling further inland in the New World, up the St. Lawrence in the vicinities of Trois Rivières and Montreal.⁵⁴ The implication of the settlement pattern was that songs, unique to a particular region of France, moved initially, only to particular regions in New France. Because of the relative cultural homogeneity of the settlers - being loyal French subjects, Roman Catholic and steeped in the traditions of their home regions - the culture that they brought with them was very pure and maintained the characteristics of its origins to a high degree.⁵⁵ Their culture was that of the medieval period of the rural France that they had left and this flavour also continued to a high degree in the lives of the people.

In those areas of New France which remained fairly isolated within colonial activities, for example the Gaspé region, folk songs and other cultural traits maintained their more archaic forms and remained very representative of where they came from.⁵⁶ In the areas of high activity, movement and exchange in the colony, folk songs began to more rapidly and readily adapt to their new environment. Some words of songs were changed, some

⁵³ Barbeau (1936) pp.12-13. Due to the much earlier Norman invasion of England and the period of English control over parts of northern France for a few centuries, there developed some similarities between English and northern French folk songs. There was also the Celtic connection in music and culture. There were further distinctions between musics of the north and south of France. In the north *la complainte* was the typical form of song, as it became in New France as well. To the south, *la poème lyrique* was the major song type, which was not very prevalent in New France at all.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.12-13.

⁵⁵ Normand (1981) p. 18.

⁵⁶ Barbeau (1936) p.7.

lines added or deleted creating hundreds of different variants from even a single song, each variant bearing some characteristics of its region of adaptation. Certain songs kept the same words as used in France but changed melodies, either borrowing existing ones or making up new ones. Conversely some originally French melodies survived but the words of the songs were extensively altered or changed completely.⁵⁷ In general, it was the tunes that changed more readily than the words. These often varied with the mood or at the whim of the singer.⁵⁸ Even though many of the songs remained fairly much the same as their original French versions, they took on new connotations related to the new contexts of the frontier experience and the events of the colony. One important change was the replacement of French place names in songs with names of places in New France.⁵⁹ Songs, like culture, in general, do not stay static in either form or content. "They are the accumulated result of numerous oral transmissions and readaptations in spheres of culture that differed somewhat from one another."⁶⁰ Even so, it took hundreds of years before these songs mutated significantly into such a wide variety of different passed-on versions and this was only accomplished by leaving enough of a thread of continuity as to permit researchers to trace many of them back to roots hundreds of years ago and a long distance away.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Normand (1981) p.18.

⁵⁸ Barbeau, Marius Alouette! (Montreal, Les Editions Lumen, 1946) p.31.

⁵⁹ Normand (1981) p.19; Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.326.

⁶⁰ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) p.47.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.47.

The content of songs ranged from religious themes to love, tragedy to drinking songs and ditties filled with obscenities. Their characters included beautiful virtuous maidens, wild roving soldiers, sailors, priests, parted lovers, faithless loves, babies, the devil, murderers and the Virgin Mary.⁶² These were the content of the lives and stories of the local peoples of medieval France and other countries of Europe, songs that had come into being in the homes, fields, the sea shores and the festive village gatherings.⁶³ Song styles consisted of French romances, *complaintes*, ceremonial pieces, satires or dancing tunes, but the favourites were always the love songs.⁶⁴ A strong moral tone, arising from the power of The Church over social relations, pervaded many of the songs but an equal number of songs were rebellious to the rigidity of these controls. Songs were either strictly within the moral code or lashed out flagrantly at it.

In the development of original songs in New France and the local adaptations of the content and meaning of old standards from France, there were certain historical-geographical themes which presented themselves. Major new themes expressed in the music were: 1) the experiencing and struggling with the wilderness, 2) the trials and joys of daily life in the colony, 3) the conflict with the British, which resulted in the British conquest of all the territory, 4) coping with life under English domination, 5) the (post-

⁶² *ibid.*, p.146.; Barbeau (1936) p.14; Rahn (1988) p.20.

⁶³ Barbeau (1936) p.4. Speaking of the birth of folk songs in France, Barbeau said, "ils auraient pris naissance au foyer campagnard, dans les champs, sur la plage ou dans les fetes villageoises."

⁶⁴ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) p.146. *La complainte* is "the narration of a tragic event, usually ending in death; it is in the nature of a dirge, a lament".

conquest) increasing Anglophone populations of the Canadas and the United States and their accompanying influences, 6) the major events in the steps towards the creation of a quebecois identity (e.g., the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, the fall of the Town of Quebec in 1759, the Patriot's Rebellion, the growth of the United States territory, war with the United States and the Riel Rebellion) and 7) perhaps most importantly, the internal struggle of the people against The Church, State and tradition (the battle of overcoming their own inertia and solving internal socio-cultural and economic differences).

At first New France was a wilderness, frontier environment with tiny cultural enclaves in the form of forts and groupings of farmsteads of settlers. There was a sharp interface between 'the colony' and 'wilderness'. Life in 'the colony' was rugged but familiar in its similarity to that of France, only on a more subsistence level. Life in the 'wilderness' was dangerous and hard but equally filled with adventure, mystery, livelihood and potential profit. Those settlers who had been farmers or craftsmen in France took up these activities in the new land but many others who were not so inclined began exploring and exploiting the natural resources in the vast frontier beyond the towns and seigneuries of the farm system and then began trading goods across the colony.⁶⁵

They were in constant conflict with the governor and administrators of the colony, who

⁶⁵ Louder, Dean R.; Morrisonneau, Christian and Waddell, Eric, "Picking Up The Pieces of A Shattered Dream: Quebec and French America," Journal of Cultural Geography, Vol. 4, No. 1 (fall/winter, 1983, p.44) say that the settlers were at first "engaging in a combination of subsistence agriculture and fur trading, hunting or fishing", later adding to this farmer-lumberjack and farmer-miner to their trades. Except for straight farming all of these occupations required extensive travelling.

represented France in the New World, yet it was they who extended the colony to an immense size.⁶⁶ The territory of New France eventually reached from what is now Nova Scotia west to just east of the foothills of the Rocky Mountains and southward down the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and joining up with the Louisiana territory. Straight northward they did not penetrate very deeply, because of the terrain of the Canadian shield, but instead went northwest following the Ottawa River moving beyond to the south end of James Bay.⁶⁷ The territory was linked together by the migrant labourers and adventurers, *les coureurs de bois*. "The impact of these men, the *coureurs de bois*, upon the values and way of life of French Canada would be much greater than their relatively small numbers might indicate."⁶⁸ In their travels these men sang, taking

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, (1983) p.44.

⁶⁷ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.438. **Joliet** travelled right down the Mississippi River to its mouth and the **La Verendrye** brothers travelled to within sight of the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, laying claim to land and setting up small fur trading posts as they went west. Many historical maps misrepresent (perhaps unintentionally) the holdings of the French colonies in America by shading in all of the eastern half of North America. Where in actual fact there were small pockets of settlement here and there, travelling tended to be along only certain routes and many large areas, especially in the north, had never been visited. For example see the map in Louder, *et al.* (1983) p.45. For maps of the travelled routes of exploration, trade, war, etc. see Wynn, Graeme, "Forging a Canadian Nation," in Mitchell, Robert D. and Groves, Paul A. (eds.) North America The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1987) pp.373-409 and Harris, R. Cole. (ed.) The Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. I From the Beginning to 1800 (University of Toronto Press, 1987) Plates 37-40. For a view of how French settlers groomed the landscape see Harris, Cole, "France in North America," in Mitchell and Groves (1987) pp.65-92 and Harris, Cole, "French landscapes in North America," in Conzen, Michael P. (ed.) The Making of the American Landscape (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990) pp.63-79.

⁶⁸ Louder, *et al.* (1983) p.44.

the folk song into all of the new areas being opened up and bringing new songs home when they returned to their home-base.

The pioneer days were times of hard work and hardship.⁶⁹ For the majority of the settlers, there was little spare time in which to develop formal music. Formal music, classical in style and often religious and moral in content, was taught through religious organizations (churches, theatres and schools).⁷⁰ Secular formal music was mostly urban-elite centred. Instead, the informal music (folk songs) was the music of the people, learned through the mix of daily social contact and daily experiences. It was a part of the everyday life of the population.⁷¹ "People tended to relax, when they had the time, in taverns or, in the case of those from the country, in some friendly kitchen, playing cards and telling stories" and of course singing.⁷² Apart from entertainment, the informal music also existed as "working songs, for paddling, spinning, husking, and for cadence of the hammer, the fuller and the cradle."⁷³ Songs helped to diminish the effects of a harsh existence. They gave rhythm to daily life or played to the cultural rhythms of life. For those who came to the New World and did not remain farmers, the change in place

⁶⁹ Normand (1981) p.17. The settlers had to deal with minimal resources, disease, isolation, severe climate and at times attacks by Indians.

⁷⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.346. All of the religious clergy (whether missionaries, priests, etc.), who were sent to the colonies, had received a very thorough musical training, as music was one of their prime tools of teaching and converting the Natives and maintaining moral order for the colonists.

⁷¹ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) p.xiii.

⁷² Nardocchio, Elaine F., Theatre and Politics in Modern Quebec (Edmonton: The University Of Alberta Press, 1986) p.3.

⁷³ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) p.146.

meant a change in the rhythm of their lives and this reflected in the changing rhythms of the music.⁷⁴ For les coureurs de bois-voyageur-explorateurs (adventurers-explorers and traders), les canotiers (boaters-canoers), les trappeurs (trappers), les marins (sailors), les pecheurs (fisherman), les trañquants (traders), les bucherons (loggers), les fouteurs d'etoffe (tanners), les broyeurs (millers), les raftsmen (workers on the log booms), les colons-habitants (settlers-farmers), soldiers and missionaries alike, music was essential to the rhythm of their work.⁷⁵ Songs also accompanied the work in the home and in the small shops (les boutiques) of the towns.⁷⁶ A favoured style of song was the response song, where one person led by singing a couplet and the others echoed this or sang another couplet in response. In America, due to the harsh weather conditions, musical instruments were greatly affected. Therefore, local instruments, especially rhythm instruments and small violins, were constructed which were not as sensitive to the weather changes as those brought from Europe. This factor changed permanently the basic sound of the French-Canadian folk music away from that of France.⁷⁷ The songs therefore, had not only responded in general to the natural and social environmental conditions of their new home, but also varied based on the unique conditions of each local place or small region within the colony. The changes related directly to the new circumstances and events in the lives of the people.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.326; Normand (1981) p.18.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.18; Barbeau (1936) pp.2,14.

⁷⁶ Barbeau (1946) p.30.

⁷⁷ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.326.

⁷⁸ Barbeau (1936) p.14.

Apart from the struggling with the wilderness and the chores of daily life, a third struggle was that between the English and the French. War between them in Europe transferred itself to the colonies. Between 1689 and 1713 there were many battles culminating in the signing of the **Treaty of Utrecht**, which resulted in the ceding of the territories of Terre-Neuve (Newfoundland) and L'Acadie (most of what is now the Canadian Maritimes) and the Hudson's Bay drainage basin, to the British.⁷⁹ This caused the first of a series of sharp separations of groups of French colonists into more highly defined isolated pockets within America. One of its consequences was also the separation of French North American music into diverging traditions within the different fragments. War again resulted in the total British conquest (la Conquete) of North America, further reinforcing the territorial patterns and divergent cultural and musical directions. The French defeat was symbolically marked by the fall of the Town of Quebec with the battle of the Plains of Abraham, to become a theme of much oral discussion among the French Canadians and a theme within some of their songs. All French territories passed to Britain under the **Treaty of Paris** in 1763.⁸⁰ At this point the Lower Canada region became well defined as a territory and one which contained the majority of francophones in America.⁸¹ The francophone cultures, therefore, between the Lower Canada core,

⁷⁹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.437-438.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.438.

⁸¹ See map in Gauthier, Majella-J.; Tremblay, Denis and Tremblay, Gilles-R., "Images," Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec, Vol. 24, No. 61 (Apr., 1980), p.9-29. Louder, *et al.* (1983, p.46) say "that history had conferred upon the St. Lawrence Valley the stature of a homeland". This territory remains today the cultural core of quebecoisness. Barraclough, Geoffrey (ed.) The Times Atlas Of World History (London: Times Books Limited, 1978) pp.164-165.

Acadia, Terre-Neuve and Louisiane, and so on, began to diverge culturally, politically, economically and musically. In 1784 with the **Treaty of Versailles**, the territories south of the Great Lakes and in New England were ceded by England to the United States, further dividing the French-Canadian people and further isolating different pockets of song and culture.⁸² The formation of the United States caused a further influx of English and other protestants (United Empire Loyalists) into both the Upper and Lower Canada regions, as well as the Maritime regions, confining the francophone groups even more and mixing English into some areas, like the present Eastern Townships which were once French-speaking only.⁸³ In response French-Canadian elites and The Church promoted movement of francophones northward and westward. "In order to support the French Canadian presence wherever it developed the Church established, from the very beginning of the 19th century, 'national' parishes throughout the West. These French and Catholic 'islands' made possible the eventual founding of chapters of the *Societe Saint-Jean-Baptiste* as well as a multitude of other ethnic organizations."⁸⁴

After the British conquest, British explorers and traders (mostly Scots and Irish) relied

The territory of the Thirteen Colonies was solidified with the Treaty of Paris. Expansion of the territory (as the United States of America) to the Mississippi River and the end of Lake Superior, followed the American War of independence (1775-1783). These territorial changes confined

⁸² Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.439.

⁸³ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.349. Louder, et al. (1983, p.46) say "Quebec, confined to the narrow limits of the St. Laurentian region, was transformed into an insular reserve, strategically encircled by an Anglo-Saxon sea." This led to an increasing of direct Irish, Scottish and English musical influences on French-Canadians throughout many of the sub-regions of Lower Canada.

⁸⁴ Louder, et al. (1983) p.46.

heavily on the French *coureurs de bois*. "For the *coureur de bois*, the Conquest did little to modify prevailing socio-economic relations. Only the bosses changed. The fur trade required brokers, traders and *voyageurs*, a particular breed of man fashioned by the western expanses and American Indian cultures. Thus the French became *Canadiens* and the *coureurs de bois*, *voyageurs*", and "French, the language required of all fur traders, including the Americans."⁸⁵ In 1800, about 1200 voyageurs were hired by the Northwest Company alone.⁸⁶ The landscape, which had been predominantly a natural one in the eyes of the settlers, became a cultural one through the exploits of the voyageurs and others who braved the wilderness: naming, claiming and singing of the land. Song was an important ingredient in the expansion and development of the colony, the newer songs reflecting this process with its challenges and conflicts. The intermixing of French, Scottish, Irish and Indian cultures through trade and working together should not be forgotten as it has had a major impact on the cultures of each, including an exchanging of elements of song. Those who stayed in the towns and farmland of the colonies had a very different experience from the voyageurs. Exchanges took place between the nomadic voyageurs and the sedentary settlers when the voyageurs returned from the 'woods'. The habitants and townfolks' lives remained very restricted by the demands of their own livelihood and the dictates of the French-Canadian institutions of

⁸⁵ Louder, et al. (1983) p.45-46. The voyageurs were the economic intermediaries, the guides and interpreters of land and exchange and the transportation system for the entire North America outside of the towns and farm areas. They also remained major developers and transmitters of song.

⁸⁶ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.439.

the Church, administrative leaders and elites. The voyageurs "cared little for the emerging political boundaries, considering themselves at home everywhere in North America". Many of the townspeople and farmers left Lower Canada to move south for economic gains, working in the mills (les factoreries) of the newly industrializing United States. "Approximately 700,000 people left for New England between 1850 and 1930".⁸⁷ It was not just the voyageurs who created "the *petit nombre* ... scattered over an immense territory" but the movement of all sorts of workers and administrators and fortune seekers.⁸⁸

As a protection of cultural identity and what territory remained in Lower Canada, individuals and institutions began to respond by encouraging the strengthening of the roots of the French-Canadian populace. "Historians, poets, novelists, and playwrights strove to portray this subject matter in a powerful way so as to provide them with their

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.47. This was the move to *Quebec d'en bas* and the formation of the Franco-American.

⁸⁸ Louder, *et al.* (1983) p.46. Louder, Dean R. and Waddell, Eric (eds.) Du Continent Perdu A L'Archipel Retrouve Le Quebec et l'Amerique francaise (Laval, Quebec: Les Presse De L'Universite Laval, 1983, p.xiv) say that through their research they have learned that "l'Amerique francaise fut faconnee moins par les coureurs de bois, les voyageur et les missionnaires, que par les gens de peuple: le travailleur du textile resident du Petit Canada a Lowell, le pecheur de l'Acadie, le trappeur et le travailleur offshore de la Louisiane, le mineur de Missouri, le cultivateur du Minnesota et du Manitoba, le Metis cantonne dans sa reserve au Dakota du Nord ... C'est un univers en mutation constante et dont la carte ne sera jamais achevee. La nouvelle Floride 'quebecoise' en est un temoin frappant." The various chapters within this book individually look at the variety of francophone regions right across North America. One of my grandmothers was of French descent who first lived in the United States before moving into Western Canada.

own heroes and mythology."⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Smith (1989) p.33.

CHAPTER 7

THE FOLK SONGS: THEIR CONTENT AND INTENT

The song *Chanson des voyageurs* derives from an old French romance from Normandy and Champagne provinces of France.¹ It was a jongleur song brought to America by the very early settlers and was given a new tune to match the new mood and condition of the colonists.² It is thought to have been sung by settlers who came with Champlain in 1608.³ In the storyline of this song a lover is jilted by his beloved. The lover still continues to yearn for her, hoping that one day he will have a second chance and become reunited with his loved one. In the early days of the settlement of New France the song became a reminder of what France had previously been for the colonists,

¹ Royer (1989) pp.19-20. It was more commonly known as *A la claire fontaine*, first published in New France in 1835 by Napoleon Aubin and again in 1848 by James Huston. Versions of the song can be found in Barbeau (1936) pp.41-42; Barbeau (1946) p.29; Fowke, Edith Fulton and Johnston, Richard, Folk Songs of Quebec (Chansons De Quebec) (Waterloo, Ont.: Waterloo Music Company Limited, 1957) pp.62-63; Fowke, Edith and Mills, Alan, Singing Our History Canada's Story in Song (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1984) pp.18-19; and Gibbon, J. Murray, Canadian Folk Songs, Revised and enlarged Ed. (Toronto: J. M. dent & Sons, Ltd., 1949) pp.10-12. All references to song lyrics in Fowke, et al. or Gibbon, throughout this text contain English interpretations of the songs. (audio cassette: tape 1).

² Gagnon, Ernest, Chanson Populaires Du Canada, 2nd Ed. (Quebec: Robert Morgan, Editeur, 1880) pp.1-2.

³ McGee, Timothy J., The Music of Canada (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1985). McGee also provides the song's music and lyrics in French with English translation (p.4).

a memory of their heritage.⁴ Following the fall of New France to the British in the 1760s, the symbolic context of this song changed. The lover became the French-Canadian (*le Canadien*) abandoned by his beloved homeland, France.⁵ The symbol of separation signified the cultural separation of the colonies from France and signalled the beginning of a very long period of cultural isolation of francophones in America, which has not fully ended, in certain respects, as of the present. The song carried within it the nostalgia of how life had been both in France before the colonists came to America and in New France before *la Conquete*. At the same time it gave a rallying call to the French-Canadians to see themselves as a common group of people and gave them a sign of hope (the nightingale) that things would eventually change for the better.⁶ *A la claire fontaine* became an unofficial cultural anthem for many of the people and has been faithfully passed down through the generations, lest the children forget their French heritage.⁷ The uniform 6/8 rhythm of *A la claire fontaine* marks its role also as a work song, especially used by the voyageurs in synchronizing the paddling of their canoes.⁸ It was, however,

⁴ Fowke and Mills (1984) p.13.

⁵ Royer (1989) p.19. The terms, *un Canadien ou une canadienne*, refer to French-Canadians only and never English Canadians.

⁶ Barbeau (1946) p.30.

⁷ Royer (1989) pp.19-20; Barbeau (1946) pp.30-31; Fowke and Johnson (1945) pp.135. McGee (1985, p.4) relates that the song was adopted as the anthem for the French-Canadian nationalist Saint-Jean-Baptiste Societies.

⁸ Barbeau (1946) p.31.

sung by the *coureurs de bois*, *habitant*, administrator, old and young alike.⁹

A second important example of the monophonic *jongleur* song form is *M'en revenant de la jolie Rochelle*, which traces back to France ca. 1500.¹⁰ Its form in New France appears "(a) culturally and stylistically distinguishable from other French songs ca. 1500 and (b) culturally and stylistically continuous with later French and French-Canadian folk songs" of the mid- to late-1900s which had begun to influence one another again after centuries of separation.¹¹ This was one of the favourite songs of the *coureurs de bois*, voyageurs and *canotiers*, also used as a paddling song.¹² Though it had strong identifying features of the medieval song in its pattern of repeated lines and thematic content of the verses, it was given a new refrain which related specifically to the lives and work of the voyageurs, providing a rhythm for the paddling.¹³ The refrain for the

⁹ Fowke and Johnston (1957) p.63. Gagnon (1880, p.1) says "On n'est pas Canadien sans cela" - One is not a French-Canadian without knowing and singing this song.

¹⁰ Rahn (1988) p.29. This song is known by *C'est l'avirons qui nous mene* and other names. For versions of the music and lyrics see Fowke (1972) pp.78-79 and Barbeau (1946) pp.15-18. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹¹ Rahn (1989) p.16.

¹² Barbeau (1946) p.17.

¹³ Fowke (1972) pp.78-79. The song's style "falls into a typical French pattern, with the second line of each verse repeated as the first line of the next" (p.79). The refrain goes, "C'est l'avirons qui nous mene, qui nous mene. C'est l'avirons qui nous mene en haut" - This is the paddle that leads us (the canoe) onward up the river. See Fowke (1972) plus Gagnon (1880) pp.58-59 and Gibbon (1949) pp.58-61 for different versions of the song. Fowke and Johnston (1957, pp.72-73) comment that "while the paddling refrain seems a strange addition to the tale of a man riding from Rochelle, this combination is quite typical of the way the French-Canadians preserved the ancient songs by fitting them to the tasks of their own environment." Fowke and Mills (1984, p.14) noted that

voyageurs also described the river environment along which they travelled. "J. G. Kohl comments: ' Their song is like the murmur of the river itself. It seems endless.'"¹⁴ The travel of the canoes mentioned in the song described the process of colonial acculturation of a new land. The explorers discovered and brought to life the frontier environment, turning uncharted wilderness (for them a terra incognita) into a mapped and labelled space and a claimed territory. The original song places the storyline in la Rochelle, France, which also matches the fact that this song came with the later settlers, probably sailing from La Rochelle, to arrive in the Upper St. Lawrence (Trois Rivières and Montreal) region. The voyageurs then carried the song westward. In the Lower St. Lawrence and Gaspé this song is not found.¹⁵

The most popular canoeing and dancing song was *En roulant ma boule* with its more than 100 variations, such as, *V'la le bon vent*, *Le fils du roi s'en va chassant* and *Trois beaux canards*.¹⁶ In France it was known as *Canard Blanc*.¹⁷ New verses and refrains were added each time the song travelled. Its origin was again that of jongleur tradition.

before the telephone and radio in America the boat and the canoe were the mediums of transmitting songs, and other information and culture, from region to region, the rivers being the routes of passage.

¹⁴ quoted in Fowke and Johnson (1945) p.59 (an earlier version of Fowke and Johnston (1957)).

¹⁵ Barbeau (1946) p.17.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.38-40; Fowke (1972) p.77. According to Normand (1981, p.18) there are at least 350 existing versions. For some versions of the lyrics and/or music see Fowke (1972) pp.76-77; Fowke and Johnston (1957) pp.64-65; Fowke and Mills (1984) pp.26-27; Gibbon (1949) pp.62-63; and Gagnon (1880) pp.12-23.

¹⁷ Gagnon (1880) p.12.

The song was about the son of a king who kills some ducks. Typical of the medieval songs it concerned itself with courtly people who lived in a separate world and under different standards than the peasant folk (a strong picture of social class distinction). It also marked the stark contrast between the cultured and cultivated Europe with the wilderness frontier and harsh living standard of the habitants and woodsmen in America.¹⁸ This song was particularly used by the voyageurs working for the Hudson Bay and Northwest Companies in the 1800s and, therefore, was popular in the Montreal region, the Eastern Townships, the Outaouais and to the north and west. The song version, *V'la le bon vent*, was very popular up the Ottawa valley being used by the raftsmen (hommes de cages) who brought the cut logs down the river.¹⁹

The song *En montent la riviere* captures the feelings of the voyageurs, trappers and bucherons as they travel inland up the rivers to explore, trap or cut logs, to return home only in the spring.²⁰ It describes the inner tension within the voyageur of wanting to go into the adventure of the wilderness yet desiring the comforts of home, the latter expressed by the voyageur in terms of being in the arms of his lover or loved ones. Another voyageur-bucheron song, *Fringue! Fringue!* has the refrain of the song describing the canoing on the river, while the verses talk of the various other parts of woodsman's life.²¹ The first verse is a memory of the voyageur remembering his father

¹⁸ Fowke and Mills (1984) p.24.

¹⁹ Gagnon (1880) p.21. (audio cassette: tape 1).

²⁰ Fowke (1972) pp.74-75. (audio cassette: tape 1).

²¹ See Gagnon (1880) pp.62-63 for a version of the song. Baillargeon, Helene and Mills, Alan, Songs of French-Canada / Chansons du Folklore canadien-francais (Folkways Records) Audio

building the family's first house. For many present day quebecois, and for the majority pre-1940, this image was a very clear memory and strong connection to home, land, way of life. The speed and rhythm of the song are characteristic of one certain type of French-Canadian song. The use of interjections in the song was typical of both French and French-Canadian 16th century songs. At the same time interjections displayed the sound and action of canoeing or rafting in the river environment.²² During the late 1700s and 1800s the voyageurs penetrated into what is now western Canada (Manitoba and Saskatchewan). They were followed later by French settlers and itinerant farm workers.²³ The common songs were response songs (*chansons a repondre*), where one singer led and the others followed.²⁴ The central characteristics describing such original French-Canadian songs, or adaptations from French songs, are an acute sense of observation, humour and a lot of naivete creating a very natural poetry.²⁵ With the mixing of French and natives and the creation of a new peoples, the Metis, these same songs were passed on and again given new meaning. Other new songs were also created, distinctive to the Metis. One of the former-type songs is an ancient French ballad, *Dans*

recording FW 6918. (audio cassette: tape 1).

²² Gagnon (1880) p.62.

²³ Ferland, Marcien, Chansons a repondre du Manitoba (St-Boniface, Manitoba: Les Editions Du Ble, 1979) pp.xv-xvi, xviii, 38.

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp.xi-xv.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.viii. The characteristics of the songs are: "un sense d'observation aigu, de l'humour et beaucoup naivete".

les prisons de Nantes.²⁶ Its rhythm has been adapted to that of the voyageurs and the boaters (les bateliers), the timing of the lines of the song matching the time of paddle (l'aviron) or oar (la rame) strokes.²⁷ During the song's diffusion, the words became attached to two different tunes, each of which further spread. A variation of this song was revived in the 1970s with the title *Dans la prison de Londres* turning the song into one related to contemporary English-French tensions.²⁸ The switch in the title for the London version actually appears to have taken place in the 1800s when English, Irish or Scottish sailors began singing the song but could not relate to the French place names and therefore changed them.²⁹ The English sailors would have returned the revised song to the port of Montreal, in their travels.

There were some original folk songs of New France, often songs of the voyageurs and les bucherons who became the jongleurs, troubadors, and minstrels of North America. Three such songs are, *Les raftsmen*, *Youpe! Youpe! sur la riviere!*, and *La Plainte du coureur des bois*. *Les Raftsmen* is a loggers song about the trip in and out of 'the bush', with all its hardships plus the trials of life in the woods, always eating 'porc-and-beans'

²⁶ See *ibid.*, p.50, pp.94-95 and Gibbon (1949) pp.18-20 for music and lyrics.

²⁷ Gagnon (1880) p.26.

²⁸ Forestier, Louise, Au Theatre Outremont (Gamma) Audio recording GS-203. This provides an excellent example of how folk songs have reentered popular music, receiving musical and vocal embellishments in the process. Most of the examples on the accompanying audio cassettes are modern pop music versions of folk songs.

²⁹ Gagnon (1880) p.26.

and so on.³⁰ It also tells of the raftsmen (*homme de cage* or *cageaux*) who rode the log booms down the river and steered them through the rapids.³¹ The story takes place on the Ottawa River, from where the song originated.³² It "tells how a gang of raftsmen went up the river picking up their provisions at Ottawa (then called Bytown), and heading north to work through the winter, and then returning home in the spring after driving the rafts down to Quebec."³³ The mixing of English words and names within the French text is an indication of the time and place. This song was composed probably in the later 1800s when the French-Canadian voyageurs and loggers sometimes found themselves working alongside English-speaking workers of a similar class. The lyrics also tell that towns were now well established on the lower Ottawa River. The song has a style common in French-Canadian songs of using sounds, replacing some of the words, which were representative of the environment, in this case the sounds of moving the logs and the rapids.³⁴ The twenty-five or more stanzas in the song go on seemingly endlessly as do both the river and the work upon it.³⁵ The gaiety of the song kept up the raftsmen's spirits and concentration. The use of sounds is also found in other songs. *Youpe! Youpe!*

³⁰ See Fowke (1972) pp.82-83; Fowke and Johnston (1945) pp.74-75; Fowke and Mills (1984) pp.154-155; Barbeau (1946) pp.84-85 and Gibbon (1949) pp.70-72 for different versions of the song.

³¹ Barbeau (1946) pp.85-86. (audio cassette: tape 1).

³² Fowke and Johnston (1945) p.75.

³³ Fowke and Mills (1984) p.149. "The first timber raft was driven down the Ottawa River in 1807".

³⁴ For example, "*Bing sur la ring! Bing, bang!*" in the song's refrain.

³⁵ Barbeau (1946) p.75.

sur la riviere again uses interjections and sounds to indicate environmental events of the logger's existence yet it is a somewhat different type of logger's song. The refrain relates to the paddling on the rivers but the verse deals with rural village and habitant life. It is the story of a boy falling out with a girl and her father intervening by sending the boy away.³⁶ It is considered to be originally French-Canadian, because of its obvious New France habitant content (knights and damsels are totally absent).³⁷ *La Plainte du coureur des bois* is again a song about travelling up river into the forest and among the savages (the Indians from the French-Canadian view point). It tells of the long and boring (no longer so adventurous) life, thinking day and night of the spring which will mean release from the bush and a return to the towns, again to the waiting lover or loved ones.³⁸ Always dominant in the songs of Lower Canada (later Quebec) are *ennui* and *l'hiver* and the eventual promise of *le printemps* and *l'amant*.³⁹ It is the sound and feeling of the spring wind that brings the woodsmen back to life. *Dans les Chantiers* is a song with a widely known first stanza but with a wide variation of other verses in different

³⁶ See Fowke (1972) pp.80-81; Fowke and Johnston (1945) pp.62-64; and Gibbon (1949) pp.86-89 for some song versions.

³⁷ Fowke and Johnston (1945) p.64.

³⁸ Barbeau (1936) pp.35-36 and Gagnon (1880) p.35 show different song versions.

³⁹ *ennui* is boredom (suggesting inertia or hibernation in both the natural and cultural senses), *l'hiver* is winter the typical cover of the northland - both beautiful and a burden but a major characteristic of life, *le printemps* is springtime (both natural and cultural) and *l'amant* is the lover or loved one.

regions.⁴⁰ It is a song about the life of the lumberjack centered around their winter 'home away from home' in the woods. The chantier was the name for a workshop-form of building in France. In Lower Canada the name was transformed to mean both a logging camp and the rough 'shanty' hut in which the logger stayed while working in 'the bush'.⁴¹ The rhythm of the song, this time, matches the movement of the lumberjack's snowshoes instead of the stroke of a paddle.⁴² Bytown, from about 1800 to 1900, was very important in the logging business. It was the last stop (the last post of civilization) for the lumberjacks, raftsmen and voyageurs before they entered the frontier world of great hardships. It would be their first stop on the way back home in the spring. Bytown, therefore, became mentioned in many of the woodsmen's songs.⁴³

As well as voyageur songs there were many songs of the habitants. The most widely known song of all French-Canadian folk songs, which originated in France, is *Alouette!*.⁴⁴ It is a song which accompanies the festive getting together of people and is intended to be sung in groups.⁴⁵ *Alouette!* clearly expresses the life and emotions in

⁴⁰ See Fowke and Johnston (1945) pp.70-71; Gibbon (1949) pp.73-75 and Gagnon (1880) pp.100-101 for various words and music to the song.

⁴¹ Fowke and Johnston (1945) p.71. Shanty is a rough Anglicization of le chantier.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.71.

⁴³ Gagnon (1880) p.68. From this same period and region come numerous original logger's songs in English as well.

⁴⁴ See Barbeau (1946) p.11-14; Fowke and Johnson (1945) pp.118-119; and Gibbon (1949) pp.100-106 for song versions and commentary. See also Tetu de Lapsade (1990) pp.328-329.

⁴⁵ Fowke and Johnston (1945) p.121. (audio cassette: tape 2).

the air on those occasions. For the very young it is also an educative song teaching the names of the parts of the body in the French language, thereby serving a role in oral transmission of language and culture. In spite of its popularity it did not seem to penetrate into the more isolated regions of the Gaspé and the Lower Saint Lawrence (Charlevoix) and was little known in the Saguenay region.⁴⁶ On the other hand it is internationally connected to Canadians, and especially French-Canadians, probably due to the influence of Canadian soldiers 'returning' it to France during World War II.⁴⁷ Another song with a similar high profile is *Vive la Canadienne* based on an old tune from Franche-Comté in France, *Par derrier' chez mon pere*, with new words added by the French-Canadians.⁴⁸ Although the first verse of the song is very widely known, other verses are very local in variation.⁴⁹ Like *Alouette!*, because of its mass appeal, it has taken on significance as a national tune.⁵⁰

Another type of habitant song is one that resembles village gossip, talking of local village events very often with a humorous touch. *Le Bal chez Boule* is an original song from the shores of the St. Lawrence River, which tells of a boy who on finishing his chores goes to a neighbourhood party and dance. He makes a fool of himself in front of

⁴⁶ Barbeau (1946) p.13.

⁴⁷ Fowke and Johnston (1945) p.119.

⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, pp.146-147; Gagnon (1880) p.4; Barbeau (1946) pp.35-37; Fowke (1972) pp.84-85; and Gibbon (1949) pp.97-99 for various song versions.

⁴⁹ Fowke and Johnston (1945) p.147.

⁵⁰ Gagnon (1880) p.4.

the girl he has his eyes on and is sent home.⁵¹ The gay, lively rhythm and the humorous words capture the spirit of such parties and the rustic nature of the habitant.⁵² The refrain of the song, however, is ancient and derives from an unknown source from mariner songs.⁵³ *Envoyons d'l'avant* is a forester's song but it mentions la veillée (the evening gatherings) that the foresters longed to return to, in the villages, where they could mix with the habitants.⁵⁴ This is where friends get together for companionship, to tell stories, sing and dance. La veillée is a tradition in France which passed to America and has survived till today in the *joie de vivre* and collective social nature of many French-Canadians.⁵⁵ In New France, however, la veillée underwent changes. Due to the harshness of physical conditions, for much of the year, and the scant resources, the French-Canadians took a more economic approach to their celebration. They tended to be indoors instead of outside and to include a continuing of smaller "hand

⁵¹ Fowke (1972) pp.86-87; Normand (1981) p.19; Gagnon (1880) pp.116-117; Fowke and Johnson (1957) pp.78-79 and Gibbon (1949) pp.90-93 contain song lyrics and/or music and commentary.

⁵² Fowke and Johnston (1945) p.109.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.109.

⁵⁴ See Normand (1981) pp.21-22; Barbeau (1946) pp.83-89; and Gibbon (1949) pp.66-69 for some different song versions.

⁵⁵ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.362-363. Dance and music were at the heart of the veillée. There was singing in groups, listening to music recitals, playing cards, eating, talking, and dancing for both religious and social festivals (births, attaining puberty, marriage, etc.). One more major veillée is le Carnaval celebration which continues to today in a major annual cultural event in Quebec City.

work' chores while enjoying entertainment, fellowship, singing and dancing.⁵⁶ French Canadians love to gather and talk for sheer pleasure but also gatherings become the focal point of the passing on of oral tradition and generating a strong local sense of identity of oneself, one's home place and one's people.⁵⁷ Major evening celebrations were on Christmas Eve, 'les jours gras'(after Lent) and New Year's Eve, but others were held throughout the year. Paralleling les veillees were other social gatherings, such as weddings and Christenings when there was music, dancing, and singing.⁵⁸ The matching of talking, singing and eating had been institutionalized very early in the settlement of New France with the formation of the *Ordre du Bon Temps* based on another social tradition (apart from la veillee) from France.⁵⁹ "Champlain established this social order of chivalry during the winter of 1606-07 to distract the colonists from cold and loneliness."⁶⁰

En filenant ma quenouille, with origins in France, is a song about a boy married off

⁵⁶ Seguin, Robert-Lionel, La danse traditionnelle au Quebec (Sillery, Quebec: Presses de l'Univerite du Quebec, 1986) p.23-24.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.429. "Le Quebecois adore parler pour le plaisir - fait de civilisation d'origine bien francaise."

⁵⁸ Seguin (1986) pp.99-133. The cycle of les veillees and other celebrations matched the cycle of the seasons and the cycle of events in each community. "Au Quebec de la civilsation traditionnelle, tout est occasion et pretexte a la danse: il y a avant tout, la veillee de parents et d'amis, surtout l'hiver, a des temps indetermines" (p.99).

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.429. "En effet, on adore manger au Quebec." - one (the quebecois) adores eating in Quebec.

⁶⁰ McGee (1985) p.8.

by his father to an unruly girl so he leaves for the bush where he plays cards and dice.⁶¹ This is one of numerous songs both in France and Canada about young love and the trials of unhappy marriage. Another such favorite is *Dans tous les cantons* which counterpoints these disadvantages with a gay dance tune.⁶² Marc Gagne and Monique Poulin collected a large number of songs, reels and jigs from the Beauce, the farm country between Quebec City and the United States border. These songs cover the range of local concerns of the habitant from marriage, the love between boys and girls, the countryside, farming, the animal life, hunting, drinking beer or wine, and description of individual people of the area (old and young).⁶³ Altogether the songs describe a certain contentment of the people yet a sleepiness and inertia as well. *L'Amuseur des filles* in a way sums up this perception. It is a song about the boys going to the tavern to drink beer and to talk and think of the girls they desire but this love is not fulfilled in the song.⁶⁴ Finally within

⁶¹ See Gagnon (1880) pp.214-215 for a version of the song. Gosselin, Bertrand, vive la bonne semence (Montreal: kebec-disc, 1980) Audio recording KD-988. (audio cassette: tape 1).

⁶² See Fowke and Johnston (1945) pp.113-115 for words and music to the song.

⁶³ Gagne, Marc and Poulin, Monique, Chantons la chanson (Quebec: Les Presse De L'Universite Laval, 1985). For example: *Le premier Soir de mes nocces* (pp.124-125), *Entre Bacchus et l'amour* (pp.27-28), *Le Moine complaisant* (pp.22-23), *Le Champs d'pois* (pp.245-246), *Le Corbeau et la Cornelle* (pp.44-45), *La Chasse au loups* (pp.315-316), *La Femme et la bouteille* (pp.154-155), *Le Vieillard des environs* (pp.54-55) and *P'tit Jean, p'tit Jean* (pp.201-202), respectively. All or most of these songs would be confined to use and knowledge of this region only.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp.81-82. The common title of this song is *le Debauche refuse*. The song deals with one of the favourite pastimes of male Quebecers, hanging around at the tavern. From my travels in Quebec, it appears that the three essential ingredients needed to form a town are a church, with a high pointed steeple and bells to call the community, a gas station and a tavern.

the rural scene was also the gradual development of small industry in the form of mills. Though in the beginning they were water-powered and part of the rural environment, they also foreshadowed the coming of larger scale industry and urbanization. The song *J'Entends le Moulin* is a round (une ronde) which incorporates the sound of the mill and industry within the rural context.⁶⁵ Within this song also was incorporated another song *Mon pere a fait batir maison* again reminding people of their home attachments.⁶⁶ Two songs *J'ai trop grand peur des loups* and *J'ai vu le loup, le r'nard passer* are both of ancient origin.⁶⁷ The first obviously being from France, has a medieval form and speaks of chevaliers riding their horses. The second probably also originated in France but has a flavour very akin to French Canada, where it is known everywhere. The fox, wolf and hare spoken of in the song are very much part of the landscape of the Southern Quebec region. In this sense they have later taken on a symbolic significance where they in part represent the people and their way of life. This is evident in a 'popular music' song, *Le Renard, Le Loup*, written and recorded in the 1970s by quebecois singer, Paul Piche, which must have had its source of inspiration in the older folk song.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Gagnon (1880) p.225. Baillargeon and Mills (1955) Audio recording. (audio cassette: tape 1).

⁶⁶ Gagnon (1880) p.224. Lines similar to the title have appeared in several different popular songs suggesting that a lot of mixing of song contents over time has taken place.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, (1880) pp.178-180 contains versions of the songs plus commentary.

⁶⁸ Piche, Paul, A qui appartient l'beau temps? (Montreal: Kebec-Disc Inc., 1977) Audio recording KD-932. Words for the song appear on the inner sleeve of the record. (audio cassette: tape 2). It is common to find traditional folk elements in both French and quebecois modern folk and popular music.

Some of the French-Canadian folk songs had sources beyond France, before they crossed from France to North America. Other folk songs diffused from France to places other than just North America. Examples of the former are *Dame Lombardi*, *Renaud* and *Germaine* which came from 6th century Italy, Scandinavia (then across northern Europe) and the Middle East (during the crusader period), respectively.⁶⁹ *Blanche comme la neige* is an example of the latter, which diffused from France.⁷⁰ "Folklorists have already compiled more than eighty independent versions of it in France, Canada, northern Italy (Piedmont), Spain (Catalonia) and Switzerland".⁷¹ Another song, *La Nourrice du rois*, came from Spain, through France and then on to Switzerland and America.⁷² Where these songs spread to in America depended on who brought them and when. Because of this, *Renaud* was known in the Gaspé and down the St. Lawrence River only as far as the town of Quebec.⁷³ *Germaine* was mostly known in Acadia and along the St. Lawrence River but had a few versions spread across the colony.⁷⁴

Within New France, and its later fragmented parts, Lower Canada (Quebec), Acadia,

⁶⁹ Barbeau (1936) pp.16-20, pp.20-27, and pp.27-33, respectively. For song versions see pp.51-53, pp.54-56 and 57-58, respectively.

⁷⁰ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) pp.40-43. (audio cassette: tape 2).

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.40.

⁷² Barbeau (1936) pp.33-34. See p.59 for a version of the song.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.21.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, pp.31-32. For an updated version of this song and several other folk songs, performed by Franco-Ontarien group Garolou, listen to Garolou (St-Laurent, Quebec: London Records of Canada (1967) Ltd., 1978) Audio recording LFS.9027. (audio cassette: tape 2).

Louisiana, and so on, the Church and State have always played major, and often restrictive, roles in relation to cultural control and development.⁷⁵ The Church had in many respects moved from being a creative cultural force to being a force of cultural repression.⁷⁶ Therefore, one of the largest struggles over cultural change in the Quebec regions is between the people and their own leaders, rather than being just against external forces. Folk songs often refer to this internal struggle of the French-Canadian (later quebécois) people. Seguin asks the rhetorical question, "De tout temps, la chanson folklorique n'a-t-elle pas refusé, combattu et rejeté le rigorisme de l'Eglise et de l'Etat?"⁷⁷

Nardicchio states, "It must be remembered that the Church was a vital part of life during the French regime, not because the people themselves were particularly devout, but because of the important social role the clergy had played in the colony since its founding. ... Moreover, although they came as missionaries, the priests and brothers soon became de facto administrators who often worked closely with the governor and his aide, the intendant. Nonetheless they remained much more independent than their

⁷⁵ Tetu de Lapsade (1990) p.363. The Church saw its role as guardian of morality within the community. The State and Church usually operated together, as a common force over the people's actions. Amtmann (1976, p.17) says "La religion conditionna les destinees politiques, culturelles et spirituelles en Nouvelle-France, comme elle l'avait fait en Nouvelle-Espagne et en Nouvelle-Angleterre" - Religion conditioned the political, cultural and spiritual destiny of New France, as it had done in New Spain and New England.

⁷⁶ It continued to teach the people to sing and play music but only within extremely narrow confines, condemning all other forms.

⁷⁷ Preface of Carrier and Vachon (1977) p.9. Didn't the folk songs always refuse, fight against and reject the rigidity of the Church and the State?

counterparts in France and the bishops kept a sharp eye on the colonists, the fur traders, and the political leaders."⁷⁸ There was, in a sense, a theocratic society in the colony.⁷⁹

The Catholic Church had an ongoing battle with the people over moral issues. The Church had such an extensive control over social life that its influence filtered into the fabric of tradition. The result was institutionalized moral repression in almost all aspects of individual and collective life.⁸⁰ This was increasingly accentuated post conquest, as surrounding English-speaking populations, and their influences, grew. This had major repercussions for the spread and development of music and other arts, especially original works. Dancing and its accompanying forms of music, whether 'New World' or 'Old World' in origin, were continually under seige from the church and the large conservative body of tradition.⁸¹ Dance was considered a danger to the entire social order and a threat to the strength and control of the church. Dance was viewed as leading people into wild passion and sensuality and thus to the Devil.⁸² "The church's right to censor not only theatre but other art forms remained unquestioned for many years."⁸³

⁷⁸ Nardocchio (1986) p.4.

⁷⁹ Amtmann (1976) p.22.

⁸⁰ Leblanc (1986) p.13.

⁸¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.347. "Les religieux jugeaient severement la musique profane parce qu'elle s'accompagnait des danse et que ces divertissements etaient reprouves par une morale tres stricte." See also Normand (1981) p.26 and Amtmann (1976) p.17.

⁸² Leblanc, Barbara, "Les Interdictions Sur La Danse Au Canada Francais," Canadian Folk Music Journal, Vol.13 (1985) p.15.

⁸³ Nardocchio (1986) p.5.

In 1851, waltzes, polkas and any dancing in couples were officially forbidden by the church.⁸⁴ Up until 1940, for example, a systematic condemnation and prohibition of dancing was upheld by the Church. Attacks against individuals and groups, who tried to be creative beyond the narrow bounds of what was allowable, increased over this period. Individuals were expected to conform or they would be denounced for their behaviour.⁸⁵ Music had to be sacred not profane. Mgr. de Pontbriand (Bishop of Quebec) recommended to priests in Acadia to not absolve or pardon those who danced after sunset on sundays or feast days and especially those who sang any saucy or scandalous songs (les grivoises).⁸⁶

The repression however was unsuccessful in discouraging a lot of the dancing and music.⁸⁷ The realities of living could not be contained by either the narrowness of the religious discourse nor the rigidity of tradition. The attempts at the suppression of secular music and dance expressed itself in two ways within the music. One course, chosen by many, was to conform to the moral rules through the use of religiously acceptable forms of music and the use of words or stories which reflected the desired comportment. Within the folksongs, two examples would be *Blanche comme la neige* and *Germaine*, both of which upheld a very courtly sense of the purity expected of maidens and wives.

⁸⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.363.

⁸⁵ Leblanc (1985) pp.16-18. Leblanc states (p.16) that "l'essentiel du discours reste le meme: la danse est une offence contre Dieu et contre l'Eglise qui le represente sur terre." - the official Church discourse was that dance is an offense against God and the Church, who represent God on earth.

⁸⁶ Amtmann (1976) p.21.

⁸⁷ ibid., p.18.

Even here the singer could twist the meaning by the way the song was performed. The other course of action was to be contrary, encouraging song and dance which opposed the rules.⁸⁸ In the extreme were some of the dancing reels which claimed their source as coming from the devil and could only be properly played on the locally made fiddles.⁸⁹ One song *Bonhomme! Bonhomme!*, though appearing to be a children's song telling about playing various musical instruments and making the sounds of each, in its words, also made the challenge in its refrain: who would ultimately be master of the house, the Church and State or the people?⁹⁰

The Church's influence in New France (Lower Canada) was not only negative. It had encouraged a strength of character within the people that they might otherwise not have had. It gave them a sense of courage, tenacity and sacrifice, especially as shown in the life examples of many priests and missionaries - i.e. it forged their destiny (according to Amtmann.)⁹¹ After the British conquest, the power of the Church over the people was in fact increased because the Church became a force of protection against assimilation of the French-Canadians into English society. Singing together in church

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.14.

⁸⁹ Tetu de Lapsade (1990) p.363. Two examples are *Reel du diable* and *Reel du perdu*.

⁹⁰ Preface to Carrier and Vachon (1977) p.9. The refrain goes: "tu n'es pas maitre dans ta maison quand nous y sommes" - you are not master in your house when we are there. See Fowke (1972) pp.92-93; Gagnon (1880) p.227; and Fowke and Johnson (1945) pp.120-121 for different song versions. *Bonhomme! Bonhomme!* is 'cumulative round', of origin in France, meant to be sung at group gatherings. In more recent folk and rock music, liberty from the interdictions and repressions of the narrowness of the Church dictated and tradition often became central themes of the songs and music.

⁹¹ Amtmann (1976) p.17.

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brought a unity to local communities and a focus to life. Missionaries were not only concerned with the colonists but were very active in trying to convert Native peoples to Christianity. It was they who, along with the voyageurs, first carried and spread the folk songs far and wide, over vast areas of land and to many people.⁹² They found that teaching through music was a very strong medium, accentuated by the fact that both French songs and Native music had strong rhythm attached to them and dance and music were part of the ritual of each culture.⁹³ The Natives could not easily sing in Latin language or French religious fashion, therefore, the most effective religious conversion work was done by those missionaries who realized that they had to be sensitive to the Native people's ways.⁹⁴ Father Brebeuf is an example. He wrote some songs in the Huron language and translated others from French to Huron, putting them to common and simpler French tunes, thus tailoring them to Native comprehension.⁹⁵ *The Huron Carol (Jesus Ahatonhia)*, now widely known in English and French, was one of these songs written in Huron and was the first original Canadian Christmas carol.⁹⁶ It must

⁹² Fowke and Mills (1984) p.24.

⁹³ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.345; Amtmann (1976) p.17. Where missionaries went they tried to recreate a quasi medieval atmosphere amongst the colonists and Native peoples.

⁹⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.345-346.

⁹⁵ Fowke and Johnson (1945) p.132.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.131-132. See this reference; Fowke and Mills (1984) pp.28-29; and McGee (1985) p.13-14, for words and music to the song. It was first written in Huron language, probably by Father Jean de Brebeuf around 1641-2, to the tune (air) of a 16th Century carol from France, *Une jeune pucelle*. It was only translated into French a hundred years later by Father de Villeneuve, as *Jesus est ne*. This song serves as an example of how, in the New France-Lower Canada, traditional folk music was

be noted that the Church was not a unified block but was composed of different 'parties' often competing with one another. Les Jesuites, Les filles de l'Hopital, les Ursulines, les Recollets, les Augustines, les Sulpiciens, etc. each brought their own selection of teachings, rules and music to the respective areas of operation and religious communities that they serviced.⁹⁷

The common denominator of the music taught by the missionaries and priests was that it was sacred, liturgical music with songs only in Latin.⁹⁸ Therefore, in general, it was distinctly separate in form from the folk music. It did, however, cross-over extensively with the formal art music of the colony. Most of the written records of colonial life were made by the religious orders and therefore it appeared that within the French settlements, formal music was religious music, which became predominantly organ music brought from France.⁹⁹ Later it was expanded to include *la grande musique europeenne* (major

able to become re-introduced back into religious forms of music.

⁹⁷ Gallant-Morin, Elisabeth and Bouchard, Antoine, Temoins de la vie musicale en Nouvelle-France (Quebec: Archives nationales du Quebec, 1981) p.10. It should be noted that not only males were involved in the music. Both men and women sang in church and the community veillees. Female religious orders taught both song and music. Later, a tradition of secular women's songs, especially about motherhood, developed. See Trembley-Matte, Cecile, La Chanson Ecrite Au Feminin: De Madeleine De Vercheres A Mitsou 1730-1990 (Laval, Quebec: Editions Trois, 1990) regarding the development of women's religious, folk and popular music. See also McGee (1985) pp.12-15.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.9; Amtmann (1976) p.18. All priests were well grounded in the study of liturgical music.

⁹⁹ Gallant-Morin and Bouchard (1981) p.12. The total liturgical ritual, including the music, usually replicated, in fine detail, how it was presented in parishes in France, very much out of context in the rustic landscape and culture of the colonies. "Among the music which has come down to us we find organ music, motets and can_tatas, liturgical music and plain-chant" (p.9). McGee (1985,

classics from Europe).¹⁰⁰ The organs were mostly shipped from France and placed within the main cathedrals of the major towns, Montreal, Quebec and so on. A few were constructed locally. Some other instruments were brought to America, such as flutes, violas, violins but were few in number and many of the musicians using them eventually returned to France with their instruments after the British take over.¹⁰¹ The first, more stable, choral group to form in Lower Canada was *la Societe musicale de Quebec* in 1819.¹⁰² There was little encouragement to develop an original formal music in the colony but that did not mean that there were no original works composed.¹⁰³ Nor did it mean that the development of local expertise and organizations of musicians were not taking place. Amtmann attributes the slow development of formal music (*la musique serieuse*) not just on the hardships of the colonial life but rather more on isolation and indifference.¹⁰⁴ The people of France looked down on the colonists as if they were inferior, the colonial elite were indifferent to any musical advancements, and the Church tightly controlled whatever was possible to control. The cultural isolation and lack of incentive were increased after the severing of New France from France with the British

p.2) comments that one of the main sources of detailed information on Nouvelle-France is the Jesuit Relations, but it was only concerned with the religious aspects of the colony; therefore, much secular information was absent. Other information sources have been private correspondence, traveller's reports and diaries.

¹⁰⁰ Tetu de Lapsade (1990) p.348.

¹⁰¹ Gallant-Morin and Bouchard (1981) pp.11,9.

¹⁰² Tetu de Lapsade (1990) p.348.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, pp.348-349; Gallant-Morin and Bouchard (1981) p.11.

¹⁰⁴ Amtmann (1976) p.25.

conquest.¹⁰⁵ Most of the musical advances in France for almost two centuries did not come to Lower Canada, only minor exchanges during this time were observed.¹⁰⁶ Discussion of formal music will continue in the next chapter.

Les Canadiens were also confronted with the threat of assimilation. In this regard, politics and historical events had a place in some of the songs of the people. These songs were event spaces, mirroring , mocking, characterizing the real event space. Themes of battle between English and French soldiers in Europe transferred to North America just as the actual conflict did. The memory of the travelling of French settlers to the New World also provided a strong link with past heritage. The song, *A Saint-Malo*, in its many versions, establishes one such patriotic link.¹⁰⁷ St. Malo having been the original home of Jacques Cartier, though not that of almost all of the settlers who came to America, provided extra significance to the song, giving it a patriotic meaning after 'la conquete'.¹⁰⁸ The words of the song originated in France but the tune by which it is known in Canada is not known in France.¹⁰⁹ As the song spread to other locations in France, away from its origin source, the name St-Malo often changed to a place name

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.23.

¹⁰⁶ Gallant-Morin and Bouchard (1981) p.9. "A few examples of 18th century music which arrived after 1760, but before 1800, bear witness to the continuing French influence" after British control of the territories began.

¹⁰⁷ Barbeau and Sair (1925) p.121; Fowke and Mills (1984) pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁸ See Fowke and Johnson (1945) pp.16-17; Fowke and Mills (1984) p.17; and Gagnon (1880) p.24 for various song versions. Jacques Cartier is considered the founder of New France.

¹⁰⁹ Gagnon (1880) p.24.

from the new locality.

Important results of the coincidence of frontier life and the historic event of the conquest were: 1) that les Canadiens attained a recognizable local and regional distinctiveness in music and culture within America; 2) that the theme of a triangle of tension and interrelation developed in which Les Canadiens had their own unique identity and yet were continually, culturally being swayed by the influences of both the surrounding English-Canadian (and later American) and the more spatially distant French (and other European) cultures; and 3) La Nouvelle-France became Le Bas-Canada français (French Lower Canada). Although this referred to its location along the St. Lawrence, it also carried the connotation of les Canadiens as lower or second class citizens, as it did in the name Lower Town in the Town of Quebec.¹¹⁰

"In 1837 a group of Canadiens known first as Les Fils de la Liberte (Sons of Liberty) and later as Les Patriotes rebelled against British rule in a struggle for independence ... There were several sporadic battles in 1837 and again in 1838 ... When the Rebellion was finally put down, most of its leaders had either been imprisoned, exiled, or hanged. The defeat appeared most decisive".¹¹¹ The sentiments that remained however were very strong. This became the fodder of many later songs (both folk and popular), stories and plays telling of the brave Canadiens heroes and martyrs. One such song *Un Canadien*

¹¹⁰ The town of Quebec was divided into distinct English and French districts. Lower Town, at the base of the escarpment, was the French district and was economically of lower status than Upper Town, the English domain.

¹¹¹ Nardocchio (1986) pp.10-11. For background on the Patriot's Rebellion see Greer, Allan and Robichaud, "La Rebellion De 1837-1838 Au Bas-Canada: Une Approche Geographique," Cahiers De Geographie Du Quebec, Vol. 33, No. 90 (dec., 1989) pp.345-377.

Errant tells of an exiled 'Canadien' who longs to be in his homeland again yet knowing that it is no longer possible.¹¹² This song is nostalgic and reminds the listener of the isolation of those exiled but also echoes the isolation of the French-Canadian in America. The song later changed context and became popular across Canada in both English and French as a symbol of freedom and historical past. Internationally it now takes on an even wider context in terms of the vast world movement of refugees. The words of the song were written by a French-Canadian student Gerin-Lajoie who set them to a popular tune from France, *Si tu te mets anguille*.¹¹³ In 1844, Antoine Gerin Lajoie also wrote and presented the first French-Canadian historical play from a Canadien viewpoint.¹¹⁴

"Following the 1837-38 rebellion, French-Canadians felt conquered a second time, and in a position of economic, political, and social inferiority vis-a-vis their anglophone counterparts. Faced with a closer prospect of assimilation and a need to cope with their sense of humiliation, French- Canadians turned to their past."¹¹⁵ Folk songs, which came from France, filled with tragedy and separation or loss of love are numerous. These themes became more acute in French Canada, sometimes new lines were added which intensified these feelings. An example of this is in the song *Sept Ans Sur La Mer* (*Seven Years At Sea*). The refrain "*Viv'rons-nous toujours en tristesse? Aurons-nous*

¹¹² Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.328; Normand (1981) p.24. For various song versions see Fowke (1972) pp.88-89; Gagnon (1880) pp.78-79; Fowke and Johnson (1945) pp.26-27; Fowke and Mills (1984) pp.74-75; and Gibbon (1949) pp.94-95.

¹¹³ Fowke and Johnson (1945) p.27. (audio cassette: tape 2).

¹¹⁴ Nardocchio (1986) p.12.

¹¹⁵ Smith (1989) pp.32-33.

jamais la liberte ?" appears only in Canadian versions of the song.¹¹⁶ In Acadia, where this song was known as *La courte paille*, the symbolism of seven years at sea became that of the expulsion of large numbers of Acadians from their homeland by the British in 1755, if they did not pledge loyalty to British authority in the colonies, and the long period of time before the return of many of them or their descendants to Acadia.¹¹⁷

FRENCH-CANADIAN DANCE ROOTS

Music and dance are inseparably connected, and therefore, study of the dispersion of dance indicates a parallel dispersion of associated music and musical instruments. "The dance melodies familiar to the Canadian country folk seem to be of three kinds: first, the instrumental tunes for the violin, the accordion and the jew's-harp, which were sometimes hummed for lack of available instruments; second, the songs with a brief solo narrative in stanza form and a recurring refrain in jiglike style, intended for the accompaniment of the lively steps of the clog dance; and third, the round dances and biparty plays, slower in cadence and often devoid of refrain, which used to be enjoyed

¹¹⁶ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) p.127. See also pp.128-132. The refrain says - Must we always live in sadness? Will we ever have freedom? See Fowke and Mills (1984) pp.42-43 for a version of the song.

¹¹⁷ Fowke and Mills (1984) p.36. See also Leblanc, Rober A., "Les migrations acadiennes" in Louder and Waddell (1983) p.138-162, for a description of the plight of the Acadians, including maps of their larger group movements.

by all in the old-time evening gatherings and are now retained only by school children." ¹¹⁸ These dances had perhaps replaced earlier forms of folk dances during the development of the colony and then Lower Canada. The dance forms of France from the 1500s to 1600s are relatively unknown but developed into dances, such as la carole, la ronde, le branle, l'estampe, la gaillarde, la pavane and les gavottes.¹¹⁹ In England, Scotland and Ireland other dances, such as the hey, the Irish jig (la gigue), English country dances and later the Scottish reels were being developed. Le Cotillon (la contredanse francaise) and le quadrille francais were outgrowths from the English country dances and reels, which involved dancing in groups of squares (des squares), circles (des rounds) or lines (des longways).¹²⁰ A further European mixing of dance forms led to the appearance of le galop, la polka, la mazurka, le schottische and le menuet, which involved dancing in couples instead of groups. Those dances which became established in France between the 1700s and early 1800s were delayed in coming to Lower Canada from France because of the break in connections during these times. However, Lower Canada became directly influenced by the dances of the English, Irish and Scottish settlers.

From early stages of New France information on dance is very limited. The Jesuit

¹¹⁸ Barbeau and Sapir (1925) p.147. McGee (1985, p.7) mentions that "Fiddles, woodwinds, and other portable instruments are known to have been brought with the early settlers".

¹¹⁹ Voyer, Simone, La Danse traditionnelle dans l'est du Canada: Quadrilles et cotillons (Quebec: Les Presses De L'Universite Laval, 1986) pp.3-18. During this time there were exchanges between France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Italy, and The Low Countries in some of the dance forms.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.10-11, 18-21, 86-91.

Relations refer to some ballet performances but only within a couple of localities.¹²¹ Later on there were some records of balls having taken place within the larger settlements.¹²² The first significant evidence, regarding specific forms of dance, comes immediately after 'the conquest' and confirms the presence of la contredanse francaise, soon followed by English country dances, reels, jigs, gavottes, cotillons, and quadrilles in the early 1800s.¹²³ Le Menuet which had been a very popular Danse a figures in France had also transferred to the colony in the late 1600s or early 1700s.¹²⁴ The more courtly dances tended to be more prominent in the larger settlements and with the elites. It is only in the mid-1800s that couple dances (la valse, la polka, la mazurka, la redoway, etc.) become mentioned.¹²⁵ The English danse carrees, with its caller (le caleur) also arrived in Lower Canada in the late 1800s. The unique style of French-Canadian step dancing (Danses de pas) derives from celtic jig tradition.¹²⁶ These dances

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p.26.

¹²² *ibid.*, pp.28-30.

¹²³ *ibid.*, p.31-36. La contredanse francaise, in various dance formations, was still found in all thirty francophone populated localities studied by Voyer between 1950 and 1960 (p.124). Voyer provides symbolic recordings of the dance formations listing their names and the localities in which they were found. She also provides some of the music which accompanies the dances.

¹²⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.364.

¹²⁵ Voyer (1986) pp.37-39. It was these dances which prompted a very strong backlash from the Catholic clergy. It was in 1851 that an official ban was laid by the Church on dancing la valse and la polka (p.38).

¹²⁶ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.364-365. "C'est une danse d'agilite et d'endurance" - It is a dance of agility and endurance, which became well suited to the character of the bucheron, who often danced it. "La gigue est d'origin anglaise (jig) ou irlandaise et se danse sur un rythme vif a deux temps, en faisant

were often done solo, with the jigger competing with the fiddle, or in pairs (a deux). In many of these dances the fiddler played a prominent role.

Folk dance and folk song music would eventually filter into and merge together in both the original Canadien-quebécois art and popular music. Antoine Dessane composed for piano *Quadrille Canadien* which included themes from five folk songs in a dance piece.¹²⁷ The jig format of many songs by Gilles Vigneault testifies to the continued presence of such rhythms in contemporary pop music.¹²⁸

SUMMARY

In summary, the French-Canadian folk song has assisted in the creation of identities on a series of levels and over a variety of spaces: home, local, regional, French-Canadian nationalistic and Canadian national. A few, such as *Alouette!* and *Un Canadien Errant* attained international acclaim. The priority of these varies with time and situation. The music has some cohesion for all French-Canadians but very often local identity, with its many variants of expression, takes priority over more extensive identities. The French-Canadian folk songs had a continuity of identity with past origins and culture in France yet upheld a distinctiveness from France and Europe, through their own context to their

alterner la pointe et le talon du pied" (p.365).

¹²⁷ Voyer (1986) pp.61-66. The composition includes: *La Claire Fontaine*, *Dans Les Prison De Nantes*, *C'est La Belle Francoise*, *Vive La Canadienne*, and *Roule Ma Boule*, each with its own dance step.

¹²⁸ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.365. One example is Vigneault's *Les trois danse* composed in 1983.

North American location and events. The songs describe the generality of the people, their daily events and concerns. The rhythm of the New World became the rhythm of the music. The folk songs also created symbols from the major events that affected the French-Canadians as 'a people'. They were stimulants for the culture. For an event to be significant it had to touch the people's lives or their past heritage directly; only then did it have lasting meaning. The 'enemies' of the people, both within and outside the culture, are caricatured to contrast with the people themselves. The songs deal especially with the feelings of life: the happiness, the pain, and the hopes of the people.¹²⁹ These styles and characteristics of the music of the French-Canadians are very different from those of the rest of America, North and South. In spite of certain similarities of frontier colonial development right across the Americas, the local and regional mix of physical environment, cultural influences, experiences and historical events were unique. Following the territorially fragmentation with the collapse of New France and continuing up until the present time, the heartland of Quebec has served as a solid core of territorial and cultural identity. Minor cores of identity in Acadia, Manitoba, localities within the United States, and so on, also struggle to maintain their cultures to varying degrees. Within each core region has developed, to differing extents, a unique French-language based musical 'sound'.

¹²⁹ Preface to Carrier and Vachon (1977) p.10. "Ne refletent-elles pas les angoisses, les joies, les peines, les craintes et les espoirs d'une collectivité coupée de sa source originelle et abandonnée à la volonté de l'occupant?" - Don't they reflect the anguish, the joys, the pains, the fears (or illnesses) and the hopes of a collective people cut from their origins and abandoned to the will of their new occupying masters?

While local interpreters and composers of French-Canadian folk songs and dance responded to the challenges and conditions of their lives, placed on them by the physical environment of the frontier and the restriction of society and culture, later "Historians, poets, novelists, and playwrights strove to portray this subject matter in a powerful way so as to provide them (the quebecois people) with their own heroes and mythology." ¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Smith (1989) p.33.

CHAPTER 8

THE EMERGENCE OF A CLASSICAL MUSIC

It is surprising to discover that formal music both religious and secular existed in New France from its very beginnings. Although most of their time was spent on basic survival needs and the building of the infrastructure of the colony, the settlers still found time for entertainment and artistic pursuits. While traditional folk music and singing of hymns were the mainstay of rural life, art music and playing of formal religious music were established tradition in the larger settlements.¹ The early stages in the development of an original, formal French-Canadian music have appeared to be almost totally dominated by religious music due to the majority of historical information sources being religious.² However, increasingly other sources, such as personal diaries and accounts have indicated that secular music was also very present. Credited as the first extant Canadian work was a plain-chant, *Prose Sacre Familiae* composed around 1650 apparently by Charles-d'Amador Martin (1648-1711).³ It was composed at the specific request of

¹ McGee, Timothy J., "An Elegant Band of Music: Music in Canada in the 18th Century," International Journal of Canadian Studies: European Contacts with Canada, 5 (Spring, 1991) pp.34-35.

² McGee (1985) p.15. "Music is mentioned frequently in the *Jesuit Relations* from 1640 until the records cease in 1673."

³ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.346. McGee (1985, p.16) says that it was sung annually at the Quebec cathedral until the 1990s.

Bishop Laval.⁴ "Probably the most commonly heard music in the church was monophonic chant, there being little mention of polyphonic music."⁵ Lower Canada, on becoming isolated from France, maintained this style, giving it a place of prominence in its music, for almost another two hundred years. In contrast, the music of France moved on to a variety of other styles not then found in Canada. Although there is mention of organ music, motets, cantatas, and other works being composed, copies of most of these have either not been found or not been verified as original works.⁶ The vast majority of pieces performed were brought from Europe.⁷ Of those pieces known to have been composed in New France, for example *Magnus Dominus*, they display a relatively high level of musical knowledge and required similar skills of the singers for their performance.⁸

The Port-Royal began in 1606 under the promotion of the baron de Poutrincourt. With

⁴ Amtmann (1976) pp.149-151; Ford, Clifford, Sacred Choral Music I, The Canadian Musical Heritage 2 (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1984) pp.vi-vii,xi. Martin was the second priest ordained in the New France and was stationed at the Quebec cathedral. See Ford pp.4-12 for words and music.

⁵ Ford (1982) p.24. See examples in Gallant-Morin and Bouchard (1981) pp.40-47.

⁶ Gallant-Morin and Bouchard (1981) p.9. See examples pp.16-27 and pp.18-37.

⁷ McGee (1991) p.26. "Almost all of the culture in the new world was re-creative rather than creative; the early settlers selected works from their heritage and from contemporary creations in Europe." Old manuscripts of religious music have been found containing a wealth of music. These works were probably played in the larger cathedrals. There are difficulties, however, in confirming whether any of these were composed in New France.

⁸ Ford (1984) pp.13-16.

the first colonists came Marc Lescarbot, whom Amtmann titles "Premier historien, premier poete, premier musicien et premier ecrivain canadien".⁹ As well as the transferring of the social traditions of la veillée and Ordre de bon temps from France, the *entre royale* or *reception* also came to New France. It was Lescarbot who arranged the first entree in 1606, not to welcome the King of France, as was the custom, but to welcome the return of Poutrincourt.¹⁰ This reception included the reciting of verse in French and Native languages and a play with music. This was the beginning of secular art music (of courtly orientation) in New France. As the colony expanded further inland, the various musical traditions followed, up the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. In the colonial settlements there was probably not, as yet, a sharp division between the populace and the elites and this separation probable came about slower than in France.¹¹ Therefore, the common folk in the settlements were able to experience some of the 'higher' arts. In a few larger settlements there was exposure, to some degree and to perhaps only portions of the population, a variety of secular music, some very contemporary and sophisticated. Intendent Dupuy in the Town of Quebec, for example, had a very extensive library containing religious and secular music: "presque tous les operas de Lully, des motets et autres oeuvres vocales de Campra, Bernier, Clerambault,

⁹ Amtmann (1976) p.51. First Canadian (and Canadien) historian, poet, musician and writer.

¹⁰ McGee (1985) pp.9-10. "Following the tradition established by Lescarbot, *receptions* were held on other occasions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to mark a special occasion." These continued to include both French and Native languages.

¹¹ It was after the break between France and New France when the almost complete separation of elites and the common people took place.

Lorenzani, des Sonates de Michel et Corelli, des pieces de viole de Marais, ainsi que des vaudevilles et brunettes et un traite de la musette", as well as other French, Italian and Latin pieces.¹²

In the 1700s limited music instruction started, setting the seeds for the development of local music composition. Up until this time formal music had been taught to only a few, primarily in the clergy. Hymns and select songs, mostly religious in content, were taught to the public in the church and religious schools, with folk songs being picked up 'on the street' or at home. Therefore, most of the public were exposed to a lot of singing but there had been very little training, vocally or instrumentally, and certainly there was no training in composition. All of the trained musicians had come from France. For women, the religious orders provided the prime outlet for musical activities.¹³ The girls were taught music, in convents, separately from the boys. As a contrast, in English Canada girls were taught music in colleges rather than convents.¹⁴ Another contrast was with some of the newly arrived English settlers, such as the Quakers, who did not believe in combining music with religious services.¹⁵

It is only after 'the conquest' that information of artistic activities becomes more

¹² Gallant-Morin and Bouchard (1981) p.52. See pp.50-55 for other examples.

¹³ Lefebvre, Marie-Therese, La Creation Musicale Des Femmes Au Quebec (Montreal: les editions du remue-menage, 1991) pp.23-26.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.54.

¹⁵ Kallmann, Helmut, "Historical Background" in Walter, Arnold (ed.) Aspects of Music in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) pp.39-40. Some other English protestant groups were not too different from the French-Canadian Roman Catholics in their zeal for worshipping through music.

readily available. The British presence encouraged significant changes within Lower Canada: 1) an exchange between the French-Canadians and British soldiers who were fluent in speaking French; 2) propagation of a more secular atmosphere by the British; 3) the introduction of a wider variety of instruments and a different military band tradition; 4) the provisions of more extensive resources to the colonies from Europe, 5) the introduction of printing establishments accompanied by a promotion of the use of pianos, and 6) a heightening of the Celtic influence in French-Canadian music. These influences resulted in a continued strengthening of folk, art and religious musical developments, already started under the French regime.

The presence of British military throughout the colony greatly encouraged music because each of the regiments had a musical band. Unlike the French military bands which had simple instrumentation of fife and drums, the standard British bands "consisted of two each of trumpets, french horns, and bassoons, and four oboes or clarinettes" and often other instruments.¹⁶ They also began to import more of these instruments into Lower Canada, thus providing more access to them by French-Canadians. In the town of Quebec, Frederic-Henri Glackemeyer started to teach instrumental music and import music and many instruments from Europe.¹⁷ Guillaume Joseph Mechtler and Louis Dulongpre established music classes in Montreal. Dulongpre later added dance lessons.¹⁸ "The (military) officers attended and hosted many of the

¹⁶ McGee (1991) p.27.

¹⁷ Ford (1982) p.27; McGee (1991) p.33.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.28.

dinner parties and banquets, they were prominent at the formal balls and they took part in dramatic productions."¹⁹ French language theatre developed in Montreal due to the presence of English army officers there, who established a theatre company.²⁰ Bourassa-Trepanier and Poirier document the various balls, concerts, theatrical presentations, musical education, musical instrument sales, musical job opportunities and programs of musical presentations listed in the newspapers of Lower Canada between 1764 and 1799.²¹

Publishing came to Lower Canada with the British, since in French tradition publishing was the right of the King alone. Very rapidly, newspapers, advertisements and sheet music printing became outlets for widely distributing music.²² Newspapers were the main vehicle for political songs which took their tunes from traditional folk songs

¹⁹ McGee (1991) p.26. "Each of the British garrisons had one or more bands always in residence in order to provide music for the military ceremonies, and they also provided music for the various dances and played open-air concerts." Ballroom dancing, then very popular in Europe, also became prevalent in Canada (p.27). This included dances, such as the minuet which were 'in vogue' in Europe (p.28).

²⁰ Nardocchio (1986) p.6; Ford (1982) p.32 They performed works from France primarily by Moliere and Beaumarchais. Music was, no doubt, part of such theatre performances.

²¹ Bourassa-Trepanier, Juliette and Poirier, Lucien (eds.) Repertoire des donnees musicales de la presse quebecoise, Vol. 1, 1764-1799 (Quebec: Les Presses De L'Universite Laval, 1990). See McGee (1991) p.32

²² McGee (1991) p.29. See also Calderisi, Maria, Music Publishing In The Canadas, 1800-1867 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1981).

(French, British and American).²³ Newspapers and periodicals were the initial means of spreading formal music until sheet music (by 1840) and song books took over as the main mediums, with the majority of the printed music being for piano and/or voice.²⁴ Both printing and contact with Europe through Britain allowed for the bringing of more contemporary music from Europe: Bach, Kotzwara, Avison, Vanhal, Handel, Mozart and others.²⁵

Those musicians in Lower Canada involved in original music composition, education, musical theatre and performance were almost all 'new Canadians', foreign-born, from Europe or the United States.²⁶ Although some opportunities were opened to those born in New France, few were yet capable of taking advantage of them.²⁷ The establishment

²³ All of the examples from Carrier and Vachon (1977) were ones printed in the newspapers. They included pro-Canadian songs, Anti-American songs, nationalist Canadian songs, and other songs of protest or political satire. As the United States grew stronger tunes such as *Yankee Doodle* began to enter French-Canadian songs.

²⁴ Poirier, Lucien (ed.) Songs II to French Texts, The Canadian Musical Heritage, 7 (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1987) p.vi.

²⁵ *ibid.* pp.29,34.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.27,pp.31-33. For example Glackemeyer was from Hanover and Joseph Quesnel, who wrote musical theatre pieces in Montreal, was from St. Malo.

²⁷ McGee (1991, p.33) says, "It is clear that the orchestra for all of the performances were comprised of local amateurs and members of the garrison bands. While the proficiency of the amateurs may be questioned, the performance level of the garrison bandsmen was professional. One may suspect, therefore, that the quality of the music heard in Canadian centres was of a rather high level. It would be nearly a hundred and fifty years before Canadian orchestras were made up entirely of professional civilians; the insufficient opportunities for a professional to make a living carried on until well into the twentieth century."

of the Quebec Act, during this period, was critical for the growth of such ventures and socio-cultural ideas since it "officially recognized the right of French Canadians to their language, religion and civil law."²⁸ Though town centres of the time were all less than ten thousand people in population, their importance began to rise musically, as groups of musicians gathered and began looking for venues in which to perform. "Coffee houses and taverns were among the makeshift scenes for these performances, although Quebec boasted a concert hall, at least in name, as early as 1764."²⁹

"Quebec remained the leading musical centre in the early nineteenth century"; it was the cultural heartland of Lower Canada of the time, but this leadership role of Quebec City was to shift to Montreal before the end of the century.³⁰ Joseph Quesnel, who had settled in Boucherville, was of prime importance for the operas which he composed and produced. *Colas et Colinette* is apparently the first original opera written in North America.³¹ The vocal complexity of the musical scores; the fact that the music was scored for violins, viola and cello; and that the opera was performed in both Montreal and Quebec City attest to the advanced level of expertise and organization already achieved by some musicians in Lower Canada.³² Quesnel both composed music and

²⁸ Nardocchio (1986) p.6.

²⁹ Kallmann (1969) p.36.

³⁰ Ford (1982) p.37. Small groups (quartets and bands) formed for brief periods.

³¹ Cooper, Dorith R. (ed.) Opera and Operetta Excerpts I, The Canadian Musical Heritage, 10 (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1991) pp.viii-ix. For samples of the words and music see pp.1-6.

³² *ibid.*, p.viii.

wrote lyrics. In one song, *la Chanson Patriotique*, he uses the tune of the British song, *Rule Britannia*, altering the patriotic message.³³ He also wrote a parody of *God Save the King*.³⁴ Quesnel wrote plays too. One written in 1802 entitled *Anglomanie - Le diner a l'anglaise* which "depicts a French family in Lower Canada".³⁵ The moral of the story was that "being French is neither better nor worse than being English. The implication was that the two cultures could and should exist amicably side by side with neither having to sacrifice its own social or political values."³⁶ But the social and political environments were not in balance, the French-Canadians being at a definite disadvantage.

French-Canadian Michel-Charles Sauvageau (1809-1846) in Quebec City of 1836, with the support of the Societe St.-Jean Baptiste, led a musical band, *Musique Canadienne*, whose "history in these turbulent and rebellious years was closely linked with French-Canadian struggles for a greater share in Canadian government."³⁷ The band was composed of both French and English-speaking musicians giving some representation to the French-Canadians, as being part of the Canadian population. Civilian musical bands, such as this, were able to form post-War of 1812 as the influence of military bands had filtered into the society. "Some were established on a family or

³³ Poirier (1987) pp.18-19.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.xiii.

³⁵ Nardocchio (1986) p.7.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.7-8.

³⁷ Kallmann (1969); Ford (1982) p.38. Echoes of these struggles for proper cultural representation would continue into modern times in orchestras, such as the Montreal Symphony Orchestra.

neighbourhood basis, others were attached to the local fire-brigade or volunteer militia. Some played just for their own amusement, while semi-professional 'name' bands offered their services to taverns, weddings, lake-steamers and the like."³⁸ Sauvageau went on both to compose many works and to establish the Academy of Music in Quebec City in 1842.³⁹ Damis Paul, Celestin Lavigueur and others along with Glackemeyer formed the Harmonic Society, also in Quebec City in the late 1840s.⁴⁰ Antoine Dessane came to Quebec City at this same time to be organist at the Quebec Basilica (1849-1864), having decided to leave the revolution in France behind.⁴¹ His presence in Quebec stirred up numerous musical activities.⁴² He added to Canadian music a huge number of his own compositions, both religious and secular.⁴³ As previously mentioned in the example of the *Quadrille canadien*, some of Dessane's music was heavily influenced by folk songs.⁴⁴ He had become very impressed by the French-Canadian expression of the folk

³⁸ Kallmann (1969) p.38.

³⁹ Ford (1982) p.38. One of his compositions (lyrics by F.R. Angers) was a patriotic song entitled *Chant Canadien*. See Poirier (1987) pp.32-33 for words and music.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.39. Damis Paul was another native French-Canadian. See also McGee (1991) p.33.

⁴¹ Ford (1984) p.vii.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.39.

⁴³ Ford (1984, pp.17-92) provides music and lyrics for several religious works for organ and voices. His style was often Classical and some of his pieces contain elements of plain-chant (p.vii-viii).

⁴⁴ Keillor, Elaine (ed.) Piano Music I, The Canadian Musical Heritage (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1983) pp.94-98.

songs after his arrival in Lower Canada. At this particular time period there was no strict division of folk and art music in Canada, as there was in France. Dessane also composed large scale works for full orchestras, such as *Ouverture en fa*, which was performed in Quebec City in 1863, requiring a large number of skilled musicians.⁴⁵

Montreal increasingly began to compete with Quebec City as it grew in size and advanced as the commercial centre of Lower Canada. After Confederation, the wheels of trade, industry and small business began to move rapidly, paralleled by an increasing urban population and the establishment of "the characteristic features of urban musical life."⁴⁶ As the cities and the music developed further, performance standards began to improve but the immigration into Canada and the visits of touring European musicians flooded the musical market, making entry by Canadian musicians and composers extremely difficult.⁴⁷ Montreal also became the centre for publishing of musical journals, not just for Quebec but for all of Canada. The primary musicians in Montreal; Mechtler, Charles Sabatier, Paul Letondal and Joseph-Julien Perrault had all come from

⁴⁵ Kallman, Helmut (ed.) Music For Orchestra I, The Canadian Musical Heritage, 8 (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1990) pp.1-45. This overture follows the European styles of Rossini, Herold, Boieldieu and others (p.viii).

⁴⁶ Kallmann (1969) p.41. Music became more of a money-making venture. As a result, the "growth of Canadian cities coincided with the spread of mass-produced entertainment on a low level of taste" in the style of the music of the United States, thus making it difficult for local trained and cultured musicians to have access to performance (pp.42-43).

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp.46-47. "The environment certainly did not stimulate composition." by Canadian, or specifically Quebec musicians, concludes Kallmann. (p.47)

Europe and settled in Montreal to compose, perform and teach music.⁴⁸ Jean-Baptiste Labelle, a francophone born in New York State, moved to Montreal to become the organist at the Notre Dame Cathedral from 1849-1891.⁴⁹ Notre Dame, as with all other major churches with organs, became a node for the production and performance of sacred music throughout Lower Canada.⁵⁰ During the later 1800s several original masses were composed due to the presence of these large organs in churches in the major cities and towns.⁵¹

It was only in the mid-1800s that large amounts of the 'Grand Music of Europe' entered Lower Canadian society.⁵² It must be remembered that the first French ship to arrive in Lower Canada since 1763 was not until 1855.⁵³ Between these two dates Lower Canada had been virtually cut off from direct cultural exchanges with France, as well as most other parts of mainland Europe. The entrance of increased secular music into French-Canadian compositions was greatly encouraged by the presence of the English-speaking settlers, administrators and soldiers, who were not restricted by the French

⁴⁸ Ford (1982) pp.40-1. Letondal taught some of the young up and coming French-Canadian musicians such as Calixa Lavallee, Salomon Mazurette, Gustav Gagnon and Arthur Gagnon.

⁴⁹ Ford (1982) p.41.

⁵⁰ Because many of the religious music composers also began to compose secular music, the cathedrals became nodes of secular music development as well.

⁵¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.349.

⁵² *ibid.*, pp.347-348.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.441.

Catholic Church, as were the French-Canadians.⁵⁴ The development of more non-sacred music caused the formation of new (non-religious) musical institutions, *la Societe musicales de Quebec* in 1819 and the *Montreal Singing Academy* in 1837.⁵⁵ Then, its rapid growth led to the accompanying steady movement "from the amateur-choral (philharmonic-society) tradition to the professional instrumental tradition"; the expanding of instrument manufacturing,⁵⁶ the beginning of sheet music importation and printing of music and music magazines; and the later, eventual formation and development of music schools and conservatories.⁵⁶ In effect, by the mid-1800s, the corner stone of Quebec's music industry had been laid. A parallel process was taking place in English Canada.

Calixa Lavallee (1842-1891), Alexis Contant (1858-1918) and Guillaume Couture (1851-1915) were major figures immediately before the turn of the century, when the first wave of French-Canadian born composers and professional musicians, in formal music, began.⁵⁷ Their works, and those of other existing local composers, ensured that the "centre for composition in Canada at this time was Montreal."⁵⁸ They also insured that one of the central focusses of the music was religious.⁵⁹ Calixa Lavallee (1842-

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.348.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.348.

⁵⁶ Ford (1982) p.52. See also pp.53-59.

⁵⁷ Lefebvre, Marie-Therese, "Les debuts du modernisme musical a Montreal," in Ridout, Godfrey and Kenins, Talivaldis (eds.) Celebration (Toronto: Canadian Music Centre, 1984) p.73.

⁵⁸ Ford (1982) p.61. With time, as more composers were born within the cities, formal music became ever more urban centred.

⁵⁹ Kallmann (1969) p.49.

1891), born in Vercheres, Quebec, had lived in and studied music in both the United States and Paris, France.⁶⁰ In Lower Canada he had tried to get government support to have a music Conservatoire established, based on the French system. Unable to achieve this he left for France.⁶¹ On his return to Montreal he set about to try to encourage a restructuring of musical education there.⁶² By this time Lower Canada had become Quebec, a province of the Dominion of Canada, following Confederation in 1867.

A new step in the development of the identity of the French-Canadians, was the very significant work, of Lavallee and Adolphe Routhier, *O Canada!*, which had been commissioned by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. In its original form it was like a prayer to God for the wonderful land that the people lived on, along the sides of the 'fleuve geant', the St. Lawrence River, under the eye of God.⁶³ The song spoke of 'Terres de nos aieux', 'une race fiere', and 'Ton histoire est une epopce/D'es plus

⁶⁰ Ford (1982) p.62. See also Lapierre, Eugene, Calixa Lavallee Musicien National Du Canada (Montreal: Fides and Les Publications De La Societe Historique De Montreal, 1966).

⁶¹ Other French-Canadian composers followed this lead. When they returned to America they carried with them a lot of the European system of music, which sharply separated folk and art music. It was not until Barbeau's strong influence that folk elements began to reappear in large numbers in Canadian works.

⁶² Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.349.

⁶³ The words of the original song, written by Routhier, are printed in Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.349-350. Both English and French words and the music are found in Fowke (1972) pp.140-141. See also Poirier (1987, pp.60-61) where it is entitled *Chant National*. There is a marked difference between the English and French words. The French words have a sense of regional Canada where the English words refer to the Nation, Canada; the St. Lawrence being replaced by many rivers, pines, maples and prairies. It inspired many other similar pieces to be composed (Poirier, p.xix). *O Canada!* as sung in a television advertisement by The O Canada Unity Foundation, 1992. (audio cassette: tape 2).

brillants exploits'.⁶⁴ Although it became a national anthem for Canada, it glorified Quebec and its lands and people.⁶⁵ Reinforcing this view is that it was first performed on June 24, 1880 closing the congress of the Saint-Jean Baptiste Society of Canada.⁶⁶ *O Canada!* was written in outraged response to *Dominion Hymn*, a song composed by two Englishmen. *Dominion Hymn* had been proposed to be Canada's national anthem but because of challenges especially by the quebecois leaders who considered it not to be representative of Canada, it was not accepted.⁶⁷ *O Canada!* proved acceptable to the majority of Canadians once it was accompanied by English lyrics along with the French ones.⁶⁸

Walter comments on Lavallee saying that, "His output reflects the taste of the period

⁶⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.349-350. These references are to 'the land of our forefathers (suggesting 'our' home and ancestral roots, now shifted away from France to North America in the eyes of the people), a proud race (referring to *les Canadiens*) and 'Your history is an epic/Of the most brilliant exploits'(glorifying the French-Canadian past).

⁶⁵ Ford (1982) p.63. The process of selecting and of making the Canadian national anthem official was only completed in 1980 and included alterations of some of the song's words in order to be as widely acceptable across Canada as possible.

⁶⁶ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.349. This was Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day and the Society was then and remains today a strong patriotic, nationalist force in Quebec.

⁶⁷ Ford (1982) p.63.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.57. I suspect that it was also written in response to *The Maple Leaf Forever* (1867) an extremely popular song in English Canada which blatantly glorified the British defeat of the French at Quebec City and projected a certain attitude of superiority (or rather of victors) that developed in English-Canadians towards French-Canadians.

as well as the demands of his public."⁶⁹ He composed numerous secular works, either in collaboration with various lyricists or using various poems as bases, as well as dance pieces.⁷⁰ Lavallee composed two operas. The first, *TIQ*, was based on thematic material from the United States regarding tensions between white settlers and Indians.⁷¹ The second, *The Widow*, was a long work in the European opera-comique style.⁷² In spite of any advances made in Quebec, Lavallee became frustrated with the slow pace of musical developments there and returned permanently to the United States.⁷³

Contant and Couture were both composers of religious music who followed in the style of the European composers Franck, Dubois, d'Indy and Gounod.⁷⁴ Two of their religious works were Contant's oratorio *Cain* (1905) and Couture's *Jean le Precurseur* (1914).⁷⁵ Both studied in France but returned to Montreal to be music teachers and

⁶⁹ Walter (1969) p.96.

⁷⁰ See examples in Poirier (1987) pp.126-153. Keillor (1983, pp.150-219) provides examples of polkas, a waltz, a galop, a funeral march and other marches.

⁷¹ Cooper (1991) pp.x-xi and pp.27-54

⁷² *ibid.*, pp.xi,54-110.

⁷³ Ford (1982) p.62.

⁷⁴ Proctor, George A., Canadian Music of the Twentieth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980) pp.5,9. Their music took the form of cantatas and oratorios or masses, some smaller orchestra pieces and chamber music. Other European composers who influenced their works were Wagner, Chopin, Schumann, Liszt and Faure.

⁷⁵ Kallmann (1969) p.50.

organists at major churches.⁷⁶ Couture, although having discussed music with the French composer s'group of the time who were trying to liberate the music of France from forms that had been in vogue for too long, did not significantly alter his style or influences, his favourite being Wagner.⁷⁷ Couture composed only a few pieces "almost entirely of choral works for the church" since he had a "preoccupation with liturgical subjects."⁷⁸ Guillaume Couture, along with P.R. McLagan, formed *La Societe philharmonique de Montreal* in 1877 with Couture becoming its director in 1880 and remaining so until its end in 1899.⁷⁹ During its life the philharmonique stayed with performing masses, oratorios and larger European classical works.⁸⁰ Its demise was due to the growing cosmopolitan nature of Montreal. *La Societe philharmonique*, having been based on an outdated provincial system of patronage, became displaced as a result of new social groupings starting to form.⁸¹ During this transitional stage of musical

⁷⁶ Ford (1982) pp.64-5. Contant "was organist at St. Jean-Baptiste Church for thirty-one years" (p.65) while Couture also was a choirmaster. Between them they taught many local students, including Henri Gagnon, Leo-Pol Morin, Rodolphe Plamondon and Achille Fortier.

⁷⁷ Walter (1969) p.97. Faure, Massenet, d'Indy, Saint-Saens, Lalo and Bizet had regular encounters in Paris discussing new musical possibilities.

⁷⁸ Ford (1982) p.64. He also produced some secular music, as in the romantic orchestral work, *Reverie* (Kallman, 1990, pp.46-90,viii).

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p.76. This was a part of Couture's unsuccessful efforts to establish a full time orchestra in Montreal. Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.348,350. Its precursor formed in 1863 under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Labelle (p.349).

⁸⁰ Kallmann (1969) p.45.

⁸¹ Ford (1982) p.76.

development, many groups formed and disbanded, but with time, the unstable musical associations began to set firmer roots.⁸² Still, the social order had not changed significantly enough to support permanent musical groups.

Contant, who had studied with both Couture and Lavallee, maintained an even more conservative line than the other two, which represented the traditional culture. He said, "It seems that our people are still unprepared for the audacities sometimes to be found in modern writings."⁸³ He was correct in his assessment of the general Quebec culture then, but did not foresee how much this would change within a few decades. Even Contant's non-religious, march and dance music showed little musical exploration.⁸⁴ These had "a harmonic language derivative of the French salon composers of the mid-nineteenth century."⁸⁵ Other pieces of both his and Couture had more modern "chromatic harmonies and sentimental melodies."⁸⁶

With the accelerating move in music towards the profane in the 1930s, religious music

⁸² *ibid.*, pp.75-7; Kallmann (1969) pp.44-45. "Musical societies often achieved spectacular successes, but once they collapsed, all musical activity collapsed with them" (p.45). It has been stated that most French-Canadians took music for granted and more as an informal activity, therefore, there were many fewer organizers in French-Canadian circles than English Canadian ones (p.47). Though this may have been true within this particular time period, I would question it during the 1900s, as will be discussed in the text later.

⁸³ Quoted in Walter (1969) p.98.

⁸⁴ Keillor, Elaine (ed.) Piano Music II, The Canadian Musical Heritage (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1986) pp.1-15, v-vi.

⁸⁵ Ford (1982) p.64.

⁸⁶ Proctor (1980) p.9.

as it had been went into a decline, such that there were no immediate strong successors to the religious-based music of Contant and Couture.⁸⁷ Other musical artists of note during this period were Henri Gagnon, Emma Albani (Lajeunesse) and Celestin Lavigne, who wrote operettas. Emma Albani (1847-1930), studying under her father, became an accomplished musician. Then she turned to opera becoming perhaps Canada's greatest opera star but in the process moved to the United States and then London, England.⁸⁸ Without further development of a musical structure in Quebec, it was hard to keep musicians there, once they reached a certain level of proficiency.

In Quebec City important musicians were Napoleon Crepault, Joseph Vezina, the Gagnons (Ernest, Gustav and Henri) and Arthur Lavigne, along with immigrant, Antoine Dessane.⁸⁹ Crepault, born in Kamouraska, was an organist first at Notre Dame Church then later St. Roch Church. He also kept to composing religious music.⁹⁰ Joseph Vezina "a prolific composer of band and orchestral music" and operas promoted profane

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.26. This was a signal of decline in the power of the Church itself, in the lives of the public. After 1940, this would speed up and become very evident in the social order. It was, however, only a decline in overtly Catholic religious music and not really a decline in spiritually-based music.

⁸⁸ Ford (1982) p.92. The entrance of opera into Montreal led to the development of a strong following. Kallmann (1969, p.55) comments on the geographic nature of its distribution, "If Anglo-Canada was a land of choral music, French-Canada inclined towards opera."

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp.62,67.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.67.

music.⁹¹ Vezina (1849-1924) studied music with his father, as well as being mostly self-taught, before becoming organist at St. Patrick's Church, later choirmaster at the Quebec Basilica, and finally becoming the first conductor of *La Societe Symphonique de Quebec*.⁹² He continued the growing tradition of writing operettas with *Le Laureat*, *Le Rajah* and *Le Fetiche*, all written in the early 1900s.⁹³ The Gagnons were all organists with churches while also working towards the establishment of other key musical institutions.⁹⁴ Ernest Gagnon, as discussed previously, was of pivotal importance in the development of 'authentic' Canadian music, which included elements of French-Canadian folklore.⁹⁵ He also attempted to utilize Native folklore in some of

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.67. See also Kallman (1990) p.viii-ix and music for one of his waltzes performed in New York in 1949, *Ton Sourire*, pp.91-119.

⁹² *ibid.*, p.75

⁹³ Cooper (1991) pp.141-158, 159-179 and 180-202, respectively, for music and lyrics. See also pp.xiv-xv. The latter work was thematically based on earlier colonial history. Its plot was concerned with the conflict between French settlers and the Iroquois Indians.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.73. Ernest was the first organist at St.Jean-Baptiste Church and from 1864-76 was organist for the Quebec Basilica. His brother Gustav took over from him first at St.Jean-Baptiste Church (1864-1876) and then at the Quebec Basilica (1876-1915), only to be followed by his son, Henri at the Basilica starting in 1915. Both Ernest and Gustav were instrumental in the founding and functioning of the *Academie de Musique*.

⁹⁵ Keillor (1983). An example is his piece *Carnaval de Quebec* (pp.99-104), which includes the French-Canadian and American folk airs: *Vogue beau mariner*, *Yankee doodle*, *C'est la belle Francoise*, *Dans les chantier nous hiverons!* and *Dixie's land*.

his music.⁹⁶ While in Europe, however, he began to harmonize and otherwise transform his style more along European lines. Arthur Lavigne (1845-1925) played a role in both the Montreal and Quebec City music scenes. Born in Montreal, he developed there as a musician and organizer of musical events, preparing open-air concerts in Montreal's Parc Sohmer.⁹⁷ Moving to Quebec City he opened a music publishing store with Adelard Boucher in 1868, while also starting up the *Septuor Haydn*, which became Quebec's major instrumental ensemble. Its establishment eventually led to the formation of *La Societe Symphonique de Quebec* in 1903 and the creation of a strong base in chamber music for Quebec.⁹⁸ After taking part in World Peace Jubilees in Boston he organized one of these to take place in Quebec City in 1883.⁹⁹

During this same time period, it was actually the poets who led the way in the blending of art with nationalism. This patriotism took a variety of forms as quebécois poets tried to break away from traditional Quebec styles and become more familiar with the new styles in France and Europe.¹⁰⁰ It must be remembered that poetry for French-

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.105-110. His work *Stadacone (Danse sauvage pour piano)* is an example. Within the music a 'near to authentic' Indian rhythm is used. Except for Gagnon's limited work using Native materials there is a relative absence of Native elements in French-Canadian compositions.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.67.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.74. Lavigne was also a founder of the *Academie de Musique*. Also Kallmann (1969) p.45.

⁹⁹ Ford (1982) p.74.

¹⁰⁰ Roy, Camille, *French Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brock, & Company, 1913) pp.441-42. "At the beginning of the century, one should remember, poets of the *Ecole Litteraire de Montreal* were trying, in their quest for emancipation, to avail themselves of European culture. This was a time of great

Canadians was more an oral art than a written one and poems were often sung. One of these poets, Octave Cremazie (1827-1879), was at the forefront of modernizing Quebec art and touching the heart of the French-Canadian nationalism. Camille Roy says, "he was the first to tune his song to the note of romantic lyricism. Cremazie may justly be called the father of French-Canadian poetry."¹⁰¹ Not only did he write many poems, primarily ballads and complaints, he and his brother also founded a library of items from Quebec's past heritage.¹⁰² Cremazie's work greatly influenced later generations of poets and inspired them and other individuals in the public to consider their homeland more carefully. "Cremazie did not pause to sing of love and the ardour of passion ... His lyricism ... devoted itself to the expression of religious and patriotic sentiments."¹⁰³ One of his poems *Drapeau de Carillon* served as the basis for patriotic music composed by Charles Sabatier.¹⁰⁴ Two other poems, *Chant de Voyageurs* and *Chant du Vieux*

divergencies between ideas of universalism on the one hand, and those of regionalism, 'the soil', on the other." It was the introduction of new European styles which actually fueled an increasing wish for breaking from French-Canadian tradition and helped to launch more musical originality in a truly quebecois form.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, (1913) p.461.

¹⁰² Royer (1989) pp.23-4. Cremazie generated an interest in looking at the past glories of his people and of the physical landscape in which they carried out their activities.

¹⁰³ Roy (1913) p.463.

¹⁰⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.349. See Poirier (1987) pp.40-41 for music and lyrics. It thematically presents an heroic francophone version of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

Soldat Canadien spoke of the memories of the glories of New France.¹⁰⁵ Louis Frechette, a disciple of Cremazie, followed in his style, writing poems such as *La Legende d'un peuple* and he wrote to Cremazie referring to their works as 'mes chants' and 'tes chants', thus linking their poetry to song.¹⁰⁶ With the addition of music to their poetry folk song and formal music traditions again became linked. "In *La Legende d'un Peuple* he set himself to relate the epic of French Canada - to write in eloquent strophes the history of his race."¹⁰⁷ Proctor says of the same poem that it "illuminated the French-Canadian esprit, as did Emile Nelligan in his symbolist sonnet *Le Vaisseau d'or* (1896-9) and his poetic manifesto *La Romance du vin* (1899)."¹⁰⁸ Nelligan was preceded by Eudore Evantural, a poet who began to go totally contrary to tradition, turning to more modern, individualist and existential style.¹⁰⁹ Royer claims "Eudore Evanturel, contemporain de Rimbaud, se revele en quelque sorte le premier 'moderne' de la poesie quebecoise. Il parle de la mort, de l'amour et de l'art."¹¹⁰ Nelligan (1879-

¹⁰⁵ Roy (1913) pp.462-3. See Cooper (1991) pp.80-81 and pp.34-37, respectively, for words and music. The music was composed by Dessane, who also composed a version of *Le Drapeau De Carillon* (Cooper, p.xvi).

¹⁰⁶ Royer (1989) p.25. Chant means song.

¹⁰⁷ Roy (1913) pp.465,463. Together Cremazie and Frechette formed the core of a nationalist school of poets. See *Poirier* (1987) pp.66-67 and pp.82-85 for the words and music to two other songs *Vive La France* and *Chant des Voltigeurs Canadiens*, respectively. Ernest Gagnon wrote the musical score for the latter.

¹⁰⁸ Proctor (1980) p.18.

¹⁰⁹ Royer (1989) p.27.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.28. The quote means that he was a contemporary of Rimbaud who showed himself to be perhaps the first modern quebecois poet. He spoke of death, love and art. It is important to note that

1941), from half Irish and half French-Canadian background, became the best known of all Quebec's poets. He would recite his works at the newly formed *l'Ecole litteraire de Montreal*, where writers and poets gathered to orally share their works. It also replaced Cremazie's library becoming a new and larger point of collection of cultural heritage.¹¹¹ Nelligan followed the individualist's, symbolist's and non-conformist's path but took it to an extreme becoming "l'incarnation du poete maudit, victime de son anti-conformisme absolu."¹¹² As a result he became a mythic figure for the Quebec people.¹¹³ This bohemian poet image carried over into the early urban-based quebécois chansonnier music, to be discussed in a later chapter. In 1990, Andre Gagnon and Michel Tremblay, set Nelligan's life and poems to a 'rock opera' which starred many of Quebec's leading singers in its initial stage production and audio recording.¹¹⁴ The memory of Nelligan's poetry stirs up strong emotional feelings for those quebécois familiar with his work. Nelligan, Evantural and Albert Lozeau all abandoned the patriotic

the word **spoke** is used instead of wrote.

¹¹¹ Royer (1989) p.33; Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.443. This gathering also included young intellectuals from various other fields of endeavour.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p.35. He became the incarnation of the cursed or beastly poet, victim of his own absolute anti-conformism (p.34). "Il vit en poesie." - He lived poetry (p.34).

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.35.

¹¹⁴ Gagnon, Andre and Tremblay, Michel, Nelligan (Montreal, Les Disques STAR Records Inc., 1990) Audio recording AS-CD-1700. (audio-cassette: tape 1). This provides one example of the linkage between poetry, art music and contemporary pop.

line of poetry for a more personal, universal form.¹¹⁵

The early 1900s brought the development of a French-Canadian nationalist vision within the Church and the francophone administrators, which became mirrored in the thoughts of many of "la petite bourgeoisie canadienne-française - ses intellectuals" of Quebec society.¹¹⁶ This vision, promoted politically by Henri Bourassa, Lionel Groulx, and various other leaders, looked to the past and to traditional and religious values and carried the intent to create, or perhaps rather re-create, a Quebec cultural identity, very traditional in form.¹¹⁷ Numerous books were written by Groulx over the next several decades, including Notre Grande Aventure and L'Appel De La Race which glorified the exploits of the early French settlers and explorers and stirred up a French-Canadian national vision.¹¹⁸ It encouraged programs of movement back to the land, an economy

¹¹⁵ Roy (1913) p.469. This style was inspired by French contemporaries such as Verlaine, Baudelaire and Rollinat (p.470).

¹¹⁶ Plamondon, Christine and Bail Milot, Louise, "Claude Champagne Et Le Paysage Ideologique Quebecois De L'Entre-Deux Guerres," in Canadian Music in the 1930s and 1940s, Proceedings of a conference held at Queen's University, Kingston, Ont. (Kingston: Ont.: Queen's University, School of Music, Nov. 1986) pp.29-34.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.30. Of this doctrine Plamondon and Bail Milot write, " Les normes esthetiques vehiculees par ce discours s'articulent autour d'objectifs conformes aux visees clerico-nationalistes: contribuer au renouveau terrien par la propagation d'une mystique paysanne, exalter le sentiment patriotico-religieux, fournir des modeles d'identification propres a alimenter le sentiment d'appartenance a un groupe ethnique et a son destin specifique."

¹¹⁸ L'Appel De La Race is translated into English under the title The Iron Wedge (translated by J.S. Wood) (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1986). Groulx, Lionel, Notre Grande Aventure, L'Empire français en Amerique du nord (1535-1760) (Montreal: Fides, 1957)

based on farming and a colonization by French-Canadians of the 'North' of Canada.¹¹⁹ There, in effect, developed a politico-religious "litterature du terroir."¹²⁰ These programs were essentially in response to a preceived threat of francophone assimilation by the much more numerous English-Canadian and American populations which encircled them and the loss of tens of thousands of French-Canadians from Quebec who went to seek better economic conditions in the United States.¹²¹ The musical composition and ethnomusicological research of the time followed a similar tendency to that taken by the Church and political leaders, though not necessarily agreeing with the political-economic program.¹²² As discussed earlier the idea of back to the roots nationalism had pre-existed and taken on its initial form under Ernest Gagnon. Now it blossomed into a greater flourish of activity under Marius Barbeau, Edouard-Zotique Massicotte, Charles Marchand, Oscar O'Brien, Pierre Gauthier and others in folk song and legend research. Barbeau, as discussed in a previous chapter, was instrumental in re-connecting folk and art music. This was achieved through encouraging others, such as Murray Gibbon to support this musical direction. Gibbon was the chief organizer behind the CPR (Canadian Pacific Railway) festivals. The festivals in turn offered financial prizes to composers who

¹¹⁹ Plamondon and Bail Milot (1986) p.30.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p.31.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p.30

¹²² Some of the poets and other artists as mentioned earlier were actually diametrically opposed to this course.

used French-Canadian folk material in their formal music compositions.¹²³ With such incentives, many composers, both English and French-speaking set to this task.¹²⁴

These new activities and climate began to lure and inspire some of the classical musicians ("Hector Gratton, Alfred Laliberte, Leo-Pol Morin ... Achille Fortier, Joseph Vezina, Gabriel Cusson, Leo Roy et Claude Champagne") to adopt folklore as the inspirational and material base for their musical creations.¹²⁵ A process of searching for a distinctive French Quebec music, different from not only English Canadians and Americans, but also the French and other Europeans, had begun in earnest by this small group of intellectuals.¹²⁶ The process included homegrown education of musicians and encouragement in increasing proficiency in music. However, Quebec and the "country (Canada) also needed to provide the economic base for the cultivation of professional orchestras and opera companies, in addition to creating the necessary intellectual development for the fostering of composition."¹²⁷

Major changes in Quebec music only began to take place post-1940, after passing

¹²³ This was some of the first financial support directly for musical composition openly available to musicians. Claude Champagne was the winner of one of these prizes thus gaining popularity while simultaneously giving thrust to the continuation of the folk-art music interconnection.

¹²⁴ Following the publication of Helen Roberts book Songs of the Copper Eskimo in 1925, composers (for example Leo Pol-Morin) also began to add Native themes into their music, but to a much smaller extent and without the same level of sensitivity and understanding of the actual culture.

¹²⁵ Plamondon and Bail Milot (1986) p.30.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p.31.

¹²⁷ Ford (1982) p.93.

through the transition period of the late 1920s and the 1930s. Up until then much of the music played was not original and the study of music had meant looking backwards in time. Original Quebec music, as with Canadian music in general, took a second standing to European works. In orchestral music, "If a Canadian work was to be performed at all, it almost certainly would be placed in the warm-up position at the beginning of a concert".¹²⁸ Gradually this emphasis changed. Composers began to emerge who looked at the present and even into the future, not just of the music but, of the milieu of both Quebec and Canada. There was also an accompanying change from a strictly oral music to one based on written composition and in some cases audio recording. This change would ultimately transform the focus of music, as a whole, in Quebec, away from the rural countryside and solidly into the urban milieu. At this transition point there were two very important individuals, one in classical music (Claude Champagne) and one in folk music (La Bolduc).¹²⁹ New music developed in each case but the folk music remained primarily oral in form and rural based while the classical and more experimental musics were entirely urban centred and increasingly written based.

Claude Champagne (1891-1965), born on St. Catherine Street in Monreal, was initially inspired by the rural fiddle music of his grandfather, which became an important element in his musical compositions, and the piano music of Alfred Laliberte.¹³⁰ In

¹²⁸ Proctor (1980) p.25.

¹²⁹ MacMillan, Keith and Beckwith, John, Contemporary Canadian Composers (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975) p.41. "Champagne seems like a bridge between old and new, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."

¹³⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.352. Laliberte later helped Champagne financially so that he could go and study in France.

an early composition *Hercule et Omphale* in 1918 he included a musical arrangement of a well known folk song *J'ai du bon tabac*.¹³¹ He later expanded on this idea each time including more originality to the music while also being influenced by modern European and especially French styles.¹³² *Hercule et Omphale* had a Lisztian quality to it.¹³³ For *Prelude et filigrane* (1918) "Champagne's combination of augmented fourths, minor ninths and seconds, and non-functional chord progressions to create an atmosphere of mysticism in this work may be traced to Scriabin."¹³⁴ In the same piece he created a "sensuous and colouristic approach" and atmosphere in the music, characteristic of later works.¹³⁵ He was consciously aware of and acknowledged the competing forces, one pushing for a unique Canadian form and sound, the other an overpoweringly strong influence from Europe.¹³⁶ Between 1927-1929 he composed and performed two important pieces of music in which he musically linked his own image of place with French-Canadian folklore and the actual life of the people.¹³⁷ He was the first French-

¹³¹ National Library of Canada (referred to from here on as NLC), Claude Champagne 1891-1965 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1990) p.16.

¹³² Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.352. Debussy and Faure were two of the major French influences of the late 1800s.

¹³³ Proctor (1980) p.11.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, p.22.

¹³⁶ Plamondon and Bail Milot (1986) p.32.

¹³⁷ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Thirty-four Biographies Of Canadian Composers (Montreal: CBC, 1964) p.24; NLC (1990) pp.45,47. These pieces were the *Suite canadienne* in 1927 and the *Danse Villageoise* in 1929.

Canadian musician to produce an in-depth and intimate portrayal of the regional landscape: its form, its immense space and its atmosphere. The *Suite canadienne* was an attempt to write music which was typically Canadian but was at the same time typically music of Quebec. It was one of the first Canadian or Quebec compositions to raise some interest in Paris.¹³⁸ It consisted of an elaboration on four favourite French-Canadian folk songs: *C'est Pinson avec Cendrouille*, *Nous étions trois capitaines*, *Et moi je m'en passe* and *Le fils du roi s'en va chassant*, for orchestra and chorus.¹³⁹ Musically it captures both the form of the older folk songs as well as that of more modern styles since it "employs a modal approach in modern dress ... characterized by a strong lyrical sense, clarity of texture, and a sure contrapuntal technique."¹⁴⁰ Champagne's pieces of music also often used the musical modes of *la* and *re* (A and D) used widely in folk songs intertwining them with now familiar major-minor sonorities.¹⁴¹ He championed the return to older ('original') practices of Gregorian Chant composition. He became immersed in the use of melodic lines and the use of small intervals, rather than large melodic leaps, in his music. *Suite canadienne* won first prize at the Quebec festival of music in 1928.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Bradley (1977) p.18.

¹³⁹ NLC (1990) p.45.

¹⁴⁰ Proctor (1980) p.21. This clear and lyrical style pervaded all of his musical compositions.

¹⁴¹ Plamondon and Bail Milot (1986) p.33.

¹⁴² Proctor (1980) p.21. One of the underlying purposes of the Quebec festivals was to expose English-speaking audiences, as well as French-speaking ones, to French-Canadian music (p.20).

Comments by music critic Thomas Archer give a clear picture of the style and musical content of the second piece *Danse Villageoise*. "It puts into terms of art music ... a scene immortalized in French Canada of the lively fiddler and the dancing couples, which could be seen in hundreds of parish halls and houses throughout generations of winters as they were lived in the villages and small towns ... the immense charm of the little work lies not only in its recapturing of a vital phase of Canadian life but also in its unpretentious simplicity and absolute truth of life."¹⁴³ Another critic Andree Desautels commented that the music captured and entwined both the French and Irish elements of the composer's background.¹⁴⁴ This simplicity and detailed vision of daily life became a key characteristic of many of Quebec's major popular composers who followed. Another trade mark that has continued in Quebec music is the joy of life and the great appreciation of the richness and character of the land and people. Hector Gratton, a contemporary of Champagne's, followed a very similar course using legend and folk song material as major components of his works. In 1937 he composed *Legende* and between 1927 and 1935, four different *Danse canadiennes*.¹⁴⁵

Champagne only reached his peak in creating a nationalistic music in the 1940s but perhaps a more important role for him was in training and encouraging many of the classical composers who followed him and especially in his "co-founding in 1942, with Wilfrid Pelletier, (of) the Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique de la province

¹⁴³ Quoted in CBC (1964) p.25. (audio cassette: tape 1).

¹⁴⁴ Proctor (1980) p.26.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp.25-26.

de Quebec" in Montreal.¹⁴⁶ Order in musical education was brought to Quebec music by him. Clermont Pepin said, "it all became much more rationalized, more organic."¹⁴⁷ He began composing music about the Canadian landscape, as the Group of Seven had already done with painting, focussing his attention especially upon the Quebec regional aspect.¹⁴⁸ He expressed this through his very personal attachment to these landscapes.¹⁴⁹ *Images du Canada Francais* also (1943) was "a series of small acoustic etchings in a traditional style."¹⁵⁰ It included three choral parts written by Adrian Plouffe and was a reworking of four folk songs.¹⁵¹ The following year he composed *Gaspesia* which formed the basis for the improved *Symphonie Gaspesienne* (1947).¹⁵² He had set out trying "simply to transform the spectacle of Gaspé into music ... in *Gaspesia*".¹⁵³ The result did not please him fully, so, working from the same material

¹⁴⁶ Laurier, Andree, "A Champagne Centenary" in Canadian Composer (summer 1991) p.24. Also see Proctor (1980) p.21 and Bradley (1977) p.19. He trained both English and French speaking students, therefore, he became important on both the Quebec and Canadian music scenes.

¹⁴⁷ Quoted in Laurier (1991) p.24.

¹⁴⁸ Thomas Archer quoted in Bradley (1977, p.17) said, "Claude Champagne is one of the first musicians in this country to be truly Canadian in the way that Tom Thompson and A.Y. Jackson are Canadian."

¹⁴⁹ CBC (1964) p.26.

¹⁵⁰ NLC (1990) p.50.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.50.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, pp.18-19.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p.51.

he developed the very successful *Symphonie Gaspesienne*.¹⁵⁴ The symphony tried to capture in music the sight, sound and full sensual atmosphere and spirit of life of Gaspé's natural and cultural landscapes.¹⁵⁵ It "is a work descriptive of the Gaspé countryside and its people: sights and sounds of early morning, the rising fog and the sound of distant church bells of the coastal villages, the craggy hills of the landscape, waves breaking upon the shore ... the flight of the sea-gulls over the Perce Rock."¹⁵⁶ This piece of music had a highly programmatic form with sounds in the music corresponding to sounds or visual features in real life and the atmospheric moods which they projected on the human participants in the landscape.¹⁵⁷ Of all musical works of this time in Canada, the "most important of these is the *Symphonie Gaspesienne* .. a one movement work which evokes the majesty and loneliness of the Gaspé peninsula as well as the 'melancholy of its people.' Champagne achieves this feeling of vastness in time and space by repeating a drone-like bass figure for the first four and one-half minutes of the nineteen minute work. The next section (*Allegretto*) describes in sound the physical aspects of the landscape, including a softly ringing church bell. In creating these musical landscapes Champagne put a line and shape to the nebulous and impressionist feel of the

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.51.

¹⁵⁵ McMillan and Beckwith (1975) pp.41-42. *Symphonie Gaspesienne* was an "orchestra scene painting based on a regional landscape" from the cultural experiences of "Champagne who very early developed an ear for the rather raw and joyous modal sonorities of Quebec folk music."

¹⁵⁶ CBC (1964) p.24.

¹⁵⁷ McMillan and Beckwith (1975) pp.41-42. "This period was one of absorption of the milieu and an opening of the spirit to cultural manifestations".

real landscape."¹⁵⁸ This section is followed by a pastoral interlude, a restatement of the main thematic material, and a coda of large dimension."¹⁵⁹ All of Champagne's music so far had been nationalist works for both Quebec, since they specifically captured some of the essence of Quebec, and Canada, which he represented at the International Conference of Folklore in Basel, Switzerland in 1948 and on the Conseil international de la musique of UNESCO in 1950.¹⁶⁰ Most of his music showed love for the land and people.¹⁶¹ It also showed his love and understanding of his heritage.¹⁶² Not only was he able to create such image-filled compositions but he was able to teach others how to do the same.¹⁶³

Plamondon and Bail Milot put Champagne's commitment to nationalism in doubt, maintaining that he was not at all politically involved and saying that he was musically

¹⁵⁸ A. Schaeffer quoted in Desautels, Andree, "The History of Canadian Composition 1610-1967," in Walter (1969) p.107. Champagne follows Debussy's example in *La Mer* of "drawing in clear lines the elusive contours of the sea, the continuous ebb and flow of the waves, the splendid crashing of the watery masses."

¹⁵⁹ Proctor (1980) p.39.

¹⁶⁰ NLC (1990) p.19.

¹⁶¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.352. "La symphonie gaspesienne (1945) est un exemple patent de son amour pour le Quebec, pour les origines folkloriques et religieuses de la musique de son pays, qu'on avait déjà remarqué dans *Images du Canada français*." Marvin Duchow quoted in Bradley (1977) p.19 says that, "the Symphony gaspesienne stands as a monument embodying a deeply felt vision of the physical and spiritual beauty of his native land."

¹⁶² Desautels (1969) p.107. "Like his Celtic and French ancestors, he is in his element in a cloud-filled atmosphere and enchanted by the poetry and mystery of morning mists."

¹⁶³ Duchow quoted in Bradley (1977, pp.18-19) acknowledged "his power to project imaginatively his own consciousness into the ideation world of each individual student."

conservative but very sensitive to, and therefore musically presented, the ideas in the cultural environment around him.¹⁶⁴ The situation of the Quebec cultural environment shows that the ideas in the cultural milieu had a direct and large influence on the music, encouraging a musical conformity. At the same time the seeds of change planted by individuals, such as Champagne, even though restricted in their own creativity, bore fruit later on in the culture. Champagne did not stop at considering only French folk songs as nationalistic material but was also open to Irish and Scottish songs and it appears that he saw the use of folk songs perhaps more as a personal vehicle of expression, first, rather than a vehicle of either quebécois patriotism or Canadian nationalism.¹⁶⁵ It was perhaps

¹⁶⁴ Plamondon and Bail Milot (1986) pp.33-34. They said, "les activites creatrices de Champagne servaient avant tout les attentes du milieu, des attentes elles-memes conformes au courant de pensee dominant." I would generally agree with this idea, however, I do not view this as a negative reflection on his work. His nationalism, both Canadian and quebécois, were obviously functioning but at a more unconscious level. Perhaps what is also taking place is that when the public perceive a school or movement of composers developing they automatically make the assumption that it is a nationalist movement when, in fact, it may not be the composers' intentions.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.32. Irish and Scottish folk songs had somewhat similar Celtic roots to the medieval folk songs of Northern France while still being distinct. In North America there had been significant mixing of the French, Irish and Scottish traditions already. Very large numbers of Irish and Scottish peoples had come directly into contact with the French-Canadians either as United Empire Loyalists moving into Canada, workers in forestry and mining, or immigrants from the old world. With the Great Famine in Ireland in 1845-47 large numbers of people emigrated to America. Gormally, Patrick, "'Le Salut de l'Ireland': A Prophetic Text," in International Journal of Canadian Studies: European Contacts with Canada, 5 (spring, 1992) pp.113-117. "By 1871, the Irish comprised over 10% of the population of Quebec" (p.114) and many French-Canadian families adopted Irish orphans (p.115). These people brought with them musical folk traditions and some were accomplished musicians who became involved in the Lower Canada music scene.

other individuals who added emphasis and extended meaning to the nationalistic elements which were in the music of Champagne and his contemporaries. In fact, many of his works were commissioned by others for nationalistic events or occasions.¹⁶⁶ Champagne was definitely strongly influenced and, therefore, involved in European romanticism and other French stylistic traits "that would seem to be more significant than the influence of Quebec folklore with which some critics have tried to mythologize his music."¹⁶⁷ The 'environment' of this time consisted of definitely "la predominance conservatrice".¹⁶⁸ Though under some social constraints Champagne did initiate changes. He set a precedent for many Quebec composers and performers by visiting France and Belgium in his early career, staying there for most of the 1920s, meeting,

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.33.

¹⁶⁷ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.43. The folklore and plain-chant base were for Champagne a vehicle and jumping off point to which he blended classical harmonies and other elements not related to folklore. "His principle of 'harmonie par le chant' owes some allegiance to principles developed by Faure and Debussy." CBC (1964) p.26. My personal view is that individual composers and musicians have within themselves multiple layers of loyalty, attachment and patriotism, which at any one time are prioritized in a certain order. The order of priority changes as an individual's knowledge and consciousness change and as circumstances in the environment around change. The environmental milieu would include the cultural, social, political, and economic pressures applied or lifted by both the local influences and influences from beyond the region. It must be remembered that cultural values and attitudes towards the land are not static nor are they completely uniform through the public at any one time.

¹⁶⁸ Lefebvre, Marie-Therese, "Les debut du modernisme musical a Montreal," in Ridout and Kenins (1984) p.74. "Cependant , l'ideologie conservatrice qui domine dans les institutions politiques et religieuses des annees 30 se reflète dans la vie musicale et favorise la diffusion de la musique religieuse et de la musique profane neo-classique."

studying and exchanging with other composers of prominence of the time.¹⁶⁹ He further established the trend of using his knowledge of music to help build the national structures of music by filling a role as a music administrator.¹⁷⁰ This was how Champagne perhaps best expressed any true nationalist feelings he had by "being so busy trying to build something which was lacking in this country (not only in Quebec, but in all of Canada). But Claude Champagne was not only a builder, he was also a distinctive composer."¹⁷¹ Champagne was perhaps the first to succeed in producing the kinds of nationalistic, folk-based music which Barbeau, MacMillan and others had been encouraging yet only succeeded in doing this in the form of shorter pieces.¹⁷² His longer orchestra works, few in number, only came in the 1940s.¹⁷³

A French-Canadian contemporary of Champagne's, Rodolphe Mathieu (1894-1962), born in Portneuf, Quebec, composed in a very different and perhaps more individualistic style than Champagne, since he felt that "le veritable nationalisme en art consiste, non pas a chanter l'ame nationale, mais a la laisser chanter sur tous les sujets."¹⁷⁴ Like Champagne he had grown up surrounded by music and early on had been taught by

¹⁶⁹ NLC (1990) p.16.

¹⁷⁰ Bradley (1977) p.18.

¹⁷¹ Gilles Tremblay quoted in Laurier (1991) p.24.

¹⁷² For a listing of music by Champagne see MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) pp.43-46 or Proctor (1980) pp.15-17, pp.29-30, p.52, pp.54-55 and pp.94,100.

¹⁷³ Proctor (1980) p.21.

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.19. He says that true nationalism in art consists not in singing only about one's national soul but to allow singing about all topics. He felt that folk songs need not be included in his music in order to make them nationalistic.

Contant and Laliberte becoming exposed to influences of Scriabin, Wagner and Debussy.¹⁷⁵ He had studied in Paris at the same time as Champagne but under different teachers and style.¹⁷⁶ His *sonate pour piano* (1927) was in a chromatic, sequential form reminiscent of late 19th Century romanticism.¹⁷⁷ Yet he composed other pieces which were not backward-looking, as he moved from chromaticism towards serialism in his music.¹⁷⁸ "The works which come the closest to a twentieth-century style are by Rodolphe Mathieu, who was by far the most prolific and stylistically adventurous composer of chamber music in this period."¹⁷⁹ His music was the precursor of what was soon to come.¹⁸⁰ His most significant work was, *Trois Preludes*, written in 1912-15

¹⁷⁵ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.146; Kallman (1990) p.viii. Laliberte had managed to bring back from Europe a set of original manuscripts of Scriabin and used these in the teaching of his students. Laliberte served a pivotal role in modernizing Quebec's music and supporting and encouraging other musicians.

¹⁷⁶ Lefebvre (1984) p.73. He had studied along with Eugene Lapierre and Georges-Emile Tanguay at La Schola Cantorum under d'Indy's influence.

¹⁷⁷ Proctor (1980) p.22. See Keillor (1986) pp.196-224 for the music.

¹⁷⁸ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.147.

¹⁷⁹ Proctor (1980) p.26. Several of his pieces suggest influences by Schonberg. For samples of his chamber music see Elliot, Robin, Chamber Music I: Piano Trios, The Canadian Musical Heritage, 11a (piano), 11b (violin) and 11c (violoncello) (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1989) pp.102-180. This volume includes other chamber music by Contant (pp.51-101) and mentions that trios and quartets had also been composed by Dessane, Quesnel, Lavallee and others in a continuous tradition.

¹⁸⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.353. An example of this music is *Chevauchee* a piano work composed in 1911.

before he had travelled to France.¹⁸¹ "Essentially the Trois Preludes suspended the traditional rules of harmony and tonality. They may be Canada's first atonal composition."¹⁸² It is evident that a number of individual composers and musicians, such as Champagne and Mathieu, within Quebec were very sophisticated and modern in their musical techniques, to a level challenging European composers and that Quebec's musical base had developed to a level of strength to permit this to happen. Culturally, Mathieu moved to the fringe, essentially separating himself from the mainstream of musical life due to his philosophy of music. In removing himself from tonal frameworks, he understood the need to organize new elements of language.¹⁸³ His flood of creative composition is the "willful manifestation of a creative mind impelled to produce regardless of surrounding conditions, a natural talent rich in ideas, straightforward but always searching for new and personal means."¹⁸⁴ Although this appears to distance Mathieu's music from socio-cultural reality, the reverse is in fact true. While removing himself from the element of the Quebec population trapped in tradition, he became very representative of the up and coming, increasing number of young intellectuals seeking a diversity in their cultural characters.

Other quebécois composers, active at the beginning of the twentieth century, were

¹⁸¹ Keillor (1986) pp.189-195 and Kallman (1990) pp.198-214. The first two preludes are somewhat Wagnerian but the last "uses a unique language" (Keillor, p.vi), very similar to works of later avant-garde composers. Prelude 3 "foreshadows Webern's technique of klangfarbenmelodie (Kallman, p.viii).

¹⁸² Kallman (1990) p.viii.

¹⁸³ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.147.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.147.

Guillaume Couture, Alexis Contant, Charles Beaudoin, Achille Fortier and Georges-Emile Tanguay.¹⁸⁵ They did not really achieve recognition in their time but their diverse music was rediscovered by the next generation.¹⁸⁶ Some of these composers in order to live had to find jobs as church organists and therefore composed primarily for organ or voices and instruments which accompanied the organ.¹⁸⁷ Listings of music composed by Mathieu, Couture, Contant and others of these early periods are given by Proctor.¹⁸⁸ Tetu de Labsade provides a list of major French Quebec vocalists and instrumentalists, in orchestras or smaller groups.¹⁸⁹

During the 1900s, within classical music, there was a large amount of exchange between English and French-Canadian composers. One of the means for this was through *the Canadian Music Council* headed by Ernest McMillan.¹⁹⁰ This organization, with English and French-speaking members, stimulated Canadian composing and collected and assisted the recording of many of the members. The scale was far beyond that undertaken by Barbeau and associates in collecting French-Canadian folk songs, plus it had a Canadian nationalist emphasis. During this time many more musical institutions formed. The *Orchestra symphonique de Quebec* (later to become *la Societe symphonique de*

¹⁸⁵ Proctor (1980) pp.15-17.

¹⁸⁶ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.353.

¹⁸⁷ Proctor (1980) p.8.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp.15-17, pp.28-31. Their contributions to musical compositions had ended by the 1940s.

¹⁸⁹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.353-355.

¹⁹⁰ Krieger, Karen, "The Canadian Music Centre: A History" in Ridout and Kenins (1984) p.7.

Quebec) formed in 1903, later splitting to form a second Quebec City based orchestra, *le Cercle philharmonique* in 1942.¹⁹¹ *The Montreal Symphony Orchestra* began in 1934, opening opportunities for English and French-speaking musicians and composers alike; and *Les Jeunesse musicales du Canada* in 1949, which had a summer camp located in Orford, Quebec and other locations, promoted education and opportunities for young musicians right across Canada.¹⁹² Music conservatories resulting from the efforts of Champagne, Eugene Lapierre and others cleared the path for young musicians, giving them the opportunity to contemplate careers in musical composing, an idea which was relatively non-existent before in the culture.¹⁹³ New technologies had entered the cultural environment, which would greatly assist the development of the music business in Quebec: these were radio broadcasting and musical recording. The first all French language radio station, CKAC in Montreal, began broadcasts in 1922.¹⁹⁴

How did Quebec music compare to Canadian music in general in the early 1900s?¹⁹⁵ There were obvious differences of language and religious influences to the music. For example, English-Canadians were not so tightly bound to sacred music and therefore

¹⁹¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.350. Quebec composer Joseph Vezina remained its conductor until 1924.

¹⁹² Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.350-351.

¹⁹³ Lefebvre (1984) p.74. Lapierre directed *le Conservatoire Nationale de Musique* which was affiliated with l'Universite de Montreal.

¹⁹⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.444.

¹⁹⁵ Proctor (1980) serves as an excellent reference since it lists at the end of each chapter, divided into time periods, the major composers, English and French-speaking, and their main works and dates of composing.

promoted the development of more profane themes and styles. In spite of this, Proctor points out strong parallels between English and French-Canadian art music. Canadian music was slow to change during this time and tended "to lag behind the other arts in following new trends, was slow to adopt identifiable nationalistic elements. It was not until the 1920s, and then only in a modest way, that Canadian composers began to incorporate in their work distinctly national materials (i.e. folk songs and dances)".¹⁹⁶ He further states that, "In the early years Canadian music had a tendency to retain stylistic traits long after the latter had gone out of fashion in their country of origin": this was partly due to these styles only migrating to Canada a decade or more after their peak in popularity.¹⁹⁷ The changes that would follow were also similar for both the French and English-speaking composers. "The mantle of leadership in Canadian music, which had been in the hands of the organist-choirmaster-composer for over one hundred years, however, was soon to pass to younger men and women who sought to emulate the musical thought and practice of composers such as Bartok, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Schonberg, Berg, Webern, and Ives. This confrontation ... has parallels in the other arts".¹⁹⁸ With the development of musical infrastructures across the country the problems of absence of Canadian schools of music or formal orchestras had ended by 1940.¹⁹⁹ Canadian musical performers also began to tour across Canada, post-

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.19. This was clearly related to a very conservative political, religious and social milieu.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.28.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.11; Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.351-352.

Confederation, balancing out for the previous almost total domination of public performance by foreigners.²⁰⁰ Proctor noted a couple of differences between the French and English music. For example, the gap in English music, left by not concentrating primarily on religious music, was filled by anthem-type music. The name 'Canada' appeared in many titles and song lyrics. There were also numerous patriotic war songs during the WWI period.²⁰¹ Knowledge of quebécois composers was not, however, widely disseminated in English Canada.²⁰² Geographically, the feature of most significance was the rise of the metropolitan cities and the cultural lifestyles that go with them. "As economic and political power began concentrating in the larger cities Montreal and Toronto - so the musical life of the country began to be dominated by these two cities, and to a lesser extent, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Halifax."²⁰³

As of the beginning of 1944 there was no Canadian national music organization to act as an agency for the promotion of Canadian musical composition and performance or to provide protection for the rights of Canadian musicians and composers.²⁰⁴ There was a very basic need for more government support of music and the arts if they were to be

²⁰⁰ Ford (1982) p.69.

²⁰¹ Proctor (1980) p.7-8, pp.28-29.

²⁰² *ibid.*, p.4 This is a situation that continues today. At this time it may have been partly due to the Catholic religious element of much of the music. I think that, more recently, the situation is not the fault of francophones, who have made many attempts to more widely disseminate their music, but that of anglophone who have a 'wall' built up to keep out anything that is not English language based in origin.

²⁰³ Ford (1982) p.70.

²⁰⁴ Ford (1982) p.164; Keiser (1984) p.7.

developed nationally within Canada and provincially within Quebec. Within the short period of time preceding this, musicians had only received government financial support indirectly by their working for nationally funded organizations such as the **Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)** or the **National Film Board of Canada (NFB)**.²⁰⁵ Only since 1925 had there been the Canadian Performing Rights Society which later (1945) became **CAPAC**, which concerned itself with the legal aspects of musical performance and recording.²⁰⁶ Only the Province of Quebec provided funding for arts starting sometime after WWI through their *Ministry of Cultural Affairs*.²⁰⁷ In 1944 the Government of Canada created the *Canadian Arts Council* to oversee arts development in Canada. This was quickly followed by the growth of national, provincial and regional organizations each concerned with a select aspect of music, most of the members of which were centred in Montreal and Toronto.²⁰⁸ These organizations were made up of composers, musicians, and patrons of music. Sir Ernest McMillan, in the 1930s was the first individual noted as calling for a national coordination and linking of musical activities.²⁰⁹ MacMillan formed first a 'Music Committee' which became the *Canadian*

²⁰⁵ Ford (1982) p.164.

²⁰⁶ Kallmann, Helmut, "The Canadian League of Composers in the 1950s: The 'Heroic Years'" in Ridout and Kenins (1984) p.99.

²⁰⁷ Ford (1982) p.165. Saskatchewan started in 1949 and the other provinces only in the 1960s. Quebec probably had the lead due to a concentration of musicians there in Montreal and Quebec City and due to the presence of the CBC.

²⁰⁸ Kieser (1984) p.15.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.7.

Music Council in 1945, immediately becoming a member of the Canadian Arts Council.²¹⁰ "The Canadian Music Council was an umbrella organization which represented the interest of a number of national music organizations - such groups as the Canadian Federation of Music Teachers, the Canadian College of Organists, the Canadian Music Publishers' Association, les Jeunesses Musicales du Canada, the Canadian Library Association, the two performing rights organizations, CAPAC and BMI Canada - and the Canadian League of Composers."²¹¹ MacMillan was also the head of CAPAC (the Canadian Association of Performers and Composers) from 1949-1969.²¹² After intense lobbying and presentation of various briefs to Ottawa by the Canadian Music Council, the Government of Canada created "by an act of Parliament in 1959, the Canada Council (which) has been the dominant channel for federal government support for the arts" since then.²¹³ This led to the formation, also, of the *Canadian Music Centre*, a repository for original Canadian musical scores and recordings to serve as a national and international library of Canadian music.²¹⁴ Papineau-Couture was the only Quebecker on the Board of Directors at the time of the Centre's formation but was

²¹⁰ Ford (1982) p.164. "From its inception, the Canadian Music Council has been the principal vehicle for discussion and recommendations for future development of music in Canada" (p.166).

²¹¹ Kieser (1984) p.8.

²¹² *ibid.*, p.8.

²¹³ Ford (1982) p.165.

²¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.167; Kieser (1984) pp.10-11. It took over from collection work done by the Canadian League of Composers, begun in 1954 (Kieser, p.7).

followed only months later by R.B. Perrault and Gilles Lefebvre.²¹⁵ The centre's activities, however, focussed on the efforts of its Executive Secretary. The first was a French-Canadian, Jean-Marie Beaudet, functioning from 1959 to 1961, who " began to travel across Canada ... to make contact with some of the principal music organizations. His major success lay in the international sphere where he thoroughly established the Centre's presence among the International Music Information Centres and the International Association of Music Libraries."²¹⁶ Under its third secretary the Centre issued a bilingual news bulletin and later a bilingual periodical, Musicanada; the newsletter serving 2,200 people of whom 277 were French speaking.²¹⁷ Toronto was the head quarters of the Canada Music Centre but discussions began as to whether there should be regional centres as well. There were fears by many members that decentralization would cause a disintegration of national focus, but the fears were overcome enough to cause the establishment in 1973 of the first branch in Montreal.²¹⁸ Throughout its history the Montreal branch centre has moved its location frequently. First located on Boulevard Saint-Joseph, it moved to rue Berri, near the subway stop, in 1978 and then to 430 rue Saint-Pierre in Old Montreal in 1983, each time being located

²¹⁵ Kieser (1984) p.12.

²¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.12.

²¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.15.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.16. "In short, the Canadian Music Centre was facing the traditional Canadian dilemma of geography. And the traditional Canadian answer in most cases has been decentralization." The Montreal branch was half funded by the Ministère des affaires culturelles du Québec and the Arts Council of Metropolitan Montreal.

in a predominantly French speaking part of the city.²¹⁹ Papineau-Couture was also a central figure in the activities of the Canadian League of Composers, serving two terms as president.²²⁰ The League "wanted to put the professional musician who devotes his prime energies to creating concert music on the cultural map of Canada."²²¹ All of these organizations have caused a dramatic increase in the creation and dissemination of Canadian (including quebécois) music, developing in the process a large body of professional musicians and composers, supported by scholarships, awards, publicity, work opportunities, musical conferences, musical periodicals and books, and so on.²²² Therefore, geographically and culturally the music business established that, "There is a place in Canada for the professional composer speaking the language of our time."²²³

By 1953 young French-Canadian composers had banded together to make a concerted effort to break away from traditional, conventional styles in order to promote fully contemporary music. They had organized, by 1958, into an active assemblage calling themselves *Music of our Time*.²²⁴ "This group, including many of the former students

²¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.16.

²²⁰ Kallman (1984) p.102

²²¹ *ibid.*, p.102. The League undertook the setting up of a series of concerts starting in 1952 in Toronto. This stimulated other groups such as La Societe de musique canadienne to run an annual concert in Montreal from 1954-1968 (p.103).

²²² *ibid.*, p.104-5.

²²³ *ibid.*, p.105. For many of these people the language of music superceded, though did not fully replace, the language of speech, English or French.

²²⁴ CBC (1964) pp.47,63,69; MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.161. Morel, Garant, Jeanne Landry and Otto Joachim formed the core of *Musique de notre temps*.

of Claude Champagne - Pierre Mercure, Clermont Pepin, Gilles Trembley, Francois Morel, Jean Papineau-Couture, Gabriel Charpentier, Roger Matton, Serge Garant and others - decided to move away from what they felt to be a tranquil and contented traditionalism of French-Canadian music, and to search for new forms of musical expression, not experimenting for experiment's sake, but bearing the impact of a definite idea, reflecting the ever-changing rhythm of an ever-changing life."²²⁵ These were the first generation of graduates from the *Conservatoire de Musique* (established in 1942) and their search for the discovery of new music was happening in Montreal.²²⁶ It was part of a wider social process or movement. The musical avant-garde movement was following the lead set by other artists (painters, poets, sculptors, etc.), in Quebec headed by painter Paul-Emile Borduas, and had for sometime been lagging behind changes made by these other arts.²²⁷ Following a shake up in life style resulting from WWII and increasingly new techniques and technologies which affected the arts, Borduas, Fernand Leduc, Alfred Pellan and other painters began experimenting with the "impressionism, expressionism, cubism, surrealism" and accompanying ideas imported from Europe.²²⁸ Borduas, in 1948, organized the artistic event, *Refus global* in Montreal, involving many other artists of various sorts.²²⁹ This manifesto "opened up the way for new forms of

²²⁵ CBC (1964) p.63.

²²⁶ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.160.

²²⁷ CBC (1964) pp.63,71; Proctor (1980) p.33, pp.18-19.

²²⁸ Proctor (1980) p.32.

²²⁹ Mercure was one of the musicians who was connected with the *Refus global* activities.

expression by speaking out against the stifling atmosphere which pervaded artistic life in French Canada at that time."²³⁰ As a result of the government backlash, Borduas left Quebec and went into self-exile in Paris.²³¹

Times were changing and the traditional rural lifestyle was fading for many Quebeckers, especially for the increasing number who had grown up in the city. " 'The ordered world of forms', says Mercure, 'should not make us ignore the phenomena of the transformation of present-day life, nor the presence of the unintelligable. If we want to shut our eyes to it we risk being excluded from real life. The artist composer', he continues, 'should be sincere in reflecting this new age of ours. It is up to him to play his part in this new world-in-the-making, a world emerging inevitably, with or without him.'"²³² To maintain their musical lives and progress musically the new quebécois musicians had to do two things. The first necessity was to have work outside of musical composition and performance, whether in orchestras or solo. Whereas their predecessors had turned to church organ playing, many of these new composers, such as Mercure, turned to work in either radio, or slightly later, television.²³³ The other necessity was to travel to Europe, especially France, to study new forms of music and to exchange

²³⁰ *ibid.*, p.33.

²³¹ *ibid.*, p.145.

²³² CBC (1964) p.64.

²³³ Duguay (1971) p.118; Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.446; Bradley (1977) p.170. The first fully French-language television started in 1952 as **Radio Canada**. Being on the inside of radio and television, this allowed these composers to influence the programming selection of music, therefore, much more contemporary styles of art music, including avant-garde, were broadcast. They were also able to bring important musical figures into Montreal from other places.

ideas on music. A few of the musicians also went to the United States, as its classical musical culture began to boom, to study and collect new ideas. Mercure, for example, went first to France to study with Nadia Boulanger and later to the United States.²³⁴ Where in the past, the musical character of the French-Canadian was based on the isolation of French folk songs within the confines of a frontier environment, the character of the newly developing quebécois musician was rooted in exchange with cultures beyond its own and in 'keeping up with the Jones', but within their own modes of adaptation, as in the past. Their styles developed directly under the influence of contemporaries and styles of the recent European or American past, as well as the, then, present.²³⁵ Their works often became multimedia in form, not solely concerned with music. For part of his career "Mercure was pre-occupied with the possibilities of an integration of the various art forms. His interests ... were extended to include creative dance, theatre, and painting."²³⁶ He also extended into electronic music during the 1960s using new technologies which had just become available to the artists.²³⁷ In a collaborative work with Gabriele Charpentier, Mercure put music to Charpentier's poetry to create a cantata. The piece is "a vivid almost surrealistic picture borne from the agony of our time" which

²³⁴ Bradley (1977) p.170 Boulanger was very influential in teaching several of Quebec's major composers.

²³⁵ Duguay (1971) pp.118-121. These influences included Bartok, Stravinsky, Pierre Boulez, Karl Stockhausen, John Cage, Schonberg, Ives, Hindemith, Sibelius and others. See also Proctor (1980) pp.22,33,35.

²³⁶ Bradley (1977) p.170. "He believed in what Emerson had observed a century before him that laws of each art are convertible into the laws of every other." (p.172)

²³⁷ *ibid.*, p.171.

dives into the depth of human fears and savagery under the threat of natural or human destructiveness, to end with the hope of humanity's cries for joy.²³⁸ The dissonant harmonies of the music reflect the dissonance in modern life. It was important to Mercure to be conscious of the world around him. Mercure's *Psame pourabri* (to poems by Fernand Ouellette) remains "a sounding testament of a man who once stated that 'to shut our eyes to the phenomenon of change in our lives means to exit from life altogether.'²³⁹ Post-war, ideas of nationalism (Canadian and quebécois) were increasingly present but not all composers felt that it was a priority or that it must be expressed in an overt way. "The majority seemed to agree with Papineau-Couture that nationalism is not so important as getting the public to accept contemporary idioms in music and thereby provide an audience for the Canadian composer's works."²⁴⁰

For the avant-gardists there was a continual change in musical style as they sought new forms. Exploration of "how the sound material manifests itself in time and space" led them towards "the discovery of the new perspectives of sound".²⁴¹ They searched for a reorganization of musical material which reflected in society the need to reorganize ways of thinking, perceiving and doing things in life, therefore setting new horizons in

²³⁸ *ibid.*, p.180.

²³⁹ *ibid.*, p.171.

²⁴⁰ Proctor (1980) p.34. Lack of substantial audience to pay for musical concerts was one of the stumbling blocks in development of permanent orchestras, bands, etc.

²⁴¹ Desautels (1969) p.131.

life and music.²⁴² They were working very much in the confines of their imaginations but tuning this with the European and American musical and cultural inputs.²⁴³ The experimentation of the music matching the experimentation within the surrounding society as the conservative-religious hold on it declined. Several of the composers moved away from tonal based music and into serial and chance music.²⁴⁴ Clermont Pepin commented that, "We cannot think in terms of plain geometry any more, just as I cannot think anymore in terms of melodic lines, themes, motives and classical harmony. Serial music opens the way to a new vaster world."²⁴⁵ He spoke of this new music as being authentically quebecois since it was helping the quebecois to lift themselves from underneath the 'complexe de colonise' under which they had been suffering for years.²⁴⁶ Although the quebecois musicians began to immerse themselves in the experimental music from outside they also were wary of some of the pop forms of music which started to infiltrate Quebec from the United States. Pepin condemned what he felt

²⁴² *ibid.*, pp.132-133. Pierre Mercure was a leader in this thrust until his untimely death in 1965.

²⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.129,131,134. Varese, Boulez and Stockhausen were clearly the major influences on Quebec's avant garde movement in music.

²⁴⁴ CBC (1964) p.81.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.81.

²⁴⁶ Duguay (1971, p.155) quotes Pepin, who says, "C'est en etant authentiquement soi-meme qu'on est authentiquement quebecois." The complex of colonialism refers to the conquest of Quebec by the British, effectively bringing an English-speaking dominant presence to what became Canada. It also extends itself, I feel, to the dominance of the Church and French elements of the state within Quebec, especially the rule of Duplessis as Premier of Quebec from 1936 to 1959, which stifled cultural growth.

was American imperialism of the popular music of Quebec, especially that in the form of MUSAK.²⁴⁷ He saw American pop as being highly destructive and undermining of quebécois artistry, forcing limits on the creativity, as well as replacing the old blanket of conservative inertia with a new type of blanket of inertia, homogenization and mediocrity. Within the music, the "main ingredients of Pepin's style are powerful rhythms ... and strong polyphonic textures capable of evoking a world of magic and incantations, particularly in his symphonic poem *Le Rite du Soleil Noir*."²⁴⁸ Influenced by the lyricism of Honegger's music and the sacred ritual and rhythmic aspect of Jolivet's music, Pepin began "to explore new sound sources and to free himself from the dictates of tonality" and strict French-Canadian tradition.²⁴⁹ With musical experimentation, however, some composers greatly distanced themselves from the general art music audiences who were not capable of following them into strange musical realms. At the same time they developed devout (sub-cultural) groups of followers. In this way many small specialized musical audiences developed, very fragmented from one another. Pop classic composer Francois Dompierre comments on such experimental music, "either it's too avant-garde, so advanced that people will catch up with it twenty years from now, or else it's simply not interesting. It's dull" and people tend to listen to what

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.155. " Mais il est un point qu'il a tenu a developper: c'est celui des conditions imposees par l'imperialisme americain a l'oreille du Quebec: 'La musique populaire facile est une agression contre la personnalite du peuple parce qu'elle le soumet au mediocre, l'habite a ne pas exercer discrimination a l'endroit des sons qui parviennent a son oreille et lui enleve la faculte de choisir.' "

²⁴⁸ Desautels (1969) p.127.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.127.

interests them.²⁵⁰ The popular music proved itself to be far more acceptable to the main public and to a great degree replaced classical music in social importance and caused a major stratification of the public over interest in the different types of music listened and related to over the next period of time.

Experimentation also brought a parting of the ways of composers. Some of the older generation continued to compose more conservative styles or mixed the old and new, while the younger ones took different paths of exploration. Some of the avant-gardist and other newer composers began to expand art music back to more publically accessible styles. Yet because of the modernization of music through the overall avant-garde movement, Quebec's music solidly entered and found a place in the international music scene. From this point on Quebec musicians and composers could have access to essentially any ideas or technologies worldwide. Champagne continued to develop his ideas in programmed works. His last composition of this type was entitled *Altitude* (1959).²⁵¹ It was a work commissioned by the Canadian Arts Council who requested "a great acoustic fresco for a symphony orchestra whose spirit will represent the unity and diversity that characterize our country."²⁵² The completed symphony was "altitude, a tone poem on the Rocky Mountains, a work of poetic vision and mystical content."²⁵³ This composition specifically a new electroacoustical instrument,

²⁵⁰ Canadian Composer, "How to make your own album and succeed by really trying," Canadian Composer (June 1975) p.14.

²⁵¹ NLC (1990) p.20.

²⁵² Quoted in *ibid.*, p.55.

²⁵³ Quoted in CBC (1964) p.26.

the Ondes Martenot which was able to produce a wide array of atmospheric sounds, and potentially create a total sound environment on its own.²⁵⁴ ^{It also included a symphony orchestra and choir.} One could question whether the influences of Champagne's *Altitude* were strictly based on the Canadian landscape since he composed this work while in the French Pyrenees.²⁵⁵ Yet previous to this he had spent a long stay in the Rockies.²⁵⁶ At the same time he drew from not only landscape terrain for his composition but also religious cultural inputs both from Quebec and Europe.²⁵⁷

Roger Matton (1929-) grew up within a musical family and developed under various musical teachers in Montreal and Paris.²⁵⁸ Initial influences from Champagne led Matton to pursue the use of legend and folklore within music along two different courses. One was that of developing a folkloric base as part of the staff of the *Archives de*

²⁵⁴ Keane, David, "Electroacoustical Music in Canada 1950-1984," in Ridout and Kenins (eds.) (1984) p.58. Knowledge of this instrument reached Canada from France in the 1940s. Both Andree Desautels and Gilles Trembley went to France to study its functioning. The sister, Ginette, of the inventor Maurice Martenot was invited in 1950 to come to Montreal to demonstrate the instrument's sound. This sound is absent in the music of English-Canadian composers, and therefore, has become a representative 'sound' of Quebec music. Its sound is reminiscent of both the expansive, majestic and foggy Eastern coastal landscape of Canada, as well as the mystical landscapes of Celtic legend, tradition and homelands.

²⁵⁵ NLC (1990) p.55. He spent several months there in the town of Amelie-les-Bains-Palalda.

²⁵⁶ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.43.

²⁵⁷ Proctor (1980) p.69. "Deeply religious in tone, the work uses the text of a Huron Indian prayer which symbolizes man's act of worship and a prayer by St Francis of Assisi which is, in effect, a hymn of praise for the blessings of nature."

²⁵⁸ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.149.

Folklore at Universite de Laval in Quebec City; collecting, audio recording and transcribing oral musical culture from Quebec and Acadia.²⁵⁹ The second was composing musical works utilizing folkloric heritage. At first his compositions reflected the archaic modal structure (e.g. *Berceuse*) of more static folk culture. But as he explored the folk music and life of the present he found it to be alive. "In contact with the authentic folklore of his ccuntry, he adopted a certain philosophy towards, and respect for, the spirit of the ordinary people, reflected in a new 'genre' of creation."²⁶⁰ More contemporary colouration and melody entered into such pieces as *L'Horoscope* and *L'Escaouette* which were also constructed from folk songs and legend.²⁶¹ Religious music for him was also still alive and he displayed this in his work *Te Deum* in which he fused Gregorian chant forms with elements of French harmony and rhythms of Stravinsky and styles of Bartok forging his own unique style.²⁶² Matton used all of his musical environmental and social influences to develop new musical directions, yet these he "solidly grounded in traditional structures."²⁶³ "Roger Matton's work, as a whole, has a style, an atmosphere all its own" yet this atmosphere is representational of his

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.149.

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.150.

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.130; Desautels (1969) p.131.

²⁶² MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.151. "All in all he has created in this work an artistic fusion between the feeling for nature and an element of picturesque and religious symbolism." The folk song *Une Perdriole* forms part of this composition.

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p.151.

home.²⁶⁴ "His rhythmic accent is very representative of our country. The accurate expression of a certain violence and aggressiveness are psychological elements that Matton has been able to render with all the dynamism that characterizes a young nation."²⁶⁵

Papineau-Couture spoke of "employing a musical language of their own time - or even in advance of their time. It is therefore important that the musical public should accustom itself to the contemporary idiom, its typical sonorities and rhythmic complexities".²⁶⁶ The group of young musicians set out to discover or invent these forms. In spite of stretching the imagination and creativity, there were still threads of connections to the realities of the land and culture. One example is *Anerca*, a series of songs composed in 1961 by Serge Garant based on Eskimo poems.²⁶⁷ A student of Champagne, Micheline Coulombe-Saint-Marcoux, also used texts of Canadian Indians and Inuit, as well as Australian Aborigines and other cultural texts in a series of pieces.²⁶⁸ *L'Horoscope*, a suite and ballet by Roger Matton, was similarly inspired by

²⁶⁴ Desautels (1969) p.130.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.131.

²⁶⁶ CBC (1964) p.74.

²⁶⁷ In actual fact the piece is based on a French translation of the text of an Inuit poem and does not try to in anyway represent the Inuit people and their ways.

²⁶⁸ Canadian Composer, "An avant-garde composer's insights into her career," Canadian Composer (March, 1974) pp.28-34. Like Garant she focusses more on textual form than on culture. She fragments and transforms the texts in a somewhat surrealist approach. Boulez is certainly one of her influences. In *Ishuma* she exchanges words from quebecois writer Paul Chamberland with Inuit words and explores "man's ability to transform reality by means of his own powers of concentration" (quoting Micheline, p.32).

an Acadian tale that he had heard from story-tellers.²⁶⁹ Though more experimental in form these tunes used the body of legends for the creation of this distinct music, as if in fulfillment of Barbeau's wish years before. Papineau-Couture also encouraged the formation of a Canadian music. It would not be just one style, but rather, a wide ranging music.²⁷⁰ At that stage, however there was still a very small amount of Canadian music. At the same time, he was well aware of the influence of European styles and sounds which filled most of the space within his own, the Quebec and Canadian environments.²⁷¹

Not all composers of the time turned to the avant-garde. Michel Perrault sought to continue work based on French-Canadian folk songs and in a somewhat more mainstream musical form.²⁷² For him the avant-garde was artificial. He said of his own works, "I like a folk tune and the harmony that goes with it."²⁷³ Perrault continues, " In my

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.60.

²⁷⁰ Bail-Milot, Louise, Jean Papineau-Couture La vie, la carrière et l'oeuvre (Ville de Lasalle, Quebec: Editions Hurtubise HMH Limitee, 1986) p.43. "La musique canadienne est celle qui est écrite par les Canadiens."

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.45. "Il y a la 'tendance Stravinsky' autour de laquelle se regroupent Jean Papineau-Couture, Maurice Blackburn, François Morel, Jean Vallerand et Pierre Mercure; il y a la 'tendance Hindemith' avec, outre Papineau-Couture, Violet Archer et Murray Adaskin; la 'tendance Honneger, ou celle d'un certain romantisme contemporain, atteint surtout Clermont Pepin; ...".

²⁷² CBC (1964) p.84.

²⁷³ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.83.

music I try above all to express order."²⁷⁴ Perrault (1925-), centred in Montreal, his birth place, became a composer and conductor for the CBC radio and television, as well as playing timpani for the Montreal Symphony Orchestra and Les Petites Symphonie, eventually becoming musical director for Les Grandes Ballets Canadiens.²⁷⁵

The more recent generations of quebécois classical musicians includes Jacques Hétu (1938-), Alain Gagnon (1938-), Marc Fortier (1940-) and Claude Vivier (1948-1983).²⁷⁶ These and others had mostly been students of Garant at l'Université de Montreal or Pepin and Tremblay at the Conservatoire in Montreal, all well grounded in piano, as well as having made the, by now, almost compulsory pilgrimage to France, Germany, Austria, and/or Belgium for training.²⁷⁷ European influences were Pousseur, Stockhausen, Boulez, Melfano, and other experimenters in electronic music.²⁷⁸ Gilles Tremblay played an important role in that he was both deeply religious, in the Catholic sense (therefore, introducing hints of plain-chant and other religious elements into his music), and held a strong relationship with the physical environment in his music, especially water. As discussed in an earlier chapter, he linked the concept of a river from

²⁷⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.83. Of course in saying this, he does not recognize the order, although extremely different, in the avant-garde works.

²⁷⁵ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.186.

²⁷⁶ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) pp.97,77,70 and 228, respectively.

²⁷⁷ Gagne, Mireille, "Les Jeunes Compositeurs au Quebec" in Ridout and Kenins (eds.) (1984) p.117. Piano had replaced the organ at the same time as radio technology had arrived in Quebec. There was a solid piano building industry in Quebec, which developed during the 1900s.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, pp.117,119.

tributaries to mouth with the idea of a nation of people, placing these symbolically in his music.²⁷⁹ Though he introduced East Asian influences into his music, he also tried to incorporate a sense of his own 'home' landscape, filled with silence and space.²⁸⁰

The classical compositions of the 1970s and early 1980s primarily focussed on 'Faire beau et simple' (making it beautiful and simple), pure, direct, clear, concise, and containing silence, all towards the creation of a musical language which utilized electronics.²⁸¹ Claude Vivier saw music as the best medium of expression, reaching its prime through purity. In an interview he said that he wanted to capture the voice of a child alone in prayer, in an environment where "tout autour de moi c'est le silence", on which he constructed his music.²⁸² One of his pieces follows the now familiar religious and folk theme, *Chants*.²⁸³ An example of his exploration of urban life is found in the piece *Et je reverrai cette ville étrange*, which projects the feel of being alone yet surrounded by strange sounds, especially mechanical-electronic sounds.²⁸⁴ Vivier, who

²⁷⁹ The St. Lawrence River especially plays a role in Quebec music since it was and is a source of life to the fisherman, the settlers, the explorers, the loggers, as well as the new industries. It is in the St. Lawrence Valley where both the quebécois population centres and farmlands are.

²⁸⁰ Both of these changes in approach led him beyond just European influences.

²⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp.117-119.

²⁸² *ibid.*, pp.117-118. An environment where 'All about me is silence'.

²⁸³ McMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.228.

²⁸⁴ Vivier, Claude, Strange City (Toronto: Arraymusic, 1988) Audio recording ART C-002. (audio cassette: tape 2). As a student of Tremblay, Vivier was influenced by his religious musical ideas and his sense of space. In this musical piece are also hints of

sees himself as a child of the world, and is versed in several languages, has not surprisingly become an international music figure representing modern quebécois music. His friend and collaborator, Michel-Georges Bregent explored the dimensions and qualities of musical space, its densities, horizontal and vertical axes, and so on, in building form and structures within this infinite space.²⁸⁵ Antoine Padilla saw a similar silence in her music which was personally spiritual, "une musique a l'interieur de laquelle on sent un peu l'eternite: une musique de calme, d'isolement, de silence".²⁸⁶ Denis Gougeon's *Voix intimes* "ouverte sur un monde plus personnel et peut etre plus universel", during this period where many individuals had begun to reassess their lives and seek out more personal relationships, just as Vivier and others sought improved relationships within systems of sound.²⁸⁷ Gougeon's sound is both minimal and accessible. Michel Gonneville likewise turned to the personal and to relationships and

Gregorian plain-chant motifs and a sense of vast space and extended periods of silence. These attributes are also found in a lot of quebécoise films. The central thing for him in his music is melody.

²⁸⁵ Gagne (1984) p.118. "Le son avant toute chose, ses effets d'attaque, les directions de densite, l'aspect horizontal et vertical, les ramifications reelles ou imaginaire dans l'espace et le temps sont des elements qui habitent le monde sonores de Bregent." This was an age of both modernist and post-modernist design, not all that different from the design of some of the music.

²⁸⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.121. Her music was an internal musique where one senses a piece of eternity: a music calm, isolated and of silence.

²⁸⁷ *ibid.* p.119. Gougeon's piece opened on a world more personal and perhaps more universal. Vivier found that, "peu a peu, il comprit que ce ne sont pas les notes en soi qui sont importantes (systeme atonal) mais plutot leurs relations entre elles, relations dependant renouvelles (systeme tonal mais different)" (p.118).

balance.²⁸⁸ Alain Gagnon, most strongly influenced by Debussy's music, mixed this form with more modern ideas from Messiaen, Penderecki, Berg and Webern.²⁸⁹ In Quebec City he works in teaching music at Universite de Laval along with Jacques Hetu.²⁹⁰ Hetu worked from a more classical structured base of music within which he included strands from the full range of more modern influences, eventually transforming his style to a 'new lyricism', following Mahler.²⁹¹ At the same time, apart from the personal sound, was music influenced by the arrival of the computer and other electro-acoustical technology. This brought out several aspects in musical development. One was concentration on the technology in order to improve musical creation, as with Pierre Trochu and Denis Lorrain.²⁹² Michel Longtin, on another front, pursued multi-media mixes of music with theatre, dance and film, connecting the visual with the aural.²⁹³ If one looked at the near 40 works of Raynald Arsenault, organist at Saint-Marc's Church in Rosemount, Quebec, one would get the impression that church music was still

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.119. Gonneville "tente de situer sa musique dans un temps et un espace qui lui sont personnels. Les recherches formelles de coherence entre materiau et le medium employe, de rigueur de construction, de structuration, d'harmonie et de rythme sont des preliminaires a partir desquels seront elaborees ses recherches quant a l'expression musicale." Several of these composers, like Gonneville, seem to reflect a growing humanist trend in the music in contrast to the electronics of the sound.

²⁸⁹ McMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.77.

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.77.

²⁹¹ McMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.98.

²⁹² Gagne (1984) p.120. Trochu was also, however, concerned with the social role of the composer in producing poetic and political thematic works.

²⁹³ *ibid.*, p.120.

very much alive and well within quebecois music.²⁹⁴ In a recent concert series which he organized, he provided quebecois and Canadian composers, musicians and singers with about 75 percent of the concert time for presentation of their choral or organ works.²⁹⁵

In the post-1970, there was also the cross-over music: part in the classics, part in mainstream popular music. A few of the important figures are Andre Gagnon, Raoul Duguay and Francois Dompierre. Their music was much more accessible in terms of thematic content and more direct in terms of message. Andre Gagnon produced part of his work strictly for the pop market place but he also created a few very classical pieces and music for ballet. Duguay produced choral-orchestral type works but with pop, jazz and other non-classical elements within the performances of the music. I will discuss Duguay along with the pop musicians in one of the following chapters. One example from Gagnon is *Le Saint-Laurent*, a musical poem describing the St. Lawrence River as it moves from 'genesis' to its 'destiny'.²⁹⁶ The river is portrayed in its vast majesty as it slowly but steadily surges towards its purpose. Regionally, the St. Lawrence River is central to the life experience and often livelihood of the people who live on or nearby its shores. It served (and still serves) as a the central highway and communication corridor

²⁹⁴ Fillion, Silvain-Claude, "Arsenault Awaits Recordings," Canadian Composer (spring 1991) p.24.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.24. Arsenault identifies a need of personal sense of 'belonging' to certain music, therefore, establishing the need to provide original quebecois and Canadian music to fill this need. "I feel I must feature our own" music and musical people.

²⁹⁶ Gagnon, Andre, Le Saint-Laurent (Montreal:1977) London XSP-44301 audio recording. (audio cassette: tape 2).

for Quebec (and other parts of Eastern Canada). The lowlands around it are the cradle and home of Quebec culture. Another of Gagnon's compositions is *Neiges*, a reminder of the ever-present themes and reality of Quebec life: winter and isolation, yet this time with a certain beauty.²⁹⁷ Andre Gagnon, like other composers did not work in a vacuum but was well aware of the musical milieu and influences surrounding him and he acknowledged this in music. He composed an extremely beautiful and classical piece dedicated to quebecois singer Renee Claude, as did classical composer Marc Fortier, who composed two overtures dedicated to her as well.²⁹⁸ Francois Dompierre pursued the use of his classical training at the Conservatoire de Montreal to produce film scores, television scores, and sales commercials, as well as producing his own brand of pop classical music and acting as a musical arranger for many of Quebec's well known pop stars.²⁹⁹ His first album was both a musical statement and a social statement. He says, "The fact that I've made this album is a form of protest."³⁰⁰ It was a protest directed specifically at the music business and music reviewers whom Dompierre feels over-control and package musical sound, conforming it to specific styles and genres; thereby prejudging, biasing and exploiting listener tastes.³⁰¹ He further says "I believe we need more variety in music. After all we live in a world of variety, an aggressive world. ...

²⁹⁷ Gagnon, Andre, *Neiges* (Montreal:1975) London SP-44252 audio recording. (audio cassette: tape 2).

²⁹⁸ MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) p.71. *Chanson pour Renee Claude* on Gagnon (1975) Audio recording (audio cassette: tape 2).

²⁹⁹ Canadian Composer (June 1991) p.10.

³⁰⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.12.

³⁰¹ *ibid.*, pp.12, 18.

my album is an exact image of the life we lead - it's as modern as you can get. ... Music should reflect life."³⁰² He continues on, saying that freedom of individual musical expression is of the utmost importance if music is to do what it is supposed to do: communicate and truly reflect the environment being lived in.³⁰³ It is not adherence to a specific musical genre or use of a new technology that makes music interesting but rather one's honesty in expression. Dompierre proclaims that more open boundaries are needed in musical form, saying: "Everything interests me in music. ... There isn't a composer alive who would think of labelling himself"; and he provided a personal example by producing his own album.³⁰⁴ For Dompierre, the wish for individual independence is perhaps a characteristic of a typical quebecois because, he says, we always feel like "we've got our backs to the wall." ³⁰⁵

SUMMARY

In summarizing on the contributions of religious and classical music to the musical geography of Quebec, it can be noted that from the colonial beginnings to the present

³⁰² Quoted in *ibid.*, p.12.

³⁰³ *ibid.*, p.14.

³⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.14.

³⁰⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.18.

there were various stages which took place in the building of Quebec's musical structures: schools, performance venues, government support, radio and television support, etc. Definite locations were established for classical musical performance (certain churches, concert halls, etc.) which were almost entirely urban. Eventually the piano became the key musical instrument, replacing the organ of the previous era of music.³⁰⁶ Most other Western musical instruments also came into regular use as orchestras and bands developed. For the listeners, radio, television, concerts, recordings and courses of study were all options by which to take in music and be part of a particular musical-social atmosphere. The music of Quebec came out of isolation from Europe and the rest of North America during the 1800s and an enormous exchange and transportation of musical influences took place. The influx of outside musical influences was in part blended with an exploration of the local cultural roots through religion and folklore thus creating new sounds. Quebec music went through a series a phases in its 'sound'. At times it mimiced European 'sounds'. At other times it looked more inward into the heritage or the landscape of the Quebec people and produced a unique sound often including elements of folk themes and plain-chant. The learning of European and American styles allowed many composers to develop to a level of competence from which they could

³⁰⁶ Ford (1982) pp.60,107.

develop their own styles and provide a local teaching base to educate following generations of Quebec composers. Some composers used the outside influences as a means to move beyond traditional social constraints into new forms of music and social order. The professional composers and performers, whether English or French speaking became linked together, both within Quebec and across Canada, in organizations like the League of Composers or CAPAC, of which essentially all were members.³⁰⁷ In many respects the music of the formal composers came to be considered as perhaps more Canadian than quebecois, yet their music was primarily received by the French-Canadian audiences and restricted groups of English-Canadians.³⁰⁸

Music moved to a wider structural base (Canada or Quebec-wide rather than small regional) in terms of its support structures (organizations, universities, radio and television industry, awards, scholarships, etc.) and

³⁰⁷ Membership in such organizations is listed in MacMillan and Beckwith (1975) as part of the biographical sketch of each composer. All of the major quebecois pop musicians are also members of CAPAC. In 1989 CAPAC joined with another musical organization PRO to form SOCAN.

³⁰⁸ Bradley (1977) p.99 For example, regarding Papineau-Couture, "In the Province of Quebec, where he is very well known, he is held in the utmost respect as both teacher and composer. Unfortunately, many English-speaking Canadians have not been sufficiently exposed to the music of this composer, and as a result lack understanding of his influence on the musical scene." Since Papineau-Couture was perhaps the quebecois composer most involved with English Canadian composers, it becomes obvious that there was (and still is) a serious barrier of non-acceptance and non-access between the two cultures which is deeply ingrained.

performance venues.³⁰⁹ Awards were presented by both Canadian (e.g., Canada Council) and Quebec (e.g. the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society and the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs) institutions. In other respects the music had become more international, based on influences and styles from outside Quebec. Kallmann concludes about English and French-speaking Canadian composers: "Their orientation is necessarily international, for in view of the widening opportunities of studying abroad and analyzing contemporary music at home by means of scores and recordings, withdrawal into a nationalistic enclave has become nearly impossible.

All major trends of composition are represented in Canada, and many composers have more in common with like-minded colleagues in Europe or the United States than with their fellows teaching at the same conservatory."³¹⁰ The composers had accepted many of the contemporary advances in technology (e.g., electronics) and cultural ideas (e.g., multi-media, artistic and social philosophies). On a further level, there were the various individualistic statements made the composers. These were attempts to create pieces which were individual in certain qualities yet which were

³⁰⁹ It can be noted in MacMillan and Beckwith (1975), in the individual composer biographies, that essentially all of the major composers were assisted in their work, financially and morally, by receiving various awards and scholarships or by working for major institutions such as the CBC. Without these means of financial support, advances in their works may have been highly restricted.

³¹⁰ Kallmann (1969) p.60.

also aimed at enlarging the horizons of quebecois culture. In so doing the composers, consciously or unconsciously, included thematic elements taken from their cultural heritage and were, at the same time, responsive to contemporary socio-cultural movements taking place around them, within Quebec.

There has always been musical expertise in certain individuals within Quebec, the earlier ones building the music-culture base from which the more recent ones evolve. This Quebec music-culture has always been more sophisticated than the general Canadian public have been aware of. It has involved a series of musical and social traditions, such as la veillée, the reception, Ordre de bon temps, plain-chant, coureur des bois (adventurer-explorer), travelling to France and so on. There are threads of continuity within quebecois music from its very beginning to its present forms which blend the various musical forms (folk, art, religious and pop) together at many points along the way. This unique blending of physical, cultural and musical influences has created a continued distinctiveness and uniqueness to the quebecoise 'sound' within its 'sound region'.

MUSICAL LANDSCAPE: A DEFINITION AND A CASE STUDY OF
MUSICAL LANDSCAPE IN ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT
OF QUEBECOIS IDENTITY

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of Master of Arts

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CHAPTER 9

MODERN QUEBECOIS FOLK AND POPULAR MUSIC¹

Popular quebecois music is based on the writer-songwriter-singer (*auteur compositeur-interprete*) who produces original musical compositions, usually drawing the themes of the songs from personal experience, and musically interpreting them for audiences in a very intimate and personal way. Apart from composing and singing, some have written poems; others novels, short stories or plays and monologues and many have played musical instruments, most commonly guitar or piano.² Those singers who have not composed their own material have been skilled interpreters, rather than mere singers of others' songs - in effect the songs have become theirs.³ Until the 1950s, originality in composition had not been a part of Quebec music. However, by the 1940s, original songs

¹ Canadian Composer (Jan. 1974) lists an existing recording Les Chansons d'or du Quebec - divers artistes (Deram-London Records) Audio recording DEF 1000, issued in celebration of the 50th year of CKAC radio station, which would make a nice companion to this chapter.

² Quebecois musical artists have tended to use multimediums (poetry, theatre, literature, painting, film, etc.) more than their anglophone counterparts.

³ Several of them eventually became song writers in their own right. Men have always predominated in music both in Quebec and in many other places worldwide. It is more common to find men composing, singing and playing instruments than to find women doing likewise. Female musical artists, for the most part, interpret only, although they have refined interpretation to a fine art. Only very recently (in the late 1970s-90s) has the number of women singers and composers mushroomed in Quebec.

had already become a growing part of the surrounding musical environments of the U.S. and English Canada. There were strong influences, particularly from the urban folk music scene centred in Greenwich Village in New York City, which were rapidly gaining popularity in the United States and extending into Canada.⁴ Previously, there had been a long tradition of music hall and minstrel shows across the breadth of the States, which had also made an impact in Quebec. The local singer-songwriters, who arose in Quebec, were to become important catalysts of quebecois cultural change, as well as representatives and mirrors of the new quebecois culture. Certain key individuals in particular acted as rudders, encouraging the public to steer in new directions within these last few decades of rapid cultural development.⁵

During this era of rapid urbanization, the geographic location of song and music dramatically changed. The new thrust of quebecois music moved from the countryside

⁴ Refer back to chapter 6 for the process of traditional music development and transmission. Brand, Oscar, the ballad Mongers rise of the modern folk song (New York: Funk & Wagnells Company, Inc., 1962) pp.78-85. American folk music began to change in the 1940s from traditional folk songs to original songs or traditional tunes with lyrics rewritten for the times and containing a lot more political or socially conscious statements. Early groups, such as the Almanac Singers, were the germinating phase in the production of a large number of solo folk performers (Burl Ives, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Josh White, etc.).

⁵ It needs to be noted that this process, however, was not always a conscious one. The major singer-songwriters were merely either in tune with the environment of the times or presenting challenges to the public, calling them to awaken and think for themselves, and for the most part, did not think out plans for control or manipulation of the public. The meanings of many of their songs, though sometimes ending up being very directed in theme, were rarely rationally thought out but were more often just responses to the daily events happening in Quebec. As the music industry developed it began to, and still does, try to manipulate the public, but more in an economic than political or cultural sense.

to the city, becoming centred around popular music rather than traditional folk. In this, Quebec lagged only slightly behind the same trend in the United States. At first this resulted from rural singers migrating, at least part time, to the cities of Montreal or Quebec City, while still continuing to sing *about* the rural cultural environment. In parallel, a new generation of urbanites, who were rapidly increasing in number, began producing their own musicians. With time, songs took on an increasingly urban and larger regional social, political and economic content. Cabarets first, then coffee houses, and small theatres became the primary places of song, socializing and communication; replacing the farm kitchen and the parish halls for those people who had previously lived in the rural areas. These locations, in turn, were partly displaced by radio, television, recording studios and larger (arena and concert hall) concert establishments as technology and socio-economic conditions kept changing. The rural venues continued to be important for people still relatively unconnected with the city, but the rural folk's overall role in the general Quebec society, and percentage of the province's population, decreased at a rapid pace. As urbanization continued, Montreal gained prominence in the province (socially, economically, etc.); therefore, musicians and music en masse tended to migrate there. Montreal remains today the capital of quebécois music, Quebec City taking a far second place. Montreal also remains the socio-cultural centre of Quebec, even though Quebec City holds the reins of power in government funding of the arts and regulatory control of them. In fact Montreal acts as a cultural hub for all Franco-North Americans.⁶

a ⁶ See the maps of Louder, et al. (1983) p.45 and Gauthier Majella-J.; Tremblay, Denis and Tremblay, Gilles-R., "Images," Cahiers de Géographie du Québec, Vol.24, No. 61 (April 1980), which show rings and or arrows going out from Montreal towards marked

The selection of songs highlighted in the traditional folk music chapter and this chapter are ones which have gained very wide popularity throughout the Province of Quebec and somewhat beyond. They may not, however, reflect the music which was most popular in all of the local districts of the Province. These songs were selected on my own very personal (emotional and intellectual) response basis. To balance this bias and make this study more culturally meaningful, a wide range of individual performers, styles and periods of coverage were included in the analysis. The few 'rough' translations or paraphrases of segments of the songs have been made to give an indication of the personal level of understanding attained in this thesis work. However crude it may be, the knowledge which has been gained has created for the author a strong personal relationship, an affinity, with the writers and the people being written about.

In discussing the development of quebecois popular music, the music has been subdivided into distinct periods (each related to distinct social contexts, events and places) with the prime musical individuals being examined for their contribution to the movement and change in the musical and socio-cultural landscapes. There are problems associated with proceeding in this fashion since within any one period there were both mainstream and more fringe forms of music, each with its own significance. Often the

communities where francophones are present in fairly large numbers. Interestingly, the titles of the map say 'Quebec', not Montreal suggesting that perhaps the Quebec City-Montreal-Sherbrooke triangle is what is considered the true Quebec, other parts of the province merely being outposts. Although Jane Jacobs in The Question Of Separation, Quebec and the Struggle over Sovereignty (New York: Random House, 1980) is correct in her assessment of Montreal's economic and political decline within Canada, falling under the shadow of Toronto's rise; Montreal has returned, through the 1970s and again in the late 1980s and 90s, to a position of great cultural importance to francophones.

fringe music was the music of change and eventually became mainstream music. The individuals under study were often involved in Quebec's musical milieu over more than one generation (there was a renewal in musical forms approximately every decade), some of them evolving and changing styles with the times. In general, they will each only be discussed during the period of their greatest impact. Major change points between periods are not only marked by musical change but also by closely associated social and political changes.

SECTION A: THE RISE OF QUEBECOIS MUSIC

1. THE LATE 1920S TO THE 1940S

LA BOLDUC

La Bolduc (1894-1941) was a Gaspesienne woman (Mary Travers) born in Newport, Quebec.⁷ Her name reflects the mixed background of many of the people living there. Culturally, the region had been populated by "un beau melange" but only the French

⁷ Benoit, Real, La Bolduc (Montreal: Les Editions De L'Homme, 1959) p.15,18. She was baptised Marie but called Mary.

speaking population stayed.⁸ Coming from a humble rural environment, she eventually became a woman who set her goals on spreading and uniting a musical tradition more fully across Quebec. La Bolduc toured all corners of Quebec life from the Gaspé to Abitibi, travelling as well to parts of Ontario, the Maritimes and New England where there were francophone audiences.⁹ She sang both old folk songs and new folk songs, travelling all the time across the province to share a heritage, playing most often in church basements. In doing this she diffused folksongs, known only in certain regions, throughout most of French Quebec.¹⁰ That she recorded over 100 songs on 78-RPM records also gave the public wider access to a broader selection of folk music.¹¹ Her newer songs were based on rural life situations and many of them encouraged the farm and fisher people to stay on the land and avoid the lure of the wicked city. She strongly crusaded for the country lifestyle.¹² This made her the first widespread popular singer

⁸ *ibid.*, pp.15-17. Scots, Irish, English, United Empire Loyalist English, Italians and Portugese had all made temporary stops in the Gaspé region. The language of this region therefore also showed traces of being a melange or mix. Mary's grandfather had been English.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.54. Note that this region does not include the northern approximately two-thirds of what is now the Province of Quebec.

¹⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.330.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.330. Being one of the few French-Canadians (and especially as a woman) pursuing a career in music, she was also the first professional singer in Quebec to base her career on reels and jigs thereby making herself a channel for transformation from the past forms of music into the present popular music. As Barbeau had collected folksongs in a scholarly fashion, she now collected and actively distributed them publically through her performances.

¹² *ibid.* (p.330) provides an example: "C'est aux braves habitants / Que je m'adresse maintenant / Quittez jamais vos campagnes / Pour venir rester a Montreal / Dans des grandes villes

in Quebec, and therefore the 'mother' of quebecois popular music.

The style of the music was primarily that of dance music for jigs with a variety of background instruments (piano, harmonica, accordion, fiddle, or guitar being used). It was not yet the form of the chansonnier. This fitted well with other rural fiddle and folk music of the time and place. The content of songs consisted of descriptions of people, situations, places and simple values in rural life. Her songs were somewhat modern in that they did try to deal with real subjects of the day, whether daily life or the wider concern of economic depression, instead of medieval knights and damsels.¹³ An example of her songs is *Les Agents D'Assurance*.¹⁴ All of her songs were bouncy and joyful to brighten up the many dull and strenuous aspects of farm life. There was an underlying rural humour to the music, taking note of the comedy in life. It matched the warm atmosphere of the social gatherings of the people, highly centred on oral exchange. The oral nature of French-speaking Quebec culture is still very strong today and automatically

comme ca / De la misere il y en a ..." - This is to the brave habitants that I now address (this message): Never leave your companions to go and stay in Montreal. In the large cities like that there is misery.

¹³ Giroux, Robert, Le Guide de la chanson quebecoise (Montreal: triptyque, 1991) p.18. She was for Quebec what her contemporaries, Woody Guthrie and Edith Piaf, were for the U.S. and France, respectively. Hers were 'chansons d'actualite' as opposed to the songs by Quebec variety singers of the time who copied American songs, based on escapism, the exotic and the star system (p.15). Some of the cabaret variety singers were Fernand Perron, Ludovic Huot, Jaques Aubert, Jean Lalonde, Fernand Robidoux and Robert L'Herbier (p.15).

¹⁴ Artistes Varies Heritage Quebecois, Vol.II (Willowdale, Ontario: MCA Records Canada, 1990) audio recording MCAC-20577 and La Bolduc Heritage Quebecois II (Willowdale, Ontario: MCA Records Canada, 1990) audio recording MCAC-20578 (audio cassette: tape 2).

sets the quebecois apart in character from the more staid nature of their English speaking neighbours.¹⁵

One of her songs, *La morue* tells of her birth in the Gaspé and her relation with cod fish, obviously a major symbol for her people. The song continues on to tell of the various types of fish which form the basis of Gaspesian society; its food, its economy, its way of life and contrasting this with moving to Montreal and going to eat at the Chinese restaurant.¹⁶ Mary became a domestic servant working in French and Jewish households in Montreal until she married Monsieur Edouard Bolduc in 1914.¹⁷ Her musical career began through her collaboration with Conrad Gauthier. Gauthier had revived within the city the tradition of holding artistic evenings (*Les Soirees* ou *les Veillees du bon vieux temps*), gathering together many singers and folk musicians.¹⁸ The

¹⁵ Tetu de Labsade (1990, pp.429-430) has analysed aspects of quebecois oral nature. Dialogue in quebecois tradition takes precedence over action but Quebecers have been able to overcome this, merging the Romance tradition (French and Mediterranean) of *la parole* (the word) with American 'get up and go' movement and action, especially synthesizing them through song. Quebecois literature is like an extension of oral tradition (e.g. poetry is read, monologues are spoken, plays are very verbal) and this oral artistry focusses on "les realites et l'authenticite de la culture quebecoise" (p.430). Laughing is central to oral culture and the quebecois know how to laugh at themselves - "le rire aussi est une manifestation orale. Le Quebec sait rire de lui-meme" (p.429).

¹⁶ Benoit (1959) pp.24-26. The same story appears in her song *Quand J'ai Vingt Ans* (pp.26-27).

¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp.30-32.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.34; Giroux (1991) p.17. *Les Veillees du bon vieux temps*, in 1921, succeeded *les Soirees de famille* organized by Edouard-Zotique Massicotte, as part of the folkloric movement, discussed in an earlier chapter. (Giroux, p.21). Some of the others involved with Conrad were d'Oliva Legare, Isadore Soucy, Hector Charland, Alfred Montmarquette, and Eugene Daigneault (Giroux, p.20).

urban folk singers of the day were essentially transplants from the rural areas who had had a chance to mix with the environmental milieu of urban life or were people who had been attached to the folkloric movement. But even though very small in number and isolated in practice, there had always been local composers of original folk songs and tunes. Original folk songs, in a way, had their own tradition, separate from that of the adaptation of folk songs from France. Dostie states that "there is a path that follows it which is parallel to that of folklore. The way continues (past La Boldue) to Oscar Thibault (*le Rapide blanc*), Camille Andrea (*L' veillant sur le perron*) and les Jerolas (*Meo penche*). It then curves around our music hall heritage (that of les Tizoune and Jeanne-d'Arc Charlebois), the western, and even the French-song contest for Radio Canada."¹⁹ It is from the seeds of these small musical gatherings that the quebecois popular music scene grew and eventually flourished. La Boldue was of the first group of popular singers to record original works.²⁰ Many years after her death her music has made a come back with the re-release of some of her recordings and the performing of

¹⁹ Dostie (May 1978) p.6. Eventually flowing into the chansonnier movement and beyond. In Levesque, Raymond, Raymond Levesque d'ailleurs et d'ici (Ottawa: les Editions Lemeac Inc., 1986, pp.37-49) Levesque gives a sort of stream of consciousness autobiography and view of the the 1940s where "a Montreal, ca swingnait!", "la rue Ste-Catherine etait comme une grosse lumiere" et "A la radio, c'etait le party aussi" - Montreal was swinging, Ste-Catherine Street was like a huge light and on the radio it was a party also. Artists, actors, musicians were milling about doing their shows and mixing together. French and American music controlled the airwaves (to be a quebecois was often a disadvantage in getting ahead) but there commenced the first stirrings of an original quebecois music (Levesque, pp.42-43).

²⁰ Giroux (1991) p.18.

her music by others.²¹

Others who became popular during this period were the fiddlers, who had a role as true rural heroes, though none of them ever made very much money from their music. Their playing was a way of life, a craft, and not a profession.²² They came directly out of the folk music tradition but began to play many more pieces from other places and to make up original tunes.²³ The most popular in Quebec was Ti-Blanc Richard (1920-1981).²⁴ Another, Jean Carignan (1916-1987), considered across North America as the best and purist traditional fiddler, "plays all 7,000 pieces in his repertoire entirely by ear."²⁵ Learning to play from his father beginning at age four, by age eleven Carignan

²¹ The National Art Centre Orchestra of Ottawa along with quebecois musician Andre Gagnon and others made a special television documentary of some of her music. This performance features a recording of La Bolduc singing a particularly popular song *La Bastringue* about the high point in the life of the rural people - the dance.

²² Scott, Gail, "The cab driver who may save a musical tradition," Canadian Composer (June 1974) p.24. Jean Carignan actually grew up in urban Point St. Charles working class district of Montreal later moving to the suburb of Lasalle. He drove a taxi for his living and performed music out of love. Thus he was highly critical of how, with increasing commercialism of music, many 'phony' fiddlers started playing just for money and unfortunately were accepted by the public as being true fiddlers. He feels that in the quebecois public "there is a general crisis of taste" (p.26).

²³ Blanchette, Louis, *Reel des noces d'argent* on Artistes Varies (1990). (audio cassette: tape 2).

²⁴ Giroux (1991) p.40. For more on Ti-Blanc Richard see Richard, Michele, Ti-Blanc mon ami, mon pere (Montreal: Les Presse Libres, Ltee., 1983).

²⁵ Scott (1974) p.24. In the style of a pure oral traditonalist he maintained authenticity of the music, many tunes of which have been recorded. He has expressed the feelings that quebecois "nationalism may prevent many people from referring back to the Celtic sources of the music." Continuing, Scott quotes him saying

was taking lessons from violinist Joseph Allard.²⁶ His music is not just French in origin but consists to a great extent of Irish and Scottish tunes which had been adopted by the French-Canadians from these other immigrants.²⁷ To him the mixing of heritages was an important part of the French-Canadian experience and development. Carignan not only performed in Quebec but went to the Newport (in the U.S.) and Mariposa (in Toronto) folk festivals, played at Carnegie Hall and for Princess Margaret in England, and exchanged with English-speaking folkies, such as Alan Mills and Pete Seeger.²⁸

2. THE LATE 1940S AND THE 1950S

This time period has been labelled that of "gestation et naissance d'une conscience chansonniere".²⁹ The Second World War had brought a more global awareness to even relatively isolated people and forces of modernization had begun to rapidly take effect, not only in Quebec but Canada, as a whole, and the world in general.³⁰ Yet Quebec

"They're scared of what they'll find. It's just like if you were going to school and suddenly discovered you'd learned English the wrong way" and "I'm not anxious to make money. I'm only anxious to tell the people of this province what they should do about music" (p.26)

²⁶ Giroux (1991) p.18.

²⁷ Scott (1974) p.24. This explains, in part, his popularity in English Canada and the U.S.

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp.24,26.

²⁹ Giroux (1991) p.25. The time of gestation and birth of the *chansonnier* consciousness.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.25.

remained relatively unknown to the world, including its motherland France.³¹ Within Quebec the Duplessis government was still trying to suppress modernization but this only encouraged attacks against the rigid traditionalist stance through actions of denouncement by intellectuals, strikes by industrial workers, and a steady growth of quebecois nationalist and leftist ideologies.³² "The intellectual elite looked down on folk music; when they moved into the city, the masses often left it behind ... the clergy took away anything that could possibly offend public morality or authority."³³ A new local music force started growing to counter the invasion of airwaves by American music and to challenge the restriction of the times.³⁴ Those individuals involved, wanted to maintain a *place* for traditional Quebec music while more importantly creating a *place* for more

³¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.330.

³² Giroux (1991) p.25. Levesque (1986, pp.51-57) discusses Duplessis' iron hold on Quebec life. "Il a mis tout le monde a genoux. Les gros comme les petits. Ils venaient tous manger dans sa main. Pas un job, un contract, une subvention qui venait pas du 'cheuf' ou de son organisation" - He put everyone on their knees, the big and the small came to eat from his hands. Not a job, contract or grant came except from the chief (Duplessis) or his organization (p.51). He used the strong arms of local bullies and the provincial police to enforce his will (pp.54-55). Quebec was a circus of corruption, scandal, fear, and backwardness because of the abuse of dictatorial power (pp.53,57). Levesque praises all those who courageously spoke out (Pierre-Elliot Trudeau, Gerard Pelletier, Jean Marchand, Le Devoir, the striking workers, etc.) against the Duplessis government (p.57).

³³ Dostie (May 1978) p.4.

³⁴ Giroux (1991) pp.14-15. Since the 1920s and 30s radio music had bombarded the population living in and around the cities, playing American and French music and no local music. CKAC was founded in 1922, CHLP in 1935 and Radio-Canada in 1936).

modern quebécois (French-language based) music.³⁵ In formal music and the other arts (literature, painting, poetry, etc.) radical changes had already begun as discussed in chapter 8.³⁶ Music was still lagging a bit behind, but in 1952 with the coming on stream of the newly invented vinyl 45 record "Song had become a *medium* to reach a lot of people".³⁷

FELIX LECLERC³⁸

Felix Leclerc (1914-1988) was the first quebécois singer to gain massive public appeal and eventually international status, a status based on his own original compositions. He

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.27. Of course, this also meant making a *place* for quebécois culture in America and these new songs had to reflect the current realities of the public. The goal was the creation of an environment, and things within, which were specifically (uniquely) quebécois.

³⁶ Giroux (1991) p.28.

³⁷ Tetu de Labsade (1990, pp.445,367) noted that already in 1948 visual artists, dance and writers had begun making revolutionary statements such as *Refus global* which gave some stimulus to the music scene in later years. Stephane Venne, quoted in Kroll (May 1974) p.6, indicates the point at which music began to move forward, eventually catching and surpassing the other arts.

³⁸ For a detailed review of his writing and performances see Bibliotheque Du Seminaire De Sherbrooke (hereafter referred to as Bibliotheque De Sherbrooke), Felix Leclerc Dossier De Presse 1943-1980 (Sherbrooke: 1981) - please note that there are no page references in any of their Dossier De Presse. References are given by the date of the articles. See also Leclerc, Felix, Felix Leclerc Mon fils (Mont-Saint-Hilaire, Quebec: Publications Chants de mon pays, Inc., 1981) which provides music and lyrics for some of his songs and a brief overview of his life between 1914 and 1980.

was also the blossoming point from which came a long line of chansonniers (poet-singer-songwriters). All of his songs were original, and though rural based in content, they were 'rustically' modern in style - that is they did not entirely conform to the tradition (medieval) folk style but moved more closely to the urban folk styles of English Canada, the United States and Europe. His songs were about the rural countryside and the daily life of its people, yet in contrast Leclerc lived part of the time and had work for a long period in the city; Quebec City, Trois Rivières and Montreal. The rest of the time he lived in the country outside Montreal, by Lac des Deux Montagnes, also often visiting Ile d'Orléans, near Quebec City. Born in La Tuque in la Mauricie region of Quebec, he later moved to Ottawa to study, then Quebec City and again to Trois Rivières where he worked as a radio announcer during the 1930s.³⁹ During this time he wrote three books: one of stories (*Adagio*), one of fables (*Allegro*) and one of poems (*Andante*).⁴⁰ The style of these was very unique and carried over into his later music compositions. It was simple in form and rural language; naive yet direct in its rural thematic content; and not in 'official' French (normally a requirement for public acceptance).⁴¹ The contents of

³⁹ Boivin, Aurelien and Chamberland, Roger, "Chronologie" in Leclerc, Felix, chansons pour tes yeux (Montreal: La Corporations des Editions Fides, 1980) p.111. This book of Leclerc's poetry was first published in 1968; Giroux (1991) p.34. Leclerc's lead in working in radio set a trend where musical artists worked for radio and television partly to allow them financially to be able to perform music which only much later became a well paying profession.

⁴⁰ Giroux (1991) p.34. In the eyes of many he remained a writer (un écrivain) first.

⁴¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.93-95. Leclerc's patois (as later with Vigneault's) was just one of many local variants on French resulting from the relative isolation from one another and the outside world of groups of Quebecers in local parishes. Some words

the songs were filled with what was about him - "he found songs everywhere: "They were lying all over the streets of Quebec, on the dead leaves, in the snow flurries, in the ships sailing for Europe. I picked them up, like a thief, ... I gave them life."⁴² He imitated the sights and sounds and made a picture of them.⁴³ In his mind all of the "Great composers took a tune from the streets, or a bird cry, and made something of it" but it is a mirror-like acknowledgement of what is witnessed and not a rigid analysis of it.⁴⁴ In his self-taught musical style he was a "personnalite unique, il donne une impression d'integrite, de force tranquille qui s'affirme sans se compromettre - il a l'ose' se presenter sur une scene seul avec sa guitare (ce qui influencera un Jacques Brel premiere maniere et un Georges Brasson) et siffloter dans certaines de ses chansons ("Le

were given different local meanings, new words were created to meet the local needs, and aspects of the grammar changed. This had both a quaint appeal and an irritating effect on the urban Quebec and French publics. See Robinson, Sinclair and Smith, David, Practical Handbook of Canadian French / Manuel Pratique du Français Canadien (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973) for a comparative dictionary of terms between English, standardized French and variations of quebecois and Acadian French (including some joual).

⁴² Leclerc quoted in Champagne, Jane, "Felix Leclerc: Returning home to Canada," Canadian Composer (Dec. 1973) p.20.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.22. "What happens in the streets provides subjects for Leclerc's songs, but so does the weather, the forest, the country, an incident here, a happening there: the ordinary. He writes about childhood, the elements, wandering, about courage and adversity, about love and alienation, about kings and peasants. The songs seem simple, straight forward, and uncomplicated" yet are complex perceptions of the cultural landscape condensed to simple essence.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.22.

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petit bonheur", "*Francis*") -, sans rechercher les grandes honneurs".⁴⁵ His descriptive song texts, in simple words and subjects, did justice to the quebécois rural region while his deep voice and accent captured the essence of the peasantry there.⁴⁶ In conversation he would often use a metaphor or simile, especially from nature, to express his ideas and feelings.⁴⁷ His music was strictly accompaniment for the flow of words, "his unusual phrasing and pause to accentuate a thought, a word, a phrase - always to underline the lyrics." and punctuate meaning.⁴⁸

His first song is the still remembered love song *Notre Sentier*, recorded by many other quebécois singers.⁴⁹ By the time he was discovered in 1950 by a music impresario from Paris, France he had composed numerous songs.⁵⁰ He then travelled

⁴⁵ Giroux (1991) p.35. Champagne (1973, p.20) says that he learned music from his home environment, "the big wooden house was full of music and musical instruments - his mother was a musician - as well as the voices of the log drivers". For words to *Francis* and *Le p'tit bonheur* see Leclerc, Felix, *Cent Chansons* (Montreal: Bibliotheque Canadienne-Francaise et Fides, 1970) pp.86-87 and pp.45-46, respectively.

⁴⁶ Giroux (191) p.35. "Il sait allier, dans des textes qui évoquent avec justesse le pays quebécois ("*Tu te leveras tot*"), la sensibilité du poète et la force vigoureuse du paysan ("*Lettre à mon père*"), mise en évidence par un voix caverneuse, à l'accent prononcé." Also Champagne (1973) p.20.

⁴⁷ Champagne (1973) p.20.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.22.

⁴⁹ Giroux (1991) p.34. See Fowke (1972) pp.4-5. for words to the song. The song is about "the recollection of a lovers' meeting place that has now been destroyed, and of a love that is gone" (p.5). (audio cassette: tape 2).

⁵⁰ Giroux (1991) p.35. He was 'discovered' by Jacques Canetti described by Levesque (1986, p.46) as the 'tzar' of French songs, an impresario playing a key role in the careers of several quebécois singers.

to France, staying there for three years performing at *l'ABC* in Paris and other venues while also recording his music.⁵¹ Leclerc's cultural contribution to Quebec was that he both continued certain long established French-Canadian traditions, in some ways, but marked a turning point in the patterns of quebecois music, in others. For instance, he made the obligatory trip to France but not to learn the currently popular music from the French. Instead he performed original works, which caught the hearts and fancies of the French, who immediately made him a star.⁵² From this time on France has increasingly accepted quebecois music as a part of the global French culture. Previously, musical influence was uni-directional from France. Quebecois music has since gained a position more at par with the music of France in quality and acceptability and musical exchange has become a regular process.⁵³ In quebecois and French-language music Leclerc has become an icon, 'Le phenomene "Felix"'.⁵⁴ His music no longer belongs to him but

⁵¹ Giroux (1991) p.35. "Selons Bruno Roy, il est le premier - et le dernier! - Quebecois a avoir bati d'abord sa carriere de chanteur en France." - According to Bruno Roy, he is the first and the last quebecois to build his career in France. Champagne (1973, p.20) notes that he had also toured some other European countries and in the Middle East.

⁵² Ironically, he was popular in France, partly for his reminding the French of their medieval roots and previous diversity of local speech. The French government had for many years been trying to standardize French dialect across the country.

⁵³ Gilles Vigneault (quoted in Canadian Composer, June 1974, p.12) comments, "Felix Leclerc, the first chansonnier (who started it all here), had to go to Paris for his reference letters before he was permitted to sing about his own country ... that ultimate alienation" and now we have decided "finally, to consecrate our own chansonnier ourselves."

⁵⁴ Giroux (1991) p.35.

to the people, which ironically is contrary to his philosophy of life."

Leclerc's best known song is *Moi Mes Souliers* which is a song about travelling, experiencing life and living a life of freedom.⁵⁶ The song is a mix of rural rustiness and bohemian flavour. The important aspect of this song is that it points to Leclerc's philosophy of life: personal freedom, especially in creative work, comes first before anything else, including nationalism, the second major emphasis in his work. On these two themes Leclerc remained totally consistent throughout his life as he also did in his musical form: solo voice and simple lines of acoustical guitar accompaniment, the ultimate chansonnier. "His work reflects his freedom to choose - to express himself in songs, fables, novels, poetry, theatre - and his own responsibility to write about what he knows and has experienced."⁵⁷ He is not just one thing, whether singer or writer, he is multifaceted.

⁵⁵ He is remembered at virtually every quebecois cultural event where music is included. Other singers interpret his songs or he is honoured in some fashion. The book Les Adieux du Quebec a Felix Leclerc (Charlesbourg: Les Presses laurnetiennes, 1989) is a testimonial to his role in quebecois culture and the personal lives of many individuals.

⁵⁶ Leclerc, Felix, Le p'tit boneur (Paris: Phillips Phonogram S.A., 1969) Audio recording 838072-4. (audio cassette: tape 2). The song about a pair of shoes which have travelled far and wide is distant from the experience of the average quebecois of the time who had travelled very little, if at all, and never very far. Bibliotheque De Sherbrooke (1981) Apr. 1956 - "Adventures sur les routes de la vie. Le monde vue par les souliers: fees, misere, champs, femme ...". For words to the song see Leclerc (1970) pp.99-100. Champagne (1973, p.22) mentions another song *Mes Longs Voyages*, also about the personal search for freedom, a strong theme in Europe of the time and a growing theme to reach a peak in the 1960s in North America. It was and still is a collective theme for the quebecois people.

⁵⁷ Champagne (1973) p.18.

Leclerc very early on recognized the uniqueness of the people around him and began to refer to their newly developing identity as quebécois. One of his songs *Le Québécois* shows that at the time of its writing the term quebécois was still very much a new term and was a social or cultural name rather than a political force and seen from a romantic view.⁵⁸ Strangely enough, the song has long passages with Slavic-style, and perhaps other, musical accompaniment. He touches a chord of truth by expressing the connection of quebécoisness to l'amour (love) in this song.⁵⁹ With the passage of time, Leclerc evolved beyond the style of the traditional poetic song, initially based in themes of nature, love and humour when, in the 1970s, he started to include more engaging subject matter.⁶⁰ The scenes of rural lifestyle, place and people were becoming 'disappearing' landscapes. The rural people were decreasing in their percentage of Quebec's population and rural landscapes were becoming increasingly affected by urban-based politics, economics and social movement.⁶¹ In a more political vein, therefore, Leclerc produced songs such as, *Un soir de février* which is a remembrance of the defeat of the French

⁵⁸ Leclerc (1969) Audio recording. (audio cassette: tape 2).

⁵⁹ Love is consistently a strong element not only in quebécois music and culture but also those of France as well.

⁶⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990, p.330) says "il évoluera de la chanson poétique traditionnelle, à base de nature, d'amour et d'humour, à la chanson de plus en plus engagée après octobre 1970." - he evolved from the traditional poetic song, based on nature, love and humour to more and more engaging songs after October 1970.

⁶¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.330. "Il s'accompagne à la guitare et assène à son auditoire des petits tableaux de genre ... qui sont loin d'être rassurants pour la société québécoise." - He accompanied himself on the guitar and thrust at his audience small pictures of the way of life ... which were far from reassuring for the quebécois society.

colonialists by the English on the Plains of Abraham (a symbol of the quebecois people's situation ever since as second class citizens within their own land).⁶² Place plays a strong role in this song. The song is also a reminder of the ever present tension between the English and French-speaking Canadians. Also mentioned in the song is joul as a language present in, and unique to, Quebec. His return to Quebec from France was an initiative to include himself in the flowering of the new Quebec - "pour rendre service" - to render service, give help.⁶³ He said "In Quebec, we'd been asleep for three centuries and then, we began to wake up. I wanted to be part of it."⁶⁴ Leclerc has left such a major impression on quebecois culture that his music has continually been an influence since it first was accepted. Although starting from a recognition in France he later became very centred in the quebecois movement. His later poems (which he does not really distinguish from songs) are gems encapsulating his strong stance for quebecois culture and insightful comments on the issues of the day.⁶⁵ One of these *Mon Histoire Du Quebec* is in part an autobiography mixed into a commentary of the major political and social events of Quebec from 1920 to 1982.⁶⁶ Leclerc worked at many levels.

⁶² On J'ai Vu Le Loup Le Renard Le Lion (Montreal: les Productions du 13 aout enrg., 1975) Audio recording VLC-13. (audio cassette: tape 2).

⁶³ Leclerc quoted in Champagne (1973) p.18.

⁶⁴ Leclerc quoted in *ibid.*, p.18.

⁶⁵ Leclerc, Felix, Reves a Vendre (Montreal: Nouvelles Editions de l'Arc, 1984).

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp.137-143. Comments such as the following shed light on the strained English-French relations. "Announcer a la radio, j'ouvre le post avec 'God save the King' et je ferme avec 'God save the King'. Pour qui? Pour quarante familles anglaises sur deux cent mille francaises" (p.138) - As radio announcer the day began and

Firstly, "He always writes 'for himself'" and secondly, he composes for his people, the quebécois.⁶⁷ These two levels were often found working together. In response to the October crisis in 1970, with the assassination of Pierre Laporte, Leclerc wrote a song *L'Alouette En Colere*, filled with his own anger, about "the effects of lack of freedom" in which a boy is reduced to the point where "All that he has left is a flower and his mother tongue - which isn't recognized" (by the law of the land), who turns to revolution and assassination.⁶⁸ There was little difference between the fiction of the song and the reality of life in Quebec. But he also sang universal themes as in *100,000 Facons de tuer un homme* which "lists the ways mankind kills its own" while commenting on the Canadian national policy as he "insists that the best way to kill a man is to pay him to be unemployed."⁶⁹ In a poem ("to be sung to a tune known to Calixa Lavallee", *O Canada!* perhaps?) *Trois Canada*, Leclerc speaks of Canada's dilemma: "Le Canada terre de trois nations / Salue l'indien le premier occupant / Le francais deuxieme / L'anglais le troisieme / Trois genies differents / Trois facons de rire / Trois facons de dire / Trois voisins mais trois etrangers".⁷⁰ In an untitled poem he takes Quebec's history and the

ended with 'God save the King' but for whom? Forty English families among 200,000 French-Canadians. After the 1980 referendum Leclerc says of Quebec, "Les rue sont desertes, les vainqueurs se cachent ... " (p.142) - The streets were deserted, the vanquished hid themselves.

⁶⁷ Champagne (1973) p.22. I believe that this is not so much out of egotism but rather honesty.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.22; Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.330. Is this not his Quebec? For song lyrics see Milliere (1978) p.174.

⁶⁹ Champagne (1973) p.22.

⁷⁰ Leclerc (1984) p.22.

French-English relationship one step further: "Qu'est-ce qu'un Quebecois? ... Hier, c'etait un Francais sans drapeau / aujourd'hui un bilingue avec deux drapeaux / demain un unilingue anglais / avec l'Union Jack sur son ecole, (s'il ne fait pas l'independance.)".⁷¹

3. THE LATE 1950s TO 1967

With the fall of the Duplessis government and the coming to power of the Liberal government, bent on modernizing and restructuring the province, and a parallel rapid decline of power in the Catholic Church, the social atmosphere breathed a sigh of relief. Until then quebecois culture was quasi-nonexistent and subordinated to the imperatives of the English Canadians and suppressed under a political regime which, though appearing to be democratic, functioned on a well anchored oppression of the people.⁷² These changes promised an increase in economic prosperity, a vastly greater social-cultural freedom of movement, and a decrease in Quebec's isolation from the world.⁷³

⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp.148-149.

⁷² Craipeau, Maquette Jean-Loup (ed.) Chansons politiques d'aujourd'hui (Paris: Editions SYROS/SIBECAR, 1976, p.7) states "la culture quebecoise etait alors quasi inexistente, ou subordonne aux imperatif du Canada anglais, le pays etait soumis a un regime qui, sous des apparences democratiques, fonctionnait sur le mode d'une oppression tres profondement ancree.". Guerard, Daniel, Claude Leveillee aux trapeze des etoiles: chansons et poemes precedes d'un essai biographique (Montreal: Editions de l'Homme, 1990) p.12.

⁷³ Giroux (1991) Pp.45-46. Cultural changes were happening on all fronts "(ideologie, economie, culture, education, sports, religion)" (p.45). Aube, Jacques, Chansons et Politiques Au Quebec (1960-1980) (Montreal: Les Editions Triptyque, 1990, p.46) points to a coinciding of access to modernity, a rising of the middle

Some of the new governmental structures greatly aided in later developments in the music industry. This was la 'Révolution tranquille' - the 'quiet revolution' a time of increasing political awareness and socio-cultural transformation.⁷⁴ According to Gilles Vigneault this was "the big thaw, a sort of great awakening, when we decided to recognise everything and everybody, and give letters of credit to our own people."⁷⁵ As the decade of the 60s progressed a competition developed over control of Quebec between Federalists and separatists (les indépendantistes) culminating towards the end of this period with the formation of the Parti Québécois.⁷⁶ At another level, Montreal became the focus of attention of the world with the Expo '67 World's Fair drawing new technologies, ideologies and cultural contacts and influences into Quebec, especially musical influences.⁷⁷ Of special import was the beginning of the widespread use of

class and a greater liberation in all aspects of life.

⁷⁴ Giroux (1991) p.46.

⁷⁵ Canadian Composer (June 1974) p.12. In the process, he continues, "The chansonnier phenomenon wouldn't make sense at all if there hadn't been a political upheaval" - one complemented the other and gave context to the other.

⁷⁶ Aube (1990) p.116. A lot of this tension was probably caused by misunderstandings and lack of sensitivity between the quebecois and the rest of Canada. Vigneault remarks (quoted in Canadian Composer, June 1974, p.12), "am I really that much of a separatist and am I really anti-Canada. As far as I'm concerned, Canada, I'm for. It's Canada that's taking time - to get along, to recognize one another ... all the same, it's not a bad idea to start to hose down the house when you see the forest burning." He further states that "Seen from Ontario, Quebec isn't sinking at all, not at all. But from inside ... young Quebecers are becoming anglicised - and they are at a frightening and frightful rate around Montreal - well, that's it, it's the death knell ... death doesn't interest me" (Canadian Composer, p.14).

⁷⁷ Aube (1990) p.116; Normand (1981) p.89.

records, radio and television. This resulted in a vastly increased diffusion of music, thus influencing a far wider public with the ideas expressed in the words and music of the songs.⁷⁸ "La television va surtout mettre fin a l'isolement d'un public morcele et permettre a des milliers d'individus d'apprendre qu'ils ne sont pas aussi seuls qu'ils le croyaient ... La conscience de tout un peuple s'eveille."⁷⁹ Colleges and universities, which opened up much wider access to quebécois youth, were centres of exchange and music as well.⁸⁰ This caused the bombardment of Quebec by music from outside but opened up the opportunity for the spread of Quebec's own music. All in all, the singers, and those others in society leading change, gave off a good spirit of quebecness upheld by sincerity and conviction.⁸¹ What happened musically was in one sense a coincidence of events, but in another sense it was just part of the ever-present progression of musical development.⁸²

During this time period the urban musical audience began to fragment into a mainstream pop (ye-ye) music audience and a more literate, poetic, and socially

⁷⁸ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.331; Guerard (1990, pp.12,31) says that these opened a window on the world. Within ten years, after CBFT television station began broadcasting in September 1952, 90% of quebécois homes had televisions. This had an immense impact on music, radio, cinema, theatre, etc. (Guerard, p.35).

⁷⁹ Guerard (1990) p.36. Television above all put an end to isolation of a divided public and permitted thousands of individuals to learn that they were not as alone as they had believed ... and the (collective) conscience of an entire people awoke.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.12.

⁸¹ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.330. "La bonne conscience du Quebec est ebranlee par tant de sincerite, tant de force de conviction."

⁸² As suggested by Dostie (May 1978).

conscious audience of les chansonniers.⁸³ Traditional folk music, though ever present, was relegated to the fringes of urban life. Leclerc, who represented primarily the rural countryside, did not fulfill the musical needs of the urban public though he still did have a strong impact on them.⁸⁴ The chansonnier music, representative of the local 'sound' in competition with the international, had an introspective spirit which it gave to the environment of the places of performance.⁸⁵ It solidified as a musical form and the singers began getting involved in supporting various social causes through music.⁸⁶ In return, this, as a by-product, generated a larger and wider musical audience for the performers and commanded a greater impact of their music. The other arts, especially theatre were blossoming and also moving toward more socially active and political

⁸³ Giroux (1991) pp.45-50. Ye-ye is obviously a reference to and imitation of the pop styles kicked off by the Beatles ("She Loves You yeah! yeah! yeah!"), therefore, dominated by British and American mainstream pop influences. Very often ye ye was a French-language regurgitation (but not direct translation) of English language songs on the music charts.

⁸⁴ Guerard (1990) p.11.

⁸⁵ Giroux (1991) p.48. Il y avait un "esprit d'introspection qui caracterise l'oeuvre et les lieux de manifestation des chansonniers."

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p.46. "Le Concours de la chansons canadienne a donne pour la premiere fois a une jeune generation le sentiment qu'elle n'avait pas a rougir de la 'production locale'" (p.46). Guerard (1990, p.13) comments that "A l'adolescence, c'est par la chanson, cette 'prise de parole' que je suis devenu conscient des modifications profondes qui s'operaient au Quebec sur les plans culturel, social et politique, et dont on sait qu'elles etaient dans 'l'air du temps' un peu partout le monde."- to the adolescents, through songs I became conscious of the deep changes which were operating in Quebec, culturally, socially and politically and knew that they were in the air a little the world around. And this was done without brainwashing (p.13).

stances.⁸⁷ There were an increasing number of voices in the air, like *la revue Liberte* and *Parti pris*, that "faisant la promotion d'un Quebec independent et socialiste."⁸⁸ "Concerned to combat Quebec's material, cultural, and spiritual alienation, *Parti pris* called upon the Quebecois to reject the past, to assume the present, and create their future in the form of an independent, secular, and socialist republic."⁸⁹ For then, however, the debate stayed at the more intellectual level not fully reaching the mass public. Song rather than novel writing or poetry reached out to the masses because it maintained the introspection of the poetry while including a collectiveness of vision and participation. In this way "la chanson a joue le role d'un catalyseur dans l'emergence d'un nouvel ideal quebecois jusque-la plutot mal defini."⁹⁰

A survey performed by Jacques Aube uncovered a view of an increasing politicization of the quebecois musical artists. He assessed verifiable concrete political actions taken

⁸⁷ Giroux (1991) pp.49-50.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.49. - voices promoting an independent and socialiste Quebec. Tetu de Lapsade (1990, pp.149-150) say *La revue Liberte* was a new school of thought made up of writers, poets, and various other intellectuals in 1959 and *Parti pris* a leftist movement.

⁸⁹ Shouldice, Larry, (ed.) Contemporary Quebec Criticism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979, p.122) as an introduction to Paul Chamberland's "Founding the Territory" in the same book. Though Marxism played a strong role in stimulating *Parti pris* and many other social movements, it became sidelined by nationalist and other interests. Attention was raised for many issues, such as trade unionism, new morality, cultural alienation, anti-colonialism and social and economic reform.

⁹⁰ Guerard (1990) p.12. Song played a role as catalyst in the emergence of a new quebecois ideal as yet poorly defined.

by them in the execution of their music.⁹¹ Aube defined two high points in musical politics: one in the 1830s around the time of the patriot's rebellion, and a second the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, with a decline already clearly noticeable in the later 70s.⁹² Data on participation (who, what place, what purpose?) of singers and musicians in political benefits and platforms of social action were collected by Aube from the daily newspapers (Le Devoir, La Presse, Le Soleil, and Le Jour) for two periods April 1970-November 1976 and November 1976-May 1980.⁹³ These were assembled by him into two tables for analysis using a classification system, with seven classes, based on types of social-political intervention.⁹⁴ Table 1 listed specific events considered to be political and the participation of individual performers, showing a predominance of male involvement and a concentration of activity in the Montreal area (probably a little biased

⁹¹ Aube (1990) p.9. A narrow definition of political singing was taken which included the use of song in exercising power in direct political acts - "l'object de la chanson politique ce limite aux acts de ceux qui exercent le pouvoir" (p.25). Therefore, the content of the song in some respects did not matter, it was rather the association of the songs with action. The words of specific protest songs only emphasized the message which was being projected anyway.

⁹² *ibid.*, p.10.

⁹³ *ibid.*, pp.20-21. "Par spectacles beneficies , nous entendons une manifestation lyrique ou la responsabilite d'attirer le public 'incombe' plus la notoriete de l'artiste qu'au renom de la cause a promouvoir" (p.21).

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.21-22. General theme of independence was divided into five sub-actions (Prisonniers politiques, Parti Quebecois, Referendum, Oppositionistes, Journaux). To these were added industrial union conflicts (mostly strikes-Greves) and international (Internationale) and humanitarian (Politico-humanitaire) concerns .

by the newspapers used).⁹⁵ Table 2 displayed the number of events in terms of type of action taken.⁹⁶ Overwhelmingly, demonstrations for release of political prisoners took precedence.⁹⁷ A distant second was support of separatism through either support of the Parti Quebecois or the "Yes" vote in the Referend'um.

Why had song become so important during these periods? Firstly because songs were a focal point of cultural identity which touched the entire population and became the prime medium of collective discourse over issues, in which everyone could participate.⁹⁸ Music provided the perfect marriage between words (les paroles), and therefore ideas, and a medium (la musique) which is universally accessible.⁹⁹ The words of the songs were distilled, simple ideas, often repeated and transmitted to the masses in a direct and efficient fashion of communication.¹⁰⁰ The period of the poet had moved into the period

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, pp.95-99.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.104-107.

⁹⁷ To me this is a political voice firstly for protection of individual rights and only in part a voice for nationalism.

⁹⁸ Aube (1990, p.11) quoting various other echoes, "'La chanson a precede les grands mouvements politiques au pays'. Elle est 'l'element d'identification le plus populaire de notre societe (et) elle a tenu le premier grand discours culturel et collectif sur notre identite nationale.' ... elle soit 'le mode d'expression le plus enracine et le plus authentiquement quebecois' 'la chanson est l'art le plus democratique qui soit, surtout par sa forme qui la rend accessible a tous.'"

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.23.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.24. Robert-Lionel Seguin (quoted in *ibid.*, p.25) said "La parole du chansonnier tombe, drue, mordante, sincere. C'est qu'elle traduit fidelement la volonte et sentiment populaires" - words of the chansonniers (in particular were) grave, heavy, cutting and sincere. They translated with fidelity the will and feelings of the people. The chansonnier songs reflected reality to the point where Seguin said (quoted in *ibid.*, p.25) "En somme,

of the chansonnier (poet-singer).¹⁰¹

What did these involvements do for quebécois music? Individual ideas were transformed into collective ideas in the social-political process.¹⁰² While music created a hardy and perennial bond uniting Quebec's people, and thus political history and geography, politics and social change nourished the popular song with material, a platform, and access to a wider audience.¹⁰³ Almost all artists involved were brought into the public eye boosting their popularity. The political and social upswing in Quebec coincided with the musical in a symbiotic-type relationship, the overall process creating a truly quebécois music.¹⁰⁴

At this stage Quebec's musical infrastructure was limited and the music business dominated from outside. A lot more music in Quebec was music imported from the France, the U.S. and Britain. Griffen remarks, "it was always a colonialist kind of thing, with the pop culture being created elsewhere, and shipped here for consumption, with most of the profits being shipped right back out again."¹⁰⁵ The chansonniers planted

la chansons politique écrit l'Histoire au present" - In summary, the political songs wrote the History in the present.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.45. "La period 1945-1960 est, selon un titre de Gilles Marcotte 'le temps des poetes'".

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p.24.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p.115.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.116.

¹⁰⁵ Griffen, John, "The Rise and Fall (And Rise Again) of French Pop" in Goddard, Peter and Kamin, Philip (eds.) Shakin' All Over: The Rock 'N' Roll Years in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1989) p.46. Griffen's style of musical criticism is very typical of that in English language press, very caustic towards artists. It is extremely different from the much kinder and more

the seeds and began the reversal of this process by starting to establish themselves as professional musicians in Quebec. 1957 is suggested as the possible point of departure for the rapid rise of popularity of quebecois singers. This was when Radio-Canada held its first awards for quebecois music.¹⁰⁶ Jean-Pierre Ferland concluded that "Quebec is the new frontier in French songwriting, that's for sure ... here, we're still writing like kids, in the sense that we've got so much energy; in France, they're a bit disenchanted. Even Felix Leclerc here, at his age, is still writing marvellous songs".¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the last spectacle of the era of the chansonnier was at *l'Olympia* in Paris when Gilles Vigneault, Pauline Julien, Claude Gauthier, and Clemence Desrochers performed proclaiming that "la chanson quebecois s'impose a tous, elle existe ... Le Canada est mort, donc, vive le Quebec!"¹⁰⁸

LES BOZOS

Les Bozos was a name given to a group of performers, Raymond Levesque, Claude Leveillee, Clemence Desrochers, Herve Brousseau, Jacques Blanchet and Jean-Pierre Ferland, along with Andre Gagnon providing piano accompaniment, who, starting in

sympathetic critiques from the top Quebec critics.

¹⁰⁶ Aube (1990) p.48.

¹⁰⁷ Jasmin, Helene, "The poet of city living par excellence," Canadian Composer (March 1976) p.12.

¹⁰⁸ Rioux (1974) p.7. The quebecois song has impressed on everyone that it exists ... Canada is dead, Quebec lives.

1958-9, formed an important nucleus for the generation of music in Montreal.¹⁰⁹ They were at the centre of the quebecois coffee house scene and at the forefront of the chansonnier movement.¹¹⁰ From the late 1950s to the mid 1960s small *boites a chansons* (coffee houses) sprang up everywhere through the province producing a large number of artists. There was a unity of spirit in the air for the musicians and this was shared by osmosis with the audience in the direct intimate contact within les boites.¹¹¹ Until the time of the chansonniers quebecois singers had been isolated.¹¹² La Butte a Mathieu (a Val David), Le Chat Noir, La Boites aux Chanson, Chez Clairette et Le Patrie were the *boites a chansons* of key importance.¹¹³ The majority of coffee houses and activity were in or nearby Montreal but there were significant developments in

¹⁰⁹ Normand (1981) p.64; Giroux (1991) p.52; Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.331. They performed in a cafe *Chez Bozo* on Crescent Street in downtown Montreal, the name Bozo coming from Felix Leclerc's song Bozo about a foolish boy with beautiful dreams. See Leclerc (1970) p.71-72 for the song Bozo.

¹¹⁰ Giroux (1991) p.52; Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.331. There was a completely different circuit and different districts for Anglophone singers - e.g. The Yellow Door for folk music, the Esquire Showbar for black music.

¹¹¹ Guerard (1990) p.11.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p.11.

¹¹³ Normand (1981) p.64; Giroux (1991) pp.67,48. There were of course many other boites such as the *Saranac* in Montreal North and *Bistro de la rue Gatineau* (Guerard, 1990, p.66). At this time chansonnier music was hardly a career when the singers only earned a few dollars a night (Giroux, p.48). Guerard (1990, p.10) notes that the chansonnier phenomenon was built on "La naissance spontanee d'un reseau de boites a chansons de style rive gauche" - the spontaneous birth of a network of coffee houses based on the style of those in the Rive Gauche in Paris.

Quebec City as well, under the organization of Gerard Thibault.¹¹⁴ For a period, Les Bozos worked together singing and doing monologues not so much as a musical group but as an association of writer-singer-songwriters.¹¹⁵ They also had separate musical careers, each becoming a star in his/her own right.¹¹⁶ The "first mirror in which the Quebecois recognised themselves was la chanson" (the song).¹¹⁷ Both this and the fact that la chanson dealt with everyday life was what was unique for Quebec and its music.¹¹⁸

RAYMOND LEVESQUE

Levesque, on a surficial listening to his singing, sounds like a 'middle of the road'

¹¹⁴ Giroux (1991) p.42. Thibault encouraged the development of local quebecois music through his restaurant *Chez Gerard*. Later between 1948 and 1977 he opened a series of boites a chansons (*Chez Emile, A la Page Blanche, La Boite aux Chansons* and *La Porte Saint-Jean*), each directed to a certain social circle of the public, as well as other music spectacles for both foreign and local performers.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.52.

¹¹⁶ Singing had moved from being a deeply rooted cultural element of the rural landscape to being a more sharply defined socio-economic function, a career, in the city.

¹¹⁷ Vigneault quoted in *Canadian Composer* (1974) p.12.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.12. This was so even though music initially lagged behind the other arts. France had a whole host and long tradition of other arts and science which reflected its people. Quebec was at the beginning. Theatre, film and other mediums also gained prominence in mirroring quebecois culture (p.14).

crooner from France and does not appear to hold any quebecois qualities.¹¹⁹ It is within his words and his humour that he projects his Quebecness. He acts as critic of what is going on in quebecois society and political environment, purposely adopting this as a vehicle for his music and ideas.¹²⁰ He started out and remained perhaps the most political of all quebecois singers. His best known song, *Bozo les culottes* is a biting look at the breakdown between English and French in Quebec in the struggle for political control of life there.¹²¹ It deals with the social and economic disparities and tensions between the French and English. In the song a 'Joe-nobody' francophone blows up a monument in protest against the English. It was written in defense of quebecois political prisoners who had already taken direct actions against the English in the 1963 Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) bombings.¹²² But it further predicted that these tensions

¹¹⁹ Giroux (1991) p.68 says that in becoming more political Levesque chose a French chansonnier, rather than quebecois chansonnier style to project his ideas - "son approche artistique se modifiera sensiblement; de chansonnier au sens quebecois, il deviendra chansonnier au sens francais du terme, c'est a dire auteur et interprete de chansons critiquant l'actualite, dans la tradition de Beranger."

¹²⁰ *ibid.* (1991) p.68. "Levesque sera un des premiers (mais rare) chanteurs a adopter la cause d'un Quebec independant et socialiste en vehiculant ses opinions dans ses chansons."

¹²¹ Levesque, Raymond, Raymond Levesque Collection Souvenir of original recordings (St.-Laurent, Quebec: MADACY Inc.) audio recording CS-4-6108. (audio cassette: tape 2). See Appendix 1 for an English translation of the song lyrics. In contrast to the content of the song the musical style is very innocuous. See Milliere (1978) pp.175-177 for words to the song.

¹²² Giroux (1991) p.68. He also wrote other patriotic songs, such as *Quebec, mon pays*. The FLQ bombed places and landmarks which symbolized suppression of the quebecois people (p.46). Levesque (1986, p.151) says "j'en ai eu de la sympathie ... je leur ai dedie 'Bozo les culottes' ... Moi je ne laisse jamais tomber mes amis. La solidarite j'y tiens ... j'ai participe, comme j'ai pu, a toutes

still continued and would erupt again as they did in 1970. The song is not pro-violent action but rather explains why it was unavoidable that such violence would take place because of the repression laid on Quebec society. He asks the question, were those involved in violence against the state (for no direct personal gain) any more criminal than those who work within the system making money off corruption?

Levesque learned his music and began composing, while working in some of Montreal's cabarets, from singers of that period (late 1940s), Serge Deyglun and Fernand Robidoux, and from some work on radio and television in the early 1950s.¹²³ He made the trip to Paris in 1954, staying for a few years, singing on the Rive Gauche in cabarets

les greves, aux mouvements de contestation. Pour le benevolat, on pouvait compter sur moi." - I have sympathy for them ... I have dedicated *Bozo les culottes* to them ... Me, I would never let a friend fall. I hold to solidarity ... I participate, as I can, at all strikes, protest movements. You can count on me for benevolence.

¹²³ Giroux (1991) p.36. Robidoux and Robert L'Herbier started gathering together isolated musical artists in the late 1940s so that the creation of a local quebecois sound could be possible (p.37). Normand (1981, p.42) says that the *Faisan Dore*, at the corner of St.-Laurent Boulevard and Ste. Catherine Street, which held *Les nuits de Montreal* was a favourite meeting spot. Robidoux was "le promoteur de la chanson quebecois" gradually pushing reluctant record companies to record quebecois music and organizing musical revues *Cocktail '46* and *Radio '49* (pp.37,41). Unfortunately the general milieu of music industry, media and public were not yet ready for such changes (p.41). Jacques Blanchet and Levesque, who trained with them, were important links in the musical succession from La Bolduc and Leclerc of the 1930s and 40s to the singers of the 1960s (pp.31,27). In the 1930s American styles had been followed in the cabarets but by the 1950s a more home grown style was taking over (p.27). Levesque (1986, pp.43-44) points out how Robidoux provided recording of quebecois music, not in Montreal but in London, with Decca records, where musicians were cheaper to hire and Montreal was still not ready. Levesque continues saying that without knowing it, these various activities were giving birth to a certain pride in being quebecois - "Sans le savoir elles assistaient a la naissance d'une certaine fierte quebecoise" (p.44).

and mixing with the contemporary French singers, such as Georges Brasson.¹²⁴ Though not overly successful in France some of his compositions, interpreted by well known French singers became very popular in Quebec.¹²⁵ On his return to Quebec various forces were in motion. In 1964 "un boite independentiste, *Le Cochon borgne* (St-Catherine, pres de St-Denis), ou tous les soirs ... nous chantions la 'revolution' avec, pour terminer la soiree, toujours une bonne bataille."¹²⁶ He was involved in the establishing of la boite a chanson *Saint-Germain-des-Pres* to be a place for young comrades to meet and perform.¹²⁷ He later joined forces with other quebécois singers as Les Bozos.¹²⁸ Many of Levesque's songs were direct social protests and the words often depressing. In *Politique* he shows little confidence in politicians - "Il n'y a pas de solution politique / La solution est dans le coeur".¹²⁹ In several songs he attacks both in Quebec and/or in places abroad, those political, economic, social or religious

¹²⁴ Giroux (1991) p.36.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.37. One of these was *Quands les hommes vivront d'amour*. Words for this song appear in Levesque, Raymond, *Electro Chocs des mots qui ont des yeux* (Montreal: guerlin editeur limitee, 1981) pp.112-113. It is a song for peace with a strong note of pessimism. "Quands les hommes vivront d'amour / Il n'y aura plus de misere / Et commenceront les beaux jour / Mais nous nous serons morts mon frere / (Quands les hommes vivront d'amour)" - When men live in love there will be no more misery and beautiful days will begin. But we will be dead my brother when men live in love.

¹²⁶ Levesque (1986) p.152. A separatist boite a chanson opened where every night we would sing the revolution until the closing of the evening always giving a good battle.

¹²⁷ Guerard (1990) p.48.

¹²⁸ Giroux (1991) p.37.

¹²⁹ See Levesque (1981) pp.30-31 for words to the song. There is no solution in politics. The solution is in the heart.

organizations which take advantage of or suppress their people or commit crimes of war.¹³⁰ He comments in *Au coin de la rue*, that though there is violence in other places it also exists close to home.¹³¹ Though pin-pointing the faults of human nature he also expressed a religious spirituality and pointed to the alternatives in human nature.¹³² His *Quands les hommes vivront d'amour* has been recorded by numerous other Quebec and French artists. It was a song against war written when Levesque was in France and the Indochinese War had resulted in immense bloodshed.¹³³ Throughout his career he tried to balance outside Quebec with inside Quebec. In his song *D'Ailleurs Et D'Ici* his loyalties turn inward to Quebec.¹³⁴ In his song *Les Trottoirs* he looks at the life 'here', at the youth on the city sidewalks, a vibrant force who see the bright sky, in contrast to the adults who no longer remember their youth and have lost their imagination, no longer

¹³⁰ See *ibid.* for song lyrics and music to *L'Organisation* (pp.38-39), *Les Marchands* (pp.18-20), *Conscience - universelle* (pp.65-67), *Le militaires* (p.70), *Les archipels* (pp.71-73).

¹³¹ See *ibid.*, pp.114-115 for lyrics and music. "La fin du monde est tout pres de nous / Au coin de la rue" - The end of the world is close by to us at the corner of the street. He criticizes the divisiveness between people caused by the economic and political systems.

¹³² See *ibid.* for complete songs. *La priere* (pp.82-83) calls for prayer to assist people, *Le Christ* acknowledges religion as a necessity in life and *L'amour et la guerre* says love but do not make war.

¹³³ Guerard (1990) p.88.

¹³⁴ See Levesque (1986) pp.196-199 for words and music. "C'est notre maison ... Ce n'est pas d'ailleurs mais d'ici / C'est bien le soleil que l'on voit / C'est toute la vie, / La vie qui est la." - It's our house (home) ... It's not outside but here. It's good the sun that one sees. It's all life, the life that is there.

seeing beyond the ground in front of them.¹³⁵ Levesque's musical career ended in 1986 when he suddenly became deaf.¹³⁶

JACQUES BLANCHET

He was the first of les Bozos to gain recognition in Quebec and Europe, becoming known even in Russia, but this was accomplished primarily by his songs being interpreted by singer Lucille Dumont.¹³⁷ Songs once public do not 'belong' to the composer they take on 'ownership' by who performs them and who listens to them.¹³⁸ He was also the first to disappear into obscurity due to health problems.

CLAUDE LEVEILLEE

Claude Leveillee became not only a master song writer but also instrumental composer and musical arranger. Much of his music is very romantic in style filled with

¹³⁵ For words and music see Fowke (1972) pp.8-9.

¹³⁶ Giroux (1991) p.68.

¹³⁷ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.331; See also Bernard, Monique, ceux de chez nous (Ottawa: Agence de Presse Artistique Enrg., 1969) pp.95-100.

¹³⁸ Obviously ownership here is not in the legal sense but in the sense of feeling part of or connected with the music.

melancholy and nostalgia.¹³⁹ He translated his chansonnier style into his self-taught piano instrumental compositions.¹⁴⁰ What made him unique was the tremendous diversity within the styles of his music.¹⁴¹ Leveillee was important because he touched his listeners' lives in a personal way but also his songs "ont ponctue nos virages sociaux et politiques et qu'elles appartiennent maintenant a la memoire collective - *Frederick*, par exemple, ou encore *La legende du cheval blanc*."¹⁴² Leveillee realized the quebécois characteristic that "Chez lui, le culturel est politique."¹⁴³ He saw a role for himself in this of envisioning "un ideal renouvelle" pour "refaire le monde".¹⁴⁴

The themes of Leveillee's works centre around love, romantic passion, suffering, the struggle for life, freedom, escape, hope and serenity.¹⁴⁵ "Les chanson de Leveillee sont des tableaux dictes par un vision des choses, aux couleurs de ses emotions", because

¹³⁹ Giroux (1991) p.68. "Ses textes, souvent empreints de melancholie et de douloureuse nostalgia, n'atteignent toutesfois pas toujours la meme force que ses musiques." Because his words were often weaker than the sound of his music he often collaborated with other songwriters. Guerard (1990) p.24.

¹⁴⁰ Guerard (1990) p.15. For Leveillee the words and music were inseparably one, when used together and in instrumental music, the sounds echoed a memory of texts.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.9.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p.12. He aimed his music at the intimate fibre of each person (p.25). For music and lyrics of these and several other of his major songs see Leveillee, Claude, *Le long voyage* (Ville de Boisbriand, Quebec: Publications Chant de mon pays Inc., 1978).

¹⁴³ Guerard (1990) p.14. Culture in his homeland is politics.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.25. He aspired towards a renewed ideal that would help remake the world.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp.14,31. Love of the world and life are essential to human life (p.15). The passion between man and woman is fundamental to humanity and his work (p.22).

"C'est le coeur qu'il touche et c'est a l'ame qu'il parle. C'est par ces mots et cette musique que je sais que l'ame existe."¹⁴⁶ One of his songs *Pour les Amants* was very popular in the 1960s having a 'sound' which is very dated to that period by the sound of the particular instruments used then.¹⁴⁷ Since then the tune of the song has gone on to be widely known on both English and French Musak and easy-listening format radio stations. On the more radical side Leveillee was one of the first chansonnier to use words in his songs which could be considered subversive and political, responding quickly to the mood of Quebec that had been developing while he was away in France.¹⁴⁸ Some of these songs are *Ma blanche liberte*, *Les Patriotes*, *Requiem Patriotes 1837* and *Mon pays*.¹⁴⁹ He also wrote *L'Etoile d'Amerique* a song about Quebec's place (situation) in America. He has recognized the quebecois' separateness from the rest of America but places it in a new light, that of being the light - the heart and love - the star of America.¹⁵⁰ As such the song has great symbolic significance to the quebecois people

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp.21,20. His songs are portraits depicting a vision of the way things are as coloured by his emotions because it is the heart that he touches and the soul to which he speaks. It is by these words and music that I can know that the soul exists. He is impassioned by all that concerns the human being (p.22).

¹⁴⁷ The guitars especially of that time had a sound that guitars of today do not seem to have.

¹⁴⁸ Guerard (1990) p.63-64.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp.64-65. The latter was a sort of hymn which was later used by others in St-Jean Baptiste celebrations and patriotic rallies. For lyrics to the songs see pp.233-236,p.128,pp.129-132 and p.127 respectively. The patriot songs relate back to the Patriot's rebellion in Quebec.

¹⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, pp.223-225 for words to the song. This was written in 1968 as the social and music scene were in flux moving towards Quebec's golden days. This is reflected in the optimism of

as that star in the dark sky, carrying a strong nationalistic force. At his 1976 concert with Gilles Vigneault and Felix Leclerc he openly proclaims how wonderful it is to feel free (libre comme un) as a quebecois. His talking to the crowd becomes an additional part of his song for that occasion. *Les amoureux de l'an 2000* is another optimistic song, a vision of what the world could be in the year 2000 without borders, nations as friends and liberty for all individuals.¹⁵¹ It is more universal and individualistic rather than nationalistic in appeal. "Certes, le patriotes en lui vieille toujours, mais le globe-trotter a etendu a toute la planete son champ d'observation."¹⁵² Throughout many of his songs is the symbol of the horse (evasion and liberte - escape and freedom).¹⁵³ Behind each composer's music, no matter who they are, are their convictions and their self doubts.¹⁵⁴

Leveillee grew up in a musical family environment which expressed itself through the

the piece (p.86).

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.97. See pp.274-275 for the words to the song.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, p.99. Certainly the patriot in Leveillee ages daily but the globe-trotter has extended his field of view to the entire planet. He is happy in the triumphs that have come in terms of the quebecois developing an identity but his own sights do not stop there (p.103). As with Vigneault as well, "La qualite du poete est d'etre visionnaire" - the quality of the poet is to be a visionary.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p.94. "Les chevaux de Leveillee sont toujours vigoureux et rassurants", "Ca va vite et c'est beau" - Leveillee's horses are always vigourous and reassuring, it goes fast and it is beautiful.

¹⁵⁴ Champagne, Jane, "A Quebec composer on the move again," Canadian Composer (Feb. 1973, p.20) says "underlying Leveillee's music, there are his convictions, his feelings - and some despair. 'I feel, I don't say or sing my beliefs; I describe an incident, a mood, and somehow it appeals to everyone.'" Leveillee continues, "Perhaps I can touch an audience because I feel what I sing about so deeply - you know, I have very little talent" (quoted p.20).

song *Frederick*, which was a snapshot of middle class quebecois life, then representative of values which would soon be overturned in the coming decades.¹⁵⁵ As a student Leveillee gathered together with students from all across Quebec in the cafeteria *Chez Valere* at the University of Montreal. For them it was a place which replaced the family kitchen, the church hall, the market, the corner restaurant, the haunts back home.¹⁵⁶ It was also a hot-bed of exchanged ideas and feelings. In, and about, this environment Leveillee began writing songs.¹⁵⁷ The musical environment was almost totally monopolized by multinational music industries; therefore music from France was having a large impact on Quebec. But French music was beginning to change: there was a new generation of singers (Georges Brassen, Jacques Brel, Sauvage, Greco, Beart) coming in, closer in temperament to the quebecois students than the older French singers.¹⁵⁸ It was 1955 when Leveillee first performed in a university revue *Bleu et Or* after which he came into demand for singing on radio.¹⁵⁹ He then did some television and theatre before the formal formation of Les Bozos in May 1959.¹⁶⁰ Edith Piaf, the grand dame of French singing, at the invitation of Jean-Pierre Ferland, came to hear Les Bozos and,

¹⁵⁵ Guerard (1990) pp.32-33. See also Bernard (1969) pp.36-40. Leveillee was born in Montreal.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.39.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.40.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.43. They continue to have an immense popularity with the quebecois audience up to the present day. These were accompanied by popularity of French writers: Sartre, Malraux and Camus.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp.44,46.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, pp.47-49.

on hearing Leveillee, she wanted to take him under her wing and cultivate him as a star in France.¹⁶¹ This resulted in a rupturing of Les Bozos as Leveillee left for France, disrupting the Crescent Street scene.¹⁶² In Paris, Leveillee became disillusioned, disturbed and saddened when the realities of France did not meet his idealized expectations and so returned to Montreal, re-entering the coffee house scene.¹⁶³ With a friend he operated a new boite *Le Chat noir*.¹⁶⁴ As Leveillee's composing and performing advanced he began to arrange shows in larger halls.¹⁶⁵ Eventually, in 1964, Leveillee accompanied by an orchestra conducted by Andre Gagnon became the first quebécois singer to achieve performing at Place des Arts, Montreal's most prestigious performance venue, thus breaking a hold on it by outside artists.¹⁶⁶ The growing success in the eyes of the public was instrumental in helping to bring les chansonniers

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp.49-51.

¹⁶² *ibid.*, p.51.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, pp.51-54. This experience rigourously developed his writing skills. He soon became the chief quebécois chansonnier in Montreal and released his first record in 1961 (p.58). Leveillee says of his musical environment in France (quoted in Champagne, Feb. 1973, p.20), "It was a small, enclosed world we lived in: I composed, I worked ... I was swallowed up."

¹⁶⁴ Guerard (1990) p.54. His initial impact on the Montreal coffee house crowd was such that Guy Latraverse wrote (quoted, p.56) "Leveillee fut pour Montreal ce que Vigneault fut pour Quebec." -Leveillee did for Montreal what Vigneault did for Quebec.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.67.

¹⁶⁶ Giroux (1991) p.66. Guerard (1990) pp.67-68. This was also a premiere of the first live recording ever in that hall.

out of the obscurity of the boites scene into more mainstream mass public exposure.¹⁶⁷ 1964 brought Leveillee's return to Paris, this time to play *l'Olympia*.¹⁶⁸ Pressures of the music business led him to take refuge in the countryside outside Montreal at Saint-Benoit, which happened to be his family's ancestral home region.¹⁶⁹ With the tranquillity of the countryside came Leveillee's silence vocally as he transformed to an instrumentalist, finally recording an album without singing in 1967.¹⁷⁰ He also spent several years collaborating with another pianist, Andre Gagnon.¹⁷¹ Throughout his career he had travelled to Europe (extensively), Russia, Central Asia, Japan, the U.S. (where he passed through the barrier of language) and as well the Canadian arctic.¹⁷²

CLEMENCE DESROCHERS

Clemence DesRochers, born in Sherbrooke in 1934, very early on recognized her

¹⁶⁷ Guerard (1990) p.69. "Les 'chansonniers', grace au succes de Leveillee, quittent la marginalite et entrent dans les ligues majeurs." - The chansonniers, thanks to the success of Leveillee, left marginality to enter the big league.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, pp.71-72.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, pp.75-76.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.77-78.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.87.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, pp.80,97-99. In Champagne (Feb. 1973, p.16) it is interesting that Leveillee only played Toronto for the first time in 1973 after having performed over 1000 concerts in Canada and 200 overseas.

talents but also the limits of her piercing, and potentially irritating, voice.¹⁷³ She, therefore, built her career on singing and monologuing on the faults and fears of people in a very comic fashion, making people laugh, especially at themselves, through her characters.¹⁷⁴ At the same time she also sang serious songs about local places and the life there. She was very down-to-earth in her descriptions and take-offs of life. This was both her charm as a performer and her significance as a recorder of culture. To this she added the writing of various musical comedies and revues.¹⁷⁵ Clemence brought one of the early feminist expressions to the music field in Quebec, not in the radical feminist sense, but through touching on things meaningful to women or that culturally defined women, in her songs and comic sketches.¹⁷⁶ Her life was an example for feminists even

¹⁷³ Giroux (1991) p.57.

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, pp.57,59. "Clemence (et c'est la sa force) batira sa carriere sur ses defaults et ses peurs" (p.57). This was also a time in which audiences wanted to and needed to laugh. Up until then laughter had been somewhat suppressed by the authorities of Church and State. One song *La Femme Accordeon* deals with the current concerns of women over controlling their weight. See DesRochers, Clemence, Le Monde Aime Mieux ... (Montreal: Les Editions De L'Homme, 1977) pp.28-30 for the song's words and music (music by Jean-Marie Benoit). Clemence quoted in Dostie, Bruno, "Seriously speaking: Quebec's funniest lady" in Canadian Composer (Dec. 1973, p.6) "defines herself as a 'comedian who writes her own roles'."

¹⁷⁵ Giroux (1991) p.57.

¹⁷⁶ DesRochers (1977) pp.107-114. Three monologues *La Topless*, *L'Annee De La Femme* and *Yvanna La Frotteuse* show different aspects of the women she sees. In *Madame Bricole* she sings about a woman who feels the need to go out from the home and study instead of purely being a housewife and of the adjustments that this requires of the household, especially in her husband. See DesRochers, Clemence, J'ai ecrire!, 2nd Ed. (Laval, Quebec: Editions Trois, 1987) p.16.

before the feminist movement of the 1970s got into gear.¹⁷⁷ Further to this, she painted and drew pictures of the common people. Her songs were in no way directly political but her musical style of impressionist portraits deeply influenced some of the musical generations that followed.¹⁷⁸ One song, *Moi C'Est Le Sport*, mentions politics. The words say that everyone in the city needs an idol or a goal; for some militants it may be found in the PQ (Parti Quebecois); for her (and speaking on behalf of many quebecois) it is sports, watched on the television with a beer in hand.¹⁷⁹ Beer drinking was perhaps Quebec's second most important activity, whether in the taverns (male only), the clubs or at home.¹⁸⁰ One of her more popular songs, *Le Monde Aime Mieux ... (Mireille Mathieu)*, tells about her own musical life, but in doing so, also tells about the various musical venues: the ones most musicians play in to have any impact and the ones to aspire to (e.g., Places des Arts).¹⁸¹ Some of Clemence's works are about the city

¹⁷⁷ Dostie (1977) p.8. "Clemence appears as a frontrunner of the women's movement for self expression. I pointed this out, stressing the fact that nowadays, others present as revolutionary things she's been doing for 20 years."

¹⁷⁸ Giroux (1991) p.59.

¹⁷⁹ See DesRochers (1987) p.37 for the song lyrics. "Pour moi le bonheur c'est le sport ... Avec un biere dans mon salon / Voir les sports a television."

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.* (p.25) pays tribute to this occupation in *L'Hymne A La Biere*.

¹⁸¹ See DesRochers (1977) pp.12-14 for music and lyrics. "Moi j'ouvre des boites pis j'ferme des bars" - I open the coffee houses and close the bars - this is the life of a musician/singer. *L'Patriote* and *l'Outremont* concert venues are mentioned as well as going to Paris to sing along side the Seine. This song may also be a commentary on the still dominant presence of several French singers on Quebec music.

Montreal, but some others (e.g., *Je T'ecrive Pour Te Dire*) are about the need to leave the city for the open spaces of the countryside, a theme that became more important in the seventies.¹⁸² *Chantons Montreal* is the bitter sweet view of Montreal, echoes of its greatness and life (much of which has passed) and tells of its demise.¹⁸³ *Bleu Gris* (blue grey) describes a feeling and a look that one often felt in parts of Montreal.¹⁸⁴

JEAN-PIERRE FERLAND

Ferland examines the growing duality in quebécois life - the tension of rural versus urban realities. He explores the city life and existence in the country and then moves into fantasy landscapes that symbolically relate back to the first two landscapes. *La vie des champs* tells of the countryside being the 'only place to be', the 'perfect life' while *Une Histoire de Discotheque* gives details of the complex social relations of the city.¹⁸⁵ The discotheque becomes a symbol for the alienation, unpleasantness and confusion of the

¹⁸² *ibid.*, pp.48-50.

¹⁸³ See DesRochers (1987) p.57 for the song lyrics. The crumbling of the once marvelous Expo '67 pavillions, the Olympic Stadium still without a dome (at that time), the St. Lawrence River (le fleuve) which one can only gain access to see with a permit, the abandoned highrise offices, the grand houses for sale, the roads without repair, etc. One part of Montreal is like Paris, another like Warsaw another like Italy.

¹⁸⁴ See *ibid.* for the song lyrics. "Le temps est bleu gris ? Le vent chante la melancholie / ... Couleur de tes yeux, / Couleurs de tes cheveux, / Le paysage s'habille comme toi"

¹⁸⁵ Both songs are on Ferland, Jean-Pierre, *La Pleine Lune* (Montreal: Rose Music and Les-productions J.P.F. Inc., 1977) Audio recording AE-1510. (audio cassette: tape 2) See album cover for words to the songs.

city.¹⁸⁶ In spite of the city's problems it is still more interesting to Ferland than the countryside.¹⁸⁷ In this respect he fits into the next period of music better than the other chansonniers. Ferland's style is that of an upbeat chansonnier, more modern than most of the others by keeping up with the progressive musical changes of the 1970s.¹⁸⁸ Ferland made several interesting observations about the music scene in Quebec during the 70s. One was that the country (Quebec) was too small, such that within a short space of time a quebecois star soon saturated the market and then had to make him or herself scarce until the Quebec public was ready for them again.¹⁸⁹ On the other hand he feels Quebec artists do not need to leave Quebec to be performers elsewhere but rather should travel elsewhere to open their minds then come back and sing for Quebec.¹⁹⁰ He feels that it is no longer a necessity to play in France. Another alternative he discovered is not to play just the big halls found in only a few cities, but to play solo to audiences in the more numerous smaller halls.¹⁹¹ He also noticed certain differences between Quebec and France. Quebec songwriting is towards the youth, the long playing record and

¹⁸⁶ It should be noted that discotheques pre-date what is labelled 'disco' music. They were the clubs where people went dancing to the latest popular music and supposedly the place where young people could get to meet one another, though the reality of this doesn't meet the expectations.

¹⁸⁷ Ferland quoted in Jasmin (March 1976, p.14) says "The city inspires me, the people living in the city, anything that swings - where the action is, where the people are."

¹⁸⁸ Griffen (1989) p.50.

¹⁸⁹ Jasmin (March 1976) p.10.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.12.

therefore sitting down and listening to music and in performance. "We take part in the songs, in Quebec, the whole audience really participates: it's the audiences that made us, after all."¹⁹² France still exists on the single record and older audiences.

WILLIE LAMOTHE

Willie Lamothe is the champion of quebécois country and western music, a 'cowboy canadien'. Born in Saint-Hyacinthe in 1920, he began during the war time to play guitar and interpret the songs of soldat Lebrun.¹⁹³ The success of his music encouraged others to begin to build a quebécois infrastructure for country music parallel to the other music businesses in operation and to enlarge the country music audience in Quebec, especially in the youth.¹⁹⁴ During the 1950s through 70s Willie represented the quebécois in exchanges with and spectacles in Nashville. During his career he played in many of the venues, both large (The Paul-Sauve Arena) and small (La Butte a Mathieu), in Montreal

¹⁹² *ibid.*, p.12.

¹⁹³ Giroux (1991) p.33. Le Soldat (Roland) Lebrun popularized the guitar as a replacement instrument for the violin, important in the later transformation of music with the chansonniers and again with the rockers (p.20). Lebrun was probably the first local country western singer in Quebec. He sang with simplicity, naivete and nostalgia about traditional themes. Normand (1981, p.41) comments that his music kept fairly much to the 'official' (religious-state acceptable) music, described by l'abbé Gadbois in his work la Bonne Chanson, which influenced most of Quebec's French-language music until 1950. Even today it serves as a strong musical base for the more conservative, middle-of-the-road quebécois population.

¹⁹⁴ Giroux (1991) pp.33-34.

and other places.¹⁹⁵ Willie sings of his *pays* and about the French experience in America as different from the general American experience.¹⁹⁶ He sings of the places of francophone influence in the United States in *Le Long Du Mississippi* and *Mon Voyage en Louisiane*.¹⁹⁷

GILLES VIGNEAULT¹⁹⁸

Gilles Vigneault carried the chansonnier image to new heights. He was prolific in writing poetry, songs and stories not only for himself to sing but also specifically for others. Vigneault also collaborated with many others in writing songs. In these songs he captured the heart of the people through his own personal explorations. His discoveries revealed in song "reflect the increasing confidence of a people in its ability, its creativity, its language."¹⁹⁹ On the one hand he wrote many songs which mimicked the forms and

¹⁹⁵ Lamothe, Willie, Willie, (Mont-Saint-Hilaire, Quebec: Publications Chants de Mons pays Inc., 1978).

¹⁹⁶ On Lamothe, Willie, "Je Reviens" (Montreal, Disques GIT, 1983) Audio recording GIT-4-1900.

¹⁹⁷ See Lamothe (1978) for words and music of songs. *Mon Voyage Louisiane* speaks of the distinct home and characteristics of the Acadian-Louisianes. It is on Lamothe (1983) Audio recording.

¹⁹⁸ See Vigneault, Gilles, Tenir paroles (Montreal: nouvelles editions de l'Arc, 1983) Vol. I, Chansons 1958-1967 and Vol. II, Chansons 1968-1983. See Bernard (1969) pp.2-12 and Normand (1981) pp.61-86 for commentaries on his life and works.

¹⁹⁹ Canadian Composer (June 1974) p.10. The "songs he writes reflect the temper and times of la belle Province (Quebec) ... his work is a mirror which reflects an image - deformed, accurate, changing, whatever - but a faithful image nevertheless."

styles of the traditional folk songs, some even having strong medieval sound and themes.²⁰⁰ On the other there was contemporary comment on the land, the people, the politics and life. Vigneault had the ability to articulate many of the new feelings in the public, which, once expressed, they were able to identify with.²⁰¹ Nature was perhaps one of his strongest themes but he often used it as metaphor for human situations. His glimpse of nature (which fills his songs) is within the context of two seasons: a long winter and a short summer and a land of snow, cloud, rocky coast, sandy shore, thick forest, mountains, ice, rivers, birds, wild animals, and the marine environment of the North Shore.²⁰² This was only broken by the small villages, the activities of the fishermen in their boats, and the characters which filled village life.²⁰³ *Pendant que ...* sings of the cycles of harmony and conflict between the boats and the sea, the movement

²⁰⁰ See Smith, Donald, Gilles Vigneault Conteur Et Poete (Montreal, Editions Quebec/Amerique, 1984) pp.37-55 for examples. Listen to Vigneault, Gilles and Seguin, Richard, Alison on Seguin, festin d'amour (CBS Inc., 1976) Audio recording PFS 90385.

²⁰¹ Canadian Composer (June, 1974) p.10.

²⁰² Smith (1984) pp.61-86. Vigneault said his pays (region) was one of "l'ete si court et l'hiver si long" (p.61). Therefore the landscape was normally snow-covered (*un paysage enneige*). He was born here in Natashquan but with his travels to other parts of Quebec this image travelled with him. He eventually applied it to Quebec itself. Although southern Quebec doesn't experience quite as severe climatic conditions as Natashquan, the winters are long and the image still very applicable, especially once social connotations are also added.

²⁰³ *ibid.*, pp.75-77, pp.86-87. One of Vigneault's prettiest songs, *Si Les Bateaux*, provides a feeling of the positive qualities of life in the fisherman's existence. The prime quality of the seamen is freedom, being captains of their own boats. See Vigneault, Gilles, CBS Select Gilles Vigneault (CBS Music Products Inc., 1989) audio recording BUT-50214 (re-released material). (audio cassette: tape 2).

and the connection of the things in nature (rivers, sun, clouds ...) and Vigneault's love of these.²⁰⁴ There was a sensitivity to urban life as well, since for many quebecois the city had become the source of their inspiration, yet his root images come from nature and rural life.²⁰⁵

Running through many of his songs are opposites of joy and sadness (expressed as fast and slow pace, bubbly or moody feeling to the sound and through selected words - heureux and ennui) which he seems to intertwine as if they were part of the same emotion being felt at the same time.²⁰⁶ He used other images (summer and winter, etc.) in play with joy and sadness and related these symbolically to the state (condition) of the quebecois people. On one side he saw the people pulled down by the weight of a tradition of fear, suppression, and so on which had numbed their senses and placed them in a frozen state of suspended animation. He doesn't only place the blame on the English or other outside forces but points often more strongly towards the people themselves and their traditions and political and social order. On the other side, he sees the beginning of the awakening of life in the quebecois and parallels this with seeing life in things and activities around him, in the natural environment and in the daily actions and characters

²⁰⁴ Words and music for this song of great beauty are found in Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.148-149.

²⁰⁵ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.332.

²⁰⁶ Robitaille, Aline, gilles vigneault (Montreal: editions de l'hexagone, 1968, p.89) notes Vigneault's fluctuations between "en chantant sur un pas de gigue" (singing at a jig's pace), then moving to "en racontant" (recounting-talking) and "en disant avec gravite" (talking with gravity). As he sang he constantly moves to the music swaying, waving arms, emotional, comic, step dancing. His words often have a different pace than the music making you physically want to move forward and join the dance of life.

of the people. This signifies where the people have been and where they were ultimately arriving. Through his texts he expressed the deep discomfort and upset (but also joy) of a society which had suddenly *become* quebécois and were beginning to realize it.²⁰⁷ Though a degree of quebécoisness had come, a unified *pays* had not yet come.²⁰⁸ In his song *Tout le monde et malheureux* he draws from this internal contradiction the humour of how life works, and does this in the form of a traditional dance tune.²⁰⁹ This harmony of words and music was Vigneault's specialty.²¹⁰

It took time before the quebécois suddenly recognized Vigneault's music, through seeing 'themselves' in the music and they were dramatically moved.²¹¹ He started to connect with the coffee house scene at *l'Arlequin*, a small cafe on the stairway of la Côte de la Montagne in Quebec City in 1957, eventually making a name for himself locally as a poet-singer.²¹² He was also involved in the founding of *les Editions de l'Arc* publishers in 1959. After performing extensively in Quebec City (especially at la Biote

²⁰⁷ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.331. "Conscients qu'il ne faut pas chanter pour ne rien dire, il soignent leurs textes, qui expriment le malaise profond de toute une société qui se sent tout à coup devenir québécoise."

²⁰⁸ *ibid.* (p.333) says of Vigneault, "il a reste fidele a cette vocation sans compromission de chanter d'un pays encore en devenir" he is faithful to this calling, without compromise, to 'sing' (as in invoke) a country yet to become reality.

²⁰⁹ For lyrics see Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.250-252.

²¹⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.332.

²¹¹ *ibid.*, p.7.

²¹² Robitaille (1968) p.136; Bibliothèque De Sherbrooke, Gilles Vigneault Dossier De Presse 1961-1981 (Sherbrooke: Bibliothèque Du Séminaire De Sherbrooke, 1981) July 1963 (article by Guay, Jacques, Magazine Maclean, p.26).

a Chansons, where he first sang solo), Montreal (at le Chat Noir, la Comedie Canadienne, etc.), and other parts of Quebec; he only then expanded his sphere of performance to France, in 1964-5. The French reacted strongly and favourably to his personal exuberance and found him exotic and naive, in a way.²¹³ Vigneault also toured the coffee houses of Franco-Ontario (Northeastern and Central Ontario: Sudbury, Sturgeon Falls, Kapuskasing, etc.).²¹⁴ Some other concert locations from 1965 on were: The Maurice Richard Arena and the Expo Theatre, both in Montreal; Ottawa; the Mariposa Folk Festival (Toronto); Bobino and l'Olympia in Paris and various halls in France, Belgium and Luxembourg.²¹⁵

Love and personal freedom are for Vigneault, like they were for Leclerc, the most important things in life.²¹⁶ Although several of Vigneault's songs were taken up as nationalist anthems by the quebecois, their intent was firstly personal and it appears that nationalism for Vigneault is something more cultural than political. The public made his musical statements political. Though intensely personal in his outlook, because of the great depth of perception he had of the people and the land and the way of life, he was perceived as a nationalist icon by the quebecois. His best known song throughout Canada is *Mons Pays* but many of his other major songs (e.g., *Gens du Pays* and *Il me reste un pays*) are only really known to quebecois in Quebec or by francophones in the

²¹³ Craipeau (1976) p.8.

²¹⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.332; Robitaille (1968) pp.136-137.

²¹⁵ Robitaille (1968) pp.138-140.

²¹⁶ Canadian Composer (1974, p.10) suggests that this attitude, a "growing sense of an individual identity", free to chose its own way was a part of the new collective quebecois thought as a whole.

surrounding regions. How many know that there is a *Mons Pays II* ? For many years (late 1960s to early 1970s) *Mon Pays* was the unofficial anthem of the unofficial *state* of Quebec.²¹⁷ In *Mons Pays II*, Vigneault says that he does not know what will be, but he begins to look at the world as many scales of *pays*, as a child from a window, *mon pays* as a town, *mons pays* as a province, and *mons pays* as the planet Earth.²¹⁸

Gens du pays is very much in the vein of the traditional folk song. Its tune is instantly recognizable and memorable, as is the case with many of his songs.²¹⁹ In this way they are designed to fit into an oral type of culture for their propagation. Vigneault draws on the natural and cultivated settings for many of his images (*fleurs, jardins, ruisseau, etang*) to express his sentiments about human relations.²²⁰ It is through his description of the

²¹⁷ For words to the song see Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.179-180.

²¹⁸ See Vigneault (1983) p.303 for the words to *Mons Pays II*. There is a suggestion that this expanded view of *pays* parallels the child's growing up and maturing.

²¹⁹ I have some questions about the origins of this song I suspect that the tune of the chorus was a traditional tune, if not, Vigneault must have skillfully decided to make it sound as if it was. A slight variant of the chorus is used across Quebec and probably into other parts of French Canada as the equivalent of the English song *Happy Birthday*. Griffen (1989, p.50) says "Gilles Vigneault became, simply the social conscience of Quebec, and his song '*Gens du Pays*' its national anthem." See *le Quebec en chansons* (Montreal: Les Editions Intermede Inc., 1980) pp.47-49 for words and music.

²²⁰ See Vigneault (1983, Vol. II) p.421 for the words to *Gens du Pays*. It begins "Le Temps que l'on prend pour dire: Je t'aime / C'est le seul qui reste au bout de nos jour" - The time that it takes to say I love you is the only thing that remains at the end of our days. And it ends "Le ruisseau des jours ... forme un etang ou chacun peut voir / Comme en un miroir l'amour qu'il reflecte / Pour ces couers a qui je souhaite / Le temps de vivre leurs espoirs" - The stream of days ... forms a pond where each one can see the love that they reflect as if from a mirror for those hearts

local gens du pays that Vigneault creates individual heroes from daily life and not glamorous, unreal people. In the same way he makes daily life something of significance and not just a chore. His people are not good or bad but just as they are. They are drawn from the people of his home Natashquan.²²¹ There are *Les gens de mon pays* always talking in the streets and at home.²²² He not only notices the men on the street and at the quais but also has a special sensitivity for the women too and for those who are

for which I wish the time to live their hopes (or wishes). This is a hope for the future that there will have been love shared and therefore a positive reflection (and not an absence) in the mirror. This has various implications depending on what scale and meaning one refers to the word pays.

²²¹ Robitaille (1968, p.90) says "Gilles Vigneault retrouve goût a nommer quelques grands hommes connu dans son enfance pour leur gaillardise et leur puissance: Jean du Sud, Jos Hebert, Ca'llou, tous freres de Jos Montferrand ..." and also "Tit-Franc la patate (qui) leur offre de son whisky blanc ...". These men were "marins, contrebandiers, facteurs de la neige et des grands espaces, bucherons de la pitoune, peuple d'une region rude" comments Guay in *Bibliothèque De Sherbrooke* (1981) July 1963. Natashquan (immortalized in the song Natashquan - see Vigneault, 1983, Vol. I, pp.94-95 for words) comments Guay is a little place lost in another world (a terra incognita to us but his home in the grand north covered in snow) revealed to us in song after song of Vigneault's - "C'est un petite place perdue dans un autre monde qui nous est revele chansons apres chanson". The chansonniers revealed many parts of Quebec to the people themselves, the people unknowingly having revealed themselves to the chansonniers. There is also segregation in his village (say the ducks and the wind 'wagging their tongues' like the local gossips) since some feel that Jack Monoloy, an Indian, has no right to be in love with the white girl, la Mariouche (Robitaille, p.91) - see Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.82-83.

²²² See Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.213-215 for lyrics of the song. "Il n'est chanson de moi / Qui ne soit toute faite / Avec vos mots vos pas / Avec votre musique" - There is not a song of mine which would be complete without your words, your footsteps, your musique (p.215). This is the orality of the tradition. See "La Tradition Orale" in Rioux, Marcel, *les quebecois* (France: Le Temps Qui Court, 1977) pp.49-65 which discusses the talking and humour of the quebecois.

marginalized in the villages and towns.²²³ Vigneault's style is very unique, yet holds all of the qualities of the other chansonniers. The chansonnier represent the intellectual and poetic stage of mass cultural development and Vigneault takes these qualities far. His songs are incredibly wordy and his vocabulary, even in its rural forms, is very wide, well beyond that of the common level of conversation in both rural and urban Quebec. He presents himself as a "Petit homme mince, a la voix deroutante, un peut cassee, il possede une energie redoutable et une presence, sur scene et dans la vie, etonne."²²⁴ He voiced a tenderness and humanism that had been lacking in society and in his approach he drew an anonymous public progressively into a communal 'face' or form.²²⁵ In doing so "He put into words the beauty of Quebec, the strength and roots

²²³ His *Ah! que l'hiver ...* speaks softly about the women left by their husbands who have gone to work in the bush, saying *la femme seule seule seule* - the wife alone alone alone. Another song *Mademoiselle Emilie* tells the story of a woman who never left home and finally passed away, in her house, unnoticed by the public and leaving only a few mementoes of her existence. See Vigneault (1983) pp.255-256 and pp.529-531, respectively, for the song words.

²²⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.332. He is a small thin man with a disconcerting voice, a little cracked, yet he possesses a formidable energy and an amazing presence, on stage and in life.

²²⁵ Craipeau (1976) p.7. Craipeau says that at the time of his early success this was very revolutionary. He says that Vigneault's "écriture poetique a part entiere dans une langue pejoree, declaissee, donnant a cette langue une sorte de droit a l'existence" and l'approche des petites gens, des personnage caracteristiques, de tout ce qui permettre a ceux qui ecoutent de se reconnetre, de se definir eux-memes, de se retrouver, sans complexe et sans humiliations. Parler du pays, pour Vigneault, c'est affirmer la possibilite d'un Quebec libre de toute oppression, inassimilable, irreductible."- Speaking of country for Vigneault is an affirmation that a Quebec free of oppression, non-assimilated and irreducible is possible (pp.7-8). Robitaille (1968, p.88) says "Le public, anonyme, prend progressivement visage communautaire." Dor, Georges, *si tu savais* (Montreal: Les Editions De L'Homme Ltee, 1977, p.51) says he met Vigneault in Gaspé in the

of its ordinary people."²²⁶ And he also used a language that was beautiful.²²⁷

Of great significance to the author, and a song very popular with the public, is *Il me reste un pays*.²²⁸ This song is a sort of manifesto but from a very interesting personal perspective. It suggests that the idea of *pays*, a word used extensively by Vigneault, starts with the individual initiative through the process of naming and in finding a vision of place in the individual's heart.²²⁹ "Voila le pays que j'aime".²³⁰ This idea starts a quest to discover the realities of this place, to 'know' it. One knows it through (re)making it firstly by building bridges over the river beyond *l'Ennui*, those things which tie us down - not stated here by Vigneault but most likely tradition, the Church

mid-1960s when he was considered by the quebecois public une "sorte de demi-dieu ambulant, acclamee partout Quebec dont il incarnait le renouveau, la renaissance" - a sort of travelling demi-God, acclaimed throughout Quebec where he incarnated the renewal, the renaissance (p.51).

²²⁶ Canadian Composer (1974) p.10.

²²⁷ Dor (1977) p. 42. "Vigneault parlait d'abondance et il parlait bien, tres bien meme, presque a la francaise; il avait deja le verbe riche et colore et il portait deja la tete haute, au propre comme au figure, comme il apprendrait plus tard aux Quebecois a la porter." - Vigneault spoke in abundance and spoke well, almost like the French; he already used rich and colourful verbs and had a high head (was intellectual) what he later taught other quebecois to aspire to.

²²⁸ See Vigneault (1983) pp.374-375 for the words to *Il me reste un pays*. See also Appendix 1 for English translation (by Paul Wilbee). Note that Vigneault in some versions opens the song as a monologue which becomes a song. This is very common in the style of the chansonnier and both are essentially considered the same thing - music.

²²⁹ Tetu de Lapsade (1990, p.331) expresses that indeed it was the quest of all of the chansonniers "a nommer le pays".

²³⁰ Vigneault (1983) p.374.

and the State - but this takes personal effort. One day bells will ring with the first signs of life in this place. At this point the individual becomes a collective force of individuals with a shared *vision of pays* in which they need to partake and develop (with fields of wheat, etc.) (re)making it a *pays du monde*. The song ends: now there waits for us *un pays* to understand and to then to change, once the first dream has been attained, presumably in an ever advancing creative growth and with a shared collective vision. There is no doubt that the concept of Quebec as a country is seen in these words by many people but, unlike the political view of a country as an end result, Vigneault sees it as a passage of continuous transformation. Vigneault comments that this song talks of both an inner spiritual country and a physical country, Quebec - "both of them they can agree to get along together. One is dependent on the other, that is, the physical country - with or without frontiers, preferably without if it's possible - the topographical, geographical country, is perfectly tributary and dependent upon the spiritual, interior country, the inner life of every Quebecker. If every Quebecker *wanted* Quebec to exist, Quebec will *be* more surely than by means of any treaty and you know what they're worth - just ask any Esquimo."²³¹ In contrast to this country he does not condone the development of a country based on the power centralized in one leader and excessive

²³¹ Quoted in Canadian Composer (June, 1974) p.18. This infers that if a common vision is not achieved then there really is no Quebec. It is something else less desirable. In the past it has seemed like "a house we seem to have rented three centuries ago." "You have to want to own your own country first of all so that someday, perhaps, you can own part of it, or own it in some way at least" (p.16,18).

exploitation of the land for power.²³² He knew of the rich resources of his Quebec, the iron, titanium, nickel and copper and the youth to develop them, as shown in the song *Fer et Titane*, but realized the care needed to exploit them.²³³ Vigneault strongly threw his support behind the 'Yes' vote in the 1980 Referendum in favour of sovereignty. The 'Non' vote which won knocked the wind out of his musical sails for a few years after, as it did for many other quebécois artists.²³⁴

In 1992 Gilles Vigneault published a new book of songs, poems and tales still telling of the wonders in the lives of simple people and in nature.²³⁵ His songs remain ever optimistic and hopeful. In *Printemps* he expresses "Vous chanter partout / Et moi, je proclame: Printemps vient de vous!" - You sing everywhere and I proclaim: Spring comes to you!.²³⁶ A second song recommends "Amour est un beau langage Me faut l'apprendre" - Love is a beautiful language it is necessary for me to learn it. Those seemingly innocent songs, reflect, very much, the picture of other quebécois music in

²³² In discussing the song *La marche du président*, Smith (1984, p.55) says "La ruée vers l'or, vers le profit et vers l'expansionnisme menace la liberté individuelle, risque d'étouffer la poésie" - the rush towards gold, profit and expansionism threatens individual freedom and risks stifling poetry, those things most cherished by Vigneault. It is interesting to note that the Bourassa governments, past and present, have both pursued the expansionist, profit oriented directions for Quebec as the alternative to the direct separation platform.

²³³ Robitaille (1968) p.94. See the words for the song *Fer et titane* in Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.89-90.

²³⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.332-333.

²³⁵ Vigneault, Gilles, Bois de maree (Montreal: les nouvelles éditions de l'arc, 1992).

²³⁶ *ibid.* (pp.58-59) includes words and music.

the 90s, so far.

PAULINE JULIEN

Pauline Julien was known for her strong musical statements, especially in terms of Quebecoisness and equality of women. Her music had a very political 'trumpet blast' tone to it. Her real power was in her dynamic stage presence but she also recorded numerous record albums.²³⁷ She took on the role, willing or not, of an 'ambassador' of Quebec's life and renaissance.²³⁸ Her life, however, was one of coming to terms with her Quebec nature. Her liberated and forward image took on a political view in the eyes of the public because she associated herself very often with events promoting Quebec separation. As a person, however, she was foremost committed to the music and cultural change and not necessarily committed to a lot of the politics.

Pauline Julien, though born into a typical Quebec family in Cap-de-la-Madeleine, grew up wanting to become French and so she moved to France for almost the entire 1950s, during which time she began singing songs in the style of the French folk singers of La Rive Gauche and speaking and acting like a Parisien.²³⁹ She studied mime with Marcel Marceau, theatre, and dance, as well as singing in various parts of France

²³⁷ Calvet, Louis-Jean, Pauline Julien (Paris: Editions Seghers, 1974) p.26.

²³⁸ *ibid.*, p.14.

²³⁹ *ibid.*, pp.8-11; Guilbert, Alain, "Pauline Julien Quebec's first lady of song writes her own," Canadian Composer (Oct. 1974) p.5. She was very much drawn to the music of Leo Ferre, Boris Vian, Jacques Prevert, Anne Sylvestre and Bertholt Brecht.

meeting many of the French singers of the day.²⁴⁰ On returning to Quebec in the early 1960s, she found herself a foreigner in her native land. She moved from the cabaret scene and sought out the folk music scene in Montreal located in the *boite a chansons* and so began the conversion of herself back into a quebecois.²⁴¹ Through learning the music of the *chansonniers* she rediscovered her true heritage, which she had lost, or rather never really acknowledged before, and began to develop it, re-becoming a quebecois and reintegrating herself back into the Quebec environment.²⁴² Perhaps this was why her proclaiming of quebecoisness in her performances was so pronounced. At first (for 12 years) she interpreted other composer's songs, launching her popularity with Vigneault's song *Jack Monoloy*.²⁴³ She would, in time, perform many concerts both in Quebec and Europe, with Vigneault and other *chansonniers*. She also sang Levesque's *Bozo les Culottes* giving to it an extended meaning when she sang it for the Jura Swiss in Switzerland, who like some of the quebecois, were seeking separation from their

²⁴⁰ Rioux (1974) p.9.

²⁴¹ Rioux (1974) pp.11-13; Calvet (1974) p.12; Guilbert (1974) p.4. She gradually abandoned her French repertoire for a quebecois *chansonnier's* repertoire under the influence of Vigneault, Dor, Levesque and others. Calvet (p.11) says that at the point of first encountering the 'boite' scene she wore "un masque parisienne sur un peau quebecoise" - a Parisien mask over a quebecois skin.

²⁴² Calvet (1974) pp.12-13.

²⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.11,19; Guilbert (Oct. 1974) p.5. She was responsible for promoting or discovering musical, poetic, writing and theatrical works of many other quebecois artists thus furthering the collective quebecois cause (Guilbert, p. 5).

country.²⁴⁴ She used Claude Gauthier and Yvan Ouellette's song *Le Plus Beau Voyage* to convey to the public her own self-discovery and also their own collective re-identification with Quebec.²⁴⁵

Most important in Julien's work was her forceful stand for feminism. After many years she finally gained her own confidence to write and began expressing her own thoughts through songs, which involved a much more feminist view of what was going on in society.²⁴⁶ Pauline Julien became a role model for many quebecois, especially women. She sang of a new outlook on women. She approached this in a unique way. In her physical appearance and some of her gestures she very much filled the stereotypical image of what men demanded of women but she used this to her advantage by twisting this image and through singing and speaking out in ways that women of the time did not often do, showing to other women their own powerful facets. A primary theme of her feminist songs was the wall of silence existing between husband and wife in the French Canadian marriage, the wife being ignored while the husband sits drinking beer and watching TV.²⁴⁷ In her songs she took them from a state of fear of everything, in *Je Peur ...* to a state of full participation in and enjoyment of life (almost to wild abandon),

²⁴⁴ Calvet (1974) pp.23-24, p.19. The overt political nature of the song easily played on the sympathies of both the Jura and the quebecois.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp.139-140, p.22.

²⁴⁶ Julien quoted in Guilbert (Oct. 1974) pp.5-6. "I had things to say as a woman, as a singer, as a Quebecker, things that the others couldn't say for me."

²⁴⁷ Calvet (1974) pp.42-50.

in *Rire*.²⁴⁸ This signified the two opposites of quebécois women's life experiences and the passage of them from how they were, as suppressed people, to how they could be, as equal and free individuals partaking in all of life, some having already attained this point of progress. This indicates that values and choices had already begun to drastically shift in quebécois society. Even in the songs composed by others, she had often collaborated in setting the scene for the songs or had given the song her own feminine dimension.²⁴⁹ She sang of women becoming aware, taking actions, pursuing pleasure (sexual or otherwise). She sang of strong feminine figures who were able to break from confining socio-cultural barriers which had previously totally bound them (e.g. *Jack Monoloy*, *La Corriveau*, *La Manikoutai*).²⁵⁰ These songs were exemplary histories of how life and social situations could be changed. As her singing matured she struck more and more at the heart of personal life in the individual family. Her own compositions sounded as if they came direct from her own life experiences.²⁵¹ "Each song reflects something the writer has experienced, or something she feels strongly about" and "there is a story behind every one of her songs."²⁵² The personal, however, served as a

²⁴⁸ Julien, Pauline, Femmes De Paroles (Ville St-Laurent, Quebec: Kebec Disc) Audio recording KD-935. (audio cassette: tape 2).

²⁴⁹ Guilbert (Oct. 1974) p.5. Julien (quoted, p.5) says "When I pick them (other people's songs) it's because I like them. And I adopt them as if they were my own."

²⁵⁰ Calvet (1974) p.48. See Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.82-83, pp.238-239, pp.200-203, respectively for song lyrics.

²⁵¹ Calvet (1974) pp.44-45, pp.48-49. She normally used *je* and *tu*, the personal forms of me and you, together in her songs.

²⁵² Guilbert (Oct. 1974) p.6.

microcosm for the society in general.²⁵³

Through writing and singing about women, Julien was being political. Often what was said for feminism, also held for the quebécois cause and vice-versa. She felt both of these would ultimately lead to a more humane existence.²⁵⁴ In her song *Eille*, written in response to her arrest in October 1970, she expresses the same wish for freedom liberty as she does in her songs about women (e.g. *les Femmes*).²⁵⁵ This relationship did not stop just between the self and quebécois identity but extended further outwards to global identity. An example is her song *L'Etranger*, which closes with the lines "croyez-vous qu'il soit possible d'inventer un monde ou il n'y aurait plus d'Etranger? ..."²⁵⁶ In her personal performing style she communicated with the audience and made them participants, to break away the wall of silence normally found between them. She called on the audience to participate in action of change, progression and discovery in life.²⁵⁷ She respected her audiences but also spoke to them boldly, sometimes in ways shocking to traditionalists, using "la chanson engagée".²⁵⁸ Behind the scenes she collaborated extensively with technicians, musicians and composers. Pauline said that "quand on écrit

²⁵³ *ibid.*, p.50. She found the universal experience of culture in the personal, the particular led to the general, collectiveness through shared experience (p.47).

²⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.46.

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.6.

²⁵⁶ Calvet (1974) p.50. Do you believe that its possible to create/invent a world where there will be no more strangers? See also Guilbert (October 1974) p.6.

²⁵⁷ Calvet (1974) p.50.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.46. She sang songs which engaged the audience.

on se libere un peu".²⁵⁹ Acting on this thought not only helped her to liberate herself from personal problems but lifted her vision to see other possibilities in the way things were and express these to others. Her singing has taken her to France, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia, Cuba, and parts of Africa.²⁶⁰

GEORGES DOR

Georges Dor, poet and singer-songwriter, developed his music within the urban coffee house and club scene and then took this music back to the country and smaller cities and towns. He was not really interested in politics but rather in the ideas of Quebec and humanity; therefore, his most important passion and priority was always the individual universal consciousness of: who we are, where we come from and where we are going.²⁶¹ For Georges Dor real power is invested in song, for which the quebecois are thirsty and to which they drink, which provides input to this consciousness.²⁶² This is

²⁵⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.43. When one writes one liberates oneself a bit.

²⁶⁰ Canadian Composer (October 1974) p.6.

²⁶¹ Dor (1977, p.45) says "a moi dont les plus importantes rejoignent toujours la conscience universelle: qui sommes-nous? d'ou venons-nous? ou allons-nous?"

²⁶² *ibid.*, p.45. Dor says "La chanson a pris au Quebec une place d'autant plus preponderante que qu'il y avait ici un vide important a combler, aussi bien intellectuel qu'affectif." Song has taken a much more predominant place here than it had before, a vacuum to fill in, more intellectually than emotionally (p.77). This happened to coincide with social events of the time. "La chanson est spectacles et la poesie est reflexion ... La chanson est accompagnement de nos vies quotidiennes, a la surface de nos etres comme les vagues a la surface de la mer" - Song is spectacle and

a power greater than that of political power. Gaston Miron says of Dor: "c'est la voix riche et belle d'un homme qui parle pour tous les anonymes, ceux qui commencent d'avoir un visage et des paroles."²⁶³ This generated a point of socio-cultural identity between himself, other quebecois and song.

Saint-Germain in the canton de Grantham of the Eastern Townships was his birth place.²⁶⁴ To those Quebecers or others beyond this region, it was "une planete inconnu".²⁶⁵ Dor made it one of his priorities to visit and play music in the small places of Quebec and sing of them to others, to acknowledge them and make them a real part of Quebec (He turned down an offer of stardom in France, though he did travel there.)²⁶⁶ Saint-Germain was a home of les habitants but was also one of chips (French fries), coke and hotdogs.²⁶⁷ As a teenager, though he loved his home, he dreamed of

poetry reflection ... Song is the accompaniment of our daily lives, at the surface of our being like waves on the surface of the sea (p.78).

²⁶³ Preface to *ibid.*, p.8. His is a voice rich and beautiful of a man who speaks for all the anonymous people, those who are beginning to have a face and words. Within the milieu of the 1960's artists he was able to grasp both a consciousness of himself and the situation around and respond to this through poetry and music with great simplicity and spirit (p.7).

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp.16,20.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.20. Saint-Germain for most Quebecers was an unknown planet, a terra incognita.

²⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.62.

²⁶⁷ *ibid.* says "j'étais un habitant" (p.32) and "ce monde de 'patate frites' sel et vinaigre, de 'coke' et de 'hot dog' " (p.24).

leaving this plain where nothing happened except the weather and the strong winds.²⁶⁸ He was brought up on traditional folk and religious music and heard Charles Trenet and Yves Montagne but he also heard the Big Band music from the U.S., then Nat King Cole and other Americans on the 'juke box'.²⁶⁹ From Saint-Germain he went to Drummondville. He became more urbanized, living in a popular culture and music centred around the restaurant and the 'juke box'. "C'était le restaurant à la mode; on mangeait des 'hot-chicken sandwich' ... on y buvait des 'Coke' ... C'était cela notre culture québécoise d'alors dans les petites villes de province de nos vingt ans, cela et rien d'autre."²⁷⁰ This pushed him to learn more and in the process, he developed a sense as a separatist, culturally rather than politically.²⁷¹ He recognized that the québécois were lost in America where Anglo-Saxon culture dominated and québécois had no self-consciousness.²⁷² For Dor, it was Leclerc's music and personality that first gave him

²⁶⁸ *ibid.* (p.29) says "je commençai à rêver du jour où je pourrais quitter ce coin de terre natal, cette plaine que j'aimais pourtant mais où rien d'autre ne passait que le temps et les grands vents."

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, pp.23,29.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.* (p.31) comments that (the Taft) was a modern restaurant where we ate hot chicken sandwiches and drank coke and that was for us québécois culture in the small cities of Quebec when I was 20. That and nothing more.

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.31.

²⁷² *ibid.* (p.16) says of the québécois, "nous n'avons pas l'habitude de nous analyser, de nous situer ni dans le temps ni dans l'espace; les jeux de l'esprit, leur raffinement nous semblent interdits, et toutes nos vies auront été vécues sous le signe l'urgence-neige." - we are not in the habit of analyzing ourselves, of placing ourselves in time or space; the games of the spirit and their refinement seem forbidden to us and all our lives have in fact been under the sign 'l'urgence-neige', also reminding them of their connection with winter.

his quebécois consciousness.²⁷³ In 1952 Georges Dor came to Montreal to study theatre and lived on Edourd-Montpetit Boulevard.²⁷⁴ While there he became immersed in the milieu of the bohemians and artists (painters, comedians, singers, poets, writers), a bubbling and happy atmosphere, centred in 'underground' clubs like *La Petite Europe*.²⁷⁵ He left Montreal to work in radio, first in Amos and then in Trois Rivières and Sherbrooke, widening his experience of what Quebec was. He then began to write and compose.²⁷⁶ It was in 1959, having returned to Montreal, that he moved into the suburb of Longueuil. This place remained his home base.²⁷⁷ It was not until late 1964 that he first went to une boîte à chansons, La Butte à Mathieu, to sing, starting his

²⁷³ *ibid.* (p.25) claims that "(... LECLERC sont à l'origine de ma liberté.) La voix de Felix était vaste et large comme la plaine, et comme le fleuve aussi quand on le suit patiemment jusqu'à la mer; une voix qui ressemblait à celle des ancêtres" - Leclerc was at the beginning of my freedom. The voice of Felix was vast and large as the plains and also like the wide river (St. Lawrence River) as one patiently follows it to the sea, a voice resembling that of the ancestors. These are all memories of the qualities of his birth place. Dor queries, isn't Leclerc's *Notre Sentier* a way to follow, that we have in our families and in our ideas (p.27)? To an outsider there would be no connection, but to an insider?

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, pp.32-33.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp.35-36.

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*, pp.35,38,40. He wrote *Mémoires* which tells of his memories of Trois Rivières' physical and social landscape and its geographical and social position between Quebec (City) and Montreal (p.38). It was there that he published his first collection of poems, *Eternelles saisons* (p.40).

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp.42-43. He chose this environment because he was married with children and it was a much more conducive environment in which to raise children than Montreal, with green spaces between city and countryside - "d'espaces verts, entre la ville et la campagne" - and full of life (vivant) (p.43).

musical career opening for Monique Leyrac.²⁷⁸ After gaining a successful start in Montreal he went to Chandler in the Gaspé, near Percé, performing in une boîte a chanson called *La Sablier*.²⁷⁹ Then he moved on to Eastman in the Lac St. Jean region to play at *Theatre de la Marjolaine*.²⁸⁰ Returning to Montreal in 1967 he played several of the main venues over the next few years (e.g. La Butte a Mathieu, The Soviet pavilion at Expo '67, La Comedie Canadienne, les Clubs Richelieu) giving his last performance in Montreal at *theatre Port-Royal* in 1970.²⁸¹ Following the October crisis he left Montreal for Gaspé again, where he had more freedom to play, performing at *Centre d'Art* in Percé, then returning to Longueuil and opening a gallery for quebécois art, *galerie georges dor*.²⁸²

PATRICK NORMAND AND COUNTRY AND WESTERN

Country and western music became increasingly popular, especially in rural Quebec where it still maintains a strong place, causing a further marginalization of traditional

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.48.

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp.51-53. It was here he wrote his song for the workers on the Manic dam at Manicouagan, *La Manic*, which gained great popularity (p.53). It was through this song that his music gained access beyond the coffee house to radio and discotheques (p.57).

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p.56.

²⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp.57-61, pp.65,68.

²⁸² *ibid.*, pp.68-69.

folk music.²⁸³ Patrick Normand has played a lead role in its development in Quebec even though he spends much of his time in Nashville, Tennessee.

YE-YE MUSIC AND THE MAINSTREAM AUDIENCE

Ye-Ye music was targetted, by the music industry, at the enlarging and musically conscious adolescent audience; then it gradually spread to a large bulk of the population. The performers were an entirely new generation of singers who became les vedettes (stars), first in the cabarets and then on television.²⁸⁴ At the forefront of this mainstream music was Michel Louvain already known by 1957, followed by the main wave in 1964-65.²⁸⁵ With the coming of television to Quebec in 1961 a new platform, the quebécois equivalent of the American Bandstand TV show, *Jeunesse d'aujourd'hui* commenced, followed by other variety shows on which performers appeared.²⁸⁶ There were two main forms of ye-ye: solo singers (an extension of the earlier crooners) and charmers, and groups, with the formula lead singer, guitarist, bass player and drummer. Soloist crooners other than Louvin were ex-disc-jockey Pierre Lalonde from Saint-

²⁸³ Dostie (1978) p.6.

²⁸⁴ Giroux (1991) p.48.

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.70. Michel Louvain became star no. 1 in Quebec without ever singing any rock and roll, which had just hit in the United States. His style was a continuation of the crooner tradition. Up until this time there were no local idols (in terms of music) who the youth could turn to, singers like Leclerc were just too old and their style not appealing to them at that time.

²⁸⁶ Giroux (1991) p.48.

Jerome, and Donald Lautrec.²⁸⁷ Tony Roman was the solo rocker.²⁸⁸ Michele Richard from Sherbrooke became the Queen of ye-ye, capturing the hearts of adolescents both by her singing francophone versions of American songs as well as original quebécois material and by presenting a visual 'look' to be imitated by the youth.²⁸⁹ Ginette Reno was discovered by promoter Yvans Dufresne at the *Cafe provincial*. Although beginning as a strict ye-ye soloist her voice eventually transcended these limitations, and she diversified to various styles, reaching the hearts of almost all quebécois.²⁹⁰

Following the British 'mod' trend setting, music bands had to have a distinct visual image as well as sound. Les Classels dyed their hair and suits of clothes white and acted very eccentric; Cesar & Les Romans dressed in ancient Roman attire; and Les Gendarmes dressed like the French policemen.²⁹¹ The most popular group was Les Classels who drew material from French standards.²⁹² Another very popular group, Les Excentriques, from Saint-Hyacinthe had a folk-rock style mimicing somewhere between

²⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp.65-66. Lalonde was called the "Pat Boone quebécois". He became involved in television and eventually moved to New York in 1968 becoming Peter Martin of *The Peter Martin Show*.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.73.

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.73.

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.72. Elle est "peut-etre la plus grande interprete de variete du Quebec" - She is probably the greatest variety singer in Quebec. Yvan Dufresne was responsible for discovering many of the ye-ye performers and getting them widely known.

²⁹¹ *ibid.*, pp.56,54,62.

²⁹² *ibid.*, p.56.

the Beatles and American groups.²⁹³ Cesar & Les Romans, originating in their home region de l'Abitibi, performed in Quebec City before moving to Montreal 1965, playing at the *Cafe de l'Est* and later doing television spots.²⁹⁴ Towards the end of the sixties almost all their performances were outside Canada, in the U.S. and the West Indies.

The content of ye-ye songs was very superficial and materialistic, paralleling the current trend in the new environment of increasing modernity and prosperity. Just as in the contemporary American songs, they dealt with the daily issues preoccupying the minds of the teenage adolescents " (l'ecole, le cinema, la danse, les flirts, etc.)".²⁹⁵ Why are these musicians so important in terms of the geography of Quebec and the development of quebecois identity? Because their music directly influences the majority of the quebecois population, having a wider range than a lot of the chansonnier music. However, those that are reached by their 'sound' are much less politically or socially conscious and active than those reached by the chansonnier music. In general, quebecois music played a role in the process of social change, the chansonnier redefining the character of *le pays* and the ye-ye music integrating quebec in the broader national (Canada) and, to a greater extent, world systems.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ *ibid.*, p.75. Les Excentriques performed quebecois covers of Beach Boy songs (p.59). Some other bands of the time were Les Sinners and Les Tetes Blanche (Les Hou-lops) (pp.74-75).

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.54. Il "deviennent la coqueluche de la jeunesse quebecoise" (p.55). They became one of the representatives of quebecois music on the English TV series *Music Hop*.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.50.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.45. "la chanson quebecois joue un role actif dans le processus de ces changements, soit en tentant de redefinir la specificite du pays (chansonniers) , soit en tentant de l'integrer

OTHERS

There were other important contributors in the chansonnier movement but it is impossible to discuss all of them within this thesis. Some of them are Claude Gauthier (primarily known for his lyric writing), Monique Miville-Deschenes, Pierre Letourneau, and Pierre Calve.²⁹⁷

dans courant mondial, en imitant les sonorité a la mode (ye-ye)."

²⁹⁷ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.331. See Bernard (1969) for details on Miville-Deschenes (pp.41-6), Sylvain Lelievre (pp.71-75), Pierre Letourneau (pp.102-105), Claude Gauthier (pp.123-127), Marie Savard (pp.14-19), John-Paul Filion (pp.48-52) and others of the chansonnier tradition.

"My father told it to me ... as though he were giving me an inheritance. One of my uncles, the one who'd gone to California, had taken the easy northern route across Ontario and the prairies, then down the west coast lumber trails, without missing a single French messe along the way. All America is riddled like Swiss cheese, with pockets of French."

Clark Blaise

Tribal justice

Quoted in Louder and Waddell (1983)

"All my knowledge rests in my "French Canadianness" and nowhere else. The English language is a tool lately found... so late (I never spoke English before I was 6 or 7), at 21 ... The reason I handle English words so easily is because it is not my own language. I refashion it to fit French *images*."

Jack Kerouac

Quoted in Waddell (1990)

CHAPTER 10

THE FIRST (REGIONAL) GOLDEN AGE OF QUEBECOIS MUSIC, THE DECLINE AND THE SECOND (INTERNATIONAL) GOLDEN AGE (?)

1. FROM 1967 TO THE END OF 1976¹

After Expo '67 the coffee house music scene died and les boites began rapidly closing as something new was being looked for both socially and musically.² New sounds were still flooding into Quebec from the U.S. and Britain.³ Musically, socially and politically, "people were searching for an identity that wasn't French, that wasn't Canadian, that wasn't American - and yet was all of these things."⁴ What was found as a replacement direction for musicians was a 'revolution' in musical style and platform (political and larger venue). This was experienced as a mass social and musical phenomenon. There

¹ Normand Cormier, Ghislaine Houle, Suzanne Lauzier and Yvette Trepanier have prepared a rather comprehensive bibliography of books, periodical articles and newspaper references for this time period, entitled La Chanson Au Quebec 1965-1975, Bibliographies quebecoises No. 3 (Quebec: Bibliotheque Nationale Du Quebec, 1975). Unfortunately there is no commentary along with it.

² L'Herbier, Benoit, Charlebois, Qui Es-Tu? (Montreal: Les Editions De L'Homme Ltee, 1971) p.80-81; Guerard (1990) p.93. Dor (1977, p.58) said that by this time the chansonnier singing had become SHOW-BUSINESS instead of an underground movement.

³ Guerard (1990) p.93.

⁴ Griffen (1989) p.48.

was a desire in the air to break with existing institutions and construct more egalitarian ones.⁵ This generated an opening up to the world and new ideas but created tensions and contensions between student populations and 'the (old) establishment'.⁶ Numerous new political and social movements arose to try to replace the old.⁷ This fire was greatly fanned and fed by the visit of Charles de Gaulle, himself a symbol of France's freedom, to Quebec in 1967 and his proclaiming of "Vive le Quebec libre".⁸ There were few quebecois hearts untouched and unmoved by this event, even though de Gaulle probably was more concerned with France's relations with Quebec than with Quebec itself. Between the 1960s and 1980 almost all major quebecois musical artists had also performed benefits in support of separatist actions, while there were no benefits held for the Federalist cause inside Quebec.⁹ Four-fifths of all musical benefits in Quebec were related to the cause of independence.¹⁰ The beginning half of this period was the

⁵ Giroux (1991) p.79.

⁶ *ibid.*, p.79.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.80. Of great importance were the starting of feminist groups, urban citizen's committees, and the beginning of CEGEP community colleges.

⁸ Levesque (1986) p.152.

⁹ Aube (1990, p.116) said that " la mobilisation sous la banniere independentiste a ete generale (plus de 94% de tous les auteur-compositeur-interpretes qui se sont produits). Il ne faut donc pas s'etonner de constater que la cause federaliste n'ait ete l'objet d'aucun spectacle-benefice au cours de la decennie 1970."

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.117. It must be noted that in Aube's survey the numerous benefits for international aid and human rights agencies (e.g., Oxfam, Amnesty International) or Canadian national health agencies were considered non-political because, he says, their objectives were purely humanitarian (p.111). Therefore, it appears in his overall analyses that quebecois musicians were apathetic towards global causes when they weren't. He does say that their

Golden Age of Quebec music within the province and the extension of this influence into all francophonic (French-speaking lands in the world).¹¹ The second half of the period (after the 15th of November 1976, when the Parti Quebecois came into power in the provincial government) marked the drop off and decline in the relationship between music and political action. Other events were important as well. One musical event (*l'Ossitcho* in 1968) and one political event (the October crisis and the accompanying War Measures Act of 1970) especially impacted on quebecois music, politics and culture.¹² The imposing of the War Measures Act on Quebec by the Federal government meant a temporary freezing of political and cultural activity, thereby forcing artists, as observers of society, to become involved more actively as participants in the cultural landscape.¹³ Imprisonment of a large number of quebecois nationalists, in particular, drew the attention and sympathy of singers to the political situation, bringing

humanitarian work increased in the late 70s (p.111).

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.116.

¹² *ibid.*, p.67. The War Measures Act is an Act of Parliament which can be exercised by the Government of Canada in a time of National crisis. It enabled the government to exercise military force within the region of concern (in this case the Province of Quebec). It permitted entry into homes, confiscation of personal materials, breaking up of group gatherings and detention of individuals without warrants without legal recourse for the individuals involved.

¹³ Giroux (1991) p.79. "En l'espace de quelques heures, le Quebec se reveille litteralement assiege par l'armee canadienne" leaving a scar on the psyche of the quebecois. I personally remember the tense and strained atmosphere of this time. There was a threat to any group of people, greater than about four, gathering together in public. Anyone suspected of any separatist connections, no matter how harmless, could expect to have their home raided or to even be arrested.

them into action.¹⁴ One of those arrested was singer Pauline Julien.¹⁵ With the lifting of the Act on January 16, 1971, singers offered their support in collaborative efforts to free political prisoners and restore Quebec back to health and along a new path of development.¹⁶ These were just two of the larger manifestations of the contest for control between the Federal Government and the Quebec government, symbolized in the personalities of Pierre Trudeau and Rene Levesque, respectively.¹⁷ Strikes of union workers were also supported by musicians. The Radio-Canada strike in front of the offices on Dorchester Boulevard in Montreal resulted in the arrest of 29 people; included in this group was singer Georges Dor.¹⁸ Others became heavily involved in non nationalist charities as well.¹⁹ In the turmoil, the quebecois had to reassess and reassert their identity again: the results were manifest in a myriad of ways, from shouting of slogans, waving of the fleur de lys (Quebec's flag), returning to the land, communal lifestyles, etc.²⁰

¹⁴ Aube (1990) pp.67-68.

¹⁵ Rioux (1974) p.5. This generated for her an image which in one sense boosted her career in terms of quebecois popularity but limited her because, although she was a nationalist, this was not her only direction nor necessarily her first priority.

¹⁶ Aube (1990) p.68.

¹⁷ Giroux (1991) pp.79-80.

¹⁸ Dor (1977) p.43.

¹⁹ Champagne, Jane, "Yvon Deschamps," Canadian Composer (March 1974, p.10). Champagne discusses Deschamps' year of service he donated to Oxfam doing benefits and radiothons.

²⁰ Giroux (1991) p.80. "Outre la recherche d'une affirmation politique, la crise d'identite du peuple quebecois se manifeste sous differentes formes: Valorisation du folklore, de l'artisanat,

After the rapid rise of popularity of Robert Charlebois there was a massive upsurge of new music and musical groups in Quebec.²¹ It was the age of revolution in song and the age of quebecois show-business where Charlebois was king of quebecois music and 'anything went'.²² "Suddenly, there were new bands, new singers, all wanting to play pop, sing in French, and *do it all here*" in Quebec.²³ The main trend of the time was collective, rather than solo, creation of music: era of the pop bands.²⁴ This coming of Quebec into the modern ages, was not merely a revolution in Quebec detached from the world.²⁵ The year 1967 not only marked the centenary of Canadian Confederation, it was the year of great musical explosions in Britain and the United States and of tremendous social upheaval. It was when LSD became a common drug (one intimately tied to the music scene) and free (in price and morality) social events multiplied: 'freakouts', 'Be-Ins', 'Love-Ins', 'happenings', and Peace marches together formed 'The

retour a la terre, vie communautaire, prolifération du fleur-de-lyse. Meme les slogans publicitaires ..."

²¹ As Griffen (1989, p.46) says, it was an opening of the floodgates.

²² Dor (1977) p.66.

²³ Dostie (1978) claims that the rock phase of quebecois music was an extension built on top of a long established folk tradition. "What's happening in Quebec today is therefore the normal outcome of an historical movement rather than a mere fad" (p.6) and that "this product of oral tradition, folk music, supported by new electronic technology of an aural nature, remained a staple while the classical sphere found itself out-of-step, almost out-of-touch" (p.8) - i.e. the quebecois were re-inventing rock music in terms of Quebec's past tradition and present social context just as "the melange of black and white traditions produced rock and roll" (p.8).

²⁴ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.334.

²⁵ Giroux (1991) p.79.

Summer of Love'.²⁶ This was the rise of 'flower children' and 'flower power', gurus, pot, and so on, plus the escalation of war in Vietnam, creating immense social distress in the United States.²⁷ In America, the Jefferson Airplane's psychedelia spread nationwide as did the autobiographical music of the Mamas and the Papas. From Britain, Pink Floyd, the Who, the Cream and Jimi Hendrix sent shock waves through Britain and North America. At the pinnacle of this change was the release of *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album by the Beatles.²⁸ English Canada had its own smaller scale music explosion during this period with veterans (of the early 60s) Ian Tyson, Sylvia Fricker, Stompin' Tom Connors, Leonard Cohen and Gordon Lightfoot opening the way for Neil Young, Joni Mitchell, Bruce Cockburn, Murray McLauchlin, The Guess Who and The Band who followed soon after.²⁹ Each rose in prominence from a local talent to a national or international hero. Quebec's music was part of this tidal wave of change.

²⁶ Taylor, Derek, It Was Twenty Years Ago Today An Anniversary Celebration Of 1967 (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1987) is a chronicle of significant events of 1967. A summary chart of events appears on pp.246-251.

²⁷ Guerard (1990) p.88. The Vietnam war touched the hearts of many Quebecers as well. Claude Leveillee wrote an anti-war song, something rare in quebécois music up until that time, *Le petit soldat de chair*, inspired by the devastation of this war. See pp.215-216 for words to the song.

²⁸ Taylor (1987).

²⁹ Adria, Marco, Music Of Our Times - Eight Canadian Singer-Songwriters (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Publishers, 1990); Fetherling, Douglas, some day soon - Essays on Canadian Songwriters (Kingston, Ontario: Quarry Press, 1991); and Hogan, Homer and Hogan, Dorothy (ed.s), Listen! Songs and Poems of Canada (Toronto: Methuen Canadian Literature Series, 1972). Cohen, Young, Mitchell, and Lightfoot all went to California, only Lightfoot more permanently returning to Canada.

only it went unnoticed in the English-speaking 'world'.³⁰ With only a few exceptions, quebecois music was still partially trapped within the region of Quebec, with only one outlet through France to Europe and francophonie.³¹ The close of this period is probably marked by the two concerts (one in Quebec City, one in Montreal) presented by five great living legends of quebecois music, Vigneault, Leveillee, Charlebois, Ferland and Deschamps, and significantly coincided with Heritage Week and Saint-Jean- Baptiste Day, both of nationalistic importance.³² The impact of this one series of concerts alone was immense since it was witnessed live by an estimated almost half a million Quebecers in a population of only about six million.³³ By this time Quebec had

³⁰ The only quebecois music which touched English Canada was traditional folk. With the exception of Jean Carignan's fiddling, most of this was in the form of watered down versions of the real thing or, as Dostie (1978, p.6) puts it, "artificial rusticity" like the Feux Follets, which many quebecois abhorred or were disinterested in.

³¹ Francophonie consists of France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland in Europe; many countries in north, west and central Africa, plus Madagascar; Vietnam and Laos in Asia; various islands in the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean; the previous French Guiana in South America; locations in the Middle East; and of course Canada and parts of the United States. There are smaller groups of French-speaking peoples in other locations.

³² See "One time only: Five of Quebec's great singers on record together", Canadian Composer (Nov. 1976) p.28. The event in Quebec City was supported by Radio-Quebec, the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs and other ministries. The event in Montreal was supported by the Comite des Fetes Nationales de la Saint-Jean. This showed that Quebec's structures of the music business were well under development.

³³ *ibid.*, p.28. Television personality Lise Payette called it "Beyond a shadow of a doubt, the greatest event in the history of Quebec chanson" (quoted, p.28.)

established the basics of its own musical infrastructure.³⁴

ROBERT CHARLEBOIS

Robert Charlebois is a self-proclaimed universalist in thinking but for Quebecers he became an icon of quebécois nationalism.³⁵ He composed and performed his music to the pulse of modern city life and rock and roll, throwing away the garb of the chansonnier and the lounge crooner, releasing himself from the bonds of Quebec traditional music.³⁶ This is not unusual because he grew up in Montreal and this was his only early experience of life. He saw Quebec as firmly fixed in America and set about to strengthen that relationship in the minds of the listeners. His compositions, in fact, made Quebec appear as American as possible. *Lindberg*, for example not only brought to Quebec a new musical 'sound', it brought an acknowledgement of American technology (the Airplane) to replace outdated cultural symbols of The Church and State (liberty from Duplessis as mentioned in the song). The Airplane brought with it a fairly

³⁴ Giroux (1991) p.81. For example, the founding of recording companies like Kebek-Spec, the formation of annual music festivals as focusses for raising new talent like *le Festival de la chanson de Granby* and the extensive connections between local artists and television and radio stations.

³⁵ The is far from his his image on stage as a crooner.

³⁶ Some feel that the chansonnier tradition went into decline from this time on but I agree with Vigneault (quoted in *Canadian Composer*, June 1974, p.10) that "la chanson would take another course, that's all, to end up somewhere else, under other names, but still la chanson." The impulse and motivations would still be the same.

new concept for the quebécois, travel.³⁷ Up until this time few had travelled and those that did took only short voyages unless they were going to France. This gave the quebécois encouragement in experiencing the wider world, a process they had only recently begun, which especially consisted of travel to the United States and towards the sun.³⁸ He did not stop with airplanes but also included cars (like the Tornado, Desoto and Eldorado in *Delores*) as an important contribution of technology, again encouraging the theme of travel.³⁹ *Lindberg* was one of the few quebécois songs to transcend the musical barrier around quebécois music and gain wide acceptance in the English-Canadian and U.S. markets. It could not, however, pass as a fully French song but was rather a merging of English, French and commercialism. *Lindberg* and many songs to follow were also highly influenced by Charlebois' visit to California which transformed him as an individual and thus his music.⁴⁰

It was May 1968, au Theatre de Quat'Sous, when Robert Charlebois along with a group of musicians and singers (Jazz Libre du Quebec, Louise Forestier, Mouffe et Yvans Deschamps) co-produced their own show l'Ossidcho which generated a different

³⁷ In the words of the song *Quebecair* becomes part of the global air transportation network, including Transworld and Pan American. Quebec is connected not isolated, if the quebécois themselves want to acknowledge this.

³⁸ And away from the land of winter, Quebec. Eventually the quebécois would establish a form of colony in Florida.

³⁹ L'Herbier (1971) p.115.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.80. "La Californie, avec les hippies, l'acide et la musique, l'avait littéralement transformé. Il n'était plus le même homme." - California with its hippies, acid and music (at the height of psychedelia) literally transformed him. He was no longer the same person.

ambience (more relaxed and slack, not worrying about professionalism or perfection), worked toward demystifying stardom and introduced a new 'sound' (of 'acid rock' and 'rhythm and blues').⁴¹ The effect of the show was like an explosion on the music scene which launched Charlebois into the forefront of quebécois music but also had a deranging effect on the public and others in the music business.⁴² The album following the show Robert Charlebois - Louise Forestier (released in November 1968), contained both the more American and universal sounds and themes, in songs like *Californie*, while still touching on Canadian and Quebec themes (e.g. *C.P.R. Blues*).⁴³ To these foreign influenced sounds he added a very unique and personal dynamism and spirit. In the song, *Californie*, Charlebois lyrically retraced for Quebeckers his journey of discovery within Californian life, which turned out to be like a pilgrimage, reaffirming an image (both mythical and real) already held throughout the U.S. and English Canada.⁴⁴ Charlebois, and other performers like Offenbach, also brought the blues into the forefront of quebécois music.⁴⁵ This was a sign of the times. Ethnomusicologist Gerald Cote lists

⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp.81,111. A second *l'Osstidcho King Size* was held in September 1968 at *la Comedie Canadienne* and a last (*l'Osstidcho meurt*) was held at Place des Arts in January 1969, already having conquered the music scene (p.81). See also pp.112-113 and Normand (1981) p.94.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.111. Forestier later admitted that these shows did not demystify anything but created new smokescreens of understanding between performers and audiences.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.112-113.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.112-113.

⁴⁵ Cote, Gerald, "Les connotations du blues au Quebec" in Witmer, Robert (ed.) Ethnomusicology in Canada Perspectives, Methods, Problems, Proceedings of the first conference on Ethnomusicology in Canada, Toronto (May, 1988) p.78.

a series of meanings into which the quebecois have transformed the meaning of the use of the blues from the black context into the quebec context.⁴⁶ Firstly with the upheaval of old morals and social mechanisms, marriages dropped by half and there was a marked tendency towards individual independence; therefore, separation, infidelity, relationships out of wedlock, divorce and single parent families soared, causing a rent in the heart of the quebecois.⁴⁷ Secondly, the blues became an anthem for revolution and a move towards America to counter Quebec's feeling of solitude and depression in their alienation from America. This also included the social alienation of individuals within the increasingly material social order.⁴⁸ This revolution called for a modification of the entire basis of Quebec life.⁴⁹ The blues, as in Charlebois' *Que-Can Blues*, were a protest and critique of the social order, old and new.⁵⁰ This critique, contesting the authority of most institutions, was shared right across North America and the world. Lastly, there were movements in the world, perhaps one of the most prominent being the

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.78. Initially the blues were the means by which black slaves coped with their captivity and struggles of living.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.79.

⁴⁸ *ibid.* (p.79) gives the example of Raymond Levesques song *La Main dans la poche* which says *La main dans la poche, chacun sa monnaie / C'est la solitude la main dans la poche / C'est ce qui nous separe toute notre vie ... Chacun pour soi, chacun sa petit vie* - The hand in the pocket, each has his own money. That is the solitude the hand in the pocket (never extended to others). That is what separates our lives ... Everyone for himself, each with their own little life.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.79. There was really a common movement across America where everyone feeling alienation, especially the blacks in the U.S. but also especially many youth, were singing out their sufferings (p.80).

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.80.

surge of the 'Baby Boomers, post-World War II, who demanded a new set of needs and wants. The blues expressed their strivings.⁵¹

Essentially, Charlebois expressed himself as a composer through the music and had others write the lyrics for his tunes, but there was an incredible unity between the words and music to the point that one would find it impossible to separate the words from Charlebois himself. He, and the lyricists he collaborated with, recognized that language was a great barrier between people and yet saw how within local environments the boundaries between languages often became mixed and firm lines of language indistinct. The language of the street was not a cultured language but a crude one full of slang and swearing. His songs, therefore, reflected this aspect of the nature of Quebec daily urban life. He sang in 'French' but not Parisian French, nor chansonnier French, nor international forms of French. "No, he's howling his brains out in *joual*, the local jargon of the working stiff, known to everyone and generally understood to be something you send your kids to school to unlearn."⁵² Joual was natural, and counter to the stilted language of the mainstream singers, especially those from France. It was Quebec's equivalent to slang from anywhere else in the world. As in English Canada 'I'm gonna'

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.81.

⁵² Griffen (1989) p.44. Joual is really a term applying to the language used in certain working class districts of Montreal, however, similar forms of language were present in many parts of Quebec where English and French-speaking workers had intermixed. Vigneault (June, 1974, p.14) explains that in each region within Quebec (and there are many) there are also local forms of French (*patois*) which are not the same thing as joual, a bastardized mixture of languages. For him, and most other quebécois artists, speaking French is essential. "I call the French language, *Langage*, *mon doux pays* ... it's through you I know best how to give myself and say to everyone, 'je t'aime'" - quoted in CC p.14.

and 'I wanna' have replaced 'I am going to' and 'I want to' so have *chu*, *qu'y a* and *c't'un* replaced 'je suis', 'qu'il y a' and 'c'est un'.⁵³ Charlebois also used joul to pattern the rhythm of the music. *Que/Can Blues* contains all of these elements (i.e. - American, rock and urban sound, slang and fractured word combinations) but included with it political commentary on the tensions between Quebec and the rest of Canada. It also contained symbols of place (Montreal and Ste. Catherine Street) and Quebec history (Jacques Cartier).⁵⁴ With the use of immense humour he expressed language, as something with both universal and local characteristics, as he played with mixing English and French words together and created new word meanings by joining words together in strings. This was a very post-modernist approach to music but not limited to a deconstructionist mode. He created strong positive images and new ideas with which people could recognize and identify. One predominant image in his songs is *le soleil* (the sun).⁵⁵ It symbolized certain aspects of the Promised Land (the U.S.) to the south but also was a response to what was lacking in quebecois society. It was what Charlebois hoped to bring more of to the society through other images (planes, cars and pot), to open the minds of the people. Quebec was a land of physically long winters and clouded sky, but was also, he felt, a social landscape covered by a socio-cultural blanket which

⁵³ L'Herbier (1971) p.114.

⁵⁴ The American rock was rooted in Black American blues music. For words to the song see Milliere (1978) pp.165-167.

⁵⁵ L'Herbier (1971, pp.114-115) claims that the theme of the sun (versus lack of sun - winter) is at the core of Charlebois' communication with his quebecois audience.

forcibly restrained an exuberance in the people.⁵⁶ But "il se moque de l'hiver," singing: "Je m'en vais dans le Sud, au soleil / Je vous laisse 'mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays, c'est l'hiver'".⁵⁷ For those who stayed in Quebec, *mon pays* became urban. The suppression of the people was no longer the physical environment and tradition but being lower working class. Charlebois sang "Mon pays ce n'est pas un pays c'est un job ...".

Charlebois was also instrumental in creating, by example, a new musical *appearance* for the quebecois artists, one of showmanship and extroversion, which began showing up in the works of other singers (e.g. Diane Dufresne). He was the ultimate 'clown'. He was "Plein d'humour, plein d'energie".⁵⁸ Charlebois shocked Quebeckers into being bolder and more brash. Griffen remarks "You don't know it's Robert Charlebois ... right away, because whatever is screaming into the microphone right now is wearing a lone ranger mask, a red sequined Canadiens hockey sweater, and silver 'glam' bell-bottoms so dazzling you're screaming for your shades" and that's not even including "his electrified mountain of hair".⁵⁹ For outsiders this was not an image characteristic of their understanding of French-Canadians. Neither was it a characteristic image from the point of view of insiders. He was a master composer and arranger of music. But it

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.115.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.333. He mocked the *chansonnier* image of winter singing I'm going down south to the sun. I leave you to your 'my country is not a country it's winter' (poking fun at Vigneault).

⁵⁸ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.333. Charlebois was full of humour and energy.

⁵⁹ Griffen (1989) p.44. Many of the symbols he wore were central symbols of American pop culture but the Canadiens hockey sweater was perhaps Quebec's most treasured symbol.

caught an under-current of quebécois feeling of the time not yet expressed until his 'sound' arrived. Somehow the joul "fits here, against the raging backbeat, the progressive jazz-fills, and the firebomb guitars - almost as though the will of the people has suddenly been expressed through the absurdly simple, sweaty coupling of street lingo and rock 'n' roll."⁶⁰ In *The Frog Song* Charlebois reverses the meaning of the term *frog*, used as a derogatory term by many English Canadians towards French-Canadians.⁶¹ Not only vocally but visually, he would appear on stage wearing a 'Superfrog' t-shirt. Thus it became respectable to be 'a frog' who sang *Alouette*. Robert Charlebois, as a clown, filled a specific social role in the quebécois landscape, pointing out some of the realities of life that we often misperceive in our not paying enough attention to ourselves and what is going on around. As such, he is a social conscience. His songs were a landscape in themselves of signs and things (items) which made the culture of the time, perhaps the things which were most meaningful to the general public. In *La Revolté*, Charlebois sang of "Peace and Love, LSD, Dapper Dan and USA", as a string of post-modernist matches.⁶² Many of his songs remind one of driving into the city and being confronted with the long line of bill-boards, shopping plazas, restaurants, gas stations, and so on, one right after the other, each covered with many advertisements

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.44.

⁶¹ Charlebois, Robert, longue distance (Montreal: Solution) Audio recording SN 905. In this song he uses both French and English language, saying in English that if you kiss me I'll turn into something (a Prince) different from what you think I am. (audio cassette: tape 2).

⁶² Dapper Dan was a clothing store in Montreal which sold blue jean pants.

overloading you with messages. In many respects Charlebois 'told it like it is' rather bluntly.

In spite of his international thoughts, Charlebois was very sensitive to the urban environment of Montreal in which he lived. He was sensitive to the changing political and social trends within North America and particularly Quebec. In the song *Cartier* a historical geography of the founding of Quebec and Montreal are presented. The piece starts out with 'natural' sounds rising louder and turning into unusual sounds representing human and urban presence. Cartier is the symbol of the French fact in America.⁶³ The song becomes somewhat of a travelogue of parts of the City of Montreal, a symbol and centre for new quebécois culture. Sherbrooke Street, St. Laurent Boulevard, and Pont Victoria pass by while the mention of Montreal is repeated throughout the song. In *Les Ailes d'un anges* Charlebois reinforces that Quebec is the place to go (specifically Montreal though not stated openly in the song), the name **Quebec** being invoked with emphasis many times during the song.⁶⁴ The music is a non-traditional mix of a jazzy sound in many layers mixed with other elements, short choruses of people and the sounds of a motor cycle driving away. To further break from tradition, Charlebois pokes fun at Vigneault's *Mon Pays* and its sentimentality with his own *Mon Pays ce n'est pas un pays c'est un job*. It provides a very different view, one of the city life of 'survival before

⁶³ Cartier is a national hero for Quebec but is presented in the song in a very low key, light hearted manner in contrast to the blatantness of American heroes.

⁶⁴ The song says that "I've gone to Ottawa and Toronto and they are O.K. but ... Quebec is the place to go." Les Anges of the song refers to the **Hell's Angels** motor cycle gang.

nation' plus an immense string of flashing images like blinking neon lights highlighting elements of Quebec culture (e.g. Montreal *Matin*) and American culture that have infiltrated it.

In the end Charlebois sees himself as just an ordinary guy.⁶⁵ Though the words of the song *Ordinaire* were written by his wife Mouffe, they capture Charlebois' view of the people and himself as ordinary and the conflict within him between his public star image as "un chanteur populaire" and his own personal image of himself. It also suggests that his personal ideas and music come before politics or social action. As the song says - you think that I'm God but ... I smoke pot, drink beer and play guitar with my friend - just like any ordinary person does.⁶⁶ But in the process of being an ordinary joe in blue jeans, he opened the quebécois consciousness to its (culturally) "being a French island in a sea of English; a fragile vibrant culture tied on the one hand to France and Europe, and on the other, bound to the brash, trash commercialism and open-highway fantasies of the States."⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Tetu de Labsade (1990, p.333) adds to Charlebois, "un gars ben ordinaire" - mais tres quebécois - but very quebécois.

⁶⁶ This is not too far off the mark for many youth and young adults of the day.

⁶⁷ Griffen (1989) p.46.

YVON DESCHAMPS⁶⁸

Yvans Deschamps was a master monologist as well as singer-song writer. He developed and performed numerous satirical sketches, many of which took bites at the social and political happenings of the day. Georges Dor claims that Deschamps was the more important result of *l'Ossitcho* than Charlebois because he is "un homme de PAROLE ... (et) les Quebecois etant et restant encore et toujours d'incorrigibles 'parlotteux'!"⁶⁹ It was at this event that Deschamps launched himself as a monologist (with musical background). In his act "He stands up there on stage all by himself and talks" instead of pulling tricks and wisecracks as most of the English-speaking comedians did.⁷⁰ This worked for a few reasons. Firstly, the quebecois seem eternally steeped in oral tradition. Then "He takes a subject we all know something about: Freedom, women's lib, prejudice, the boss, the wife - life" and looks it over from all sides challenging the audience's experiences and views, showing how absurd some of their understandings are and making them laugh at themselves."⁷¹ "In short he talks about the problems and the joys and the sorrows we all have, the everyday tragedies of everyday

⁶⁸ Deschamps, Yvon, six ans d'monologues 1974-1980 (Ottawa: Edicompo Inc, 1981) provides a good overview of his works.

⁶⁹ Dor (1977) p.66. The quebecois are and always will be incorrigible talkers (chitchatters). Deschamps mimiced this, his audiences responding to their reflection in his monologue piece.

⁷⁰ Champagne (March 1974) p.5. He either plays a character talking to the audience or he converses directly with the audience jesting and taunting, in both cases throwing in a healthy dose of Quebec slang (p.8).

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.6.

life lived by the average man ... He strikes a chord in his audiences because he personifies what life is (for them) - a string of clichés."⁷² One of his main characters is the 'little man' in one sense representing the quebécois common man suppressed by Les Anglais, tradition or whatever. In another sense he is the universal little man because "After all we're all the same under the skin; we're all human, we have the same problems and fantasies."⁷³ In other characters "He personifies an abstract concept: Racism, in the monologue *L'Intolerance*; male chauvinism in *La Liberation de la femme*; freedom, in *La Liberte*."⁷⁴ Through this mechanism "Deschamps pulls our prejudices out into the open and shines the bright, hard light of his wit on them until we see how absurd they are."⁷⁵ The transferral of his humour into an English setting is only accomplished with great difficulty, as witnessed by the fact that no matter where in Quebec he plays it is always to a full house, while of his Toronto show he says, "This will be the first time I've played to a house that isn't sold out."⁷⁶ In the course of his career Deschamps did write many songs, one of these *Aimons-nous* is about the

⁷² *ibid.*, p.8.

⁷³ Deschamps quoted in *ibid.*, p.10. This character born during *l'Osstidcho* was perhaps not that far off Deschamps' own background of working class Saint-Henri in Montreal (p.8).

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p.6. A recording of *l'intolerance* and another interesting piece *l'histoire du canada* are found on Deschamps, Yvon, *on va s'en sortir* (1ere partie) (Polydor Records Canada Limited, 1972) Audio recording 2424 062.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.6.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p.5.

quebecois' favourite preoccupation, love."⁷⁷

RENEE CLAUDE

Renee Claude proclaimed the entrance of the new age of quebecois life and music with songs such as *Le debut d'un temps nouveau*.⁷⁸ It had a rosy, 'everything is positive and fresh' atmosphere which reflected the optimism stirring up within the urban social environment of the time. In fact this reflected merely Quebec's part in a phenomenon happening right across America and parts of Western Europe, a new awakening and coming alive to new ideas: but it was a living of life through unrealistic 'rose coloured glasses'. In the place-specific song *La rue de la Montagne* she describes this new environmental feeling as it exhibited itself within a certain district centered around part of one street in Montreal.⁷⁹ Symbolic of the best feelings of the time it was a place that was alive (*vivant*), which sang (*qui chante*) and where you came to 'lose your head but rediscover your heart'. Behind Renee Claude's musical interpretations were various quebecois composers. One of these, Luc Plamondon, was to play a very strong role behind the scenes of many of the music stars in shaping quebecois and international

⁷⁷ For words and music see le Quebec en Chansons, Vol. 2 (Montreal: Les Editions Intermede Inc., 1981) pp.58-61.

⁷⁸ Claude, Renee, Le Debut D'Un Temps Nouveau (Barclay) Audio recording 80087. (audio cassette: tape 2).

⁷⁹ *ibid.* (audio cassette: tape 2).

music, becoming a star in his own right.⁸⁰ Her appeal was not only her optimism but also the free spirit, specifically in the sense of feminism and 'free' morality, an image very important in a time of change from rigid moral systems to very loose ones.⁸¹

RENE SIMARD

Rene Simard played an important social role as child singer who eventually emerged as an adult singer. His sister followed suit during the following musical periods. Their audience grew with them, Nathalie Simard surpassing her brother by still being near the top of today's French language music charts in Quebec. They brought to the young quebecois generation a generous helping of both the traditional songs from France, the modern Quebec pop sounds and French language versions of the British and American pop songs. Rene became the perfect example of the pure American singing star while Nathalie has begun to mature into her own styles.⁸² Their contribution to what went into the quebecois identity should not be under-estimated.

⁸⁰ Norman (1981) p.134. Plamondon wrote 10 songs for Renee Claude's album Je reprends mon souffle in the early 1960s. Giroux (1991) p.88. Also very important was composer Stephane Venne who composed both *La rue de la Montagne* and *Le debut d'un temps nouveau*.

⁸¹ Giroux (1991) p.88.

⁸² *ibid.*, p.104.

CLAUDE DUBOIS

Claude Dubois, was in the eyes of the music business the potentially new generation chansonnier, but Dubois, in the style of the age, refused to follow the system.⁸³ He thus generated an 'enfant terrible' image.⁸⁴ His directions were towards discovering "people who lived lives different from ours and for other young people who had, as he had, enrolled in the 'university of the world.'"⁸⁵ His explorations led him to assess his personal roots, once he had found out that he was part Indian and he became concerned about social and political issues of the day.⁸⁶ His wanderings took him to Yorkville in Toronto, to London, Los Angeles and a host of other places.⁸⁷ His songs are a mixture, some of rural landscape (e.g. *Labrador*), others urban landscapes and social issues (e.g. *Femmes De Societe*).⁸⁸ Best known is perhaps his *Comme Un Million De Gens*, a song about daily life of average people.⁸⁹ Musically he recorded in Paris and Los Angeles.

⁸³ Vincent, Pierre, "Coming home to settle down to become a star" in Canadian Composer (March, 1973) p.20.

⁸⁴ Giroux (1991) p.89. Griffen (1989, p.50) calls this Dubois' "rock 'n' roll outlaw attitude."

⁸⁵ Vincent (1973) p.20.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p.20. One of his friends was Paul Rose, arrested for his participation in the Cross-Laporte kidnapping. He had a period of composing message songs like, *La Pollution* from which he moved into "writing simple songs that will make people happy".

⁸⁷ Giroux (1991) p.89.

⁸⁸ Dubois, Claude, Dubois 64-84, Profil Vol. 2 (Anjou, Quebec: Disques Pinguin, 1984) Audio recording PN-105.

⁸⁹ For lyrics see Milliere (1978) pp.170-171.

as well as in Quebec. He was "consistent in his ideas and opinions" and dress - "everything is for real" rather than an artificially planned star image.⁹⁰ The image changed somewhat over time but remained basically the now common blue jean look of the youth or the more macho biker (as in motorcycle) look, both from the streets.

HARMONIUM

Harmonium were the quebecois equivalent of the American and British 'supergroup' who composed and performed thematic albums containing extended pieces of music with large instrumental breaks.⁹¹ Of significance in their career is that they tried to break into the American and English-Canadian markets, doing tours in California and Toronto as part of this effort.⁹² Though their music was fairly enthusiastically received by those who attended the concerts and their records did make inroads into the English-speaking music market, there still remained a politeness of reception that echoed the thought "but it's in French and I don't understand". This was a time of communal music, jamming and exploring for new extensions of music. Clubs had become fewer but other venues, like college auditoriums and cultural centres, which also had the space for the more

⁹⁰ Vincent (1973) p.18.

⁹¹ Griffen (1989, p.50) says "they snared the Quebecois passion for British progressive rock bands such as Yes, Genesis, and Supertramp by incorporating arty keyboards and creating mini-orchestral works".

⁹² *ibid.*, p.50.

elaborate technical set ups of the bands, were being used for shows.⁹³ Harmonium's first album sent shock waves through the music scene with its refreshing liveliness. Its opening piece speaks about 'living every minute' ⁹⁴ Les cinq saisons and L'heptade still remain as landmark musical recording that took a 'great themes' approach to social change.⁹⁵

LOUISE FORESTIER

Louise Forestier, like Vigneault, strikes at the heart of quebecoisness. Her 'sound' echoes that of traditional music but with distinct modernness both stylistically and thematically.⁹⁶ Early in her career she collaborated extensively with Robert Charlebois, appearing vocally on many of his songs. Because of the male dominance in rock music she soon fell beneath the shadow of Charlebois and so moved on to other music.⁹⁷ Her

⁹³ Timmerman, Nicola, "This Harmonium founder starts his own solo career" in Canadian Composer (Dec. 1979) p.12.

⁹⁴ *Harmonium suite on Harmonium*, Harmonium (Scarborough, Ontario: Disques Quality Limitee, 1974) Audio recording CEL-1893. (audio cassette: tape 2).

⁹⁵ Timmerman (1979) pp.10,12. Giroux (1991) p.94. *L'Heptade* was recorded along with musicians of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra thus blending rock and the classics.

⁹⁶ Unfortunately, Forestier's recognition, perhaps because she was female and at her height of success the music business was still very male oriented, was not as great as perhaps it should have been.

⁹⁷ Giroux (1991) p.92.

own style however, veered back closer to that of Vigneault's, only she captured a balance of the rural and the urban, including and promoting the merits of each. Moving from the Charlebois clan, from late 1972 to mid-1976, Louise Forestier was a member of a sort of creative family, with Claude Lafrance and Jacques Perron.⁹⁸ They each collaborated with the others on composing, then Forestier sang to their playing of the music. Forestier described the daily life situation and people and used a lot of the common speech (joual and other variants of Quebec French). On one of her recordings (of a live concert) she begins a song with a monologue, following the traditional chansonnier form, poking fun at our use of and level of (in)tolerance of different forms of language.⁹⁹ Her humour, present in many songs and monologues, was of a very cutting urban style but she balanced this with traditional folk dancing in her shows.¹⁰⁰ Both her singing in French language and about Quebec's past and present had a very strong ring of nationalism to it, most highly focussed in her composition *En fleche et en pourquoi*.¹⁰¹ Since 1976 she has moved on to other musical associations, exploring new avenues, often mixing the word play style of the Charlebois days with an undertone of "the mode, tonality, and sound typical of folk music."¹⁰² Like Julien, Forestier is a true but nouveau

⁹⁸ Dostie, Bruno "Louise Forestier returns to start another new adventure", Canadian Composer (March 1978) p.30.

⁹⁹ Forestier, Louise, Au Theatre Outremont (Gamma) Audio recording GS-203. (audio cassette: tape 2).

¹⁰⁰ One example is her acknowledgement of other quebecois musical stars where she mockingly 'takes off' their singing styles.

¹⁰¹ Forestier, Louise, louise forestier (Gamma, 1974) Audio recording GS-186. (audio cassette: tape 2).

¹⁰² Dostie (1978) p.30.

'chansonniuese'.

In her more 'message'-oriented songs, Forestier was very serious and committed and she expressed deep heartfelt feelings about the quebécois (her people) with a direct (culturally) nationalistic thrust. In *En fleche et en pourquoi* she reacts against a memory of the 'winter' of internal quebécois tradition and social suppression by The Church and State to move forward in new directions. The words of the song express the idea that Quebec's language is neither French nor English but something(s) more unique and that there needs to be an awakening and accepting of quebécois distinctiveness.

DIANE DUFRESNE¹⁰³

Diane Dufresne is like Luc Plamondon's alter ego. For many years she was the main medium by which Plamondon's music reached a very wide public. Her gala performances were flamboyant expressions with elaborate and professional staging and costuming creating an almost carnival atmosphere.¹⁰⁴ She presented to the public their urban

¹⁰³ See Dufresne, Diane, *Diane Dufresne* (Paris: Editions SIDONIE, 1982) for music and lyrics to many of the songs sung by Dufresne. Most are penned by Luc Plamondon.

¹⁰⁴ Giroux (1991) p.89. Dufresne was Charlebois in skirts with her scenic excentricities, cries and extravagant costumes (or sometimes almost lack of clothing). This put audiences into shock, made them laugh or did them in - "La 'Charlebois en jupons', avec ses excentricites sceniques, ses cris et ses extravagances vestimentaires (ou non-vestimentaires, justement!) choque, fait sourire et emballer."

fantasies and desires in a pre-packaged spectacle concept.¹⁰⁵ While rising national and feminist sentiments were high she "posed for her first poster wearing nothing on her chest but a body painted Quebec flag", a fleur de lys on each breast. situated in a backstreet of Montreal.¹⁰⁶ This was followed up by "flamboyant statements, lifestyle and concerts (which) fuelled the province's gossip rags for years."¹⁰⁷ At her peak in Quebec she filled the 20,000 seat Montreal Forum and the 55,000 seat Olympic Stadium in Montreal and in Quebec City, the 15,000 seat Colisee centre sportif and le Grande Theatre.¹⁰⁸ Eventually, Dufresne, as her career became more international spent most of her time in Paris but to get there she had, in collaboration with Luc Plamondon and Francois Cousineau, achieved success based on original quebécois music which in many respects was not a copy of the American and British music.¹⁰⁹

LES SEGUIN

Brother and sister, Richard and Marie-Claire Seguin were a fresh wind in quebécois

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, pp.89-90. Her shows obviously had great appeal for the Quebec urban audiences and for audiences in the wider international market. I find her recordings do not give the listener any sense of her live shows. To me they seem very polished and classy, middle-of-the-road style from France, a place where she has spent a lot of time during her career.

¹⁰⁶ Griffen (1989) p.50.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.50.

¹⁰⁸ Tetu de Labsade (1990) pp.335,339.

¹⁰⁹ Griffen (1989) p.50.

music. They started out in a folk group, Les Noces, in 1967; then became a duo, Marie et Richard; eventually they became part of a larger and louder band, La Nouvelle Frontiere in 1969-70.¹¹⁰ However, influenced by British and American bands and singers (Pentangle, Carole King, James Taylor and Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young) as well as quebecois artists, they had created a new sound and found a new social direction in the 70s. Their musical sound was soft, gentle, beautiful and full of harmonies, pure like fresh air and clean water.¹¹¹ The sound represented their new outlook on life, the rural countryside and nature. Les Seguin were the environmentalist and spiritual wings of Quebec social movement.¹¹² They promoted a 'back to the land' image and a concern for the well-being of oneself and nature, turning their backs on the music system.¹¹³ They were very much in tune with the mood and sound of the times of North America in general. Their ears were tuned to the more acoustic sounding music which was reviving in the United States. This was a time of spiritual search and awakening for many people and of criticism of an over-industrialized and materialistic lifestyle. They also took their music beyond the confines of Quebec to deal with

¹¹⁰ Pednault, Helene, et al., Seguin (Montreal: Les Editions d l'Aurore, 1977) pp.91-92.

¹¹¹ Giroux (1991) p.105.

¹¹² Pednault, et al. (1977) p.37. They turned to various social and philosophical ideas new to Quebec, for example the teachings of Krishnamurti and Ghandi.

¹¹³ Giroux (1991) p.105. "Plutot que de contester bruyamment le system, ils lui tournent simplement le dos ... et vont cherche dans la Nature l'harmonie, le sercnite et la beaute . Les Seguin deviennent ainsi l'un des plus beaux fleurons de la culture 'hippie' quebecoise." - They became one of the most beautiful flowers of Quebecois hippie culture.

universalist themes, though the imagery of their songs was clearly that of the local Quebec nature. Marie-Claire said, "En principe, on chante ce que l'on essaie de vivre. C'est la chanson qui change la vie et la vie qui change la chanson".¹¹⁴ Les Seguin "chantant la vie simple et la Nature. On parle de leur ferme dans les Canton de l'est".¹¹⁵ "'We sing of the land. We sing from a *prise de conscience*,' roughly translated, a conviction, which in this case implies a return to the land, natural sources. 'That is where French-Canadian culture is at now.'"¹¹⁶ The simplicity of their appearance matched that of their music. They were no longer focussed on fame but rather life itself, creativity and social movement. "Les palmares ce n'est pas le plus important. Il nous faut gagner le public, et nous l'avons en partie, mais il nous faut le gagner d'une autre facon. C'est un mouvement de masse que nous attendons. Le jour ou tous ceux qui font de la bonne musique sortiront de l'ombre, nous embarquant dans ce mouvement."¹¹⁷ They performed, between 1972 and 1975, in numerous sites in Montreal (Paul Sauve Arena, Centre sportif de l'universite de Montreal, Place des Arts, Place des Nations, theatre Outrement, Le Patriote, la Butte a Mathieu) as well as performing elsewhere in Quebec (e.g. Sherbrooke and the Lac St. Jean region) also touring to Ottawa, New Brunswick, parts of western Canada, Mexico and parts of

¹¹⁴ Pednault, et al. (1977) p.97.

¹¹⁵ ibid., p.96. They sang of the simple life and nature They spoke of their farm in the Eastern Townships of Quebec.

¹¹⁶ Marie-Claire quoted in Kroll, Stephen, "Twin Talent," Canadian Composer (May 1973) p.6. But their manager qualifies this saying (p.8), " The scene shifts quickly in Quebec".

¹¹⁷ Pednault, et al. (1977) p.94.

Europe (France, Belgium, and Germany).¹¹⁸ There were also various television and radio performances. For them recordings and shows were a vehicle or medium by which they encountered the world - "pour nous les disques et les spectacles sont le moyen de rencontrer du monde".¹¹⁹ Although in 1973 they held a show at the opening of "un local du Parti Quebecois" their socio-political priorities were more universal and most strongly expressed in actions promoting environmental protection.¹²⁰ A few of their songs *Sam Seguin* and *roi d'a l'envers* directly criticized Bourassa (le roi) and the actions of his government politically, socially and environmentally.¹²¹ *Genocide deals with humanity's past history of brutality of one people against another, threatening the continued existence of some groups. It strongly echoed the threat to Indians in Quebec by the James Bay hydro developments and the quebecois people under the threat of assimilation into Anglo America.*¹²² But for Seguin it was not necessary to go south for the sun; they

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp.95-96.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.96.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p.95. For example they held a spectacle in 1973 for the protection of the James Bay region and its native peoples against mega-hydro development. Depending on where they went and who was sponsoring, they represented both Quebec and Canada.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p.50. Guerard (1990) p.97. It was not only groups like Seguin but even some of the composers-performers who had become more mainstream, like Leveillee, had become aware of issues such as environmental damage from northern development, nuclear power safety, etc. and became critical of the Quebec and Federal governments. Leveillee produced an album *La froide Afrique*, based on afro-cuban rhythms and current global thoughts of concern, to denounce the violation of Quebec's north.

¹²² Pednault, *et al.* (1977) p.50.

generated it or captured it themselves, in the vitality of their musical expression.¹²³

On their first music album they did an interpretation of Leclerc's *Le Train du Nord*, only they added to it an Afro-American blues base, using a somewhat traditional blues 'harp' (harmonica) and guitar style accompanied by Seguin's unique vocals. This song is very important to Quebec geography because it focusses on a recurrent theme in certain quebecois music - the North, a place of mystery. For the majority of quebecois, Le Nord (Northern and Central Quebec) is a *terra incognita*. They have never been there and are hardly likely to go. They know little of it and, in fact, access to it is extremely limited both by lack of road or other transportation links and because of control of access by the James Bay Development Corporation where there are roads. There are few places that one could stay there unless one had a relationship with Native Peoples living there or were camping in a tent. The North in the song is really only a short trip outside of Montreal, the Town of Ste. Adele symbolizing an outpost of progress beyond which who knows what exists. In the song the train continues beyond Ste. Adele, disappearing never to be heard of again. Another song *Chanson Demodee*, composed by Vigneault but stylistically recreated by Seguin, captures certain important glimpses of the quebecois people and the mood of the times.¹²⁴ The song opens with sounds representing nature and ecological pristineness; the sounds are universal and promote love and respect for

¹²³ *ibid.*, p.97. A critique of their album *Festin d'amour* read "C'est un disque d'ou il se degage beaucoup d'ete, beaucoup de chaleur, ben, ben du soleil" - This is a record which frees or releases a lot of summer, a lot of warmth, and much sun.

¹²⁴ For words and music of the song see Vigneault (1983, Vol. I) pp.216-217.

nature.¹²⁵ The performing of the music is in simple, pure and gentle harmonies with simple acoustic accompaniment.

RAOUL DUGUAY

With his group l'Infonie, Raoul Duguay explored towards the outer limits of art in all forms, uncovering terra incognitae. He exposed the esoteric and the philosophic for the awakening quebécois.¹²⁶ Of his spectacle in 1970, he said, "Et c'est un theatre de la vie et du geste quotidien. A la recherche de nouvelles valeurs. Et d'un nouvel equilibre. Vers le divin de l'homme" - to reach the divine within and discover the values of each person.¹²⁷ His goal is universal, "Pour revenir aux sources: Beaute, Bonte, Paix, Et, au fond, la plus grande parole, c'est le silence, la vie meme."¹²⁸ To reach a point of equilibrium "entre l'exterieur et l'interieur. Entre l'economie et le spirituel."¹²⁹ These explorations made their way via multidimensional, multimedia spectacles.¹³⁰

Duguay tries, through his poetry, philosophy and music, to respond to and reflect the

¹²⁵ Pedneault, et al. (1977) p.53. One *hears* the sounds in the *silence* of nature's night.

¹²⁶ Giroux (1991) p.90. In Duguay, Raoul, Chansons D'O poemes et chansons (Montreal: Editions de l'Hexagone, 1981, p.7) Duguay says of himself, "ma vie est un reve eveille" - my life is an awaking dream.

¹²⁷ Bibliotheque De Sherbrooke, Raoul Duguay Dossier De Presse (1981).

¹²⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

¹³⁰ Giroux (1991) p.90.

spiritual landscape of the universe. He turns first to relationships between the cosmos and geometry, mathematics and words (language).¹³¹ On another front he is nationalist but in a unique way since his political program consists of three things: 1. To write the word pays as Kebek; 2. To create a Kebek flag with a rainbow on it instead of a fleur de lys; and 3. to compose a national hymn entitled *O Kebek*.¹³² On a second level he has a very strong attachment to his home region l'Abitibi, as displayed in such songs as *La Bitt a Tibi* and *L'Abiti*, his land of trees and rocks.¹³³ He says "Quands les gouvernements respecteront ces identite, alors nous serons un PAYS. Il n'y a rien de nationaliste la-dedans ... Je suis un KEBEKOIS UNIVERSEL."¹³⁴

BEAU DOMMAGE

The most successful musicians following Charlebois were Beau Dommage, "children of the 60s, raised on pop, educated through the new junior college system (CEGEP), and

¹³¹ Duguay (1981) p.8. Je tournais ... je devenais un point tournant, une spirale, un cercle, un 'o'. Je mimais l'univers."

¹³² Duguay, Raoul, Raoul Duguay Ou: Le Poete A La Voix D'O (1979) pp.54-55. See Appendix 1 for English translation (by Paul Wilbee) of the song. This provides an example of the complex relationship of regional, universal, and spiritual attachments that individuals can have within themselves. Notre pays on Duguay, Raoul, M (Mississauga, Ont: Disques Capital-EMI du Canada Limitee, 1977) Audio recording ST70.054, is another national hymn, in a similar vein, by Duguay.

¹³³ *ibid.*, pp.12-17 contain the words to the songs.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p.55.

fully aware of the new wave of nationalism sweeping over Quebec."¹³⁵ They were moved by the same influences as Les Seguin but chose the more urban path of folk and country rock music.¹³⁶ They first played in *Luducu* a student 'hangout' on the University of Quebec campus in Montreal but began making a name for themselves playing the *Eveche* in Old Montreal.¹³⁷ Their works were a synthesis of the best of quebecoisness and Americanness in music, integrating a double cultural heritage.¹³⁸ "Their songs are always about problems they're all concerned with" and ones common to their stratum of youth, i.e. educated quebecois, therefore, "This means that the listener relates to them immediately because it's reality, sometimes symbolized or transposed, but always a theme from the life they understand."¹³⁹ They also expressed a growing mood in the young public of the day "to live life to the full, to participate - not just sit back and watch the world go by" and be true to who they are.¹⁴⁰ They accomplished this showing great respect for each other's needs and those of the audience, honestly, simply and in an environment of creative searching. Respect of personal freedom was at the core of all their work.¹⁴¹ Therefore the songs are very personal sharing their deep inner

¹³⁵ Griffen (1989) p.46.

¹³⁶ Giroux (1991) p.85.

¹³⁷ Jasmin, Helene, "Beau Dommage," Canadian Composer (Dec. 1975) p.33. The clubs in Old Montreal were sites of great excitement and music throughout the seventies.

¹³⁸ Giroux (1991) p.85.

¹³⁹ Jasmin (Dec. 1975) p.33. They present a very natural, 'this is the way we are' image.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.6.

thoughts and feelings.¹⁴² Band member Michel Rivard says that "The first LP was certainly centered around our memories, around nostalgia for the city" (Montreal) and "The second LP's theme is based rather more on human relations, particularly relationships among people our age."¹⁴³ In their memories of Montreal they explored and named the various streets and districts of importance to themselves and their peers.¹⁴⁴ They continued, in a more rockified form, the softness and gentleness of the chansonniers. "Beau Dommage sings in ordinary, everyday language, with simple words that tend towards 'joual', but without going to any extremes ... they don't go out of their way to shock" as many English bands were doing.¹⁴⁵ No doubt their moderate, laid back sound made them very accessible to the Quebec and French public who enthusiastically responded to their records and performances. It is surprising that they did not catch on in English Canada from the perspective that the mood they capture extended well beyond Quebec. The nuances of their songs are, however, beyond the English-speaking audiences and like the chansonniers perhaps too impressionistic for English audiences.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p.8. The band members were Pierre Bertrand, Real Desrosiers, Marie-Michele DesRosiers, Robert Leger, Michel Rivard and Pierre Huet.

¹⁴⁴ Giroux (1991) p.85.

¹⁴⁵ Jasmin (1975) p.8.

OFFENBACH

Although quebecois music overall tends to be softer and more romantic, it also has its rough side, at the opposite extreme. Offenbach was "the symbol of the four bad boys of Quebec rock and roll" in which "Their lives seem to be a continuing running battle between the pursuit of women ... and the blues".¹⁴⁶ They upheld the image of male aggressiveness prevalent in a lot of American rock music. They created excitement wherever they went since "every concert they give, for instance is a high decibel assault on the ears; they create controversy every time they appear in public".¹⁴⁷ In their eyes their behaviour was not purposely to shock others but to be open about the way they wanted to live - i.e. they do whatever they want, a growing attitude in the youth. They were all born in different parts of rural Quebec, from working class or farm backgrounds, but migrated to Montreal and became absorbed in city life style, as seen in their music.¹⁴⁸

They not only played the big cities but toured the clubs, hotels and halls right across Quebec. In Montreal they played the Forum, which became Montreal's largest regular rock concert venue until the Olympic Stadium was built. Like other contemporary quebecois musicians, they recorded, not just in Montreal, but in France as well and

¹⁴⁶ Dostie, Bruno, "Quebec's rock and roll bad guys make the push into English Canada" in Canadian Composer (Feb. 1977) p.4.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.8. Gerald (Gerry) Boulet came from Saint-Jean d'Iberville, Jean (Johnny) Gravel from Granby, Michel (Willie) Lamothe from St. Hyacinthe, and Pierre Harel from St. Therese.

recorded an English album to reach out to anglophone audiences.¹⁴⁹ One of their most interesting exploits was to perform a rock mass in the Saint Joseph's Oratory on the mountain in Montreal.¹⁵⁰

AUT'CHOSE

Aut'chose represent the totally urban and completely joul expression of quebecoisness. They were very place-specific in their vocabulary, linking them to certain working class districts of Montreal. "He (Francoeur - the band's driving force) speaks plaintively to his constituency. He celebrates night life of neon, take-out cuisine, rock dreams, weird trips, the 'hot-dog steame' and love affairs equally so."¹⁵¹ The images of Aut'chose's music are of lower class, street culture full of matter-of-fact vulgarity and presented in a mocking fashion. The characters of the songs are at the margins of society ("pushers de brasserie, bums de ruelle, voleurs de chars").¹⁵² In the music, other band member Pierre Gauthier counterpoints Francoeur's words and presentation where "celebrations of low-life are spewed with poker-faced inflections, but they convey a sense of humour."¹⁵³ But on another front they represented American counter-culture

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁵⁰ Giroux (1991) p.102.

¹⁵¹ Rodriguez, Juan, "Lucien Francoeur: the impeccably vulgar hero of new Quebec rock" in Canadian Composer (Sept. 1975) p.14.

¹⁵² Giroux (1991) p.84.

¹⁵³ Rodriguez (1975) pp.14,16.

(musically and socially) and Americana in general.¹⁵⁴ "The result was a synthesis that surely could only be born in the province of Quebec, isolated with its francophone tribal incantations of American mass culture."¹⁵⁵ *La vie Weston* sets the social status of the place through an entirely jocular lyric, a rough rock and country music, and commentary on life, 'I work all my life for a piece of bread and I'll die like a dog', yet says all of this humourously, 'tongue in cheek'.¹⁵⁶ Both in this song and others, such as *Le Freak de Montreal* (*Le Batman de l'Underground*) they itemize the things that make up inner city life and fill its meaning: hot dog, Pink Floyd (also Janis Joplin references to musical influences), etc.¹⁵⁷ Francoeur later complained about the music business of this period, saying that it was very constricting: the Quebec public would only accept one star at a time.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore the rock music business was becoming much more structured.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Petrowski, Nathalie, "Lucien Francoeur" in *Canadian Composer* (March 1979) p.12. Giroux (1991) p.84. Francoeur's poetic stylings were a copy (though much more humorous) of the popular American star Jim Morrison of the Doors, a band idolized by many young Quebecers. Unlike several American musicians (e.g., Janis Joplin, Jim Morrison, Jimi Hendrix) of the time who had either a 'deathwish' in their approach to life or merely killed themselves through drug abuse; Quebec singers, almost entirely, showed a will for life.

¹⁵⁵ Rodriguez (1975) p.16.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.16 and *Aut'chose, prends une chance avec moi* (Montreal: CBS Disques, 1974) Audio recording FS 90289. (audio cassette: tape 2).

¹⁵⁷ *Aut'chose* (1974) Audio recording. (audio cassette: tape 2). Many of the quebecois youth had a frenzied love for the music of the loud British bands, like Led Zeppelin and Pink Floyd.

¹⁵⁸ Francoeur quoted in Petrowski (1979, p.14) said "One day it's one star, the next day it's another. Diversity, as the Americans and French understand it, doesn't exist in Quebec as a result of a certain mentality and the small size of the market."

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OTHER PERFORMERS¹⁶⁰

Throughout the seventies many new performers came on stream. What was new and surprising was the rising number of female singers, especially in mainstream pop. Some of this new wave, who are of note, are Fabienne Thibault, Diane Tell, Diane Juster, and Jacqueline Lemay.¹⁶¹ Of the male singers and bands are: Jacques Michel, Plume Latraverse, Sylvan Lelievre, Octobre, Maneige, Garolou, Gilles Valiquette, Breton-Cyr (more traditional), Luc Cousineau, Michel Pagliaro (the rocker), Guy Trepanier, Les Karricks, Jean-Guy Moreau (musical impressionist), Tex Lecor (country and western), Gilles Rivard and the Ville Emard Blues Band.¹⁶² There was a continued presence of many of those who had entered the mainstream in the previous period, like Ginette Reno,

¹⁵⁹ Francoeur (quoted in *ibid.*, p.16) states that "with the polishing and refining of texts, rock is more and more becoming structured and organized." It is no longer the rough and loose rock and roll of by-gone days.

¹⁶⁰ Many of the following are listed in Giroux (1991) pp.79-108. For a discussion of female performers see Tremblay-Matte, Cecile, La chanson écrite au féminin: de Madeleine de Vercheres à Mitsou, 1730-1990 (Laval, Quebec: Trois, 1990).

¹⁶¹ See Petrowski, Nathalie, "This Quebec star is now moving up," Canadian Composer (Nov. 1978) pp.18-22 and Normand (1981) pp.231-238 regarding Diane Tell. See Normand (1981) pp.185-196 for details on Juster. See Normand (1981) pp.141-149 regarding Thibeault.

¹⁶² Gilles Valiquette, though a singer himself, played a very major role in the recording side of the music business working with many of the other musicians and singers. See Jasmin, Helene, "A voice in Quebec musical life that's here to stay," Canadian Composer (Feb. 1976) pp.12-16 regarding Lelievre. See Dostie, Bruno, "Just who is Jean-Guy Moreau? A great Quebec impressionist," Canadian Composer (Sept. 1977) pp.4-8 regarding Moreau. Regarding Trepanier see Normand (1981) pp.201-212.

who remained permanent fixtures on the pop charts. Overall the musical styles adopted by both males and females covered the entire spectrum of American musical styles.

5. FROM 1977 TO 1984

The coming of the Parti Quebecois into power in the provincial government (November 1976) caused a disaffection between many musical artists and Quebec politics, some being drawn into more lucrative and broader events such as the Canada Day celebrations, thus gaining potentially more access to the much larger Canadian national audience and finances.¹⁶³ Canada Day (July 1st) celebrations in Ottawa became very much rallies for federalism and national unity, but they always had a sizable participation by quebecois singers.¹⁶⁴ Some musicians gave up singing for social causes when they found that others singing for the causes only did so if they made a lot of money in the process.¹⁶⁵ "Et puis les temps ont change. La jeunesse a d'autre preoccupations ... et les heroes sont fatigues. Y'aura toujours, bien sur, la Societe St-Jean-Baptiste, des marches, des protestations. Mais dela a reprendre le pouvoir ...

¹⁶³ Aube (1990) pp.116-117. Griffen (1989, p.54) says "Blame an international economic recession, the breakup of many of the '70s biggest groups, a provincial spiritual realignment away from nationalism and towards world pop, or the kind of cultural claustrophobia that strikes when too many artists spend too much time together in too small a place" for too long.

¹⁶⁴ For example Rene Simard and Patsy Gallant.

¹⁶⁵ Levesque (1986) p.151. There was a lot of disenchantment. The times and the social milieu were changing - "ils changent de milieu".

comme en 76 ... y'a une marge."¹⁶⁶ The late 1970s was also the period when disco and then reggae and 'Glam' rock ruled the North American pop scene, almost completely pushing out other musical styles. With glam rock, music became as much visual show as musical presentation. The centre of this period is marked by the Referendum in Quebec on May 20, 1980 over the issue of Sovereignty Association between Quebec and the rest of Canada.¹⁶⁷ During and following the winning of the "Non" vote against this semi-separation from Canada, the signing of Canada's new Constitution by all provinces except Quebec, and the visit of Queen Elizabeth I in 1982, there was a cultural lull of a few years in Quebec.¹⁶⁸ It was a time when the quebecois as sub-groups and individuals "went into the streets looking for the pieces, searching again for a way to put them all together" into a new identity.¹⁶⁹ Musical artists began expanding outward into

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.152. And then the times changed. The youth were preoccupied elsewhere ... and the heroes were tired. There will always be the St.-Jean-Baptiste Society, marches, protests. But for the taking of power ... like in 76 ... there is a margin (a barrier).

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.* (p.152) notes a re-surfacing of fear in Quebec. This is the limiting factor in the quebecois people's development.

¹⁶⁸ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.53; Louder, *et al.* (1983) p.54.

¹⁶⁹ Louder, *et al.* (1983) p.54. They continue "Yet it is perhaps this fragmentation, these tensions, which best explain the intrinsic nature of Quebec society and, by extension, the French experience in North America." They are a people pulled in various directions and responding to these forces in diverse ways as quebecois individuals. The quebecois, today, are still very diverse, and perhaps one could say divided, in their ideas of identity and future hopes as witnessed by poles such as the one analysed by Lise Bissonette, "Ou Va Le Quebec," *L'actualite* (May 1, 1990) pp.7-12. This is in spite of many impassioned pleas, such as Pierre Bourgeault's Now or Never - Manifesto For An Independent Quebec, translated by David Humel (Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited, 1991), or logical arguments for or against sovereignty or in any other direction.

the national and international markets or inward into very localized scenes and personal concerns. This was the time when everyone was either 'getting into their own thing' or pursuing broad social concerns.¹⁷⁰ Individual development now took precedence over communal affairs.¹⁷¹

LUC PLAMONDON¹⁷²

Although he was present on the music scene throughout the 1970s his career took a major leap in 1978 with the release of the world's first French language rock opera, *Starmania*, which easily matched the standard set by English rock operas.¹⁷³ This was

¹⁷⁰ The comments of Michel Normandeau, previously of Harmonium, and now working solo, are telling. He says (quoted in Timmerman, 1979, p.12) "People are into the creation of their own environments, and lifestyles." People are "much more oriented to the daily, small realities of life" than the "mass social movement for change" as they were just a few years before. This reflects in the disbanding of almost all groups and the move towards solo creations in music. It also reflects in the widening diversity of music styles present in the market place. Socially, the 'baby boomers' began settling down and raising families, instead of pursuing wilder lifestyles.

¹⁷¹ Timmerman (1979) p.10.

¹⁷² See also Normand (1981) pp.129-138 and his biography, Godbout, Jacques, Plamondon, un coeur de rocker: cent cinquante textes de chansons precedes d'un documentaire (Montreal: Editions de l'Homme, 1988).

¹⁷³ Fillion, Sylvain-Claude, "Luc Plamondon," Canadian Composer (winter 1992) p.12. "First staged in Paris in 1979 and in Montreal in 1980." An English version is being prepared in collaboration with English rock opera composer Tim Rice, who created Jesus Christ Superstar and Evita (p.13).

the result of an across-the-Atlantic collaboration with French co-composer Michel Berger. They also wrote " *Les Miserables*, still the most widely known French musical."¹⁷⁴ To do this he commutes between Montreal and Paris, at times staying long periods in France.¹⁷⁵ Plamondon's style comes through "expressing the emotional complexities of modern society and in sharing his inspired vision of a better world" but he does this through a medium of theatrics in and with music. He says: "My songs have always been miniature films, or plays at any rate. Almost all of them tell a story in the first person. Musical comedy allows me to push this even further, to breathe real life into the characters I create."¹⁷⁶ He is very much concerned with the urban landscape and so one of his recent works Kahnawake (the name of an Indian reserve near Montreal) is a Montreal-style West Side Story.¹⁷⁷

Behind the scenes Plamondon has had enormous impact on the Quebec music scene and business. He has composed hundreds of songs, supplying these to about 40 Quebec singers plus several French singers.¹⁷⁸ The French singers came to him looking for solid rock lyrics which they didn't have the feel for themselves.¹⁷⁹ He spoke out on

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.12.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p.12.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.13. This work was co-composed with another behind the scenes quebecois musician Francois Cousineau.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.12. He "supplied nationally renowned Quebec chanteuse Diane Dufresne with seven complete albums between 1972 and 1984."

¹⁷⁹ Petrowski (March 1979). Francoeur (quoted, p.16) explains this situation, "The French haven't followed the same cultural and musical paths we have. They missed the rock wave in 1965 while we

copyright in Quebec, informing most of the quebecois artists about its importance and co-founded SPACQ (Societe Professionelle des Autuers et Compositeurs Quebecois) with other artists Diane Juster and Lise Aubut.¹⁸⁰ He also works constantly at encouraging outsiders to accept quebecois music and worldwide to increase acceptance of French language music.

PAUL PICHE

Paul Piche represents perhaps the more socialist view of society through music reflecting his working class upbringing in Montreal.¹⁸¹ He portrays the ways in which quebecois society has been upset and twisted by processes of urbanization and capitalist endeavours. His song, "Rue Berri", referring to a district in Montreal centred on Berri Street, tells the tale of rural families and neighbourhoods moving en masse into the city and trying to reestablish themselves into the same neighbourhood networks, which they find no longer function properly in their new setting.¹⁸² From his Marxist stance he

Quebeckers dropped our chansonniers to follow the Beatles and the Rolling Stones." He goes on, In North America , the rock explosion was a part of everyday life. In France, the ancient hierarchical structures kept it out" but "in the end the French began to intellectualize rock; they began to examine the texts and mythology".

¹⁸⁰ Fillion (1992) pp.12-13. See Champagne, Jane, "A Quebec star sets her own pace," Canadian Composer (Jan. 1975, pp.12-16) for details on Juster.

¹⁸¹ Petrowski, Nathalie, "This new Quebec star acts like a working class hero," Canadian Composer (Sept. 1978) p.26.

¹⁸² Piche (1979) Audio recording. (audio cassette: tape 2).

supports the plight of "farmers, workers, indians - all those exploited, oppressed and manipulated by industrialization, technology and raw power."¹⁸³ He feels that people cannot avoid taking a political stand, that they commit themselves even if by only not speaking out. His way is to speak out through music, in which the words are potent forces and aimed with purpose.¹⁸⁴ Piche was not only concerned with city life but also country life and he spent part of his time in each environment. This was reflected in his composing which he says is done: "half-way between Montreal and the countryside" both actually in the writing process and in the style of his works.¹⁸⁵ His intimate view of people, behind the politics, rather suggests more of a humanist view than a Marxist one. His style is sentimental but realistic, filled with "biting humour, plain but passionate poetry, and his tender portraits of humankind" are transmitted through a tender, accessible voice and his overalls and beard, symbolic of a working-class hero.¹⁸⁶ He criticizes but leaves "a long-awaited feeling of youth and hope." Because of this closeness

¹⁸³ Petrowski (1978) p.26. But his Marxism, like that of most Quebec leftists, is more personal. Though involved with worker movements in general, Piche (quoted, p.30) says, "I don't belong to any organized movement. I'm not a fanatic." As regards his position on Quebec nationalism, he continues (p.30), "I support the class struggle, the taking of power by workers. If I am nationalistic, it is above all because I am Marxist to the degree that I believe Quebec is an oppressed state".

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.30.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.28. He has a summer cottage at La Minerve and before going full-time into music had worked at the James Bay Hydro development and in archaeology. The region around La Minerve is filled with a long time heritage of Piche's from which he draws sustenance.

¹⁸⁶ Petrowski (1978) p. 26. Also Record review in Canadian Composer (Feb. 1989) p.31.

to humanity the relationship between men and women becomes a prominent theme in his songs, songs related to personal experience. He says, "For me, the relationship between men and women is a political one, as it's a base on which our whole society rests. In the final analysis, the trials of love are a determining influence on social change. Love influences and acts on the economy, on our roles, our conditioning, everything."¹⁸⁷

BERTRAND GOSSELIN

Bertrand Gosselin represents the universalist wing of quebecois music and social concern. Having travelled extensively outside of Quebec, specifically to Third World places, he sings of their concerns and sometimes in their languages (Central American Spanish) or by inclusion of foreign musical influences (e.g. the sound of sitar and latin rhythms).¹⁸⁸ His sights are set on humanity as a whole and the goals he promotes are human rights and peace. These universal themes are balanced against the regional

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in Petrowski (1978) p.28. I strongly agree with him except to replace the word political with social, cultural and spiritual. The concentration of songs, throughout time, on emotional relations, love-hate, human communications and sex has happened because the overall interrelationships and ordering of people (systems of marriage, birthrate, social relationships and hierarchies, moral codes, etc.) revolve, to a very large degree, around how people deal with these.

¹⁸⁸ (audio cassette: tape 2).

'sounds' of the different pieces of music.¹⁸⁹ In the midst of his global musical pieces also reappear echoes of the traditional Quebec folk songs and urban folk songs which are his heritage and which he used to sing in the early 1970s with then partner Jim Corcoran. He also, as well as exploring the world, explored its philosophies.¹⁹⁰

PIERRE BERTRAND

Pierre Bertrand, veteran of Beau Dommage, pursued a solo career during this period, as did several of the other band members. His music, like Gosselin's, went off in various directions at once. On the one hand he developed a very smooth jazzy-rock music with hints of the chansonnier in its style and content.¹⁹¹ He also focussed on social issues. His song *Schefferville* deals with the laying off of workers and the closing down of the mines, and essentially the town, of Schefferville, in Quebec's north.¹⁹² The song also points out that Schefferville was an outpost of quebecois territory, even though it is

¹⁸⁹ Gosselin, Bertrand, vive la bonne semence (Montreal: Kebek Disc, 1978) Audio recording KD-988. *Hymne A La Paix* sums up his global concerns. (audio cassette: tape 2).

¹⁹⁰ On Gosselin, Bertrand, Dragon (Les Productions Dragon-Disques, 1986) Audio recording BG 11e, he sings a song about the Prophet Baha'u'llah. (audio cassette: tape 2).

¹⁹¹ An example is *Attendre A L'Annee Longue ...* on Bertrand, Pierre, Ciel variable (St.-Laurent, Quebec: Bon Diable Inc.-PolyGram Inc., 1983) with its latin beat and references to Gilles Vigneault. (audio cassette: tape 2).

¹⁹² Bertrand (1983) Audio recording. He castigates the insensitivity of both Anglo and francophone Quebec corporate elites in their dealing with the common people, putting corporate economics above human livelihood.

positioned just over half way up the Eastern side of the province. This again emphasizes that the quebécois fact is almost non-existent in North and Central Quebec.

MARIE-CLAIRE SEGUIN AND RICHARD SEGUIN - SOLO

Marie-Claire decided to go solo away from Les Seguin because of growing feminist and personal concerns. She asked "Why is it that when we women go on stage with the guys, we always find ourselves playing tambourines and singing background vocals?"¹⁹³ Having begun as an equal voice during the early times of Les Seguin she started to sink into the background once she had given birth to a child. The quebécois who had voiced great themes of liberation during the 1960s and 70s, had still not changed some of the deeply ingrained attitudes towards women as a result of past tradition and religious upbringing. Going solo allowed her to express her own personal understandings of herself, the changing music scene and Quebec life. Richard Seguin on his part, felt he also needed to enter new phases of his life working in collaborations with others (e.g. Serge Fiori, previously of Harmonium) and performing extensively just on his own.¹⁹⁴ In the 1990s he has made a major comeback in popularity.

¹⁹³ Quoted in Dostie, Bruno, "A woman writer discovers her strength and begins to explore," Canadian Composer (March 1978) pp.17-22.

¹⁹⁴ Dostie, Bruno, "Richard takes on a challenge," Canadian Composer (March 1978) p.22.

3. TODAY: FROM 1985 TO THE PRESENT (1992)

Structurally in the music business "Quebec currently has a multi-million dollar entertainment industry that employs thousands at every level from gofer to record company president; supports dozens of recording studios, radio and TV stations; feeds gossip to teen mags and fanzines; finds work for live clubs, discos, and deejays; has a 24-hour rock video cable network, and the rest of the infrastructure that props up the mega-billion music biz in Canada, the US, and Europe."¹⁹⁵ Regulations laid out by the CRTC "require that francophone music make up 65 per cent of locally broadcast music" in Quebec.¹⁹⁶ In this industry the top musical artists can command millions of dollars

¹⁹⁵ Griffen (1989) p.46. Came, Barry, "The Quebec Songbook - A New Generation Comes On Strong," Maclean's (June 1, 1992, p.44) states that "Quebec's cultural affairs ministry has been handing out close to \$2 million annually since 1984 in grants to support the manufacture of locally produced records and videos and to assist in the promotion of Quebec artists." Not to be outdone, the Federal Government Sound Recording Development Program has matched this figure since 1986. "As well Quebec has a solidly entrenched media and broadcast network that promotes - and profits from - Quebec artists. Dozens of specialized print publications have developed a star system that does not exist anywhere else in Canada. At the same time, hundreds of radio stations and more than 40 private television stations, including the 24-hour all-music cable channel Musiqueplus, are eagerly engaged in the search for talent" (Came, p.44)

¹⁹⁶ Came (June 1992) p.44. If you try to find Quebec music on Canada's national Much Music video station you will have trouble. Quebecois videos are shown, but only as an extremely small percentage of the programming and only at odd and irregular times. In Ontario if you regularly watch French-language television from Quebec you will eventually see or hear the music of almost all the popular quebecois performers, past and present, as well as many of the most popular performers from France. This does not happen to the same extent in the rest of Canada with English language songs.

in recording sales and concert earnings.¹⁹⁷ In some senses Quebec's music business is connected to outside but in more ways it is separate. The English-speaking populations around do not listen to or deal with the French-language music and its structures, nor are they set up to do so.¹⁹⁸ Quebec, for example has its own separate annual musical awards the ADISQ (Association du Disque et de l'Industrie du Spectacle Quebecois) as distinct from the Canadian Musical Awards.¹⁹⁹ The ADISQ, in acknowledging Quebec stars, also acknowledges that there is an entire music industry in Quebec.²⁰⁰ Celine Dion is one of the few francophones to be nominated, let alone win, a Canadian Juno

¹⁹⁷ Demers, Dominique, "Roch chante et compte," L'actualite (Nov. 15, 1991) cover and p.114. Roch Voisine alone earns enough to be on the list of Quebec's largest business enterprises (p.116).

¹⁹⁸ Came (June 1992) p.44. Montreal concert producer Rubin Fogel (quoted, p.44) says "It's not that English Canada hates French music. It's just that there are not any vehicles available for them to listen to it. It's futile to try at this point to market French albums across the country." Aube (1990, p.81) counters this saying that, in the past, attitude has been the barrier. "L'Amerique anglo-saxonne etant insensible a toute autre langue que l'anglais" - Anglo Saxon America was insensible to all other languages but English. Plamondon (quoted in Fillion, 1992, p.13) feels "The problem is the lack of circulation of the works. Our Quebec music videos, for instance, don't get seen outside the province" yet Quebecers watch everything from wherever it comes. CBC national radio does present, once a week (Saturday night), *Apropos* a one hour show of music and commentary by quebecois singer Jim Corcoran which provides some insights and accessibility to English-speaking Canadians as do occasional interviews with some quebecois artists on Peter Gzowski's national radio show *Morningside*. Jim Corcoran is an anglophone who has immersed himself in a quebecois identity.

¹⁹⁹ See "A big night in Quebec as ADISQ prizes given," Canadian Composer (Nov. 1979) pp.20-22 and "Un Weekend In Montreal," Canadian Composer (Nov. 1989) pp.24-26. It should be noted that the ADISQ honor English language music produced in Quebec, though this has come under review in the 1990s. Winners are given the 'Felix' award honouring both themselves and Felix Leclerc.

²⁰⁰ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.337.

Award.²⁰¹ There is a continual struggle within Quebec between international music conglomerates and local music producers, pushing for more concentration or more local support, respectively.²⁰² "From a psychological point of view, the aging population, the growing number of ethnic groups and the increasing role of women in the work force were all seen as significantly changing the environment in which radio stations operate."²⁰³ Regardless of how other things change, there are professionals reviewing the situation. They have "anticipated the increasing use of satellites and digital technologies."²⁰⁴ In reality "What happened here (in Quebec) parallels what happened everywhere else; it just doesn't always seem that way to outsiders" partly because of ignorance and partly because of the scale difference.²⁰⁵

Quebec's French language music market is still divided between local home grown music, music from France, and cover versions of international hit tunes.²⁰⁶ Quebec is

²⁰¹ Flohil, Richard, "Juno Week," Canadian Composer (Spring 1991) p.15. Dion won with *Where Does My Heart Beat Now* from Unison (Don Mills, Ontario: CBS Music Products, Inc., 1990) Audio recording BCT 80150. (audio cassette: tape 2) When Dion recieved the Quebec 'Felix' Award for best female singer in the 'Anglo' category she declined the award saying that she was a French (Quebec) singer who sang some songs in English. For whatever reasons, business or patriotism, this has had impact on the music scene.

²⁰² See "Quebec radio in the 90s," Canadian Composer (Nov. 1989) p.26. In the middle of the conflict are CRTC regulations on quebeçois (French language) content.

²⁰³ *ibid.*, p.26. No doubt the same applies to television, recording, etc.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.26.

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.46.

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.46.

influenced even more heavily than it ever was before from the outside, but in many respects this has enlivened its own local music. The music scene has also been invigorated by an influx of fresh and energetic young talent.²⁰⁷ Every year in Montreal there is the Festival International de Jazz de Montreal which attracts over one million listeners and the International Comedy Festival which attracts oral artists.²⁰⁸ The former is a downtown, 'on the street' festival. Montreal with its concentration of recording studios and musical venues and therefore artists overshadows the rest of Quebec but these other places are alive with music too. Quebec City holds the longest running festival in Canada, le Festival d'ete international de Quebec, while Joliette held the Festival international de Lanaudiere, inaugurating the opening of a new amphitheatre for the performing arts.²⁰⁹ Montreal has also become a recording centre for French language music in North America and has also drawn French performers such as Michel Sardou to Quebec.

Culturally (in quebecoisness) and musically (in originality and competence) there is a new level of confidence, previously unseen in Quebec. Part of this may relate to the

²⁰⁷ As Griffen (1989, p.54) puts it, there has been in Quebec "an infusion of new blood, an undeniable improvement in the quality of music" in terms of polish and professionalism of the performers and their recordings.

²⁰⁸ See "Montreal, Quebec & Joliette," Canadian Composer (Sept. 1989) pp.28-29.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.29. For details on other activities in Quebec City see Lazier, Kate, "Postcard From Quebec City," Canadian Composer (March 1989) pp.26-28, p.44. Lazier (p.26) says "The walled city is home to a healthy jazz and classical scene, and there are a few pop groups" music being limited by the city's civil servant atmosphere and perhaps a stronger interest in hockey than music. Therefore many aspiring musicians move away to Montreal or Toronto.

failure of the Federal and provincial governments in Canada to come to an agreement on the Meech Lake Accord which has put off the creation of a new Canadian Constitution and has further isolated Quebec from English Canada. There is also not the worry of relying solely on the Quebec audience as a support base since the music is being exported to the, at least ten times larger, French market, plus other markets in Europe. There is no longer the fear of being overrun by music from France, and so songs by both new and old French artists are more freely listened to.²¹⁰ Perhaps this generation of singers were responding to words of Felix Leclerc, who said long before, "Le Quebec est un pays divise, sauf quand il chante".²¹¹ The singers of the day work primarily as solo acts with backup bands and backing vocalists, though there are several popular bands. Of the singers, the percentage of females has increased phenomenally but the majority of these women still do not play instruments. Musical styles cover the full range from rap music to country and western, from jazz to ballads. A couple of today's quebecois singers have crossed the line over into the international market (Celine Dion and Roch Voisine in particular). Dion went no.1 on the American hit parades but only through recording an

²¹⁰ Filion (1992) p.13. In fact France is learning from Quebec and is an eager market for Quebec music. France is considering following the lead taken in Quebec of limiting the amount of non-French music on its radio stations, currently 90% of music on them is in English. Similar statistics hold for the rest of Western Europe. See Saint-Amour, Robert, "Programmation radiophonique et chanson quebecoise," in Giroux, Robert (ed.) La Chanson En Question(s) (Montreal: Editions Triptyque, 1985) pp.94-109.

²¹¹ Quoted in Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.340. Just before the Referendum in 1980 he repeated "Chante, et le Quebec ne mourra jamais" (p.340). Ironically, though the music has provided a point of unity, its own diversity has increased.

album in English, her nine hit albums in Quebec going unnoticed elsewhere.²¹² Her career is also based on her years of developing a high standard of music and "her soaring five-octave voice" rare in the music business.²¹³ Voisine still remains somewhat confined with tremendous popularity in Europe, but relatively unknown in the United States and English Canada.²¹⁴ He also succeeded through recording in English and in a less colloquial sounding French.²¹⁵ Both Dion and Voisine have been criticized by part of the public as being too groomed and packaged by professional managers and music corporations but such criticisms are not enough to stop their incredible popularity.²¹⁶ Voisine admits that packaging places constrictions on individual expression but he continues to "write about personal things or something that's happened

²¹² Fulton, E. Kaye, "Queen Celine," Maclean's (June 1 1992) p.40. Dion comments "So la p'tite Quebecoise makes it in America" (quoted, p.40). The story of her early successes can be found in Dion, Celine, La Naissance d'une étoile (Montreal: Les Editions Quebecor, 1983).

²¹³ Fulton (June 1992) p.40.

²¹⁴ Laurier, Andree, "Roch Voisine The Romantic," Canadian Composer (spring 1991) p.11. In France he has already played *l'Olympia* and *le stade de Bercy* (Demers, 1991, p.120). Through the British market he still hopes to crack the American market. According to Demers (p.122) it's already planned out.

²¹⁵ Laurier (spring 1991) p.11. One of his albums Double is recorded half in English, half in French. Demers (1991) p.117 notes that earlier in his career, after recording his first album in English, he realized it was necessary to record in French to be fully accepted at home.

²¹⁶ Fulton (1992) p.42; Laurier (Spring 1991) p.11. Both of their careers have been well orchestrated in advance and both involve their 'looks' as well as their music.

to a personal friend" just as in his first hit *Helene*.²¹⁷ Mitsou has made minor stirrings in English Canada by promoting a Madonna-like image.²¹⁸ She is Quebec's top representative of the present wave of ye-ye music. Most other quebecois singers have incredibly high popularity in Quebec but are almost completely unknown in the rest of North America.²¹⁹ Quebec's isolation in North America remains intact. The Quebec public are now strong supporters of quebecois music through buying of musical recordings and attending of concerts.²²⁰ The current population of Quebec is under

²¹⁷ Laurier (spring 1991) p.11. Voisine (quoted p.11) says "The better it goes, the more business-like it gets, the harder it becomes to speak as an individual in that (the musical) profession."

²¹⁸ Came (June 1992) p.44. My personal view is that Mitsou does resemble Madonna in that they both express the repression of Catholic upbringing and the need to go morally to an opposite extreme in lifestyle, but one riddled in guilt. Mitsou, however, does not show true conviction. She is unsuccessful in truly mimicking Madonna in that she is just too traditional, awkward and naive while Madonna lives her image. She is however, much 'lighter' and more humorous than Madonna, in her style.

²¹⁹ A pity only in Quebec. Inside Quebec the others such as les B.B. (named after black singer B.B. King) and Luc de Larochelliere are equally as popular as Roch Voisine (Demers, 1991, p.122) as are Jean Leloup, Daniel Lavoie, Richard Seguin, Michel Rivard, Julie Masse, etc. (Came, June 1992, p.44). Plamondon (quoted in Filion, 1992, p.13) says "I was flabbergasted, while in Toronto, to realize that you can mention names like Felix Leclerc, Gilles Vigneault, Robert Charlebois, Ginette Reno or Diane Dufresne, and people have no idea who these singers are."

²²⁰ Montreal music critic Mark Lepage (quoted in Came, 1992, p.44) says "If an artist is homegrown, there is an almost familial sense of obligation among Quebecers demanding that he, or she, be supported." Came continues (p.45) saying that "Such support cuts across linguistic lines", for example, "Montrealer, Sass Jordan, who sings in English, and Sept-Iles-based duo Kashtin, singing in the native Montagnais have strong following among francophones." I suspect that the long-standing control of Quebec's musical performances, by promoter Donald K. Donald Group, has had a role in assisting the language cross-over (see Came, p.44).

seven million but says Montreal record company owner Keith Brown, "that has not prevented us from turning out recordings that regularly go platinum (sales of 100,000), or double platinum, in almost no time at all."²²¹ In Quebec music is so popular that for many citizens it probably greatly outstrips politics in their minds and activities.²²² Michel Rivard, who has become one of the strong voices in Quebec's music of the 1990s, realizes that it is what the people do with the music produced, how they integrate it into their lives and understand its meanings, that gives song its powers of social change.²²³

Current quebécois music has returned to the forefront of Quebec nationalism, through the gathering together of prominent musical artists to major celebrations significant specifically to Quebec, notably Saint Jean Baptiste Day and the celebration of Montreal's 350th anniversary.²²⁴ In these events three symbols speak the loudest for the Quebec

²²¹ Came (June 1992) p.44.

²²² Fulton (1992) p.40. An indication of this is Celine Dion's capturing of "the most accomplished Quebec public figure of 1991", in a major public opinion poll, far ahead of any of Quebec's politicians.

²²³ See "La Complainte Du Phoque En Alaska Par Michel Rivard," Canadian Composer (Oct. 1989) p.25. Rivard (quoted) says "I realize that the song goes beyond the songwriter." For instance, "In France and in other French-speaking countries, *La Complainte du phoque en Alaska* is known despite the fact that no one knows who sings it and who wrote it." In the normal process of music new singers sometimes redo versions of older classic pieces of music composed by others. Rivard found his song, in a reverse process, being recorded by one of Quebec's past musical icons, Felix Leclerc.

²²⁴ These celebrations have been televised on French language television from Quebec for millions of people to see. I have watched the past two St.-Jean Baptiste Day celebrations on television and have been extremely impressed with the professionalism of the presentations and the commitment and sincerity of the performers.

cause: thousands of waving blue flags with the fleur de lys on them, the singing of Quebec (pays or quebecois) and the music, these symbols become ever more often intertwined.²²⁵ In competition with this, several prominent quebecoise artists have performed in massive Canada Day events, this time associated with the waving red maple leaf.²²⁶ For television a special song advertisement was broadcast on Canada Day 1992 with singers from all across Canada, including a few from Quebec such as Patsy Gallant, singing *O Canada!* in English and French to promote the national unity of Canada.

THE BROADER 'QUEBEC': OUTSIDE OF THE BORDERS

What does the Quebec boundary mean musically when you consider that one of Quebec's main singers, Roch Voisine, is a New Brunswicker born in Saint-Basile; top Quebec francophone band The Box sing only in English and one of the hottest acts in Quebec is Kashtin, singing in Native language?²²⁷ Quebec's Celtic music band, Barde, has one francophone member (Pierre Guerin) and five Anglophone members but sings

²²⁵ In June, Les B.B. opened the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day evening spectacle chanting over and over again the first song's refrain: "Nous sommes quebecois" (We are quebecois) for about ten minutes. The song kept coming back throughout the show. Michel Rivard opened a Montreal Anniversary concert singing "C'est la langue de mon coeur. C'est le coeur de ma vie" (It's the language of my heart. It's the heart of my life), referring to French. He continues singing: I will never let it die. I will never forget it.

²²⁶ I have attended many of these, gaining exposure to many Quebec singer's. This years celebration included participation of Celine Dion (via satellite from Spain), Julie Masse (one of the newest generation of quebecois singers), Roch Voisine and others.

²²⁷ Demers (1991) p.116.

most of its songs in French, while the Kate and Anna McGarrigle, anglophones born in rural Quebec and raised in Montreal, have many French language songs in their repertoire, some of which they composed themselves.²²⁸ In his 1988 album Journee d'Amerique, Richard Seguin looks into the Franco-American experience in the United States and his relationship to it.²²⁹ The fact was that not only quebécois were seeking their identity during the 1960s and 70s. Many Canadians were, as well as francophone groups, and various other ethnic groups throughout North America developing their own new organizations and other structures. In the 1970s the quebécois were politically trying to consolidate a position as 'master in their own house'.²³⁰ "At the same time in New Brunswick, many Acadians sought a political and territorial expression of *Acadie perdue*."²³¹ To the smaller francophone communities in America, Quebec appeared solid and strong. "Most of these organizations turned quite naturally to Quebec for support, the Quebec of the 1970s, endowed with a politically strong state and rich history."²³² What happened in music reflected this. Singers coming out of the Acadian

²²⁸ Regarding Barde see Flohil, Richard, "This Canadian music is rooted firmly in the Celtic tradition," Canadian Composer (Jan. 1979, pp.12-16). Regarding the McGarrigle sisters see "Failing to follow standard patterns of pop performers," Canadian Composer (June 1978, pp.24-32). Listen to McGarrigle, Kate & Anna, Dancer With Bruised Knees (Scarborough, Ontario: Warner Bros Records Inc., 1977) audio recording BS 3014.

²²⁹ Seguin, Richard, Journee d'Amerique (Montreal: Musi-Art, 1988) Audio recording AD 10 024.

²³⁰ Louder, et al. (1983) p.52.

²³¹ ibid., p.52.

²³² ibid., p.52. These organizations were across Canada and in New England and Louisiana in the United States. Their own people had gradually become radicalized politically and socially and

tradition, Angele Arsenault, from Prince Edward Island, and Patsy Gallant and Edith Butler, from New Brunswick, often sing in Quebec and are sometimes referred to as Quebec singers.²³³ Patsy Gallant from Campbellton, New Brunswick, later living in Moncton, moved to Westmount (in metropolitan Montreal) to fulfill her solo career as one of Quebec's top pop singers in the 1970s.²³⁴ She successfully groomed to be a national and international star in the ye-ye vein.²³⁵ She was able to break into the Canadian and U.S markets with her song *From New York to L.A.*, which used the tune of Vigneault's *Mon Pays* in an entirely different context of pop music jet-setting.²³⁶ At the peak of her career she sang disco-pop: since then she has gone back to mostly singing commercials and entertaining at conventions.²³⁷ Angele Arsenault was born and raised

identified this with language, many of them following the lead example of Quebec (pp.53-54). See map showing the web of francophone association and assistance in North America (p.55).

²³³ See Petrowski, Nathalie, "This composer makes it with laughter and optimism," Canadian Composer (Feb. 1979) pp.5-8 and Normand (1981) pp.175-183 for details on Angele Arsenault. See Kroll, Stephen, "A Singer, composer, and folklorist from Acadia," Canadian Composer (Sept. 1973) pp.10-14 regarding Edith Butler, born in Paquetville, New Brunswick (p.12). For music and lyrics to some of Butler's songs see Butler, Edith, Edith Butler (Montreal, Les Editions Lise Aubut, 1978). See also Louder, et al. (1983) p.54 and Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.339.

²³⁴ Kroll, Stephen, "Going up, a new star begins writing songs," Canadian Composer (Nov. 1973) pp.12-16.

²³⁵ Her manager (quoted in Kroll, 1973, p.16.) says "She's not a French singer, and she's not an English singer. She's a truly Canadian singer."

²³⁶ Gallant, Patsy, Are You Ready For Love (Toronto: Attic Records Limited, 1976) audio-recording LAT-1017. (audio cassette: tape 2).

²³⁷ Commercials and conventions have become important parts of the structure of music business in the 1970s, 80s and 90s.

in Abrams, P.E.I. but also spent time in Montreal beginning her composing and singing. Like the quebécois singers "elle chante avec humour, tendresse et lucidité les problèmes de tous, nos racines, nos réalités quotidiennes, la difficulté d'être soi-même; chansons de femmes, chansons folles, tendres ou sentimentales, portraits ou caricatures qui nous font rire".²³⁸ Butler reluctantly entered music early in life and in university studied the ethnology of traditional folk music and folklore, in the style of Marius Barbeau, carrying out research field work in her home region, recording songs remembered by the elders there.²³⁹ Following this she made two decisions: one to go into music professionally but the second to look further into Acadian culture, not in the past but in the present and sing original songs of the present but which reflect a remembrance of the past. Her album edith butler avant d'être dépaysee (before being uprooted) is a commentary on her people.²⁴⁰ "These days, hard times have driven many Acadians from their villages into the cities, leaving almost no one to guard or even care about their heritage ... Edith Butler is singing: to give final recognition to a people who in a few years may not only

²³⁸ Arsenault, Angele, Angele Arsenault (Montreal: Les Editions Lise Aubut, 1978) also contains some of her music and song lyrics. She sings with humour, tenderness and clarity the problems of all, our roots, our daily realities, the difficulties of being by oneself; songs of and for women, songs that are foolish, tender or sentimental, portraits or caricatures which make us laugh.

²³⁹ Kroll (Sept. 1973) p.12. See also Arsenault, Georges, Complaintes Acadiennes De L'Ile-Du-Prince-Edouard (Ottawa: Les Editions Lemeac Inc., 1980) which surveys local carriers of the oral tradition of Acadian folk songs. Also see Manny, Louise and Wilson, James Reginald, Songs of the Miramichi (Fredericton, NB: Brunswick Press, 1968) containing some songs in French.

²⁴⁰ Kroll (1973) pp.10,12.

be uprooted , but vanished ... Hers is an inspiration rooted in pain."²⁴¹ One of the album's songs *On parlera de nous, some day* is a protest song, a love song and a feminist's song about a wife telling her husband that they can no longer be indifferent to the state of lives of their people (intended to mean Acadians but could be others) but must act.²⁴² Her follow up recording had the theme of liberation (from both past and depressing conditions). Butler comments, "I no longer wish to represent Acadia as a traditional culture. I want people to know that Acadians are strong and want to survive!"²⁴³ This process led her to understand Acadian history from its own perspective and thus its people and herself.²⁴⁴ She was then able to take this knowledge and share it through song, playing throughout New Brunswick and Quebec but also franco-Western Canada (St. Boniface, St. Brieux, etc.). She was also accessible to English audiences, performing at times on the television show *Singalong Jubilee* and at the Charlottetown and Mariposa Festivals.²⁴⁵ Butler, along with fellow Acadian singer Donat Lacroix, and Franco-Ontarien Robert Paquet "presented the first concerts of all-

²⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.12.

²⁴² *ibid.*, pp.12,14.

²⁴³ quoted in *ibid.*, p.14. She emphasizes "I sing to let people know we Acadians exist" (p.10).

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.12.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.12. See Usher, Bill and Page-Harpa, Linda, "For what time I am in this world" *Stories from Mariposa* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977) to get an understanding of the types of musical exchanges taking place between francophone Canadian performers and their English-Canadian and American counterparts.

Acadian music to be heard in Belgium and Paris.²⁴⁶ Roots of Acadian folk music come from both Quebec traditional music and Acadia's own tradition. Lacroix says "Acadians are a coastal people and maritime life is full of traditional Acadian folksongs, of songs by singers like *La Bolduc*, le Pere Gedeon, of old-time fiddlers like Eloi LeBlanc" and stories passed down orally through families.²⁴⁷ Many quebecois singers have spent a good part of their career or time living in France. Two brothers Daniel and Robert Lanois, from Hull, Quebec, moved to Hamilton, Ontario, where they are responsible, through musical production, for creating a Hamilton 'sound'.²⁴⁸ They have done this by providing musical production assistance to English language singers, initially from the Southern Ontario region and eventually making a name for themselves internationally.²⁴⁹ An anthology of poetry from Franco-Ontarians contains some of the early quebecois traditional folk songs (e.g. *Le Petit-Rocher - La Complainte De*

²⁴⁶ See "A singer-songwriter-professor from Acadia," Canadian Composer (June 1974) p.28.

²⁴⁷ quoted in *ibid.*, p.28. Donat Lacroix is from Caraquet, New Brunswick.

²⁴⁸ Flohil, Richard, "From producer to songwriter," Canadian Composer (Nov. 1989) p.20. Their Grant Avenue Studios are located in downtown Hamilton.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.22. By assisting other musicians with technical and creative advice he became a composer himself, recording an album *Acadie - Acadia* (p.38). The recording methods show the complexity of modern studio recording. Some of the pieces on his album had parts separately recorded in England, New Orleans and Hamilton, finally assembled together in Hamilton (p.38). His style is similar to that of many quebecois artists of the 1960s and 70s: "gentle, calm, quiet" (p.38).

Cadieux).²⁵⁰ Moving further west, Daniel Lavoie, born and raised in Dunrea, Manitoba, later moved to Montreal to establish his musical career.²⁵¹ The first move to Quebec was prompted because "it was relatively easy to earn one's living touring the clubs, cabarets and hotels of the belle province (Quebec) - a lot easier than working in Manitoba!"²⁵² He returned there after having travelled to various places in the world because "he chose Quebec for its wonderful countryside and people."²⁵³ His Manitoba roots ensured that he was bilingual and bi-cultural, speaking only French and living French lifestyle at home and being English with friends; but he claims that he is not troubled by his identity.²⁵⁴ Manitoba has had a long tradition of both folk music from the voyageurs and other francophones moving west, but also original songs written about the people and events of their own territory.²⁵⁵ From the south, Louisiane singer

²⁵⁰ Dionne, Rene, Anthologie De La Poesie Franco-Ontarienne Des Origines A Nos Jours (Prise De Parole, 1991). *Le Petit-Rocher* is on pp.17-19. It is a legend from the island of Grand Calumet in the Ottawa River (around 1709) about a voyageur who sacrifices his life in an attack by Iroquois Indians by drawing the Indians away from the rest of the travellers and writes about his last moments, calling out to the various natural features and creatures of the area in his dying breaths.

²⁵¹ Petrowski, Nathalie, "A reluctant member of Quebec's music world," Canadian Composer (Nov. 1979) p.4.

²⁵² Lavoie quoted in *ibid.*, p.4.

²⁵³ *ibid.*, p.6.

²⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp.4,6. Lavoie (quoted p.6), acknowledging the Franco-Manitoban's plight, says "Manitoba is not Quebec, I'm afraid. The French community is bound to disappear. The young people don't speak French any more and their parents are ashamed of their heritage" (p.6).

²⁵⁵ MacLeod, Margaret Arnett, Songs of Old Manitoba (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959). Many of these have been transformed from purely francophone songs to songs of the Metis or were written as

Zachary Richard has both influenced Quebec with his Cajun sound while being influenced by Quebec and Acadia.²⁵⁶ One song he recorded on his album Migration is a Louisiana-flavoured version of a traditional Acadian folk song *L'Arbre Est Dans Ses Feuilles*.²⁵⁷ In the reverse trend chansonnier Pierre Calve "has covered part of North America in an effort to create closer ties among the continent's French-speaking communities."²⁵⁸ He performed 123 shows across Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, P.E.I., New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with sponsorship from provincial governments and francophone organizations. Then he visited some of the more isolated areas of Quebec: the Beauce, Lac St. Jean, Abitibi and Gaspé regions and the Magdeline Islands, before being sponsored by the Quebec government to go to Louisiana.²⁵⁹

The band Cano developed out of a communal cooperative project in *la Quartier a*

Metis songs. They tell of the farmers and hunters, of the growth of Manitoba, the birth and plight of the Metis and the Riel rebellion.

²⁵⁶ Tetu de Labsade (1990) p.339. "Du sud, nous arrive l'écho de cette Louisiane dont l'exemple ne devrait jamais quitter l'esprit d'un Québécois" - From the south comes the echo of Louisiana back to us, an example that the Québécois spirit never left them.

²⁵⁷ Richard, Zachary, Migration (Zach Rich Inc., 1978) audio recording CBS PFC 80009.

²⁵⁸ Vincent (March 1973) p.28. In 1968 "he went and sang in places where his fellow chansonniers no longer bothered to go" looking up small minority pockets of francophones (p.30).

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.30. Calve (quoted, p.30) says "I have the spirit of the crusader when it comes to *la chanson française*, when it's a question of the French cause in North America."

fleurs (the Latin Quarter) of Sudbury.²⁶⁰ Says band member Andre Paiement "We're here to talk about the world we live in." - i.e. Franco-Sudbury, a region about half populated by francophones who came to work in mining, forestry or farming there and have been longtime inhabitants.²⁶¹ They like the Quebecers of 1960s had been looking for an identity and in the early 1970s "the region's francophones are waking up to their identity as Northern Ontariens" as separate from people of 'the South' - Toronto - and Anglo Ontarians.²⁶² "Using the language, the accent, the region they call New-Ontario and its problems, *Cano* splices a poetic and musical culture to the most modern influences possible" and through a wide range of musical styles from modern folk to traditional folk, orchestrated rock and jazz and do it bilingually.²⁶³ One of their stage pieces was a continually evolving work about which Andre Paiement says "it's going to

²⁶⁰ Dostie, Bruno, "A new group from Sudbury - with something different to say," Canadian Composer (Jan. 1977) pp.5-8. It is interesting to note the difference in the message of the French language title of the same article: "CANO a la recherche d'une identite - CANO in search of an identity (in comparing themselves to quebecois bands). A coop theatre group *La Sague* gave birth to a poetry group, a publishing group, various craft groups plus Cano. Also "Cano's first year: Dealing with the North musically and lyrically," Canadian Composer (Jan. 1978) p.22. The bands name stands for Cooperative des Artistes du Nouvel-Ontario (p.5).

²⁶¹ Dostie (January 1977) p.6. Sudbury alone has about 60,000 francophones living there.

²⁶² *ibid.*, p.6. Just as Canadien is not exactly the same thing as Canadian, Ontarien is distinct from Ontarian. Cano, however, included Rachel and Andre Paiement, true Ontariens from Sturgeon Falls, some other Ontariens, but also Marcel Aylmer a Franco-Nova Scotian from Baie-Sainte-Marie, and three anglophones. "Music, for all of us, is the common language." says Andre Paiement (quoted, p.6).

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p.8; Canadian Composer (Jan. 1978) p.22. They were influenced, as most quebecois artists, by a wide range of contemporary music from the U.S., Britain and Quebec (Dostie, p.8).

be a musical illustration of all the ages of man."²⁶⁴ After creating an identity in Ontario with the release of two albums in French, their next challenge was to see if their Franco-Ontarian music would be accepted within the generally "protective 'chez nous' climate of Quebec."²⁶⁵ Their first two month tour there proved very successful but next was the challenge of producing an English album and seeking acceptance in English Ontario.²⁶⁶ It is hard to tell what Andre Paiement's suicide meant in the context of the music and social scene but the band continued for a few years after his death.

Kashtin (which means la tornade - a tornado-like wind) symbolically provides a bigger challenge to Quebec than does English Canadian music.²⁶⁷ Quebec, like all of Canada, is traditionally Indian and Inuit land. Southern Quebec became French and then English by the decree of Kings in Europe and conquests (French over Indians - only partial, English over French). Northern and Central Quebec became Hudson's Bay Territory again under Royal Decree, only becoming part of Quebec in 1912.²⁶⁸ Where southern

²⁶⁴ Quoted in Dostie (Jan. 1977) p.8. It starts using variations on *Frere Jacques* as a childhood theme, parodying rock music during adolescence and ending in a wild jig based on a line *a quoi sert un vieux pepere?* - What's an old guy good for anyway? creating as its title states *Tout un evenement* - A Complete Event or Total Experience.

²⁶⁵ Canadian Composer (Jan. 1978) p.22.

²⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.22.

²⁶⁷ Beaulieu, Carole, "La Tornade Kashtin," L'actualite (Aug. 1, 1990) p.63.

²⁶⁸ Gouvernement du Quebec, map of "Evolution Teritoriale Du Quebec Septentrional," Le Nord du Quebec profil regional (Quebec: Gouvernement du Quebec, 1983). The Quebec government's authority was never truly established until the signing of the James Bay Agreement with the Cree Indians, and a couple of other Native groups, in the late 1970s.

Quebec became settled by Europeans and their descendants, the North has remained unsettled except by Native peoples. Kashtin voice that these peoples are alive and becoming well. The duo, consisting of Claude McKenzie and Florent Vollant, are a voice representing to Quebec and Canada the 10,000 Montagnais living from the Lac St. Jean region up to Natashquan on the Cote-Nord, Vigneault's home village.²⁶⁹ Their music is also a self-analysis and potentially a curing force for the people since "le succes de Kashtin motive beaucoup de jeunes. La musique ... leur sert d'antidote au desoeuvrement et a l'alcool. A maliotennam, plus de 53% de la population a moins de 25 ans et 80% vit de prestations gouvernementales."²⁷⁰ Vollant provides an image and sound of an older chansonnier involved in the local milieu of the people, while McKenzie speaks as the next generation, the youth.²⁷¹ On their first album, "Vollant chante l'amite (*Shashish*), l'identite nationale (*Tshinanu*), la douceur familial (*Nitanish*). McKenzie chante le diable dans la reserve (*Tipatshimun*) et amours malheureuses (*Apu*

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.63.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*, pp.63-64, p.68. The success of Kashtin has motivated many youth. The music has provided an antidote to idleness and drinking alcohol. In Maliotennam, more than 53% of the population are under 25 years old and 80% live off government benefits. The Indian reserve of Maliotennam, near Sept-Isles, is their home base, playing at *la Taverne Chez Maxi*. Once they had received recognition by Radio-Canada in 1989, they have toured in Quebec, other parts of Canada and Europe. The seemingly insignificant reserve of Maliotennam hosted the sixth Festival Innu Nikamu, festival of Amerindian music in August 1990 (p.68).

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp.63-64. They were 26 and 16 years old, respectively, in 1990. Vollant says that song is perhaps a form of social engagement a way of 'doing good' to others (p.64).

Tshekuan).²⁷²

Quebec, and specifically Montreal, has a specific problem related to immigration, which has also affected music. Many blacks from the West Indies and French Africa have had the opportunity to immigrate to Quebec, especially from Haiti and Somalia. Part of this has been a response to world refugee needs and part Quebec's need to replenish its francophone population in the face of a declining native-quebécois population. Culturally, neither was Quebec ready to receive the newcomers, nor were the immigrants ready for québécois lifestyle. The blacks were not accepted by the majority of Québécois and conflicts have arisen on a continual basis because of this. At the same time, they have brought with them their music with which they fill certain districts of Montreal. They also open the potential for more American black music, especially rap, to enter Quebec. One québécois musician Michel Seguin has crossed the firing lines to collaborate with the black musicians. He has since the early seventies, after visiting parts of Africa, been performing Afro drumming styles with his band Toubabou.²⁷³

French-language music exists, and has done so for hundreds of years, all across North America in small pockets: Acadia, Louisiana, Franco-Ontario, Franco-Manitoba, and on

²⁷² *ibid.*, p.64. They give different views of the people; one the moderating forces, the other the excesses. While Vollant sings of love, Native national identity, and the sweetness of family togetherness; McKenzie sings of the devil in the reserve and bad love affairs.

²⁷³ Toubabou, *Attente* (Montreal: Les Disques Barclay Ltée., 1975) Audio recording Barclay 80222. For information of the 'who' and 'where' of Montreal's Afro music scene see Villefranche, Robert and Bernard, Yves, "Petite Histoire Des Musiques Afro-Montrealaises," *Canadian Folk Music Journal* Vol. 17 (1989) pp.19-23. In 1992 Michel Seguin and others have been involved in weekend drumming 'happenings' in a Montreal park.

and on. "Quebec society is at once firmly rooted in the ancestral lands of the St. Lawrence River Valley and perpetually drawn far beyond the boundaries of the province" both in their vision and in the 'French fact' in America.²⁷⁴

SUMMARY

What is the uniqueness of quebecois popular music? What sets it apart from other sounds? Why has quebecois music not been readily accepted beyond the borders of Quebec, except in France and some other European countries? Why is Quebec like a big hole in the cheese of America? Is the problem only language? Bruno Roy provides some of the answers. He suggests that the quebecois singers have a seemingly innate ability at story-telling in song and monologue and do this with great expression.²⁷⁵ Their story-songs are rich in humour and fun, yet joy is always matched with sadness, almost in the same breath. Emotions run at the very core of the music. The words sung are from the heart and expressed personally and with great sincerity.²⁷⁶ In fact they are really sung poetry, thereby blending the full richness of music with that of language. In contrast, English based music tends to have little passion and relaxed humour, especially humour directed towards themselves. Perhaps many of the quebecois songs are like signal bells or sirens for this culture that feels threatened from inside and out. The songs signal

²⁷⁴ Louder, et al. (1983) p.54.

²⁷⁵ Roy (1978) pp.9-10.

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p.10.

the new ways to go in developing as a culture and are an index of the health of the quebecois community, by reflecting 'where it's at'. Certainly many of the songs act to uplift the society bringing joy to the hearts yet reminding the people of the ever-present threat of the internal lethargy of rigid past tradition to be avoided. The songs tell the people that their life is full of *life* and worth living even though they live in relative alienation from the rest of America. These same songs are a memory of the people's past heritage yet always a new vision on the future, indicating a culture which is alive and thriving, and far from stagnating. By focussing so closely on the daily life of 'ordinary people' and by often writing in first person experience, the songs are always a self-critique and personal account of the individual and the collective people.²⁷⁷ Certain key singers are 'the clowns' who help the public laugh at themselves but at the same time bear a seriousness, a collective conscience which critiques the people as a whole as well as its individuals.²⁷⁸ These comments especially apply to the periods of the late 1950s through to the late 1970s. After this period, there has been a new seriousness in the quebecois music, perhaps making it more American. At present, the diversity of style and content of quebecois music is at its widest ever. It fills almost every genre possible. There is a current sense of establishment in the performers. It expresses that quebecois music has come to its own. It can be performed without apology to anyone and that it is the music (and part of the way of life) of a distinct people who have no doubts about their distinctness, even if others do. In their personal lives the composer-singer-musician-

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.12. What is special is "Notre facilite a nous raconter" - our facility to recount (the story of) ourselves.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.12.

interpreters follow unique paths, yet there are points of cultural commonality, especially in that they are almost all occupied with multiple mediums of expression: music, poetry, writing, theatre and other arts. They share a gentleness and intimacy of view of 'their people', the natural beauty of 'their homeland' and the excitement of 'their cities' yet draw on influences from around the world which will help to open their horizons, as individuals and members of 'a people'. Quebecois music and culture are concentrated specifically in the southern portion of the Province of Quebec but are never contained by political boundaries. Quebecois peoples extend out from Quebec in small pockets across North America, grading into other francophone groups which share many of the same qualities (e.g. Acadians and Franco-Ontariens).²⁷⁹ Therefore, the 'French' fact still exists in America yet, unfortunately, it is still behind a 'wall of silence' through which Anglo-North Americans do not hear. The English and French-language music businesses operate, to a great extent, as separate entities, as do the cultures.

²⁷⁹ This cultural awakening is a process shared by all ethnic communities across North America and the world. For example, the book Alda, Richard D., Ethnic Identity The Transformation Of White America (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990) discusses how white Americans, of non-Anglo Saxon ethnic stock, have assimilated into the U.S. 'melting pot' only on certain levels such as general education, but have been increasingly developing separate ethnic milieus within their own localities and homes.

CONCLUSIONS

"But music is a fluid, dynamic element of culture, and it changes to suit the expressive and emotional desires of humankind, the most changeable of the animals. Like all of expressive culture, music is a peculiarly human adaptation to life on planet earth."¹

Musical landscape can explain many things about the cultural geographic landscape, through providing an understanding of how music is generated, transmitted and used in culture, which in turn reveals insights into the ordering of people into cultures and subcultures; the behaviour of people in space; their use of that or those spaces; and the effect of music on space. Music seeks an understanding of people's actions, their impacts on nature, their constructs, their exchanges of meaning, and so forth. Conversely, geographical landscape tells how music is contextually directed, though not fully determined, by social and environmental processes. Thus space, especially through the values and understandings of people present in that space, places socio-cultural meaning, definition and constrictions on sound and music. Through each people, therefore, within any one region, sound and music can provide a definition, a characteristic naming, of 'their' space and its components (a 'sound region or sub-region'), both of itself but more

¹ Titon, et al. (1984) p.9.

so in contrast to other regions. On an interregional scale, no place or music remains uninfluenced by others outside, yet the sources, types, degrees and mixes of the influences are different in every location. The people of each region, large or small, select from these influences and put into form their own distinct musics which in turn will eventually influence other regions beyond. Uniquely, however, quebecois music still awaits a time when it will have a broad influence and acceptance in North America, beyond its region.

Certain individuals are the main generators and repositories of the body of culture. They are the creators, mirrors and memory of the culture. Through involving themselves in learning and expressing 'known' music, they eventually become freed to explore 'new' musics.² There is some bureacratic collecting of heritage but this only has meaning when certain individuals within the system (eg.- Ernest Gagnon and Marius Barbeau) are fired up by the need to do this as a culturally creative venture. All individuals in a culture create but few participate in a leading role or remember or respond to the breadth and depth of the culture, and much of what is created in a culture does not become the core of that culture - i.e. remains generally unknown, is of marginal significance or remains subcultural only. Of the key individuals in a culture, some become social symbols or heroes (eg.- La Bolduc, Felix Leclerc, Gilles Vigneault, Robert Charlebois). Their symbolic selves are no longer their own reality, but images or landscapes of how the general culture, which they symbolize, perceives itself and its goals and the environment

² The reason for learning anything (music, geography, etc.) is to become prepared to more easily effect change (i.e., create new things and extend the bounds of knowledge). Through having a solid base to work from, improvisation (making change) becomes possible.

around it, at that particular time period. The successful musical performers and musical pieces become transformed from individual performers and presentations to a group collective cultural entities (or landscapes). Behind the hero image are inevitably others who have helped create the idol as a symbol: their musical, social, political influences and teachers; supporting and promoting organizations (monarchs, companies, governments, agents, promoters) technicians; composers (if they are only performers), etc.³ Some songs may become anthems of a people while the rest form the body and breadth (diverse dimensions) of the culture. That is, a culture has many characteristics. It is not uniform throughout and should never be treated that way. The individual, behind or within the hero, still maintains his or her own personal identity which is often not identical to that of the public image. Culture, and particularly music within it, defines people and place more than politics or economics do because it takes a much broader and also closer view of who the people are and what the place is. Music allows variability. Politics and economics, in contrast are very narrow in scope of view and in who is included.⁴ They always seek uniformity.

All cultures are plural, they are composed of a large body of members who maintain tradition, certain minority elements who do not fit the culture, and sub-cultural groups

³ eg.- The Jesuits, Laliberte, the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, Claude Champagne, the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs, and others provided either musical education, funding, sheet music, encouragement and other support necessary for the growth of musicians.

⁴ Giroux (1991) p.79. "La culture, mieux que toute ideologie politique, definera le passe, le present et l'avenir du peuple quebecois." -Culture, better than all political ideology, defines the past, present and future of the quebecois people.

who attempt to move beyond the constrictions of the general culture (from time to time some of these become successful either separating to form their own culture or causing the general culture to transform to a new or revised tradition) in order to keep the culture alive and growing. There have been, through time, a succession of places (nodes) of germination and development and sometimes eventual flowering of music and culture centered around a succession of key individuals. Around them is a continually changing social milieu. The nodes, key individuals, the public, the institutions, and general 'natural' environment interact in a variety of ways, each encouraging or limiting change in the others. When enough key factors coincide this may cause revolutionary or renaissance type changes to take place. When the time for change seems far away, music adjusts accordingly.⁵

Regarding the quebécois, music has been a strong and continuous force throughout the entire history of the French North American people, whose main cultural source is the Southern Quebec region and its quebécois inhabitants. And of this region Montreal is the heart of the culture. From this core area other regions with variant or semi-quebécois cultures (Acadians, Louisianians, Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Manitobans, Metis, etc.) developed as the French-speaking North Americans were dispersed and isolated through exploration, political separation and economic or other factors. The

⁵ London, Herbert I., Closing The Circle A Cultural History of the Rock Revolution (Chicago: IL: Nelson-Hall, 1984) pp.181. "Rock music has the power to socialize, but it is ostensibly a barometer of public sentiment. During periods of social turbulence, rock is a call for action ... But when there is a return to normal, rock adjusts its tempo to a Panglossian mood of 'This is the best of times.'"

quebecois music has always been passed on and dispersed by its own people. The response, however, of the surrounding white anglophone populations has been, for the most part, to ignore their sound. In many respects this makes little sense, since white American anglophones have absorbed various American black musics, European music from other language traditions, Latin (Spanish language-based) music, East Indian music and even Cajun (Louisiana-based French music) and Celtic music (in Gaelic) but not quebecois French language music. The quebecois on the other hand, though originally developing their folk music in relative isolation, have to a great extent during the 1900s, opened their ears, minds and horizons to listen to a wide range of music from around the world. This influence has caused major changes in their own cultural tradition but has also allowed it to remain unique and flourishing.⁶ Without the contrast with other places and the motivation to keep their music evolving they would probably culturally stagnate and die. Their music would gradually disappear and be replaced by music imported from the United States and other dominant music sources. Most quebecois music contains a reminder of past music tradition yet incorporates the new influences with each generation depending on their contact with the music of other cultural groups. Even in copying the dominant surrounding American or British sounds, quebecois music is distinctive, even

⁶ Baillargeon, Richard and Cote, Christian, Une Histoire de la musique populaire au Quebec (Montreal: Triptyque, 1991) p.14-15. The authors identify six major influences in the formation of quebecoise music: 1) traditional folk songs from France, 2) traditional Celtic (Irish and Scottish) combined in Quebec with popular European dance music of the 18th and 19th centuries, 3) various forms of pop music from France, 4) afro-latin music, 5) American country and western music, and 6) various forms of American pop, especially rock. They include a chart with the book, showing how they believe the influences to be connected.

if that distinction is only through the use of French language. However, any imported music is eventually adapted in its meaning and sometimes content. But when quebécois singers use English language for their songs they stand out from English language-based music through their contrasting approach to themes, general flavour of the sound, and vary greatly in terms of passion, compassion and intimacy of which they have a lot.

Quebécois music remains very much an oral tradition. Its influences come from Europe (especially France and Britain and indirectly from other countries) and America (i.e., the United States). It does not appear to be highly influenced by Anglo Canadian music, in more recent times, except perhaps in classical music, (though it must be to some degree), and to a lesser extent Native sources. However, through the 1800s contact with British peoples in America transferred important musical forms to French-Canadian (and later quebécois) music and dance (the jig, the reels, etc.). These are now essential ingredients of quebécois 'sound'. But *quebécois music is not identical to any of these influences*. It has become its own sound, which incorporates a certain: intimacy, integrity, purity of vision, sincerity and gentleness. It also encompasses a sense of vast space and silence, the confinement of snow, the ethereal atmosphere of the St. Lawrence River's coast, the rich in the small sounds of life in the village or the city and the deep feelings of joy and sorrow. The present quebécois pop music industry also operates almost totally independently of the English Canadian and American music industries. What marks quebécois music as distinct is its sensitivity to landscape: place, region, and people and passion for life and love in terms of daily life. Because of their relative isolation, in terms of acceptance musically from outside, their sound has a regionalness

in style and dialect and often echoes this cultural isolation in the music (soundwise and thematically). In this way their music, from the perspective of many outsiders, seems from an older time period. In France and parts of Europe it has since the 1950s gained popularity in part because it presents a haunting memory, to its listeners, of their own pasts and local or regional dialects in language. Composers and performers pay attention in the sounds and words of the music to the details of daily life and the people in the landscape (and not just the 'beautiful' ones as in a lot of American music) whether the landscape is rural or urban. The music is also heavily influenced by religion (both in the senses of tradition and spirituality), either promoting it or calling for a morality that departs from the rigidity of their form of Catholic religious tradition. Political tradition for much of the people's existence has mirrored the religious controls. The common thread of the Gregorian plain-chant keeps reappearing in the music.

The diffusion and continued regeneration of quebecois music results from many influences. Initially oral tradition maintained song. The exploration and exploitation of resources (the fur-trade, lumbering, mining, farming, fishing, administering) in the frontier led to a vast spread of the folk song; the singers also being the agents of transformation of the natural frontier into the cultured landscape through land use and description in song. The collection of folk song and legend brought an aggregating of what had, since colonization, developed into fairly isolated pockets of settlement back into more of 'a people' of common heritage. Newspapers spread political ideas through publication of songs. The church organ, later followed by the spread of pianos, led to the development of a quebecois classical music, much more contemporary than the folk

songs. The guitar led to development of quebecois pop. French language radio and television, and later government grants, supported the growth of a music business centered in Montreal and, to a lesser extent, Quebec City. Urbanization created sounds which were in some ways more American, yet increased in their content joul and other more localized dialects of French or French-English mixes unique to Quebec. And so on. The music broadcast ideas and images encouraging culture to advance but itself was advanced through its connection to religion, political ideas, economic developments, changing social conditions and needs, and changes in technology. The movement of quebecois people physically into the frontier and to Europe, first to be taught and then to perform (and teach); their absorption of everything from outside; and their inner search for identity are what have created them as a people. Exposure, rather than purposeful (self-imposed) cultural isolation, has kept Quebec alive.⁷

In terms of implications of matching quebecois culture with territory, it becomes very obvious through the music that quebecois culture within the Province of Quebec is confined to about the Southern one third or perhaps even quarter of the province. The 'North' remains a mysterious unknown, only sought after by the imagination of the poet composer or economic exploitation, or the political rhetoric in the claiming of territory. In reality the culture of the rest of Quebec is Native and either Native language or English language-based. The northern regions have remained out of the thoughts and concerns of the general public and collectively are certainly not considered a place of settlement and artistic cultural development. Only recently, with the rise of Native

⁷ A certain amount of cultural control, however, is necessary and healthy.

nationalism and identity within Quebec, have the francophone population become aware of this landscape. A part of this sense of Native peoples is being expressed through new symbols of revitalized traditional and modern music challenging the quebecois cultural, as well as political, ownership of the land. Alternately, outside of Quebec, exist large and small pockets of French-Canadians or Franco-Americans, some of whom have very strong attachments to Quebec and quebecoisness. The more that language issues are debated, the more these cultural groups have regenerated culturally, especially through music. The Acadian and Cajun music traditions are strong examples. Ultimately, as Bruno Dostie says, Quebec must find its **own place** in the world through expressing itself openly to the world.⁸

The more one studies culture the more evident it is that culture is ever-changing and does not conform to rigid boundaries. Although it is possible to separate human populations and their activities into general classes based on certain dominant characteristics, these change in extent and characteristics over time. Cultures continually intermix to a much greater extent than we ever realize and yet diversity is always maintained throughout the earth's landscape. In the past diversity or difference, from any one cultural perspective, have been valued as being 'bad' or 'lesser'. In reality it is diversity which keeps human culture alive and creative and geography continually changing. Acceptance of the inherent diversity in humanity leads to an enrichment of life and a geography not based on prejudice and rigid separation of others but on an

⁸ Dostie (May 1978, p.8) says "we must express our own era and make it our own ... But we must realize that our success will not cut us off from everyone else. On the contrary, our success will give us a place in a world-wide movement."

acceptance and appreciation of otherness. Any hopes for a continuation of human order in the form of states or for the attainment and maintenance of a global human order will be conditioned on acceptance of the spatial diversity of humanity. This is especially true for both Canada and Quebec at this time.

Life is diverse by nature, therefore its landscapes are diverse. Music, both as a reflection and stimulator of life, must maintain this natural quality of diversity. Creativity itself implies diversity and dynamism. The composer-performers provide a unity within either musical form, content or context to guide and control this diversity in some sort of order, just as in parallel, politics, tradition, and other socio-cultural forms place order on human diversity and natural landscape. For Leclerc and Vigneault there is continuity of form or framework (the basic overall sound stays much the same) but there is progression in content, context and therefore meaning. Leveillee and Andre Gagnon transform through a wide progression of forms but within these remain relatively constant in major themes adding in various secondary content as they will. The musical ideas are drawn, more unconsciously than consciously, from an intunedness to the land and the people and an ability to project this, through music, into future possibility. Out of the landscape of the mind in relationship to the physical and social landscapes comes change. Always there is a mixing of cultural influences. With Vigneault it is a mixing of the old and the new, with Charlebois and Julien it is a mixing of musics and milieus (contents and contexts) of different places. As new perceptions, ideas, or understandings arise within portions of the public, if they are picked up on by musical artists, they emerge as new themes in the music, which will feed or fuel these ideas within these groups and

perhaps eventually invade the entire public. Other art forms follow basically the same process but the means of spreading of each type of art are very different. Music is like a direct pipeline to the heart of the people. Levesque, Duguay and Julien have championed new ideas of nationalism, internationalism and feminism, respectively. Vigneault and Leclerc have championed individualism. Love for, and an attentiveness to, life on the part of the composers and performers gives spirit and life to the music. Space is not dead but alive. Within this complex web of interplay, there are many levels to song, music, the spoken poem, and monologue. More information is in them than is normally used by the public. The public responds to the level that they are ready for, to their 'regional' environment and context of concern. This is what they will listen to and act upon. If it is nationalism, that is where they concentrate, that is what they hear. Because the public itself is diverse, different groups within respond to the promptings of different sounds. The different levels of acceptance and perception command different loyalties. For the quebecois in the past the musical focus and socio-cultural loyalty has been on regionalism (familial, community, and a people) which in the 1960s and 70s blossomed into personal freedom and nationalism - a nation. In the 1980s and 90s the full range of levels is covered with new emphasis on the personal, the corporate and the international. There is an overriding force behind both the unity and diversity of music, some understand it as God, others as Nature, others as inner spirituality of some sort, and so on. At the core of quebecois music rests a awe-filled religiousness or spirituality in confronting and being part of the landscape in which the quebecois people live.

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APPENDIX 1

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THREE SONGS IMPORTANT TO THE QUEBECOIS MUSICAL LANDSCAPE

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Translations by Paul Wilbee

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APPENDIX 2

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**APPENDIX 2. TWO AUDIO CASSETTES
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CASSETTE 1:

**LISTING OF THE MUSICAL PIECES
INCLUDED IN:**

**MUSICAL LANDSCAPE: A DEFINITION AND A
CASE STUDY OF MUSICAL LANDSCAPE IN
ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT
OF QUEBECOIS IDENTITY**

TAPE 1 SIDE 1

- 1) McCabe, John, "Trois Gymnopedies" on Piano Music By Eric Satie (London: Saga Records, 1974) Saga 5387.
- 2) Mitchell, Joni, "Shadows and Light" on The Hissing Of Summer Lawns (Asylum Records, 1975) 7ES-1051.
- 3) Solitudes, Among the Giant Trees of the Wild Pacific Coast and Spring Morning On the Prairies (Toronto: Dan Gibson Productions Ltd., 1981) 5DG-81003.
- 4) Tamblyn, Ian, "Loon Lake" and "Knock on Wood-Winter Piece" on Over My Head (North Track/Ambiance Records).
- 5) Oranges and Lemons (a nursery rhyme).
- 6) Horn, Paul, "Inside" and "Mantra I" on Inside (EPIC, 1968) BXN 26466.
- 7) Simon, Paul, "Graceland," on Graceland (Warner Bros. Records Inc., 1986) 92 54474.
- 8) Haghighi, Kui, Santour Virtuoso Music From Iran (Winnetka, IL: Candle Records) U-56136.
- 9) Spense, Bill, the hammered dulcimer (Voorheesville, NY: Front Hall Records, 1973) FHR-01.
- 10) Shankar, Ravi, Inside the Kremlin (Private Music, 1989) 2044-4-P.
- 11) Shankar, Ravi and Glass, Philip, "Offering" on Passages (Private Music, 1990) 2074-4-P.
- 12) Shakar, Ravi and Menuhin, Yehudi, West Meets East Yehudi Menuhin * Ravi Shankar (Angel/EMI, 1966) 36418.
- 13) Mann, Herbie, Impressions Of The Middle East (Quality Records Limited) SD 1475 (or Atlantic AT 1475).

- 14) Rampel, Jean-Pierre and Laskine, Lily, Sakura Japanese Melodies For Flute And Harp (Nippon Columbia Co., Ltd., 1976) 34568.
- 15) Gosselin, Bertrand, Dragon (Montreal: Les Productions Dragon-Disques, 1986) BG11e.
- 16) Dompierre, Francois, "Vent D'Est" on Dompierre (Montreal: Les Disques Barclay Ltee., 1975) 80212-213.
- 17) Toubabou, "Le chant des choses" and "J'freak assez" on Attente (Les Disques Barclay Ltee., 1975) 80222.
- 18) Kime, Donna, "Queen of Carmel," on Inspirational Music (Evanston, IL) c-78.
- 19) Jewel of the Lotus (Goodwood, Ont.: Don't Blink Music, Inc., 1987) DBMI-003.
- 20) Stravinsky's "The Rite Of Spring" played by Pierre Monyeux and Paris Conservatoire Orchestra, (RCA Victor, 1957) LM-2085.
- 21) Estefan, Gloria and Miami Sound Machine, "The Rhythm Is Gonna Get You," on Let It Loose (CBS Records Canada Ltd, 1987) OET 40769.
- 22) The Beach Boys, "California Girls" "Fun, Fun, Fun" and "I Get Around" on The Beach Boys 20 Golden Greats (Capital Records Inc.) GGC 1403.
- 23) The Beatles, "She Loves You" on twist and shout (Capitol, 1964) ST-6054.
- 24) The Rolling Stones, "Around And Around" on 12x5 (London Records) LL 3402.
- 25) Jefferson Airplane, "Somebody to Love" on Surrealistic Pillow (RCA Victor) LPM-3766.
- 26) Mamas and Papas, "Creeque alley" and "Go where you want to go" on Mamas and Papas 20 Golden Hits (Dunhill Records) DSX-50145.
- 27) The Byrds, "The Times They Are A-Changin'" on Mr. Tambourine Man/ Turn! Turn! Turn! (Don Mills, Ont.: CBS Records Canada Ltd.) CG 33645.
- 28) Haley, Bill, "Rock Around The Clock" on Greatest Hits (Scarborough, Ont.: Quality Records Limited, 1981) SV-2078.
- 29) Peter, Paul and Mary, "If I Had A Hammer" and "Where Have All The Flowers Gone" on Peter, Paul And Mary (New York: Warner Bros., 1962) W 1449; "Blowing In The Wind" on In The Wind (New York:

Warner Bros., 1963) W 1507 and "This Land Is Your Land" on Moving (New York: Warner Bros., 1963) W 1473.

30) Diana Ross and the Supremes, "Stop In The Name Of Love" on Greatest Hits (Detroit: Tamla Motown, 1967) MS 2-663.

31) The Beatles, "Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds" on Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band

32) Country Joe McDonald, "The 'Fish' Cheer" and "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag" on Woodstock (New York: Cotillion Records, 1969) SD-3-500.

33) Hendrix, Jimi, "Star Spangled Banner" on Woodstock.

TAPE 1 SIDE 2

1) Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, "Woodstock" on Deja Vu (Warner Bros. Records of Canada Ltd.) SD 7200.

2) Beethoven's "Third Symphony" and "Ode To Joy" movement from the "Ninth Symphony" on (Deutsche Grammophon) 3308 002 and 3308 006, respectively, played by Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

3) Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture" performed at the special celebration in Montreal for Canada's 125 Anniversary by the Montreal Symphony Orchestra.

4) Harrison, George, "Bangla Desh" on The Concert For Bangladesh (London: Apple, 1971) STCX 3385.

5) USA for Africa, "We Are The World" and Northern Lights, "Tears Are Not Enough" on We Are The World (Bent) 40043.

6) McCartney, Paul, "Ebony and Ivory" on Tug Of War (Don Mills, Ont.: CBS Records Canada Ltd., 1982) TCX 37462.

7) Cockburn, Bruce, "Call It Democracy" on Waiting For A Miracle (Singles 1979-1987) (Epic, 1987) TN2T-67.

8) Valdy, "Hot Rocks" on "Hot Rocks" (Scarborough, Ont.: A&M Records of Canada Ltd., 1978) SP-9034.

9) Raffi, "Baby Beluga" on Baby Beluga (Willowdale, Ont.: Troubador, 1980) CTR-0010.

- 10) Raffi, "One light One sun" on One light One sun (Willowdale, Ont.: Troubador, 1985) TR-0028.
- 11) Midnight Oil, "Beds Are Burning" on Diesel and Dust (Columbia, 1987) BFCT-40967.
- 12) Grant, Eddie, "Gimme Hope Jo'Anna" on File Under Rock (Missassauga, Ont.: Columbia Records) C4 90343.
- 13) Marley, Bob and the Wailers, "Get Up Stand Up" on Legend (Willowdale, Ont.: Island) ISLC-1000.
- 14) Gabriel, Peter, "Biko" and "Games Without Frontiers" on peter gabriel (Charisma Records Records Ltd., 1980) CA-1-2215.
- 15) Gold, Julie, "From A Distance" sung on television show Austin City Limits.
- 16) Sting, "Love Is The Seventh Wave" on The Dream Of The Blue Turtles (Willowdale, Ont.: Polygram, 1985) CS-3750.
- 17) Windwood, Steve, "A Higher Love" on Back in the High Life (Scarborough, Ont.: Island Records Ltd., 1986) 92 54484.
- 18) Juluka, "Scatterlings of Africa" on Scatterlings (Scarborough, Ont.: Warner Bros. Records Inc., 1982) 92 38981.
- 19) Smetana, "The Moldau" (Accord) 30 RC 836, played by Karl Ritter and L'Orchestra De La Societe Des Concerts De Vienne.
- 20) Szell/Wagner, "The Ride Of The Valkyries" on Great Orchestral Highlights from the Ring of the Nibelungs (Columbia) MS 7291, played by The Cleveland Orchestra.
- 21) "A la claire fontaine".
- 22) "C'est l'aviron".
- 23) "V'la le bon vent".
- 24) "En Montent La Riviere".
- 25) "Les Raftmen"
- 26) Baillargeon, Helene and Mills, Alan, "Fringue! Fringue!" on Songs of French-Canada / Chansons du Folklore canadien-francais (Folkways Records) FW 6918.
- 27) Gosselin, Bertrand, "En Filant Ma Quenouille" on vive la bonne semence

(Montreal: Kebec Disc) KD-988.
28) Baillargeon and Mills, "J'entends
le moulin".

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CASSETTE 2:

LISTING OF MUSICAL PIECES
INCLUDED IN:MUSICAL LANDSCAPE: A DEFINITION AND A
CASE STUDY OF MUSICAL LANDSCAPE IN
ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT
OF QUEBECOIS IDENTITY

Tape 2 Side 1

- 1) Gilles Vigneault speaking.
- 2) Vigneault, Gilles, "Il me reste un pays"
- 3) Garolou, "alouette" and "germaine" on garolou (St-Laurent, Que.: London Records of Canada (1967) Ltd., 1978) LFS-9027.
- 4) McGarrigle, Kate and Anna, "Blanche Comme La Neige" on Dancer With The Bruised Knees (Scarborough, Ont.: Warner Bros. Records Inc., 1977) BS 3014.
- 5) Piche, Paul, "Le renard, le loup" on A qui appartient l'beau temps? (Montreal: Kebec-Disc inc., 1977) KD-932.
- 6) Ian & Sylvia, "Un Canadien Errant" on The Best of Ian & Sylvia (Toronto: Vanguard Records) VSD-79269.
- 7) "O Canada!" a television advertisement for the O Canada Unity Federation, sung by a large group of Canadian singing stars.
- 8) Champagne, Claude, "Danse villageoise" performed by the Montreal Symphony Orchestra in Montreal at the gala performance celebrating Canada's 125 Anniversary.
- 9) Vivier, Claude, "Et je reverrai cette ville etrange" on Strange City/ Ville Etrange (Toronto: ArrayMusic, 1988) ART-C 002.
- 10) Gagnon, Andre, "Le Saint-Laurent" on Le Saint-Laurent (St-Laurent, Que.: London Records of Canada (1967) Ltd., 1977) XSP 44301.
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Tape 2 Side 2

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3) Ferland, Jean-Pierre, "La vie des champs" and "Une Histoire de Discotheque" on La Pleine Lune (Telson) AE-1510.

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