Veillées, Variants, and *Violoneux*: Generic Boundaries and Transnational

Trajectories in the Traditional Instrumental Music of Quebec

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Abstract

This dissertation uses tune variants to study the shifting musical boundaries of traditional instrumental music in Quebec, and traces citations of the rural veillée—one of the key extra-musical contexts for the genre of folk, or traditional, music in the province—in literature, on stage, on the radio, and on television. It is particularly concerned with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the institutionalization of folklore studies and the commercialization of recorded sound redefined folk music in many parts of North America, Quebec included. The emphasis in this dissertation on genre—understood as the processes of repetition and variation that shape and reshape both musical content and extra-musical contexts—aligns with a growing concern within music research.

Chapter One provides an overview of traditional instrumental music in Quebec and situates this dissertation within scholarly conversations on melodic variants and musical diffusion; on meanings, usages, and historiography of the term "tradition"; on musical genres and generic boundaries; and on the circulation of musical materials. Chapter Two draws on Brackett's theory of citationality to explore how early-twentieth-century folklorists used the veillée to define the boundaries of a new genre, folklore, that encompassed not only the language-based arts of song and storytelling, but also fiddle tunes, group social dancing, and step-dancing. Chapter Three investigates small-scale networks of people, commercial recordings, and fiddle tunes in Montreal in the 1920s, and argues that high demand for recorded fiddle music spurred a wave of new composition in those years. Chapter Four proposes a new approach to analyzing multiple

settings of the same melody via an exhaustive study of the tune "Money Musk," and suggests that musicians conceive of traditional tunes as sets of musical possibilities tied to a melodic "essence." This chapter also positions traditional instrumental music in Quebec within a transnational network of dance and dance music extending from the British Isles to North America. Chapter Five contrasts the generic framing of folklore on the popular television show *Soirée canadienne* with that of earlier staged and unstaged veillées. This chapter explores written and embodied modes of expression in traditional music in Quebec, and engages with ideas of authenticity and kitsch.

Resumé

Dans la présente étude, il s'agit de suivre les frontières mouvantes du genre de la musique traditionnelle instrumentale au Québec au moyen d'étudier les variantes mélodiques et les citations de la veillée rurale en littérature, au théâtre, à la radio, et à la télévision. (La veillée rurale est un contexte extramusicale privilégié pour le genre de la musique folk, ou traditionnelle, au Québec.) On s'intéresse d'abord à la fin du XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle, moment charnière où l'institutionnalisation du domaine de folklore et l'industrie phonographique se joignaient pour redéfinir le genre de la musique folk dans plusieurs régions de l'Amérique du Nord, y inclus le Québec. La priorité accordée au genre comme objet d'étude—c'est-à-dire, les processus de répétition et de variation qui façonne et remodèle tant les textes musicaux que les contextes extramusicaux—s'aligne avec l'intérêt croissant du domaine de la recherche en musique pour ce sujet.

Le premier chapitre donne un aperçu de la musique traditionnelle instrumentale au Québec et comprend une revue de littérature sur les sujets suivants : les variantes mélodiques et la diffusion musicale; le sens, l'usage, et l'historiographie du terme « tradition »; les genres musicaux et les frontières entre ces genres; et la circulation des matériaux musicaux. Le deuxième chapitre examine comment les folkloristes canadiens-français du début du XXe siècle ont employé l'imagerie de la veillée rurale dans le but de définir les frontières d'un nouveau genre, le folklore, comprenant non seulement des formes d'expressions bien ancrées dans la langue française (des chansons, des contes, et des légendes), mais aussi le répertoire musical interprété par des violoneux et d'autres musiciens, et la danse. Le troisième chapitre enquête sur la circulation du répertoire

parmi les violoneux à Montréal des années 1920. Des concordances musicales de la fin

des années 1920 suggèrent qu'une demande pressante pour des enregistrements des

violoneux a favorisé une vague de nouvelles compositions. Au quatrième chapitre, on

propose une nouvelle méthode pour analyser les variantes mélodiques en utilisant la pièce

« Money Musk », et on suggère que les musiciens conçoivent une pièce traditionnelle

comme un ensemble de possibilités lié à une « essence » musicale. Ce chapitre localise la

musique traditionnelle instrumentale du Québec dans un réseau de danse, et de musique

de danse, qui s'étendait des Îles Britanniques à l'Amérique du Nord. Le cinquième

chapitre oppose l'élaboration du genre de folklore à l'émission télévisée *Soirée*

canadienne au celle des veillées commercialisées et non-commercialisées antérieures. Ce

dernier chapitre se concerne avec les modes d'expression culturelle écrite et incarnée

dans la musique traditionnelle instrumentale, et engage également avec des questions de

l'authenticité et du kitsch.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is a meeting place between two worlds that I have happily co-inhabited for a number of years. My deepest gratitude goes to the many musicians and scholars— university-affiliated and not—with whom I have shared music and conversation over the years, and whose musical and scholarly works have informed my own. As a musician, I am constantly reminded of the many ways of knowing that transcend language. As a scholar, it has been deeply fulfilling to find ways of using language—anyway—to illuminate some of those other forms of knowing.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1   The Fiddler and the Folklorist

In 1918, fiddler Médard Bougie played two settings of the tune "Money Musk" onto wax

cylinders for archivist and folklorist Édouard-Zotique Massicotte in Montreal, Quebec.[1]

Listening to these recordings today, we hear the hiss and crackle of the cylinder and then

Massicotte's precise enunciation, made nasal by the technology of the time: "Mille cinq

cent deux, 'Money Musk à la canadienne' par Monsieur Ménard [sic] Bougie."[2] Bougie

plays two long pickup notes and dives into a rapid-fire pattern in A major. The notes

tumble out and Bougie accelerates slightly. His playing is fast, clear, even, and breathless

(Figure 1.1).

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[1] Canadian Museum of History Archives, Sound Recordings X/A/61, Control Number
MAS-Aw-171.2 (1502) ("Money Musk à la canadienne") and Control Number MAS-
Aw-171.2 (1503) ("Money Musk à l'écossaise").

[2] "One thousand, five hundred and two, 'Money Musk à la canadienne' [i.e., 'Money
Musk' in the French-Canadian style] by Mr. Ménard Bougie." This and all other French
translations in this dissertation by Laura Risk unless otherwise noted. Médard Bougie is
mistakenly called "Ménard" on Massicotte's recordings and in Marius Barbeau and
Massicotte's publication *Veillées du bon vieux temps à la Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, à
Montréal, les 18 mars et 24 avril 1919 sous les auspices de la Société historique de
Montréal et de la Société de folklore d'Amérique* (Montreal: G. Ducharme, 1920).
Maurice Dumas, son of fiddler Omer Dumas, who learned some of his early repertoire
from Bougie, confirmed the correct spelling of Bougie's given name with Bougie's
granddaughter Suzanne Bougie-André ("Violoniste, compositeur et interprète 1889-
1980," http://www.omerdumas-menestrels.org/Menestrels.html).

Figure 1.1   The first section of Médard Bougie's "Money Musk à la canadienne"

On the next cylinder, "Money Musk à l'écossaise," Bougie runs his fingers up a

short scale, pauses, plays an F# pickup as before, and launches into approximately the

same melody, though this time slower and with triplets and dotted rhythms (Figure 1.2).[3]

Figure 1.2   The first section of Médard Bougie's "Money Musk à l'écossaise"

Médard Bougie (1860–1928) was born in Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague, just south

of Salaberry-de-Valleyfield and approximately fifty kilometers southwest of downtown

Montreal. He lived in the nearby village of Sainte-Martine for a time. By 1911, he was in

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[3] On the cylinder, Massicotte introduces this recording as "Le Money Maisse" (spelling
approximate). In the Canadian Museum of History archives, this piece is classified as
"Money Musk à l'écossaise" [i.e., "Money Musk" in the Scottish style]. I do not know
when the latter title was first applied to this recording. It is possible that Massicotte
misheard "Money Musk à l'écossaise" as "Money Maisse."

Montreal, married with six children and working as a machinist.[4] He played the fiddle

left-handed, with the instrument in his right hand and the bow in his left, though his

violin was set up in the usual manner, with the lower strings on the left side of the

instrument and the higher strings on the right.[5]

Édouard-Zotique Massicotte (1867–1947) worked as an archivist for the

juridical district of Montreal. As a child he had dreamed of publishing a collection of folk

songs, a sequel to Ernest Gagnon's landmark *Chansons populaires du Canada* of the

1860s, and he began collecting songs in 1883. What was a part-time interest became a

full-time obsession in 1917, after he met anthropologist and folklorist Marius Barbeau. In

1918, Massicotte wrote to Barbeau that he was devoting three evenings per week, plus

Sunday afternoons and often Saturday afternoons, to collecting folk songs, stories, and,

on occasion, fiddle tunes.[6]

"Money Musk," the tune that Bougie recorded twice for Massicotte in 1918, was

well known in Quebec in the early twentieth century. It was the gold standard of

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[4] Jean Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique et le grand concours international de 1926 à Lewiston, Maine," Bulletin Mnémo 17, no. 1 (Winter 2016), 4.

[5] Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 89, 99; Dumas, "Violoniste, compositeur et interprète 1889-1980." According to Dumas, Bougie played the violin left-handed due to a paralysis on the right side of his body. Barbeau and Massicotte do not mention this, stating instead that Bougie mistakenly held the violin with his right arm when he first began playing as a child (89).

[6] Gilles Potvin, "Édouard-Zotique Massicotte," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, 1985—), article published July 2, 2007, http://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/edouard-zotique-massicotte-emc/; Ernest Gagnon, *Chansons populaires du Canada* (Quebec City: Bureaux du Foyer canadien, 1865–1867). Massicotte wrote to Marius Barbeau, "Dans ma jeunesse, j'avais rêvé publier une suite à Gagnon.... Votre arrivée en scène m'a donné l'espoir de sauver les épaves" ("In my youth, I dreamed of publishing a sequel to Gagnon…. Your arrival on the scene inspired me to save the wrecks [i.e., extant song remnants].") This letter is undated but its contents place it in 1918 (Archives de folklore et d'ethnologie de l'Université Laval, fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte).

virtuosity for community fiddlers, and legend had it that a fiddler playing "Money Musk"

could call down the northern lights.[7] It was also played and danced all over the United

States. Some fiddle contests in the States awarded a special prize for the best rendition of

"Money Musk."[8]

On March 18, 1919, just months after making these cylinder recordings, Médard

Bougie introduced fiddle music to the Montreal stage. Massicotte and Barbeau had

organized an evening of folk traditions, the first in a series that would later be baptized

the "Veillées du bon vieux temps." (A *veillée* is an informal family or community

gathering that typically includes songs, stories, dance, and instrumental music.) Bougie

played "Money Musk." In the program, his setting of the tune is described as a "version

canadianisée" of a "'reel' écossais."[9]

Édouard-Zotique Massicotte's field recording of Médard Bougie marks a

moment of intense national self-reflexivity. For Massicotte and Barbeau, rural fiddlers

(*violoneux*) like Bougie, along with rural singers and storytellers, carried the melodies

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[7] J. E. Prince, "Les violons d'autrefois: essai de folklore musical," *Bulletin du parler français* (May 1908), 334; Louis Fréchette, "Les Marionnettes," in *Les contes de Jos Violon*, Collection Littérature québécoise, vol. 4, version 2.5 (La Bibliothèque électronique du Québec, n.d.), 79–95.

[8] *The Indianapolis Journal*, May 11, 1899, 4; *The Jimplecute* (Jefferson, TX), October 21, 1905, [4]; *The Caldwell Watchman* [Monte Ne, AR], September 7, 1911, 4; *The Topeka State Journal*, March 15, 1912, last edition, 8; *The Topeka State Journal*, March 15, 1913, last edition, 9; *The Bee* [Earlington, KY], March 27, 1914, [3]. See Chapter Four for more details.

[9] A "French-Canadianized version" of a "Scottish 'reel'" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 9). Note that another version of the program lists François-Xavier Baulne of L'Orignal, ON (near Hawksbury) as performing "Money Musk" at this event (Canadian Museum of History Archives, fonds Marius Barbeau, B340, f4). Barbeau and Massicotte's *Veillées du bon vieux temps* includes a transcription of "Money Musk" as played by Bougie (90).

and texts necessary for the "regeneration" of the French-Canadian nation.[10] The educated

classes would necessarily lead this regeneration; the collectors' task was to document and

preserve as many raw musical and textual materials as possible. Massicotte's collection

preserved Bougie's sound and simultaneously assigned ownership of that sound to the

nation as a whole.

Bougie's two "Money Musks" mark a different sort of national self-reflexivity:

an association of rhythmic patterns and melodic figures with specific geographic

locations and, by extension, the people most associated with those locations. These

"Money Musks" are a reminder that melodies can travel easily, flitting across the North

Atlantic with the weightlessness of ideas, and take root in several locations

simultaneously. They are also a reminder that a single tune can exist in many equally

valid forms, and that a single musician can carry several such variants.

Massicotte's recordings of Bougie contain some of the earliest sounds that we

have of fiddling in Quebec. Within a decade, however, the market was flooded with

commercial recordings of fiddle tunes. Three different fiddlers recorded "Money Musk"

on 78 rpm discs in Montreal in the 1920s.[11] Bougie made no commercial recordings, and

died in 1928.

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[10] Barbeau writes of "ce patrimoine obscur que la population rurale conserve inconsciemment pour la régénération de la race" ("this unknown heritage that the rural population unconsciously preserves for the regeneration of the race") (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 2).

[11] Arthur-Joseph Boulay (Victor 263130-B, released January 1923), Isidore Soucy (Starr 15302- B, released February 1927), and Joseph Allard (Victor 263527-B, released July 1928). Accordionist Alfred Montmarquette also recorded "Money Musk" in the same years (Starr 15475-A, released c. October 1928).

Half a century later, television audiences in Quebec could watch fiddlers and

harmonica players play "Money Musk" for solo step-dancers on the popular show *Soirée*

canadienne. The musical and visual contents of this program were indebted to Barbeau

and Massicotte's "Veillées du bon vieux temps" and to the many stagings of folk

music—in theatres, and later on radio, recordings, and television—that followed in the

wake of this successful series.

It is commonplace by now to say that traditions are "invented": that nationalists,

politicians, folklorists, writers, musicians, dancers, and others have at times selected,

fixed, and linked choice elements of the flux of daily life to project an image of long-

range stability. Eric Hobsbawm describes this process as one of "formalization and

ritualization, characterized by reference to the past," and its primary purpose as

"establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or

artificial communities."[12] In this dissertation, I investigate the mechanics of the invention

of traditional instrumental music in Québec: where did this repertoire come from, how

did it circulate, what were its political and social articulations, and how did those shift

over time? I describe an historical moment when the genre of "folklore" as a musical

embodiment of French-Canadian identity came into the public consciousness in Montreal

and elsewhere in Quebec.

I begin with the meeting of folklore, fiddling, and recording technology in

Montreal in the early twentieth century, and follow melodies, ideas, and performance

contexts both backwards and forward in time. I discuss community veillées and staged

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[12] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, [1983] 2010), 4, 9.

veillées, early field recordings and commercial recordings, and "Money Musk" in its many variants. I look back to Scottish printed collections of the late eighteenth century—"Money Musk" was composed by a Scot in the 1770s—and ahead to radio and television in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. As suits a subject that sits equally in the past and the present, I base my arguments on both archival and ethnographic research, and find scholarly models in both musicology and ethnomusicology.

I start from the premise that traditional musics are founded as much on the circulation of people and media as on localized music-making. As Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen assert, the "collective life experiences or cultural traditions" that make up North Atlantic fiddling were "formed from the start by routes of encounter and migration, and moulded by movements, ever fluid and dynamic."[13] People, recordings, sheet music, and radio and television waves are all potential vectors of transmission. Generic boundaries are one way of making sense of these ongoing transnational flows.

The study of musical genre is a growing concern within musicology, particularly in popular music studies.[14] This is not genre as a fixed system for cataloguing artistic form and style, but genre as the processes of repetition and variation that shape and reshape both musical content and extra-musical contexts. Following the work of

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[13] Russell, Ian and Chris Goertzen, "Routes & Roots," in *Routes & Roots: Fiddle and Dance Studies From around the North Atlantic 4*, ed. Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, 2012), 1-2.

[14] For instance, David Brackett, *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016); Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); David Hesmondhalgh, "Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above," *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, no. 1 (2005): 21–40; Keith Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1999); Simon Frith, "Genre Rules," in *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 75–98; Will Straw, "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music," *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3 (1991): 368–388.

musicologist David Brackett, I take musical genres as constructed and maintained via an ongoing series of citations.[15] The second and fifth chapters of this dissertation trace citations of the rural veillée—one of the key extra-musical contexts for the genre of folk, or traditional, music—in literature, on stage, on the radio, and on television.

Tune variants are another, perhaps more blatant, type of citation: the creation of a new tune setting is, by definition, a process of repetition and difference. The third and fourth chapters of this dissertation use tune variants to study the shifting musical boundaries of the genre of folk, or traditional, music in Quebec. I also use variants to study networks of musicians and to describe musicians' mental constructions of aurally-transmitted repertoire.

1.2   Overview and Historiography of Traditional Instrumental Music in Quebec

The traditional instrumental music of Quebec encompasses a broad and diverse repertoire, with distinctive individual and regional approaches and a complex set of connections to local, provincial, and national identities. Like many traditional musics, it has been used for various nationalist purposes for well over a century, yet it is also very much a living music, with new compositions, touring bands, young learners, and networks of festivals, concerts, dances, sessions, and informal gatherings. While a complete survey of these activities is well beyond the scope of this dissertation, present-day traditional music-making in Quebec forms a necessary backdrop to the ideas

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[15] Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 2016, 11–13.

presented herein. I would therefore encourage readers unfamiliar with this music to explore its sounds, images, texts, and activities via the links in the footnote below.[16]

I use the terms "traditional music" and "traditional instrumental music" in deference to the common nomenclature for this repertoire today ("*musique traditionnelle*" or "*musique trad*," where "musique" can imply instrumental music), and in acknowledgement of the fact that, though parts of this dissertation reach back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and much of it focuses on the early twentieth century, this project is ultimately about the formation of a present-day musical genre. In other, more historically specific, parts of this dissertation, I use contemporary terminologies: "folk," "folklore," "popular," "national," "*du terroir*."[17] Similarly, I use historical descriptors for the French-speaking population of Quebec, who were "French-Canadian," *canadien(ne)s français(es)*, or simply *canadien(ne)s* until the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, when they became *québécois(es)*.

This dissertation is concerned primarily with the southern part of what is today the Canadian province of Quebec. This geographic area was part of New France from 1608 to 1763, the Province of Quebec to 1791, Lower Canada to 1841, and the Province

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[16] The Centre Mnémo (http://www.mnemo.qc.ca) maintains an online list of artists and organizations active in traditional music in Quebec, and a calendar of traditional music events in the province. It also publishes the quarterly *Bulletin Mnémo*. The Conseil québécois du patrimoine vivant (http://patrimoinevivant.qc.ca/) is an advocacy organization for intangible cultural heritage in Quebec. Its membership includes many local organizations dedicated to promoting traditional music, dance, and handicrafts. American fiddler Lisa Ornstein has compiled a list of "Useful Links for Québécois Music and Dance" at http://www.lisaornstein.com/useful-links-for-quebecois-music-and-dance/.

[17] Monique Chatigny-Provost documents changing generic descriptors for the music of the band La Bottine Souriante (1976–present), from "musique folklorique" to "musique traditionnelle" to ""world beat" and "musique du monde" ("Du folklore au patrimoine culturel: pour nommer la musique traditionnelle au Québec," *Bulletin Mnémo* 13, no. 2 [Fall 2011], 9–15.)

of Canada to 1867. I use historical names as appropriate, but retain "Quebec" as a general

term that bridges these political shifts.

The repertoire in question may be loosely defined as short, danceable melodies

("tunes") with two or more distinct musical sections ("strains").[18] These tunes are often

played on fiddle, accordion, or harmonica, with piano, guitar, and/or percussive

accompaniment.[19] The tunes are often in simple duple metre, though not exclusively:

tunes may also be in simple triple metre, compound duple metre, or a combination of

several metres. Many tunes are composed of four- or eight-bar phrases, though others are

asymmetric ("crooked" or *croche*).[20] Most tunes are in major keys, often in the fiddle-

and accordion-friendly keys of A, D or G. Some tunes modulate at the beginning of a

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[18] Musicians today commonly call these sections the "A part" and the "B part" (*partie A*, *partie B*) or the "first part" and the "second part" (*première partie*, *deuxième partie*). Additional sections are called the "C part" or "third part," etc. In this dissertation, I use the term "strain" in order to avoid confusion with other uses of the words "part" and "partie."

[19] Jean-Pierre Joyal documents the early history of the following instruments in Quebec: violin, diatonic accordion, harmonica, jaw harp, spoons, bones, frame drums, piano, and guitar. Joyal also discusses foot-tapping and "turlutte" (singing tune melodies with vocables), and surveys dance bands and traditional music ensembles ("Instruments de musique et pratique musicale dans la tradition populaire québécoise" [Master's thesis, Université de Montréal, 1989]).

[20] Jean Duval recently completed an exhaustive survey of the repertoire in thirty printed collections of traditional instrumental music from Quebec. He defines in detail the following tune types: reel, simple reel, hornpipe, binary 6/8, clog, and march with binary subdivisions (all simple duple metre); waltz, waltz-clog, simple reel with three beats, and reel with three beats (all simple triple metre); quadrille-style 6/8, Irish-style 6/8, and march with ternary subdivisions (all compound duple metre). He also discusses hybrids of these tune types. Duval calculates that approximately 75% of the tunes in his data set are simple duple metre (Jean Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre : jeu et enjeux des pièces asymétriques dans la musique traditionnelle du Québec" [PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 2013], 82–104). The focus of Duval's dissertation is on asymmetric, or "crooked," tunes.

new strain, usually from relative minor to major (or vice versa) or to a key that is a fifth

higher or lower.[21]

This repertoire is most closely associated with group social dances, usually for

four or more couples in a square or longways formation; with solo step-dancing; and with

some couple dances, such as the waltz.[22] The tunes are played quickly and, as befits a

dance-based repertoire, with an unwavering pulse. Rhythmic groove is paramount.

Players add light, sharp accents to certain notes, particularly the offbeats, i.e., beats two

and four in a bar of 4/4, or beats two, four, and six in a bar of 6/4. Some players accent

some of the notes immediately preceding or following an offbeat, i.e., the "ands" in a bar

of 4/4 or 6/4.[23]

Musicians may accompany themselves by tapping their feet, most commonly in

a long-short-short (quarter note – eighth note – eighth note) pattern. In recent years, foot-

tapping, also called "podorythmie" or "l'accord de pied," has become an art form in its

own right and some musicians—especially fiddlers—construct complex rhythmic

patterns with their feet while playing. Foot-tapping is one of the most immediately

recognizable characteristics of traditional instrumental music from Quebec today: as

representative of the province, in Jean Duval's words, as maple syrup.[24]

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[21] Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," 109.

[22] For a succinct overview of common group social dances, see Pierre Chartrand, "Du set au cotillon... Petite introduction à la danse traditionnelle québécoise et à ses genres..." *Bulletin Mnémo* 1, no. 4 (Spring 1997), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/html/97(10).html.

[23] Tunes and tune segments in simple duple metre may be notated in 2/2, 4/4, or 2/4. Tunes and tune segments in simple triple metre may be notated in 6/4 or 3/2.

[24] Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," 3. For a discussion of foot-tapping in Acadian fiddling on Prince Edward Island, see Meghan Forsyth, "'De par chez nous:' Fiddling Traditions and Acadian Identity on Prince Edward Island" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011), 156–158.

Few of these tunes are older than the late eighteenth century, and most are substantially younger. (Duval argues convincingly that, in spite of a "volonté romantique" to link present-day traditional dance and instrumental music in Quebec to dancing and dance music in New France, there is no evidence to support such a claim.) Some can be traced to British Isles and North American dance tune publications of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some were probably adapted from marching bands; some are the melodies of popular songs or children's songs. Many, perhaps most, were composed in Quebec.[25]

In the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, many fiddle-based repertoires from around the North Atlantic were notated in printed collections and personal manuscripts.[26] This was not the case in Quebec. According to Duval, the first

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[25] Ibid., 23–24. Duval argues that up to eighty percent of tunes in the data set described above may have been composed in Quebec (111–113). Séguin notes that violins were played for dancing in Quebec City as early as 1645. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, dancing was popular but frowned upon by the religious authorities. Duval concludes that present-day traditional instrumental music retains nothing from the period 1700 to 1760, however, other than the use of the violin for dancing. (Robert-Lionel Séguin, *La vie libertine en Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle* [Montréal: Léméac, 1972], 191–197. See also Simonne Voyer, *La danse traditionnelle dans l'est du Canada : quadrilles et cotillons* [Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001], 26–30.) See Kate Van Winkle Keller, *Dance and Its Music in America, 1528–1789* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2007) for a survey of dance and dance music in the land area that would eventually become the continental United States. Keller's documentation of Native American traditions is particularly strong. She does not, unfortunately, discuss dance in the land area that would eventually become Canada, though see Chapter Two, "French Exploration and Settlement" (51–76).

[26] For Scottish printed collections, i.e., of Niel and Nathaniel Gow, William Marshall, Robert Mackintosh, Daniel Dow, James Stewart Robertson, Keith Norman MacDonald, James Scott Skinner, and many others, see Charles Gore's Scottish Music Index (http://www.scottishmusicindex.org/bibliography.asp) and Historical Music of Scotland (http://hms.scot/). These sites catalogue many of the collections housed at the National Library of Scotland (NLS) in Edinburgh. The NLS also has a number of manuscripts of fiddle tunes. Note that Scottish collector John Glen includes detailed profiles of fiddlers, composers, and music-sellers in both volumes of his *Glen Collection of Scottish Dance*

printed collection of French-Canadian fiddle tunes was J.A. Boucher's *Le répertoire du vi_oloneux* (1933). Fiddler Adrien Avon published a collection of new compositions and traditional tunes in 1945. There were no additional printed collections of French-Canadian tunes until the late twentieth century.[27]

With so few written tune sources, we know very little about what tunes were played, or how they were played, in Quebec prior to the advent of recording technology. The commercial recordings of fiddlers, accordionists, and harmonica players in the 1920s

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Music (Edinburgh, 1891 and 1895). For Irish printed collections and manuscripts, i.e., of Edward Bunting, George Petrie, Patrick Weston Joyce, Francis O'Neill, and others, consult the Irish Traditional Music Archive (ITMA). Some ITMA holdings may be consulted online at http://www.itma.ie/digitallibrary/printed-collections. Capt. Francis O'Neill also collected biographical information on musicians, and his *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (1913) profiles harpers, collectors, pipers, and fiddlers. The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library has an extensive collection of printed and manuscript tune books from England; many of these are now available online at http://www.vwml.org/browse/browse-collections-dance-tune-books. Additional manuscripts and printed books of English dance music are online via The Village Music Project, http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/. Printed collections from Scotland or Ireland (or Irish-America, in the case of Francis O'Neill) typically identify their constituent repertoire by nationality (as in the Gows' *Part Fourth of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys and Dances* [Edinburgh, 1817] or Bunting's *General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* [Dublin: W. Power & Co., 1796]). Collections from England do not typically describe their contents as "English," but rather as music for "English country dances" (as in *The Treasures of Terpsichore* [1809], online at http://www.vwml.org/browse/browse-collections-dance-tune-books/browse-wilson1809). For a comprehensive listing of North American printed collections, see Drew Beisswenger's *North American Fiddle Music: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2011, 5–36). In addition, the American Antiquarian Society and the Center for Popular Music have recently digitised hundreds of American manuscripts. These are available online at the "American Vernacular Music Manuscripts, ca. 1730–1910" portal, http://popmusic.mtsu.edu/manuscriptmusic/default.aspx.

[27] Barbeau and Massicotte included transcriptions of ten tunes in their monograph *Veillées du bon vieux temps* (1920). Duval also mentions J. A. Forest's transcriptions of fiddle tunes for *La Lyre* in 1928 and 1929; I discuss these at length in Chapter Three (Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," 48–49 and Annex 1).

are thus the first large-scale documentation of traditional instrumental music in Quebec.[28]

Gabriel Labbé catalogued these and later commercial recordings, and profiled the

performers, in his comprehensive *Les pionniers du disque folklorique québécois, 1920-*

1950, later updated to *Musiciens traditionnels du Québec (1920-1993)*.[29]

　　The twin technologies of sound recording and audio broadcast—radio and later

television—radically altered patterns of musical transmission in Quebec. As Éric Favreau

notes, "c'est principalement par [la radio] que la plupart des violoneux des générations

plus âgées prendront connaissance de la diversité des styles et des répertoires

traditionnels [au Québec]."[30] Scholarly works by Bellemare, Le Guevel, and Du Berger,

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[28] As noted above, Barbeau and Massicotte made some field recordings of fiddle tunes in the late 1910s. There are also a handful of commercial recordings of fiddle tunes from 1917 and 1918; see Chapter Three for details.

[29] Gabriel Labbé, *Les pionniers du disque folklorique québécois, 1920-1950* (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1977); Gabriel Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels du Québec (1920-1993)* (Montréal: VLB, 1995). Labbé also collected 78 rpm discs of traditional instrumental music from Quebec. His collection is now housed at Library and Archives Canada and many of these recordings are available online via the Virtual Gramophone ("Virtual Gramophone—Canadian Historical Sound Recordings," Library and Archives Canada, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/films-videos-sound-recordings/virtual-gramophone/Pages/virtual-gramophone.aspx.) Also see Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Vol. 1: Western Europe* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990). Spottswood includes French-Canadian recordings in the "French" section (7–104).

[30] "It is principally through [radio] that most fiddlers of an older generation became aware of the diversity of traditional styles and repertoires [in Quebec]" (Eric Favreau, "La transmission de la musique traditionnelle par la radio," *Bulletin Mnémo* 2, no. 1 [Summer 1997], http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/la-transmission-de-la-musique). Saguenay-Lac St-Jean fiddler Louis "Pitou" Boudreault's repertoire was divided between family tunes, tunes learned from family friend and wintertime neighbour Xavier Dallaire, tunes from commercial recordings, and his own compositions (Lisa Ornstein, "A Life of Music: History and Repertoire of Louis Boudreault, Traditional Fiddler from Chicoutimi, Quebec" [Master's thesis, Université Laval, 1985]). In the early 1950s, Gaspésian fiddler Yvon Mimeault learned twelve new tunes from the radio each week to play for a Saturday evening dance, which was itself broadcast live on the radio (Yvon Mimeault, interview by Laura Risk, August 6, 2010, Douglastown, QC).

Mathieu, and Roberge address the importance of radio in the musical soundscapes of

Montreal and Quebec City in the early and mid twentieth century.[31]

  In recent years, scholars have produced monographs on a number of nationally

or regionally defined fiddling traditions around the North Atlantic.[32] No such overview is

currently available for Quebec, excepting the extended first chapter of Jean Duval's

excellent doctoral dissertation on assymetrical tunes in Quebec. There have been a

number of in-depth profiles of individual musicians, however, most notably Carmelle

Begin's comprehensive doctoral dissertation on fiddler Jean Carignan and Lisa Ornstein's

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[31] Luc Bellemare, "Les Réseaux des 'Lyriques' et des 'Veillées': une histoire de la chanson au Québec par la radiodiffusion au poste CKAC de Montréal (1922-1939)" (Université Laval, 2012); Yves Le Guevel, "La musique traditionnelle instrumentale canadienne-française en milieu urbain: le cas de Québec (1930-1960)" (Master's thesis, Université Laval, 1997); Jean Du Berger, Jacques Mathieu, Martine Roberge, *La radio à Québec, 1920-1960* ([Sainte-Foy, Québec] PUL-IG, 1997). Working in the parallel tradition of Newfoundland fiddling, Osbourne has identified four primary mediated influences on the repertoire—the Cape Breton style, Don Messer, country and western music, and Irish music. She writes about the variable levels of prestige associated with these media-learned repertoires (Evelyn Osbourne, "Fiddling with Technology: The Effect of Media on Newfoundland Traditional Musicians," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 22, no. 1 [2007]: 187-204. Also see Simon Keegan-Phipps, "An Aural Tradition with a Pause Button? The Role of Recording Technology in a North East English Folk Session," *Ethnomusicology* 57, no. 1 [2013]: 34–56).

[32] For instance, Mary Anne Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1983; repr., Edinburgh: The Hardie Press, 1996); Peter Cooke, *The Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Simon J. Bronner, *Old Time Music-Makers of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987); Joyce H. Cauthen, *With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow: Old-Time Fiddling in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989); Caoimhín MacAoidh, *Between the Jigs and the Reels: The Donegal Fiddle Tradition* (Leitrim: Drumlin Publications, 1994); Chris Goertzen, *Fiddling for Norway* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Glenn Graham, *The Cape Breton Fiddle: Making and Maintaining Tradition* (Sydney, NS: Cape Breton University Press, 2006); Katherine Campbell, *The Fiddle in Scottish Culture: Aspects of the Tradition* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007); Chris Goertzen, *Southern Fiddlers and Fiddle Contests* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008); Howard Wight Marshall, *Play Me Something Quick and Devilish: Old-Time Fiddlers in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2012); Liz Doherty, *The Cape Breton Fiddle Companion* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2015).

eloquent master's thesis on fiddler Louis "Pitou" Boudreault. Both are primarily

repertoire studies, but also include carefully researched individual and local histories.[33]

1.2.1   The Veillée as Generic Boundary

A central assertion of this dissertation is that the generic boundaries of traditional

instrumental music in Quebec were ill-defined, or non-existent, until the early twentieth

century. This is not to suggest that this repertoire does not extend back into the nineteenth

century and earlier: much of it does. To classify nineteenth- and eighteenth-century tunes

as traditional (or folk, etc.) in Quebec in their own time, however, is to impose a

twentieth-century genre framework on a much earlier set of tunes, players, and musical

contexts. I discuss this issue at length in Chapter Two, but a few words are in order here.

Marius Barbeau was the first trained anthropologist to systematically collect

songs, stories, and tunes in Quebec. Speaking to the Société Royale du Canada in May

1915, not long after he began documenting French-Canadian oral traditions (at

anthropologist Franz Boas' encouragement), Barbeau defined French-Canadian folklore

as those secular traditions and customs carried to Canada by the earliest French settlers.[34]

He argued that French-Canadians had preserved this heritage "presque intact" through the

end of the nineteenth century but that, by the 1910s, only remnants were left.

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[33] Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," 19–152; Carmelle Begin, "La musique traditionnelle pour violon: Jean Carignan" (PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 1978); Ornstein, "A Life of Music."

[34] Barbeau, "Le folklore canadien-français," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Section 1*, ser. 3, vol. 9 (March 1916), 449. This text was read at the Society's May 1915 meeting. Also see R.J. Preston, Renée Landry and Denise Ménard, "Marius Barbeau," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, 1985—), article published May 20, 2008, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/charles-marius-barbeau/.

> Si vous cherchez bien, vous pourrez peut-être entendre raconter, à une soirée de village, les aventures épiques de Petit-Jean ou de Parlafine luttant contre les géants.... Et ailleurs, il arrive encore aux enfants de s'endormir au rythme de chansons anciennes ou de complaintes à multiples couplets. Ici et là... ont conservé quelques reliques, un moule à chandelles ou un fanal rond en métal ouvré, une boîte à tabac sculptée, un rouet, un métier, une ceinture *fléchée*, une *tuque*, ou un coffre à *équipet*. Ce n'est là, toutefois, que l'écho d'un âge disparu.[35]

At the first two "Veillées du bon vieux temps" (originally called "Soirées de traditions populaires canadiennes"), Victor Morin, president of the Société historique de Montréal, gave the opening remarks and Barbeau introduced the performers. Morin defined French-Canadian folklore as French survivals, as Barbeau had in his presentation to the Société Royale:

> Telles légendes, telles coutumes, tels procédés et tels objets, transmis de père en fils, dans nos campagnes, sont les mêmes que sur les bords de la Seine ou de la Loire. C'est en les conservant et en les étudiant que nous donnerons le cachet le plus [indélébile] à notre mentalité française.[36]

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[35] "nearly intact"; "If you search well, you can perhaps hear, at an evening gathering in a village, [someone] telling the epic adventures of Petit-Jean or Parlafine fighting the giants…. And elsewhere, it still happens that children fall asleep to the rhythm of ancient songs or ballads with many verses. Here and there… some relics have been preserved, a candle mould or a round lantern in worked metal, a sculpted tobacco box, a spinning wheel, a handicraft, a woven waistband, a cap, or a tool chest. This, however, is nothing but the echo of a vanished era" (Barbeau, "Le folklore canadien-français," 449, italics in original). Barbeau enlisted a number of others to assist in collecting folklore. By early 1918, as the Quebec Section of the American Folk-Lore Society, they had collected several hundred song variants, folktales, and anecdotes. They did not collect any dances or instrumental dance tunes. By March 1919, the Section had collected nearly 2000 additional song variants, dozens more stories and anecdotes, and superstitions, games, expressions, and popular remedies. Between May 1918 and March 1919, Barbeau collected his first dance-related repertoire: fifty-five fiddle tunes and eight "danses chantées en imitant le violon" ["dances sung in imitation of the violin"] (Marius Barbeau, "La première séance annuelle de la Section de Québec" and "La deuxième séance annuelle de la Section de Québec," "Notes et enquêtes" section, in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 32, no. 123 [January-March 1919), 180–183, http://www.jstor.org/stable/535103.)

[36] "Such legends, such customs, such techniques and such objects, transmitted from father to son, in the countryside, are the same as on the banks of the Seine or the Loire. It

Barbeau, however, offered a slightly different definition of folklore than this. He asked

the audience to imagine themselves transported to a country home a century earlier, in

1819, where, during wintertime veillées, "on s'amuse à chanter des chansons, à dire des

contes et des anecdotes, à danser des rondes, des gigues, des cotillons et des quadrilles."[37]

These two definitions of folklore are not mutually exclusive. Some of the songs,

stories, and dances at an 1819 veillée may well have originated "on the banks of the

Seine or the Loire." But there is a certain slippage between folklore as French survivals

and folklore as that which happened at rural veillées in the early nineteenth century,

particularly in the case of dancing and dance music. French rondes date to New France,

and perhaps cotillions (*contredanses françaises*), but definitely not quadrilles or

stepdancing (*gigues*). Even some dances with French titles were of English origin.[38]

Barbeau was a careful ethnographer and he recognized that French Canada had

"assimilé très facilement" a considerable number of dances of English origin.[39] (He

presumed that these dances had come to Quebec primarily via the Scots and the Irish.) He

also recognized that some French-Canadian dance tunes were of Scottish origin, and that

some had English titles. Even so, writing in 1920 on the origins of social dancing in

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is by conserving and studying them that we will give the most indelible mark to our French mentality" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 12).

[37] "we entertain ourselves by singing songs, telling stories and anecdotes, dancing *rondes* [group circle dances], *gigues* [stepdancing], cotillons and quadrilles" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 14).

[38] Barbeau cites the dance "La Belle Catherine" as of likely French origin, but it was in fact an English country dance from the late eighteenth century (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 85; Keller, *Dance and Its Music in America*, 237–238). For more on the history of cotillions and quadrilles, see Voyer, *La danse traditionnelle*, especially 80–114, and Simonne Voyer, *La contredanse au Québec: 1. Les contredanses en forme de colonne* ([Montreal]: Varia, 2008), 9–14.

[39] "very easily assimilated" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 85).

Quebec, he moves directly from the dances of New France, with a quote from the French

traveller Pierre de Sales Laterrière—"[à Montréal] ils ont encore les contre-danses

françoises et les menuets, qu'ils entremêlent de danses angloises"[40]—to his own father's

description of veillées in the Beauce region: "Deux ou trois fois par semaine, les jeunes

gens se réunissaient pour danser, en hiver."[41]

More recent scholarship on the history of dance in Quebec describes a century of

change between these two moments (urban dancing circa 1770, rural dancing in the

1860s or thereabouts). Using an impressive range of primary sources, Simonne Voyer,

Robert-Lionel Ségin, and Pierre Chartrand have chronicled dancing from New France

through to the early twentieth century, and linked this history to those forms of rural

social dance that are now considered traditional.[42] For the years 1764 to 1824, their work

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[40] "[In Montreal] they still have the French contredanses and minuets, which they intermingle with English dances" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 84). Barbeau may have consulted the 1873 "edition intime" of the *Mémoires de Pierre de Sales Laterrière et de ses traverses* (Québec). This quote appears on page 61 of that edition, accessible online at https://archive.org/details/mmoiresdepierr00late.

[41] "Two or three times per week, the young people would get together to dance, in winter" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 84). Barbeau connects these citations with this sentence: "Dans les campagnes on ne s'amusait pas moins que dans les villes ("In the countryside, people amused themselves [with dancing] no less than they did in the cities.") Marius Barbeau was born in 1883. His father was thirty-eight at the time (Laurence Nowry, *Marius Barbeau: Man of Mana* (Toronto: NC Press Ltd, 1995), 397). Barbeau's father's recollections of veillées thus most probably date to the 1860s.

[42] Voyer, *La danse traditionnelle*; Simonne Voyer, *La contredanse au Québec*; Simonne Voyer and Gynette Tremblay, *La danse traditionnelle québécoise et sa musique d'accompagnement* (Saint-Nicolas, QC: Editions de l'IQRC, 2001); Robert-Lionel Séguin, *La danse traditionnelle au Québec* (Sillery, QC: Université du Québec, 1986); Chartrand, "Du set au cotillion"; Pierre Chartrand, "Le quiproquo de la gigue au Québec," *Bulletin Mnémo* 9, nos. 1 and 2 (Fall 2004), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/le-quiproquo-de-la-gigue-au-quebec; Pierre Chartrand, "La gigue québécoise dans la marge de celle des Îles britanniques," *Bulletin Mnémo* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2009), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/la-gigue-quebecoise-dans-la-

is supplemented by the *Répertoire des données musicales de la presse québécoise*, an

exhaustive compilation of press clippings from Quebec about music, dance, and theatre.[43]

In the following section, I briefly describe dance and dance music in the years

between Pierre de Sales Laterrière's visit to Montreal and Charles Barbeau's Beauce

veillées. This is not intended as a comprehensive study of social dancing in Quebec, but

rather a brief overview that positions Quebec within a transnational network of dance and

music. I will discuss Assemblies, balls, and dancing masters in urban centres, and touch

briefly on dancing in rural areas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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marge. Voyer conducted extensive fieldwork in the 1950s. Séguin's *La danse traditionnelle au Québec* follows Barbeau in locating traditional dance as that which happens at the veillée, and he begins with a chapter entitled "L'existence de la veillée." Séguin argues that veillées date to the second quarter of the eighteenth century (14). He outlines three factors that inhibited the development of veillées in early New France: the highly mobile lifestyle of most French-Canadian men in a colony based on "les activités de la terre et celles de l'eau" ("activities of land and water"); the lack of population density outside of urban centers; and an ongoing gender imbalance (15–19). He then gives three factors that contributed to the development of veillées in the mid-eighteenth century: an increasingly sedentary male population; increased economic stability and success for many rural farmers, resulting in some degree of disposable income and leisure time; and the billeting of French troops, particularly those from southern France, in private homes (20–24). Also see Peggy Roquigny, "Les plaisirs de la danse à Montréal: Transformation d'un divertissement et de ses pratiques, 1870–1940" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2012) on social dancing in Montreal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially pages 108–111, on urban veillées c. 1870.

[43] Juliette Bourassa-Trépanier and Lucien Poirier, eds, *Répertoire des données musicales de la presse québécoise. Tome I: Canada. Volume 1: 1764–1799* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1990); Juliette Bourassa, Lucien Poirier, and Vincent Brauer, *Répertoire des données musicales de la presse québécoise. Tome I: Canada. Volume 2: 1800–1824. Les divertissements urbains: confrontation de deux cultures* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003). For more on the *Répertoire des données musicales* project, originally slated to include press clipping through 1918, see Luc Bellemare, "L'État actuel du projet de « Répertoire des données musicales de la presse québécoise » de l'Université Laval**,**" *Bulletin Mnémo* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2011), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/l-etat-actuel-du-projet-de-180.

1.2.2   The Transnational Trajectories of Social Dancing

In the late eighteenth century, an Assembly, or Dancing Assembly, was a subscription-based society that hosted regular dances in a fixed urban location.[44] (The term "Assembly" could also refer to a dance event organized by the society.) Quebec City had an Assembly by 1767, if not before; Montreal's Assembly dates to 1786. An annual subscription to the Quebec Assembly cost £2 and was available to local men, both military and civilian; women and visitors participated as invited guests. Each Assembly hosted seven or eight dances during the winter months. In both Quebec City and Montreal, the Assembly changed locations frequently and was, in some years, in a private home.[45] The band of the 24th Regiment—considered the best in Canada at the time—sometimes played for the Quebec Assembly during the 1789–90 and 1790–91 seasons,[46] though on December 29, 1790, music was provided by a "set of fiddlers."[47] An announcement for a Montreal Assembly in January 1790 suggests that the dance

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[44] The Philadelphia Assembly, founded 1749, was one of the earliest in North America. See Lynn Matluck Brooks, "The Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in the Eighteenth Century," *Dance Research Journal* 21, no. 1 (1989), 1–6.

[45] Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales, vol. 1*, 7–8, fn. 11. The Quebec City Assembly was in that city's Masonic Lodge from 1785 to 1799; for more on Freemasonry and the arts, see Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales* 3–6.

[46] The Quebec Assembly paid £18.13s.4d to the Band of the 24th Regiment for the 1789–1790 season, and £13.2s for the 1790–1791 season (*The Quebec Gazette*, December 9, 1790, p. 3; *The Quebec Gazette*, December 1, 1791, Supplement, p. 5. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales, vol. 1*, 171, 185). In a letter to the *Quebec Herald, Miscellany and Advertiser*, a "Gentleman in Montreal" writes, "The Band of Music belonging to the 24th Regiment is allowed, by the musical connoisseurs, to be the best that has come to this country for several years" (July 20, 1789, p. 307. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales, vol. 1*, 166.)

[47] Letter from "Old Subscriber," *Quebec Herald, Miscellany and Advertiser*, January 6, 1791, p. 53. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales, vol. 1*, 186. The fiddlers were paid three guineas for their services.

repertoire consisted mostly of country dances and, on occasion, minuets.[48] A notice in the

Montreal Gazette in February 1786 mentions additional dance types and instruments,

though one wonders if the Assembly included all of these or if the speaker was

exaggerating to make a point:

> Few days ago one zealous overmuch, reprobated his neighbour for being at a
> Dancing Assembly. The neighbour plead the example of King David in excuse:
> But, replied the other, David only danced a minuet, to a divine tune, played in on
> the harp; whereas, ye now dance jiggs, reels, hornpipes and country-dances, to
> profane tunes, played on guitares, violins, flutes, hautboys and fiddles; nay ye
> even dance pantomimes, to the tune Orpheus played for the devil, when he
> charmed back his wife.[49]

Assemblies were not necessarily formal affairs. Visitors from Jamaica and the

United States attended the Quebec Assembly on December 29, 1790 but found only "five

ladies and several gentlemen collected in one corner of [the room] around a stove."

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[48] *Montreal Gazette*, January 7, 1790, p. 4. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 99. The announcement reads, "The Ladies are requested to be in the Room at Half-past Six o' Clock, as it is a Rule of the Assembly that the Country-Dances begin at Seven, of Minuets do not intervene." I would guess that the "of" in the last phrase should be "if."

[49] *Montreal Gazette*, February 23, 1786, p. 3. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 85. Note that "jig," "reel," and "hornpipe" are tune types as well as dance types, and country dances might be danced to all three of these tune types. For descriptions of these and other dance types, see Keller, *Dance and Its Music in America*, 14–30. For more on social dance and theatrical dance in seventeenth-century France and England, see Wendy Hilton, *Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style, 1690-1725* (London: Dance Books Ltd, 1981); Betty Bang Mather and Dean M Karns, *Dance rhythms of the French Baroque: a handbook for performance (*Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Carol G. Marsh, *Musical theatre at the court of Louis XIV: Le mariage de la Grosse Cathos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Helen Meredith Ellis, "The dances of J.B. Lully (1632-1687)" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1967); Wendy Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater: Selected Writings of Wendy Hilton*, Dance and Music series, no. 10 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997); Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Paige Whitely-Bauguess, dir, "Introduction to Baroque dance: dance types" (New Bern, NC: BaroqueDance.com, 2005, DVD 1741). See also James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (New York: Norton, 1978).

Eventually, "four of the ladies and six gentlemen [got] up to form a country dance; after amusing themselves about a quarter of an hour, the Assembly broke up and the company retired."[50]

Balls, unlike Assemblies, were private, and dancers attended by invitation only. The Governor hosted formal balls for a variety of occasions—royal birthdays and anniversaries, civic holidays—and invited both civilians and military personnel, and both "nouveau qu'anciens sujets," i.e., both French and English.[51] Military men hosted balls to celebrate military victories, promotions, and birthdays.[52] These were so frequent that in 1767, one man wrote to the local newspaper to complain that attending all the balls, dances, and housewarmings in his garrison was ruining him financially.[53] The Englishman Thomas Hughes, stationed with the 53rd Regiment in Quebec City, remarked

[50] Letter from "Old Subscriber," *Quebec Herald, Miscellany and Advertiser*, January 6, 1791, p. 53. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 186. The "Old Subscriber" complained to the *Quebec Herald, Miscellany and Advertiser* about this poor turnout and at the next Assembly, on January 12, 1790, there was a "splended [sic] appearance." (Letter from Jacky Bull, *Quebec Herald, Miscellany and Advertiser*, January 17, 1791, p. 68. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 187.) The unequal number of dancing women and men in this citation suggests that two men may have danced together. I have found no other evidence for two men or two women dancing together, though there was frequently a shortage of women at assemblies and balls. A notice in the *Quebec Herald, Miscellany and Advertiser* remarked that several subscribers had complained that they "[could not] get a partner for a single dance whilst other gentlemen dance the whole Evening," and described an addition to the Assembly's rules: "that no Gentleman shall Dance more than two dances following, until those who have not danced shall be provided with Partners for the third and fourth Dances." Ladies were requested to "not engage themselves for more than the two first Dances" (January 5, 1789, p. 57. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 161; also see p. 8, fn. 13).

[51] *The Quebec Gazette*, June 5, 1766, p. 2. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales, vol. 1,* 125. This is a bilingual announcement for a dinner and ball hosted by the governor in celebration of the King's birthday.

[52] Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 12.

[53] *The Quebec Gazette*, January 19, 1767, p. 3. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 126.

that his regiment "had a publick subscription ball once a fortnight ….[and] private parties

almost every night" in the winter of 1784.[54]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in both Quebec City and

Montreal, dancing masters taught young men and women dances and etiquette for

assemblies and balls. Bourassa et al. have identified thirteen dancing masters in Quebec

City between 1800 and 1824, and twenty-three dancing masters in Montreal. Most were

from France or Great Britain and had learned their trade in Europe.[55]

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, some dancing masters in Montreal

and Quebec City still taught minuets and gavottes (both French Baroque dances), though

often only for pedagogical purposes.[56] For the most part, however, their repertoires

aligned with the latest European and American fashions: country dances, cotillions from

1809 (though Pierre de Sales Laterrière observed *contredanses françaises* in the years

just after the British Conquest, as noted above), waltzes from 1817.[57] Dancing masters

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[54] Thomas Hughes, *A Journal by Thos: Hughes, For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he loves so long (1778-1789)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), 131.
[55] Bourassa et al., *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 2*, 48–49. For instance, both John Stalker of Edinburgh and the Frenchman Louis Dulongpré taught dancing in Montreal in 1787. Dulongpré had come to North America with a French military troupe during the American War of Independence. Both advertisements were bilingual. (*Montreal Gazette*, July 26, 1787, p. 4, and October 18, 1787, p. 4. Listed in Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirier, *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 1*, 92. Also see Helmut Kallmann, "Dulongpré, Louis," in T*he Canadian Encyclopedia* [Historica Canada, 1985—, article published August 2, 2007], http://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/louis-dulongpre-emc/).
[56] Bourassa et al., *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 2*, 55–57.
[57] Dancing in New England followed a similar trajectory: "During the late eighteenth century, country dancing to the accompaniment of fiddle and fife had become fashionable in New England centers such as Hartford and Boston. Among the favorite dances were jigs, reels, contra dances, cotillions (forerunner of the square dance); quadrilles, minuets, and hornpipes"(Bronner, *Old Time Music-Makers*, 3–4). For more on social dance in

taught quadrilles in Quebec as early as 1819, only four years after they had been

introduced to England, from France.[58]

Dancing masters also looked to English and American publications for the latest

fashions. Antoine Rod, in Quebec City, acquired a copy of Thomas Wilson's *Complete*

Systeme of English Country Dancing also immediately following its publication.[59] On

August 30, 1822, Mr. Provandie of the Quebec Dancing Academy announced that he had

"lately received from London, New-York and Philadelphia, the most Fashionable

Quadrilles and Country Dances, Reel, Straspys, Hornpipes, Cotillians, &c."[60]

At the turn of the nineteenth century, in short, social dance in Montreal and

Quebec City was in step with social dance in England and the United States.[61] That

dancing masters' advertisements and Assembly announcements were often bilingual

suggests that French and English residents of the city—at least, those of a certain social

class—learned from the same teachers and danced at the same events.

We have only scarce documentation of dance and dance music outside of

Quebec City and Montreal in these years. We know that there was an Assembly in Trois-

Rivières in the early nineteenth century and that Mme. Harris, a dancing master "from

Paris," taught "Waltzes, Quadrilles, and all other fashionable Dances" in that town for six

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New England and the mid-Atlantic region, see Keller, *Dance and Its Music in America*, 289–651.

[58] "Mrs. HENRY… has lately arrived [in Montreal] from London, and intends to give Lessons (to Young Ladies) in Genuine Quadrills, Waltzes, Country Dances, Reels, &c. &c. as Danced by the select Fashionables of London and Paris" (*The Montreal Herald*, October 2, 1819, p. 3. Listed in Bourassa et al., *Répertoire des données musicales*, vol. 2, 423).

[59] Bourassa et al., *Répertoire des données musicales*, vol. 2, 58–59.

[60] *The Quebec Mercury*, Supplement, p. 1. Listed in Bourassa et al., *Répertoire des données musicales*, vol. 2, 1143.

[61] Bourassa et al., *Répertoire des données musicales*, vol. 2, 59.

weeks in 1823.[62] We have Nicolas-Gaspard Boisseau's memoirs, written between 1787

and 1789, which describe minuets, *contredances*, and a "mauvais joueur de violon" at a

country wedding.[63]

Contemporary fiction also offers some clues. In *The History of Emily Montague*

(1769), when the hero, Colonel Rivers, visits the heroine, Emily Montague, and her

guardians in the countryside, they pass a week in "such pleasures as the ladies could

share; little rustic balls and parties round the neighbouring country." On another

occasion, travelling by ship from Montreal to Quebec City, they "took music with us,

landed once or twice a day, visited the French families we knew, lay both nights on

shore, and danced at the seigneur's of the village." What "music" they took is unclear,

though later in the novel, Montague's friend describes a dance evening hosted by the

Colonel: "I need not tell you we had fiddles, for there is no entertainment in Canada

without them: never was such a race of dancers." These rural dances were probably with

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[62] Mme. Harris taught in Quebec City from 1822–1824. She opened a Dancing Academy in Montreal in 1824. (*The Quebec Mercury*, October 11, 1822, Supplement p. 2; *Le Constitutionnel*, September 2, 1823, p. 3; *The Quebec Mercury*, October 3, Supplement p. 3; *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*, May 8, 1824, p. 3. Listed in Bourassa et al., *Répertoire des données musicales*, *vol. 2*, 1145, 133, 1161, 702.)

[63] "a bad violin player." Nicolas-Gaspard Boisseau, *Mémoires de Nicolas-Gaspard Boisseau* (Lévis, 1907), 58–59. Available online at http://www.ourroots.ca/toc.aspx?id=8937&qryID=7a2d34d9-aab9-4a39-940b-83152d4cdf6b. Boisseau's "contredanses" were probably English country dances in a longways formation, not *contredanses françaises* in a square formation (also called cotillions). Boisseau describes a typical country wedding ("mariage des habitants de la campagne autrefois"), not one specific wedding. Serge Gagnon notes that most of Boisseau's *Mémoires* consist primarily of his reading notes from periodicals and books, and questions whether or not Boisseau's ethnographic accounts are based on first-hand observations. Boisseau's descriptive writing suggests that he did attend at least one country wedding, where he found the small space constraining and lost his bearings on the dance floor (Serge Gagnon, "Biographie—Nicolas-Gaspard Boisseau (1765–1842)," in *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, vol. 7 [Université Laval / University of Toronto, 2003], http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/boisseau_nicolas_gaspard_1765_1842_7F.html).

others of the same social class, however, for when Rivers describes "the peasants" in the

same letter, they are "ignorant, lazy, dirty, and stupid beyond all belief," though still

"hospitable, courteous, [and] civil."[64]

The above citations—assemblies, balls, dancing masters, rural dances—locate

Quebec City, Montreal, Trois-Rivières, and villages along the St. Lawrence River as

nodes in a transnational network of social dancing and instrumental dance music via the

trajectories of British military personnel, European dancing masters, and American and

European dance publications. This is an extremely limited survey: I have focused on the

decades before and after the turn of the nineteenth century, and cited only a small

percentage of available sources.

Using other documents, I might have followed dances and dance tunes in other

directions. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, for instance, the Montreal fur

trade employed up to 3000 men to "transport goods and furs from Montreal to the North

American interior during the summer months, and to work year round, manning the

company posts and trading with Native peoples."[65] These *voyageurs* were French

Canadians from in and around Montreal and Trois-Rivières. At trading posts on the Great

Lakes or in the North American interior, they danced Scotch reels and country dances at

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[64] Frances Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague, Vol. 1* (London, 1769), 35, 39–40, 140, 235. Available online at https://archive.org/details/historyofemilymo01broo. This novel is organized as an exchange of letters in the years immediately following the British conquest. Frances Brooke lived in Quebec City from 1763 to 1768 (her husband was the military chaplain), presumably in social circumstances very similar to those she describes.

[65] Carolyn Frances Podruchny, "'Sons of the wilderness': Work, culture and identity among voyageurs in the Montreal Fur Trade, 1780–1821" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1999), 26. The largest of the Montreal-based fur trading companies was the Northwest Company, founded in 1779. The Northwest Company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.

New Year's, Christmas, and other holidays.[66] Music was usually provided by one or two

fiddlers, or by singers lilting the melodies of dance tunes, sometimes with percussive

accompaniment on a Native frame drum. The French Canadian men and their *bourgeois*

managers (usually Scottish, English, or American men) danced with Native women.[67] At

some dances, the fiddler and percussionist were Native.[68]

Alternately, I might have followed the many new dance forms that came to

Quebec in the nineteenth century. Pierre Chartrand traces stepdancing in Quebec to the

second quarter of the nineteenth century, when successive waves of immigrants arrived

from the British Isles. Though demographics suggest an Irish origin for stepdancing in

Quebec— the majority of immigrants were Irish—the most common step in Quebec

("pas de reel") seems to be derived from the "rant step" of northeast England.[69]

As in Europe and elsewhere in North America, waltzes and polkas swept

Quebec in the early and mid nineteenth century. These and similar couple dances were

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[66] For more on the history and steps of Scotch reels, see George Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Recreatioun* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), 165–180.

[67] Podruchny, "Sons of the wilderness," 6, 312–313, 322–324. In some parishes, up to twelve percent of the male population was engaged in the fur trade in certain years. Their contracts, typically for terms of three to five years, signed them into an employment relationship akin to indentured servitude (35, 37–38).

[68] Similarly, English, Scottish, and Orcadian tunes travelled from the British Isles to trading posts in the James Bay region of Ontario and Quebec via the Hudson's Bay Company (Frances Wilkins, "The Fiddlers of James Bay: Transatlantic Flows and Musical Indigenization among the James Bay Cree," *MUSICultures* 40, no. 1 [2013]: 57–99). See also Craig Mishler, *The Crooked Stovepipe: Athapaskan Fiddle Music and Square Dancing in Northeast Alaska and Northwest Canada* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1993), especially 13–27; and Anne Lederman, "Aboriginal Fiddling: The Scottish Connection," in *Irish and Scottish Encounters with Indigenous Peoples*, eds. Graeme Morton and David A. Wilson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 323–340.

[69] Pierre Chartrand, "La gigue québécoise dans la marge de celle des Îles britanniques," *Bulletin Mnémo* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2009), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/la-gigue-quebecoise-dans-la-marge.

met with vehement opposition from the Catholic Church; in 1851, Monseigneur Pierre-

Flavien Turgeon even issued a pastoral letter forbidding such dances. Voyer notes that

this condemnation of couple dancing was tempered by a certain tolerance (though not

approbation) of group social dances: quadrilles, cotillions, country dances, and Scotch

reels.[70] She credits clerical intervention with fostering division between rural and urban

forms of social dance in the mid nineteenth century:

> [M]algré toutes les interdictions, la *valse*, comme les autres danses à la mode,
> gagne la faveur des jeunes dans les villes et leurs banlieues; mais ces danses dites
> « modernes » atteignent peu les campagnes où les habitants obéissent peut-être
> davantage aux directives des curés.[71]

It was these rural-associated group social dances that Barbeau and Massicotte featured at

the "Veillées du bon vieux temps."

In this dissertation, I argue that dancing and dance music in Quebec were not

considered "traditional" (or "folk," or "national") until the early twentieth century, and I

position Quebec within a transnational network of dance and dance music that extended

from the British Isles to North America and beyond. This dissertation thus sits within a

growing body of scholarship exploring the human and musical pathways that have

connected, and continue to connect, regionally- and nationally-defined North Atlantic

fiddling traditions. Frances Wilkins has described the "fiddle at sea," tracing the

exchange of fiddle tunes along the Greenland and South Georgian whaling routes, while

Mats Melin has examined the interactions of Scottish, French, and Irish dance traditions

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[70] Voyer, *La danse traditionnelle*, 38. See also Séguin, *La danse traditionnelle au Québec*, 43–60.

[71] "In spite of all the prohibitions, the *waltz*, like other fashionable dances, was favoured by young people in urban and suburban areas; but these "modern" dances gained little ground in the countryside, where the people [*habitants*] obeyed the directives of the parish priest more" (Voyer, *La danse traditionnelle*, 38, italics in original).

in a Cape Breton context and the ongoing connections between Cape Breton and British

Isles dancing in the twentieth century. In an earlier research project, I traced the diffusion

of a percussive string instrument technique—the chop—within North Atlantic fiddling

from the 1960s to the present. That study demonstrated that a musical idea might spread

quickly from person to person via aural, non-technological means with the right

combination of traveling musicians and "sites of meeting and exchange."[72]

In the following sections, I situate this dissertation within ongoing scholarly

conversations on melodic variants and musical diffusion; meanings, usages, and

historiography of the term "tradition"; musical genres and generic boundaries; and the

circulation of musical materials.

1.3 The Study of Tune Variants and Musical Diffusion

Earlier scholars of folk and traditional music often used melodic and rhythmic variants to

explore the boundaries of geographically defined genres, and to propose patterns of

transmission between those genres. In this dissertation, I use variants to identify small-

scale networks of musicians, to outline regional playing styles in the early twentieth

century, to describe how function and instrumentation may impact interpretive

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[72] Frances Wilkins, "The fiddle at sea: tradition and innovation among Shetland musicians in the whaling industry," in *Crossing Over: Fiddle and Dance Studies From around the North Atlantic 3*, ed. Ian Russell and Anna Kearney Guigné (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, 2010), 5–18; Mats Melin, "Local, global, and diasporic interaction in the Cape Breton dance tradition," in *Routes & Roots: Fiddle and Dance Studies From around the North Atlantic 4*, ed. Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, 2012), 132–144; Laura Risk, "The Chop: The Diffusion of an Instrumental Technique Across North Atlantic Fiddling Traditions," *Ethnomusicology* 57, no. 3 (2013): 452.

approaches, and to explore how musicians create individualized tune settings from an idealized musical essence.

For early anthropologists and folklorists, the study of variants—including textual and material variants—was intimately linked to the study of cultural diffusion. At the turn of the twentieth century, scholars attempted to reconstruct historical processes of diffusion by analyzing taxonomies of cultural, textual, and/or musical traits. German ethnologists Fritz Graebner and Wilhelm Schmidt, for instance, proposed that all ideas and technologies had originated in a few *Kulturkreise* ("culture circles") and that the history of any society could be determined by tracing its cultural traits to these centers of innovation. By contrast, American anthropologist Franz Boas advocated cultural relativism, arguing that all cultures are equally able to meet their members' needs.[73]

Clark Wissler, curator at the American Museum of Natural History and a former assistant to Boas, applied the latter's approach in his 1917 publication *The American Indian*. Wissler divided the Americas into fifteen large "culture areas" defined by shared cultural traits and shaped by geographical features. This approach borrowed the cross-cultural comparison of traits from cultural evolution but in the service of cultural relativism: Wissler sought to map distinct and equal cultural regions rather than establish a hierarchy of civilization. Wissler also theorized the relationship between culture and diffusion, arguing that the cultural traits of a given population conform to a "cultural

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[73] Elizabeth Prine Pauls, "Culture Area," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/topic/culture-area. See also Wilson D. Wallis, "Probability and the Diffusion of Culture Traits," *American Anthropologist* 30, no. 1 (1928): 94-106. The *Kulturkreise* approach had its roots in theories of cultural evolution, which posited a hierarchy of races from the savage to the civilized and suggested that the "lower" races were not capable of independent invention. This meant that the presence of similar cultural traits in distinct populations must necessarily be the result of diffusion rather than of local innovation.

pattern" and that innovations developed within one social grouping tend to only spread to people with the same cultural pattern.[74]

In the same years, folk music scholars developed text-based approaches to analyzing diffusion. Finnish scholar Julius Krohn had observed that increased geographical distance between villages correlated with increased textual variation in folk poems. His "historic-geographic" method applied a philological approach to existing collections of Finnish folk materials, analyzing textual differences between variants in order to determine provenance, propose possible genealogies of transmission, and construct hypothetical origin texts.[75]

By the mid-twentieth century, scholars increasingly recognized the importance of individual actors in shaping cultural change. In a 1948 article for *American Anthropologist*, for instance, Fred Voget demonstrated that the diffusion of the Shoshone Sundance among the Crow could be attributed to four Crow leaders who, spurred by personal life experiences, chose to reorient their values towards Native religious expression.[76] In 1958, ethnomusicologist Willard Rhodes traced the diffusion of the opening song of the peyote ceremony among several Great Plains tribes and between sacred and secular contexts, and suggested that the transmission of the song to

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[74] Pauls, "Culture Area."

[75] Leea Virtanen, "Historic-Geographic Method," in *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, *Volume 1: A–H*, edited by Thomas Green (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1997), 442–447; Erkki Pekkilä, "History, Geography, and Diffusion: Ilmari Krohn's Early Influence on the Study of European Folk Music," *Ethnomusicology* 50, no. 2 (2006): 353–359; Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 28–29.

[76] Fred Voget, "Individual Motivation in the Diffusion of the Wind River Shoshone Sundance to the Crow Indians," *American Anthropologist* 50, no. 4, part 1 (1948): 634–646.

Southwestern tribes stemmed from the work of folk song collector Elizabeth Willis

DeHuff at the Santa Fe Indian School. Rhodes' study is forward-thinking for his

inclusion of recording technology in the chain of transmission, his recognition that

collectors and institutions affect trajectories of musical diffusion, and his observation that

musical diffusion can at times precede, and thereby facilitate, the diffusion of non-

musical cultural elements.[77]

Taxonomic approaches were still common, however. In 1950, folk music scholar

Samuel Bayard proposed grouping British Isles and North American folk song melodies

into "tune families" according to melodic contour, stressed notes, and, to a lesser degree,

range, rhythm, and phrase order. Similar to the Finnish historic-geographic method, this

approach supposed that the melodies in each tune family derived from a single parent

melody. By analyzing melodic, modal, and structural variation within a family, Bayard

hoped to reconstruct the diffusion and transformation of the parent melody across

geographic locales.[78]

In 1966, Charles Seeger interrogated the musical "identity" of the ballad

"Barbara Allen" via an exhaustive taxonomy of tonal and rhythmic characteristics of

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[77] Willard Rhodes, "A Study of Musical Diffusion Based on the Wandering of the Opening Peyote Song," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 10 (1958): 42–49.

[78] Samuel Bayard, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Principal Melodic Families of British-American Folk Song," *The Journal of American Folklore* 63, no. 247 (1950), 1–44. Bayard described the remaining melodies in a tradition (i.e., those not classifiable within a tune family) as either "distinct, independent tunes" that have fewer variants and are not as well known; or "indeterminate" ("chance, hybrid products of variation") that tend to have a short-lived, local existence (29–30). Bayard recognized that the categorization of songs into tune families was a subjective process, dependent on the researcher's recognition of certain resemblances and acquaintance with a wide range of such families.

seventy-six recordings.[79] He also consulted over 200 printed sources. Seeger included no

textual analysis, instead seeking musical commonalities between the melodies used on

the recordings:

> In a nutshell the question is: how much can two singings differ and still be
> singings of the same tune? Or, conversely, how little can they vary and still be
> singings of different tunes?[80]

Seeger positioned his analytic approach as a necessary counterpart to that of Bayard.

Bayard assigned ballad tunes to tune families on purely musical grounds, and with no

consideration for the singers' opinions. Seeger argued that the melodies used for

"Barbara Allen" have a common identity simply by virtue of the fact that they are all

used to recount the same story. His analysis starts from a sort of sung consensus among

performers—that all of these melodies are "Barbara Allen"—and looks for common

characteristics. (He termed this approach "majority usage."[81]) Notably, Seeger did not

look for an underlying, prototypical melody that united all of these settings. He

recognized two principle melodic variants but focused on "the variance and nonvariance"

of "six essential functions or resources of the singing voice": pitch, loudness, tonal

density, tempo, proportion (i.e., the distribution and ordering of notes of varying

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[79] Charles Seeger, "Versions and Variants of the Tunes of 'Barbara Allen,'" in the booklet to the LP *Folk Music of the United States: Versions and Variants of Barbara Allen from the Archive of Folk Song*, edited by Charles Seeger (Library of Congress Music Division Recording Laboratory AAFS L54, n.d., 33⅓ rpm). The booklet may be downloaded at https://www.loc.gov/folklife/LP/BarbaraAllenAFS_L54_sm.pdf. Seeger's essay was originally published by the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles, *Selected Reports* 1, no. 1 (1966).

[80] Seeger, "Versions and Variants," 275.

[81] Ibid., 276.

durations), and rhythmic density.[82] This list is remarkable for its emphasis on

performative elements; Seeger himself wrote,

> It cannot be too strongly emphasized that what is sung and the singing of it are
> not, musically speaking, two things, but one. Abstraction of the song from its
> singing is a necessary procedure in talking about music which makes two things
> out of the original one.[83]

In the 1970s and 80s, ethnomusicologists and folklorists sought more localized

understandings of the processes of variation and diffusion. In 1979 and 1984,

respectively, George List and James R. Cowdery proposed new readings of Bayard's

theory of tune families. List demonstrated that musical similarity might indicate the

diffusion of a musical style rather than a genealogical relationship between melodies.

Cowdery argued that, in Irish traditional music, musicians construct tune variants from

known melodic segments rather than abstract prototypes. In 1980, Roy W. Gibbons

compared multiple settings of the French-Canadian tune "Grande Gigue Simple" and its

derivative, the Métis tune "Red River Jig," arguing that melodic, rhythmic, and stylistic

differences were due to the physical dispersion of the Métis across Western Canada, and

the influence of commercial recordings and popular styles.[84] In a 1985 article for

Ethnomusicology, Chris Goertzen used the historic-geographic method to suggest the

relative age of variants of the American fiddle tune "Billy in the Lowground" but also

discussed the limitations of the method.[85] Anne Lederman, writing in 1988 on Ojibwa

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[82] Ibid., 283.
[83] Ibid., 278.
[84] Roy W. Gibbons, "'La Grande Gigue Simple' and the 'Red River Jig': A Comparative
Study of Two Regional Styles of a Traditional Fiddle Tune," *Canadian Folk Music
Journal* 8 (June 1980): 40–48.
[85] George List, "The Distribution of a Melodic Formula: Diffusion or Polygenesis?"
Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council 10 (1978): 33–52; James R. Cowdery,

fiddling in Manitoba, described three structural variation techniques: adding, subtracting,

or repeating motifs; embellishing and lengthening notes, especially the first and fifth

scale degrees, usually at a cadence or in the opening phrase of a tune; and compressing or

extending a rising or falling melodic line.[86]

Carmelle Bégin's 1978 dissertation on French-Canadian fiddler Jean Carignan

includes a chapter on tune variants. Bégin details the small-scale melodic variants that

Carignan adds to successive iterations of a tune and compares Carignan's setting of "Le

reel indien" to those of French-Canadian fiddler Paul Gosselin and Ontario fiddler

Dawson Girdwood. This analysis is of particular interest given that both Gosselin and

Girdwood learned "Le reel indien" from Carignan.[87]

In the 1980s and 1990s, several scholars studied individual musical creativity

within aural contexts. In an oft-cited formulation, Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin analyzed the

melodic variations of Irish fiddler Tommie Potts according to a framework of "set

accented tones."[88] In an analysis that resonates closely with Chapter Four of the present

dissertation, Matt Glaser described Texas-style fiddlers Benny Thomasson and Mark

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"A Fresh Look at the Concept of Tune Family," *Ethnomusicology* 28, no. 3 (1984): 495–504; Chris Goertzen, "American Fiddle Tunes and the Historic-Geographic Method," *Ethnomusicology* 29, no. 3 (1985): 448–73.

[86] Anne Lederman, "Old Indian and Métis Fiddling in Manitoba: Origins, Structure and Question of Syncretism," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 8, no. 2 (1988): 215–216.

[87] Bégin describes six types of small-scale melodic variation, including single and double appoggiaturas, double stops, scalar runs, and two types of "broderie" (adding a note above, or notes above and below, the melody note); two types of rhythmic variation for reels (splitting a quarter note into two eighth notes on the same pitch, and adding ricochet bowing); and typical patterns of melodic alteration: changing the notes but retaining the contour, and changing the contour but retaining the underlying harmonies (Carmelle Begin, "La musique traditionnelle pour violon: Jean Carignan" [PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 1978]).

[88] Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, "Innovation and Tradition in the Music of Tommie Potts" (PhD diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1987).

O'Connor's variations on the tune "Grey Eagle" as examples of "controlled

improvisation":

> the ability to play seemingly limitless variations on a fiddle tune, all the while
> retaining some initial integral core that identifies the essence of the tune, was
> related to the existence of an unstated but deeply felt skeletal melody.

Glaser represented the skeletal melodies for the strains of "Grey Eagle" as series of long

pitches, but noted that the tune also has "crucial 'emotional gestures' which are part of

every performance." He analyzed Thomasson and O'Connor's variations on three levels:

"macro," "meso," and "micro."[89]

Similarly, Colin Quigley's monograph on Newfoundland fiddler Emile Benoit

includes an extended exploration of Benoit's processes of "aural composition." Quigley

describes Benoit's "cyclic" approach to composing new tunes or strains as a process of

"continuous experimentation, evaluation, and modification... within a loose fiddle tune

template delimited by its formal constraints."[90]

More recently, Chris Goertzen has compared influential historical recordings of

Texas contest fiddling with later contest settings by both younger and veteran performers

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[89] Matt Glaser, "Controlled Improvisation in Texas Contest Style Fiddling: Mark
O'Connor and Benny Thomasson Play Grey Eagle" (master's thesis, Tufts University,
1992), 32–33, 38. Glaser's method of determining these skeletal melodies was as follows:
"Initially I began by playing variations on strain number 1 for [fiddlers] Mark O'Connor
and Jim Wood, and asked them to stop me when I had violated their concept of the
essence of the melody…. My other approach… was to look for the highest and lowest
pitches in each strain, and to try and retain their essential melodic contour" (32–33).
Glaser defines his three levels as follows: "The macrostructural level involves the
development over time of completely new 8-bar strains and the manipulation of these
strains for desired effects by the fiddler; the mesostructural level involves registral
changes and new melodic material, always within a 2- to 4-bar area; and the
microstructral level involves choices on a note-by-note basis, always holding to a skelatal
melody for that particular strain" (38).
[90] Colin Quigley, *Music from the Heart: Compositions of a Folk Fiddler* (Athens, GA:
University of Georgia Press, 1993).

to demonstrate that seemingly disparate variants of a tune are in fact linked to a shared

sense of that tune's "essence." Goertzen describes this essence as composed of musical

markers specific to each tune, such as a recurrent interval or a distinctive cadence.[91]

In Quebec, Jean Duval has written extensively on structural variation as an

innovative element of performance practice in traditional instrumental music. He

classifies a wide range of techniques used to vary the rhythmic structure of tunes and

argues convincingly that, in the past, certain musicians were able to fluently improvise

rhythmic variants to a tune.[92]

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[91] Chris Goertzen, "Texas contest fiddling: what modern variation technique tells us," in *Routes & Roots: Fiddle and Dance Studies From around the North Atlantic 4*, ed. Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, 2012), 98-111. This and the above-mentioned studies (Ó Súilleabháin, Glaser, Quigley) are conceptually similar to Milman Parry and Albert Lord's theory of oral-formulaic composition. Lord describes oral texts as variants on a "more or less stable core" rather than erroneous retellings of a fixed and memorized text (Albert Lord, "Characteristics of Orality," *Oral Tradition* 2, no. 1 [1987]). There are many parallels between the study of variants in traditional music and the study of variants in troubadour and trouvère songs. Hendrik van der Werf drew on Parry and Lord's work to argue that extant troubadour songs were variants of aurally-transmitted melodies rather than points on a lost stemma of written transmission (Hendrick van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* [Utrech: A Oosthoek, 1972]). More recent studies of variation technique in troubadour and trouvère song continue in this vein, notably Elizabeth Aubrey's *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996) and Mary J. O'Neill's *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repetoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Aubrey distinguishes between "extrinsic" (i.e. concordances) and "intrinsic" (varied phases or motives within a single setting) variants; describes common musical figures of variation; and considers the role of scribes in adapting, regularizing, and unintentionally altering melodies. O'Neill differentiates between "local," "large-scale," and "divergent" levels of variation in troubadour song; describes standard variants used at the beginnings, middles, or ends of lines; and outlines a vocabulary of "common ornamental devices" and "'formulaic' melodic configurations" (71).

[92] Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre"; Duval's typology of structural variation techniques is on pages 202–251.

1.4   The Notion of Tradition

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault sets out the problem with tradition in

a few pointed phrases.

> Take the notion of tradition: it is intended to give a special temporal status to a group of phenomena that are both successive and identical (or at least similar); it makes it possible to rethink the dispersion of history in the form of the same; it allows a reduction of the difference proper to every beginning, in order to pursue without discontinuity the endless search for origin; tradition enables us to isolate the new against a background of permanence, and to transfer its merit to originality, to genius, to the decisions proper to individuals.[93]

Foucault's words conceptualize a shift in the writing of both history and the history of

ideas that moves away from a search for unity and towards an emphasis on discontinuity

and rupture, and he outlines a methodology for writing these new sorts of histories. He

begins by warning of the "virtual self-evidence" of "unities" of discourse and insists on

the need to interrogate their presumed historical continuities.[94] He proposes that we

analyze and unravel such unities and instead examine large bodies of "events" or

"statements" for discursive commonalities, asking which of those events refer to the same

object or concept, take the same form, or address the same theme. By tracing the

circumstances that allowed these related events to emerge when, where, and in the form

that they did, we may describe a "system of dispersion" for that particular "discursive

formation."[95]

Although Foucault's "notion of tradition" makes no explicit mention of national

or regional identity, the connections are clear. National histories are a sort of selective

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[93] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, [1969] 2002), 23.
[94] Ibid., 28.
[95] Ibid., 41.

rethinking of "the dispersion of history" that privilege the diachronic over the synchronic and the similar over the diverse. Modernizing nation-states have often used music to build a sense of national unity; similarly, minority communities may use music to assert what Martin Stokes terms "defiant difference."[96] Music that can lay claim to a significant portion of a national or regional history clearly has advantages for this sort of work. By the same token, claiming the term "traditional" for certain music is a means of aligning that repertoire and playing style with a national or regional history. As Stokes puts it, "music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them."[97] Music can be used not just to bring a pre-existing community together but also to gather strangers and in the process, allow them to perceive themselves as members of the same community.

Tradition, in Foucault's reading, imposes an unfounded historical continuity on disparate events and therefore—along with the equally problematic notions of "influence," "development and evolution," and "spirit"—has no part in his new approach to writing history.[98] I would argue, however, that Foucault's framework can be applied to the study of particular usages of the concept of tradition. The idea of tradition—a series of similar phenomena stretching without fracture backwards towards some murky origin—is indeed elemental to any music labeled "traditional" or "folk," but as a foundational myth of those genres, not an assumed fact. Musicians make music that aligns with this sense of long-term temporal continuity, challenges it, or does both

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[96] Martin Stokes, "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music," in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 12.
[97] Ibid., 5.
[98] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 23–24.

simultaneously; scholars find historical facts to support it or argue against it. In this

dissertation, I consider an assertion of tradition as itself a serious "statement" or "event"

and locate it in various discursive formations.

Stuart Hall commends Foucault's move "into the domain of the discursive" but

critiques his unwillingness to engage with the structured relations of force within a

discursive formation. To Hall, society—the "social formation"—is composed of multiple

"regimes of truth" that are "not simply 'plural'" but "define an ideological field of force"

through structural relations of power and resistance.[99] Hall theorizes this field of forces,

including the linkages between people and ideologies, via the concept of articulation:

"the form of connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain

conditions."[100] Such connections are never necessary, or pre-determined, though once

established they may be hard to break.

Hall's theory of articulation is "both a way of understanding how ideological

elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way

of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain

political subjects."[101] Hall takes an overtly activist stance: articulations might be broken

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[99] Laurence Grossberg, ed., "On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1996), 136. In Foucault's words, a "regime of truth" is the "'general politics' of truth" for a society: "the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth, the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," interview with Alessandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino, in *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon [New York: Pantheon Books, 1980], 131).
[100] Grossberg, "On Postmodernism and Articulation," 141.
[101] Ibid., 141–2.

and remade otherwise, meaning that people may choose to articulate with an alternate

ideology to advance their cause. In articulating to an ideology or worldview "which

makes intelligible the process they are going through," a group of people or a social

movement might acquire "a new social position and political position."[102] In this

dissertation, I trace human and musical trajectories within larger economic, political, and

cultural systems and ask how certain musical repertoire became identified as

traditional—that is, how that repertoire was "articulated" with the notion of tradition.

1.5   Historicizing Tradition

Foucault argues that objects such as "madness" or "mental illness" are not static

concepts "in relation to which it is possible to define a set of statements" but are rather

"constituted by the set of those formulations."[103] Similarly, the notion of tradition has

been—and continues to be—constituted by statements about it. Tradition, in other words,

has a history of its own.

Matthew Gelbart has traced much of that early history, arguing convincingly for

a European shift from functional to national modes of musical classification over the

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with Scotland at the forefront of contemporary

conceptions of the "folk." Concurrent with this shift was the development of the concept

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[102] Ibid., 144.

[103] Michel Foucault, "On the Archaeology of the Sciences: A Response to the Epistemology Circle," in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: The New Press, 1998), 312.

of "tradition": "connecting with the past in a supposedly stable way" such that any

allowable growth must "spring 'organically' from a natural and internal source."[104]

This dissertation is particularly concerned with the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, when the institutionalization of folklore studies and the

commercialization of recorded sound defined or redefined folk music in many parts of

North America, Quebec included. Two recent monographs examine this moment in

detail, but only with regards to the United States.

Karl Hagstrom Miller describes a paradigm shift at the turn of the twentieth

century, from the presumption that racial and class identities could be assumed and

staged (the "minstrelsy paradigm") to the association of repertoires and playing styles

with ethnic groups (the "folklore paradigm"); both paradigms, of course, were inscribed

in specific regional dynamics of political and social control and repression.[105] David

Brackett argues that the new musical categories used to market recordings in the early

twentieth century were not simply constructions of the recording industry, but had their

roots in nineteenth-century structures of social regulation and were linked to both extant

social groupings (the "homology model") and ongoing "processes of imaginary

identification."[106] He proposes an "iterative" theory of musical-social identification by

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[104] Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 169.
[105] Karl Hagstrom Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010).
[106] David Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 19–20. Brackett draws on a framework developed by Georgina Born that maps four possible alignments between music and sociocultural identity: as "purely imaginary," as prefiguring emergent identities, as homological, and as retrospective ("Music and the Representation/Articulation of Sociocultural Identities," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, ed. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh [Berkeley:

which people assume certain identities and in doing so modify the conventions of those

identities. (Brackett notes the parallels between this model and that of musical genres as

iterative; see below.) These identities include both the "homologous identifications" of

race and nation and the "imaginary affiliations" that opposed these demographically

determined identities (Brackett gives as an example the "white fan of 'hot jazz'" in the

1920s).[107]

In Quebec, the association of certain repertoire (songs, legends) with an ethnic

group (French Canadians) goes back at least to the mid-nineteenth century. Historian

Gérard Bouchard argues that early political defeats—the British Conquest, the Rebellions

of 1837–1838, and the Act of Union—generated a doctrine of cultural survival centered

on "la religion, la langue, la tradition, la mémoire," whereby the politically unstable and

demographically fragile French-Canadian nation found strength in "la vigueur et la

richesse de sa tradition française" and sought to "préserver et... cultiver sans cesse la

référence à la vieille culture de la France, comme réservoir de valeurs et de modèles à

reproduire et à imiter."[108] It is in this context that a number of collections of French-

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University of California Press, 2000], 31–36). This framework should not be confused
with that presented by Born in a series of more recent articles and arguing for four
"planes" of the "social mediation of music," from the microsocialities of playing music
with others and the imagined communities that link listeners, to the wider social relations
of class and race and the large-scale processes of industrial capitalism and institutions
(Georgina Born, "Music and the Materialization of Identities," *Journal of Material
Culture* 16, no. 4 (2011): 376-388; Georgina Born, "Relational Ontologies and Social
Forms in Digital Music," in *Bodily Expression in Electronic Music: Perspectives on
Reclaiming Performativity*, ed. G. Eckel and A. Dorschel D. Peters [London: Routledge,
2012], 163-180).
[107] Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 24.
[108] "religion, language, tradition, memory"; "the vigor and richness of its French
tradition"; "constantly preserve and cultivate [cultural references to] the old culture of
France, as a reservoir of values and of models to reproduce and imitate" (Gérard

Canadian songs and legends were published in the mid-nineteenth century (see Chapter

Two). Bouchard notes that, for the intellectual elite, this preservationist impulse was

coupled with a desire to enrich a local culture that they viewed as impoverished. The

goal: an original French-Canadian culture rooted in Old World traditions but shaped by

the promise of the New World.[109]

In Quebec, in short, the notion of tradition was linked to French-Canadian

identity via a repertoire of cultural artefacts that could be traced back to France. In

Chapter Two, I describe the expansion of this repertoire to include instrumental music

and dances that did not originate in New France.

1.6   The Study of Musical Genre

Genres were tools for taxonomic classification rather than objects of study in their own

right for most of the twentieth century, although scholars have long recognized that genre

categories are never airtight, that the defining characteristics of a genre may change over

time, and that emic and etic categorization schemes may differ significantly.[110] Film

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Bouchard, *Genèse des nations et cultures du nouveau monde* [Montréal: Boréal, 2000],
108).

[109] Bouchard, *Genèse des nations*, 128–133.

[110] For an overview of genre studies in folklore and ethnomusicology, see Ruth Finnegan,
Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices (London and New
York: Routledge, 1992), 127–147; Richard Bauman, "Genre," in *Folklore, Cultural
Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-Centered Handbook*,
edited by Richard Bauman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 53–59; and
Trudier Harris-Lopez, "Genre," in *Eight Words for the Study of Expressive Culture*,
edited by Burt Feintuch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 99–120. Finnegan
notes that genres are constituted through performance—"generic conventions have to be
enacted in practice"—and are therefore constantly in flux (129). Harris-Lopez remarks on
the usefulness of genre in defining disciplinary boundaries (101). In 1992, anthropologist
Charles Briggs and folklorist Richard Bauman proposed a new approach to genre analysis
focusing on the "intertextual gap": the difference between a new utterance and an

scholar Steve Neale was one of the first to theorize genre as a process of repetition and variation. He described both the generic corpus and the expectations of viewers as ongoing processes: each new film, and each viewing, functioned within "specific systems of expectation and hypothesis" but also altered those expectations for future films.[111] Popular music scholar Jason Toynbee followed Neale to define genre as "a process in which the tension between repetition and difference fundamental to all symbolic forms is regulated," and film scholar Rick Altman later codified two versions of these processes in his retrospective "Critic's Game" and prospective, market-oriented "Producer's Game."[112] In the former, critics search out commonalities after the fact and assign a genre category retrospectively, while in the latter, producers copy successful elements of recent films, thus building up generic categories over time. Popular music scholar Keith Negus locates creativity in this tension between genres as rule-based and as process, arguing that

existing generic model (Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2, no. 2 [1992)]: 131–72). Building on their work, Sue Tuohy described musicians, listeners, and scholars as active participants in the discursive construction of genres and detailed multiple classification schemes for Chinese folksongs. She argues that the divisions between these schemes "hinge on concepts of class, nationality, and nation" as well as on musical differences (Sue Tuohy, "The Social Life of Genre: The Dynamics of Folksong in China." *Asian Music* 30, no. 2 [Spring–Summer 1999]: 54). Heather Sparling outlines eight general characteristics of genres in a 2008 article on Cape Breton Gaelic song. She argues that genres possess "social action": certain song genres, for instance, promote "sociability or communal bonding" while others function as "cultural linchpins connecting various facets of Gaelic cultures" (Heather Sparling, "Categorically Speaking: Towards a Theory of (Musical) Genre in Cape Breton Gaelic Culture," *Ethnomusicology* 52, no. 3 [Fall 2008]: 418–422). More recently, Timothy Taylor has argued that the organization of musical fields of production (in a Bourdieusian sense) increasingly follows the logic of brands. He describes the "world music field" as a "brand warehouse" that stores and generates other, subsidiary, brands (Timothy D. Taylor, "Fields, Genres, Brands," *Culture, Theory and Critique* 55, no. 2 [2014]: 171).

[111] Steve Neale, "Questions of Genre," *Screen* 31, no. 1 (1990), 46.

[112] Toynbee, *Making Popular Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 106; Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: British Film Institute, 1999), 38.

structured, commercial contexts such as the corporate music industry spur individual

musical creativity when "dynamic genre practices.... confront" their own "translation into

codified rules, conventions and expectations."[113]

Generic boundaries, fuzzy as they may be, are also relational; every genre is

defined with respect to its neighbours. It is on these ever-shifting borders that variation

occurs and that generic expectations are altered. Many scholars have described how

genres are defined by difference; I find Pierre Bourdieu's description of the field of

cultural production helpful in visualizing this process. Bourdieu describes individual

genres as "positions" within a field, and the transformation of genres as an ongoing series

of "position-takings" that themselves constitute a field inseparable from the field of

positions. Position-takings—works or statements of individuals, groups, or institutions—

seek to improve a genre's position in the field via the acquisition of economic or

symbolic capital and, like the genres they strengthen, are defined relationally: "Every

position-taking . . . receives its distinctive *value* from its negative relationship with the

coexistent position-takings to which it is objectively related and which determine it by

delimiting it."[114]

In describing the transformation of musical genres, I find particularly useful

Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of speech genres. Bakhtin argues that the fundamental aspect of

language is not grammar, but particular spheres of communication with particular

associated types of utterances: "speech genres." In musical terms, we might say that the

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[113] Keith Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1999), 28.
[114] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*
(New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 30. Italics in original.

basic unit is not the work (or the tune), but the performance—live, recorded, broadcast, or written—of a work.

> Words, writes Bakhtin, acquire meaning via the act of expression:
>
> The unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterized to some degree as the process of assimilation— more or less creative—of others' words (and not the words of a language).[115]

This final phrase references Bakhtin's conception of words as existing in three forms: "a neutral word of a language, belonging to nobody"; "an *other's* word, which belongs to another person and is filled with echoes of the other's utterance"; and "*my* word," which an individual might choose to use in a particular situation and with a particular "speech plan," thereby imbuing that word with his or her expression.[116] The "words of a language" are the dictionary meanings that we know but that in speaking become "an *other's*" or "*my*" word. I see these "neutral words" as parallel to the musical "essences" I describe in Chapter Four. A tune's essence carries through from variant to variant— utterance to utterance—and serves as a means of organizing and linking those variants after the fact. No performance of a tune is based solely on its essence, however. Like a speech experience, every musical performance is a creative remix of prior performances.

With this in mind, I might rewrite the above quote as follows: "The unique musical performance of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual performances. This experience can be

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[115] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Problems of Speech Genres," in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 89.
[116] Ibid., 88. Italics in original.

characterized to some degree as the process of assimilation—more or less creative—of

other's settings of tunes (and not merely the musical essences of a repertoire)."

For Bakhtin, an utterance is dependent not only on prior utterances but also on

"its quality of being directed to someone," or "addressivity," and above all on the

speaker's choice of "speech genre."[117] Likewise, a musical performance is shaped by the

player's choice of genre, and that choice is informed in turn by circumstances and

audience: what may seem to be an individual decision is in fact shaped by collective

exigencies. Because genre is an iterative process, each performance may shift the bounds

and the norms of both the chosen genre and of related genres.

David Brackett takes this a step further and argues that "citationality" is

fundamental to the "continued legibility" of a genre.[118] That is, not only do acts of

citation maintain—and gradually reshape—musical genres; these acts, which include

pastiche and parody, are essential to the continuance of any living genre. A genre is, in

effect, extinct once musicians no longer know how to cite it, or audiences to understand

that citation.[119] Like textual citations, these musical references may both repeat and vary

the original, and performers working in a given musical genre may choose to cite—with

varying degrees of fidelity and with varied intentions—both that genre and others.

Brackett's formulation thus neatly reconfigures that of Neale: genres are processes of

repetition and variation—that is, of exact citation, of creative citation, and of imported

citation—whose very existences depend on the legibility of these citations to performers

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[117] Ibid., 95. These elements—prior utterances, intended speech genre, addressivity—are
of course mutually constitutive.

[118] Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 13. See Brackett's introductory section entitled "Genre
as citation/iteration" (11–13).

[119] However, Brackett notes that the conventions of an extinct genre might be
reconstructed.

and audiences. This dissertation explores citationality at multiple levels, from the

construction, maintenance, and transformation of a genre ("folklore") to the musical

development of individual tunes.[120]

1.7   The Study of Musical Trajectories

Writing in the 1990s, Paul Gilroy, James Clifford, and Arjun Appadurai laid the

groundwork for transnational and transatlantic approaches to reading and writing culture.

Gilroy's monograph *The Black Atlantic* argued against the nationalism or ethnic

absolutism of much scholarship in cultural studies, suggesting instead that "cultural

historians could take the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis in their

discussions of the modern world and use it to produce an explicitly transnational and

intercultural perspective." Appadurai proposed an influential division of the "global

cultural economy" into five "dimensions of global cultural flows"—ethnoscapes,

mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes—and Clifford asserted travel

and movement as the essential counterparts of dwelling and stability.[121]

The many and varied linkages between the local and the transnational are at the

core of this dissertation. At times, I take what David Armitage has dubbed a "Cis-

Atlantic" approach, studying a particular place as a "unique [location] within an Atlantic

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[120] Individual tunes are, of course, associated with one or more genres, often including the genre of folklore. Multiple generic vantage points may allow for multiple interpretations of a musical work (see Eric Drott, "The End(s) of Genre," *Journal of Music Theory* 57, no. 1 [Spring 2013]: 1–45).

[121] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 5; Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 33; James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), especially 44–45.

world and seek[ing] to define that uniqueness as the result of the interaction between local particularity and a wider web of connections (and comparisons)."[122] I ask: How did music travel with people and how were transnational musical forms reworked into representations of the local?

Bruno Latour's actor-network theory (ANT) offers one approach to conceptualizing networks of relationships between people and objects. ANT conceives of the social as a series of highly unstable, temporary groupings formed and dissolved through the actions of both humans and objects, rather than as an overarching system within which actions occur.[123] My approach to analyzing tune variants (Chapter Three) is inspired by ANT. I remain aware, however, as Georgina Born has noted, that Latour's insistence on shifting and transitory relationships, coupled with his presumed "flat ontology" for the objects in question, runs the risk of ignoring the place of power, status, charisma, or prestige in securing or maintaining those relationships.[124]

In this dissertation, I engage with written documents—both music and text—and with sound recordings. I also trace instances of aural transmission where possible, and read early twentieth-century recordings as products of aural musical cultures. I study sources not only for their musical and textual content, but also as material forms that mediate that content. To use Will Straw's formulation: printed collections, personal manuscripts, and sound recordings are not only containers for dance tunes but mediating technologies, and the means by which these media forms store, transmit, translate, and

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[122] David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 23.
[123] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 29.
[124] Born, "Relational Ontologies," 166–67.

organize music may affect the musical texts themselves.[125] From this perspective, the

traditional dichotomy of production / reception studies gives way to an emphasis on

circulation; writes Straw, "The movement of a cultural form... is not one which bridges a

source and destination, but the realignment of forms in relation to each other, within

'undulating ensembles' that give cultural life its character." Distance renders these

circulatory patterns more evident; by looking through a long lens, we see patterns and

interconnections.[126] Human memory is also, of course, a form of storage, transmission,

translation, and organization, and I am particularly interested in the transformation of

musical texts in aural contexts.

This dissertation hinges on the intersection of aurality and technology. In the early

twentieth century, sound recording offered a new sort of materiality, a permanent sonic

reference point. Arved Ashby has argued that, because recordings are repeatable, they

may function as "surrogate memories." Recordings allow listeners to absorb—and

perhaps replicate—the minute details of a performance, and also serve as "specific

preclusions to remembering," allowing players to correct any faults in their memory of a

piece.[127] A recording, in other words, has the potential to limit the musical creativity of

its listeners by offering them an endlessly repeatable, "correct" version of a tune.

(Written music may do the same, of course, in a cultural context that perceives written

sources as authoritative.) Yet recordings might also spur creativity; my analysis of early

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[125] Will Straw, "The Circulatory Turn," in *The Wireless Spectrum: The Politics, Practices and Poetics of Mobile Media*, ed. Barbara Crow, Michael Longford, and Kim Sawchuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 17–28.
[126] Ibid., 20–21, 26.
[127] Arved Ashby, *Absolute Music, Mechanical Reproduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 61.

commercial recordings suggests that some musicians created new tunes by combining

previously recorded material with newly composed segments.

1.8   Chapter Summaries

Chapter Two uses Brackett's theory of citationality to explore how folklorists used the

veillée to define the boundaries of a new genre, folklore, in the early twentieth century. I

describe the contents and reception of the first staged veillées in detail. I then consider

descriptions of veillées in travelogues, magazines, newspapers, novels, and poetry from

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I argue that these literary representations

of the veillée laid the groundwork for urban theatrical stagings of rural veillées in the

1910s and 1920s. I conclude with a discussion of community and family veillées on the

Gaspé peninsula in the mid-twentieth century. The repertoire at these "unstaged" veillées

was much more fluid and inclusive than at staged veillées, and included popular music of

the day.

Chapter Three takes an approach inspired by Actor-Network Theory to

investigate small-scale networks of people, commercial recordings, and fiddle tunes in

Montreal in the 1920s. I use a purpose-built computer program to search for melodic

variants within a database of 271 tunes. I describe how, with increasing frequency,

musicians re-recorded tunes with alternate titles and created new tunes out of segments of

existing repertoire. I argue for the 1920s as a moment of intense musical creativity when,

spurred by the demands of the record industry, fiddlers created new settings of existing

tunes and composed new tunes and new tune segments. I also use variants to trace

networks of association and transmission between early recording artists.

In Chapter Four, I catalogue and analyze variants of the tune "Money Musk." I see this chapter as both building on the tune variant scholarship described above and proposing a new approach to analyzing multiple settings of the same melody. I describe the rapid dissemination of this tune on both sides of the North Atlantic in the late eighteenth century and compare settings in Scottish printed collections and manuscripts. I follow "Money Musk" through multiple performance contexts in North America and document the extraordinarily high level of visibility that this tune attained in the nineteenth century. I compare over forty commercial or field recordings of "Money Musk," primarily from Quebec. Using Bakhtin's theory of speech genres, I argue for individual settings as the realization of an idealized musical essence via the negotiation of a set of musical possibilities.

Chapter Five profiles the popular television show *Soirée canadienne*: the longest-running series of staged veillées in twentieth-century Quebec. *Soirée canadienne* showcased folk singers, dancers, and instrumental musicians from across the province, though in a highly regulated format. I describe the show's origins and contents, and its impact on the reception of folk, or traditional, music through to the present day. Drawing on the work of performance studies scholar Diana Taylor regarding written and embodied modes of cultural expression, I contrast the generic framing of folklore on *Soirée canadienne* with that of the staged and unstaged veillées of Chapter Two. I argue that the *Soirée canadienne* team conceived of folk music as necessarily performative and sought to provide a space for aural transmission in an increasingly mediated world. I also engage with ideas of authenticity and kitsch in traditional music. Much of this chapter draws on an extended interview with Jean Collard, long-time producer of *Soirée canadienne.*

Chapter Two

***Le bon vieux temps*: The *Veillée* in Twentieth-Century Quebec**

December 31, 2008, 11 pm: Radio-Canada Television's live broadcast of "Bye-Bye 2008"[1]

A clock tolls as the iconic rhythm of traditional Québécois music—quarter-eighth-eighth, quarter-eighth-eighth—ramps up. Centre stage is a long table with a roast on a platter and tall candles. A glissando from an invisible piano leads into a fast I-V-I-V vamp and some of the dozen "guests" around the table start to tap their feet double-time; others clap and whoop. A fiddler, the only on-stage musician, plays a fast A minor break and the host, actress Véronique Cloutier, rises. "Ce sont les gens de ce pays," she sings, and everyone responds, "Ce sont les gens de ce pays," as two circus artists walk on their hands on the tabletop and do simultaneous back-flips.

The song is "Mettez votre parka," by the legendary poet and songwriter Gilles Vigneault; the off-stage backup band is La Bottine Souriante, with its distinctive mix of fiddle, accordion, rhythm section, and brass section. Next are brief sung cameos by the humorist Cathy Gauthier, Marie-Élaine Thibert of Star Académie fame, television animator Joël Legendre, and actress Sylvie Moreau. Moreau sings over a fast-paced

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[1] Louis Morissette, head writer, and Véronique Cloutier, producer and host, "Bye Bye 2008," live broadcast, December 31, 2008, Télévision de Radio-Canada, http://video.veroniquecloutier.com/2654311170001/Ouverture_-_Bye_Bye_2008. This video is no longer posted online (as of July 2016).

disco groove while sinuous, upside-down circus artists grasp at her with their legs, then

Olympic diver Alexandre Despatie back-flips into a shallow pool of water and dances

heavily from one foot to the other, elbows out. The band repeats an eight-bar fragment

behind a video montage of Veronique Cloutier dancing: in a restaurant with a fiddler and

pianist, her mouth in an "O" of surprise; with firemen; on top of the Mont-Royal; with

babies; in a bookstore; onstage at a rock concert; by a mall Christmas tree; outside at

night with revellers in Santa Claus hats. Everywhere the dancing is the same:

exaggerated stomping, elbows out and swinging, lots of turns by the elbow.

Back at the live show, seven people dance on the tabletop and the pop duo Alfa Rococo

sings. Many of the guests have taken off their shoes and are thwacking them together in

time as "Bob la Cuillère" (Robert Gauthier, a 2008 finalist on the French show

"Incroyable Talent") step-dances out from the wings and plays spoons on his legs,

Véronique Cloutier's lap, and comedian Jean-François Mercier's head.

2.1   Introduction

For over a century, the term "veillée" has had a dual meaning in Quebec. On the one

hand, it is an informal gathering at which family, friends and neighbours play cards, share

news, sing, play music, dance, and generally entertain one other. On the other, it is an

idealized performance of those gatherings and, as such, a powerful means of representing

traditional French-Canadian identity. In this chapter, I argue that the veillée is a culturally

resonant space that, in the late nineteenth century, served as a synecdoche for an idealized

rural lifestyle associated with a conservative national identity and, in the twentieth,

grouped a diverse collection of musical materials (themselves associated with that

idealized lifestyle) under the genre of folk, or traditional, music. I historicize the veillée

in twentieth-century Quebec via two case studies: early staged veillées in Montreal in the

1910s and 1920s; and informal music-making on the Gaspé peninsula in the mid-century.

"Bye-Bye" is an annual New Year's Eve broadcast of sketch comedy on Radio-

Canada Television. The veillée that opened "Bye-Bye 2008" is, in many regards, a

compendium of caricatured clichés of traditional Québécois music: the holiday season

setting, the excessive jolliness, the incessant and uncoordinated foot-tapping, the out-of-

tune group singing on the *chansons à répondre* (call-and-response songs), the party-

happy fiddler, the repetitive melodic fragment that accompanies the video montage, the

ungainly dancing itself. This is traditional music restricted to the short spectrum from

ossified to ludicrous: a farcical backdrop to a variety show of circus acts and pop,

television, and sports stars. The hard-driving, swing-inflected backup band is La Bottine

Souriante, one of the most celebrated and long-lived of traditional groups, but its

musicians are only heard, never seen. The only instrumentalist on stage is the solo

fiddler, though in a bizarre nod to Celtic folk-rock, an Irish bouzouki player with

shoulder-length hair, a kilt, and a black T-shirt is on camera but off the raised stage of the

veillée. Yet even as "Bye Bye 2008" excited controversy in the early days of 2009—

Cloutier and head writer Louis Morrisette eventually issued a formal apology for several

sketches deemed racist[2]—this opening veillée was unremarked upon. Its availability on

Cloutier's professional website as late as 2014 suggests that she and Morrisette

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[2] Radio-Canada, "Bye Bye 2008: Excuses et explications | Plus | Radio-Canada.ca,"
January 9, 2009, http://ici.radio-canada.ca/arts-spectacles/PlusArts/2009/01/09/002-
cloutier-morissette.asp.

considered it one of the more successful segments of the ninety-minute broadcast. Why this sort of caricatured representation of a traditional veillée is not only accepted in Quebec, but often expected, is a central concern of this dissertation.

The opening sketch of "Bye Bye 2008" sits squarely in a tradition of staged veillées that began in Montreal in 1919 and was grounded in the nationalist literary movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These early veillées launched a century of commercial representations of rural music-making on stage, radio, television, and recordings. A photo of the set of *Les bonnes soirées canadiennes* on CHRC radio (Quebec City, ca. 1939) shows several generations dressed in old-fashioned clothing and gathered around a long table, a fiddler and accordionist to one side.[3] The 1964 LP *Noël et le jour de l'an avec la famille Soucy* opens with the clink of dishes and a child's voice asking for more roast, before launching into an A side of chansons à répondre and a B side of dance tunes.[4] The television shows *Chez Isidore* (CFTM Montreal, 1960–1962)[5] and *Soirée Canadienne* (CHLT Sherbrooke, 1960–1983) were both set as rural veillées; "Bye-Bye 2008" neatly prefaced Joël Legendre's cameo with a video clip of a ten-year-old Legendre singing the same song, with the same gestures, on *Soirée Canadienne*. Richard Handler described rural farm families performing their

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[3] Jean Du Berger, Jacques Mathieu, and Martine Roberge, *La Radio à Québec 1920-1960* ([Sainte-Foy, QC]: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997), 143.

[4] Fernando Soucy et al., *Noël et le jour de l'an avec la famille Soucy*, Dominion 48013, 1964, 33⅓ rpm.

[5] Gabriel Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels du Québec (1920-1993)* (Montréal: VLB, 1995), 17–18, 229; "Soucy, Isidore," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published April 3, 2007), http://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/isidore-soucy-emc/.

Christmas veillée for tourists and on a television special in the late 1970s, and a folk

dance show at the 1978 Quebec City Winter Carnival that featured "family revellers" in a

"traditional farmhouse interior, dominated by a painted chimney, hearth, and grandfather

clock"—all on stage at one end of a hockey arena.[6]

This long history of staged veillées has resulted in a wealth of associated imagery,

including the exaggerated elbow swinging and comical spoons-playing shown in "Bye-

Bye 2008." Kitsch media representations aside, however, the veillée remains a touchstone

of participatory traditional music activity. "S'il y a une affaire qu'on a essayé de

démontrer ici dans le festival, c'était justement [que] tout le monde pouvait faire la

musique," declared organizer André Gladu at the opening of "La Veillée des veillées,"

the final concert of the 1975 Montreal folk music festival "Les Veillées d'automne."[7]

The Montreal-based Société pour la promotion de la danse traditionnelle québécoise runs

an amateur music school called L'École des arts de la veillée that currently offers weekly

instructional courses in fiddle, accordion, song, harmonica, accompaniment guitar, dance

calling, step-dance and social dance.[8] In March 2015, the Quebec Minister of Culture and

Communications designated the *veillée de danse*—an evening of square sets and other

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[6] Richard Handler, "On Sociocultural Discontinuity: Nationalism and Cultural Objectification in Quebec," *Current Anthropology* 25, no. 1 (1984): 58.

[7] "If there is one thing that we tried to show here in the festival, it was that everyone can play music" (Bernard Gosselin, *La veillée des veillées* [National Film Board of Canada, 1976], film, 95:29, https://www.onf.ca/film/veillee_des_veillees). See also David Berthiaume, "Les Veillées d'automne à Montréal (1975)," *Bulletin Mnémo* 10, no. 1 (2006), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/les-veillees-d-automne-a-montreal.

[8] "The Society for the promotion of traditional Québécois dance"; "The school of the arts of the veillée" (SPDTQ, "Espace Trad | SPDTQ" [Société pour la promotion de la danse traditionnelle québécoise, 2015], http://espacetrad.org).

group social dances in a public venue—an official item of intangible cultural heritage in the province.[9]

Today's traditional musicians and dancers ground their work in the musical and extra-musical traits of the veillée in order to push the genre in new directions. Québécois touring bands such as Le Vent du Nord, De Temps Antan, Genticorum, and La Bottine Souriante perform the repertoire of the veillée—a combination of songs (primarily chansons à répondre) and instrumental dance tunes[10]—in a professional, festival-ready format; their choice of repertoire grounds them in the genre of traditional Québécois music even when their arrangements reference other styles. The quartet Maz goes further, combining the rhythmic and melodic structures of traditional music with sounds and techniques from jazz, electronica, and contemporary art music. The band's second album, *Chasse-galerie* (2013), contains all newly composed material loosely inspired by the traditional legend "La Chasse-galerie," in which a group of lumbermen make a pact with the devil to fly their canoe home.[11] Bandleader Marc Maziade sees the legend as a

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[9] CQPV, "La veillée de danse comme patrimoine immatériel" (Conseil québécois du patrimoine vivant, 2015), http://patrimoinevivant.qc.ca/2015/03/la-veillee-de-danse-traditionnelle-designee-par-la-ministre/.

[10] These songs and tunes are usually either taken from commercial or archival recordings, or are newly composed. Musicians also learn repertoire via oral transmission and, to a lesser extent, from printed sources.

[11] Maz, *Chasse-Galerie*, Marc Maziade, Pierre-Olivier Dufresne, Gabriel Godbout-Castonguay, and Benoit Coulombe (BLEUCD-4444, compact disc, 2013). In the literary adaptation of this legend by Honoré Beaugrand, the lumbermen arrive home in the middle of a Christmas veillée (Honoré Beaugrand, *La chasse-galerie et autres récits*, edited by François Ricard [Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1989], http://collections.banq.qc.ca/bitstream/52327/2019163/1/91149.pdf). This is a critical edition of Beaugrand's *La chasse-galerie: légendes canadiennes* (1900), for the collection "Bibliothèque du nouveau monde."

metaphor for the group's collaborative process: "*Chasse-Galerie*, c'est un trip de gang,

c'est un voyage en canot, c'est un défi à la vie aussi, c'est un risque, un pari."[12] He

describes the band's music as "une multiplication de points de vue": an exploration of,

and investment in, traditional music in Quebec that presumes a repertoire open to new

melodic, harmonic, and textural forms; new formal arranging techniques; and

improvisation.[13] This understanding of tradition as a creative resource is a far cry from

"Bye-Bye 2008," which might be taken as an extreme example of what Maziade terms

the "folklorisation" of traditional music.[14]

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[12] "*Chasse-Galerie*, it's a trip as a group, it's a canoe voyage, it's a challenge to life as well, a risk, a gamble." Note that "trip" in French implies a certain recklessness of action, not an actual journey. Murielle Jassinthe, "MAZ: l'alchimie du son," *Le Nunavoix*, June 15, 2016, 1.

[13] "a multiplication of viewpoints" (Jassinthe, "MAZ").

[14] Marc Maziade and Gabriel Godbout-Castonguay, interview by Jordan Dupuis, Claire Moeder and Caroline Rousse, *Le Quartier Général*, CIBL, October 23, 2014, http://www.cibl1015.com/le-quartier-general (podcast). "Folklorisation," or "folklorization" in English, carries a negative charge in both languages. In a 2006 UNESCO document on intangible cultural heritage, Peter Seitel of the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage at the Smithsonian Institution defines folklorization as a "restyling" of intangible cultural heritage that causes its expressive forms to become "less complex aesthetically and semantically." Folklorist John H. McDowell surveys anthropological, ethnomusicological and folklore scholarship in the late 1990s and early 2000s and argues for a consensus definition of folklorization as a "processing of local traditions for external consumption" leading to the "alienation, stagnation, fossilization, and ultimately, corruption of folk practices." McDowell himself, however, argues that multivocality within folklorized cultural production may still allow for "authenticity" and "natural" cultural expression (Peter Seitel, "Proposed Terminology for Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards Anthropological and Folkloristic Common Sense in a Global Era," International Round Table, "Intangible Cultural Heritage"—Working Definitions [UNESCO, Piedmont, Italy, 2001], 6, www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05297-EN.pdf; John H. McDowell, "Rethinking Folklorization in Ecuador: Multivocality in the Expressive Contact Zone," *Western Folklore* 69, no. 2 [2010]: 183–185).

In this chapter, I historicize staged veillées in Quebec as a first step towards understanding how such dissimilar, yet linked, uses of traditional music and dance as "Bye-Bye 2008" and Maz may coexist in the early twenty-first century. I argue that early staged veillées shaped cultural understandings of traditional music in Quebec and laid the foundations for a century of mediated representations of traditional music and dance. The first part of this chapter describes staged veillées from 1919 to 1922. This narrow date range includes the first staged veillées, organized primarily by Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Marius Barbeau, and the Quebec Section of the American Folklore Society, and concludes just after the start of Conrad Gauthier's long-running series "Veillées du bon vieux temps." I document over two dozen staged veillées and related events. Many of these theatrical performances referenced what we might term the "prototypical veillée": a rural gathering of family and neighbours, all likely subsistence farmers, fishermen, lumbermen, or homemakers, who entertained themselves with stories, songs, fiddle tunes, step-dances, and group social dances. Such gatherings existed both in fact (I document several in the second part of this chapter) and in the cultural imagination, where they articulated—to use Stuart Hall's term—a variety of musical repertoires to ideologically charged discourses of tradition and national identity.

The repertoires of early-twentieth-century staged veillées—songs, social and step-dancing, instrumental dance tunes, and stories and legends—did not all articulate to discourses of tradition and identity at the same time. I argue that text-based materials (songs, stories, and legends) articulated to national identity in the mid-nineteenth century, whereas dancing and the accompanying instrumental music took most of the second half of the nineteenth century to shift from morally suspect behaviours to celebrated

traditions. Though these articulations were made manifest in the staged veillées of the late 1910s and 1920s, I argue that they originated in the literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As detailed above, these early stagings were the forerunners of a century of commercial representations—on stage, radio, television, and recordings—of traditional French-Canadian music. Yet running parallel to this commercial activity were non-commercial, rural social gatherings centered on music and dance—that is, veillées. In the second part of this chapter, I draw on ethnographic interviews to describe several such "unstaged" veillées on the Gaspé Peninsula from the 1940s through the 1970s. My intent is not to position these gatherings as somehow more sincere than staged veillées, or as some sort of survival of an earlier era. Rather, I interrogate the nearly nonexistent boundary between what we would retrospectively term folk and popular repertoires at these unstaged veillées.

2.1.1   Citationality

Traditional music evokes the (imagined) musical past of a given locale; in Quebec, that past has been encapsulated in the veillée for over a century. Yet the sounds and contexts of the genre have changed dramatically over that time. How do we square this ongoing flux with the implied stability of a traditional music linked to an unchanging point of origin?

David Brackett argues for citationality—the possibility of being cited—as requisite to the formation of a musical genre: the legibility of a musical text depends on the listener's ability to "place it in the context of a genre, that is, in the context of how

sounds, lyrics, images, performer personae, musical rhetoric, and a generic label (among other things) can be related."[15] A listener interprets and categorizes a new musical text through its musical and contextual references to existing genres, and this process shifts (perhaps imperceptibly) the borders of those genres. This model of genre as iterative belies any attempt at locating a genre's origins; since every potential prototype for a genre cites previously existing genres, "[t]he attempt to establish a prototypical example of a genre that functions as a point of origin then appears as an act of constant deferral."[16] Certain genres do reference such prototypical points of origin, as this chapter demonstrates. However, as Brackett notes, the designation of a "text or a group of texts" as the "origin of a genre" is always a retrospective act; a prototypical point of origin is "figured on the basis of its citation as the origin in the present."[17] When musicians and listeners in the field of traditional music point to the prototypical veillée as a point of origin for the genre, it tells us next to nothing about how the actors in those prototypical veillées understood themselves, their actions, and their music-making. Rather, it indicates a collective agreement by present-day musicians and listeners to associate certain sounds, lyrics, images, performer personae, and musical rhetoric—all associated with the prototypical veillée—with the generic label "traditional" or "folk."

The veillée is thus shorthand for a diverse mix of repertoires (chansons à répondre, fiddle tunes); instruments and playing techniques (fiddles, accordions, foot-tapping); dance forms (step-dances, certain group social dances); playing styles (certain

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[15] David Brackett, *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 13.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

vocal styles, fiddle and accordion techniques); and extra-musical markers (oral

transmission, physical setting). To use at least some of those generic markers is to

affiliate a musical sound or an event with the prototypical veillée, and so to stake out

space within the generic boundaries of traditional music. Conversely, it is the stability of

the veillée as a generic referent, and the richness of its musical and extra-musical

evocations, that have allowed the genres of folk and traditional music to include such a

wide range of musical, performative, and participatory contexts. Beyond the generic

markers of the veillée, most everything else—harmonic language, additional

instrumentation, accompaniment and arrangement style—is up for grabs.

2.2   Veillées on Stage and on the Printed Page

In a three-part article on early staged veillées in Montreal, Daniel Guilbert contrasts two

"Veillées du bon vieux temps" at the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice on March 18 and April

24, 1919 (jointly produced by the Société historique de Montréal and the Quebec Section

of the American Folklore Society) with Conrad Gauthier's long-running show, "Veillées

du bon vieux temps," at the Monument-National theatre.[18] Guilbert argues that these two

sets of veillées were substantially different in intended audience and musical content: the

Folklore Society veillées targeted an elite, educated audience and promoted folk melodies

as fodder for a new nationalist school of art music composition, whereas Gauthier's

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[18] Daniel Guilbert, "La légende des « Veillées du bon vieux temps »," in three parts, *Bulletin Mnémo* 12, no. 4 (2010); *Bulletin Mnémo* 13, no. 1 (2011); *Bulletin Mnémo* 13, no. 4 (2011), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/la-legende-des-veillees-du-bon, http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/la-legenge-des-veillees-du-bon, http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/la-legende-des-veillees-du-bon-227. "Du bon vieux temps" translates to "of the good old times."

veillées were a populist re-creation of rural folkways for an urban, working-class

audience. While I agree with the broad lines of Guilbert's study, I believe that a more

detailed portrait of the earliest staged veillées (1919–1922) is necessary. Guilbert reports

that the Folklore Society staged only two veillées; I document many more. I focus on the

intellectual currents that set the scene, as it were, for these staged veillées, while Guilbert

focuses on two twentieth-century schools of thought—traditional music as high art vs.

traditional music as popular music—that had their roots in the earliest staged veillées.

Two recent dissertations also touch on these early veillées. In search of the origins

of the present-day concept of "patrimonialisation," Diane Joly documents the behind-the-

scenes negotiations between Montreal archivist Édouard-Zotique Massicotte,

anthropologist Marius Barbeau, and Victor Morin of the Société historique de Montréal

for the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice veillées. She lists ten Montreal veillées organized by

the Folklore Society from 1919 to 1927—eight of these are in 1919 or 1920—and briefly

contrasts them with the veillées of Conrad Gauthier.[19] Luc Bellemare documents

Gauthier's veillées from 1922, focusing on connections between the stage show, the

Montreal radio station CKAC, and the local sponsor, Living Room Furniture.[20] In the

following sections, I use archival sources to deepen these descriptions and correct some

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[19] Diane Joly, "(En)Quête de patrimoine au canada français 1882–1930. Genèse du concept et du processus de patrimonialisation" (PhD diss., Université Laval, 2012), 357–363, 369–372.

[20] Luc Bellemare, "Les réseaux des 'Lyriques' et des 'Veillées' : une histoire de la chanson au Québec dans l'entre-deux-guerres par la radiodiffusion au poste CKAC de Montréal (1922-1939)" (PhD diss., Université Laval, 2012).

misconceptions.[21] Table 2.1 lists all staged veillées from March 1919 to November 1922

for which I have documentary evidence. Appendices 1 and 2 list all documented

performers at these staged veillées; appendices 3 and 4 list all documented repertoire

items (dances, songs, stories, and instrumental tunes).

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[21] For instance, Bellemare erroneously states that Gauthier assumed direction of the
Folklore Society veillées and was "seconded" by Massicotte (Bellemare, "Les réseaux
des 'Lyriques' et des 'Veillées,'" 89). In fact, a March 27, 1922 letter from Massicotte to
Barbeau indicates that Gauthier launched his "Veillées du bon vieux temps"
independently of the Folklore Society. Massicotte felt that Gauthier had stolen their
concept and he sought to put an end to the latter's "Veillées" (Archives de Folklore de
l'Université Laval, fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte). A third recent dissertation by
Jean Duval on crooked tunes in traditional music in Québec mentions the staged veillées
only briefly (Jean Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre : jeu et enjeux des pièces
asymétriques dans la musique traditionnelle du Québec" [PhD diss., Université de
Montréal, 2013]), 45–46.

Date	Title and Location	Organizations and Organizers	Performers [square brackets indicate performers listed in previews but absent from programmes or reviews]	Sources of information (*LP* = *La Presse*, fMB = fonds Marius Barbeau, fCR = fonds Carmen Roy, both at the Canadian Museum of History)
March 18, 1919	"Soirée des traditions populaires canadiennes," Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal (coincides with second annual meeting of the Quebec Section of the American Folk-Lore Society; "Veillée du bon vieux temps" title assigned retroactively by Barbeau and Massicotte [1920])	Société historique de Montréal, American Folk-Lore Society (Québec Section); Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Marius Barbeau	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Adolphe Tison (song), Médard Bougie (violin), François-Xavier Baulne (stepdance) *Artistique:* Mme. J.-Emile Dionne (solo piano), Yvonne Montet (song), Sarah Fisher (song), R.-H. Duhamel (story), Choir of architecture students with P.-E. Corbeil (acc. piano), [Alice Valiquette (song), Julie Fortin (acc. piano)] *Lectures:* Victor Morin on popular traditions, Marius Barbeau on Quebec art and architecture (with lantern slides)	Barbeau and Massicotte 1920, 8-9 (full programme); *LP* 1919-3-11, 9; *LP* 1919-3-12, 17; *LP* 1919-3-15, 46; Joly 2012, 356-369; fMB B340 f4
April 24, 1919	"Soirée des traditions populaires canadiennes," Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montréal ("Veillée du bon vieux temps" title assigned retroactively by Barbeau and Massicotte [1920])	Société historique de Montréal, American Folk-Lore Society (Québec Section); Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Marius Barbeau.	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Adolphe Tison (song), Médard Bougie (violin), Joseph Rousselle (story), Philéas Bédard (story), Famille Dagenais (dialogue song-story): Catherine Dagenais-Major (also jaw harp), Israël Dagenais, Jean-Baptiste Dagenais, Olivier Dagenais *Artistique:* Loraine Wyman (song) with Mme. A. Laurendeau (acc. piano) *Lectures:* Victor Morin on popular traditions, Marius Barbeau on Quebec art and architecture (with lantern slides)	Barbeau and Massicotte 1920, 10-11 (full programme); *LP* 1919-4-17, 15; *LP* 1919-4-21, 17 (full programme); *LP*, 1919-4-25, 17; Joly 2012, 356-369; Nowry 1995, 188-189
June 24, 1919	"Veillée de folk-lore," Monument-National, Montréal (Saint-Jean-Baptiste celebration)	Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal; Édouard-Zotique Massicotte	*Du terroir:* Isaïe Leroux (dance, story), Famille Dagenais (song, dance), Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song) with Jeanne Ladouceur (acc. harmonium), Adolphe Tison (song), Philéas Bédard (song, story), Médard Bougie (violin), Arsène Jarry (violin), Henri Groulx (dance), Joseph Rousselle (story) *Artistique:* Yvonne Montet (song) with Mme. J.-Emile Dionne (acc. piano) *Lecture:* Victor Morin; lantern slides projected by Edgar Gariepy during songs	*LP* 1919-6-25, 3 (full programme); Joly 2012, 356-369
Dec. 11, 1919	"La soirée des ancêtres," Monument-National, Montréal	Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, for the profit of "quelques groupes minoritaires"	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Adolphe Tison (song) with Michel Renaud (piano), Elie Ménard (dance), Isaïe Leroux (dance, short stories), Médard Bougie (violin), Joachim Simard (accordion), Famille Dagenais (dance, jaw harp as above), Joseph Roussel (story), Philéas Bédard (song, story) *Artistique:* J.-P.-L. Bérubé and Auguste Paquette (song) with Aldéa Lussier; trio of Bérubé, Paquette, and Hercule Lavoie (song) *Lecture:* Victor Morin	*LP* 1919-11-29, 5; *LP* 1919-12-12, 10; *Le passe-temps* 1919-12-13, 494; *La Canadienne* 3, no. 5 (July-August 1921), 8-9; Joly 2012, 356-369; fMB B219 f36
April 25, 1920	"Old French Traditions (Folksongs and Folktales) as They Survive in Canada," Cosmopolitan Club, New York City	Loraine Wyman and Marius Barbeau	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Philéas Bédard (song) *Artistique:* Loraine Wyman (song), Ruth Emerson (piano) *Lecture:* Marius Barbeau (with slides) *Staging:* No props; de Repentigny is dressed as a lumberjack, Bédard is dressed as an *habitant.*	*LP* 1920-4-27, 19; *LP* 1920-4-30, 24; Nowry 1995, 190; [*Sun & New York Herald* 1920-4-26]
April 26, 1920	"Old French Traditions (Folksongs and Folktales) as They Survive in Canada," Columbia University, New York City (matinée for students)	Loraine Wyman and Marius Barbeau	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Philéas Bédard (song) *Artistique:* Loraine Wyman (song), Ruth Emerson (piano) *Staging:* No props; de Repentigny is dressed as a lumberjack, Bédard is dressed as an *habitant.*	*LP* 1920-4-27, 19; *LP* 1920-4-30, 24; Nowry 1995, 190; fMB B340 f5
April 29, 1920	"Veillée du bon vieux temps," Monument-National, Montréal	American Folk-Lore Society (Québec Section), sponsored by *La Presse*; Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Marius Barbeau	*Du terroir:* Roméo Jetté (song), Louis Leduc (story, jaw harp, "rouette"), Caïus Benoit (violin), Edouard Giroux (violin), Oscar Durocher (violin), Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Isaïe and Honoré Leroux (dance), Philéas Bédard (story, song), Joachim Simard (accordion), [Joseph Dion (story), Philippe Lambert (violin)] *Artistique:* Ruth Emerson (solo and acc. piano), Loraine Wyman (song) *Format:* Included "concours de violon" between Caïus Benoit, Edouard Giroux, and Oscar Durocher *Lecture:* Barbeau on popular traditions and Quebec art and architecture [Arts et architecture populaires, Reliques d'art français au Canada, Ancienne maîtresses d'art] (with lantern slides)	*LP* 1920-4-9, 23; *LP* 1920-4-10, 5 (soliciting participants); *LP* 1920-4-21, 5; *LP* 1920-4-23, 25, 27; *LP* 1920-4-26, 11; *LP* 1920-4-27, 1; *LP* 1920-4-28, 1; *LP* 1920-4-30, 7, 27 (majority of programme); July 2012, 356-369; Nowry 1995, 190; fMB B340 f5 and f6 (programme)

Date	Title and Location	Organizations and Organizers	Performers [square brackets indicate performers listed in previews but absent from programmes or reviews]	Sources of information
May 2, 1920	"Veillée du bon vieux temps," L'Auditorium, Québec City (matinée and evening performances; coincides with annual meeting of the Quebec Section of the American Folk-Lore Society)	Marius Barbeau, American Folk-Lore Society (Québec Section), profits to the Société du Terroir (directed by Marquis and Damase Potvin)	*Du terroir:* Ulric Pageau (violin), Jérôme Cloutier (dance, song), Honoré Leroux (dance, song), Luc April (song), Ovide Soucy (song), Achille "Ti-Chille" Fournier (story), [Philéas Drolet (dance)] *Artistique:* Loraine Wyman (song) with Ruth Emerson (acc. piano) *Lecture:* Barbeau on Quebec landscapes along the St. Lawrence, incl. Beaupré, Charlevoix (with lantern slides)	*L'evenement* 1920-4-3 (fMB B340 f7); *LP* 1920-4-24, 7; *LP* 1920-5-5, 25; Nowry 1995, 191; fCR B624 19 p. 73.
May 5, 1920	"Veillée du bon vieux temps," Salle Ste.-Anne, Ottawa (French-speaking audience)	Jules Tremblay, Marius Barbeau, American Folk-Lore Society (Ontario Section), Cercle Social Sainte-Anne d'Ottawa. Assistance from Charles Marchand.	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Olivier de Repentigny (violin), Philéas Bédard (story, song), Isaïe Leroux (dance, story), Honoré Leroux (dance) *Artistique:* Ruth Emerson (solo and acc. piano), Loraine Wyman (song) *Lecture:* Barbeau on popular traditions	fMB B340 f1 (full programme); *LP* 1920-5-7, 6; Nowry 1995, 191-192; fCR B624 19 p. 75.
May 6, 1920	"Veillée du bon vieux temps," Russell Theatre, Ottawa (matinée for schoolchildren plus evening performance)	Jules Tremblay, Marius Barbeau, American Folk-Lore Society (Ontario Section).	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Edouard Giroux (violin), Philéas Bédard (song), Isaïe Leroux (dance), Honoré Leroux (dance) *Artistique:* Ruth Emerson (solo and acc. piano), Loraine Wyman (song) *Lecture:* Barbeau on popular traditions and Quebec art and architecture (with lantern slides)	fMB B340 f1 (full programme); Nowry 1995, 191-192.
May 7, 1920	Morning Music Club, Ottawa (concert)	Marius Barbeau, American Folk-Lore Society (Ontario Section), Morning Music Club	*Du terroir:* Philéas Bédard (song) *Artistique:* Loraine Wyman (song) with Ruth Emerson (acc. piano) *Format:* No props, majority *folklore artistique*.	fMB B340 f1 ; Nowry 1995, 191-192
May 15, 1920	"Séance de folklore," Monument-National, Montréal (matinée for schoolchildren)	Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, American Folk-Lore Society (Québec Section)	*Du terroir:* Joseph Rousselle (story), Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Adolphe Tison (song), others *Format:* Children from two orphanages (Saint-Henri, Soeurs Grises of Sainte-Cunégonde) perform dances including a minuet and sung *ronde*	*LP* 1920-5-11, 13; *LP* 1920-5-14, 9; *LP* 1920-5-15, 11; July 2012, 356-369
Oct 12 and 14, 1920	"Veillée de campagne: Une noce du bon vieux demps chez le père Hubert Perron," Monument-National, Montréal	Parish of Sainte-Cécile, with the patronage of Montreal mayor Médéric Martin	*Du terroir:* unnamed dancers and instrumentalists *Format:* Representation of a rural wedding	*LP* 1920-10-04, 7, *LP* 1920-10-05, 3 (negative preview); *LP* 1920-10-13, 10, 22; July 2012, 369.
Nov. 25, 1920	"La vie des voyageurs," Monument-National, Montréal	Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, American Folk-Lore Society (Québec Section)	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (song), Adolphe Tison (song), Philéas Bédard (song), F.-X. Blache (song), Joseph Rousselle (story), Jean Bourgeois (dance), Eugène Bourgeois (dance, violin); Gaspésian dancers: Paul Curadeau (violin), Mme. S. Curadeau, Mlle. A. Curadeau, Mme. Charles Blanchette, Charles Blanchette, Mme. M. Thériault, Hervé Samson, Mme. Hervé Samson, Salomon Samson (violin), Mme. Salomon Samson, Luc Samson, Ludger Côté *Artistique:* Stanley Gardner (piano), Alice Bélanger (poetry reading), Lucienne-B. Laliberté (song) with Alfred Laliberté (acc. piano) *Lecture:* Victor Morin on voyageurs *Poetry:* "Connaissez-vous la Gaspésie?" by Blanche Lamontagne-Bauregard, recited by Alice Bélanger *Format:* First half follows "la vie de voyageur" via song; also includes the "Pantomime du barbier." Second half features Gaspésian dances: Gigue des anciens, Reel des matelots, Spandy. Distribution of St. Catherine's Day *tire*, sponsored by Ludger Gravel.	*LP* 1920-11-15, 11; *LP* 1920-11-16, 12; *LP* 1920-11-17, 21; *LP* 1920-11-20, 34; *LP* 1920-11-23, 9; *LP* 1920-11-25, 13; *LP* 1920-11-26, 13, 27 (detailed description of programme); *Le passe-temps* 26, no. 671 (1920-12-11), 551; *La Canadienne* 3, no. 5 (July-August 1921), 8-9; Joly 2012, 356-369; Nowry 1995, 192, Bellemare 2012, 90, 394; fMB B340 f6

Date	Title and Location	Organizations and Organizers	Performers [square brackets indicate performers listed in previews but absent from programmes or reviews]	Sources of information
Dec. 2, 1920	"La vie des voyageurs," Monument-National, Montréal	Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, American Folk-Lore Society (Québec Section)	Repeat of November 25, 1920 veillée, though with slight differences in programming: Gaspésian dances include Grand cotillion, Stanley Gardner opens the second half rather than the first; the first half opens with a "concours de violoneux" between Bourgeois, Curadeau and Samson.	*LP* 1920-11-20, 34; *LP* 1920-12-3, 7, 13 (detailed description of programme); *Le passe-temps* 26, no. 671 (1920-12-11), 551; *La Canadienne* 3, no. 5 (July-August 1921), 8-9; Joly 2012, 356-369; Nowry 1995, 192; fMB B340 f6
c. March 1921	"Veillée du bon vieux temps,'" Salle Sainte-Brigide, Montréal	Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre	*Du terroir:* M. and Mme. Charles Blanchette, Mme. Curadeau, Isaïe Leroux, Honoré Leroux [and others?] *Artistique:* unknown *Format:* A comedy. Two acts of "scènes canadiennes."	Letter from É.-Z. Massicotte to M. Barbeau, 1921-3-21 (Archives de folklore et ethnologie à l'Université Laval, fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte); *LP* 1921-4-9, 5
April 1921?	Trois-Rivières	Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Société historique de Montréal	At the request of Albert Tessier?	Joly 2012, 365; *L'action française*, March 1921, 167.
April 9, 1921	"Souper du bon vieux temps," Chalet, Cartierville	Club de raquette le Montagnard	*Du terroir:* Unnamed fiddler, accordion players, dancers Includes a supper "du vieux temps"	*LP* 1921-4-9, 15
April 21, 1921	"Veillée du bon vieux temps: 'A la bonne franquette,'" Monument-National, Montréal	Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre, under the auspices of M. l'abbé Victor Geoffrion	*Du terroir:* Isaïe Leroux, Honoré Leroux, M. and Mme. Casaubon, M. and Mme. [Charles] Blanchet[te], Mme. and Mlle. Curadeau, MM. Côté (father and son), Ovila Desrochers. *Actors:* Conrad Gauthier (principal actor), Arthur Lapierre, Armand Lefebvre, Alcide Boivin, Mlle. Whillhelmy [Boivin?] *Format:* A comedy. Two acts of "scènes canadiennes."	*LP* 1921-4-9, 5; *LP* 1921-4-20, 3; *LP* 1921-4-22, 21
Nov. 24, 1921	"Veillée du bon vieux temps: 'La Sainte-Catherine,'" Monument-National, Montréal	Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre	*Du terroir:* M. Durocher (violin) and others. Dancers: Isaïe Leroux, Mme. Curadeau, Mlle. Curadeau, Catherine Dagenais (also jaw harp), Charles Blanchette, Mme. Blanchette, M. Coté père, M. Côté fils. *Actors and singers:* Arthur Lapierre, Conrad Gauthier, Sylva Alarie, Armand Lefebvre, Mme. Chailler, Mme. [Wilhelmy-]Boivin [dance], Mme. Laurendeau-Chailler [dance], Pauline Gravel (6 months) *Format:* A two-act play. The first act, in Montréal, reproduces portions of "Consultations gratuites" by Régis Roy, the second act is a veillée in the village of Saint-Jacques l'Achigan. An orchestra was to play "airs canadiens" between the acts, but played "American music" instead (ragtime and jazz), Distribution of St. Catherine's Day *tire* sponsored by the evening's president, Ludger Gravel.	*LP* 1921-11-20, 9; *LP* 1921-11-25, 14; *LP* 1922-2-25, 8
Nov. 29, 1921	"Veillée du bon vieux temps: 'La Sainte-Catherine,'" Monument-National, Montréal	Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre	Repeat of November 24, 1921 veillée.	*LP* 1921-11-25, 14
Nov. 24, 1921	"Veillée du Bon Vieux Temps," Notre-Dame du Perpetuel-Secours, Montréal	La Conférence de St-Vincent de Paul, profits to help the poor	*Du terroir:* Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny, Philéas Bédard, J. E. Bourgeois and others *Format:* Free sweets distributed to the audience.	*LP* 1921-11-19, 4
Feb. 27, 1922	"Veillée du bon vieux temps: 'Le Mardi-Gras,'" Monument-National, Montréal	Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre	*Du terroir:* François-Xavier Bauline, Famille Dagenais, Isaïe Leroux (dance), Ovila Desrochers (violin), Mme. Curadeau. *Actors and singers:* Conrad Gauthier, Arthur Lapierre, Armand Lefebvre, Joseph Cadieux, C.-A. Vallerand, Mlle. Albertine Martin, Mlle. Jeannette Teasdale, Mme. A. Gravel, Pauline Gravel (9 months), [Mme. Wilhelmy-Boivin] *Format:* "Le Mardi-Gras" (Conrad Gauthier and Napoléon Tellier) is in two acts and is set at a rural veillée. The performers du terroir are all in the second act. During the entr'acte: a staging of the poem "Le Drapeau de Carillon" (Octave Crémazie); national songs (*chansons du pays*) performed by Arthur Lapierre; "Les Echos Laurentiens" performed by the Orchestra Larose.	*LP* 1922-2-18, 7; *LP* 1922-2-25, 8, *LP* 1922-2-28, 14

Date	Title and Location	Organizations and Organizers	Performers [square brackets indicate performers listed in previews but absent from programmes or reviews]	Sources of information
March 10, 1922	"Folk Song Recital," Russell Theatre, Ottawa	Marius Barbeau and G. Lanctot. Patrons: Governor General Baron Byng of Vimy.	*Du terroir*: William and Omer Mallette (violin), M. Vaive, M. Carisse, Mme. Desjardins and others (dancers). Philéas Bédard (songs and *Le pari du silence*, "a folk tale with songs"), *Artistique*: Loraine Wyman performing arrangements of folk songs from England, the American South, France.	fMB B340 f8; Nowry 1995, 192
March 11, 1922	"Veillée du Bon Vieux Temps," Russell Theatre, Ottawa	Marius Barbeau and G. Lanctot.	*Du terroir*: William and Omer Mallette (violin), Philéas Bédard (songs, stories), M. Vaive, M. Carisse, Mme. Desjardins, Mme. Moreau, Charron, Bélanger (dancers), M. Treffle Bigras and Mme. Joseph Tremblay (songs) *Artistique*: Loraine Wyman performing arrangements of folk songs from France, Louisiana, Canada.	fMB B340 f8; Nowry 1995, 192
May 24, 1922	"Une veillée chez nos gens"	Le club Gouin	*Du terroir and actors*: Mme. Moïse Raymond (song), Mme. Joseph Godard (song), Joseph Godard (song, dance, role of habitant), M. and Mme. A. Levesque, Henri Watier (violin), Mme. François-Xavier Baulne, Aldéric Pleau, Percy Trevelyan.	*LP* 1922-05-20, 9
Nov. 6, 1922	"Veillée du bon vieux temps: ' L'épluchette de blé-d'Inde,'" Monument-National, Montréal (Action de grâce)	Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre. Ludger Gravel, president of the evening.	*Du terroir*: Isaïe Leroux, Mme. Caradeau, Stanislas Laporte, Oscar Durocher, Paul Lajoie, Léo Vallières, André Laurendeau (8 years old). Includes songs (chansons à répondre, chansons de chantier), dances, monologues, stories. Performers on violin, jaw harp, accordion, harmonica. *Actors and singers*: Conrad Gauthier, Arthur Lapierre, Paul Coutiée, Mme. Laurendeau-Challier, Claire Vast, Jeannette Teasdale, Hector Charland, Armand Dumouchel, Oscar Laparé, [Albertine Martin, Mlle. Chayer] *Format*: Act 1: "Un marriage à la gaumine" (Louis Guyon); Act 2: "Une épluchette de blé-d'Inde" (Hervée Gagnier), set in 1875 and including performances *du terroir*. An orchestra plays "airs canadiens" between the acts.	*LP* 1922-10-14, 12, *LP* 1922-10-21, 42, *LP* 1922-10-28, 42, *LP* 1922-11-4, 8, 27, 41, *LP* 1922-11-7, 21 (detailed description of programme, including distribution of roles)
Nov, 8, 1922	Salle Sainte-Brigide, Montreal (concert)	Concert given by Albert Larrieu	*Singers*: Albert Larrieu, France Ariel Duprat, Armand Duprat. *Format*: Part 1 is "Une veillée bretonne"; Part 2 is "Une veillée canadienne" (songs *du terroir* composed by Albert Larrieu: "Au bon vieux temps," "La légende de la feuille d'érable," "En traineau," "Une querelle de vieux"). A student choir sings "Le pain Gagnée" (words by Rév. Père Lalande, music by Albert Larrieu) between parts.	*LP* 1922-11-9, 12
Nov. 1922	Sainte-Catherine's Day performance	unknown	*Du terroir*: Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny	*LP* 1922-11-2, 16 (profile of Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny)

Table 2.1   Staged veillées from March 1919 to November 1922.

2.2.1   Early Staged Veillées

Massicotte proposed the veillée concept to Barbeau after a presentation by the latter to the Société historique de Montréal on May 29, 1918.[22] Other members of the Société historique de Montréal were also keen on the idea and the Société formed a small organizational team, with Barbeau consulting from afar. Massicotte was charged with finding performers. The first veillée was originally scheduled for St. Catherine's Day, November 25, 1918, but was delayed to March of the following year, in part because of Barbeau's initial unresponsiveness.[23]

For Barbeau and the Quebec Section of the American Folklore Society, this first veillée was both an outreach activity and a fundraising opportunity.[24] The study of French-Canadian folklore was young but its avid collectors were already overwhelmed with material. Between May 1918 and early 1919, Barbeau had collected 1,300 song variants, fifty-five fiddle tunes, eight sung dances, twenty-two stories, and forty anecdotes, and Massicotte had collected some 460 songs, expressions, and popular

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[22] Barbeau invited New York-based singer and folksong collector Loraine Wyman to attend this presentation, and afterwards she performed several American songs. Wyman had studied with French singer Yvette Guilbert and had a repertoire of French and Appalachian folk songs, to which she hoped to add French-Canadian material. Wyman would later collect folk songs in the Gaspé ("Les Mémoires de Marius Barbeau," Canadian Museum of History Archives, fonds Carmen Roy, B624, f9, 67–68).
[23] Joly, "(En)Quête de patrimoine," 357–358; "Les Mémoires de Marius Barbeau," Canadian Museum of History Archives, fonds Carmen Roy, Box 624, f9, 67–68.
[24] The original programs for both the March and April 1919 evenings are entitled "Soirée des traditions populaires canadiennes" (Canadian Museum of History Archives, fonds Marius Barbeau, B340, f4). By early 1920, Barbeau and Massicotte had retrospectively renamed them "Veillées du bon vieux temps" (Marius Barbeau and Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps à la Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, à Montréal, les 18 mars et 24 avril 1919 sous les auspices de la Société historique de Montréal et de la Société de folklore d'Amérique* [Montreal: G. Ducharme, 1920]).

rhymes.[25] The American Folklore Society had published one French-Canadian issue per year in 1916 and 1917, and would do so again in 1919 and 1920, but these required financial support from the Quebec Section.[26] Too much material and not enough money—the solution was to go public with their findings. "Dans le but d'intéresser un plus grand nombre de Canadiens dans l'étude et la publication du folklore de leur pays," wrote Barbeau in April 1919, "la Société historique de Montréal et la Section de Québec organisèrent une Soirée de traditions populaires, accompagnant leur séance annuelle."[27]

The target audience for the evening: the educated classes who, "mieux avertie, partagerait peut-être notre profonde appréciation des trésors cachés du terroir canadien, et nous aiderait à triompher de résistances qui nuisent au progrès de nos travaux folkloriques." Such support was by no means assured, however. More typical, according to Barbeau, were "l'indifférence générale" and "l'hostilité hautaine" of certain

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[25] Marius Barbeau, "La première séance annuelle de la Section de Québec," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 32, no. 123 (January–March 1919), 182; "Rapport du secrétaire du folklore," *La Presse*, March 27, 1919, 9.

[26] Laurence Nowry, *Marius Barbeau: Man of Mana* (Toronto: NC Press Ltd, 1995), 176–177, 192.

[27] "In an effort to interest a greater number of French-Canadians in the study and publication of the folklore of their nation, the Société Historique de Montréal and the Quebec Section organized an Evening of Popular Traditions to accompany their annual meeting" (Barbeau, "La première séance," 183). Though Barbeau writes in the past tense, he must have submitted this item before the soirées took place: he does not mention the April 24 event (planned after the success of March 18), and the performers he lists are not the same as those who ultimately participated (Marius Barbeau and Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps à la Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, à Montréal, les 18 mars et 24 avril 1919 sous les auspices de la Société historique de Montréal et de la Société de folklore d'Amérique* [Montreal: G. Ducharme, 1920], 8–9). Massicotte first proposed a public presentation of folklore to Barbeau in spring 1918, but Barbeau only fully engaged with the project in early 1919. See Joly for a detailed description and analysis of the correspondence between Massicotte and Barbeau (Joly, "(En)Quête de patrimoine," 357–363).

intellectuals, including an unnamed colleague of the Royal Society of Canada who had

reproached Barbeau for seeking to preserve "ces niaiseries" that others had sought to do

away with for decades.[28]

In spite of these naysayers—or perhaps to win them over—Massicotte and

Barbeau filled the program with *exécutants du terroir*: singers, a fiddler, and a dancer, all

with no formal training and from agricultural or working-class backgrounds.[29] Barbeau

was concerned about the reception of these performers, whose style he described as

rough, naïve and harsh; would an untoward gesture or unusual musical ornament shock

an audience accustomed to the conservatory and the opera? He himself considered their

performance style akin to slag in an ironworks, a sort of residual waste that could be

burned off to leave behind the pure metal of the musical texts.[30] Barbeau and Massicotte

thus proceeded cautiously. They hired a professional monologist rather than risk "un vrai

conteur du crû."[31] They included artists "qui sauraient rehausser le ton du programme":

trained singers and pianists performing art music arrangements of folk melodies, or

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[28] "better informed, would share our profound appreciation of the hidden treasures of the French-Canadian land [*terroir*] and help us overcome the [material] obstacles that hinder the progress of our folklore projects"; "the general indifference"; "the haughty hostility; "this nonsense" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 1).

[29] Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 4, 8–11. The word "terroir" is more commonly associated today with artisanal products such as wine, cheese, honey, or specialty meats. There is no direct translation into English; "exécutants du terroir" might be rendered as "performers of the land," "of the region(s)," or "of the soil." I do not translate "terroir" in the remainder of this dissertation.

[30] Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 2–3.

[31] "a real, raw storyteller" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 2–3).

folklore artistique.[32] The overwhelmingly positive audience reaction to the first soirée

seems to have taken them quite by surprise.

Massicotte and Barbeau set the scene to transport the audience out of the city and

into an idealized and endangered past, and the crowd signed on wholeheartedly. With the

stage furnished as a rustic home interior and the singer of voyageur songs dressed as a

lumberman, the "résurrection du passé" was complete, and many felt "un ravissement

complet" as the evening reawakened childhood memories.[33] Reviewer Louis Claude later

recalled the first veillée audiences as "conquise, emballée même" and applauding

frenetically. In response to public demand, Massicotte and Barbeau organized a second

"Soirée des traditions populaires canadiennes" on April 24, 1919. Large numbers were

turned away at the door on both evenings.[34]

Following on the success of the Saint-Sulpice events, Massicotte and Barbeau

organized over a dozen additional veillées between 1919 and late 1920. Massicotte

usually took the lead on Montreal veillées, held at the Monument-National from June

1919, and Barbeau on out-of-town veillées. Under the auspices of the Société Saint-Jean-

Baptiste de Montréal, Massicotte organized a "Veillée de Folklore" on June 24, 1919

(Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, the national day of Quebec), a "Soirée des ancêtres" on

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[32] "that would know how to elevate the tone of the programme" ("Les Mémoires de Marius Barbeau," Canadian Museum of History Archives, fonds Carmen Roy, Box 624, f9, 68).

[33] "resurrection of the past"; "a complete rapture" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 3). Singer Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny worked for a Montreal merchant-tailor firm and dressed for recording sessions with Barbeau in a suit and tie. However, he wore a *ceinture fléchée* (woven sash) and log-driver boots for the March 18 soirée (Nowry 1995, 188).

[34] "conquered, even thrilled" (Louis Claude, "Livres et revues," *La revue moderne*, July 15, 1920, 23).

December 11, 1919, and an afternoon "Séance de folklore" for schoolchildren on May

15, 1920 (see Table 2.1 for source documentation for these and other early staged veillées

discussed in this chapter).

In late April and early May 1920, Barbeau took the veillée concept on the road.

He brought terroir singers Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny and Philéas Bédard to New

York City to perform at the Cosmopolitan Club and Columbia University with American

folklorist and singer Loraine Wyman; the terroir performers were in costume but with no

stage set.[35] He presented a veillée in Québec City in connection with the annual meeting

of the Quebec Section, and with special dispensation from the Archbishop for a Sunday

performance.[36] Barbeau also organized four performances in Ottawa on May 5–7 in

collaboration with the Cercle social Sainte-Anne, the Ontario Section of the American

Folklore Society, and the Morning Music Club. Meanwhile, back in Montréal, Massicotte

organized a "Veillée du bon vieux temps" (the first to carry that exact title) on April 29.

This veillée was sponsored by the populist daily *La Presse*.

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[35] Wyman lectured on American folksongs in Columbia University's extension
department. She had performed the folklore artistique portion of the program at the April
24, 1919 veillée (Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 188–191).

[36] Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 191. In a letter to Marius Barbeau dated April 19, 1920, from
the office of the Archbishop of Quebec, Paul-Eugène Roy explains that civil law
prohibits "séances payantes" on Sundays. It seems that the authority to implement this
law rested with religious authorities, however, for Roy writes, "Dans un cas <u>exceptionnel</u>
comme le vôtre, nous supposons que vous avez en soin de vous mettre en règle avec le
civil, et <u>cela nous suffit</u>. C'est vous dire que vous n'avez à redouter aucune malveillance
de notre part." ("In an <u>exceptional</u> case such as yours, our assumption is that you have
taken care to put yourself in good standing with the civil law, and that is <u>sufficient for us</u>.
In other words, you needn't fear any malevolence from us" [Canadian Museum of
History, fonds Marius Barbeau, B340, f5, underlining in original]).

For St. Catherine's Day, November 25, 1920, Massicotte planned the most ambitious veillée to date on the theme "La vie des voyageurs." Victor Morin offered a lecture on voyageurs and lumbermen, and pianist Stanley Gardener performed a newly composed "Rhapsodie d'airs canadiens." The first half of the program used song to follow lumbermen from hiring and departure, through the measured rhythm of rowing, to Saturday night in the lumber camp and the return home.[37] The second half featured twelve Gaspésians performing group dances from their home parishes of Rivière-Madeleine, Rivière-au-Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon, and Percé. The program was repeated on December 2, 1920, and the 800-seat theatre filled to capacity both evenings: a measure, according to *La Presse*, of the number of people "qui ont reçu la leçon de patriotisme qui se dégage des évocations des choses du passé, des chansons, des contes et des danses de nos pères."[38] Audience members at the November 25 show ingested this "patriotic lesson" not only metaphorically through sound and sight, but literally, as they ate free St. Catherine's Day taffy (*tire*) distributed by Montreal businessman Ludger Gravel.

What began as an experiment had turned into a highly successful theatrical formula. "Retentissantes..." wrote Gustave Baudouin, "partout, on désire les entendre et

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[37] These four song groupings included, respectively, "De Lachine à Bytown"; "Elle est en quinze brins, ma ceinture de laine" and "Je joue du pique, je m'en vas draver"; "Mon père, je voudrais me marier," "Tourne la manivelle," and the step-danced "Pantomime du barbier"; and "Quand on part du chantier" and "Le retour à Bytown."

[38] "who received the patriotic lesson that is released by the invocation of the things of the past, of the songs, of the stories, of the dances of our forefathers" ("'Veillée' que couronne un beau succès," *La Presse*, December 3, 1920, 13).

l'accueil est enthousiaste."[39] The Monument-National veillées attracted a cross-section of the urban population well beyond Barbeau and Massicotte's original target of the educated elite.[40] Some spectators were young and hoped to learn about the customs of their forebears, while others were older and recalled times gone by. *La Presse* describes a raucous, presumably working-class crowd that enthusiastically tapped out the rhythms of the fiddle tunes and songs with their heels in April 1920 and required a police presence at entrances and exits in November 1920. Yet the audience also contained many lovers of art music who applauded enthusiastically for the folklore artistique portions of the evening. I explore these divergent audiences and interests further below. First, however, I ask how the diverse elements presented on stage at the veillées—song, stories, dance, instrumental dance music—all came to be subsumed under the label of folklore.

Prior to 1919 the term "folklore" rarely occurred in Quebec periodicals.[41] Within two years, however, and presumably as a result of the Quebec Section's veillées, folklore was an established genre in the cultural imagination of Quebec's literate classes. On November 29, 1919, *Le Passe-temps* invited readers to submit folklore, as well as poetry, anecdotes, short narratives, curiosities, news, etc., to a new feature entitled "Le Coin des

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[39] "Resounding… Everywhere, people want to hear them and the welcome is enthusiastic" (Gustave Baudouin, "Sauvons nos 'roches qui parlent,'" *L'action française*, March 1921, 167). Baudouin mentions veillées organized by the Société Historique de Montréal in Quebec City, Montreal, and Trois-Rivières. I have found no additional references to staged veillées in Trois-Rivières.

[40] The New York performance at the Cosmopolitan Club, by contrast, played to a well-heeled audience in evening dress. Among the audience members was celebrated critic Henry Edward Krehbiel.

[41] Based on a text search of digitized periodicals available via the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales, http://www.banq.qc.ca/collections/collection_numerique/journaux-revues/index.html.

Poètes," and the January 1920 inaugural issue of the women's magazine *La Canadienne* announced that it would print "[h]istoire, roman, folklore, légendes ou chants d'autrefois, tout ce qui forme l'ensemble des traditions" alongside articles on home economics, embroidery and crochet, and childcare.[42] Henri Miro's arrangement of the song "Veillée Rustique" for piano and voice was a "chanson du terroir" in *Le Passe-temps* in 1913 and 1915 but a "Chanson du Folklore canadien" in 1920.[43] In these contexts, "folklore" referred not only to collected songs, stories, instrumental music and dances, but also to contemporary arrangements of such songs and tunes and to newly-written texts that evoked an idealized rural past.

In July–August 1921, *La Canadienne* printed a glowing, full-page profile of the Quebec Section that rhetorically set the preservation of tradition as a national obligation: "Les chansons, les contes, les danses et les morceaux de musique qui font partie des traditions populaires constituent une partie du patrimoine national. Les conserver, les faire mieux connaître et même les faire revivre n'est-elle pas une œuvre patriotique?"[44] This sudden public awareness of folklore and the work of the Quebec Section is strikingly impressive. How did a handful of intellectuals, passionate about collecting materials that other intellectuals considered nonsense, manage to take their cause public

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[42] "history, novels, folklore, legends or songs of olden times, everything that forms the ensemble of traditions" ("Choses et gens," *La Canadienne*, January 1920, 3); "Le Coin des Poètes" is on page 489 of the November 29, 1919 issue of *Le Passe-temps*.
[43] *Le Passe-temps*, February 1, 1913, 21; *Le Passe-temps*, December 18, 1915, 481; *Le Passe-temps*, December 11, 1920, 533.
[44] "The songs, the stories, the dances and the pieces of instrumental music that are part of popular tradition constitute a part of the national heritage. Is it not a patriotic duty to conserve them, to make them more well-known, and even to make them live again?" (Marie Moinet, "L'Oeuvre de la Société de Folklore D'Amérique, Section du Québec," *La Canadienne*, July–August 1921, 8).

so quickly and so efficiently? How did Marius Barbeau, an Ottawa-employed anthropologist barely thirty years old, gather enough social recognition to be, in 1920, featured in one women's magazine (*La Canadienne*) and parodied as Marius Barbuce, a single-minded collector of folklore and antiquities, in another (*La revue moderne*)?[45]

That the genre of folklore coalesced so quickly and with no documented opposition suggests the extreme legibility of the label "folklore" as a way of grouping together these texts. Using Brackett's framework of citationality, we might say that these staged veillées invited audiences to relate "sounds, lyrics, images, performer personae, [and] musical rhetoric" to the generic label of folklore; that educated audiences did so with such enthusiasm and ease suggests that the genre already existed in some sense in their cultural imagination (though not necessarily as "folklore"). In the following section, I argue that this pre-existing genre was neither on the stage nor in the rural home, but on the printed page.

2.2.2   The Veillée in Literature

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, French-Canadian songs and legends were collected, published, and reworked as the textual embodiment of a national, language-based identity. Publications such as Abbé Casgrain's *Légendes Canadiennes*, Joseph-Charles Taché's *Forestiers et voyageurs, mœurs et légendes canadiennes*, F. A. H. LaRue's "Le Chansons populaires et historiques du Canada," and Ernest Gagnon's *Chansons populaires du Canada* were the French-Canadian expression of a Western

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[45] Louvigny de Montigny, "Un fantôme: en manière de conte de Noël," *La revue moderne*, December 15, 1920, 14–17.

European collecting movement that presumed that folk texts had been shaped by the

physical attributes of the land and the character of the people who inhabited it.[46] As such,

folk songs and stories were ideal carriers of national identity within literary contexts.

From the mid-nineteenth century until well into the twentieth, French-Canadian authors

incorporated or referenced folk texts in nationalist writings celebrating the beauties of the

countryside, the healthful purity of agricultural labour, the wholesome innocence of rural

values and traditions, and—at a time of massive French-Canadian out-migration—the

importance of remaining on the land.[47]

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[46] Henri-Raymond Casgrain, *Légendes Canadiennes* (Québec: J. T. Brousseau, 1861),
http://bibnum2.banq.qc.ca/bna/numtexte/174730.pdf; Joseph-Charles Taché, *Forestiers et
Voyageurs, mœurs et légendes canadiennes* (Montréal: Librairie Saint-Joseph, Cadieux &
Derome, 1884), first published in *Les Soirées canadiennes* in 1863; François-Alexandre-
Hubert LaRue, "Les Chansons populaires et historiques du Canada" (in two parts) *Foyer
canadien* 1 (1863): 321-384, *Foyer canadien* 3 (1865): 5-72; Ernest Gagnon, *Chansons
populaires du Canada*, in six installments (Quebec City: Bureaux du Foyer canadien,
1865–1867). For an overview of the European origins of folklore, see Lauri Harvilahti,
"Romantic Nationalism," in *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales,
Music, and Art*, *Volume 2: I–Z*, ed. Thomas Green (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1997),
737–741, and Barbro Klein, "Folklore," in Volume 1 of the same encyclopedia (p. 331–
336, esp. 331–332).
[47] In Quebec, the Catholic Church actively promoted the collection of legends, songs, and
stories "répétés au coin du feu, dans les longues veillées d'hiver" ("repeated by the
fireside during the long winter veillées") as a means to the survival of a Catholic, French-
speaking population and as a conservative bulwark against impious and potentially
revolutionary ideas (*L'Echo du Cabinet de lecture paroissial*, May 15, 1862, 225, 229).
For an in-depth study of Gagnon's *Chansons populaires du Canada* in the context of the
mid-nineteenth-century nationalist literary movement, see Gordon E. Smith, "The
Genesis of Ernest Gagnon's *Chansons populaires du Canada*," in *Taking a Stand: Essays
in Honour of John Beckwith*, ed. Timothy J. McGee (Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 1995). For more on literary evocations of an idealized rural lifestyle, see Maurice
Lemire and Denis Saint-Jacques, *La vie littéraire au Québec, vol. 3 (1840–1869)* (Saint-
Foy, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 413; and Maurice Lemire and Denis
Saint-Jacques, *La vie littéraire au Québec, vol. 4 (1870–1894)* (Saint-Foy, QC: Presses
de l'Université Laval, 1999), 381, 385. For a summary of the lead-up to terroir novels in
the early twentieth century, see Maurice Lemire and Denis Saint-Jacques, *La vie littéraire*

Unlike songs and stories, instrumental music and dance had no part in this text-based expression of national identity. In mid-nineteenth century texts, fiddles are sometimes simply part of the decor but are more often viewed with suspicion. In *Charles Guérin*, two fiddles hang next to horsewhips, fishing gear, and hunting rifles but never sound, even during the Mid-Lent house dance (the fictional sexton deems only sung *danses rondes* appropriate).[48] An 1859 moralistic essay by Paul Stevens uses folk songs as the wholesome entertainment of honest and sober rural folk but the fiddle as the accessory of a debauched lifestyle,[49] and in a lecture entitled "La Campagne (en Canada)," Stevens celebrates the beauty of the countryside, the benevolence of the rural parish priest and the saintly nature of the rural mother, but cautions against the impulsiveness of the fiddling father, who plays "non pas qu'il soit musicien, mais c'est une tradition de famille,"[50] and is on the verge of uprooting his family for a New England factory town.[51]

Such attitudes shifted gradually but by the last decades of the nineteenth century, authors were penning long, rose-coloured descriptions of rural fiddling and social dancing. These depictions were frequently made in connection with the lumber industry, then an important source of winter income for many rural families. Narcisse Faucher de

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au Québec, vol. 5 (1895–1918) (Saint-Foy, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005), 382–391.

[48] Pierre J. O. Chauveau, *Charles Guérin: Roman de mœurs canadiennes* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1853), originally published in 1846 in *Revue canadienne*, 117, 124–125.

[49] Paul Stevens, "Lecture de Mr. Paul Stevens, le 15 Mars 1859, Esquisses de mœurs, influence des mauvaises liaisons, effets désastreux de l'intempérance," *L'Echo du Cabinet de lecture paroissial de Montréal*, May 1, 1859, 152–153.

[50] "not that he is a musician, but that it is a family tradition"

[51] Paul Stevens, La Campagne (en Canada), *L'Echo du Cabinet de lecture paroissial de Montréal*, January 15, 1859, 24.

Saint-Maurice's *À la veillée* (1879) opens with an evening of fiddling and dancing hosted by the endearing lumberman Jérôme Tanguay, "*un vrai Canadien du pays*" who is almost vaudevillian in his excesses, his devil-may-care attitude, and his irrational belief that he was born to be a gentleman.[52] Napoléon Legendre's "Le voyageur" (1887) includes a description of four homesick lumbermen at a Christmastime veillée. This scene is striking for its detailed rendering of contemporary performance practice, as in the following description of a *bal à gueule,* in which dance tunes are sung ("turluter") to foot-tapping in the absence of a fiddler or fife player:[53]

> Il y a des hommes, et surtout des femmes qui peuvent ainsi turluter, en sabotant le plancher, toute la nuit durant, sans apparence le fatigue. Souvent on turlute à deux, et même à trois. C'est alors que le bal à gueule est le maximum de l'enivrement et touche presqu'au vertige. On a vu plusieurs fois, vers la fin de la soirée, ou plutôt vers le commencement de la matinée, toute une horde de danseurs enthousiasmés se mettre aussi à turluter en *battant à quatre,* et les *jouars,* poussés comme par un ressort, entrer eux-mêmes en danse avec une énergie incroyable.[54]

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[52] "*a real country French-Canadian*" (Narcisse Faucher de Saint-Maurice, *À la veillée : contes et récits* [Quebec City: C. Darveau, 1879], 5–9, italics in original, digital copy by Google Books).

[53] Legendre uses the word "fifre," presumably a small flute with no keys.

[54] "There are men, and above all women, who can sing the tunes in this way, while scraping the floor [with their feet], throughout the entire night, without any sign of fatigue. Often two or even three people will sing the tunes. That is when the bal à gueule is at the height of intoxication and on the edge of vertigo. We've seen many times, near the end of the evening, or rather near the beginning of the morning, an entire hoard of enthusiastic dancers begin to sing the tunes while foot-tapping double-time [*battant à quatre*] and the *musicians*, pushed as if by a spring, enter the dance themselves with an incredible energy" (Napoléon Legendre, "Le voyageur," *Nouvelles soirées canadiennes*, July 1887, 318–319, italics in original). See also Legendre's "La noce au village" (*Nouvelles soirées canadiennes*, July 1887, 291–293) and the Mardi Gras ball scene in Ernest Choquette's *Claude Paysan* [Montréal: La cie d'Imprimerie et de Graveures Bishop, 1899], 79–86, https://archive.org/details/claudepaysanillu00choquoft). Napoléon Legendre was a lawyer and journalist originally from Nicolet, Quebec (Aurélien Boivin, "Legendre, Napoléon," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 [University of

The attention to detail in this excerpt is extraordinary, and attests not only to Legendre's journalistic abilities, but also to his sense—shared by a number of his contemporaries, such as Faucher de Saint-Maurice—that such details were in fact important. This is a far cry from the sparse and moralistic descriptions of rural dance music of the 1860s; texts such as "Le voyageur" worked to place rural dance and instrumental music on par with songs and legends as literary indicators of French-Canadian identity.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, facing a "future shock" of massive emigration, rapid urbanization and industrialization, many in Quebec looked backwards to an idealized past.[55] The early twentieth-century *régionaliste* movement advocated an autonomous French-Canadian literature that would celebrate the natural landscape, the heroic past, legends, and the morals and lifeways of rural folk (*habitants*). Such a literature would exude an aroma of the land itself.[56]

One of the prime architects of the *régionalisme* movement was the Société du parler français au Canada, founded in Quebec City in 1902, which advocated a linguistic, and later literary, approach to preserving the faith, language, and traditions of French Canada. Speaking at the Society's annual public meeting in 1904, Abbot Camille Roy called for a new "nationalisation de la littérature" and outlined the agenda that would

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Toronto/Université Laval, 1994],
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/legendre_napoleon_13E.html).

[55] Annette Hayward, *La querelle du régionalisme au Québec, 1904-1931: vers l'autonomisation de la littérature québécoise* (Ottawa: Le Nordir, 2006), 20.

[56] "un délicieux « arôme du terroir »" (Hayward, *La querelle du régionalisme au Québec*, 33).

dominate French-Canadian letters until the Second World War: "Traiter des sujets

canadiens, et les traiter d'une façon canadienne."[57]

To treat French-Canadian subjects in a French-Canadian manner required a

French-Canadian vocabulary. Each issue of the Society's journal, the *Bulletin du parler*

français, included a lexicon of French-Canadian terms and expressions, and the Society

encouraged authors to use this vocabulary in their writings. Standard formatting practice

was to italicize non-standard words and phrases, as in Adjutor Rivard's description of a

farmhouse stove: "Il a vu plus d'une *danse*, accompagné de sa voix grave plus d'une

chanson, entendu les meilleurs *violonneux* de la paroisse, et plusieurs, qui maintenant

sont disparus, ont devant lui *battu les ailes de pigeon* comme ne savent pas le faire les

jeunesses d'aujourd'hui."[58]

In May 1908, J.-E. Prince, a lawyer, professor at Laval University, and frequent

contributor to the *Bulletin du parler français*, drew a parallel between the collecting of

linguistic artefacts from the far reaches of Quebec and the collecting of fiddle tunes. He

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[57] "nationalization of literature"; "treat French-Canadian subjects, and treat them in a French-Canadian manner" (Gilles Marcotte and François Hébert, *Vasseau d'or et croix du chemin*, vol. 3 of *Anthologie de la littérature québécoise* [Montréal: La Presse, 1979], 65).

[58] "It had seen more than one *dance*, accompanied with its low voice more than one song, heard the best *fiddlers* of the parish, and many who are now gone had *beat the 'Pigeon Wing'* [a step-dance] before it, as the *youth* of today no longer know how to do" (Adjutor Rivard, *Chez nous* [Quebec City: L'action sociale catholique, 1914], 30, italics in original, http://bibnum2.banq.qc.ca/bna/numtexte/174939.pdf). Adjutor Rivard was a founding member of the Société du parler français au Canada (Louis Mercier, *La Société du parler français au Canada et la mise en valeur du patrimoine linguistique québécois (1902-1962) : Histoire de son enquête et genèse de son glossaire* [Quebec City : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2002], 3). The practice of italicizing idiomatic words and expressions did not originate with the Société du parler français au Canada. Nineteenth-century authors (i.e., Taché, Casgrain) similarly italicized non-standard words and expressions.

called on his colleagues to study instrumental dance music with the care and attention

previously given only to songs, legends and idiomatic expressions, and used his own

essay in the journal to make a start on such a study, describing the processes and products

of amateur luthiers in Quebec, listing typical repertoire genres, and naming several

locally celebrated fiddlers.[59] No one responded to his call, however, and the collection of

instrumental dance music in Quebec would have to wait nearly a decade, until the

cylinder recordings of Marius Barbeau and Édouard-Zotique Massicotte.[60]

The texts cited above are only a small percentage of the nationalist writings of the

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many novels, poems and essays made no

mention of song, dance, or instrumental music; rather, authors often focused on physical

settings, men's and women's work, customs, religious cycles, and, in the early twentieth

century, use of language. Even in the works cited above, music and dance are only rarely

the primary focus. Yet these occasional references seem to have been enough to define,

for authors and readers, the prototypical rural veillée.

In December 1917, Abbé Émile Chartier penned a "petite histoire" of rural life in

Quebec for *L'action française*. He concluded with a description of the veillée as a

formulaic event with a standardized repertoire of card games, fiddle tunes, dances, songs,

and stories. Most remarkable is Chartier's complete reliance on literary sources, as in his

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[59] J. E. Prince, "Les violons d'autrefois: essai de folklore musical," *Bulletin du parler français* (May 1908), 330–337.
[60] For instance: Tapes 37 and 38 in Box 224, Canadian Museum of History Archives, fonds Marius Barbeau, 1916–1917.

description of the stock characters—fiddler, singer, storyteller—required for any "honest

veillée":

> M. Prince, dans le *Bulletin du Parler français...*, et Van Dyke, dans la *Gardienne de la lumière,* ont célébré le caractère unique de notre violoneux, incapable souvent de répondre à l'attente parce qu'il n'était pas *chaussé pour !* Le chanteur enfilait à perte d'haleine le répertoire recueilli par Gagnon dans ses *Chansons canadiennes* et par le docteur Larue dans le *Foyer canadien* de 1864…. Quant au conteur, dont Taché a dit la faconde dans ses *Trois légendes* ou ses *Forestiers,* comme Van Dyke dans la *Gardienne,* ou bien il redisait des récits appris ou bien il en inventait de toutes pièces. M. Barbeau est en train de ressusciter le genre par ses contributions à *l'American Folk-lore*.[61]

Chartier's veillée hangs somewhere between a factual historical account and an idealized

fiction. His wide-ranging source list (only partially reproduced in the citation above)

suggests an easy conflation of early folk song and legend collections (Gagnon, LaRue,

Taché), nineteenth-century literature (Fréchette, Choquette), contemporary folklore

scholarship (Barbeau), early twentieth-century regionalists (Rivard, Prince), and even

American short fiction (Van Dyke),[62] while his casual treatment of these sources suggests

that they were already familiar to most readers of the *Bulletin du parler français*. It is

Chartier's prototypical rural veillée—standardized, catalogued, rooted in both fieldwork

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[61] "Mr. Prince, in the *Bulletin du Parler français*, and Van Dyke, in *Gardienne de la lumière,* celebrated the unique character of our fiddlers, often incapable of meeting the expectation [that they would play] because they were not *wearing the proper shoes*! The singer would spin out non-stop the repertoire collected by Gagnon in his *Chansons canadiennes* and Dr. LaRue in the 1864 *Foyer canadien*…. As for the storyteller, whose loquaciousness Taché has described in his *Trois légendes* or his *Forestiers*, as Van Dyke did in his *Gardienne*, either he retold stories he knew or he invented some from scratch. Mr. Barbeau is in the process of resuscitating this genre through his contributions to [the Journal of] *American Folk-lore*" (Abbé Émile Chartier, "Notre Petite Histoire," *L'action française*, December 1917, 365, italics in original).
[62] Henry Van Dyke, *La Gardienne de la lumière et autres histoires canadiennes* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1906). Originally published in English in 1901, French adaptation by E. Sainte-Marie Perrin.

and fiction, and legible to a literate elite—that underlay the careful stagings that

Massicotte and Barbeau would organize two years later.

2.2.3 *Folklore artistique* and *exécutants du terroir*

Barbeau justified his own collecting activities and the Quebec Section's staged veillées

much as the Société du parler français justified the collection and publication of linguistic

idioms. Adjutor Rivard and Camille Roy had advocated for a new nationalist literature

rich in the detail of rural life; Barbeau promoted the collections of the Quebec Section as

a repository of such detail and the staged veillées as outreach to those French-Canadian

authors (the "exoticists"[63]) who had turned away from Quebec and toward French

impressionist and ultra-modern writings for inspiration.[64]

Similarly, Barbeau advocated for a new national music based on rural French-

Canadian musical texts. He described the staged veillées as an opportunity to "signaler à

ces esprits exilés"— contemporary authors and composers—"les richesses poétiques ou

mélodiques inexplorées du peuple dont ils sortent" and to which, he believed, they ought

to return.[65] This was not a new idea in Quebec, but it had never gained much traction: a

handful of French-Canadian composers had tried their hand at concert arrangements of

folk songs in the later nineteenth century and the early twentieth, but few had written

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[63] see Hayward, *La querelle du régionalisme*.
[64] Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 2.
[65] "to signal to these exiled spirits"; "the poetic and melodic riches of the people from whom they came" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 2).

large-scale compositions.[66] It was only in the 1920s, following the success of the Folklore

Society's staged veillées, that folk-music-inspired composition assumed a prominent

place in French-Canadian art music.[67]

On stage at the Folklore Society veillées, the exécutants du terroir were objects of

intense curiosity and delight. Under a rough exterior they had, in Barbeau's words,

somehow unconsciously conserved the raw materials of "la régénération de la race."[68]

Their performances were framed something like the italicized expressions in the *Bulletin*

du parler français; just as the latter were not yet literature, so the former were not yet

music to Barbeau and his colleagues, but rather sonic lexicons intended for art music

composers. The folklore artistique performances at every veillée were intended to

demonstrate the compositional potential of the terroir repertoire.

To incorporate rural spoken idioms into literature, or fiddle tunes into art music, is

to reach across social class and economic circumstance. Both the *Bulletin du parler*

français and the Folklore Society veillées used the language of uplift: they collected

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[66] Stephen C. Willis and Helmut Kallmann, "Folk-Music-Inspired Composition," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published August 20, 2007), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/folk-music-inspired-composition-emc/. In 1918, critic Gustave Comte made the case for a folklore-based school of national composition, describing folk songs as the carrier of a sort of universal soul "qui souffre, qui pleure, qui rit, chante ou danse, mais qui exprime toujours des sentiments communs et identiques pour tous les peuples" ("that suffers, that cries, that laughs, sings or dances, but that always expresses sentiments that are common and identical for all peoples"). Only by using their own folk songs as source material, Comte argued, might French-Canadian composers hope to access the poetry and sincerity of this soul and create masterworks equal to those of the great French, Russian, and German composers (Gustave Comte, "L'art et les artistes," *Le passe-temps*, March 9, 1918, 84).
[67] Willis and Kallmann, "Folk-Music-Inspired Composition," 2007.
[68] "the regeneration of the race" (Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, 2).

linguistic and musical texts with the goal of extracting those texts from rural cultural life

and relocating them within high art. Just as authors writing for the *Bulletin du parler*

français surrounded italicized expressions with proper French, so Barbeau and his

colleagues carefully situated terroir performances within a museum-like framework,

beginning most veillées with a lecture on popular traditions and introducing each terroir

performer by age, place of origin, and occupation, and each song, dance, story, or tune

with historical and technical details.[69]

  While these introductions provided important contextualization, the broader

discourse—of terroir performances as raw material for art music—worked to devalue the

exécutants du terroir by positioning them as temporary, and unsuitable, carriers of

musical texts that rightly belonged to the nation as a whole. Barbeau and Massicotte paid

exécutants du terroir less than their "artistic" counterparts; for the April 29, 1920 veillée,

the untrained singers Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny and Philéas Bédard received $10 and

$15, respectively, while Loraine Wyman and her accompanist Ruth Emerson shared

$200.[70] In a review of the "Vie des voyageurs" veillées, critic Gustave Comte disparaged

the terroir singers as "'types' rudimentaires, y allant de tous leur cœur, mais incapables

de provoquer une émotion d'art, autre que celle du rire, parfois trop lourd et trop gros,"

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[69] According to a 1921 profile of the Quebec Section, these details were intended to raise
the perceived value of the item ("informations historiques ou techniques qui en
rehaussent la valeur"; Marie Moinet, "L'Oeuvre," 8). Victor Morin's 1919 lecture on
"Nos traditions populaires" is in Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*,
12–13. Barbeau's handwritten notes for the March 10–12 Ottawa veillées are housed at
the Canadian Museum of History (fonds Marius Barbeau, B340, f8).
[70] Canadian Museum of History Archives, fonds Marius Barbeau B340, f6. Wyman and
Emerson's fee may have included travel expenses. Nowry mentions a "performers'
strike" around this time that resulted in higher pay for terroir performers (Nowry, *Marius
Barbeau*, 191).

and described the fiddle playing as "toujours de la même manière, et son accompagnement est insipide et monotone parfois même, avec sa manie de marquer violemment la mesure avec ses pieds."[71] A long-time advocate of folklore artistique, Comte suggested dispensing with the terroir performances entirely in order to fill the program with trained artists capable of understanding "toute la philosophie et le sens" of the songs (which had been gathered, of course, from exécutants du terroir).[72]

Yet Massicotte and Barbeau's programming decisions suggest that the terroir performers were the primary draw for many audience members. At the first Saint-Sulpice veillée, four terroir performers shared the stage with three folklore artistique soloists, a professional monologist, and a student choir. Most of the following veillées featured only one folklore artistique soloist, however, even as the number of exécutants du terroir rose—to nineteen for the "Vie des voyageurs" evenings. (In general, Barbeau hired fewer exécutants du terroir for out-of-town veillées than did Massicotte for the Montreal veillées.) For many spectators—Gustave Comte excepted—the exécutants du terroir carried the veillées with their lively and entertaining performances. At the Monument-National in April 1920, the terroir songs and dances provoked storms of laughter, applause, ovations, and unrestrained foot-tapping, and occasionally amused the public to the point of tears. This raucous audience participation and the buoyant vibrancy of the

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[71] "rudimentary 'types,' playing with all their heart but unable to provoke an artistic emotion other than laughter, and often a guffaw"; "always in the same way, with an insipid and monotonous accompaniment, with his [the fiddler's] mania of violently marking the time with his feet" (Gustave Comte, "Disc-o-phonia: À propos de Folklore et de disques essentiellement du terroir par nos artistes," *Le passe-temps*, December 11, 1920, 551).

[72] "all of the ethos and meaning"

terroir performances combined to create an atmosphere of informal sociability akin to

that of a real veillée, reported *La Presse* in a laudatory review, as if all had been

transported to "une soirée de noces dans un sympathique salon de campagne, en

famille."[73]

Barbeau and Massicotte intended their staged veillées as a glimpse into an

idealized past with the goal of rejuvenating French-Canadian art music in the future, and

likely never expected that the evenings would themselves become something akin to

actual veillées (albeit with some 800 participants each). They also presumably did not

anticipate the profound emotional reactions that their stagings would provoke. The *La*

Presse review cited above described an audience nearly swooning over the rustic stage

set: "La vue de tous ces vieux meubles: le ber, le banc, le lit, le métier-à-carder, le rouet

et milles autres détails installés sur la scène, donnait au cœur une caresse familière, une

émotion douce. À chaque objet que M. Marius Barbeau montrait, le public trépignait de

joie et chacun répétait le nom de l'objet: 'Ah! regardez-moi donc ça! Un vrai rouet!'"[74] In

such a context, the veillée's exécutants du terroir, many of whom were septuagenarians

and octogenarians, were both object—living antiquities, akin to the stage props—and

guide, able to lead a willing public deep into an imagined place and time.

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[73] "a family gathering in a congenial country living-room on the evening of a wedding"
("La Soirée du bon vieux temps a intéressé et fait rire une salle complètement remplie,"
La Presse, April 30, 1920, 7, 27). Note that *La Presse* sponsored this veillée.
[74] "The sight of all these antique furnishings: the cradle, the bench, the bed, the wool
carders, the spinning wheel and thousands of other details set up on the stage, gave a
familiar caress, a sweet emotion, to one's heart. With each object that Mr. Marius
Barbeau indicated, the public was bursting with joy and each repeated the name of the
object: 'Ah! Will you look at that! A real spinning wheel!'" ("La Soirée du bon vieux
temps a intéressé," 7).

2.2.4   *Les imitations burlesques*

In July–August 1921, *La Canadienne* concluded its profile of the Quebec Section with a warning to readers: "Il ne faut pas confondre les soirées que [la Section du Québec] organise avec les imitations, qui prêtent plutôt au burlesque qu'à l'exposé fidèle et vécu des touchantes traditions de notre population."[75] The success of the Quebec Section's veillées had spawned small-scale imitations: numerous Montreal parish halls hosted "soirées de folklore" as charity fundraisers in 1919, amateur performers from the Saint-Cécile parish presented a veillée at the Monument-National in October 1920, and the Montagnard snowshoeing club hosted a "Souper du bon vieux temps" complete with fiddler, accordionists, and dancers in April 1921.[76] The warning in *La Canadienne* most likely refers to the "Veillées du bon vieux temps" organized by actors and singers Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre, however. Gauthier and Lapierre's veillées borrowed heavily from those of the Quebec Section but were unashamedly populist.

Gauthier produced his "Veillées du bon vieux temps" at the Monument-National through the early 1940s.[77] These stagings held little appeal for the city's cultural elite and a March 1925 review in *La Lyre* called for an end to "cette ridicule et inutile parade de 'canayens' en perruques carotte, en pantalons rapiécés, en chemises d'étoffe du pays, et

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[75] "One must not confuse the soirées organized [by the Quebec Section] with imitations, which borrow from burlesque rather than give an authentic presentation of the touching traditions of our population" (Moinet, "L'Oeuvre," 9).

[76] Joly, "(En)Quête de patrimoine," 369; "Au Monument National," *La Presse*, October 13, 1920, 22; "Ce soir, souper du vieux temps," *La Presse*, April 9, 1921, 15.

[77] Lapierre's involvement ended in the mid-1920s. See Robert Thérien, "Arthur Lapierre, singer, folk musician, and actor *(circa 1888-?)*" (Library and Archives Canada, 1998), http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/028011-1078-e.html.

en souliers de bœuf."[78] Yet it was Gauthier's veillées that endured. Within a few years, he

had in place a younger generation of exécutants du terroir who made their names not only

on the stage, but also via radio and recordings, and in the process defined much of the

core repertoire of Quebec folk music. Musical icons from Isidore Soucy, Donat Lafleur

and Alfred Montmarquette to Mary Travers, a.k.a. La Bolduc, would all perform in

Gauthier's "Veillées du bon vieux temps."[79] In this section, I focus on the early years of

these veillées as they competed with, and ultimately replaced, the Folklore Society

veillées.[80]

Conrad Gauthier and Arthur Lapierre produced their first "soirée de folklore

Canadien," entitled "À la bonne franquette," at the Salle Ste. Brigide in Montreal.

Édouard-Zotique Massicotte expressed his disgust and sense of betrayal in a bitter letter

to Marius Barbeau dated March 21, 1921:

> [Gauthier] a embauché M. et Mme. [Charles] Blanchette, la mère Curadeau et les
> deux Leroux [Isaïe, Honoré]. C'est ce monsieur qui accompagnait M. Henri
> Bourassa en sa tournée récente et qui fournissait au programme la partie musicale.
> <u>Rien</u> de <u>traître</u>. La soirée de St.-Zotique où devaient figurer une partie des

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[78] "this ridiculous and useless parade of 'canayens' in carrot-coloured wigs, patched
pants, homespun shirts, and [traditional French-Canadian] boots" (Fabio, "Le Mois
Théatral," *La Lyre*, March 1925, [11]).

[79] Gabriel Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels du Québec (1920-1993)* (Montréal: VLB,
1995), 142, 182, 231; Bellemare, "Les réseaux des 'Lyriques' et des 'Veillées,'" 169–
175.

[80] An exhaustive study of these veillées is beyond the scope of this chapter. See
Bellemare (2012) for profiles of key musicians and a description of the close ties between
the stage show, the Montreal radio station CKAC, and the local sponsor, Living Room
Furniture. Also beyond the scope of this chapter is a study of the linkages between staged
veillées in Quebec and similar shows in the United States, such as the WLS National
Barn Dance.

> Gaspésiens avec de Rep[entigny], Rouss[el] et P[hileas] B[edard] est à l'eau. Les organisateurs <u>sont</u> <u>aux</u> <u>cheveux</u>.[81]

Massicotte did not know Gauthier at the time—he refers to him as "un nommé Conrad Gauthier, chanteur de vaudeville"[82]—but Gauthier and Lapierre were clearly well aware of the Quebec Section veillées. Most of the terroir performers they hired for this and subsequent veillées in 1921 and 1922 were Barbeau and Massicotte's finds (see Table 2.1). They also copied repertoire, props, and even sponsorship with impunity: a November 19, 1921 *La Presse* preview for Gauthier and Lapierre's St. Catherine's Day veillée announced a program of chansons à répondre, stories, instrumental music, and dances (*gigues*, *rigaudons*, *varsoviennes*, reels for eight, quadrille sets) on a stage set with pails, spinning wheel, cradle, drying rack, stove, and hand-woven *catalognes*—and that spectators would be treated to *tire*, courtesy of Ludger Gravel.[83]

Gauthier and Lapierre's veillées had fundamentally different aims than those of Massicotte and Barbeau. The latter balanced amusement and edification; the former were

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[81] "[Gauthier] has hired Mr. and Mrs. [Charles] Blanchette, the [elderly] Mrs. Curadeau, and the two Leroux [Isaïe, Honoré]. This is the man that accompanied Mr. Henri Bourassa on his recent tour and that supplied the musical portion of the program. <u>What a backstabber</u>. [lit. 'Nothing traitorous.'] The St. Zotique evening that was supposed to include some of the Gaspesians with de Rep[entigny], Rouss[el] and P[hileas] B[edard] has fallen through. The organizers are <u>tearing out their hair</u>." Archives de Folklore de l'Université Laval, fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, underlining in original. In a letter dated April 15, 1921, Massicotte wrote to Barbeau that, until Gauthier's performances, he had succeeded in preventing other performing groups from using "le mot folklore que nous avons mis à la mode et qui semble exercer un attrait mystérieux sur la foule" ("the word folklore, which we made fashionable and which seems to have a mysterious appeal for the crowd") (Archives de Folklore de l'Université Laval, fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte).

[82] "someone named Conrad Gauthier, a Vaudeville singer"

[83] "Dans nos théâtres," *La Presse*, November 19, 1921, 4.

pure entertainment. The latter presented exécutants du terroir as museum pieces; the

former incorporated their performances into a theatrical framework. The latter segregated

artistic and terroir performers; the former eliminated "folklore artistique" entirely.

For "À la bonne franquette," repeated at the Monument-National on April 21,

1921, Gauthier penned a series of scenes evoking bygone French-Canadian life: an

amusing and intriguing comedy full of entertaining antics, promised *La Presse*, though

nonetheless adhering to the strictest moral standards.[84] Gauthier played the lead role and

hired a small group of professional actors, but the star performers were the terroir singers,

dancers, storytellers, and fiddlers, and Gauthier seems to have constructed his scenes

around their repertoires.[85]

Gauthier's subsequent veillées similarly placed terroir repertoire within theatrical

representations of rural festivities, usually linked to the performance date: Mardi Gras,

Christmas, a fall corn-husking, a springtime sugaring-off. For the November 24, 1921

veillée, for instance, he authored a two-act comedy entitled "La Sainte-Catherine." The

first act borrows liberally from "Consultations gratuites," a farce by Régis Roy in which a

young Montreal dentist reconciles with his estranged *habitant* father.[86] In the second act,

the father hosts a veillée in his home village of Saint-Jacques-de-l'Achigan. There,

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[84] "À la bonne franquette," *La Presse*, April 2, 1921, 3.

[85] "Représentation de scènes canadiennes," *La Presse*, April 22, 1921, 21.

[86] The first-act theatre pieces in subsequent veillées were generally comedies,
occasionally dramas, and included Louis Guyon's *Un marriage à la gamine* on
November 6, 1922 and October 8, 1925, Louis-Napoléon Sénécal's *La messe de minuit*
on December 11, 1923, Louvigny de Montigny's *La cabane à sucre* on April 21, 1924,
and Gauthier's own *Les chantiers d'autrefois* on February 7, 1924 ("Le Théâtre
Amateur," *La Lyre*, November 1922, 30; André-G. Bourassa and Jean-Marc Larrue, *Les
Nuits de le « Main » : Cent ans de spectacles sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent (1891–
1991)* [Montréal: VLB, 1993], 106-107).

Gauthier's terroir performers danced the "danse du matelot" (featured the previous St.

Catherine's Day at the Quebec Section's veillée), minuets, and country dances; two

actresses danced the "Ballet des roses." Gauthier performed traditional French-Canadian

songs, and Lapierre and actors Sylva Alarie and Armand Lefebvre sang Ernest Gagnon's

"Soirées de Québec."[87] These latter performances were neither terroir nor folklore

artistique, but probably best understood in the context of the growing number of

professional singers, such as Charles Marchand, who, in the wake of the Quebec

Section's successful veillées, performed recitals of folk songs in dialect and wearing

costume.[88]

Barbeau and Massicotte had only contempt and disapproval for Gauthier and his

veillées. On February 25, 1922, Barbeau described in *La Presse* the financial difficulties

of the Quebec Section and the temporary respite provided by the 1919 and 1920 veillées,

which had permitted the publication of collections costing over $2,500. The Quebec

Section had hoped to continue producing similar events in order to subsidize its

collecting and publication activities, he wrote, but "ce moyen même nous fut presque

aussitôt enlevé par ceux qui se mirent, pour des fins purement personnelles, à le

vulgariser et à l'exploiter sans discernement."[89] Massicotte was even more direct in his

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[87] "La Veillée de la Sainte Catherine," *La Presse*, November 25, 1921, 14.
[88] Jean-Nicolas De Surmont, "Marchard, Charles," in the *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, vol. 15 (Université Laval/University of Toronto, 2005), http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/marchand_charles_15F.html; Gilles Poitvin, "Charles Marchand," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published May 9, 2007), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/charles-marchand-emc/.
[89] "this means [of fundraising] was almost immediately taken away by those who set out, for entirely personally ends, to vulgarize and exploit [the veillées] without discernment"

private correspondence: "Faudrait empêcher Gauthier de récolter ce que nous avons

semé..." he wrote to Barbeau on March 27, 1922. "[I]l se fait passer pour le représentant

accrédité du folklore canadien. Son succès de la Ste-Catherine dernière, succès dû à ce

qu'il avait copié nos pancartes de l'année précédente, à ce qu'il avait pris notre date et une

partie de nos anciens interprètes lui a tourné la tête."[90] Nearly a decade later, Massicotte's

rancor had not diminished; in a January 3, 1930 letter to Barbeau, he regrets that "certains

types se sont acquis une renommée que je crois surfaite et ils ont présenté nos vieilles

choses d'une façon qui m'humilie. On ne vise qu'à faire de l'argent et à faire parler de

soi."[91] As this letter makes clear, Massicotte's long-lasting resentment and even

humiliation was due not to Gauthier's unauthorized borrowings but to his framing of

those borrowings.

A crucial difference between the Folklore Society's and Gauthier's veillées was

the use of language. The former carefully restricted popular language to song and story

texts, and surrounded those with learned explanations in proper French. Working-class

audiences likely found such explanations dull—why else would a *La Presse* reviewer

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(Marius Barbeau, "L'oeuvre accompli par nos folkloristes en ces dernières années," *La Presse*, February 25, 1922, Saturday supplement, K, M).

[90] "Gauthier must be prevented from reaping what we have sown…. He passes himself off as the accredited representative of French-Canadian folklore. His success last Ste.-Catherine's Day, a success due to the fact that he copied our publicity from the previous year, that he took our date and some of our former performers, has turned his head" (Archives de Folklore de l'Université Laval, fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte).

[91] "certain fellows acquired a renown that I think is overrated, and they presented our old things in a manner that humiliates me. They have no aim but to make money and to get people talking about them" (Archives de Folklore de l'Université Laval, fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte).

need to repeatedly justify the veillées' pedagogical elements[92]—but for educated

members of the audience, this framing offered the frisson of peering over a

socioeconomic divide from the safety of privilege. At Gauthier's veillées, by contrast, the

performers' language was "stuffed" with "the most atrocious anglicisms."[93] Dialect was

an instant identifier of social class—in "Consulations gratuites," the rough-spoken father

interprets his son's erudite French as a signal of material success in the city—and

Gauthier's extensive use of popular idiom likely indicated to educated spectators that

they were no longer the veillées' target audience. Disagreement over the merits of

Gauthier's veillées centered not on musical repertoire, but on language.[94] If, to the

educated classes, using popular idioms in a carefully regulated context was a step toward

a national literature, allowing those idioms free rein threatened the idealized national

identity that that literature so carefully constructed.

Gauthier presumably understood well the popular appeal of such "rudeness of

language" (to cite *La Lyre's* cultural critic Fabio) and the rudeness of behaviour it

permitted. With actor Elzéar Hamel, he had recorded several comedic sketches featuring

the popular French-Canadian character Ladébauche for Columbia Records in 1919 and

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[92] "Grand succès de la soirée du folklore," *La Presse*, November 26, 1920, 13.

[93] "On y parle une langue farcie des plus atroces anglicismes" (Fabio, "Le mois théâtral," *La Lyre*, March 1925, [11]).

[94] The working-class daily *La Presse* condoned the use of popular idioms, arguing that it served to "rendre plus complète l'illusion" ("render the illusion more complete"; "Veillée du bon vieux temps," *La Presse*, November 7, 1922, 21). In *La Lyre*, a monthly cultural magazine, Fabio wrote in a tone of disgust and dismay that "si vraiment nos pères avaient cette grossièreté de langage et de tenue, je demanderais à M. Conrad Gauthier d'en priver désormais la scène canadienne-française" ("if our forefathers really spoke with such rudeness of language and of conduct, I would ask Mr. Gauthier to spare the French-Canadian stage [from such language and behaviour] from now on"; Fabio, "Le mois théâtral").

1920.[95] Ladébauche, a celebrated comic strip character since 1905, was the archetypical

rural French-Canadian, his language "rustre et cru, sa morale débridée, sa franchise

éclairée et sa naïveté feinte."[96] Gauthier and Lapierre's great breakthrough was in

excavating the staged veillées of the Folklore Society from their museum-like contexts

and placing them in a Ladébauche-like context, and it was to this that the critic Fabio

reacted so viscerally: "À quoi bon nous ridiculiser davantage? Comme si Ladébauche ne

nous suffisait pas!.... Dieu me garde d'appeler folklore les inutiles pitreries qui sont

exécutées au cours de ces séances du *mauvais* vieux temps!"[97] Yet it was this quasi-

burlesque staging of folklore that endured twenty years and, in many ways, shaped the

imagery of traditional music to the present day.

2.3   "It Was All Folk Music": Unstaged Veillées in the Mid-Twentieth Century

Daniel Guilbert describes the Folklore Society's and Gauthier's staged veillées as the

opposing twin founts of folk, or traditional, music in the twentieth century, the former

inspiring art-music arrangements and compositions based on folk materials and the latter

generating entertainment-oriented performances.[98] Yet we might equally consider both

sets of veillées as precursors to a century of commercial representations of folk music.

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[95] Guilbert, "La légende" (third part).

[96] "boorish and crude, his morality uninhibited, his candour forthright, and his naïveté feigned" (Robert Aird, "La nation québécoise et l'autodérision," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 17, no. 3 (2009), http://www.bulletinhistoirepolitique.org/le-bulletin/numeros-precedents/volume-17-numero-3/la-nation-quebecoise-et-l'autoderision/).

[97] "What is the use of ridiculing ourselves even more? As if Ladébauche weren't sufficient…. God keep me from calling 'folklore' the useless clowning that takes place during these performances of the *bad* old times!" (Fabio, "Le mois théâtral," italics in original).

[98] Guilbert, "La légende."

Barbeau and Massicotte sought textual purity and Gauthier and Lapierre popular amusement, but they all used the stage to draw borders around the genre of folk. Early staged veillées defined a generic reference point—the prototypical veillée—that has held steady, and supplied performers and listeners with both musical and extra-musical generic markers, through to the present.

The following sections look beyond these staged veillées to what might be called unstaged veillées: actual rural social gatherings centered on music and dance. I describe two sites of rural music-making on the Gaspé peninsula in the mid-twentieth century: the childhood veillées of Sister Henriette Essiambre, and music and dance in the home of pulpwood contractor William McDonald. These sections are based on fieldwork and recent interviews with Sister Essiambre and with McDonald's family members and former live-in housekeeper. (Not all of the details in the following sections have source citations, as some interviewees requested anonymity.) I use these examples to argue for an alternative understanding of the generic boundaries of folk music[99].

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[99] Fiddler and scholar Lisa Ornstein remarks on the importance of non-musical contributions to unstaged veillées, writing: "In my experiences of *veillées* as social gatherings of family/neighbors/friends for informal homemade entertainment [in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century], I am struck by the way in which music, dance, or singing are integral parts of a larger whole in which socializing (convivial conversation, card playing, story-telling) and sharing of food and drink are equally valued...for me, the *veillée* is an event which validates *all* participants—everyone has a role to play, whether it's as an appreciative listener, a responder to the *chansons à repondre*, the person who brought a plate of sandwiches or passed around the tray of fudge or brought a bottle of whatever or helped keep the convivial buzz of conversation going between tunes, songs, or dances, or as a musician, singer, or dancer...this kind of participative ethos is... something which I believe eludes replication outside of its original context. It's the opposite of spectacular—more of an undercurrent than a tangible, performable element" (personal communication, October 22, 2016).

This case study focuses on the Gaspé peninsula for several reasons. The Gaspé has long been celebrated for the strength of its cultural traditions: Barbeau and Wyman collected folksongs there in 1918, and Barbeau returned on several other occasions[100]; the "Vie des voyageurs" veillées featured over a dozen Gaspesian dancers and fiddlers. My research was also guided by practical considerations: from 2010 to 2014, I visited the Gaspesian village of Douglastown regularly to work on a community CD project and that project led, directly or indirectly, to most of the interviews cited below.[101] The informal music-making that I describe here was by no means limited to the Gaspé peninsula, however; there were similar gatherings in many rural communities, and urban areas, across Quebec, in New England, and elsewhere in eastern Canada.

2.3.1   Family Veillées

Sister Henriette Essiambre was born in 1935 and grew up in the village of Saint-Godefroi on the southern Gaspé coast, along the Baie-des-Chaleurs. She worked as a schoolteacher, principal, and educational consultant in many locales in Eastern Canada until her retirement in 1994. We first met in August 2014 at a weekend traditional music camp where I was teaching fiddle and she was a student.

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[100] Nowry, Marius Barbeau,180–186, 210, 305–306.

[101] Glenn Patterson and Laura Risk, "Digitization, Recirculation and Reciprocity: Proactive Archiving for Community and Memory on the Gaspé Coast and Beyond," *MUSICultures* 41, no. 2 (2015): 102–132; Glenn Patterson, Laura Risk and Luc Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc *Douglastown: Musique et chanson de la Gaspésie* (Douglastown Community Centre DOUG-001, 2014).

Sister Essiambre's parents "had a little farm" and her father earned additional

income working in the woods in the winters. She is the fifteenth child of the family and

when she was five or six years old, several of her older brothers went to work in lumber

camps in either Quebec or Ontario. No one in the family had played music previously but

in the camps her brothers learned to play violin, guitar and mandolin. They returned

home with instruments (likely purchased after leaving the camp). Sister Essiambre recalls

her own learning process:

> They were playing those instruments, so I just took it down. I just took one, the
> mandolin especially, and I started to do something with it, and I started to play the
> tunes they were playing, just like that…. That's the way I learned, by listening to
> my brothers.[102]

Most of Sister Essiambre's siblings also tried the instruments, though eventually

only one brother and one sister would continue to play seriously. This music-making

attracted local community members who would "come to our place and learn from us and

have their instruments tuned by us," and the family home became a site of community

gatherings. When I asked Sister Essiambre if she remembered veillées in her youth, she

replied emphatically:

> Oh yeah. Yes. We often had them at home. On what occasions, I don't really
> know. Probably when one of my brothers was coming back from work or—you
> know, we'd get together and play a lot and invite people and dance, you know.
> We did that a lot. Oh, yes.[103]

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[102] Henriette Essiambre, interview by the author, August 16, 2014, Sayabec, QC. Sister
Essiambre is a native French speaker but is equally at home in English after many years
of working in Anglophone communities. This interview was conducted in English.
[103] Essiambre, interview.

I then asked Sister Essiambre a series of questions about the usual progress and contents

of these gatherings. I quote our conversation at length, as a primary source that parallels

the above descriptions of staged veillées.

> Laura Risk: Who would play for the dancing?
> Henriette Essiambre: My brother Donat and my other brother Hector, he was playing too, the violin, so he played in those veillées as well. [Sister Essiambre remembers the following tunes at her family's veillées: St. Anne's Reel, Money Musk, Soldier's Joy, La Grondeuse.]
> LR: And you, did you play?
> HE: The violin, I don't think—I probably did when I was a little older. I don't remember. But I played the guitar a lot, though….
> LR: What makes something a veillée for you?
> HE: It's the people who are coming there. They come there for a purpose. They come there to listen to music, or to dance, or to sing, you know. So, if we play violin or guitar, people will participate. Either they will sing or dance or whatever… [They are] oftentimes neighbours and mostly families. Our family, or people from around. Yeah, neighbours.
> LR: How would they know that there was a veillée?
> HE: Oh, we let them know [*laughs*]. We always let them know. And people who loved music would come.
> LR: Was that at certain times of the year, or certain days of the week, or—?
> HE: Certainly around Christmas. As I said before, when one of my brothers or sisters was coming from work—you know, there was no work in our town so they had to go away, Montreal or wherever, and when they came back we always had a celebration for them. A veillée for them. Or they would organize it themselves. [*laughs*]. Yeah.
> LR: So this was all when you were still living at home [i.e., before the age of twenty].
> HE: Yes. And even after, when I was gone and I came back, and we often found ourselves – many brothers and sisters – together in the summertime, and we'd get together and have a jamboree on the veranda of the house in the summer [*laughs*]… We did that often.
> LR: What sort of dances did they do?
> HE: Square dances and waltzes, and sometimes boogie-boogie and later on rock 'n' roll.[104] Something like that.
> LR: And you would play for the boogie-boogie and the rock 'n' roll?
> HE: Boogie-boogie, especially, yes…. I would play something on the guitar for that [*laughs*]. I had to learn the piece on the guitar and I would play that [*laughs, sighs*].

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[104] I understand Sister Essiambre's "boogie-boogie" as equivalent to boogie-woogie.

LR: And the rock 'n' roll?

HE: That was for Donat, my older brother, to play something for that [on the violin].… It was mostly square dance, mostly square dance when I was young.…

LR: Was there any step-dancing?

HE: Oh yes, oh yes, I forgot to mention that. Lots of step-dancing… Anybody who knew how to do it. The men, the men. Mostly the men. Women, I didn't see too many women. Oh, we had one of our neighbours who would do that. A lady, who was next door to us. She would step-dance.…

LR: [Were the square dances] different dances every time? The same dances?

HE: No, they'd have different square dances. The callers [usually Albert Plourde, husband to Sister Essiambre's older sister] would call something new every time we would have a square dance.… One thing I forgot to mention is that, to pay the musicians they would ask 10 cents per couple who were dancing. 10 cents each and there usually were four couples. So there was 40 cents each dance [*laughs*].… There was a guitar player and a violin player, but usually it was the violin player who had the money, not the guitar.… I never had anything.[105]

In many ways, the details of Sister Essiambre's childhood veillées fit neatly into the prototypical veillée: a small village in rural Quebec; an agricultural economy supplemented by wintertime lumber work; fiddlers, square dancers, and step-dancers. Yet she and her brothers also played "boogie-boogie" and rock 'n' roll, and in her present-day narrative these musical styles sit easily alongside the square and step-dancing. This might seem to suggest that the generic boundaries of folk music, which both defined and were defined by staged veillées, were of little or no importance at the Essiambre family veillées. In fact, however, Sister Essiambre's definition of folk music was quite different than that promoted by staged veillées, as evidenced by our conversation later that evening:

HE: We learned songs from the radio, I forgot to tell you that.

LR: What kind of songs?

HE: Western songs.

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[105] Essiambre, interview.

LR: Was there some of the music that you played that you thought of as traditional music, or as folklore?
HE: Yes, all of it.
LR: The fiddle tunes.
HE: Yes.
LR: What about the Western songs?
HE: Oh yes, those were folklore too. Folk music.
LR: What about when you played [boogie-boogie] and rock 'n' roll, later on?
HE: [*wrinkles her brow, purses her lips, and pauses*] Yes, that was folk music too. It was all folk music.
LR: Was there any music that you played that wasn't folklore, or folk music?
HE: Yes, for instance now I play some songs in church. I play with the choir.[106]

This exchange suggests that the generic boundaries of folk music regulated the repertoire of the Essiambre family veillées just as they did the repertoire of early staged veillées, but that those boundaries were defined quite differently for the two. For Sister Essiambre, folk music was any non-religious participatory music. In practice, this meant that the folk music she and her siblings played included both commercially popular songs and instrumental music for a range of popular dance forms that reached rural Quebec from the turn of the twentieth century on.

A similarly broad definition seems to have been in place in the Gaspesian village of Douglastown (where, coincidentally, Sister Essiambre worked in the 1970s). Although Douglastown was, until recently, primarily English-speaking and Irish-identified, the generation born in the early twentieth century used the word "veillée" to refer to an evening visit among family or friends; later generations spoke of "house parties," "kitchen parties," or "cottage parties," depending on the venue, or a "sing-song," a

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[106] Henriette Essiambre, conversation with the author (transcribed from field notes), August 16, 2014, Sayabec, QC.

gathering of only singers.[107] Veillées in Douglastown were organized along lines of

kinship and affinity and, like the veillées of the Essiambre family, included a wide range

of participatory music. John McDonald (born 1963) is the youngest son of Douglastown

pulpwood dealer William McDonald. He recalls musical gatherings in his childhood

home:

> It would be in the summer, winter, didn't matter when it was, but they'd decide,
> OK, we're gonna have some people in this weekend, and they were gonna have a
> square dance and—I remember taking the table out of the kitchen and putting it
> outside. And there'd be chairs all around that little kitchen and they'd have square
> dances. You'd think the floor was gonna go through, you know, the floor was
> gonna break. The house would be shaking and everything would be—and dishes
> would be rattling in the cupboards and—. They stamp their feet a lot, these guys,
> when they play the fiddle…. They'd play a bunch of fiddle music and then they'd
> all start singing these old Irish songs [sometimes learned from Bing Crosby
> recordings] and gospel songs and country songs, old Hank Williams songs and
> stuff, and Jimmy Reeves songs. And then they'd dance again, you know. And
> then Joe Girard would be there and they'd step-dance, and Douglas [Baird] would
> be there and he'd step-dance, and maybe Dad would sing a [fiddle] tune or
> something. Yeah, it was—They'd have a good time, they had a good time.[108]

Later in the interview, I asked John McDonald about local understandings of musical

genre:

> Laura Risk: One of the things I love about Douglastown is the way people were
> into all kinds of music. I mean, they were into country music and older Irish songs
> and fiddle tunes. Did people ever talk about…
> John McDonald: It all kind of blended, you know.
> LR: …the different styles of music.

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[107] For more on musical traditions in Douglastown see Patterson and Risk, "Digitization, Recirculation and Reciprocity"; Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc *Douglastown: Musique et chanson de la Gaspésie*; Glenn Patterson, "The Gaspé Sound: Fiddle Music from Two Anglo-Gaspesian Villages," *Canadian Folk Music* 47, no. 4 (2013–2014): 14-24; and Laura Risk, "Douglastown: Les traditions musicales d'un village gaspésien," *Bulletin Mnémo* 14, no. 2 (2013): 1–6.
[108] John McDonald, interview by the author, October 26, 2013, Brampton, ON.

> JMD: Yeah. Like when I was young, I couldn't really tell the difference between any of that music. I just thought it was music. Church music was different. But the fiddle music and the country music and the Irish music, it all kind of blended for me…. It was just music. It was how people entertained themselves. But then as you got older, you kind of figure out, OK this is Irish, this is—you put things in place.[109]

As with the Essiambre family veillées, the gatherings at William McDonald's home were prototypical rural veillées marked by a catholic approach to repertoire. The participants' goal was not to perpetuate a fixed repertoire or performance style, but rather to entertain themselves with all the musical means at their disposal.

I am struck by the similarities in how Sister Essiambre and John McDonald classify the music of their childhoods. Both describe only two categories, both essentially functional: music for church and music for entertainment. The latter category could be subdivided into fiddle music (equivalent to dance music) and songs, which could in turn be categorized by theme (Irish songs), source (Hank Williams, Jim Reeves), or mainstream genre classifications used on radio and television (country, rock 'n' roll). When family and neighbours gathered at the Essiambre or the McDonald house, however, only the highest level of categorization—music for religious purposes versus music for entertainment—affected the choice of repertoire.

2.3.2   Informal Music-Making in the Pulpwood Economy

John McDonald's father, William McDonald, was a pulpwood dealer who hired men to cut wood on public land under contract with the government. He also purchased cut wood

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[109] Ibid.

from local landowners, often small-scale farmers or fishermen, who cut on their own property.[110] From 1962 to 1964, and again in the 1980s, Norma McDonald (née Gaul, no relation) worked for William as a live-in housekeeper and "jack-of-all-trades."[111] I first met Norma in 2010 at Douglastown's annual music festival and have since spent many enjoyable hours playing music with her and listening as she and her husband Brian described the culture of music and dance that once flourished in the village.

Norma McDonald's memories of her years at William McDonald's are studded with small-scale musical encounters: fiddler Joe Howell stopping by on a Sunday afternoon to play a few tunes and sing songs; singer Dick Hatch playing William McDonald's pump organ to accompany himself on Irish songs and "Jamaica Farewell"; the family sending for fiddler James Henry Conley, then in his seventies, to play for William's bedridden mother. As live-in housekeeper, Norma sometimes accompanied visiting singers, fiddlers, and dancers on guitar; she knew the fiddle repertoire so well that, when necessary, she could sing the first few bars of a tune to get a fiddler started.[112]

Some of the men who cut wood for William McDonald were fiddlers or dancers and he would on occasion request a tune or a few steps when they came to pick up their cheques. Recalls William's eldest son Alban, "[Gérard Durette would] phone my father and tell him he was coming to get paid. 'Bring your fiddle.' [*laughs*] 'You're not gonna

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[110] Most Douglastown men cut pulpwood locally in the 1960s rather than winter at isolated lumber camps. There were a few camps in the area, however, such as the Howard Smith camp near Haldimand Beach (Brian McDonald, interview by the author, August 3, 2012, Douglastown, QC). According to the "Society News" column in the bilingual Gaspé newspaper *Voyageur*, William McDonald was appointed mayor of Douglastown in 1961 and was reappointed to a second term in 1963 (June 1, 1961; May 23, 1963, 11).
[111] Norma McDonald, interview by the author, August 3, 2012, Douglastown, QC.
[112] Ibid.

get paid that easy, chum!'"[113] Norma McDonald remembers fiddler Ralph Lucas

similarly playing for his cheques in the early 1960s.[114] William McDonald would

occasionally sing the fiddle tunes "St. Anne's Reel" and "The Old Man and The Old

Woman" for step-dancer Joe Girard, who drove a truck and cut wood, when he came for

his cheque. Norma McDonald describes these Friday afternoons as moments of release

after a week of hard labour:

> He'd come to get paid, and now William would say, "We're gonna have a drink
> of gin, you're gonna dance a tune." [William would] start stamping his feet [and
> singing the tune]. And Joe Girard, after working hard loads all week, would get
> up and make the nicest steps over there in the kitchen. Just like that, and they
> were satisfied then. [115]

These were not lengthy evening entertainments, in the home or on the stage, but rather

brief daytime moments of musical exchange grounded in an economic exchange. As

such, they propose an alternate understanding of the social function of fiddle music and

step-dance in rural Quebec in the later twentieth century. Fiddle music and dance were at

times public entertainment in Douglastown (at the annual St. Patrick's Day concerts, in

the dance halls of neighbouring villages, or, for an earlier generation, at summertime

picnic dances) and at times semi-private (at veillées among families and neighbours), but

they also worked to smooth everyday economic interactions, such as picking up a

paycheque.

Taken together, the varied music and dance activities described by Henriette

Essiambre, Norma McDonald, and William McDonald's sons paint an alternative portrait

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[113] Alban McDonald, interview by the author, August 5, 2014, Douglastown, QC.
[114] Norma McDonald, phone conversation with the author, May 15, 2013.
[115] Norma McDonald, interview, August 3, 2012.

of participatory music in rural Quebec to that defined by the staged veillée or by French-Canadian literature. Veillées were not simply open houses; people moved within their own musical circles of kinship and affinity.[116] The lumber industry created social contexts for music-making at remote, male-dominated camps, as in "La vie des voyageurs," but also in village homes, where both male (woodcutters and truck drivers) and female (the live-in housekeeper) employees participated. Fiddle tunes and step-dancing were used as social lubricant in economic interactions. At evening gatherings—unstaged veillées—and in small-scale daytime music-making, generic boundaries were broad and repertoires were linked by function rather than origin.

2.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I argue for the veillée as a particularly efficient focal point for the genre of folk or traditional music in Quebec and a means of articulating specific musical repertoires to discourses of tradition and national identity. The veillée is a culturally resonant space that encompasses place, people, and music; my goal has been to historicize our imaginings of that space and to examine the ongoing dialogue between those imaginings and musical practice.

This chapter uses contemporary periodical sources to describe early staged veillées, and ethnographic sources to describe a sampling of mid-twentieth-century unstaged veillées and other small-scale musical interactions. Many questions remain,

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[116] Other families in Douglastown gathered around other musicians: for Trina McDonald, Alban's wife, a family veillée in the 1960s and 1970s meant relatives gathered in a kitchen to listen to a single fiddler, her uncle Erskine Morris (interview by the author, August 5, 2014, Douglastown, QC).

however. How typical were the unstaged veillées in Saint-Godefroi and Douglastown? How influenced were amateur musicians by commercial veillées on radio, record, and later television? How stable were the repertoire and format of staged and unstaged veillées over the twentieth century? This chapter interrogates and complicates the construction of the genre of folk music in Quebec; how musicians and audiences then worked out the possibilities of that genre, however, remains an open question.

For well over a century, folklorists, writers, illustrators, producers, and performers have selected aspects of rural musical gatherings to celebrate, elevate, and, sometimes, caricature. Professional musicians and dancers today may choose to adopt, adapt, or challenge that imagery to sell their own work. They cannot, however, simply ignore it: audiences understand folk and traditional music by its citation of previous iterations of the genre, and that chain of citations leads through a maze of staged veillées to the prototypical veillée.

Non-professionals, on the other hand, have a choice. Genre identifiers are necessary only if musicians or listeners need to distinguish between musical texts that belong to a genre and those that do not. When music-making is in the service of strengthening social bonds, other qualities may take precedence: is it participatory? is it enjoyable? is it new / old / associated with a special person? I do not mean to suggest that generic boundaries somehow disappear in unstaged veillées, but rather that participants don't necessarily restrict their music-making according to those boundaries, or that they adopt an extremely broad definition of "folk music." In unstaged veillées, multiple chains of citation point outwards toward a wide range of participatory musics, including commercially mainstream styles.

The music-making at Henriette Essiambre's home, or William McDonald's, was not a staging intended for public consumption (although much of the repertoire can be traced to commercial sources), and was in certain cases inseparable from day-to-day economic activities. In writing this chapter, I have taken on the task of slicing those gatherings out of larger cultural narratives and representing them to an outside public as contained events—of, in essence, staging elements of cultural life in Saint-Godefroi and Douglastown in the mid-century. Staging cultural practices—cultural objectification—is how our society creates cultural heritage (although heritage itself may be staged in various guises, including the kitsch of Radio-Canada's "Bye Bye 2008"). Cultural heritage in turn delineates a set of generic markers that may serve modern-day musicians as creative resources. In that sense this chapter is an attempt to shift, if ever so slightly, our modern-day understanding of the veillée, and therefore of traditional music, by proposing a chain of citation that leads back not only to the earliest staged veillées and from there to imagined prototypical veillées, but also to informal, unstaged musical gatherings that were as much about family and community as they were about music or dance; that prized intimate music-making; that included both men and women and were both francophone and anglophone; and that reached out willingly to other styles for accessible, participatory music.

<center>**Chapter Three**</center>

<center>**Repertoire Circulation and Repertoire Creation:**</center>

<center>**Tracing Tune Variants in Early Commercial Recordings**</center>

3.1   Introduction

On October 10, 1927, the French-Canadian fiddler Isidore Soucy and an unknown pianist

recorded a six-part quadrille in Montreal for the Starr label of the Compo Company.[1]

Like the two quadrille sets that Soucy had recorded the previous year, the "Quadrille

'Champion'" covered six disc sides of approximately three minutes each. On each side

was the music for one figure, or *partie*, of the quadrille.[2]

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[1] For more on early recording companies that released discs of French-Canadian instrumental music, see Robert Thérien, *L'histoire de l'enregistrement sonore au Québec et dans le monde, 1878-1950* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses du l'Université Laval, 2003) and Gabriel Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels du Québec: 1920-1993* (Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 1995, 25-28). Unless otherwise noted, all recording and release dates are from the Virtual Gramophone (Library and Archives Canada), http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/index-e.html. Although most of the recordings discussed in this chapter include accompaniment, usually piano, the names of the accompanists were rarely noted. I have included accompanists' names whenever possible.

[2] Quadrilles are social dances in a square formation for four or more couples. They typically have four, five or six parts, or figures, each with a distinctive repeated pattern of dance moves. Musicians and dancers pause between each part of the quadrille. In English, the term "figure" indicates both a specific dance move ("ladies' chain"; "all take hands and circle to the left") and one part of a quadrille (which contains multiple figures in the first sense of the word). This nomenclature is less confusing if one recognizes that each part, or figure, of a quadrille is based on a unique extended dance move, or figure. In this chapter, I use the word "figure" to mean one part of a quadrille or other multi-part square dance. See Simonne Voyer, *La danse traditionnelle dans l'est du Canada : quadrilles et cotillons* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986) for additional information on quadrilles and their history in Québec.

The first figure opens with an ear-catching repeated descent on the violin's high string, a surprising leap to the supertonic and a quick resolution. This pattern is then repeated twice, with variations. If this striking opening caught the ear of Soucy's buying public after the discs' release in January 1928, the second strain is more static, a predictable series of quarter notes marching over an alternation of tonic and dominant sonorities (Figure 3.1).[3]

Isidore Soucy, "Quadrille 'Champion' 1re partie" (A and B strains). Starr 15378-A, recorded 1927-10-10, released c. 1928-01.

Figure 3.1   Isidore Soucy, "Quadrille 'Champion' 1re partie"

One year later, some listeners may have recalled the opening figure of "Quadrille 'Champion'" after hearing a new Isidore Soucy recording with accordionist Donat Lafleur, "Reel des vieux garcons." The second strain of that tune was a near-exact match to the second strain of the Quadrille's first figure (Figure 3.2).

Isidore Soucy and Donat Lafleur, "Reel des vieux garçons" (B strain), Starr 15509-A, recorded 1928-10-04, released c. 1929-01.

Figure 3.2   Isidore Soucy and Donat Lafleur, "Reel des vieux garçons" (B strain)

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[3] Most of the recordings cited in this chapter may be heard via the Virtual Gramophone, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/index-e.html.

Yet by January 1929—the release date of "Reel des vieux garcons"—listeners were

probably not surprised to hear Isidore Soucy repurposing a melodic segment that he had

already recorded. Re-recording tunes and strains was common practice for Soucy from

1927 on, and for his peers from 1928 on. The sixth and final figure of the "Quadrille

'Champion,'" for instance, begins with a metrically irregular strain that is a slightly

modified transposition of the first strain of another Soucy recording, "Gigue du roi,"

released just one month earlier in December 1927 (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3   Isidore Soucy, "Quadrille 'Champion' 6e partie" (A strain) and
**   "Gigue du roi" (A strain)**

The second strain of "Gigue du roi" was also a recent re-recording. It echoes and

extends the fourth strain of Soucy's November 1927 side "Reel de l'enfant martyre"

(Figure 3.4).

Isidore Soucy, "Reel de l'enfant martyre" (D strain), Starr 15361-A,
recorded 1927-08-09, released c. 1927-11.

Isidore Soucy, "Gigue du roi" (B strain), Starr 15366-A, recorded 1927-09-01, released 1927-12.

Figure 3.4   Isidore Soucy, "Gigue du roi" (B strain) and "Reel de l'enfant martyre" (D strain)

This handful of concordances from the late 1920s was part of a much larger web of musical borrowings, re-workings and re-recordings. As Isidore Soucy and other fiddlers cycled in and out of Montreal recording studios with increasing frequency in the late 1920s, they borrowed individual strains and whole tunes from their own recordings and from those of their contemporaries. They adapted popular French songs and marching band repertoire for fiddle, accordion or harmonica. They created new settings of common nineteenth-century dance tunes. They—or their record labels—also assigned new titles to nearly all of these re-recordings. If, as Brackett argues, musical genres emerge and stabilize through citation, the re-recordings of the late 1920s are a window onto the working-out of generic norms and boundaries via citation in its most literal sense.

These re-recordings were not an unregulated free-for-all, however. The musical

evidence points to certain patterns: an initial unwillingness to re-record full tunes except

at a temporal or physical distance, or for a different record label; the gradual erosion of

any such qualms; and an ongoing exchange of musical repertoire between a small group

of fiddlers. In this chapter, I argue that, by 1928, the high demand for recordings of

instrumental dance tunes may have exhausted these musicians' personal repertoires, and

that they responded by re-shaping existing tunes, borrowing from each others' recordings

and, perhaps, composing new tunes. The diversity of traditional instrumental music in

Quebec today is due in part to these musicians' catholic approach to new repertoire.

The commercially recorded fiddle, accordion and harmonica tunes of the 1920s are

today heralded as the early canonical repertoire of traditional instrumental music in

Quebec; these 78s were the first substantial documentation of a hitherto undocumented

repertoire.[4] Many of these tunes are still played today in jam sessions and on international

festival stages. Bands learn tunes from these 78s (or, more accurately, from online mp3

transfers from the 78s) and frame them in modern-day arrangements.[5] These early

recordings are only one repertoire source among many, of course, and many new

recordings are weighted more towards new compositions and repertoire from the

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[4] The number of commercially recorded instrumental dance tunes in the 1920s dwarfs the
number of previously collected tunes by several orders of magnitude. Marius Barbeau
and Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, for instance, focused their energies on songs and
stories, though they did publish ten fiddle tunes in *Veillées du Bon Vieux Temps à la
Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, à Montréal, les 18 mars et 24 avril 1919* (Montreal: G.
Ducharme, 1920), 86–93.
[5] Playing tunes from older sources is one of the defining characteristics of modern-day
traditional music-making in Quebec (as elsewhere). For instance, Les Chauffeurs à Pied
play "Troisième partie du quadrille nord-ouest," originally recorded by Arthur-Joseph
Boulay in 1930, on the CD *Partons allons* (Scorbut 10, 2008). De Temps Antan begin
their "Medley des couches" with the "Reel de Concorday," originally recorded by Isidore
Soucy in the 1930s, on the CD *Ce monde ici-bas* (L-Abe 2013).

celebrated tradition bearers of the late twentieth century. Still, to play a tune recorded by Isidore Soucy or one of his peers is, by definition, to play *musique traditionnelle*.

A "notion of tradition," to return to Michel Foucault's words, "enables us to isolate the new against a background of permanence."[6] Foucault meant this as a warning against the unquestioned acceptance of "tradition" as historical cause, and more generally against a presentist approach to writing history. It may also be read as practical advice, however. For traditional musicians in Quebec today, early commercial recordings function as a background of permanence against which they may experiment with new arrangements, new instrumentation, and even new compositions while still claiming the "traditional" label for their musical output (or some derivative of that label: "néo-trad," "electro-trad," etc.). For the scholar of traditional music, Foucault's words are a reminder that today's background of permanence was, in its own time, also "the new."

Rather than discard the "notion of tradition" (as Foucault advocates), I hope to reassemble that notion in a new form. I use the word "reassemble" quite intentionally here, in reference to Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT), for the idea of tradition is not all that different from the idea of the social that Latour is at such pains to debunk.[7] Both are shorthand for a collection of extremely specific human and material interactions. Both may be reconstituted—reassembled—by tracking the nuances of those interactions.

Much of this chapter is based on a computer-aided analysis of 264 sides, containing 271 tunes, recorded by French-Canadian fiddlers between 1923 and 1929 (see Appendix

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[6] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002[1969]), 23.
[7] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 102.

5). Most of these recordings were made in Montreal, though a few are by French-Canadian musicians who travelled to New York City to record on Columbia Records. This sampling includes approximately 85% of all French-Canadian tunes recorded on the violin in the 1920s; audio for the remaining 15% is not readily available. It also represents approximately 50% of all French-Canadian tunes recorded on any instrument in the 1920s.

Jean Duval has calculated that approximately two-thirds of the French-Canadian tunes recorded or printed between 1920 and 1940 are of indeterminate origin, related to neither Western European nor North American repertoires. He argues that these tunes were local compositions dating from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[8] In this chapter, I suggest a temporal refinement to this hypothesis: much of this mysterious repertoire may have been composed in the late 1920s in response to the exigencies of the commercial recording industry.

I begin with a brief, non-technical explanation of the computer system underlying my analysis. I then describe several different categories of musical concordance and, using both archival and musical evidence, track patterns of repertoire circulation among fiddlers in the heady recording days of the late 1920s. I conclude by tracing certain connections between these recordings and printed sheet music of fiddle tunes. Although I include biographical and historical contexts as relevant, I have not provided detailed

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[8] Jean Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," 112–114. Duval uses a database of 578 French-Canadian tunes that were recorded (458 tunes) or printed (120 tunes) between 1920 and 1940.

biographies of the musicians or chronologies of the recording industry in Montreal, as

those are easily available elsewhere.[9]

3.2   Calculating Concordances

In 2014 and 2015, I worked with McGill computer programmer Lillio Mok to design and

build a feature-based query and ranking system to compare and quantify similarity

between short melodic phrases.[10] This system, written in the Python programming

language, is currently tailored to French-Canadian instrumental dance tunes but would

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[9] Biographical information for nearly all of the musicians mentioned in this chapter is available in Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*. Additional information on certain musicians is available via the Canadian Encyclopedia (http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca) or Library and Archives Canada (http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/).

[10] Several existing online resources allow users to search fiddle tunes by musical incipit. Both the Scottish Music Index (http://www.scottishmusicindex.org) and the Traditional Tune Archive (http://tunearch.org/wiki/TTA) classify tunes according to numerical theme codes that contain the scale degrees of the strong beats of the first two bars. Users may search on these sites for theme codes that exactly match a given string and that begin with that string, but may not search for tune variants. The Folk Tune Finder (Joe Wass, http://folktunefinder.com) and ABC Notation (Chris Walshaw, http://abcnotation.com) trawl the web for tunes in abc notation; these websites have databases of over 100,000 and 500,000 tunes, respectively. Users may search for tunes by musical incipit (entered in abc notation or, at Folk Tune Finder, on an on-screen piano keyboard). In my experience, these search engines will return tunes that are exact and near-exact matches to the incipit, but will not necessarily identify concordances exhibiting a higher degree of melodic variation. Note that ABC Notation includes a visualization tool (TuneGraph) for exploring similar tunes. At John Chambers' ABC Tune Finder (http://trillian.mit.edu/~jc/cgi/abc/tunefind/), users may search for tunes by name but not by incipit. TunePal is an app that translates audio into symbolic notation (ABC) and then compares that notation to a crowd-sourced database of traditional Irish tunes using an edit-distance function. TunePal looks for exact or similar strings of ABC anywhere in the tune, regardless of metrical placement, and is quite effective at identifying exact copies of tunes and tune settings with a small amount of melodic variation (provided there has been no transposition). However, a variant with significant melodic variation may not register.

also function for other fiddle-based repertoires of the North Atlantic.[11] It is important to note that our system parses a database of symbolic representations of monophonic melodies; it does not generate those representations from audio files. While automated transcription would streamline this process, it is currently not feasible given the poor audio quality of many of the recordings and the presence of piano, guitar or percussive accompaniment.[12]

Our system generates a numerical representation of the first four bars of each strain. (Typical patterns of internal repetition in this repertoire mean that most strains may be uniquely identified by a four-bar incipit.) This representation, which we call the "interval matrix," indicates intervals rather than absolute pitches in order to allow for transposition (Figure 3.5).

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[11] For a more detailed and technical description of the system, including its accuracy and limitations, see Laura Risk, Lillio Mok, Andrew Hankinson, and Julie Cumming, "Computational Ranking of Melodic Similarity in French-Canadian Instrumental Dance Tunes," *Proceedings of the International Society for Music Information Retrieval* (2015), 93–99, http://ismir2015.uma.es/docs/ISMIR2015_Proceedings.pdf. Some of the descriptions of the query and ranking system in footnotes 10–16 of this chapter are reprinted or paraphrased from this article. This project was under the auspices of the Single Interface for Music Score Searching and Analysis (SIMSSA) Project, (https://simssa.ca) and its subsidiary, the ELVIS Project (http://elvisproject.ca/). The system is still very much in the development stage and has certain limitations. For instance, strains must be entered in the database without pickups, double-stops or rests. We are working on a more nuanced method of comparing strains of unequal length, as these results are occasionally inaccurate. Certain melodies exist as both compound meter and simple meter strains; the system will only detect these if the simple meter settings are notated in 2/4. Finally, the system does not take into account changes of meter in the first four bars, meaning that certain interval matrices may be longer or shorter than four bars. Note, however, that the placement of barlines in metrically irregular tunes is itself at the discretion of the transcriber.

[12] All tunes in the current database were transcribed by hand into Finale and then exported as MusicXML files. Most of these transcriptions are my own, though I was fortunate to have access to Jean Duval's ABC transcriptions of Isidore Soucy's early recordings.

Row w, column 1: Interval(s) from the first strong beat to the following weak beat note(s). In this example, because the first strong beat is a quarter note, no weak beat notes follow ("nan").

Row w, column 2: Interval from the second strong beat to the following weak beat note(s). The interval given here is from F# (second strong beat) to G (following weak beat).

etc.

w	1 [nan]	2 [0.5]	3 [2.5]	4 [4.0]	5 [2.5]	6 [-1.0]	7 [-0.5]	8 [-1.0]	9 [2.5]	10 [0.5]	11 [2.5]	12 [0.5]	13 [-2.0]	14 [-1.5]	15 [-0.5]	16 [-1.0]	17 [nan]
0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1.0	-0.5	-2	-1.5	1.5	4.5	-2	-1.5	0	2	-2	2	-2	2.5	-1	-1.5	1.5	NaN
2.0	-2.5	-3.5	0	0	2.5	-3.5	-1.5	2	0	0	0	0.5	1.5	-2.5	0	NaN	NaN
3.0	-4	-2	4.5	4	1	-3.5	0.5	0	2	-2	2.5	-0.5	0	-1	NaN	NaN	NaN
4.0	-2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	1	-1.5	-1.5	2	0.5	1.5	-2	1.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
5.0	2	0.5	1	2.5	3	-3.5	0.5	0	2.5	-0.5	0	-0.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
6.0	0	-1	1	4.5	1	-1.5	-1.5	2.5	1.5	-2	1.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
7.0	-1.5	-1	3	2.5	3	-3.5	1	1.5	0	-0.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
8.0	-1.5	1	1	4.5	1	-1	0	0	1.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
9.0	0.5	-1	3	2.5	3.5	-2	-1.5	1.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
10.0	-1.5	1	1	5	2.5	-3.5	0	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
11.0	0.5	-1	3	4	1	-2	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
12.0	-1.5	1.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
13.0	1	0.5	1	4	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
14.0	0	-1	2.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
15.0	-1.5	0.5	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN
16.0	0	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN	NaN

Column 1 (except row w): Interval from the first strong beat to each successive strong beat. In this example, the first four such intervals are G to G (itself; row 0.0), G to F# (row 1.0), G to D (row 2.0), and G to B (row 3.0).

Column 2 (except row w): Interval from the second strong beat to each successive strong beat, i.e., F# to F# (itself), F# to D, F# to B, F# to D, etc.

etc.

Joseph Allard, "Reel de Mme. Renault" (B strain). Victor 263531-B, 1928.

Figure 3.5   Incipit and annotated interval matrix for Joseph Allard, "Reel de Mme. Renault" (B strain)

The system compares two interval matrices by executing a series of functions that search for corresponding strong and weak beats having the same pitch, for displaced or reversed strong beats, and for matching contour. For tunes in simple meter (typically 4/4, 2/2, 2/4, 3/2, 6/4, or 3/4 in this repertoire), our system assumes that strong beats fall every quarter note. For tunes in compound meter (typically 6/8 or 9/8), it assumes that strong beats fall every dotted quarter note. Weak beat notes are those that fall on any metrical location that is not a strong beat.[13]

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[13] Our system follows the work of Charles Gore and Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin in that we consider notes on strong beats to be more essential to the identity of a strain than those on weak beats. Both Gore and Ó Súilleabháin take inspiration from the work of Irish music

Our system combines the results of these functions into a single "similarity measure" with a maximum value of 100.[14] Finally, it executes a series of truncations that optimize the pitch alignment of the strains, and outputs results for the truncation with the highest similarity measure.

Given two strains, the system will describe and quantify the degree of melodic similarity between them (Figure 3.6).

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collector Breandan Breathnach (Charles Gore, *The Scottish Fiddle Music Index: The 18th & 19th Century Printed Collections* [Musselburgh, Scotland: Amaising, 1994]; Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, "Innovation and Tradition in the Music of Tommie Potts" [PhD diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1987]).

[14] The similarity measure is calculated as follows: (weighted_value / maximum_weighted_value) * (longer_length / average_length) * 100, where weighted_value = (number of matching strong beats) * 8 + ([number of displaced strong beats] + [value of strong beat contours and reversals]) * 6 + (number of matching strong beats in the first half of the incipit) * 4 + ([value of matching weak beats] + [value of weak beat contours and reversals]) * 2; longer_length = length of the longer incipit (in strong beats); average_length = average length of both incipits; and maximum_weighted_value = maximum value of weighted_value. This formula assigns up to 86% of the similarity measure to matched strong beats, displaced or reversed strong beats, and matching contour. The remainder of the similarity measure is determined by matched weak beats. This disproportionate weighting scheme has the effect of selecting incipits with a high percentage of matched strong beats (matched strong beats are a much better indicator of similarity than matched weak beats) and then ranking those, in part, according to the number of matched weak beats. The final coefficient of the above equation (longer_length / average_length) lessens, but does not eliminate, the impact of a significant difference in incipit lengths. This is necessary because the variable maximum_weighted_value is determined by the length of the longer incipit and, given two incipits with a high proportion of matched strong beats but of markedly different lengths, weighted_value / maximum_weighted_value would be undesirably low. This equation was determined by trial and error, using test sets containing known variants, including thirteen variants of the tune "Money Musk."
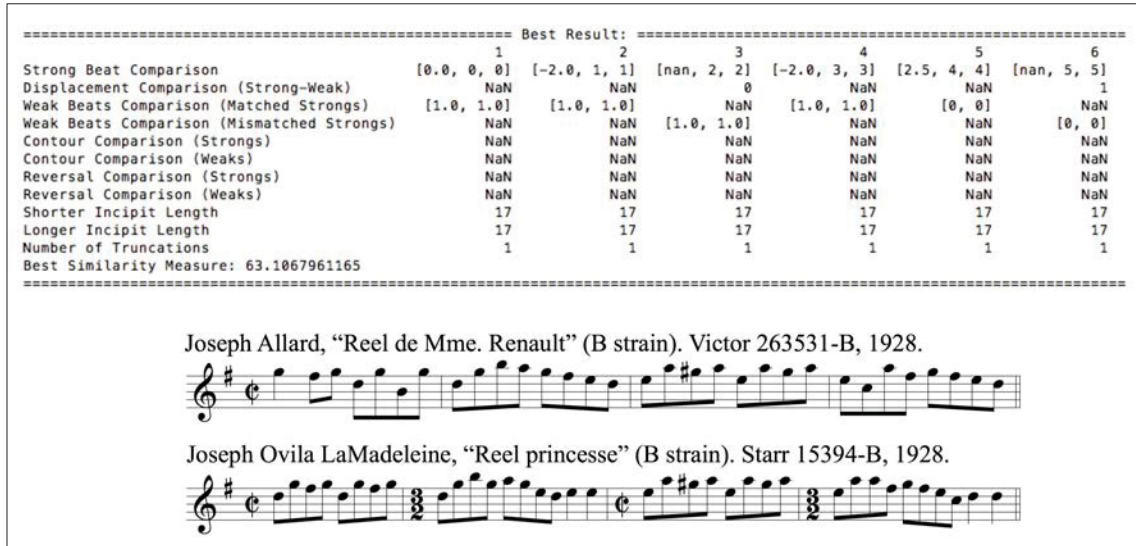
```
================================ Best Result: ================================
                                        1          2          3          4          5          6
Strong Beat Comparison              [0.0, 0, 0] [-2.0, 1, 1] [nan, 2, 2] [-2.0, 3, 3] [2.5, 4, 4] [nan, 5, 5]
Displacement Comparison (Strong-Weak)    NaN        NaN         0          NaN        NaN          1
Weak Beats Comparison (Matched Strongs)  [1.0, 1.0] [1.0, 1.0]   NaN       [1.0, 1.0]  [0, 0]      NaN
Weak Beats Comparison (Mismatched Strongs) NaN      NaN       [1.0, 1.0]    NaN        NaN        [0, 0]
Contour Comparison (Strongs)             NaN        NaN         NaN        NaN        NaN         NaN
Contour Comparison (Weaks)               NaN        NaN         NaN        NaN        NaN         NaN
Reversal Comparison (Strongs)            NaN        NaN         NaN        NaN        NaN         NaN
Reversal Comparison (Weaks)              NaN        NaN         NaN        NaN        NaN         NaN
Shorter Incipit Length                   17         17          17         17         17          17
Longer Incipit Length                    17         17          17         17         17          17
Number of Truncations                    1          1           1          1          1           1
Best Similarity Measure: 63.1067961165
================================================================================
```

Joseph Allard, "Reel de Mme. Renault" (B strain). Victor 263531-B, 1928.

Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine, "Reel princesse" (B strain). Starr 15394-B, 1928.

Figure 3.6.   Verbose comparison of the B strains of Joseph Allard's "Reel de Mme. Renault" and Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine's "Reel princesse," with incipits.[15]

Given one strain, the system will output a ranked list of other strains according to degree of similarity (Figure 3.7).

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[15] Using the compare function, a user may request a more detailed ("verbose") comparison of two strains. This function outputs a series of matrices, each of which contains the results of all of the comparison functions for a given truncation. The function also selects the truncation that produces the highest similarity measure and outputs the results of that comparison as the "Best Result."
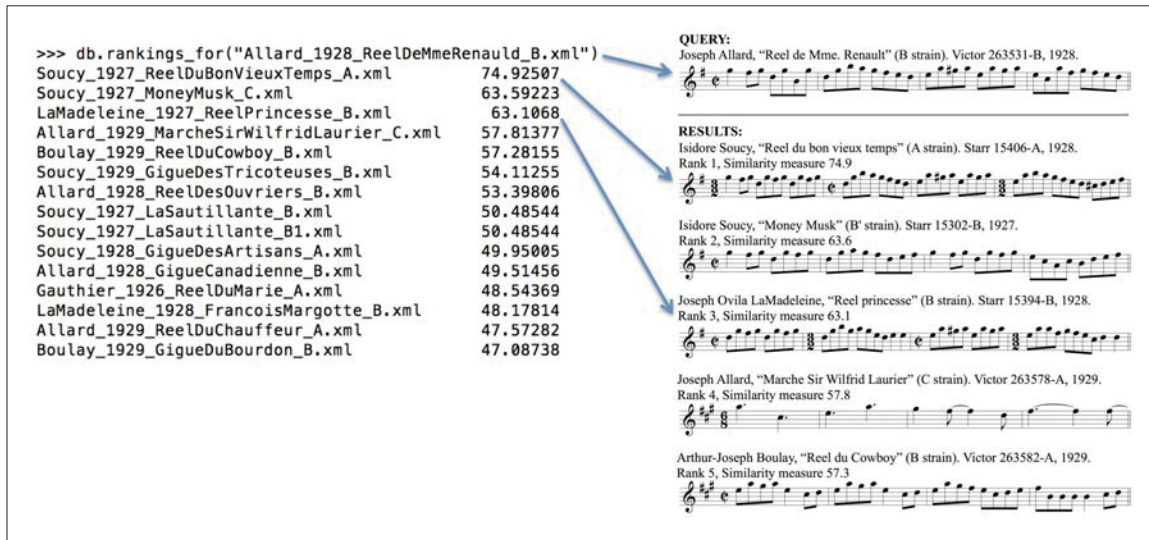
Figure 3.7   Ranked list comparing the B strain of Joseph Allard's "Reel de Mme. Renault" to 642 other strains recorded between 1923 and 1929. This list is annotated with select incipits.[16]

The following analysis is based on data gathered by outputting ranked lists for each of 643 strains in a database. (See Appendix 5 for list of all 78 rpm recordings transcribed for the database, and all other 78 rpm recordings referenced in this chapter.) I used these lists to identify potential concordances and then confirmed—or rejected—those concordances by examining the original transcriptions. I also identified a handful of concordances that the query and ranking system had missed.

I consider two strains to be concordant if the melodic line of one is a close variant, elaboration, or embellishment of the other (see examples in Figures 3.1 to 3.4). In practical terms, this means that it is possible to establish a clear one-to-one

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[16] Using the rankings_for function, a user may select a single strain from the database and query the system for a list of all of the remaining files ranked by similarity measure (maximum value = 100). Many of these ranked lists exhibit a clear division between variants and non-variants, with the similarity measures of the former separated from those of the latter by a gap of between 5 and 15 points. The similarity measure between two variants of the same strain is usually at least 55 (and often much higher), though not all pairs of strains with a similarity measure above 55 are variants.

correspondence between the notes of the two strains, where a high percentage of corresponding notes are the same pitch as each other (allowing for transposition). It also means looking for typical patterns of transformation when the notes are not the same pitch. This conservative approach excludes strains with a similar contour or matching harmonic framework but few specific matching notes.

Ideally, I would define concordant strains as those that musicians at the time would have recognized as variants. This is possible for the handful of tunes that were recorded more than once with the same title ("Money Musk," "Reel du pendu," Reel du plombier"). However, as noted above, many French-Canadian tunes and strains were recorded under multiple titles. My approach to this problem was to analyze known concordances (thirteen settings of "Money Musk") by hand to identify common patterns of melodic, rhythmic, and structural transformation, and then instruct the computer system to search for those patterns.

This approach still leaves many gray areas: how many matching notes are necessary for a true concordance? Does the metrical placement of the matching notes matter? What if only a portion of the strains matches closely? Rather than establish a clear boundary between concordance and non-concordance, I use the ranked lists generated by our system to identify strains that are unquestionably concordant, those that are quite similar and therefore likely variants of the same tune, and those that have some features in common but are not similar enough to be concordant. Note that I do not consider short motivic overlaps to be sufficient grounds for concordance.

In short, our query and ranking system is designed to compare two strains according to the same criteria that I would have used had I compared them by hand. We

created the computer system for purely practical reasons: to compare each of 643 strains

to each other strain is to execute 206,403 comparisons—an impossible task even for a

musicologist! By automating these comparisons, I was able to include a very high

percentage of all early commercial recordings of fiddle tunes from Quebec in my

analysis.

3.3   Patterns of Musical Circulation

After a slow start—a handful of discs in 1917–1918 and again in 1923–1924—the

number of French-Canadian fiddle recordings grew rapidly in the second half of the

1920s. The number of artists increased as well, though not nearly so quickly, and most of

the fiddling discs in these years were from just four artists: Isidore Soucy, Joseph Allard,

Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine, and Arthur-Joseph Boulay. In this section I argue that, as

these musicians were pushed to record new sides with increasing frequency, they turned

to existing recordings (both their own and those of other fiddlers) as sources of new

repertoire.

This chapter focuses on the years 1927–1929, when re-recording became

commonplace. I begin, however, with a brief discussion of the earliest Montreal fiddle

recordings, from 1917 through 1926.

3.3.1   Recordings through 1926

We know little about the earliest musicians to record fiddle tunes in Montreal, J. B. Roy,

Raoul Gagnier, and José Zaffiro, but the sound and content of their discs suggest formal

training on the instrument and the ability to read music. Raoul Gagnier rushed through

the tunes, his fingers seemingly more and more entangled as his pianist desperately tried

to keep up, while Roy used a loud, heavy, and somewhat monotonous tone, adding a

virtuosic flourish at the end of each medley. Zaffiro played with a light vibrato and a full

sound, adding the occasional careful ornament, and was at his best when the tune echoed

light art music, as in the first strain of his 1918 recording "Burlesque reel." Table 3.1 lists

all known commercial recordings of fiddle tunes in Montreal prior to 1920.[17]

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[17] All recording details (tune titles, recording and release dates, label, catalogue number) in Table 3.1 and in all subsequent tables and figures in this chapter are from the Virtual Gramophone unless otherwise noted.

Disc	Artist	Titles
Victor 216012, released c1917, reissued c1924.	Raoul Gagnier	A: Medley of Scotch jigs: Come under my plaidie / Logie O'Ruchan / Kerry dance / Whistle and I'll come to you / Pibroch / The braw wooer / The laird o'Cockpen / Campbells are coming B: Medley of Irish jigs: St. Patrick's Day / Garry Owen / Sprig of Shillalah / Paddy whack / The brisk young lad / Paddy O'Rafferty / The Kerry girls / O'Gaff / Irish washerwoman
Victor 216013, recorded c1917, released c1917, reissued 1923-09.	Raoul Gagnier	A: Medley of reels: Warm stuff / Paresis / Morpeth / An old friend / Five mile chase B: Clog dance
Berliner 216011, released c1917, reissued c1924.	J. B. Roy	A: Medley of hornpipes: College hornpipe / Mountain hornpipe / Harvest home / Devil's dream / Soldier's joy / Speed the plough / Rickett's hornpipe / Bridge of Lodi B: Medley of jigs: Jig / The maid of the green / Hands around / Smash the window / Double jig / To the ladies
Berliner 216018, recorded c1917-11, released 1918-02.	J. B. Roy	A: Highland fling medley: Wha wadna fecht for Charlie / Johnny's made a wedding o'it / Saw ye Johnny comin' / Highland fling / McAllister B side unknown
Berliner 216021, recorded c1918-01, released 1918-04, reissued 1923-09.	J. B. Roy	A: Country dance medley: Rustic reel / Fairy dance / Rakes of Mallon [Mallow] / Haste to the wedding / Irish merry making / Sir Roger de Coverley B: Reel medley: Miss McLeod's reel / McDonald's reel / The chopman / Guilderoy, or, All set / Reilly's own
Berliner 216022, recorded c1918-01, released 1918-04.	José Zaffiro	A: Jig medley: Munster buttermilk / The hill side / Connaught man's rambles / Little house under the hill / Top of Cork Road B: Reel medley: Burlesque reel / Holes in the carpet / Fireman's reel / Matinee / Wind that shakes the barley / Pease upon a trencher / Old crow
Berliner 216024, released c1918, reissued c1924.	José Zaffiro	A: Jig medley: Paddy Carey / Paddy whack / The clay pipe / Young May Moon / Nay, tell me not / [If all those] Endearing young charms B: Reel medley: The best ever / The lone appendicitis / Shule, shule agrah / Jasper's pride / The social sixty
Berliner 216029 recorded c1918-03, released 1918-06.	José Zaffiro	A: Highland fling medley: Tullochgorum / Gillie Callum / Sword dance / Drones / Whistle o'er the lave o't B: Stop jig medley: Willie's feet / Rastus / Love taps
Berliner 216033, recorded 1918-04, released 1918-07	José Zaffiro	A: Hornpipe: Fisher's / Liverpool / New century / Durang's / Vinton's B: Chevalier jig medley: Little Nipper / Wot cher [cheer] / My old Dutch, composers Albert Chevalier & Charles Ingle

Table 3.1   Commercial recordings of fiddle tunes in Montreal prior to 1920.

In the 1910s and early 1920s, Columbia Records' prolific E series had proven the purchasing power of North American "ethnic" markets, but its recordings for the French-Canadian market were all either songs or spoken word.[18] The first instrumental tunes issued for a French-Canadian audience—that is, with French text on the label—were four sides on Victor by Arthur-Joseph Boulay: a three-figure "Quadrille" with the note "on indique le pas,"[19] and a "Jigues pot pourri." Perhaps not entirely sure of its audience, Victor printed these sides in English as well, as "Canadian Set" and "Medley of Jigs."

Boulay (1883–1948) was born in New Hampshire but moved to Beauharnois in the the greater Montreal region in 1913 and to Cornwall, Ontario in 1924. He played with a sweet and pure tone, a light and narrow vibrato, and the occasional ornament. His careful bow control and smooth transitions between notes speak to the six years of formal training that he received in his youth, though his fiddling chops are also evident: his ornamentation is smooth and fluid, he plays with a subtle swing, and his dance tempos are impeccable.[20] Though he was not the first to record fiddle tunes in Montreal, he was the first to do so with the formal and stylistic hallmarks characteristic of subsequent French-Canadian fiddle recordings: multiple repetitions of a single tune; a steady tempo suitable for dancing; a subtle swing on the eighth notes; and smooth phrasing within each

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[18] Thérien, *L'histoire de l'enregistrement sonore*, 90–91, 116.

[19] "[dance] steps are indicated." These calls are in English; see Pierre Chartrand, "Du set au cotillon... Petite introduction à la danse traditionnelle québécoise et à ses genres..." *Bulletin Mnémo* 1, no. 4 (Spring 1997), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/html/97(10).html.

[20] Boulay performed with dance orchestras in New Hampshire, Quebec and Ontario. See Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 63.

strain and from one strain to the next. It is presumably for this reason that Labbé dubbed

Boulay's discs the "tout premier 78 tours de mélodies folkloriques."[21]

Boulay's earliest recordings likely sold quite well, for they were followed by a

spate of imitators. Victor and Berliner reissued Gagnier, Roy, and Zaffiro's discs in 1923

and 1924 (see Table 3.1), and Starr found itself two new recording artists: Isidore Soucy

and Antonio Gauthier (Table 3.2).

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[21] "the very first 78s of [instrumental] folk melodies" (Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*,
14).

Disc	Artist	Titles
Victor 263129 (French), Victor 216391 (English), recorded c1922, released 1923-01 (French), 1923-03 (English)	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A (French release): Quadrille (on indique le pas) 1re partie B (French release): Quadrille (on indique le pas) 2e partie A (English release): Canadian Set 1st change B (English release): Canadian Set 2nd change
Victor 263130 (French), Victor 216392 (English), recorded c1922, released 1923-01 (French), 1923-03 (English)	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A (French release): Quadrille (on indique le pas) 3e partie B (French release): Gigues pot-pourri A (English release): Canadian Set 3rd change B (English release): Medley of Jigs
Victor 216419, released 1923-08.	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A: Virginia Reel [part 1] B: Virginia Reel [part 2]
Victor 216452, recorded c1924, released 1924-04.	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A: Canadian Set 1st change B: Canadian Set 2nd change
Victor 216453, recorded c1924, released 1924-04.	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A: Canadian Set 3rd change B: Turkey in the Straw
Victor 263162, released c1923-04 or 1924-02.	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A: Quadrille canadien 1re partie B: Quadrille canadien 2e partie
Victor 263162, released c1923-04 or 1924-02.	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A: Quadrille canadien 3e partie B: Quadrille canadien 4e partie
Victor 216565, recorded c1925, released 1925.	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A: Sleepy Hollow B side unknown
Starr 15220, released 1925-11?	Isidore Soucy	A: Gigues irlandaises 1re partie B: Gigues irlandaises 2e partie
Starr 15246, recorded 1925-10-21, released c1926-01.	Isidore Soucy	A: Set américain 1re partie B: Set américain 2e partie
Starr 15247, recorded 1925-10-21, released c1926-01.	Isidore Soucy	A: Set américain 1re partie B: Valse
Starr 15254, recorded 1926-01-22, released c1926-04.	Antonio Gauthier	A: Reel du mari B: Reel à quatre
Starr 15256, recorded 1926-01-22, released c1926-04.	Antonio Gauthier	A: Reel du voyageur B: Valse de chez nous
Starr 15266, recorded 1926-05-03, released 1926-08.	Isidore Soucy	A: Quadrille canadien 1re partie B: Quadrille canadien 2e partie
Starr 15267, recorded 1926-02, released c.1926-05.	Isidore Soucy	A: Quadrille canadien 3e partie B: Quadrille canadien 4e partie
Starr 15268, recorded 1926-02, released 1926-05.	Isidore Soucy	A: Quadrille canadien 5e partie B: Quadrille canadien 6e partie
Starr 15278, recorded 1926-06-21, released c1926-09.	Antonio Gauthier	A: Cotillon canadien no. 1 B: Cotillon canadien no. 2
Starr 15279, recorded 1926-06-21, released c1926-09.	Antonio Gauthier	A: Reel à huit B: Marie Chamberland
Starr 15280, recorded 1926-06-21, released c1926-09.	Antonio Gauthier	A: Reel opéra B: Marche-lanciers
Starr 15281, recorded 1926-06-21, released c1926-09.	Antonio Gauthier	A: Polka canadienne B: Reel de Saint-Maurice
Victor 263236, released c1926-08	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	A: Reels canadiens 1re partie B: Reels canadiens 2e partie
Starr 15288, recorded 1926-09-02, released c1926-12.	Isidore Soucy	A: Quadrille de Québec 1re partie B: Quadrille de Québec 2e partie
Starr 15289, recorded 1926-09-02, released c1926-12.	Isidore Soucy	A: Quadrille de Québec 3e partie B: Quadrille de Québec 4e partie
Starr 15290, recorded 1926-09-02, released c1926-12.	Isidore Soucy	A: Quadrille de Québec 5e partie B: Quadrille de Québec 6e partie
Starr 15303, recorded 1926-11-04, released c1927-02.	Isidore Soucy	A: La coquette B: À Saint-Malo

Table 3.2   Commercial recordings of fiddle tunes in Montreal, 1920–1926.

Isidore Soucy (1899–1962) arrived in Montreal from St-Blandine, near Rimouski, in 1924 and began recording shortly thereafter. (He was a frequent performer at Conrad Gauthier's "Veillées du bon vieux temps" from 1927 and would eventually become the most recorded fiddler in Quebec.[22]) Little is known about Antonio Gauthier, but his clean sound, sweet vibrato, and even tone suggest some degree of formal training, and his steady tempos speak to ample experience playing for dances.

With few exceptions, these earliest recordings are identified by associated dance type rather than tune title. Gauthier recorded a *reel à quatre*, a *reel à huit*, a waltz, a *cotillon*, a "Marche-lanciers" and a polka. Boulay recorded tunes for the "Virginia Reel," a popular North American dance in longways formation. He and Soucy each recorded several quadrilles, including some with dance calls, and step-dancing tunes. (In Quebec, the French word "gigue" usually refers to a step-dance tune or to the act of step-dancing, not to a tune in 6/8.)[23] Boulay's two Canadian Sets are presumably square sets, a dance genre imported from the United States—along with English-language dance calls, then a new innovation—in the early twentieth century.[24]

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[22] Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 231–232.

[23] Boulay's "Jigues pot pourri" was a medley of three fast-paced reels played on solo fiddle. It likely sold reasonably well, for in 1925 Boulay recorded another step-dancing tune, "Sleepy Hollow Jig," and the Starr label released two similar medleys of "Gigues irlandaises" by fiddler Isidore Soucy. "Sleepy Hollow" was the first of Boulay's recordings to include accompaniment. It defined a sound that would become common on French-Canadian dance tune recordings in the late 1920s and into the 1930s: accompaniment on piano and jaw harp, with the jaw harp occasionally dropping out for a strain or two. "Sleepy Hollow" also notably mixes 2/2 and 3/2. Such metrical irregularities are now closely associated with French-Canadian instrumental music (Jean Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre : jeu et enjeux des pièces asymétriques dans la musique traditionnelle du Québec" [PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 2013]). A four-strain setting of "Sleepy Hollow" is commonly played today as "La Grondeuse."

[24] See Chartrand, "Du set au cotillon." Boulay plays different tunes for his two Canadian Sets.

It may be difficult, from our present-day perspective, to imagine step-dancing or dancing a quadrille to a 78 rpm record. Didn't the records jump? How could a group of eight or more dancers make out the caller's words? In the early twentieth century, however, recordings were not a new form of entertainment so much as a conduit for existing forms. They carried into the private sphere known public entertainments: the art music concert, the comedy routine, and, in Boulay's case, the square dance. When people danced to a 78 rpm record at home, the recording likely functioned as an aide-mémoire for sounds and movements already engrained in the dancers' ears and bodies. They allowed people to relive, on their own time and in their own homes, an already familiar experience. In this sense, Boulay's early discs may have offered just enough—a solo fiddle and dance caller—to evoke the sounds, sights, and sensations of the real thing.

In all the strains recorded by Boulay, Soucy, and Gauthier between 1923 and 1926, there are only two concordances: Gauthier and Boulay both recorded the minstrel and vaudeville standard "Turkey in the Straw" (recorded by Gauthier as "Marie Chamberland"), and the first strain of Soucy's "Quadrille de Quebec, 6e partie" matches that of Antoino Gauthier's "Reel du marie" (Figure 3.8).[25]

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[25] "Turkey in the Straw" had been issued in Montreal many times prior to Boulay and Gauthier's discs. In 1901, Berliner distributed two vocal recordings of "Turkey in de Straw" [*sic*] by Billy Golden and Silas Leachman (Berliner 587 and 722; these may have been recorded for Victor in Camden, New Jersey. The packaging for Golden's disc included lyrics to the song). In 1905, Vess L. Ossman recorded "Turkey in de Straw medley" as a banjo solo with orchestral accompaniment (Berliner 4424). In 1923, one year before Boulay's recording, Willie Eckstein recorded a set of ragtime-inflected piano variations (Compo 618).

Isidore Soucy, "Quadrille de Québec 6e partie" (A strain). Starr 15290-B,
recorded 1926-09-02, released 1926-12.

Antonio Gauthier, "Reel du marie" (A strain). Starr 15254-A,
recorded 1926-01-22, released c. 1926-04.

**Figure 3.8   Isidore Soucy, "Quadrille de Quebec, 6e partie" (A strain); Antoino
Gauthier, "Reel du marie" (A strain)**

This latter concordance raises a number of questions. Where and when did Soucy

and Gauthier learn this strain? Was it already associated with multiple tunes prior to

Soucy's recording? Did Soucy borrow this strain from Gauthier (consciously or

unconsciously), or learn it from another source entirely? More generally, how should we

interpret the near-absence of concordances in 1926: did Soucy, Gauthier, and Boulay

have completely different repertoires, or did they intentionally select tunes that the others

had not yet recorded?

These are all unanswerable questions for 1926. As we enter the years 1927–1929,

the number of re-recordings increases dramatically and certain patterns of musical

borrowing emerge. In the next section, I use the recordings of Soucy, Boulay and their

peers to outline small-scale social and musical networks in Montreal in the 1920s.

3.3.2   Recordings from 1927 to 1929

The number of French-Canadian fiddle recordings grew exponentially in the second half

of the 1920s. The number of artists increased as well, though not nearly so quickly, and

most of the fiddling discs in these years were from just four artists: Isidore Soucy, Joseph

Allard, Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine, and Arthur-Joseph Boulay (Figure 3.9).
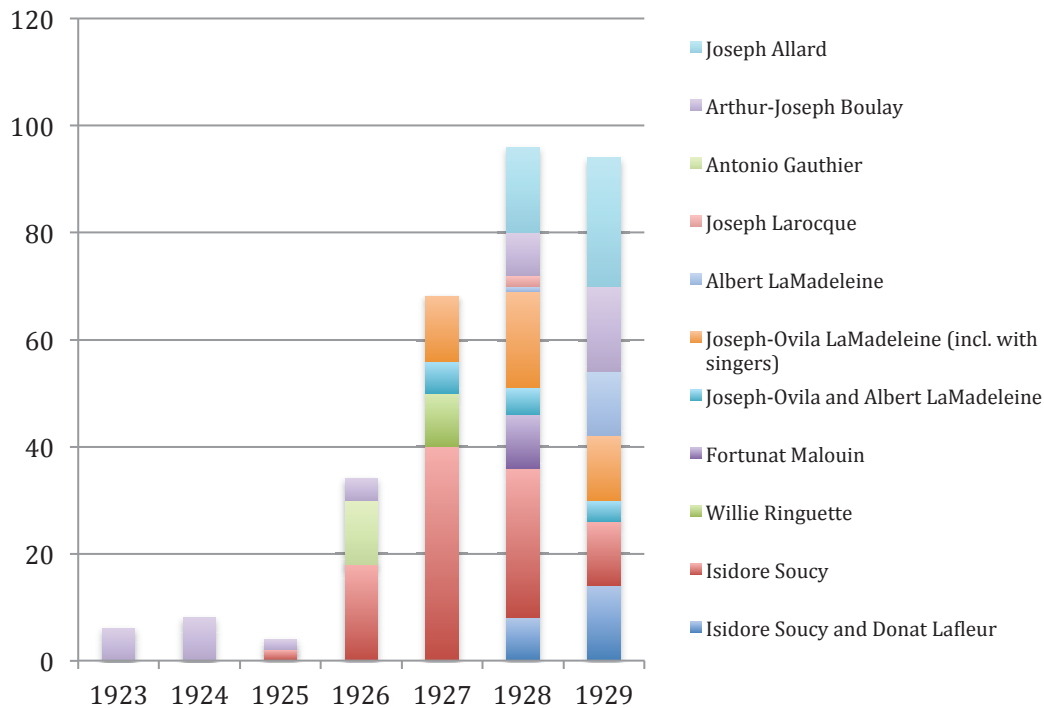
Figure 3.9   Number of sides released by French-Canadian fiddlers, 1923–1929

We have already met Boulay and Soucy. Joseph Allard (1873–1947), a

commercial fisherman by trade, spent his younger years in New England, making his

name on the competition circuit, and began recording only in his mid-fifties. Joseph

Ovila LaMadeleine (1879–1973) was the son of two musicians and grew up in

Valleyfield, Quebec. By the late 1920s, he was owner of a music store and friends with

the future singing star Mary Travers (a.k.a. Madame Bolduc or La Bolduc).[26]

Most of the 310 sides in Figure 3.9 contain a single tune, though a few contain

medleys of two or three tunes. Most of these tunes have two strains, though some have

more (see Appendix 5). I compared 643 of these strains using our computer system. Of

these, 101 are concordant with at least one previously recorded strain. These

concordances are clustered towards the end of the decade (Figure 3.10). All of the

concordances of 1927 are attributable to one musician, Isidore Soucy, whereas the

concordances of 1928 and 1929 are attributable to several musicians (Table 3.3).
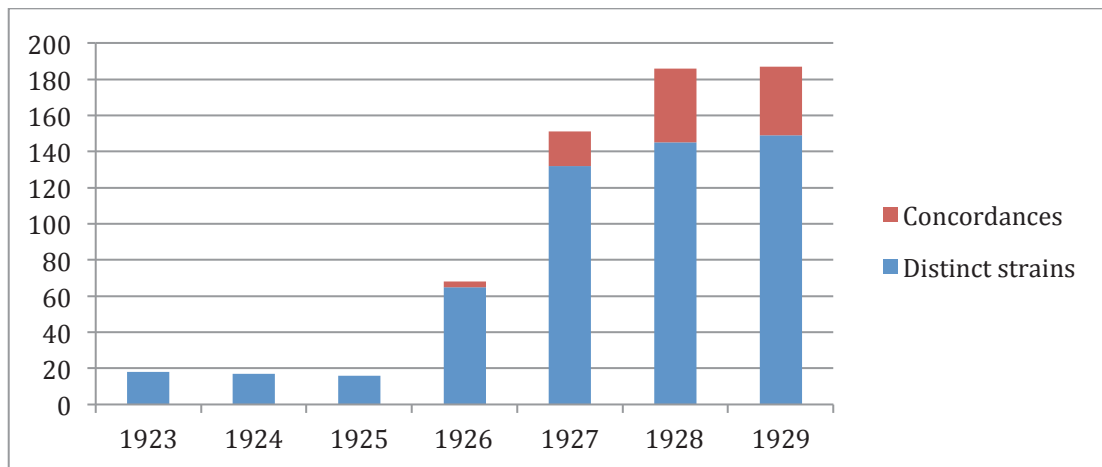
**Figure 3.10   Number of recorded strains that are concordant with at least one
previously recorded strain, from a database of 643 strains recorded
between 1923 and 1929.**

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[26] Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 63, 34. See also the entries for these musicians in the Canadian Encyclopedia (http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/). According to Labbé, LaMadeleine moved to Montreal in 1919. Jean Duval argues that LaMadeleine may have arrived in Montreal as early as 1905, however (personal communication, October 10, 2016).

	1926			1927			1928			1929		
	Strains	Concordances	Concordances (as % of strains recorded)	Strains	Concordances	Concordances (as % of strains recorded)	Strains	Concordances	Concordances (as % of strains recorded)	Strains	Concordances	Concordances (as % of strains recorded)
Joseph Allard	0	0		0	0		33	9	27%	51	9	18%
Arthur-Joseph Boulay	4	0	0%	0	0		19	2	11%	31	3	10%
Antonio Gauthier	26	2	8%	0	0		0	0		0	0	
Albert LaMadeleine	0	0		0	0		2	0		25	4	
Joseph-Ovila LaMadeleine (incl. with singers)	0	0		8	0	0%	36	8	22%	11	5	45%
Joseph-Ovila and Albert LaMadeleine	0	0		15	0		9	0	0%	11	0	0%
Willie Ringuette	0	0		11	0	0%	0	0		0	0	
Isidore Soucy	38	1	3%	117	19	16%	66	18	27%	29	15	52%
Isidore Soucy and Donat Lafleur	0	0		0	0		21	4	19%	29	2	7%
TOTAL	68	3	4%	151	19	13%	186	41	22%	187	38	20%

Table 3.3   **Strains and concordances by musician, from a database of 643 strains recorded between 1923 and 1929. Note that there are no concordances from 1923, 1924, or 1925.**

We might read the concordances of 1927, 1928, and 1929 as little more than traditional music in action: "the fashioning and re-fashioning of the music by the community that gives [folk music] its folk character," in the words of the celebrated definition of folk music by the International Folk Music Council.[27] Yet the percentages in Table 3.3 suggest something more than a slowly mutating tradition.

In the following sections, I argue that the repertoire of traditional instrumental music in Quebec is inseparable from the exigencies of the early recording industry. The 78rpm disc didn't just document an existing repertoire; it spurred musicians to create huge swaths of new repertoire. I begin with a close reading of Soucy's earliest re-recordings. I then discuss patterns of musical circulation within a small, Montreal-based network of musicians in 1928 and 1929, and follow the tune "Reel du pendu" across three record labels and into the pages of the cultural periodical *La Lyre*.

3.3.2.1 Isidore Soucy Borrows from Himself

Isidore Soucy travelled to New York City in 1927, 1928, and 1929 to record for Columbia Records.[28] Of the sixteen sides that he recorded on these occasions, nine contained tunes that Soucy had recorded only months earlier for the Starr label in Montreal, and four contained tunes or strains that Soucy would record for Starr soon thereafter. Almost all of these re-recordings were under new titles (Table 3.4).

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[27] Maud Karpeles, "Definitions of Folk Music," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 7 (1955): 6–7.

[28] Robert Thérien, "The Columbia 34000-F Series," in "The Canadian Columbia 16000-D Series," ed. Jack Litchfield < http://www.capsnews.org/columbia-16000-d.pdf> [accessed June 28, 2016]; Richard K Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Vol. 1: Western Europe* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 92.

Columbia recording	Earlier recordings?	Later recording?
I. Soucy, "Quadrille de Campagne 3e partie" (A, B), Columbia 34093-F-A, recorded 1927-01 in New York City.[i]	I. Soucy, "Quadrille Canadien 3e partie" (A, B). Starr 15267-A, recorded 1926-02, released 1926-05.[ii] Re-issued on Columbia 34053-F-A.	
I. Soucy, "Quadrille de Campagne 4e partie" (A, B), Columbia 34093-F-B, recorded 1927-01 in New York City.	I. Soucy, "Quadrille de Québec 4e partie" (A, B). Starr 15289-B, recorded 1926-09-02, released 1926-12.	
I. Soucy, "Quadrille de Campagne 5e partie" (A, B), Columbia 34094-F-A, recorded 1927-01 in New York City.	I. Soucy, "Quadrille Canadien 5e partie" (A, B). Starr 15268-A, recorded 1926-02, released 1926-05. Re-issued on Columbia 34054-F-A.	I. Soucy and D. Lafleur, "Quadrille du peuple 5e partie" (A, C). Starr 15534-A, recorded 1928-12-17, released c. 1929-03.
I. Soucy, "Quadrille de Campagne 6e partie" (A, B), Columbia 34094-F-B, recorded 1927-01 in New York City.		I. Soucy, "Quadrille Laurier 6e partie" (A, B). Starr 15321-B, recorded 1927-02-02, released 1927-05. Re-issued on Columbia 34103-F-B.
I. Soucy, "Quatre Coins de St. Malo – Jigue." Columbia 4063-F, recorded 1927-01 in New York City.[iii]	I. Soucy, "À St-Malo" (A, B, C). Starr 15303-B, recorded 1926-11-04, released 1927-02.	
I. Soucy, "Valse de Québec" (C, D). Columbia 34079-F-B, recorded 1927-01 in New York City.		I. Soucy, "Valse Isidore" (A, B). Starr 15367-B, recorded 1927-09-01, released 1927-12.
I. Soucy, "La Claqueuse" (A, B). Columbia 34193-F-A, recorded 1928-11 in New York City.	I. Soucy, "La Joyeuse" (A, B). Starr 15485-B, recorded 1928-09-04, released 1928-12.	
I. Soucy, "Reel du Pendu" (multiple strains—see text). Columbia 34193-F-B, recorded 1928-11 in New York City.	I. Soucy, "Reel du Pendu" (multiple strains—see text). Starr 15330-A, recorded 1927-03-22, released c. 1927-06.	
I. Soucy, "Gigue à Ti-Gus" (C, D). Columbia 34230-F, recorded 1929-05 in New York City.	I. Soucy, "Gigue Ecossaise" (A, B). Starr 15473-A, recorded 1928-06-29, released c. 1928-09.	
I. Soucy, "Set du Canada, 1re partie" (A, B). Columbia 34231-F-A, recorded 1929-05 in New York City. Reissued on Columbia 16091-D-A.	I. Soucy, "Set Americain 1e partie" (A, B). Starr 15246-A, recorded 1925-10-21, released c. 1926-01.	I. Soucy, "Reel de Gaspé" (B). Starr 15633-B, recorded 1929-05, released 1929-08.
I. Soucy, "Set du Canada, 3e partie" (A). Columbia 34232-F-A, recorded 1929-05 in New York City. Reissued on Columbia 16091-D-A.	I. Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 1e partie" (1st tune; A). Starr 15220-A, released 1925-11. I. Soucy, "Quadrille national 6e figure" (A). Starr 15429-B, recorded 1928-02-22, released c. 1928-05.	

[i] The recording dates for Soucy's New York City recordings are from Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records*, 92. All other recording details are from The Virtual Gramophone and Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, except as noted.

[ii] The Virtual Gramophone gives two different sets of dates for Isidore Soucy's "Quadrille Canadien." Figures 1 and 2 (Starr 15266) are listed as recorded on May 3, 1926 and released in August 1926, while figures 3–6 (Starr 15267, Starr 15268) are listed as recorded in February 1926 and released in May 1926. While it is possible that figures 3–6 were recorded and released prior to figures 1–2, it seems far more likely that Soucy recorded all six figures on a single date and that all three discs were released at the same time.

[iii] This side is listed in Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records*, 92. However, I do not have the recording so I have not been able to compare strains.

Table 3.4 **Concordant strains in Isidore Soucy's recordings for Columbia, 1927–1929.**

By contrast, Soucy rarely re-recorded tunes for the same record label. None of his

Columbia recordings is concordant with each other. His first re-recording of a full tune

for Starr is in late 1929, when his "Gigue des Tricoteuses" / "Reel de la Gatineau" disc

reused the second and first tunes, respectively, of his 1925 "Gigues irlandaises 2e partie"

medley. Note that Soucy did re-record individual strains for Starr in 1927 and 1928,

though rarely, and he later re-recorded tunes and strains with accordionist Donat Lafleur.

(Table 3.5).

Concordant strain	Earlier recording	Later recording
I. Soucy, "Gigue du roi" (A). Starr 15366-A, recorded 1927-09-01, released 1927-12.[i]	I. Soucy, "Set canadien-français—Lanciers," 1re partie: En roulant ma boule (C) and 2e partie: Par derrière chez ma tante" (C). Starr 15311-A and 15311-B, recorded 1927-01-17, released c. 1927-04. Re-issued on Columbia 34097-F-A.	I. Soucy, "Quadrille Champion 6e partie" (A). Starr 15380-B, recorded 1927-10-10, released c. 1928-01.
I. Soucy, "Gigue du roi" (B). Starr 15366-A, recorded 1927-09-01, released 1927-12.	I. Soucy, "Reel de l'enfant martyre" (D). Starr 15361-A, recorded 1927-08-09, released c. 1927-11.	
I. Soucy, "Quadrille national 1re figure" (B). Starr 15427-A, recorded 1928-02-22, released c. 1928-05.	I. Soucy, "Set Americain 2e partie" (C). Starr 15246-B, recorded 1925-10-21, released c. 1926-01.	
I. Soucy, "Quadrille national 6e figure" (A). Starr 15429-B, recorded 1928-02-22, released c. 1928-05.	I. Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 1e partie" (1st tune; A). Starr 15220-A, released 1925-11.	
I. Soucy, "Reel polonais" (A). Starr 15473-B, recorded 1928-06-29, released c. 1928-09.	I. Soucy, "Le casse reel" (A). Starr 15338-A, recorded 1927-06-06, released c. 1927-09.	
I. Soucy and D. Lafleur, "Reel des vieux garçons" (B). Starr 15509-A, recorded 1928-10-04, released c. 1929-01.	I. Soucy, "Quadrille Champion 1re partie" (B). Starr 15378-A, recorded 1927-10-10, released c. 1928-01.	
I. Soucy and D. Lafleur, "Quadrille du people, 1e partie" (A). Starr 15532-A, recorded 1928-12-17, released c. 1929-03.	I. Soucy, "Quadrille de Quebec, 3e partie" (B). Starr 15289-A, recorded 1926-09-02, released 1926-12.	
I. Soucy and D. Lafleur, "Quadrille du peuple 5e partie" (A, C). Starr 15534-A, recorded 1928-12-17, released c. 1929-03.	I. Soucy, "Quadrille Canadien 5e partie" (A, B). Starr 15268-A, recorded 1926-02, released 1926-05. Re-issued on Columbia 34054-F-A.	
I. Soucy, "Reel de Gaspé" (B). Starr 15633-B, recorded 1929-05, released 1929-08.	I. Soucy, "Set Americain 1re partie" (A). Starr 15246-A, recorded 1925-10-21, released c. 1926-01.	
I. Soucy, "Gigue des Tricoteuses" (A, B). Starr 15636-A, released 1929-09.	I. Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 2e partie" (second tune; A, B). Starr 15220-B, released 1925-11.	
I. Soucy, "Reel de la Gatineau" (A, B). Starr 15636-B, released 1929-09.	I. Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 2e partie" (first tune; A, B). Starr 15220-B, released 1925-11.	
I. Soucy and D. Lafleur, "Quadrille des Vieux Canadiens 1re partie" (A, B). Starr 15649-A, recorded 1929-10-30, released c. 1930-01.	I. Soucy, "Reel d'Espagne" (A, B). Starr 15517-B, recorded 1928-10-24, released c. 1929-01.	

[i] All recording details are from The Virtual Gramophone and Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*.

Table 3.5   Concordant strains in Isidore Soucy's recordings for Starr, 1927–1929. This table shows concordances between Soucy's Starr recordings only. It does not include concordances between his Starr and Columbia recordings; those are listed in Table 3.4.

Why would Soucy re-record his Starr discs for Columbia and his Columbia discs

for Starr? The most plausible explanation is that his working repertoire was relatively

small; until his career as recording artist and stage performer began, Isidore Soucy had

likely never needed more tunes than for an evening of dancing or a family veillée. It is

even possible that Soucy's early repertoire was not much larger than the twenty sides he

recorded in 1925 and 1926. Re-recording tunes was thus a practical way to meet the

demands of two recording companies while he built his repertoire.[29]

Viewed through the lens of concordances, Soucy's 1927 musical activities read as

a creative response to a limited repertoire. Invited to New York in January 1927, Soucy

re-recorded three tunes from his earlier Starr discs under new titles. The same month,

back in Montreal and recording for Starr, he built a "Set canadien-français" by adding

fast-paced reel strains to the melodies of four popular French-Canadian songs.[30] Two of

these additional strains are quite similar to each other; both alternate arpeggiated chords

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[29] David Brackett notes that American recording artist Vernon Dalhart also recorded the
same song for different record companies (personal communication, August 6, 2016; for
a critical analysis of Dalhart's recording career, see Brackett's *Categorizing Sound:
Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music* [Berkeley: University of California Press,
2016], 124–140). Sociologist and country music scholar Richard A. Peterson notes that
Dalhart "[eschewed] an exclusive contract with a single record company so that he could
profit from making multiple recordings of the same song" and "eventually recorded under
seventy-nine names and as part of twenty-four named aggregations" (Richard A.
Peterson, *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* [Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1997], 36).

[30] This is the first recording of a dance arrangement built from popular songs. In June
1914, *Le Passe-Temps* published "Souvenir du Canada," a Valse-Lanciers for piano
incorporating the melodies of "À Saint-Malo," "En roulant ma boule" and "Vive la
candienne" (229–231).

(played on the violin with just two fingers) with upward scalar passages and we might

imagine that Soucy composed these on the spot (Figure 3.11).[31]

Isidore Soucy, "Set canadien-français—Lanciers," 1re partie: En roulant ma boule (C strain),
Starr 15311-A, recorded 1927-01-17, released c. 1927-04.
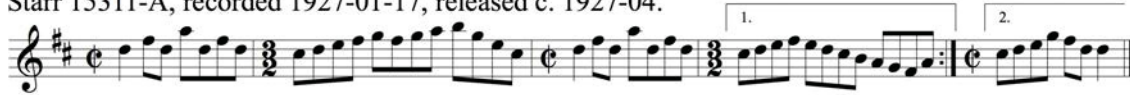
Isidore Soucy, "Set canadien-français—Lanciers," 2e partie: Par derrière chez ma tante (C strain),
Starr 15311-B, recorded 1927-01-17, released c. 1927-04.

Figure 3.11   C strains for the first two figures of Isidore Soucy's "Set canadien-français."

In February 1927, Soucy recorded for Starr a tune that he had recorded the previous

month for Columbia ("Quadrille de Laurier 6e partie" / "Quadrille de campagne 6e

partie"). In September 1927, he combined one of the fast-paced strains from the "Set

canadien-français" with a strain that he had recorded only weeks earlier (in "Reel de

l'enfant martyre") to create a new tune, "Gigue du roi" (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4).

　　In short, Soucy may have responded to his own repertoire shortage by reworking

popular melodies, composing new strains, and recombining existing strains into new

tunes.

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[31] The third and fourth figures of the "Set canadien-français" are set to the melodies of
"C'est la belle Français [Françoise]" and "Vive la Canadienne," respectively.

It is possible, of course, that "Set canadien-français," "Reel de l'enfant martyre," and "Gigue du roi" circulated in aural tradition long before Soucy's recordings; the available documentation and musical sources offer few clues. At the very least, however, Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 suggest that Soucy at first sought to avoid re-recording tunes or strains entirely; that he relaxed this stance in 1927, recombining strains into new tunes and re-recording whole tunes for new audiences; that in 1928 and 1929, concordances made up nearly one-third of Soucy's recorded output even as his total number of sides fell; and that by 1929, Soucy was mining his earliest recordings for material and, with Donat Lafleur, re-recording recent releases for the same record label. All of this points to a musician constantly in search of new repertoire.

Though Soucy was the first French-Canadian fiddler to re-record significant numbers of tunes and strains, others eventually followed suit. Most of these later concordances are not between a musician's earlier and later recordings, but rather between the recordings of two or more musicians.

3.3.2.2 A Micro-Network Of Fiddlers

Table 3.6 lists recorded concordances between two or more musicians from 1927 through 1929. A careful reading of these concordances suggests that Isidore Soucy, Joseph Allard, and Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine paid close attention to the musical output of their peers and may have learned tunes from recently released discs.

Common North American title [present-day title in Québec]	Earliest recording	Later recordings		
Money Musk, [Money Musk]	A. J. Boulay, "Gigues pot-pourri" (2nd tune, A, B). Victor 263130-B, released 1923-01.	I. Soucy, "Money Musk" (A, B). Starr 15302-B, recorded 1926-11-04, released 1927-02.	A. Montmarquette, "Money Musk" (A, B). Starr 15475-A, recorded 1928-07-06, released c. 1928-10.	J. Allard with A. Rochon, piano, "Money Musk" (A, B). Victor 263527-B, released 1928-07.
	A. J. Boulay, "Gigues pot-pourri" (3rd tune, A). Victor 263130-B, released 1923-01.	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille de Matane, 1e partie" (A). Starr 15454-A, recorded 1928-05, released c. 1928-08.		
Haste to the Wedding	A. J. Boulay, "Quadrille canadien 3e partie" (A, B). Victor 263162-A, released c1923-04 or 1924-02.	A. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille des seigneurs 1re partie" (A, B). Victor 263618-A, released 1929-09.		
	A. J. Boulay, "Quadrille canadien 4e partie" (B). Victor 263162-B, released 1924-02.	J. Allard, "Reel des habitants" (A). Victor 263634-A, released 1929-11.		
N.B. This strain is not associated with standard versions of "Rêve du diable" today.	A. J. Boulay, "Canadian Set – 3rd change" (A). Victor 216453-A, recorded c. 1924, released 1924-04.	I. Soucy, "La rêve du diable" (B). Starr 15363-A, recorded 1927-08-09, released c. 1927-11.	*I. Soucy, "Quadrille national 6e figure" (A). Starr 15429-B, recorded 1928-02-22, released c. 1928-05.	J. Allard, "Reel des habitants" (B). Victor 263634-A, released 1929-11.
Chicken Reel, [Chicken Reel][i]	*I. Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 1e partie" (1st tune, A). Starr 15220-A, released 1925-11.	A. J. Boulay, "Chicken Reel – breakdown" (A, B). Victor 216529-B, recorded c. 1928-07, released c. 1928-10.	*I. Soucy, "Set du Canada, 3e partie" (A). Columbia 34232-F-A, recorded 1929-05 in New York City.	
[Reel du plombier]	I. Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 1re partie" (2nd tune, A, B'). Starr 15220-A, released 11/1925.[ii]	J. Allard, "Reel du plombier" (A, B). Victor 263567-A, released 1929-01.	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Reel du plombier" (A, B). Starr 15575-B, recorded 1929-03-11, released c. 1929-06.	*I. Soucy, "Gigue des tricoteuses" (A, B). Starr 15636-A, released 1929-09.
	I. Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 2e partie" (2nd tune, A, B). Starr 15220-B, released 1925-11.	A. J. Boulay, "Reel du Vercheres" (A). Victor 263625-A, released 1929-09.		
	I. Soucy, "Set americain 2e partie" (A). Starr 15246-B, recorded 1925-10-21, released c. 1926-01.			
Soldier's Joy, [La joie du soldat]	I. Soucy, "Reel des pompiers" (A, B). Starr 15381-A, recorded 1927-10-21, released c. 1928-01.	A. J. Boulay, "Set canadien de Quebec 3e partie" (A, B). Victor 263576-A, released 1929-03.	J. Allard, "La joie du soldat" (A, B). Victor 263597-A, released 1929-06.	
Hangman's Reel, [Reel du pendu][iii]	I. Soucy, "Reel du pendu" (multiple strains). Starr 15330-A, recorded 1927-03-22, released c. 1927-06.	J. Allard with A. Rochon, piano, "Reel du pendu" (multiple strains). Victor 263527-A, released c. 1928-07.	*I. Soucy, "Reel du pendu" (multiple strains). Columbia 34193-F-A, recorded 1928-11 in New York City.	
[La Belle Catherine, A, B strains of setting by Louis "Pitou" Boudreault]	W. Ringuette, "Reel des noces" (A', B). Starr 15347-A, recorded 1927-05-30, released c. 1927-08.	I. Soucy, "Reel des millionnaires" (B, A, strains reversed). Starr 15363-B, recorded 1927-08-09, released 1927-11.	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille de Matane 6e partie" (A). Starr 15456-B, recorded 1928-05, released 1928-08.	
This is the 3rd strain in Louis Boudreault's "La Belle Catherine." It is not associated with "La rêve du diable" today.	W. Ringuette, "Reel des noces" (C). Starr 15347-A, recorded 1927-05-30, released c. 1927-08.	I. Soucy, "Le rêve du diable" (C). Starr 15363-A, recorded 1927-08-09, released c. 1927-11.		
Fisher's Hornpipe	I. Soucy, "Le casse reel" (A, B). Starr 15338-A, recorded 1927-06-06, released c. 1927-09.	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille de Matane, 3e partie" (A, B). Starr 15455-A, recorded 1928-05, released c. 1928-08.	*I. Soucy, "Reel polonais" (A). Starr 15473-B, recorded 1928-06-29, released c. 1928-09.	

[i] The Chicken Reel was composed by Joseph M. Daly in 1910.

[ii] Note that the Virtual Gramophone dates the Gigues irlandaises recordings to 1932. This seems unlikely, given that the Starr catalogue number is 15220. I use Labbé's date of November 1925.

[iii] In 1928, Soucy re-recorded one strain from his Starr setting of "Reel du pendu" as the A strain of "Reel de l'enfant martyre." In 1929, Joseph Allard re-recorded one strain from his setting of "Reel du plombier" as the A strain of "Reel du cordonnier."

Common North American title [present-day title in Québec]	Earliest recording	Later recordings
	I. Soucy, "Le capitaine voleur" (A, B), Starr 15349-A, recorded 1927-06-06, released 1927-09.	J. Allard, Mme. W. Madden, piano, "Reel des violoneux" (B, A, strains reversed), Victor 263648-B, released 1929-12.
Reel St-Siméon or Ronfleuse Gobeil	W. Ringuette, "Ronfleuse Gobeil" (A, B, C), Columbia 34109-F-A, released 1927-11.	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille de Matane 5e partie" (B, A, strains reversed). Starr 15456-A, recorded 1928-05, released 1928-08.
	W. Ringuette, "Ronfleuse Gobeil" (D, E). Columbia 34109-F-A, released 1927-11.	I. Soucy, "Gigue des vieux souliers" (A, B, C). Starr 15635-A, recorded 1929-05-06, released c. 1929-08.
	J. O. LaMadeleine, A. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille franco-américain 5e partie" (B). Starr 15386-A, recorded 1927-11-08, released 1928-02.	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille de Matane 2e partie" (A, B). Starr 15454-B, recorded 1928-05, released 1928-08.
	J. O. LaMadeleine, A. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille franco-américain 6e partie" (A, B), Starr 15386-B, recorded 1927-11-08, released 1928-02.[iv]	J. Allard, "Reel du berger" (B). Victor 263599-A, released 1929-06.
Reel de Mme. Renault	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Reel princesse" (A, B). Starr 15394-B, recorded 1927-11-09, released c. 1928-02.	A. LaMadeleine, "Quadrille des seigneurs 5e partie" (A, B). Victor 263620-A, released 1929-09.
Traveller Reel, [Reel des Ouvriers]	J. Allard, "Reel des ouvriers" (A, B), Victor 263522-A, released c. 1928-05.	I. Soucy, "Reel du bon vieux temps," (B, A, strains reversed). Starr 15406-A, recorded 1927-12-04, released c. 1928-01.[v]
		I. Soucy, "Gigue des artisans" (B, A, strains reversed). Starr 15485-A, recorded 1928-09-04, released 1928-12.
Home Sweet Home[vi]	I. Soucy, "Quadrille national 1re figure" (A, B). Starr 15427-A, recorded 1928-02-22, released c. 1928-05.[vii]	J. Allard, "Quadrille de chez nous" (B, A, strains reversed). Victor 263514-B, released 1928-04. Stroh violin acc. Mme. J Gagnon (piano).
	J. Allard and F. Laforge (guitar), "Poteau blanc – Jigue" (A, B), Victor 263534-B, released 1928-09.	I. Soucy, "Boule de neige" (B, A, strains reversed). Starr 15518-A, recorded and released c. 1928.
	A. J. Boulay, "Quadrille de Berthier 3e partie" (B). Victor 263539-A, released 1928-09.	I. Soucy, "Reel de Gaspé" (A). Starr 15633-B, recorded 1929-05-06, released 1929-08.
	J. Allard and F. Laforge (guitar), "Quadrille acadien" (A, B). Victor 263543-A, released c. 1928-11.	I. Soucy, "Gigue indienne (B, A, strains reversed). Starr 15517-A, recorded 1928-10-24, released c. 1929-01.
	I. Soucy and D. Lafleur, "Quadrille du peuple 3e partie" (B). Starr 15533-A, recorded 1928-12-17, released c. 1929-03.	Mme. Bolduc and J. O. LaMadeleine, "La chanson de crapaud." Starr 15592-A, recorded 1929-04-12, released 1929-07.
	J. Allard, "Reel du cordonnier" (A, B). Victor 263567-B, released 1929-01.	J. O. LaMadeleine, "Reel du cordonnier" (A, B). Starr 15575-A, recorded 1929-03-11, released c. 1929-06.

(Later recordings column, additional entries:)

J. Allard with Frank Laforge, guitar, "Reel de Mme. Renault" (A, B). Victor 263531-B, released 1928-09.

*I. Soucy, "Set American 2e partie" (C). Starr 15246-B, recorded 1925-10-21, released c. 1926-01.

[iv] The Virtual Gramophone gives the wrong year for this disc (1937 instead of 1927).
[v] The Virtual Gramophone gives a release date for this disc (March 1927) that falls before the recording date (December 1927). I have used Gabriel Labbé's release date of January 1928.
[vi] See Duval "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," 103. This melody is also known today as a children's song entitled "Le quêteux."
[vii] The B strain of this tune is also the C strain of Isidore Soucy's "Set Americain 2e partie" (recorded 1925-10-21, released c. 1926-01).

Table 3.6   All concordances between two or more musicians, 1927–1929. Items marked with an asterisk also appear in Table 3.4 and/or Table 3.5.

Many of these concordances point to discs as vectors of musical transmission.[32] For instance, Soucy recorded "Gigue des Artisans," "Boule de Neige" and "Gigue Indienne" just months after Allard's recordings of these same tunes, though Soucy notably reverses the strains of each.

In the following paragraphs, I focus on five sets of concordances. These examples examine musical transmission on a small scale and in extreme detail, but they still require certain assumptions. For instance, I presume that, given a high degree of musical similarity and the close timing of recording and release dates, it is likely that one fiddler learned a strain from another. A lower degree of musical similarity suggests that two players learned a given tune independently, though if two such recordings were made within weeks of each other, it could be that one fiddler was motivated to record his own setting of a tune after hearing that of another. This was likely the case for common North American tunes such as "Turkey in the Straw," "Money Musk," "Soldier's Joy," "Fisher's Hornpipe," or "Home Sweet Home," many of which were recorded on multiple occasions but with substantial melodic and rhythmic differences.

Example 1: "Reel du plombier" / "Gigue des tricoteuses"

In January 1929, Joseph Allard released "Reel du plombier"; two months later, Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine was in the studio recording the same tune. Isidore Soucy also

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[32] Occasionally, tracing concordances gives us a glimpse into how Soucy, LaMadeleine, Allard, and their peers mentally organized their repertoires, and how they adopted and adapted new tunes. When in 1928 Isidore Soucy briefly replaces the B strain of "Reel du pendu" with the first strain of "Reel de l'enfant martyre," a tune he had recorded the previous year, we hear his ear confusing the similar beginnings of the strains before righting itself.

recorded this tune in 1929 as "Gigue des tricoteuses" (the exact date of recording is

unknown), and his disc was released just three months after that of LaMadeleine.

The only substantial musical differences between LaMadeleine's and Allard's

settings may be attributed to technical limitations; LaMadeleine did not have the same

dexterity on the violin as Allard. In bars two and four, Allard switches rapidly between

the notes D and G, and C and F, respectively. Each of these pairs of notes is played with

one finger that must rotate between the A and D strings. LaMadeleine eliminates these

awkward fingerings and rapid string crossings by repeating the D in bar two and the C in

bar four (Figure 3.12).
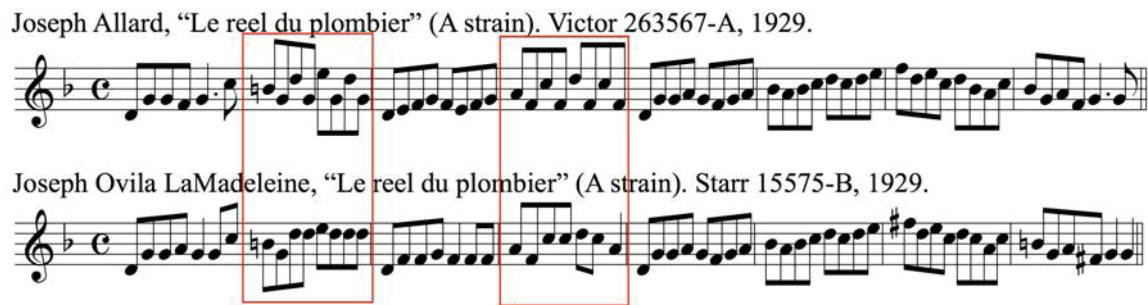
Figure 3.12   **Joseph Allard, "Reel du plombier" (A); Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine,
"Reel du plombier" (A)**

Soucy's setting is quite different from both Allard's and LaMadeleine's, but

similar to the second tune of Soucy's own 1925 medley "Gigues irlandaises 2e partie." In

both settings, Soucy finishes the first bar with a rising F#-G-A figure, and lengthens the

first phrase by adding an extra beat (bar 4; see red boxes in Figure 3.13). Notably, he

avoids rapid string crossings in bars two and three of the 1925 setting but plays them in

1929, suggesting that his technical dexterity had improved in the intervening years (green

box in Figure 3.13).

Isidore Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 2e partie" (2nd tune, A strain). Starr 15220-B, 1925.

Isidore Soucy, "Gigue des tricoteuses" (A strain). Starr 15636-A, 1929.
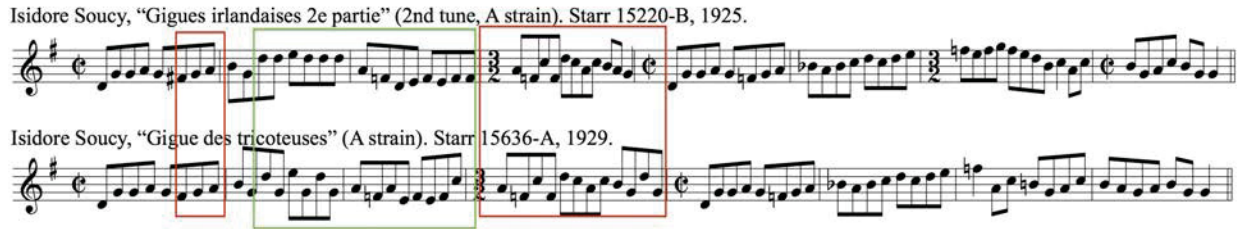
**Figure 3.13   Isidore Soucy, "Gigues irlandaises 2e partie" (second tune, A strain)
and "Gigue des tricoteuses" (A)**

It seems likely that LaMadeleine learned "Reel du Plombier" from Allard's disc,
given their respective recording and release dates, and close musical settings. Soucy's
recording of the same tune only months later may have been purely coincidental. On the
other hand, hearing Allard and LaMadeleine's recordings may have encouraged him to
re-record his own setting of the tune. The consistency of Soucy's setting from 1925 to
1929 is also remarkable.

Example 2: "Reel du Bon Vieux Temps" / "Reel Princesse" / "Reel de Madame Renault"
In some cases, the narrow temporal window between concordant strains precludes the
possibility of transmission via disc. Soucy and LaMadeleine recorded settings of the
same melody (as "Reel du bon vieux temps" and "Reel princesse," respectively) within
weeks of each other in late 1927. Their discs were released in January or February 1928.
In September, Allard recorded the same tune as "Reel de Madame Renault."[33] The three
settings have metrical and structural differences (Allard's setting fits into square eight-bar

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[33] Duval notes that this tune is a version of the Scottish tune "The Bob of Fettercairn."
("Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," 213). There is no record of when this tune arrived in
Quebec.

phrases while Soucy and LaMadeleine frequently extend phrases by adding beats; Soucy

starts on the high strain, Allard and LaMadeleine start on the low strain) but are

melodically quite similar. The A strains of Allard and LaMadeleine's settings are nearly

identical, and Soucy's draws on much of the same motivic material. All three begin the B

strain with a distinctive arpeggiated G triad alternating between the E and A strings, and

rise to an E A G# A figure in the third bar of the strain (Figure 3.14).

Isidore Soucy, "Reel du bon vieux temps," (B and A strains; Soucy reverses the usual order of strains). Starr 15406-A, recorded 1927-12-04, released c. 1928-01.

Joseph Allard, "Reel de Mme. Renault" (A and B strains), Victor 263531-B, released 1928-09.

Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine, "Reel princesse" (A and B strains), Starr 15394-B,
recorded 1927-11-09, released c. 1928-02.

**Figure 3.14   Isidore Soucy, "Reel du Bon Vieux Temps" (B, A—strains reversed);
Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine, "Reel Princesse" (A, B); Joseph Allard,
"Reel de Madame Renault" (A, B)**

The exact trajectory of transmission for this tune remains unclear. The overlap

between Soucy and LaMadeleine's recording and release dates strongly suggests that

these two musicians interacted socially and occasionally shared repertoire. Did one learn

this tune from the other, or did they both learn it independently from a third person—

perhaps Allard? Or did Allard learn the tune from Soucy or LaMadeleine's recording, and

straighten out the metrical irregularities before recording it himself? Or was this tune

common to all three fiddlers' repertoires before their arrivals in Montreal?

Examples 3 and 4: Willie Ringuette's "Ronfleuse Gobeil" and "Reel des noces"

Two examples link Soucy and LaMadeleine to the New York recordings of fiddler Willie

Ringuette, though these concordances raise more questions than they answer. Ringuette

grew up in New Hampshire but returned to the Mauricie region of Quebec in his late

teens. On one of eight sides that he recorded for Columbia in 1927, Ringuette plays a

five-strain tune, "Ronfleuse Gobeil," in the form ABC ABDE ABCDE. In 1928,

LaMadeleine recorded the final two strains (DE) as "Quadrille de Matane 2e partie" and

in 1929, Soucy recorded the first three strains (ABC) as "Gigue des Vieux Souliers." Did

Ringuette's recording combine strains from two tunes already in circulation (but that had

never been recorded)? Or did LaMadeleine and Soucy hear Ringuette's record and split

his five strains into two separate tunes?

Ringuette recorded only one disc for Starr in the 1920s. "Reel des noces" / "Valse

charmante" was released in August 1927, the same month that Isidore Soucy recorded the

disc "Le rêve du diable" / "Reel des millionnaires." The A and B strains of "Reel des

millionnaires" are concordant with those of "Reel des noces," though reversed; the C

strain of Soucy's "Le rêve du diable" is concordant with the C strain of "Reel des noces."

This double concordance in such a narrow temporal window might suggest that Soucy

was influenced by Ringuette's disc. On the other hand, the first two strains of "Reel des

noces" are a distant variant of a Scottish tune, "The Braes of Mar," that enjoyed some

popularity in the nineteenth century. Soucy and Ringuette recorded very different settings

of these strains, so even if Soucy were aware of Ringuette's recording, it may have done

little more than remind him of a tune that he already played (as with "Gigue des

tricoteuses"). Meanwhile, the third strain of "Reel des noces" is not so much a melody as

an arpeggiated I–IV–I–V progression. As such, it may have functioned as a floating strain

that could be used to extend a tune: Ringuette uses it to double the length of "Reel des

noces" (he plays ABA'C), and Soucy inserts it between the two usual strains of "Le rêve

du diable."[34] Note that Joseph Ovila LaMadeleine recorded this same strain in 1928 as

the opening of "Quadrille de Matane 6e partie."

Example 5: "Reel du pendu"

 Of the dozens of concordances in the late 1920s, only two tunes were recorded more

than once for the same label under the same title: "Money Musk" and "Reel du pendu."

Both were showpieces, used by fiddlers to demonstrate their technical virtuosity and

compositional abilities (most recordings of these tunes include multiple additional strains;

I discuss "Money Musk" at length in Chapter Four).

There is some evidence that the "Reel du pendu" was played in the Bas-Saint-

Laurent region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1926, Georges

Bouchard, agronomist and Member of Parliament for his native Kamouraska, recalled

that in his childhood an evening of dancing would always end with the local fiddler

retuning his violin "en vielle" (presumably AEAC#, but possibly AEAE) to play the

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[34] This tune, known in English as "Devil's Dream," was played across North America,
often in individualized settings with multiple additional strains.

"gigue du pendu."[35] Isidore Soucy, the first fiddler to record "Reel du pendu," was from

Saint-Blandine, approximately 150 kilometres further east along the St. Lawrence River.

Soucy recorded "Reel du pendu" for the Starr label in March 1927 and the disc

was released that June. It presumably sold quite well over the following year, for in 1928

both Victor and Columbia issued their own recordings of the tune, featuring Allard and

Soucy respectively.

These three settings are quite different. Both of Soucy's recordings use an

AEAC# tuning, while Allard remains in standard (GDAE) violin tuning. All three

recordings begin with the same two strains (A, B) but each adds a different set of variant

strains. Soucy's two recordings have three additional strains each, including two in

common (here labelled C and D), and follow semi-symmetrical formal structures that

build toward a long string of variant strains and then close with a restatement of the

opening materials: AB AC ABDE AC AB in 1927, AB ABDFC AB'DFC AB in 1928.

Allard also plays the C strain, but only once and as a replacement for his usual variant

strain (here labelled G; Allard would re-record this strain in 1929 as the A strain of "Reel

du cordonnier"); the formal structure of his arrangement is AB AGB AGB ACB AB

AGB A. This, like Soucy's setting, could be read as building toward a long string of

variant strains (AGB ACB) but more likely houses a mistake: the C and G strains both

begin on an open E string and Allard likely confused the two after his fourth iteration of

the A strain (Figure 3.15).[36]

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[35] Bouchard was born in 1888. See Georges Bouchard, *Vieilles choses, vieilles gens; silhouettes campagnardes* (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1926), 111. My thanks to Lisa Ornstein for this reference.
[36] On the 1927 recording, Soucy reverses bars 2 and 6 of the B strain on the second and third iterations of that strain. On the 1928 recording, Soucy plays bar 6 of the B strain for

Isidore Soucy, "Reel du pendu," Starr 15330-A, recorded 1927-03-22, released c. 1927-06.
Played AA'B A'A'C A'A'BDE A"A'C A'A"B,
where A" is the first four bars of A plus the last two bars of A'.
This transcription shows strains A, A', B, C, D, E

both bar 2 and bar 6. He also replaces the final bar of the C strain with bar 6 of the B strain. Soucy's 1928 recording also harbours a possible mistake: after the third A strain, Soucy plays a slightly different B strain (here labelled B') that moves to G#–B in the second bar instead of to C#. This melody is the first strain of "L'Enfant Martyre," which Soucy had recorded in August 1927; its single appearance in Soucy's "Reel du pendu" setting and similarity to the usual "Reel du pendu" B strain strongly suggest that Soucy played this strain in error.

Isidore Soucy, "Reel du pendu" (F strain), Columbia 34193-F-A, recorded 1928-11 in New York City.
Played AB ABDFC AB'DFC AB. See Soucy's 1927 setting for strains A, B, C and D.

Joseph Allard, "Reel du pendu," Victor 263527-A, released c. 1928-07.
Played AB AGB AGB ACB AB AGB A(no repeat). This transcription shows strains A, B, G, C.

*variant of A strain, bar 3

Figure 3.15   Select strains of "Reel du pendu" as recorded by Isidore Soucy in 1927 and 1928, and Joseph Allard in 1928.

Allard's playing of "Reel du pendu" sounds stilted and at times even awkward. His bowing lacks his usual fluidity and lightness and he adds few left-hand ornaments. Allard's recordings are usually impeccable, making his confusion of the C and G strains all the more noticeable. This technical awkwardness may have been amplified by his decision to play "Reel du pendu" in standard tuning, rather than AEAC#. I would guess that "Reel du pendu" was not in Allard's repertoire prior to the release of Soucy's disc, and that his recording of the tune was an attempt—perhaps instigated by Victor, not Allard—to profit by re-recording a recent hit.

The fact that both Victor and Columbia released recordings entitled "Reel du pendu" in 1928 strongly suggests that they expected the tune title to attract a buying public. Instrumental tunes, it seems, were beginning to occupy a new commercial space. More than accompaniment to dancing, more than interchangeable instrumental melodies to which new titles could be assigned with impunity, tunes—some tunes, at any rate—were becoming recognizable musical entities.

3.4   Fiddle Tunes in Print

In February 1929, the cultural magazine *La Lyre* published an arrangement of "Le reel du pendu" by J. A. Forest.[37] Forest includes only three strains—the A, B and C strains of Soucy and Allard's settings—and places the tune in C major with a basic boom-chuck piano accompaniment. The accompanying harmonic progression is minimal: C major for

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[37] J. A. Forest had contributed light art music pieces to *La Lyre* in April 1923 (pp. 9–12), October 1926 (pp. 12–13), and April 1929 (p. 2). "Reel du pendu" was slated to appear in the January issue, and is listed as the final piece in that issue's "Album musical." However, it was only published in the February issue.

the first six bars of the A strain, F and G7 chords in bars 7 and 8, and alternating C and

G7 chords in the B and C strains (Figure 3.16).[38]

Figure 3.16   **Arrangement of "Reel du pendu" by J. A. Forest. *La Lyre*, February 1929, "Album Musical" (Collection numérique de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec)**

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[38] In the final two bars, the right hand moves to a G7 chord but the left hand remains on C. This is presumably a mistake in the transcription.

"Le reel du pendu" was the second fiddle tune to be published in *La Lyre*. The first, in November of the previous year, was Forest's arrangement of a four-figure "Set américain," printed in response to popular demand:

> Nous avons reçu de nombreuses demandes pour de la musique de danse populaire canadienne; le "Set Américain" pour piano et violon comblera cette lacune. C'est la première fois que "La Lyre" publie ce genre de musique; nos lecteurs sauront apprécier les efforts de la nouvelle direction pour satisfaire tous les goûts.[39]

Forest's arrangement of "Set américain" is similar to that of "Reel du pendu": a rapid-fire melody over a static piano accompaniment. For the first figure, Forest gives the pianist block C major and Dm7 chords over a repeated octave C in the left hand. A G6/5 chord (bar 4) and descending bass run (bar 7) only briefly break the monotony (Figure 3.17). The piano parts to the second, third and fourth figures are similar, with a minimum of harmonic movement (though there are two major II chords in the second figure) and little rhythmic variation.

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[39] "We have received many requests for popular French-Canadian instrumental dance music; the 'Set Américain' for piano and violin will fill this gap. This is the first time that *La Lyre* is publishing this type of music; our readers will know to appreciate the efforts of the new editorial board to satisfy all [musical] tastes" ("L'album musical de 'La Lyre,'" *La Lyre*, November 1928, 4). Note that sheet music for quadrilles circulated in Quebec from the mid-nineteenth century. These were arrangements for solo piano and were presumably intended for domestic performance in bourgeois homes. Some of these arrangements used the melodies of popular songs or tunes (Éric Favreau, personal communication, November 2, 2016). As noted in Chapter One, the first stand-alone printed collection of French-Canadian fiddle tunes was J.A. Boucher's *Le répertoire du violoneux* (1933).

Figure 3.17   The A strain of the first figure of J. A. Forest's "Set américain" (Collection numérique de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec)

By contrast, *La Lyre* and other arts magazines had been publishing harmonically complex arrangements of French-Canadian folk songs for decades. The November 1928 issue, for instance, included Henri Miro's setting of "En roulant ma boule," complete with chromatic basslines, dynamic and articulation markings, and an edgy reharmonization in bars 17–21 (Figure 3.18). Miro gives the piano a repetitive rollicking pattern in 6/8, perhaps evoking the movement of the voyageur's canoe, but his harmonic choices—he moves from C major to G7 via C# diminished and B half-diminished chords in the first two bars, and leaps to a surprise E major chord (substituting for C major) in the penultimate bar—make no concessions to the largely pentatonic melody.

Figure 3.18   Bars 17–21 of Henri Miro's setting of "En roulant ma boule" (Collection numérique de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec). With added harmonic analysis.

La Lyre advertised Miro's setting as the first "suitable" harmonization of "En roulant ma boule,"[40] but his arrangement sat squarely in a decades-long tradition of reworking folk songs as art songs.[41] This was not a zero-sum game, in which modern arrangement techniques subtracted from a song's traditional and national meanings. Rather, these songs were so solidly associated with French-Canadian identity that musicians, publishers, and record personnel could trade on both the historical and national weight of a song and on the novelty of the arrangement.

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[40] "L'album musical de 'La Lyre,'" *La Lyre*, November 1928, 4.

[41] By 1928, "En roulant ma boule" had been arranged on multiple occasions for voice and piano and at least once for vocal quintet. Achille Fortier published an arrangement of "En roulant ma boule" for voice and piano in his *20 Chansons populaires du Canada* (Montreal: Edmond Hardy, 1890). Joseph Saucier's recording of Fortier's arrangement was released in December 1915 (Victor 0017-A). Eugene Danton had recorded a different voice and piano arrangement of "En roulant ma boule" on February 24, 1897 (Berliner 151; note that the Virtual Gramophone gives the release date as January 19, 1904, suggesting that the disc was reissued). Eva Gauthier recorded Amédée Tremblay's arrangement for solo female voice with male vocal quartet on February 21, 1917; the disc was released in June 1917 (Victor 69311-A). The Virtual Gramophone also lists one recording of "En roulant ma boule" for which no audio is available: Edouard Lebel (Berliner 3610), recorded November 6, 1906 and released December 20, 1906. Marius Barbeau included the song in *Chansons of Old French Canada* (Château Frontenac: Quebec City, 1920) with a basic piano accompaniment by Margaret Gascoigne.

The depth of this association is evident in an ad campaign run by William Dow

and Company from 1923 to 1926, featuring folk songs alongside Dow's Old Stock Ale.[42]

"Les chansons d'autrefois et la bonne Bière 'Dow' font la joie du foyer," reads the text

above "En roulant ma boule" in the January 1924 issue of *La Lyre* (Figure 3.19).[43] In the

accompanying sketch a young woman leads family members in song, her arms raised

(with, oddly, what seems to be a conductor's baton in her right hand). An elderly woman

and man, their backs to the viewer, sit in rocking chairs, she holding a young child and he

with a pipe and a cup, presumably of Dow's; he has one hand slightly raised as if

conducting the song to himself. Others sit in straight-backed wooded chairs around two

plank tables, their mouths open in song. Positioned just under a hanging cross and

between a small-paned window and a large wooden hutch, a fiddler plays along, his eyes

fixed on the young woman. Another old woman sits behind the pot-bellied stove. The

visual composition of the image is impeccable: the oval of faces framed by chair backs,

the wooden lines of the ceiling, the horizontal L-shaped stovepipe. "Mûrie à point" is the

tagline.[44] Folk song and beer: both had reached a state of perfect maturity and were ready

for consumption.

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[42] The Dow advertisements appeared in the final pages of most issues of *La Lyre* from
January 1924 through July 1926. Songs include "En roulant ma boule" (January 1924,
37), "Isabeau s'y promène" (February 1924, 35), "Le roi Dagobert" (March 1924, 32),
and "O Canada! mon pays, mes amours" (April 1924, 36). The same advertisements also
appeared in other periodicals. Later ad campaigns for Dow would associate the beer with
key French-Canadian historical events and personalities, and with traditional legends.
[43] "The songs of olden times and good Dow beer bring joy to the home"
[44] "perfectly aged"

Figure 3.19   Advertisement for Dow beer. *La Lyre*, January 1924, 37. The text and music are reproduced from Marius Barbeau's 1920 collection *Chansons of Old French Canada*. (Collection numérique de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec)

This advertisement also appeared in *L'Écho du St-Maurice*, a local periodical for Shawinigan Falls, in September 1923, and in *Le Bulletin des agriculteurs* in October 1923. I do not want to overly generalize about periodical readerships, but it seems likely that the Dow advertisement generated different associations for *La Lyre* readers, who in 1924 received sixteen pages of light art music with each issue, than for readers of *Le Bulletin des agriculteurs*, who would have seen the ad just after reading price listings for butter, cheese, fresh dressed hogs, and live poultry. To the rural farmer, the advertisement promised—via folk song and beer—a more lively, harmonious, carefree, and historically rooted version of the life he or she already lived. To Montreal-based readers of *La Lyre*, on the other hand, the advertisement may have evoked rural childhoods or family visits, but it probably also evoked the theatrical representations of rural life then popular on the Montreal stage, such as the "Veillées du bon vieux temps." Where do we draw the line between the two, the real and the staged? That William Dow and Company chose to reprint exactly the same advertisement in *Le Bulletin des agriculteurs* and *La Lyre* suggests that we may not need to. Folk songs in the 1920s were at the nexus of lived rural life, non-commercialized urban re-creations of rural music-making, urban nostalgia for an idealized rural life, and the commercial packaging of that nostalgia for the stage and in print.

If folk songs in the mid and late 1920s were sites of semantic overload, intimate with the printed page and capable of carrying simultaneously a modern musical aesthetic and the rooted nationalism of country-style beer, fiddle tunes were still largely uncharted territory. Here I find useful Latour's assertion that permanence in social ties derives from

connections with objects: objects are "added to social skills so as to render more durable the constantly shifting interactions."[45] When Henri Miro penned his arrangement of "En roulant ma boule," the song was already at the center of a web of objects: books, magazines, music collections, and cylinder and disc recordings. More to the point, the song *was* a web of those objects, and of expressive connections between people and between people and objects (performances of the song, speech about the song). Each of these physical and non-physical mediators, to use Latour's word, offered the song an opportunity to be a mediator itself.[46]

By 1928, a fiddle tune such as "Reel du pendu" might be connected to a rich set of expressive occasions—according to *La Lyre*, "un grand nombre de violoneux jouent ['Reel du pendu'] dans nos campagnes"[47]—but few physical objects. There were no printed collections of fiddle tunes in Quebec before 1933, other than the few tunes in Barbeau and Massicotte's 1920 *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, and there is no evidence that British Isles and American printed collections circulated among fiddlers in the province.[48] Tunes were, of course, connected to musical instruments and players' bodies, but those were momentary and extremely local ties.[49] Repertoire circulated with people. This is not

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[45] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 68.

[46] Ibid., 37–39, 215–216. Latour contrasts "mediators," which "transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry," with "intermediaries," which "transports meaning or force without transformation." A song has the potential to affect, or transform, people (i.e., to function as a mediator) because it is connected to physical objects (scores, recordings) and to expressive occasions (performances, speech) that are themselves mediators and that, in mediating, build up the transformative potential of the song.

[47] "a great number of fiddlers play ['Reel du pendu'] in our rural regions."

[48] Barbeau and Massicotte, *Veillées du bon vieux temps*; Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre," Annex 1, i–ii.

[49] For an application of ANT to musical instruments, see Eliot Bates, "The Social Life of Musical Instruments," *Ethnomusicology* 56, no. 3 (2012): 363–95.

to downplay the efficacy and long-distance potential of face-to-face transmission, but rather to note that if there were nodes in the circulation of instrumental repertoire in Quebec before the recording era, they were located in the bodies of locally influential musicians (travelling fiddlers, local dance musicians).

Latour argues that, without objects, the social world must be constantly rebuilt through social skills. Similarly, an aurally transmitted musical world may be maintained only through performance of the repertoire. From this perspective, the infamous "folk process" of communal re-creation is not an imperative of a musical tradition, but rather a by-product of the ongoing process of maintaining a musical world. Notation and recordings may be more technologically complex than face-to-face interactions, but they also lessen social complexity: fixing tunes to objects allows people to maintain a musical world with fewer, and less complicated, social and musical interactions.[50]

When Forest penned his arrangements of "Set américain" and "Reel du pendu," fiddle tunes in Quebec were in transition. Each commercial recording added a physical object to the web of connections around a given tune (and perhaps around related tunes as well). These objects lent permanence to a musical world that had hitherto required continuous face-to-face transmission for its maintenance.

Charged by *La Lyre* with arranging French-Canadian dance tunes for the printed page, Forest presumably went to the one stable source for this repertoire—the one set of physical objects in the web of connections around tunes: 78 rpm recordings.[51] Several

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[50] See Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 197–198.

[51] J. A. Forest was an occasional musical contributor to *La Lyre*. His march "Mlle. Montréal" appeared in the April 1923 issue (9–12), his "Cantique à Sainte Thérèse" for two voices and piano in the October 1926 issue (12–13), and his "populaire et facile" waltz "La Valse des nouveaux-mariés" in the April 1929 issue (2).

musicians made recordings entitled "Set américain" in the 1920s, though I have not yet

found one that matches Forest's arrangement. Forest's "Reel du pendu," however, seems

to be based on Soucy's 1927 recording. Soucy's recording begins with the form

ABACAB; Forest's setting places the same three strains in an ABCAB form. (Allard also

recorded these three strains in 1928. However, he only plays the C strain once, after

several repetitions of an alternate third strain ["G"], as described above.) Forest's simple,

awkward piano accompaniment sounds like nothing so much as a poor imitation of the

already tenuous piano playing on Soucy's recording.[52]

Forest's arrangement of "Reel du pendu" shoehorns Soucy's melody into a rigid

eight-bar phrase structure in 2/4. This requires unusual bar placements in the first strain,

which I read as in 3/2 on both Allard's and Soucy's recordings but which Forest writes in

2/4. He finesses this by starting the first bar with the pickup notes and adding an extra

beat at the end of the fourth bar and the beginning of the eighth bar. Forest also metrically

displaces the third strain. (He makes no alterations to the second strain, which fits easily

into eight bars of duple meter.) Soucy leads into the third strain with a four-note pickup

that adds an extra beat to the strain; Forest sets this pickup on the first downbeat,

displacing the entire strain by one beat. Forest then recomposes the final bar of the tune

to compensate. This displaced third strain is additional proof that Forest used Soucy's

recording and not Allard's as his source: Allard does not begin the third strain with this

four-note pickup (boxes in Figure 3.20; also see Figures 3.15 and Figures 3.16).

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[52] Ironically, this style of piano accompaniment may have been quite recent in the 1920s: as modern, in its own way, as Miro's chromaticisms and reharmonizations. As noted above, the earliest recordings of fiddle tunes were all solo violin (sometimes with a dance caller). It is possible that the addition of piano (and/or guitar, jaw harp or spoons) was pioneered by Boulay and Soucy in the recording studio, perhaps at the insistence of the record labels.
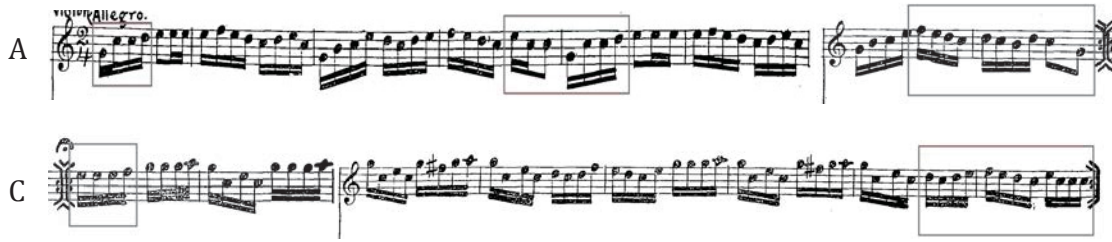
Figure 3.20   The A and C strains of J. A. Forest's arrangement of "Reel du pendu."

How might we understand this reworking of "Reel du pendu"? *La Lyre* presents it as an act of translation: "En se procurant 'La Lyre' toutes les personnes qui lisent un peu de musique pourront faire entendre à leurs auditeurs le 'Reel du pendu.'"[53] By fixing "Reel du pendu" to the printed page, J. A. Forest has carried the aurally transmitted music of the habitant to the musically literate (or at least semi-literate) readers of *La Lyre*.

Henri Miro's arrangement of "En roulant ma boule" is also a translation: it uses a complex harmonic accompaniment to import a folk song into a modern musical aesthetic. Forest's arrangements point in the opposite direction, however. Forest has made no effort to reposition "Set américain" and "Reel du pendu" as art music; rather, his settings seem almost intentionally crass and heavy-handed. Forest's arrangements not only invited the musically literate readers of *La Lyre* to participate in a musical world that had previously circulated beyond reach, but also offered them permission to be briefly uncultured, uncouth and perhaps even unmusical.

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[53] "By obtaining 'La Lyre,' everyone who reads sheet music a little will be able to play for their listeners the 'Reel du pendu.'"

The most striking feature of Forest's arrangements, however, is their difficult relationship to recorded sound. *La Lyre* added fiddle tunes—"la musique de danse populaire canadienne"—to its monthly musical offerings because it had received numerous requests for this type of repertoire. This sudden popular demand was presumably driven by the massive increase in commercial recordings of fiddle tunes in 1927 and 1928, and, as I have argued, Forest's arrangements were probably based on recent commercial recordings. Yet *La Lyre* does not credit Soucy, Allard, LaMadeleine, or any of the other fiddlers who were regulars in Montreal recording studios, and on stage and radio, by 1928. Rather, *La Lyre* describes Forest's "Reel du pendu" as an adaptation of a tune played by "un grand nombre de violoneux... [de] nos campagnes."

This attribution to a nameless mass of rural musicians conveniently sidesteps the messiness of mechanization, the rural-urban migration, and the commercialization of rural folkways. It also renders Soucy and his peers musically invisible. I do not mean to suggest that "Reel du pendu" was not played by many rural fiddlers—it presumably was—but rather to note that, for the editors of *La Lyre*, commercial recordings played no part in the circulation of this repertoire. Did they presume that commercial recordings transmitted the music of rural fiddlers intact and unaltered; that, in Latour's words, recordings were intermediaries rather than mediators? As I demonstrate above, early commercial recordings were individualized performances that had the potential to transform other performances. Whether Forest adapted "Set américain" and "Reel du pendu" directly from recordings or was merely influenced by them, whether he was hired for specific repertoire or more generally as a response to increased public demand for

fiddle tunes, commercial recordings shaped both the fact and the content of his

transcriptions.

3.5   Conclusion

Actor-Network Theory proposes dismantling static social groupings and replacing them

with a minute analysis of the processes of group formation and group maintenance. The

duty of a sociologist, writes Latour, is to "retrace the many different worlds actors are

elaborating for each other"—to listen, as it were, to the actors as they voice "the 'drives'

that make them act."[54] Applying this approach historically, and to traditional music,

requires sifting through a mass of historical documentation that gives little space to the

voices of musicians not performing art music. In this chapter, I propose listening for these

musicians' voices in recorded sound.

I present evidence for musicians' active borrowing of repertoire from their own

past recordings and from each other, and argue that commercial 78s of the 1920s did

much more than document an existing musical tradition: they spurred new composition

and new arrangements of existing musical materials, reshaped patterns of musical

transmission, connected musicians from many regions of Quebec and New England, and

created a demand for printed sheet music of fiddle tunes with piano accompaniment. As

physical objects, these recordings lent to elements of the repertoire a weight and

permanence that still hold today.

By definition, every concordant strain matches an earlier strain. For the purposes of

tracing circulation, however, those earlier strains are usually dead ends. They generally

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[54] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 49, 47.

have no known recorded antecedents, and most do not match nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British Isles or North American tunes (the exceptions, such as "Money Musk," are noted in the first column of Table 3.6). They, and most of the "distinct strains" in Figure 3.10, seem to come into the repertoire from nowhere and everywhere at the same time: they share motivic, harmonic, and structural features with other distinct strains but as whole musical phrases are unprecedented.

French-Canadian folk songs circulated via both aural transmission and physical media from the mid-nineteenth century on. Fiddle tunes, by contrast, were first fixed to objects in a meaningful way only in the 1920s, with commercial recordings. A careful study of the musical contents of those early recordings is therefore a means of observing how an aurally transmitted repertoire changes, grows, stabilizes, and standardizes when it is recorded on physical media.

Latour painstakingly dismantles the social in order to reassemble it as a thick web of human and material connections. The social, he argues, is both more and less than we think. It is a mass of tiny interactions that are simultaneously local and global, synchronic and diachronic.

What it is not is an overarching force that explains the world we live in. We cannot presume the existence of the social—or the existence of tradition—without interrogating its formation and maintenance. As I demonstrate in the previous chapter, the notion of tradition in the early twentieth century was inseparable from notions of rurality and national identity. In this chapter, I argue that those ideas articulated in the 1920s with a musical repertoire that was created in large part by urban musicians with rural origins, driven by commercial enterprise, and popularized and stabilized via material objects.

Chapter Four

"Money Musk"

August 6, 2010, Douglas Community Center, Douglastown (Gaspé), Quebec

It is Friday morning, day five of Douglastown's annual Irish Week festivities, and I'm talking with fiddler Yvon Mimeault in the living room of the village community centre. The previous night we were both on stage at the big tent in the grassy field behind the centre, with five other musicians, for a "Fiddlers Evening."[1] I've been a fan of Yvon's playing for years, ever since his first CD came out in 1999, when he was in his early seventies. We've chatted and played tunes together informally on several occasions since then, at La Grande Rencontre festival in Montreal in 2004 and at the home of mutual friends in Grosses-Roches.[2] This time, knowing that I will begin my doctoral studies at McGill in a few weeks, I've asked him for a formal interview.

We sit down in the living room and I set up my video camera. I'm interested in Yvon's life story in general, and in any tunes of Scottish origin that may be in his repertoire. (I have a

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[1] The other fiddlers at this concert were Manuel Castilloux and Gerald Fullum from Newport, QC; Pierre Schryer from Ontario; and Kathleen Gorey-McSorley from New Brunswick. Georges Boudreau, also from Newport, played piano.

[2] Yvon Mimeault was born in Mont-Louis, raised in Ste.-Anne-des-Monts, and currently lives in Mont-Joli. For a more detailed biography, see Maude Redmond Morissette and Pascal Huot, "Yvon Mimeault, violoneux," in the *Inventaire des ressources ethnologiques du patrimoine immatériel* (Chaire de recherche du Canada en patrimoine ethnologique, Université Laval, 2016), http://www.irepi.ulaval.ca/fiche-yvon-mimeault-86.html; and Guy Bouchard, "Yvon Mimeault, violoneux," *Bulletin Mnémo* 7, no. 1 (Spring 2002), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/yvon-mimeault-violoneux. Fiddlers and promoters Guy Bouchard and Laura Sadowsky, and the Californian group Têtes du violon, were instrumental in helping Yvon make his first CD, *Y'était temps!* (1998).

vague idea that my dissertation will be about the Scottish origins of certain traditional tunes in Quebec.) He tells me about his musical career: listening to fiddle tunes on the radio as a child; learning to fiddle in a lumber camp by watching another man's fingering patterns; constructing his first violin using wood from a pigpen; discovering that his father had hidden his own fiddling from the family for years; learning new tunes from the radio each morning to play for dancing that evening, and for a weekly radio broadcast; stringing a wire from one rooftop to another in order to catch radio stations from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; putting down the violin for several decades while he raised his family and worked as an electrician, and then picking it up again in the late 1970s; playing in Florida in the winters for Gaspesian "snowbirds" (Quebeckers who travel south for the winter months); making his first CD.

I have a short list of tunes of Scottish origin that I've heard from other fiddlers in Quebec. I start with a tune that we all played at the "Fiddlers Evening": "Money Musk." I ask Yvon if he'll play his version and he purses his lips, raises his eyebrows, and shrugs: he's not sure which version I want to hear. He first heard "Money Musk" on the radio, he tells me, played by the great Jean Carignan. "Tout de suite, là, j'ai essayé de prendre le violon pis essayé de trouver qu'est qui était quoi."[3] He plays Carignan's setting as he remembers it: four strains in G major (Figure 4.1).

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[3] "Right away then, I tried to take the violin and tried to figure out [what it was]."

Figure 4.1 **Yvon Mimeault plays Jean Carignan's setting of "Money Musk." This transcription shows the first iteration of the tune only.**

At the "Fiddlers Evening" Yvon had mentioned a different setting of "Money Musk,"

from his father, and he plays it for me now. This "Money Musk" is in A major. It begins with the

same four strains as Carignan (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2   **Yvon Mimeault plays his father's setting of "Money Musk" (first four strains)**

At the end of the fourth strain, Yvon raises his eyebrows, gives a small grimace—he didn't quite play the last few notes as he wished, I think—and returns to the opening strain. He follows it with an entirely new strain with a repeated E – G# figure. As he begins this new strain, he raises his chin slightly off the violin, looks directly at me and gives a small smile. He follows this with another completely new strain, again with the look and the smile. He segues into a third new strain, this time shaking his head as he struggles to remember the notes (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3   **Yvon Mimeault plays his father's setting of "Money Musk" (three additional strains)**

Yvon plays the A and B strains again, followed by yet another new strain (Figure 4.4).
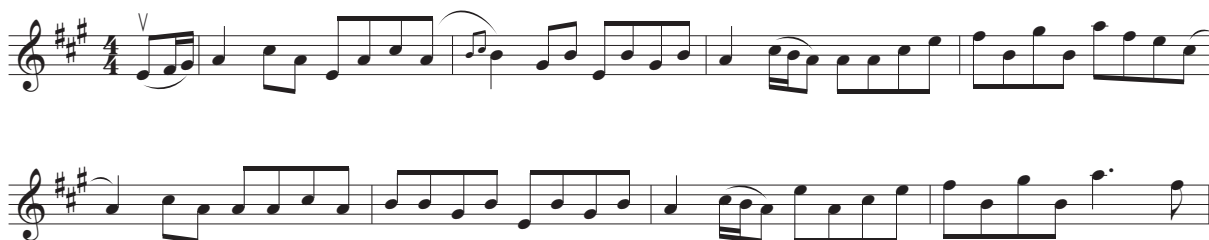
Figure 4.4   **Yvon Mimeault plays his father's setting of "Money Musk" (a fourth additional strain)**

Coming to the end of this strain, he gives me his biggest smile yet, plays a handful of notes from the A strain, and says: "Mais lui pis mon oncle, ils s'essayaient, c'est qui qu'en mettrait le plus.... À un moment donné... [mon père] était après de pratiquer là, [mon cousin] passait là, il dit, « Ton père, il en jouait une partie de plus que lui. » Pis lui, il en cherchait une pour le relancer.... Il essayait d'inventer ça, il essayait d'en tomber..."[4]

4.1   Introduction

When "Money Musk" arrived in Quebec sometime in the last decades of the eighteenth century, it was as a recently composed Scottish melody in service to a transatlantic dance craze.[5] Its composer, Daniel Dow of Perthshire, probably didn't think much of the two-line melody that he titled "Sir Archibald Grant of Monemusk's Reel," given that he tucked it away at the bottom of page five of his 1776 collection (Figure 4.5),[6] and he certainly could not have anticipated the eventual reach of this particular tune on the North American continent: played and danced from coast to coast, the subject of poetic tributes, the gold standard of virtuosic fiddling.

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[4] "He and my uncle, they tried [to see] who would put more in…. One time… [my father] was practicing and [my cousin] passed by, he said, 'Your father, he was playing one more part than him.' And then he [Yvon's uncle] would look for one in order to restart [the contest for the most strains]… He tried to invent [new strains], he tried to discover them…"

[5] In this chapter, I use the common North American spelling "Money Musk" to refer to both this tune and the associated dance, except when citing a source with an alternate title or spelling.

[6] Daniel Dow, *Thirty-Seven New Reells & Strathspeys for the Violin, Harpsichord, Piano Forte or German Flute* (Edinburgh, 1776), 5. My thanks to fiddler and tune collector Barbara McOwen for sharing this image from her personal copy of Dow's collection. The title page and the page containing "Sir Archibald Grant of Monemusk's Reel" may also be viewed via the "Music of James Scott Skinner" online resource (University of Aberdeen, http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/collection, database numbers JSS0529 and JSS0530).

Figure 4.5   **"Sir Archibald Grant of Monemusk's Reel" in Daniel Dow's 1776 collection**

This chapter takes "Money Musk" as a case study in order to trace the circulation and development of instrumental dance music in Quebec. I describe early print and manuscript sources from both Scotland and North America, and compare recorded settings of "Money Musk," including nearly forty settings from Quebec. From these recordings, I extrapolate a set of musical markers for "Money Musk"—what I term the tune's musical "essence"—and describe the tune as a space of musical possibilities. I examine how individual musicians negotiate this space to construct melodically, rhythmically, and structurally diverse tune settings. Following Bakhtin, I describe these performances of "Money Musk" as "utterances": units of meaning that locate individual style within generic modes of expression.

Chapter Three used melodic variants of multiple tunes to trace small-scale musical networks between Montreal-based musicians in the 1920s. This chapter uses melodic variants of a single tune to trace large-scale musical connections that extend across the North Atlantic and span two centuries. Chapter Three used variants to argue for the early recording era in Montreal

as a time of intense musical creativity, made manifest in new settings of existing tunes and in

new compositions. This chapter uses variants to illuminate musicians' mental constructions of

aurally transmitted melodies and typical techniques for altering those melodies. Taken together,

these chapters describe the construction, maintenance, and transformation of traditional

instrumental music in Quebec at its most basic level: notes, rhythms, and musical form.

In Chapter Three, following Latour, I argued for "tradition" as the sum total of

thousands of human and material interactions. The role of melody in this mass of interactions

deserves special attention: melodies often remain relatively fixed, even as their human and

material contexts shift dramatically. Over time, a single melody may take on multiple geographic

and functional associations, though for the musicians, dancers, and listeners interacting with that

melody, only certain of those associations may be in play at any given moment.

Scholars and musicians have long been fascinated by these trails of association, perhaps

because folk, or traditional, melodies often serve as stand-ins for national identity: to investigate

the history of a local tune is, in part, to investigate the history of the locality itself, and of the

people who live there. Deciphering the origins of traditional repertoire can be a political act.

When I began this doctoral dissertation, it was with the goal of unravelling the musical

threads connecting the traditional instrumental music of Quebec to that of Scotland. I planned to

identify a number of tunes of Scottish origin now played in Quebec, describe the ways in which

musicians in Quebec had reinterpreted those tunes, and use the results to document the migration

and transformation of repertoire from one tradition (Scotland) to another (Quebec).

I quickly ran into a number of problems. First, I could not always successfully identify

multiple variants of the same tune, since one tune might carry many titles. (I designed the

computer system described in Chapter Three in response to this challenge.) Second, though I

found many tunes that sounded as if they might be of Scottish ancestry, I had no reliable

mechanism for locating potential source tunes. (Eventually, I may be able to use an expanded

version of the computer system to do so.) Third, even when I was able to match a Scottish tune

and its Quebec variants, I could not track musicians' interpretive decisions because I did know

which settings they had taken as their sources.

In addressing this third challenge, I find useful the work of ethnomusicologist Mark

Slobin, who theorizes inter-regional musical connections along a tripartite model. Drawing on

Arjun Appadurai's theory of global cultural flows, Slobin positions music-making and music

consumption within hegemonic "supercultures," community-based "subcultures," and boundary-

crossing "intercultures."[7] Slobin doggedly resists facile definitions of these terms, instead

spinning out webs of ethnographic detail—"[m]y strategy," he writes, "…is to talk around the

term until a profile, or at least a problem, emerges"—and his emphasis on the play of human and

material interactions is Latourian in nature. (Latour's devotion to the minutia of everyday living

is, of course, ethnographic.) Slobin uses the -cultures as shorthand for the inequities of capital,

the levels of visibility, and the challenges of physical distance that weigh on every vector of

interaction. They are "creatures of discourse" that do not always align properly with the

perceived order of things, and this discord is precisely what interests him.[8]

Slobin turns to the sociolinguistic concept of code-switching in his discussion of the

"modes and means" of subcultural musical expression. He takes "style" as the musical equivalent

of a linguistic code but suggests that "a future, more sophisticated sense of musical code might

want to evolve more precise terms." Slobin's definition of style—"the particular mix of

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[7] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1993).
[8] Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds*, 13.

repertoire and mode of presentation that we anticipate when we buy an album or go to a concert,

or that dance-band musicians offer as their set of music for hire"— is a combination of musical

material, performance context, and reception, all embedded in a transactional economy; the

"more precise" set of musical codes for which he advocates would presumably distinguish

between these elements.[9]

Bakhtin, writing before the terminology of code-switching gained force in the 1970s,

describes much the same idea via the concept of speech genres. He notes that "one can

deliberately mix genres from various spheres" and gives as an example a greeting that "[moves]

from the official sphere into the sphere of familiar communication."[10] Bakhtin notably

distinguishes between sentences and utterances as units of language: the former are grammatical

abstractions whereas the latter are units of expressive meaning.

> The sentence as a unit of language, like the word, has no author. Like the word, it belongs
> to *nobody*, and only by functioning as an utterance does it become an expression of the
> position of someone speaking individually in a concrete situation of speech
> communication.[11]

A sentence is a "signifying unit of language."[12] It carries multiple potential meanings, only one

of which is realized in its expression as an utterance. This is not to suggest that sentences don't

actually exist—they do, as much as any mental construct—but rather to note that they acquire a

concrete meaning only through the act of performance. Speech genres are composed not of

sentences but of utterances.

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[9] Ibid., 86.
[10] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Problems of Speech Genres," in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*,
edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, translated by Vern W. McGee (Austin:
University of Texas Press, 1986), 79, 80.
[11] Ibid., 83–84. Italics in original.
[12] Bakhtin, "Problems of Speech Genres," 82.

In this chapter, I consider every performance of a fiddle tune to be the musical equivalent of an utterance. This includes notated and recorded settings: Bakhtin recognizes that utterances are both spoken and written. I look for commonalities between multiple performances of the same tune in order to identify characteristics of the musical genres—equivalent to Bakhtin's speech genres—within which the musicians chose to play that tune. Daniel Dow's notated version of "Sir Archibald Grant of Monemusk's Reel" is an utterance, as is each of Yvon Mimeault's performed "Money Musks." Behind all three of these utterances is a melodic and rhythmic abstraction—we might call it the "Money Musk" sentence—that is inexpressible in and of itself, but carries the potential for countless expressive performances. I call this the "essence" of "Money Musk."[13] Individual musicians have individual versions of the "Money Musk" essence; the overlap between these versions is maintained through performance and citation.

Later in this chapter, I describe this essence as a space of musical possibilities and follow musicians as they construct settings of "Money Musk." I begin, however, with a whirlwind tour of "Money Musk" in Scotland and North America prior to the recording era.

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[13] Daniel Sonenberg makes a similar point regarding Joni Mitchell's vocal interpretation of the song "The Last Time I Saw Richard" on her *Blue* album. Sonenberg argues that "the true melody of 'Richard' is never actually presented in its pure form, but instead elaborated upon in much the same manner that jazz soloists sometimes embellish the melody of a standard tune almost beyond the point of recognition." Sonenberg outlines a "basic melodic blueprint" for the song and describes each of Mitchell's three verses as an embellishment of this never-sounded melody. This approach does not translate directly to my analysis of "Money Musk," however, given that I am writing about multiple musicians' interpretations (Daniel Sonenberg, "Who in the World She Might Be: A Contextual and Stylistic Approach to the Early Music of Joni Mitchell" [D.M.A. dissertation, City University of New York, 2003]), 84–89).

4.2   **"Money Musk" in Scotland**

"Money Musk" circulated widely on both sides of the North Atlantic in the last decades of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. In Scottish publications, the tune is usually in G major, with the dotted rhythms characteristic of a strathspey. In publications from the United States, "Money Musk" is frequently in A major and without dotted rhythms. Some American publications of the late nineteenth century have additional strains.

While one might assume that "Money Musk" changed gradually over time, evolving imperceptibly from Dow's original to later-day settings, the written record does not bear this out, particularly in the tune's earliest years. Rather, it seems that many settings of "Money Musk" were in circulation within a few years of Dow's original publication.

In this section, I describe several distinct variants of the tune's second strain (the "B" strain) as printed in Scottish collections of the 1780s and 1790s. I also consider small-scale melodic and rhythmic alterations to the first strain ("A strain") in these publications. I then describe the standardization of "Money Musk" in Scotland in the nineteenth century.

Charles Gore's "Scottish Music Index" lists twenty-eight settings of "Money Musk" in Scottish printed collections from eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[14] I have viewed most of these, plus several printed settings not listed in the Scottish Music Index (Table 4.1). I have also viewed two manuscript collections housed at the National Library of Scotland.[15]

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[14] Charles Gore, "The Scottish Music Index," http://www.scottishmusicindex.org/. Gore notes two additional tunes with similar melodies: "Mr. David Sutter's Reel," in F major in Alexander MacKay's *Collection of Reels, Strathspeys, and Slow Tunes* (Glasgow, 1802?), and "Lady C. Bruce's Reel" in D major in Cahusac's *Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1795* (London); I have not viewed either of these collections.

[15] See John Glen, *The Glen Collection of Scottish Dance Music, Strathspeys, Reels and Jigs* (Edinburgh, 1891–1895) for biographical details of the collectors mentioned here. Short biographies are also available online at Historical Music Scotland (http://hms.scot/fiddle/).

The maximum melodic compass of "Money Musk" in these notated versions is ten

notes: a full octave (tonic to tonic) plus two (supertonic and mediant in the octave above). For

ease of use, I refer to these as scale degrees $\hat{1}$ through $\hat{10}$. I use the term "snap" to refer to a

sixteenth note followed by a dotted eighth note in 4/4 or 2/2, where the sixteenth note falls on a

one of the four strong beats of the bar; this rhythm is commonly called a "Scotch snap." I use the

term "long-short" to refer to the opposite rhythm: a dotted eighth note followed by a sixteenth

note in 4/4 or 2/2, where the dotted eighth note falls on one of the four strong beats of the bar. I

begin with close melodic readings of nine early printed settings of "Money Musk."

      Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show transcriptions of the A and B strains, respectively, of these

settings. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 (below) summarize my comparative analyses of these strains.

Author / Editor	Title of Printed Collection	Place and year of publication	Tune Title	Page	Tonality	Source
Daniel Dow	*Thirty Seven New Reels and Strathspeys for the Violin, Harpsichord, Pianoforte, or German Flute*	Edinburgh, c1776	"Sir Archd Grant of Monemusk's Reel"	5	G	Personal archives
Francis Werner	*Book XVIII for the Year 1785, 8 Cotillions, 6 Favourite Country Dances and 2 Minuets*	London, 1785	"Mony Musk"	15	G	Wighton Heritage Centre, Dundee Central Library
James Aird	*A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Volume 3*	Glasgow, between 1782 and 1788	"Money Musk"	33	G	National Library of Scotland, http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=97133776
Alexander MacGlashan	*Collection of Reels, Consisting chiefly of Strathspeys, Athole Reels &c. with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord*	Edinburgh 1786	"Sir Archd Grant's Reel"	19	G	Glasgow University Library (Ca9-y.7); Historical Music of Scotland, http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/13/
Joshua Campbell	*Collection of New Reels & Highland Strathspeys: with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord*	Edinburgh, 1789	"Monnymusk"	41	G	A. K. Bell Library, Perth, Scotland (Be54); Historical Music of Scotland, http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/6/
John Anderson	*A Selection of the most Approved Highland Strathspeys, Country Dances, English & French Dances, with a Harpsichord & Violoncello Bass*	Edinburgh, c1789	"Mony Musk"	3	G	National Library of Scotland
Preston	*Preston's Selection of the most favorite Country-Dances, Reels, &c. with their proper Figures for the Harp, Harpsichord or Violin; as performed at Court, Bath, and all Grand Assemblies*	London, c1791	"Money Musk"	23	G	The Sir Duncan Rice Library, University of Aberdeen University
Robert Petrie	*A Second Collection of Strathspey Reels &c for the Piano-Forte, Violin, and Violincello*	1795/1796	"Monie Musk"	11	A	A. K. Bell Library, Perth, Scotland (Be2); Historical Music of Scotland, http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/20/
Nathaniel Gow	*A Collection of Strathspeys, Reels containing the most appropriate Old and the most fashionable New Reels*	1797	"Monnymusk Strathspey"	10	G	National Library of Scotland
William Napier	*A Selection of Dances & Strathspeys with new and Appropriate Basses, adapted for the Piano Forte, Harp &c.*	London 1798	"Monymusk"	10–11	G	National Library of Scotland
Gow and Sons	*The Complete Repository of Original Strathspeys & Dances, Volume 1*	1805 [1799]	"Monny Musk"	10–11	G	Glasgow University Library (shelfmark Ca.11-y.30); Historical Music of Scotland, http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/10/
Robert Petrie	*A Second Collection of Strathspey Reels &c for the Piano-Forte, Violin, and Violincello, Carefully corrected by Gow*	1808	"Monie Musk"	11	A	A. K. Bell Library, Perth, Scotland (Be1); Historical Music of Scotland, http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/21/
	The Caledonian Museum for the Flute	Edinburgh, c1810	"Mony Musk"	11	G	National Library of Scotland
Archibald Duff	*Part First of a Choice Selection of Minuets, Dances, etc.*	Edinburgh, 1811/12	"Mony Musk"	49	G	National Library of Scotland
Joseph Lowe	*A Collection of Reels, Strathspeys, & Jigs* (third edition)	Edinburgh, 185-?	"Monymusk"	13	G	Hathi Trust, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001075026
John Thomas Surenne	*The Dance Music of Scotland*	Edinburgh, 1851	"Monymusk"	8	G	National Library of Scotland, http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=91239773.
George Cameron	*Cameron's selection of violin music containing all the most popular airs, marches, strathspeys, reels, hornpipes, jigs, country dances, quicksteps, quadrilles, polkas, &c.*	Glasgow, 1854	"Monymusk"	25	G	National Library of Scotland
James Kerr	*Kerr's Collection of Merry Melodies for the Violin, Volume 2*	Glasgow, c1870s	"Monymusk"	14	G	National Library of Scotland
James Stewart Robertson	*The Athole Collection of the Dance Music of Scotland*	Edinburgh, 1884	"Monymusk"	158	G	Personal archives
Keith Norman MacDonald	*The Skye Collection of best Reels & Strathspeys Extant*	Edinburgh, 1887	"Money Musk" ("pipe tune")	12	A	Personal archives
Keith Norman MacDonald	*The Skye Collection of best Reels & Strathspeys Extant*	Edinburgh, 1887	"Sir Archd Grant of Money Musk"	97	G	Personal archives
James Scott Skinner	*The Harp and Claymore*	London/Glasgow, 1903/4	"Monymusk"	106–107	A	Personal archives
Malcolm Keith	*Repository of Favorite Scots Tunes Strathspeys, Jigs & Dances (The Dances Arranged as Medleys) for the Piano Forte, Violin & Violoncello*	Glasgow, [1823?]	"Mony Musk"	11	G	Personal archives. Info at Historical Music of Scotland, http://hms.scot/fiddle/source/142/.

Table 4.1   **"Money Musk" in printed collections published in Scotland or England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This table shows only those settings that I have viewed.**

Figure 4.6 **A strain of "Money Musk" by Dow and in nine other early printed settings. Basslines are not shown.**

Figure 4.7 **B strain of "Money Musk" by Dow and in nine other early printed settings. Basslines not shown.**

Francis Werner was a dancing master and harper. His collection of dances for the year

1785 contained eight cotillions, six "favorite" country dances, and two minuets "as performed at

the Prince of Wales's & other Grand Balls & Assemblies." "Mony Musk" stands alone on an

oblong page, with dance instructions below; this layout was typical for such annual compilations

of popular dances (Figure 4.8). The A strain is almost identical to Dow's original, though Werner

eliminates the opening snap, reverses the two-sixteenth-notes-plus-an-eighth rhythm in bars two

and three, and eliminates the long-short pattern on the final descending B G G figure. Werner's

B strain is quite different from Dow's, however, particularly in bars one and five, where he

retains the pattern of high G notes ($\hat{8}$) but changes the order of intervening chord tones. Werner

introduces each of these bars with an E F# anacrusis rather than Dow's high G.[16]

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[16] The "Money Musk" setting on page 23 of *Preston's Selection of the most favorite Country-Dances, Reels, &c. with their proper Figures for the Harp, Harpsichord or Violin; as performed at Court, Bath, and all Grand Assemblies* (London, c1791) is identical to Werner's, excepting the bassline. Preston's dance instructions are also identical to those of Werner.
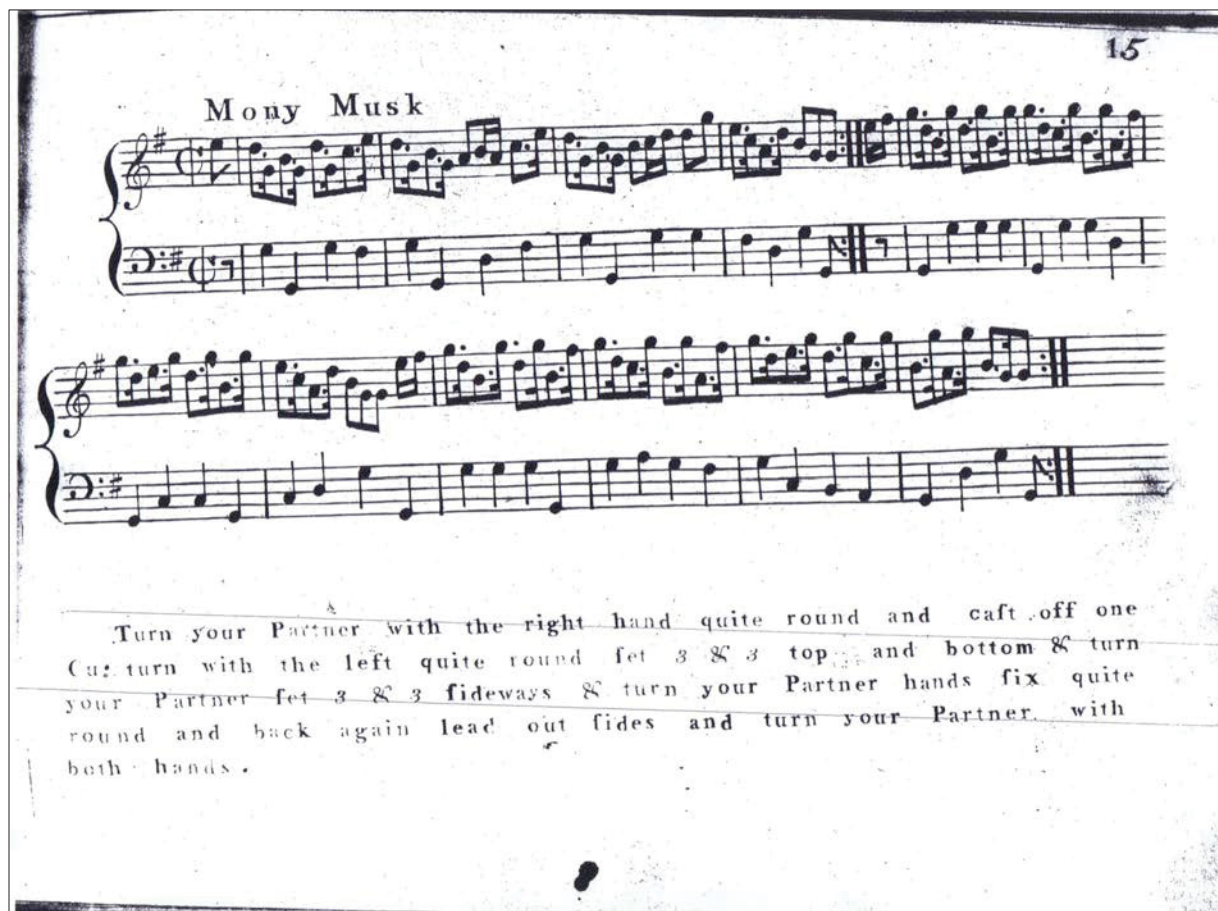
Figure 4.8   **"Mony Musk" in Francis Werner's collection (1785). Image courtesy Wighton Heritage Centre, Dundee Central Library.**

Glasgow music seller James Aird included "Money Musk" in the third volume of his *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*: the tune sits at the bottom of a page containing a "German Dance" and Bologna's March." Aird's setting is extremely similar to Werner's. Their A strains are identical except for one note in the last bar, and the rhythm of that bar, and their B strains differ in only four places: the second note of the second bar, the rhythm of the fourth bar, the second half of the fifth bar, and the third note of the seventh bar (Figure 4.9). I would argue that all of these B-strain differences may be due to printer error: the altered

rhythm in the fourth bar is highly uncharacteristic for a phrase ending, and the altered notes in

the second, fifth, and seventh bars disrespect typical patterns of internal repetition.[17]
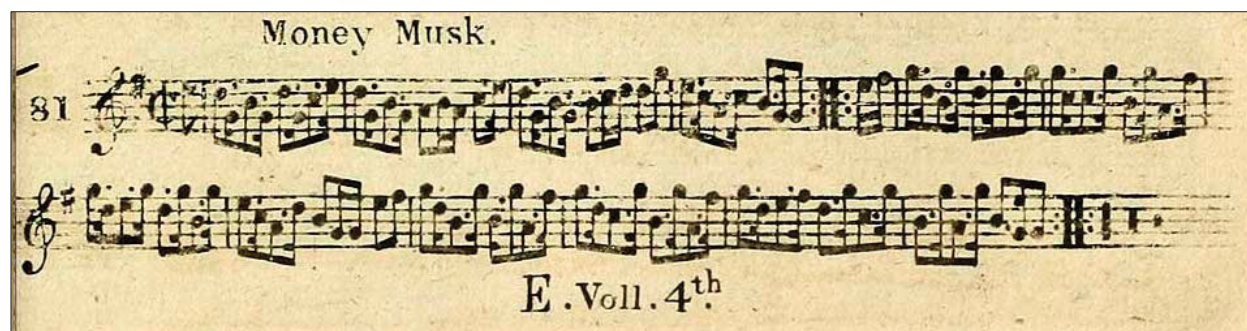
Figure 4.9   **"Monny Musk" in James Aird's collection (between 1782 and 1788). Image**
courtesy National Library of Scotland.[18]

In Alexander MacGlashan's 1786 collection, "Sir Archd. Grant's Reel" is identical to

Dow's composition except for additional snaps in bars two and three—these echo Dow's

opening snap—and long-short patterns in bar six of the B strain. MacGlashan's bassline is

similar, though not identical, to Dow's, but changes in the final two bars.[19]

Joshua Campbell's setting of "Monnymusk" (1789) reads as a slight modification of

MacGlashan's, with one additional snap in the A strain (bar four) and four small alterations in

the B strain: a quarter-note G on the first downbeat, an F# anacrusis leading into bars one and

five, and a snap and a C note in the final bar. He also reverses the two-sixteenth-notes-plus-an-

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[17] Historical Music of Scotland give a publication date of 1782 for Aird's collection (presumably Volume 1), and notes that a second edition of Volume 3 was published in 1788. The first edition of Volume 3 was presumably published between these years (http://hms.scot/fiddle/source/23/).
[18] This image is from the Special Collections of Printed Music, National Library of Scotland (shelfmark Glen.16b[1-2]). Volumes 3 and 4 of Aird's collection are available online at http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=97133776.
[19] MacGlashan's collection may be viewed online at http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/13/ (digitized from a copy held at the Glasgow University Library [shelfmark Ca9-y.7]) "Sir Archd. Grant's Reel" is on page 19.

eighth-note pattern in bar two of the A strain and continues the long-short pattern of the B strain

in bar two. Campbell's bassline uses the same final two bars as McGlashan.[20]

In John Anderson's collection, the A strain again follows Dow's original, though with

rhythmic alterations similar to Aird. Note, however, Anderson's use of a triplet in bar two, rather

than two sixteenth notes plus an eighth note (as in Dow and McGlashan) or an eighth note plus

two sixteenth notes (Aird, Campbell). In the B strain, Anderson follows Dow in bars one and

five but introduces these bars with a D anacrusis. He also shifts the final note of bars two and six

up to a high A ($\hat{9}$), thus extending the melodic compass of the tune. Anderson's bassline differs

significantly from Dow's, McGlashan's, and Campbell's (Figure 4.10).[21]

**Figure 4.10   "Monny Musk" in John Anderson's collection (c1789). Image courtesy
National Library of Scotland.**

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[20] Campbell's collection may be viewed at http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/6/ (digitized from a copy
held at the A. K. Bell Library, Perth, Scotland [shelfmark Be54]). "Monnymusk" is on page 41.
[21] For more information on Anderson's collection, see the Historical Music of Scotland listing at
http://hms.scot/fiddle/source/30/.

In Robert Petrie's *Second Collection of Strathspey Reels &c for the Piano-Forte, Violin, and Violincello* (1796), "Monie Musk" is, strikingly, in A major. Despite this change in tonality, the melodic contour is almost identical to that in Anderson's collection. Petrie's setting differs from Anderson's as follows: in the A strain, $\hat{5}$ instead of $\hat{4}$ in the third bar; and in the B strain, $\hat{3}$ instead of $\hat{4}$ and $\hat{9}$ instead of $\hat{7}$ in bars two and six, $\hat{7}$ instead of $\hat{5}$ in bar four, and $\hat{8}$ instead of $\hat{5}$ in the final bar.[22] This setting stands out, however, for its jagged rhythms: Petrie begins each of the first three bars of each strain with a snap (repeated in bars four, five and six of the B strain), and frequently adds snaps to later beats in the bar as well.[23]

William Napier's *Selection of Dances & Strathspeys with new and Appropriate Basses, adapted for the Piano Forte, Harp &c*. (London, 1798) is a large book with careful typesetting, ample margins and pianistic bass parts: a collection for the drawing room rather than the dance hall. The A strain copies Dow melodically, but eliminates nearly all of the long-short rhythms (performers may have been expected to add their own). The first five bars of the B strain are similar to Aird's setting; bar six introduces a pattern of descending sixths that is repeated one scale degree higher, and one beat later, in bars seven and eight. Napier's setting thus extends the melodic compass of the B strain to ten notes (Figure 4.11).

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[22] In the third bar of the A strain, Petrie writes a snap on $\hat{3}-\hat{5}$, followed by a long-short on $\hat{5}-\hat{8}$, and a slur on the last three of these notes. He repeats this bowing pattern in bar four of the B strain. This bowing pattern was later singled out by James Scott Skinner as the distinctive "up-driven bow" of Scottish strathspey.

[23] Petrie's collection may be viewed at http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/20/ (digitized from a copy held at the A. K. Bell Library, Perth, Scotland [shelfmark Be2]). "Monie Musk" is on page 11. Note that this "Monie Musk" is identical in all regards to Petrie's 1808 edition, which bears the subheading "Carefully corrected by Gow." The 1808 edition may be viewed at http://hms.scot/fiddle/source/21/ (digitized from a copy held at the A. K. Bell Library, Perth, Scotland [shelfmark Be1]).
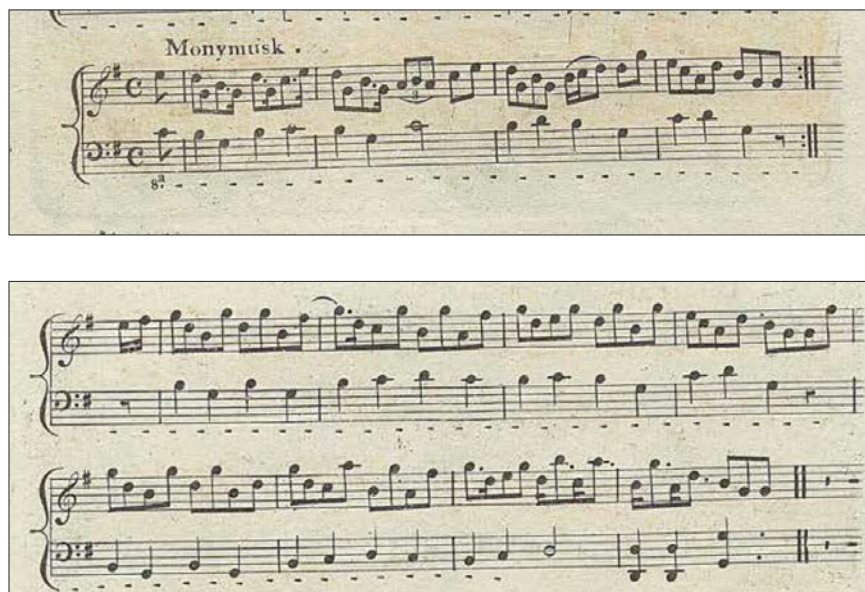
Figure 4.11 **"Monymusk" in Napier's collection (1798). Images courtesy National Library of Scotland.**

Niel Gow (1727–1807), unquestionably the most celebrated Scottish fiddler of his time (and of the following two centuries), and his son Nathaniel, put their names to many collections in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In Nathaniel Gow's 1797 collection, "Monnymusk" is identical in all respects to Dow's setting—notes, rhythms, trills, slurs—except for the anacrusis to the B strain, the final note of bar four of the B strain, and the fourth note of bar eight of the B strain. Gow also adds a dotted rhythm to bar two of the B strain (Figure 4.12). In a later collection by "Gow and Sons," however, "Monny Musk" is more varied. The Gows add a snap and a triplet in bar two of the A strain and use fewer dotted rhythms in bar eight (again, musicians may have been expected to add their own).[24] The first five bars of the B strain

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[24] The first edition of *The Complete Repository of Original Strathspeys & Dances, Volume* 1, by Gow and Sons, was published in 1799. My analysis is based on the second edition (1805) of this collection, available online at http://hms.scot/fiddle/copy/10/ (digitized from a copy held at the Glasgow University Library [shelfmark Ca.11-y.30]). "Monny Musk" is on page 10 and 11. With the exception of one slur and one trill in the first bar of the B strain, their setting is reproduced exactly on page 11 of Malcolm Keith's *Repository of Favorite Scots Tunes*

follow Dow, though with some rhythmic differences—fewer long-short rhythms, added snaps in

bars three and four—and slight alterations to anacruses: E-F# leading to bar one, G leading to bar

two, F# leading to bar five. In bars six, seven and eight of the B strain, Gow introduces the same

descending sixth pattern as Napier. These descending sixths are standard in all later Scottish

settings of "Money Musk" that I have viewed.

**Figure 4.12   "Monymusk" in Nathaniel Gow's collection (1797). Image courtesy National
             Library of Scotland.**

In sum, while the settings of "Money Musk" printed before 1800 in Scotland (and

London, in Napier's case) are quite similar, none are identical. The melodic and rhythmic

variations exhibited in these settings, and described above, are summarized in Tables 4.2 and 4.3.

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*Strathspeys, Jigs & Dances (The Dances Arranged as Medleys) for the Piano Forte, Violin &
Violoncello*, which seems to be a later edition of Keith's *Complete Repository of Original Scots
Slow Strathspeys & Dances (The Dances arranged as Medleys) for the Piano Forte Harp, Violin
& Violoncello &c.* (Glasgow, [1811]?). See the Historical Music Scotland listing for Keith's
collection for more on the similarities between Keith's collection and that of the Gows
(http://hms.scot/fiddle/source/141/).

A strain

	Tonality	Bar 1						Bar 2							
		Beat 1			**Beat 4**			**Beat 1**			**Beat 3**			**Beat 4**	
		snap	l-s	ee	snap	l-s	ee	snap	l-s	ee	s-s-l	l-s-s	triplet	l-s	ee
Dow	G	X				X		X	X		X			X	
Werner	G		X			X			X		X	X		X	
Aird	G		X			X			X		X	X		X	
MacGlashan	G	X				X		X	X		X				X
Campbell	G	X				X		X	X			X			X
Anderson	G		X			X			X				X		X
Petrie	A	X			X			X			X			X	
Nath. Gow	G	X			X	X		X	X		X			X	
Napier	G			X		X				X			X	X	
Gow & Sons	G	X					X	X					X		

	Bar 3										Bar 4							
	Beat 1			**Beat 2**		**Beat 3**				**Beat 4**	**Beat 1**			**Beat 2**		**Beat 3**	
	snap	l-s	ee	l-s	ee	s-s-l	l-s-s	l-s (s.d. 3-4)	l-s (s.d. 3-5)	ee	snap	l-s	ee	l-s (s.d. 2-5)	l-s (s.d. 2-4)	l-s	ee
Dow	X	X		X	X	X					X				X	X	
Werner		X		X		X					X	X	X				X
Aird		X		X		X					X	X	X		X		
MacGlashan	X	X	X	X	X						X	X		X			X
Campbell	X	X	X	X	X					X		X	X				
Anderson		X		X				X		X	X	X	X			X	X
Petrie	X	X		X					X	X	X					X	X
Nath. Gow		X		X		X				X	X	X	X	X			
Napier			X		X	X					X	X				X	X
Gow & Sons		X		X		X				X	X					X	X

List of abbreviations

l-s   "long-short": dotted eighth note - sixteenth note
s-s-l   "short-short-long": sixteenth note - sixteenth note - eighth note
l-s-s   "long-short-short": eighth note - sixteenth note - sixteenth note
ee   "even eighths": two eighth notes
l-s (s.d. 3-4)   long-short (dotted eighth note - sixteenth note) on scale degrees 3 and 4
s-l (s.d. 3-5)   short-long (sixteenth note - dotted eighth note) on scale degrees 3 and 5
l-s (s.d. 2-5)   long-short (dotted eighth note - sixteenth note) on scale degrees 2 and 5
s-l (s.d. 2-4)   short-long (sixteenth note - dotted eighth note) on scale degrees 2 and 4

Note regarding bar 2, beat 4: Dow adds a flag to the second note but does not dot the first note. I interpret this as a "long-short" with a missing dot.

Table 4.2   **Melodic and rhythmic variations in the A strains of Scottish settings of "Money Musk" from printed collections to 1800.**

B strain

	Tonality	Anacrusis	Bar 1 Beats 1 & 2			Bar 1 Beats 3 & 4				Bar 2 Beats 1 & 2			Bar 2 Beats 3 & 4		Bars 3 & 4	
			8-5-5-8	8---5-8	8-5-3-8	3-8-5-7	3-8-5-8	5-8-3-8	5-8-3-7	8-5-4-8	8-4-4-8	8-5-3-8	3-8-2-7	3-8-2-9	8-5-6-8-5-8-3-8	6-4-2-5-3-1-1
Dow	G	8	X			X				X			X		X	
Werner	G	6-7			X		X			X			X			X
Aird	G	6-7			X		X				X		X			X
MacGlashan	G	8	X			X				X			X			X
Campbell	G	7		X		X				X			X			X
Anderson	G	5	X			X						X		X		X
Petrie	A	7	X			X						X	X			X
Nath. Gow	G	7	X			X				X			X			X
Napier	G	6-7			X			X		X			X			X
Gow & Sons	G	6-7	X						X	X			X			X

	Lead-in to bar 5	Bar 5 Beats 1 & 2 = Bar 1	Bar 5 Beats 1 & 2 ≠ Bar 1	Bar 5 Beats 3 & 4 = Bar 1	Bar 5 Beats 3 & 4 ≠ Bar 1	Bar 6 Beats 1 & 2 = Bar 2	Bar 6 Beats 1 & 2 ≠ Bar 2	Bar 6 Beats 3 & 4 = Bar 2	Bar 7 Beats 1 & 2 8-5-6-8	Bar 7 Beats 1 & 2 8-5-6-7	Bar 7 Beats 3 & 4 5-8-4-8	Bar 7 Beats 3 & 4 8-5-3-8	Bar 7 Beats 3 & 4 5-10-4-9	Bar 8 Beats 1 & 2 3-8-2-8	Bar 8 Beats 1 & 2 3-8-2-7	Bar 8 Beats 1 & 2 3-8-2-5	Bar 8 Beats 1 & 2 3-8-2-4	Bar 8 Beats 3 & 4 3-1-1---
Dow	8	X		X		X		X	X		X			X				X
Werner	6-7	X			5-8-3-7	X		X	X		X			X				X
Aird	6-7	X			3-8-2-7	X	8-5-4-8	X		X	X			X				X
MacGlashan	8	X		X		X		X	X		X			X				X
Campbell	7		8-5-5-8	X		X		X	X		X			X				X
Anderson	5	X		X		X		X	X		X					X		X
Petrie	7	X		X		X		X	X		X				X			X
Nath. Gow	7	X		X		X		X	X		X			X				X
Napier	7	X			5-8-3-5	X		8-5-4-9	X			X			X				X
Gow & Sons	7	X			3-8-5-7	X		8-5-4-9	X		X		X	X				X

All numbers are scale degrees unless otherwise indicated.

Note that bars 3 & 4 are identical (excluding small-scale rhythmic variation) in all settings.

Aird prints the following rhythm for beats 3 & 4 of the B strain: eighth, two sixteenths, two eighths. This may be a printer error; three eighths plus two sixteenths would make more sense in context.

Note that the third note of bar 7 of the B strain could be an F# or a G. (It is printed between them.) I have taken it as a G.

Table 4.3   **Melodic variations in the B strains of Scottish settings of "Money Musk" from printed collections to 1800.**

Note that the melodic material of the A strains of these nine settings are identical, with three exceptions (Aird on the fourth note of bar four, and Anderson and Petrie, both on the third beat of the third bar; see bullet points below). Rhythmically, these settings vary significantly, though always on a small scale: all rhythmic differences are within the span of a single beat. The rhythmic and melodic alterations in Table 4.2 may be summarized as follows:

- Two notes within a single beat may be expressed as a snap, a long-short pattern, or even eighth notes.

- It is common for long-short patterns to become even eighths, and vice versa.

- It is also common for long-short patterns to become snaps.

- No two-note grouping is equally likely to be expressed as a snap, a long-short pattern, or even eighths, however. Two-note groupings are expressed either as long-short patterns and even eighths, or as long-short patterns and snaps. No two-note grouping is expressed only as even eighths and snaps.

- Three notes within a single beat may be expressed as two sixteenth notes and an eighth note ("short-short-long"), an eighth note and two sixteenth notes ("long-short-short"), or a triplet.

- Three notes within a single beat may also be replaced by two notes. The first of these two notes is the same as the first note in the three-note grouping, and the second is either the second or third note in the three-note grouping.

Table 4.2 is striking primarily for its lack of regularity: no two collections printed identical A strains, nor are there clear patterns of borrowing. This suggests that the above patterns of rhythmic variation are best understood as non-essential to the expression of "Money Musk."

Rather, they catalogue the ways in which a musician might vary this tune in performance. Small-scale rhythmic variation may therefore be considered, like bowings, ornamentation, and basslines (which also vary in the above settings, and which I have not catalogued), as an expressive element rather than a fundamental part of the tune.

The B strains of these settings exhibit a similar degree of rhythmic variation. Table 4.3 does not take this into account, focusing instead on melodic variation (which was virtually absent in the A strains). Two B-strain variants stand out. In bar one, Werner, Aird, and Napier play $\hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{3} - \hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{8} - \hat{3}$ rather than $\hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{5} - \hat{8} - \hat{3} - \hat{8} - \hat{5}$. In bars six, seven, and eight, Napier and Gow introduce two sets of descending sixths, as described above. Most of the remaining melodic alterations in Table 4.3 may be summarized as follows:

- Given $\hat{8}$ on the first beat of bar one, the anacrusis may be $\hat{7}$, $\hat{6} - \hat{7}$, $\hat{8}$, or, less commonly, $\hat{5}$. The note or notes of the anacrusis are repeated at the end of bar four, though $\hat{6} - \hat{7}$ may be replaced by $\hat{7}$.

- Similarly, when the first note of a bar is $\hat{8}$, it may be preceded by $\hat{7}$ or $\hat{8}$, and less commonly $\hat{5}$ or $\hat{9}$.

- Two notes within a single beat (two eighths or a long-short pattern) may be replaced by a quarter note on the pitch of the first note, as in bar one of Aird's setting.

Only four melodic alterations listed in Table 4.3 do not adhere to these general rules: $\hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{3} - \hat{8}$ (Petrie) and $\hat{8} - \hat{4} - \hat{4} - \hat{8}$ (Aird) in bar two, $\hat{3} - \hat{8} - \hat{2} - \hat{7}$ (Aird) in bar five, and $\hat{3} - \hat{8} - \hat{2} - \hat{7}$ (Nathaniel Gow) in bar eight. The first of these may be due to the tonality of Petrie's setting. The usual pattern of $\hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{4} - \hat{8}$, while still playable in A major, requires an awkward movement of

the third finger from the A string to the E string. (In G major, this pattern requires a slightly less

awkward movement of the second finger.) As noted above, I am inclined to attribute Aird's two

alterations to printer or editor error, given that neither follows the usual internal repetitions of the

tune, though they may, of course, document a played setting of "Money Musk." Nathaniel Gow's

$\hat{3} - \hat{8} - \hat{2} - \hat{7}$ may also be an error—F# to B is both physically awkward and musically odd in this

context—though Gow's collection does seem to be more carefully edited than Aird's.

In 1817, Niel and Nathaniel Gow dedicated their *Part Fourth of the Complete*

Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys and Dances (the dances arranged as medleys) for

the Harp, Piano-Forte, Violin and Violoncello &c. to "the nobility and gentry of Scotland," as

follows:

> The Publishers…[express] their satisfaction on their Original Aim being obtained,
> namely, that of conformity being observed throughout the Island, by Amateurs, as well as
> Professional People, playing the same notes of every tune, without the confusion which
> prevailed previous to the appearance of the Repository.[25]

The first part of *The Complete Repository* was published in 1799, as noted above. Karen

McAuley rightly challenges the Gows' assertion of musical "conformity… throughout the

Island," calling it an "impossible ideal,"[26] but later settings of "Money Musk" suggest that there

is at least some truth to the Gows' claim.

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[25] Niel and Nathaniel Gow, *Part Fourth of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys and Dances (the dances arranged as medleys) for the Harp, Piano-Forte, Violin and Violoncello &c* (Edinburgh, 1817), 1. This collection is available online via IMSLP, http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow's_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Gow,_Niel).
[26] Karen McAuley, "Niel and Nathaniel Gow's Controlling Influence," *Bass Culture in Scottish Musical Traditions* (blog), April 1, 2015, http://bassculture.info/?tag=nathaniel-gow.

George Silver was a piano tuner from Aberdeen. His manuscript collection (c1840) is

large and elegant, in a lovely calligraphic hand and with impeccable spacing of tunes and notes.[27]

"Monymusk, a Str[athspey] by D. Dow" appears on page thirteen (Figure 4.13). Silver's setting

is identical to that of the Gows' 1805 collection in virtually all respects: snaps, trills, and

bowings align with uncanny precision. Presumably, Silver copied his setting directly from the

Gows, or from an intermediary source that had copied from the Gows. (Note that Silver does not

include a bassline.) This same setting, albeit with a few small-scale rhythmic alterations,

different bowings, and no trills, appears in John T. Surenne's *Dance Music of Scotland* (1851).[28]

Figure 4.13   **"Monymusk" in George Silver's manuscript collection (c1840). Image
courtesy National Library of Scotland.**

The Gows' setting of "Money Musk" was not the only one in circulation in the mid-

nineteenth century. In the third edition of Joseph Lowe's *Collection of Reels, Strathspeys, & Jigs*

(c1850s), the B strain of "Monymusk" includes both the $\hat{8}-\hat{5}-\hat{3}-\hat{8}-\hat{5}-\hat{8}-\hat{3}$ figure in bar one

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[27] George Silver (handwritten music manuscript, Aberdeen, Scotland, c1840), National Library
of Scotland Special Collections, MS 21706.
[28] John Thomas Surenne, *The Dance Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1851), 8–9. Accessible
online via the National Library of Scotland, http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-
music/pageturner.cfm?id=91239773.

and a short series of descending sixths in bars seven and eight, effectively combining the two B-

strain variants described above (Figure 4.14).[29]

Figure 4.14   **"Monymusk" in the third edition of Lowe's *Collection of Reels, Strathspeys, & Jigs* (1850s). Public domain image digitised by Google Books.**

This same setting also appears as "Monymusk" in James Stewart Robertson's *Athole*

Collection of the Dance Music of Scotland (1884), though with additional ornamentation in the

third and fourth bars, some small-scale rhythmic alternations, and fewer octaves in the bassline

(Figure 4.15). In Keith Norman MacDonald's *Skye Collection of the Best Reels & Strathspeys*

Extant (1887), "Sir Archd. Grant of Money Musk" is identical to the *Athole Collection* setting in

all respects, excepting three bars of the bassline (Figure 4.16).[30] This setting was also penned by

Lewis H. Millar in his manuscript collection (c1880), though with the B strain written out, no

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[29] Joseph Lowe, *A Collection of Reels, Strathspeys, & Jigs,* 3rd ed. (Edinburgh, 185-?), 13. Available online via the Hathi Trust, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001075026. Hathi Trust, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015048251733. The first edition of Lowe's collection was published in 1844.

[30] James Stewart Robertson, *The Athole Collection of the Dance Music of* Scotland (Edinburgh, 1884), 158; Keith Norman MacDonald, *The Skye Collection of the Best Reels & Strathspeys Extant* (Edinburgh, 1887), 97. *The Skye Collection* is available online at https://archive.org/details/skyecollectionb00macdgoog.

bassline, less ornamentation, and one altered melody note in bar three of the B strain (Figure

4.17).[31]

Figure 4.15   "Monymusk" in James Stewart Robertson's *Athole Collection of the Dance Music of Scotland* (1884)
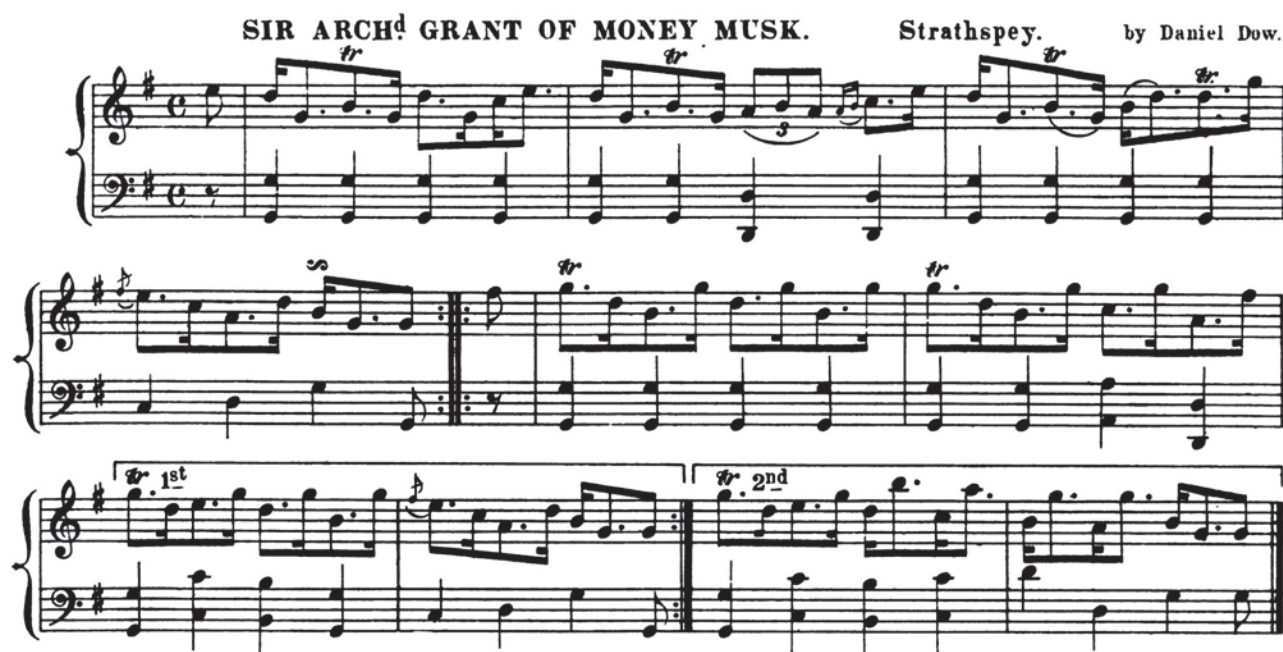
Figure 4.16   "Sir Archd. Grant of Money Musk" in Keith Norman MacDonald's *Skye Collection* (1887). Public domain image digitised by Google Books.

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[31] Lewis H. Millar (handwritten music manuscript, c1880), National Library of Scotland Special Collections, Acc. 12487.

Figure 4.17   **"Monymusk" in Lewis H. Millar's manuscript collection (c1880). The first two measures shown belong to the previous tune in the collection. Image courtesy National Library of Scotland.**

Whether or not fiddlers across Scotland ever played "the same notes of every tune," as the Gows had hoped, these last few sources suggest that, by the mid-nineteenth century, a culture of "correctness" had developed, with books at its hub.[32] Taken together, the earliest printed settings of "Money Musks" read as descriptive: they chart the diverse ways that a single tune might be performed, even within a few years of its composition. Notated settings of "Money Musk" from the mid and late nineteenth century, by contrast, are prescriptive: they specify how the tune ought to be played, as dictated by an earlier publication. This holds true even for manuscript collections: when George Silver and Lewis H. Millar wrote out tunes, they likely copied them from printed collections (or perhaps from other manuscripts copied from printed collections). Their manuscripts—large hardcover books with exquisite penmanship, perfectly

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[32] I borrow this term from Kate Dunlay's excellent article, "'Correctness' in Cape Breton Fiddle Music," in the liner notes to the compact disc *MacKinnon's Brook: Traditional Fiddle Music of Cape Breton, Volume 4* (Rounder Records, 2008).

spaced and, in Millar's case, fully indexed—read as handwritten drafts of a personalized printed collection.

Still, multiple settings of "Money Musk" continued to circulate in Scotland. The *Skye Collection* also includes a bagpipe setting of "Money Musk" in A major, with the even eighth notes of a reel (though it is listed as a strathspey) and radically different phrase endings (Figure 4.18).[33] William C. Honeyman included "Monymusk" in his *Strathspey, Reel and Hornpipe Tutor* (1898), "with the bowing and fingering marked… exactly as these should be played"; his setting is similar to that in the *Skye* and *Athole* collections, but introduces a series of descending sixths in the second bar of the B strain.[34] Celebrated fiddle virtuoso James Scott Skinner printed two settings of "Monymusk" in *The Harp and Claymore* (1903), the first with several melodic variants and the second a "pipes set," i.e., a fiddle setting intended to imitate the sound of bagpipes.[35]

Figure 4.18   **"Money Musk" as a "pipe tune" in Keith Norman MacDonald's *Skye Collection* (1887). Public domain image digitised by Google Books.**

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[33] MacDonald, *The Skye Collection*, 12.

[34] William C. Honeyman, *The Strathspey, Reel, and Hornpipe Tutor* (Dundee, Scotland, 1898).

[35] James Scott Skinner, *The Harp and Claymore* (Morgantown, WV: Scotpress, 1984). Originally published in 1903. "Monymusk" is on pages 106–107.

I would like to conclude this section with a nod to three settings of "Money Musk" as notated by Sullivan Ross, a Scot who immigrated to Canada as a child. Ross's family, originally from Sutherland County in northern Scotland, settled in what would become southwestern Ontario. Ross was a bagpiper and a violin maker, and his manuscript collection (c1860–1900) contains one volume of fiddle music and two volumes of bagpipe music. There is no doubt that Ross envisaged his collection as the handwritten equivalent of a printed collection: he introduces his volume of violin music with a handwritten title page (on a "Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette Supplement" dated April 29, 1854) presenting this "Improved…Second Edition" of "A Collection of Strathspeys, Reels, Jigs, Hornpipes, Polkas, Schottishes, Waltzes, Cotillons, Songs, &c ARRANGED For The VIOLIN By Sullivan Ross."[36]

"Money Musk" appears three times in Ross's manuscript, first as a strathspey in both A major and G major, set for violin, and then in two bagpipe settings in A major (Figure 4.19).[37] The violin setting has the usual A strain; the B strain, however, begins with an $\hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{6} - \hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{8} - \hat{3}$ figure and is only four bars long (repeated). The B strain of the first bagpipe setting, by contrast, echoes the $\hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{3} - \hat{8} - \hat{5} - \hat{8} - \hat{3}$ figure in Werner, Aird, Napier, Lowe, and later collections. The last bars of this setting have a series of descending thirds, as in the *Skye Collection* bagpipe setting. Ross's second bagpipe setting was intended to accompany

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[36] Sullivan Ross, "Second Edition, Improved: A Collection of Strathspeys, Reels, Jigs, Hornpipes, Polkas, Schottishes, Waltzes, Cotillons, Songs, &c ARRANGED For The VIOLIN" (handwritten music manuscript, Harrington, ON, c1860–1900), National Library of Scotland Special Collections, Acc. 8984, vol. 1–3. The original Sullivan Ross manuscript is housed at the Canadian Museum of History. I viewed a photocopy at the National Library of Scotland.

[37] These three settings are, respectively, on p. 3 of volume 1, p. 130 of volume 2, and p. 17 of volume 3 of Ross's collection. One of these pipe settings is titled "Ceòl Bhodich (Monymusk)." The other, designated a Highland Fling, has three titles: "Ceòl a Bhodich," "The Carle's Delight" and "Monymusk."

the Highland Fling, a solo step dance, and, while melodically similar to the first bagpipe setting,

has many more grace notes and several small-scale melodic variations on phrase repetitions.

Figure 4.19   "Money Musk" appears three times in Sullivan Ross's manuscript collection (c1860–1900). Images courtesy National Library of Scotland.

Ross's collection and his three "Money Musks" concisely signal many of the issues at

stake in these and other Scottish printed and manuscript collections: the circulation of tunes in

multiple settings, sometimes within a single collection; the impact of instrumentation and

intended function on melody, rhythm, tonality and form; and the symbolic capital of printed

collections, as evidenced by musicians' attempts to model their personal manuscript collections

on printed sources. I revisit these issues in the following section on "Money Musk" in North

America before the recording era.

4.3   "Money Musk" in North America

A complete survey of "Money Musk" in nineteenth-century printed and manuscript

sources is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this chapter.[38] In this section, I single out a handful

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[38] Andrew Kuntz's authoritative "Traditional Tune Archive" (formerly the "Fiddler's Companion, http://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Money_Musk_(1)), lists "Money Musk" in the following eighteenth- and nineteenth-century printed collections not mentioned above: William Cahusac's *Pocket Companion for the German Flute or violin*, vol. 2 (London, c1798), 35; McGoun's *Repository of Scots and Irish Airs, Strathspeys, Reels, etc.* (Glasgow, 1803), perhaps the same as Joseph MacFadyen's collection of the same name (see the Historical Music of Scotland listing at http://hms.scot/fiddle/source/155/); John Peacock's *Favourite Collection of Tunes with Variations for the Northumberland Small Pipes* (c1805), 2; Alvan Robinson's *Massachusetts Collection of Martial Music*, 2nd ed. (1820), 53l; Elias Howe's *Complete Preceptor for the Accordeon* (Boston, 1843), 30; Howe's *School for the Violin* (Boston, 1851), 21; Howe's *Diamond School for the Violin* (Boston, 1861), 41; Howe's *1000 Jigs and Reels* (Boston, c1867), 74; Kerr's *Merry Melodies*, vol. 2 (Glasgow, c1880s), 14; Winner's *New American School for the Banjo* (1883), 30, as "Highland Fling"; and *White's Unique Collection of Jigs, Reels, etc. arranged for the Violin* (1896), 10. Kuntz also cites the following manuscript sources for "Money Musk": commonplace book by Elisabeth Crawford (Massachusetts, 1794, dance figures only); music copybooks by fiddler George White (Cherry Valley, NY, c1790), Joel Allen (Southington, CT, c1800), Silas Dickinson (Amherst, MA, c1800), William Patten (Philadelphia, PA, c1800) and Thomas Cushing (1805); a manuscript by Samuel Morse (Newburyport, MA, 1811); and a manuscript entitled "Preceptor for the Flute" by Daniel Henry Huntington (Onondaga, NY, 1817) (Andrew Kuntz, "Money Musk (1)," "Traditional Tune Archive" website, http://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Money_Musk_(1)).

of early manuscript and print settings and then highlight the diversity of North American

performance contexts for "Money Musk," particularly in the mid and late nineteenth century.

"Money Musk" appears in several personal tune manuscripts from the late eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries. These sources are temporally and geographically distant and

therefore of little use in tracing the circulation and transformation of specific "Money Musk"

settings. They do indicate, however, that there were multiple settings of "Money Musk" in North

America from the early nineteenth century, if not earlier; and that the tune circulated widely via

both aural networks and print.[39]

Two early manuscripts point to a still unidentified printed source. The first, bound with

the singing school manual *The Columbian Harmonist, no. 1*, dates from after 1793 and is from

an undetermined location in the United States (Figure 4.20); the second, bound with *Blake's New*

and Complete Preceptor for the Violin, is probably from Philadelphia, c1836 (Figure 4.21).[40]

Both print "Money Musk" in G major, in a careful, neat hand. Their settings of "Money Musk"

are identical: running eighth notes in 2/4, an $\hat{8}-\hat{5}-\hat{3}-\hat{8}-\hat{5}-\hat{8}-\hat{3}-\hat{8}$ opening to the B strain (as

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[39] In addition to the manuscript settings cited below, "Money Musk" appears in an 1843 manuscript by Daniel Letham of Salt Lake City (https://archive.org/stream/ManuscriptBookDanielLetham/MUMSS-00059#page/n59/mode/2up. Digitized by "American Vernacular Music Manuscripts, ca. 1730-1910," Digital Collections from the American Antiquarian Society and the Center for Popular Music).

[40] "Manuscript entries bound with The Columbian harmonist, no. 1 : containing first. A plain and concise introduction to psalmody fitly calculated for the use of singing schools. Second. A choice collection of new psalm tunes of American composition," handwritten music manuscript ([United States], after 1793), from the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, https://archive.org/stream/TheColumbianHarmonistNo1/343815#page/n9/mode/2up; "Manuscript entries bound with Blake's new and complete preceptor for the violin : with a favorite selection of airs, marches, &c.," handwritten music manuscript, ([Philadelphia, Pennsylvania?], 1836), from the collection of the Center for Popular Music, Middle Tennessee State University, https://archive.org/stream/BlakesViolinBound/MUMSS-00118#page/n3/mode/2up. Both digitized by "American Vernacular Music Manuscripts, ca. 1730-1910," Digital Collections from the American Antiquarian Society and the Center for Popular Music.

in Werner, Aird, and Napier's collections), and a distinctive $\hat{4}-\hat{2}-\hat{2}-\hat{6}$ pattern in the fourth bar of the A strain. Both also contain the sort of errors one would expect if copying a tune from another written source. In the manuscript bound with *Blake's*, there are two unexpected E notes ($\hat{6}$) near the beginning of the A strain; these are presumably copying errors. In the manuscript bound with *The Columbian Harmonist*, there is a simultaneous $\hat{3}$ and $\hat{7}$ (B and F#) towards the end of the B strain. This is probably not intended as a double-stop (it would sound quite strange, and there are no other double-stops in this setting), but as an indication of two musical possibilities. The $\hat{3}$ is the more obvious choice, as that would repeat bar two of the B strain; my guess is that the $\hat{7}$ is from a printed source.

Figure 4.20   **"Money Musk" in a handwritten music manuscript bound with *The Columbia Harmonist* (after 1793). Image courtesy American Antiquarian Society.**
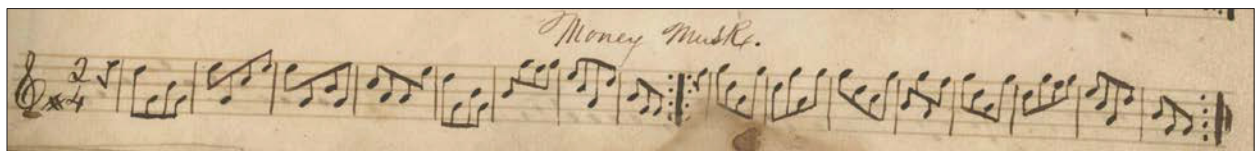
Figure 4.21   **"Money Musk" in a handwritten music manuscript bound with *Blake's new and complete preceptor for the violin* (1836). Image courtesy Center for Popular Music, Middle Tennessee State University.**

"Money Musk" also appears in a personal tune manuscript dated 1812 and belonging to

Charles Leavenworth of New Haven, Connecticut (Figure 4.22).[41] Leavenworth's setting, in A

major, captures the broad strokes of "Money Musk" but little of the detail, though he does end

each strain with the characteristic $\hat{6} - \hat{4} - \hat{2} - \hat{4} - \hat{3} - \hat{1} - \hat{1}$; I would guess that Leavenworth wrote

down this setting after learning the tune by ear. Notably, "Money Musk" appears in this same

manuscript a second time (Figure 4.23), in a different hand and in a setting nearly identical to

"Money Musk" in the 1796 Philadelphia publication *Evening Amusement* (Figure 4.24). Music

manuscript books at this time were often used by several musicians successively, and this book

also has inscriptions from "William S. Prossiter N.H." and "William Jessup, Y. College N.

Haven, April 27th 1815." It seems likely that one of these men copied out this second "Money

Musk" from a printed source, perhaps even *Evening Amusement*.[42]

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[41] Charles Leavenworth, "Charles Leavenworth's music book," handwritten music manuscript (New Haven, [Connecticut], 1812), from the collection of the American Antiquarian Society. The first "Money Musk" is on page 22, https://archive.org/stream/CharlesLeavenworthsMusicBook/479487_octvol21#page/n29/mode/2 up. The second "Money Musk" is on an unnumbered page (page 76 of the digitized file), https://archive.org/stream/CharlesLeavenworthsMusicBook/479487_octvol21#page/n75/mode/2 up. Digitized by "American Vernacular Music Manuscripts, ca. 1730-1910," Digital Collections from the American Antiquarian Society and the Center for Popular Music.

[42] *Evening Amusement: Containing Fifty Air's, Song's, Duett's, Dances, Hornpipe's, Reel's, Marches, Minuett's, & c, & c, for 1, and 2 German flutes or violins* ([Philadelphia,1796]), 17. This may be the earliest printed setting of "Money Musk" in North America (see Andrew Kuntz, "Money Musk (1)"). The setting in *Evening Amusement* is reproduced exactly on page 12 of in *Blake's Evening Companion: For the flute, clarinet or violin, being a selection of favorite song tunes, airs, marches, quick-steps waltzs, minuets, allemands, cottillions, hornpipes, dances &c. &c.* (Philadelphia, 1810). Note that the second note of bar three of the second strain is printed ambiguously between an E and F# in *Evening Amusement*. *Blake's* interprets this note as an F#. I think it is more likely an E, as in the first and seventh bars of the same strain. These two collections may be viewed via Early American Imprints (Series 1, no. 30396 and Series 2, 52305).
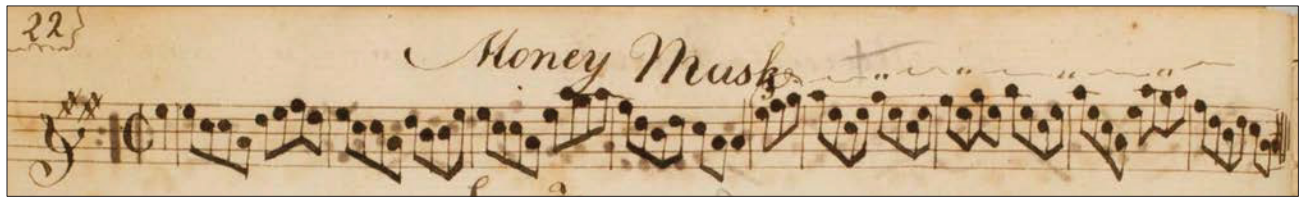
Figure 4.22 **First appearance of "Money Musk" in Charles Leavenworth's music book (New Haven, CT, 1812). Image courtesy American Antiquarian Society.**

Figure 4.23 **Second appearance of "Money Musk" in Charles Leavenworth's music book. Image courtesy American Antiquarian Society.**

Figure 4.24 **"Money Musk" in *Evening Amusement* (Philadelphia, 1796). Image courtesy American Antiquarian Society and NewsBank-Readex**

Though "Money Musk" seems to be primarily associated with the northeastern United

States, it is also the opening tune in George P. Knauff's 1839 *Virginia Reels*, though under the

title "Killie Krankie" (perhaps the name of an associated dance). Knauff's setting has few of the

large intervallic leaps so characteristic of other "Money Musks": the B strain begins with

$\hat{8}-\hat{5}-\hat{6}-\hat{8}-\hat{5}$ and then shifts into smooth, primarily scalar, motion (Figure 4.25).[43]

Figure 4.25   **"Killie Krankie" in George P. Knauff's *Virginia Reels* (1839). Image courtesy of the 19th-Century American Sheet Music Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Music Library.**

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[43] For more on this collection, see Chris Goertzen and Alan Jabbour, "George P. Knauff's *Virginia Reels* and Fiddling in the Antebellum South," *American Music* 5, no. 2 (1987): 121–144. Knauff's collection is available online via the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Music Library, http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/sheetmusic/id/9242. Note that the B strain of "Money Musk" in *Evening Amusement* also begins $\hat{8}-\hat{5}-\hat{6}-\hat{8}-\hat{5}$; this pattern is common to many North American settings of "Money Musk," including Sullivan Ross's fiddle setting, but I have not found it in bar one of the B strain for any Scottish settings. This pattern is in the third bar of the B strain of all Scottish settings.

Early dance instructions to "Money Musk" vary as much as these early settings of the tune. Francis Werner's 1785 collection (Figure 4.8)—to the best of my knowledge, the earliest extant source with dance instructions—reads:

> Turn your Partner with the right hand quite round and cast off one Cu[couple] turn with the left quite round set 3 & 3 top and bottom & turn your Partner set 3 & 3 sideways & turn your Partner hands six quite round and back again lead out to sides and turn your Partner with both hands.

The central figure in these instructions, in which the first man and woman separate and join the following two couples to form three-person lines perpendicular, and then parallel, to the original line of the dance, is the choreographic hallmark of "Money Musk."[44] The preceding and following figures were not consistent for several decades: in *The Ladies and Gentlemen's Companion* (1803), all three couples circle to begin, while in *A Guide to Politeness* (1810), they circle after the characteristic "Money Musk" figure. The specifics of the "Money Musk" figure vary, too: in *A Select collection of the newest and most favorite country dances* (1808), the first man and woman turn and cast down one place to make three-person lines along the sides of the set before forming the perpendicular lines, while in *A Guide to Politeness* (1810), the first man joins the third couple and the first woman joins the second couple to form the lines.[45] The dance

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[44] Note, however the dance instructions in *A Collection of the Newest Cotillions and Country Dances* (Worcester, MA, 1800): "Four half round, back, lead down the middle, up, cast off, four half round with third couple, back, right and left." Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 37202. "Money Musk" is a country dance for three or more couples in a longways formation. For historical background on country dance in England and Scotland, see George Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Recreatioun* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972) and *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music*, 2nd edition (London, Canada: Galt House, [1971] 1988); Carol G. Marsh, "French Court Dance in England, 1706-1740: A Study of the Sources" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1985); and William Alan MacPherson, "The Music of the English Country Dance, 1651–1728: with indexes of the printed sources" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1984).

[45] Full dance instructions on page 9 of *The Ladies and Gentlemen's Companion* (Dedham, MA, 1803) are as follows: "Swing six half round and back, first couple chasse across at top and chasse

choreography stabilized by the middle of the nineteenth century, and the figures given by

Thomas Hillgrove in his *Complete Practical Guide to the Art of Dancing* are the same as those

commonly danced today:

> First couple give the right hand, and swing once and a half round; then go below one couple and forward and back six; right hand to partner, and swing three quarters round;forward and back six; swing to place, and right and left four. [46]

At some point in the mid-nineteenth century, "Money Musk" made the leap from dance

tune to popular melody. Minstrel performer Tom Briggs included "Darkey Money Musk" in his

1855 collection of "choice plantation melodies" (Figure 4.26).[47] Keyed bugle virtuoso Ned

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down two couple, the gentleman falls between the second couple and his partner between the third, balance six, contra way, the gentleman falls between the second and third couple, his partner the same, right hand and left" (Early American Imprints, Series 2, no. 4498). Full dance instructions are on page 38 of *A Select collection of the newest and most favorite country dances* ([Cooperstown], New York, 1808): "Turn your partner once and a half round, lead down opposite sides one couple, three first couple balance, take right hands and turn your partner to the bottom, yourself at top, balance, turn to places' right and left" (Early American Imprints, Series 2, nos. 16164). The instructions given on page 57 of *A Guide to Politeness* (Boston, 1810) are as follows: "First couple down out side and rigadoon; give hands and swing half round, the gentleman fall between the third couple, and the lady between the 2d; balance cross ways, then swing round, and the gentleman falls between the first and third gentlemen, the lady between the first and third lady; swing six hands; right and left" (Early American Imprints, Series 2, nos. 20920).

[46] Thomas Hillgrove, *A Complete Practical Guide to the Art of Dancing. Containing descriptions of all fashionable and approved dances, full directions for calling the figures, the amount of music required; hints on etiquette, the toilet, etc.* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, c1863), 231. These calls are quite similar to the calls in "Good Old-Fashioned Tunes with Original Calls for Dancing" (after 1890), available via the "Historic American Sheet Music" collection at Duke University Libraries, http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/sheetmusic/n/n14/n1469/. Note that, in New England contra dancing, these figures are condensed into twenty-four bars of music.

[47] Thomas F. Briggs, *Briggs Banjo Instructor: Containing the Elementary Principles of Music, together with Examples and Lessons, necessary to facilitate the acquirement of a perfect knowledge of the instrument to which is added a choice collection of pieces, numbering over fifty popular dances, polkas, melodies, &c. &c.* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1855), 21. For more on minstrelsy, see Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) and Annemarie Bean, James V. Hatch, and Brooks McNamara, *Inside the Minstrel Mask: Readings in Nineteenth-Century Blackface Minstrelsy*

Kendall was renowned for his performances of "Money Musk" and, at popular request, played

the tune as an encore for an 1856 concert with the Salem (Massachusetts) Brass Band; the band

"was familiar with this popular solo" and already had a written arrangement.[48] Also in the 1850s,

composer Charles Grobe penned a three-page piano setting of "Money Musk" with "easy and

pleasing variations," presumably to be performed in the home by bourgeois women such the one

pictured on the cover of an 1885 reprint (Figure 4.27).[49]
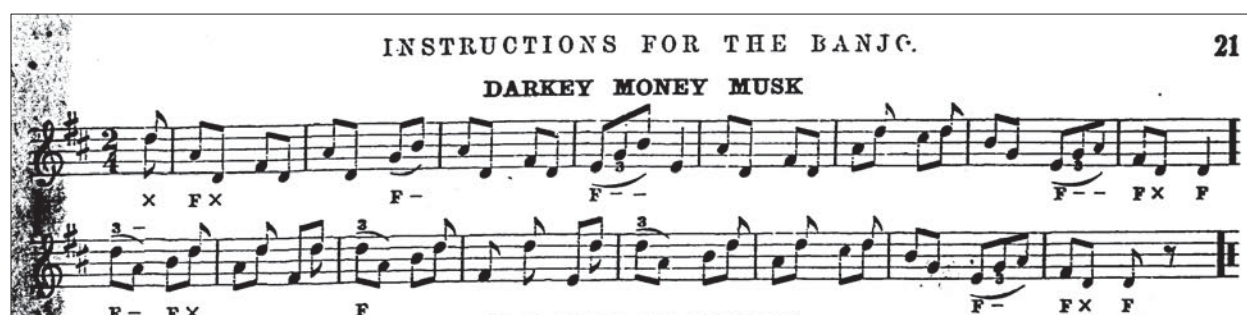
Figure 4.26   **"Darkey Money Musk" in *Briggs Banjo Instructor* (1855).**

(Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1996). My thanks to folk musician Ian Bell for this reference. Regarding the D major tonality of "Darkey Money Musk," Bell writes (email correspondance, March 5, 2013 and August 3, 2016): "[This tune] is written out in the key of D [because] the banjo is not an instrument that plays easily in a lot of different keys without retuning. In the 1850s the 'home' keys of the banjo were G and D. The gut-strung banjos of that era were pitched much lower than today's instruments. Briggs' D tuning and G tuning are the same intervals as today's G and C banjo tunings but with the whole instrument pitched lower. Banjo players routinely retuned their instruments to play in different keys, but I don't think you could crank up a gut-string banjo from D to A or even G to get Monymusk into one of its more usual keys without breaking strings. On a Briggs-era banjo, the key of D offers the path of least resistance for this particular tune, and allows you use the 5th (thumb) string to good effect."

[48] H.W. Schwartz, *Bands of America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 33. A British regimental band played "Money Musk" in late September or early October, 1889 during a troop inspection ("Regimental and Other News: The St. John Corps," *Canadian Militia Gazette*, October 3, 1889, 2).

[49] Charles Grobe, "Money musk, with variations," in *Melodies of the Day: A collection of popular airs with easy and pleasing variations arranged for the piano-forte* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1857). Available via the "Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music" collection of the Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mussmhtml/mussmhome.html.
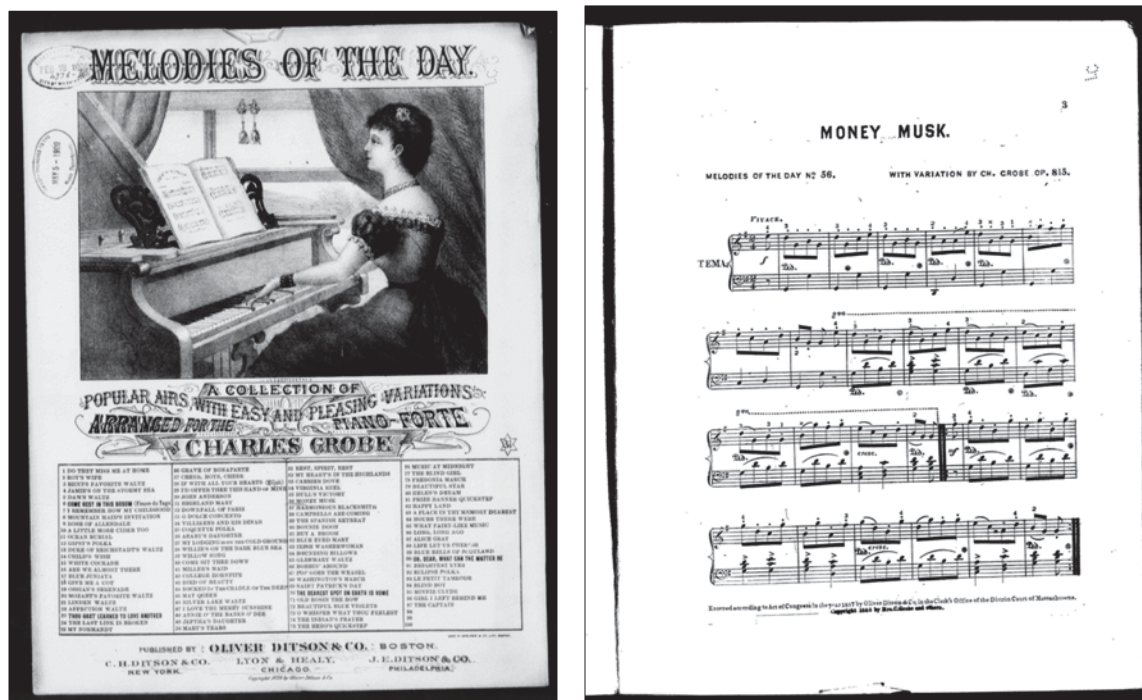
Figure 4.27   Cover and first page of Charles Grobe's setting of "Money Musk" (1885). Image courtesy Library of Congress, Music Division.

"Money Musk" also remained popular as a dance tune well into the twentieth century. It was danced at formal events—the 1845 Independent Greys' Military & Fancy Grand Ball in Baltimore, Maryland,[50] an 1864 dance hosted by the Quadrille Club of Des Moines, Iowa,[51] a 1912 "coloured ball" in Milwaukee[52]—and community dances: A. D. Streeter and his dance band played "Money Musk" in Washington and Oregon around the turn of the twentieth century, as did Franklin Clay Brown in Nebraska. In East Poultney, Vermont, Frank Kilborn (b. 1877)

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[50] *American Republican and Baltimore Daily Clipper*, February 27, 1845, 2.
[51] The Iowa dance program consisted primarily of dances in a square formation (quadrilles, lancers, and cotillions) and couple dances (waltzes, polkas and schottisches). "Iowa Dance Program, 1864" (Square Dance History Project, ed. David Millstone, 2016), http://squaredancehistory.org/items/show/866.
[52] "Dance Money Musk at Colored Ball," *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 30, 1912, no page number.

attended house dances where a fiddler, standing "in one corner of the room, or between the doors

if two rooms were used," called and played for dances that included "Money Musk."[53]

By the last decades of the nineteenth century, "Money Musk" carried with it a certain

nostalgia. In the 1870s, New York State poet and author Benjamin Taylor penned an ode to

"Money Musk," and to rural dancing more generally:

> The cedar cakes with the ancient twist,
> The cider cup that the girls have kissed.
> And I see the fiddler through the dusk
> As he twangs the ghost of "Money Musk!"[54]

Portions of this poem were reprinted in dozens of newspapers across the United States at the turn

of the century.[55] In the 1890s, "Money Musk" was printed (in F major and with dotted rhythms

throughout) in the sheet music series "Good Old-Fashioned Tunes with Original Calls for

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[53] Streeter's orchestra also played "popular airs" such as "Devil's Dream," "The Girl I left Behind me," "Pop-goes-the-weasel," "Last Rose of Summer." Brown's band also played "Durang's Hornpipe," "Countrymen's Reel," "Fisher's Hornpipe." Kilborn also recalls the dances "The Fisher's Hornpipe," "Virginia Reel," "Duncan House," "Portland Fancy," and, as the last dance of the evening, "Morning Star" (A. D. Streeter interviewed by Eben H. Drum, December 21, 1938, Orchards, WA; Franklin Clay Brown interviewed by Harold J. Moss, March 2, 1939, Lincoln, NE; Frank Kilborn interviewed by C. F. Derven, August 25, 1938, Poultney, VT). All three interviews were conducted through the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Project Administration. Transcriptions are available online at the "American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1940" site of the Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html.

[54] Benjamin Taylor, "Money Musk," in *The Golden Treasury of Poetry and Prose*, ed. Francis F. Browne (New York: N. D. Thomson & Co., 1883), 475. Taylor was born in 1822 (904).

[55] For instance, *The Avant Courier* (Bozeman, MT), November 13, 1874, p. 1; *The New Orleans Bulletin*, January 2, 1876, p. 6; *The Democratic Advocate* (Westminster, MD), March 4, 1893, [p. 4], *The Arizona Republican*, March 14, 1906, p. 4; *The Leader* (Guthrie, OK), December 16, 1908, p. 4. These and many other examples are available online via the Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers database (Library of Congress), http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/.

Dancing"[56]; in 1912, the National Promenade Band recorded "Money Musk" as one of four

"familiar old tunes" for the "Virginia Reel," a popular social dance.[57] In 1926, Henry and Clara

Bryant Ford included a four-strain "Money Musk" and detailed dance calls in their publication

"Good Morning": After a Sleep of Twenty-five Years, Old-fashioned Dancing is being revived.[58]

In Quebec, "Money Musk" was a common fiddle tune in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, though its arrival in Lower Canada dates to the 1790s, if not before, when

Miss C. R.[achel] Frobisher, a bourgeois Anglophone Montrealer, penned "Monney Musk" in

her music manuscript book.[59] In "Les Marionnettes," Louis Frechette's retelling of a popular

legend set at a winter lumber camp, fiddler Fifi Labranche summons the northern lights by

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[56] "Good Old-Fashioned Tunes with Original Calls for Dancing: Money Musk; Speed the Plow; Rustic Reel; Chorus Jig" (sheet music, after 1890), http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/sheetmusic/n/n14/n1469/. An 1885 arrangement sets "Money Musk" for a large ensemble of strings, winds, brass, piano, and percussion; this may have been a dance band arrangement (Pettee, arr., "Fancy Jig [and] Money Musk" [Cleveland: J.G. Richards, 1885].) This sheet music is available via the Library of Congress's "Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music" website, https://www.loc.gov/item/sm1885.24541/. The arrangement is for two violins, viola, bass, cello, flute, clarinet in A, cornets in A, trombone in A, tuba, piano and drums.

[57] National Promenade Band, "Money Musk Medley—Virginia Reel," Edison Blue Amberol cylinder #1512 (September 1912). See "Edison Blue Amberol Records, Domestic Popular Series, Vol. 1 (1501–1530)," ARCH D-10001, *Edison Blue Amberols, Vol. 1* (December 2012): 1, www.archeophone com/downloads/notes/10001.pdf. The other tunes in the medley are "Pop Goes the Weasel," "White Cockade," and "We Won't Go Home Till Morning."

[58] Henry Ford and Clara Bryant Ford, *"Good Morning": After a Sleep of Twenty-five Years, Old-fashioned Dancing is Being Revived* (Dearborn, MI: The Dearborn Publishing Company, 1926), 106–107. My thanks to Pierre Chartrand for sharing his copy of *"Good Morning"* with me.

[59] In addition, Simonne Voyer notes that "Money Musk" was danced at a ball in Quebec City in 1792 (Simonne Voyer, *La danse traditionnelle dans l'est du Canada : quadrilles et cotillons* [Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001], 32). The Frobisher manuscript is dated April 1793 and housed at the Hôtel Dieu in Quebec City. I have not been able to view this manuscript directly although, courtesy of Pierre Chartrand, I have seen a copy of the cover and twenty-five of the sixty-three pages with music notation. This does not include the page with "Money Musk," unfortunately. Francine Reeves references this manuscript in her 2000 article, "À propos du Money Musk : Une pièce instrumentale, une famille et un village d'Écosse, un vieux reliquaire" (*Bulletin Mnémo* 5, no. 1 [Summer 2000], http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/a-propos-du-money-musk-une-piece).

playing a wild and devilish rendition of "Money Musk" and then, struck by divine retribution for this act of dark magic, loses the ability to play any other tune.[60] "Money Musk" is the only fiddle tune named in Frechette's stories—or, to the best of my knowledge, in other contemporary fiction from Quebec. In 1908, J. E. Prince recalled fiddlers playing virtuosic renditions of "l'éternel money-musk" at Sunday afternoon community gatherings during his childhood: "On dirait que pour ce dernier « air » à deux temps, il s'agit d'un concerto de Max Bruch ou de la sonate à Kreutzer. Celui qui peut jouer avec une certaine maîtrise le money-musk a « beaucoup d'avenir devant lui »."[61] The eight-strain "Money Musk" of Yvon Mimeault's father certainly matches this description, as do commercial and field recordings by fiddlers Johnny Boivin, Médard Bougie, Jean Carignan and Isidore Soucy, accordionists Tommy Duchesne, Donat Lafleur and Edouard Picard, and others (see below). For over a century, musicians in Quebec have created lengthy and spectacular arrangements of "Money Musk."

This virtuosic practice may have had it roots in the United States. "Money Musk" has sported additional strains since at least the 1880s, when *Ryan's Mammoth Collection* published two settings of the tune: a G major strathspey nearly identical to the Gows' 1805 [1799] setting (Figure 4.28), and an A major reel, with dance calls and two challenging variants to the second strain (Figure 4.29).[62] Many fiddlers presumably performed similarly virtuosic strains at contests.

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[60] Louis Fréchette, *Les contes de Jos Violon*, Collection Littérature québécoise, vol. 4, version 2.5 (La Bibliothèque électronique du Québec, n.d.). Frechette lived from 1839 to 1908.

[61] "One would say that this 'air' in duple meter was like a concerto by Max Bruch or a sonata by Kreutzer. He who could play 'Money Musk' with a certain level of mastery had 'a bright future before him.'" Prince lists the following dances at these gatherings: "le reel à quatre, le reel à huit, le hornpipe, le ranger, le brandy, le cotillon, surtout la gigue" ("Les violons d'autrefois: essai de folklore musical," *Bulletin du parler français* [May 1908]): 334.

[62] One note of Ryan's G major setting differs from the Gows' setting (the last note of the first bar of the B strain). There is also small-scale rhythmic variation (*Ryan's Mammoth Collection: 1050 Reels and Jigs, Hornpipes, Clogs, Walk-arounds, Essences, Strathspeys, Highland Flings and Contra Dances, with Figures, and How to Play Them* [Boston: Elias Howe, 1883]).

Community newspapers document contest performances of "Money Musk" from Pennsylvania

to Arkansas to Nebraska in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the

twentieth century. Some contests included a "Best performance of 'Money Musk'" category.[63]

Figure 4.28   **"Money Musk" (G major setting) in *Ryan's Mammoth Collection* (1883). This setting appears on page 254.**

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[63] "Money Musk" was played at competitions in Nuremberg, PA (*Warren Sheaf*, March 21, 1901, 1); Hopkinsville, KY, for a crowd of about 2500 (*Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, April 23, 1901, 5); Cloverport, KY (*The Breckenridge News*, November 4, 1903, [3]); Rogers, AR (*The Evening Times*, November 25, 1911, 3); and Omaha, NE (*Omaha Daily Bee*, November 22, 1913, 9). In Charlestown, IN, the best performance of "Money Musk" merited a pair of sheep shears (*The Indianapolis Journal*, May 11, 1899, 4) and in Topeka, KS, the best fiddler of "Money Musk" received a "room of fancy Wall Paper" in 1912 and a "Fine framed Picture" in 1913 (*The Topeka State Journal*, March 15, 1912, last edition, 8; *The Topeka State Journal*, March 15, 1913, last edition, 9). In Jefferson, TX, the "ladies of the Civic League" offered prizes for the oldest fiddler, the best fiddler, and the "best rendition of "Money Musk" (*The Jimplecute*, October 21, 1905, [4]). In Monte Ne, AR, judges called on performers to execute "Money Musk," "Devil's Dream" and "Soldier's Joy" (*The Caldwell Watchman*, September 07, 1911, 4). A Grand Old Time Fiddlers' Contest in Earlington, KY offered over three dozen prizes, including "Best 'Money Musk' player" but also "Laziest fiddler" and "Worst fiddler" (*The Bee*, March 27, 1914, [3]). All sources accessed online via the *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* database of the National Endowment for the Humanities, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/.

Figure 4.29   **"Money Musk" (A major setting) in *Ryan's Mammoth Collection*. This setting appears on page 61.**

This whirlwind survey of "Money Musk" in North America raises at least as many questions as it answers. How similar were the melodies played by A. D. Streeter and J. E. Prince's community musicians: Did they play the same number of strains, and in the same tonality? To what degree, if any, did dance band and amateur community musicians alter the tune melodically, rhythmically, or structurally from their source settings? How similar were their settings to published settings of "Money Musk"? What were the geographic boundaries of the aural musical networks within which settings of "Money Musk" circulated?

The remainder of this chapter engages with these questions through a comparative analysis of over forty settings of "Money Musk" as recorded in North America in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. While I focus on commercial and field recordings from Quebec, I also reference recordings by the National Promenade Band, George Wade and his Cornhuskers, Don Messer and his Islanders, and American fiddlers Jasper Bisbee, John A. Pattee, and Frank "Dad" Williams (Table 4.4; see Appendix 6 for transcriptions of many of the settings discussed below).

Year (Recording/Release)	Principal musician(s)	Instrumentation	Title	Commercial Release (Source)	Non-Commercial Recording: Recorded By; Archival Identifiers	References and Biographical Info
1912	National Promenade Band	Winds and brass	"Money Musk Medley—Virginia Reel"	Edison Blue Amberol #1522 (UCSB Cylinder Archive, http://www.library.ucsb.edu/OBID/Cylinder0365)		"Edison Blue Amberol Records, Domestic Popular Series, Vol. 1 (1501–1530)," ARCH D-10001, Edison Blue Amberols, Vol. 1 (December 2012):1, www.archeophone.com/downloads/notes/10001.pdf
1918	François-Xavier Beaulne	Violin	"Money Musk"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-184.2, X-A-63.	Biographical info unavailable.
1918	Médard Bougie	Violin	"Money Musk à la canadienne"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-171.2 (1502), X-A-61.	Jean Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique et le grand concours international de 1926 à Lewiston, Maine," Bulletin Mnémo 17, no. 1 (Winter 2016), 4.
1918	Médard Bougie	Violin	"Money Musk à l'écossaise"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-171.2 (1503), X-A-61.	Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique," 4.
1918	Édouard Giroux	Violin	"Money Musk"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-176.2, X-A-62.	Biographical info unavailable.
rel. 1923	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	Violin	"Gigues pot-pourri" [2nd	Victor 263130-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 63.
1923/1924	Jasper Bisbee	Violin, piano	"Money Musk with Variations"	Edison 51381, 78 rpm (A. Trae McMaken, "Jasper 'Jep' Bisbee 1843–1935," Michigan Fiddlers [blog], 2016, http://www.michiganfiddle.com/michigan-main/jasper-jep-bisbee-1923-1935)		Paul Gifford, "Jasper E. 'Jep' Bisbee—Old-Time Michigan Dance Fiddler," Old-Time Herald 9, no. 6 (Winter 2004–2005), http://www.oldtimeherald.org/archive/back_issues/volume-9/9-6/jasper-bisbee.html.
rec. 1924	John A. Pattee	Violin, piano	"Old Money Musk Quadrille"	Columbia 231-D, 78 rpm (A. Trae McMaken, "John A. Pattee Materials," Michigan Fiddlers [blog], 2016, http://www.michiganfiddle.com/michigan-main/john-a-pattee-materials)		Steve Abrams and Tyrone Settlemier, "COLUMBIA D-suffix 78rpm numerical listing discography:1D - 5000," The Online Discographical Project. The Online Discographical Project (March 3, 2015), http://www.78discography.com/COL1D.htm.
1926/1927	Isidore Soucy	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	Starr 15302-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 231–232.
1928/1928	Alfred Montmarquette, Adélard St-Jean	Accordion, castanets	"Money Musk"	Starr 15475-A, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 182–183.
rel. 1928	Joseph Allard, A. Rochon	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	Victor 263527-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 33–34.
1928	Johnny Boivin	Violin	"Money-musk"		Douglas Leechman for Marius Barbeau, Ottawa; CMH, B-Aw-690.1.	Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique," 5.
1928	Johnny Boivin	Violin	"Money-musk—faux ton"		Douglas Leechman for Marius Barbeau, Ottawa; CMH, B-Aw-699.1.	Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique," 5.
1928?	Donat Lafleur	Accordion, piano		CMH, coll. Marcel Lecours, LEC-A-24, XXI-E-59. From an unidentified 78 rpm; perhaps Columbia 34194-F (see Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 68–70).		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 142.
rec. 1929	"Dad" [Frank E.] Williams	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	Brunswick 306-B, 78 rpm ("'Dad' Williams-Brunswick 306," Allan's Archive of Early Country Music [blog], April 13, 2014, http://allensarchivesfearlyoldcountrymusic.blogspot.com/2014/04/dad-williams-brunswick-306.html)		"'Dad' Williams-Brunswick 306," Allan's Archive of Early Country Music (blog)
rel. 1930	Édouard Picard, Henri Lacroix	Accordion, Jaw harp	"Danse du jardinier"	RCA Victor 263701-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 204.
rel. 1931	Joseph Guilmette	Accordion	"Money Musk"	RCA Victor 263779, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 120.
rel. c1932	Eugène Collin	Accordion	"Money Musk"	RCA Victor 263881-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Biographical info unavailable.
1935/1935	Tommy Duchesne	Accordion, guitar	"Money Musk"	Starr 15926-A, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 91–92.
1938/1939	Tommy Duchesne	Accordion, guitar	"Money Musk américain"	Starr 16212-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 91–92.
between 1931 and 1939	George Wade and his Corn Huskers	Violins, banjo, piano	"Old time reel medley: Flowers of Edinburgh, Richett's [Rickett's] Hornpipe, Money Musk"	RCA Victor 216580-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Margaret Daly, "George Wade And His Cornhuskers," in The Canadian Encyclopedia (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published February 8, 2006), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/george-wade-and-his-cornhuskers-emc/
1951	Gérard Lajoie	Accordion, piano	"Money Musk"	Collection les grands folkloristes québécois, volume 2: Gérard Lajoie (Disques Mérite 22-1382, 2006, compact disc). Originally recorded on Starr 16969, August 1951.		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 143–144.
1956	Gérard «Ti-Noir» Joyal	Violin, guitar, bass	"Reel du mois de mars"	Ti-Noir et ses campagnards (Canarval C-411, 1960, 33 1/3 rpm). Originally recorded in 1956 on Starr 17203.		Note: sounds 1/2 step lower than usual tuning of violin. Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 126.

Year (Recording/ Release)	Principal musician(s)	Instrumentation	Title	Commercial Release (Source)	Non-Commercial Recording: Recorded By; Archival Identifiers	References and Biographical Info
1950s	Don Messer and his Islanders	Violin, piano, spoons or bones	"The Money Musk"	*The Best of Don Messer and his Islanders, Prince Edward Series Vol. 3* (Apex AL-1610, n.d, 33 1/3 rpm)		Richard Green, "Don Messer," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published April 4, 2008), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/don-messer-and-his-islanders/.
1962	Unknown musicians	Harmonica, guitar	[Money Musk]		Leo Fitzpatrick, Douglastown, QC	For more on Leo Fitzpatrick, see Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc *Douglastown.*
1968	La famille Soucy	Violin, piano, drums, spoons?, jaw harp	"Le Money Musk"	*La veillée chez Isidore* (RCA Victor CGP-215 [LCF-1030], 1968, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 229–232.
late 1960s	Elita Briand and Walter Rooney	Harmonium, violin	[Money Musk]	Recorded by Bernard Rooney, Douglastown, QC. Commercial release on *Douglastown: Musique et chanson de la Gaspésie* (Douglas Community Centre DOUG001, 2014, compact disc)		Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc *Douglastown.*
1974	Wilbrod Boivin	Harmonica, guitar	"Money Musk"	*100 ans de musique traditionnelle québécoise* (Transit TRCD 9508/9, 1999, 2 compact discs). Originally released on Wilbrod Boivin, *Quadrilles avec Wilbrod Boivin* (Trans-Canada TCM-2951, 1974)		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 50–51.
1975	Jean Carignan	Violin	"Money Musk" [G major]	*Jean Carignan, violoneux* (National Film Board film directed by		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 74–76.
1975	Jean Carignan	Violin	"Money Musk" [A major]	*Jean Carignan, violoneux* (National Film Board film directed by		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 74–76.
c1975	Henri Landry	Violin, piano	"Le Money Musk"	*Henri Landry, violoneux des Cantons-de-l'Est* (Buda Records 92643–2, 1996, compact disc)		Patrick Desaunay, "Henri Landry, violoneux des Cantons de l'Est," Bulletin Mnémo 6, no. 4 (Spring 2002), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/henri-landry-violoneux-des-cantons
1975	Gilles Paré	Accordion, piano, guitar	"Money Musk"	*Portraits du Vieux Kébec, vol. 10: Gilles Paré, accordéoneux de la Mauricie* (Le Tamanoir OP-253, 1975, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 195–196.
1975	"Ti-Blanc" [Adalbert] Richard	Violin, guitar?, brass, bass, drums	"Money Musk"	*Soirée québécoise du temps des fêtes* (Promo-Son IPA 7501, 1975, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 217–218.
1976, 1980	Jean Carignan, Gilles Losier	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	In two medleys: "Money Musk—Reel du Ti pit [*Jean Carignan rend hommage à Joseph Allard* [Philo FI-2012, 1976]); and "Money Musk et Reel de Châteauguay" [*Jean Carignan, volume 1: La gigue à deux* [Tout Crin TB-097, 1999], re-edition of *Jean Carignan, Gilles Losier: Gigue à deux* [Radio-Canada International RCI-621, 1980])		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 74–76.
1977	Philippe Bruneau	Accordion, piano	"Money Musk"		Mario Loiselle, Montreal; CMH, LOI-A-2 (2), XVI-F-4.	Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 68–70.
1977	Ulysse Potvin	Violin	"Money Must"	*Musiciens traditionnels québécois, volume 1: Gens de Charlevoix* (Patrimoine PAT 18001, 1977)		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 213.
1978	"Ti-Blanc" [Adalbert] Richard	Violin, piano, bass?	"Money Musk"	*Dans tous les cantons: Vol. 1, Gigues avec Ti-Blanc Richard* (Dans tous les cantons C-7202, 1978, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 217–218.
1979	Joseph Gilbert, Linette Gilbert, Simon Blanchette	Violin, stepdancing, piano	[Money Musk]	Originally broadcast on the television show *Soirée canadienne* in 1979 (village: Notre-Dame des Pins). Reissued on the DVD *Soirée Canadienne avec Louis Bilodeau* [vol. 1] (TVA Films, TVA00396, 2006, compact disc and DVD set, produced by Jean Collard). This segment		Biographical info unavailable.
1983	Erskine Morris	Violin	[Money Musk]		Joseph and Anthony Drody, Cambridge, ON; GCSA, fonds Erskine Morris	Glenn Patterson and Brian Morris, *Erskine Morris: Old-Time Fiddle Music from the Gaspé Coast* (blog), 2010–2016, http://gaspefiddle.blogspot.ca/; Glenn Patterson, Laura Risk, and Luc Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc *Douglastown: Musique et chanson de la Gaspésie* (Douglas Community Center DOUG001, 2014)
1990	Erskine Morris	Violin	"Money Muss"		Erskine Morris, Cambridge, ON; GCSA, fonds Erskine Morris	Patterson and Morris, *Erskine Morris* (blog); Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc *Douglastown.*
2004	Liette Remon	Violin, guitar, bass	"La Money Musk à Réginald"	*Comté de Gaspé-Sud* (self-produced, compact disc, 2004)		Liette Remon, "Accueil—Liette Remon," http://lietteremon.com/, accessed August 9, 2016.
2005	Francine Desjardins	Accordion	"Quadrille Montcalm / The	*Entrez et dansez chez Francine!* (self-produced, compact disc, 2005)		Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 87.
2010	Gérard Durette	Violin	[Money Musk]		Gérard Durette, Gaspé, QC	Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc *Douglastown.*
2013	Pascal Gemme (playing his uncle's setting of "Money Musk")	Violin	"Money Musk"		Mario Loiselle, Laval, QC; recording housed in personal archives.	Pascal Gemme, "Pascal Gemme—Violoneux Québécois—Traditional Fiddler," http://pascalgemme.com/, accessed August 9, 2016.

Abbreviations

CMH: Canadian Museum of History Archives (access via http://www.historymuseum.ca/learn/resource-centre/)

GCSA: Gaspesian Community Sound Archives

VG: Virtual Gramophone, Library and Archives Canada (access via http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/films-videos-sound-recordings/virtual-gramophone/Pages/virtual-gramophone.aspx)

Table 4.4   Select commercial and field recordings of "Money Musk"

As noted in Chapter Three, many tunes in Quebec have multiple titles, and a given

strain may appear in multiple tunes. "Money Musk" is unusual in that the A and B strains are

nearly always found together, and most tunes with these two strains are titled "Money Musk."[64]

It is also unusual for the quantity and diversity of its settings, many of which have more than two

strains.

In short, "Money Musk" is not a typical fiddle tune in Quebec, and I do not take it as

such in the following analysis. (The diversity of repertoire in Quebec is such that it would be

extremely difficult to pinpoint a single "typical" tune.) Rather, I see "Money Musk" as a sort of

limiting case, and use the extreme latitude of musical interpretation for this one tune as a means

of exploring the spaces of musical possibilities within which musicians in Quebec work.

4.4   "Money Musk" in Quebec: Analyzing Musical Essence and Generic Expression

In 1950, Samuel Bayard proposed that most North American and British Isles folk song melodies

were derived from a handful of "parent" melodies (see Chapter One, section 1.3).[65] Bayard's

influential writings used comparative analyses to suggest genealogies of transmission for these

"tune families" and to determine, as much as possible, an ancestral melody at the origin of each

family.[66] Bayard's formulation inspired several generations of scholars to seek in folk melodies

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[64] The A strain of "Money Musk" (played in D major) is quite similar to the third strain of
"Quadrille du peuple, 1ère partie," recorded in 1928 by Isidore Soucy and Donat Lafleur and
released c. March 1929 (Starr 15532-A). My thanks to Jean Duval for this observation.
[65] Samuel Bayard, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Principal Melodic Families of British-
American Folk Song," *The Journal of American Folklore* 63, no. 247 (1950): 1–44.
[66] Samuel Bayard, "Two Representative Tune Families of British Tradition," *Midwest Folklore*
4, no. 1 (1954): 13–33.

some sort of melodic essence that is maintained even as notes and rhythms are altered in individual performance.[67]

This ideal of a tune's melodic essence is in keeping with older conceptions of folk music, whereby the folk themselves were but vessels for music, song, and dance, and melodic and lyrical variants were deformations of an earlier, more purely authentic repertoire. Though this latter repertoire was eternally out of reach, collectors and folklorists might approximate it by collecting songs and tunes from older people in geographically isolated locations in order to, through musical and textual analysis, separate original melodic essences from later distortions.

Today, we might criticize such scholarship for its dated focus on reconstructing hypothetical musical origins. On the other hand, for many traditional musicians today, tunes do seem to have an essence that transcends individual variation. In 2010, I interviewed thirteen professional traditional musicians in Scotland about their interpretations of tunes from older printed collections or archival recordings. A number of these musicians, independently of each other, described tunes as having an "essence" or "core": some combination of notes, rhythms, and melodic patterns as well as an overall length and melodic contour. Nobody could ever precisely define the essence of a tune for me, or play it; rather, it was a sort of imagined continuity, but as such very powerful and with real musical consequences. Most of my interviewees had learned tunes from eighteenth and nineteenth-century collections and then created their own settings of those tunes, and they could articulate with great precision those musical elements that they considered fixed and those that they considered changeable. These elements varied from player to player, however. For some, tonality was an essential

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[67] For instance, in 1951 Bertrand Bronson proposed using punch-card technology to quantitatively determine the essential melodic contour of a tune family (Bertrand H. Bronson, "Melodic Stability in Oral Transmission," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 3 [1951], 50–55).

characteristic, while others transposed tunes freely. Some players left rhythms intact and

followed tempo indications, while others transformed reels into strathspeys. Some retained every

note in a melody; others recomposed certain melodic figures.[68]

I cite this study not to suggest that early- and mid-twentieth-century traditional

musicians in Quebec used the same interpretive approaches as post-folk-revival professional

musicians in Scotland, but rather to suggest that Bayard's prototypical melodies may in fact

exist, not in the distant past, but within individual musical imaginations.[69]

I might graphically represent this latter distinction as follows. Bayard identified a

number of existing folk melodies (I will call these "actual performances") that he believed were

musically related and then used their common melodic features to construct a hypothetical parent

melody (Figure 4.30).

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[68] Laura Risk, "'The Essence of the Tune': Interpretation of Historical Collections
and Archive Recordings in Scottish Fiddling" (unpublished paper, 2010). The musicians I
interviewed in Scotland were professionals working almost exclusively in the domain of
traditional music and earning their livings through performance, recording, and teaching. Their
responses to my questions were likely shaped in part by a professional imperative to develop an
individual musical voice, via repertoire selection and interpretive style, within an established
tradition.
[69] In *Dance to the Fiddle, March to the Fife: Instrumental Folk Tunes in Pennsylvania*
(University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982), Bayard places "Money Musk"
in a tune family with "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch" and "The Ruffians Rant." He assumes that all
three tunes originated from a common "ancestral air" (331).
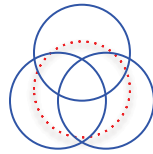
Figure 4.30   **Graphic representation of the relationship between actual performances and Bayard's hypothetical parent melody. Solid blue circles represent actual performances. The red dotted circle represents the hypothetical parent melody.**

For each actual performance, this model supposes the existence of numerous additional melodies—I will call these "hypothetical source melodies"—by which the ancestral melody was transformed into an actual performance. I use the term "source melody" to refer to the source(s) from which a musician learned a tune (Figure 4.31).
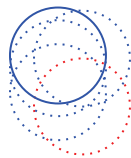
Figure 4.31   **Graphic representation of the relationship between an actual performance, Bayard's hypothetical parent melody, and the intermediary hypothetical source melodies. The hypothetical source melodies for one actual performance are represented as dotted blue circles.**

By contrast, my research in Scotland compared actual source melodies to actual interpretations of those melodies (Figure 4.32).
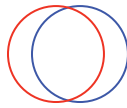
Figure 4.32   **Graphic representation of the relationship between an actual performance and an actual source melody. The red circle represents an actual source melody.**

We can assume that the intersection of an actual performance and an actual source melody includes all elements of the source melody that the interpreting musician considered essential. It may also contain elements that the musician did not consider essential, but that they retained nonetheless. The two non-overlapping areas contain, respectively, those elements of the source tune that the interpreting musician did not consider essential for this performance, and those elements of the musician's interpretation not present in the source tune.

In an ideal, Latourian world, I would determine the many minute musical and social interactions that generated each individual setting of "Money Musk," and use those to trace patterns of transmission and musical transformation. Such details are lacking for nearly all of the "Money Musks" that I have collected, however. In Chapter Three, I used early commercial recordings to reconstruct potential trajectories of transmission among a small network of musicians living in Montreal in the 1920s. In this chapter, I use multiple recordings of a single tune to look for larger patterns of musical transmission and transformation.

Here I find useful Bahktin's speech genres: spheres of communication with typical associated types of utterances, where an utterance is the smallest unit of meaningful speech. I take each performance of a tune to be a musical utterance, and the set of stylistic characteristics shared by a network of players as the musical equivalent of a speech genre.

Bahktin describes utterances as shaped by a productive balance of individual expression

and collective constraint: "Any utterance… is individual and therefore can reflect the

individuality of the speaker (or writer)," although that individual style is also "inseparably

related to the utterance and to typical forms of utterances, that is, speech genres," or "sphere[s]

within which language is used."[70] Similarly, a musician's performance of a tune may reflect his

or her individuality and also the musical and extra-musical contexts of that performance.

In the following analysis, I look at how musicians "utter" "Money Musk." I look for

musical elements common to multiple settings of the tune and take those as markers of a

common musical genre. Some of the resulting generic categories align with present-day

categorizations of traditional music, while others challenge those categorizations.

4.4.1   Essences and Interpretive Latitudes

All of the settings of "Money Musk" that I have amassed have certain melodic, rhythmic, and

formal elements in common. I take this overlap to be a sort of musical fingerprint for "Money

Musk": it contains all the information necessary to positively identify the tune.

"Money Musk" in both Scotland and North America is always in duple meter and

usually, though not always in Quebec, in binary duple meter. (My transcriptions are in 4/4 with

eighth notes as the basic subdivision, though this tune could equally well be notated in 2/2, or in

2/4 with sixteenth note subdivisions.) In North America, it contains two or more strains, each of

which is usually four bars long and is repeated, on occasion with a second ending. Note that

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[70] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Problems of Speech Genres," in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*,
edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, translated by Vern W. McGee (Austin:
University of Texas Press, 1986), 63, 60.

some "Money Musks" have an irregular number of beats and/or bars; the metric notation of these "crooked" settings is necessarily at the discretion of the transcriber.[71]

All "Money Musk" settings include a strain with the following characteristics. This is the first strain in Dow's composition and in most other "Money Musks," and I label it the "A" strain (see Appendix 7):

- The melodic compass of the A strain extends across nine notes: $\hat{1}$ through $\hat{9}$.

- Each of the first three bars begins on $\hat{5}$ or, less commonly, $\hat{3}$;

- The first three beats of the first bar, and the first two or three beats of bars two and three, contain only $\hat{1}$, $\hat{3}$, and $\hat{5}$, usually in some sort of alternating pattern. The order of those notes is highly variable, though the most common is $\hat{5}$ $\hat{1}$ $\hat{3}$ $\hat{1}$ $\hat{5}$ $\hat{1}$ (Dow's original);

- The last beat of the first bar contains $\hat{6}$, sometimes preceded by $\hat{4}$;

- The melody moves to $\hat{2}$ on beat three of bar two and rises to $\hat{6}$ by the end of that bar;

- In the third bar, the melody leaps up to $\hat{8}$ midway through beat three, to be followed by a descending line or a V-shaped figure (descending and ascending), in beat four;

- Bar four begins with a V-shaped figure on beats one and two. This figure contains, but is not limited to, $\hat{2}$, $\hat{4}$, and $\hat{6}$. It is followed, on beat three, by a descending leap from $\hat{3}$ to $\hat{1}$.

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[71] For an exhaustive survey of crooked tunes in Quebec, see Jean Duval, "Porteurs de pays à l'air libre : jeu et enjeux des pièces asymétriques dans la musique traditionnelle du Québec," PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 2013.

Most "Money Musks" also include a "B" strain with the following characteristics (see Appendix 8):

- The maximum melodic compass is $\hat{1}$ to $\hat{10}$;

- The first and third bars almost always begin on $\hat{8}$ and contain either a leaping or a descending figure centered around $\hat{3}$, $\hat{5}$, and $\hat{8}$. The third bar is usually, though not always, identical to the first bar;

- The second bar usually begins on $\hat{8}$, though it may also begin on $\hat{5}$, $\hat{3}$, or $\hat{1}$. The notes on beat one and, usually, beat two outline the tonic chord and may continue a pattern established in bar one. The notes on beats three and four, and possibly beat two, outline the supertonic or dominant chord, and are either V-shaped, ascending, descending, or descending in a leaping figure;

- The fourth bar of the B strain often contains a two-beat V-shaped or leaping figure that outlines the supertonic or dominant triad and leads to the tonic chord on beat three (i.e., $\hat{6}$ $\hat{4}$ $\hat{2}$ $\hat{4}$, $\hat{5}$ $\hat{4}$ $\hat{2}$ $\hat{4}$, $\hat{5}$ $\hat{4}$ $\hat{2}$ $\hat{5}$, $\hat{4}$ $\hat{3}$ $\hat{2}$ $\hat{4}$, or $\hat{4}$ $\hat{6}$ $\hat{2}$ $\hat{4}$ leading to $\hat{3}$; $\hat{7}$ $\hat{5}$ $\hat{6}$ $\hat{7}$ leading to $\hat{8}$). On occasion, a leaping pattern begun on beat four of the third bar continues through the first half of bar four, usually $\hat{4}$ $\hat{9}$ | $\hat{3}$ $\hat{8}$ $\hat{2}$ $\hat{4}$ or $\hat{4}$ $\hat{9}$ | $\hat{3}$ $\hat{8}$ $\hat{2}$ $\hat{5}$.

- When the B strain repeats, the third and fourth bars, or only the fourth bar, may be replaced by a second ending.

We might think of each of these two strains as a space of musical possibilities, or of potential "Money Musk" utterances. Like speakers following well-prepared texts, some musicians always follow the same track through these spaces. Others work within a personal space of musical

possibilities and alter the tune from one performance to the next. No musician inhabits the entire

space of musical possibilities described above, of course. Just as every utterance is necessarily

limited to those words and expressions with which the speaker is familiar, so every performance

of "Money Musk" is built from musical elements with which the musician is already familiar. By

tracing a musician's negotiation of these spaces of possibilities, we can discern some of the

elements of individual style and generic expression that shape his or her performance of "Money

Musk."

In the follow paragraphs, I describe six such negotiations. The first two—motivic

coherence and overlying rhythmic motif—are internal to a given strain; that is, they are ways of

shaping a single strain within the context of a larger performance. The other four—modulation,

form, melodic extension, and regional or national association—affect multiple strains and shape

the performance as a whole.

Motivic coherence: Most performances of "Money Musk" exhibit a high degree of motivic

coherence within each strain. Melodic patterns introduced in bar one of the A strain, for instance,

typically repeat in bar three, as with the $\hat{5}$ $\hat{6}$ $\hat{5}$ figure that begins Pascal Gemme's performance

of his uncle's setting of "Money Musk" (Figure 4.33). Other musicians, including Johnny Boivin

and Ti-Noir Joyal, consistently play pairs of eighth notes on a single pitch (Figure 4.34).[72] Note

that a high degree of motivic coherence is typical of many, if not most, North Atlantic fiddle

tunes and is not a distinctive feature of "Money Musk." I introduce it here as a technique that

fiddlers may use when creating new variants of a "Money Musk" strain.

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[72] Glenn Patterson associates this bowed "hook" with Gaspesian fiddling (Glenn Patterson, "That Gaspé Sound: Exploring the Old-Time Fiddle Traditions of the Gaspé Coast," *Quebec Heritage News* 6 no. 5 [2012], http://gaspesie.quebecheritageweb.com/article/gaspe-sound-exploring-old-time-fiddle-traditions-gaspe-coast-part-2).
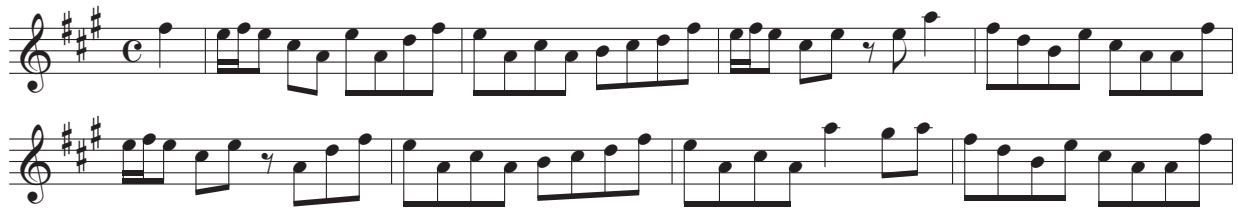
Figure 4.33   **Pascal Gemme's performance of his uncle's setting of "Money Musk" (A strain, first eight bars)**
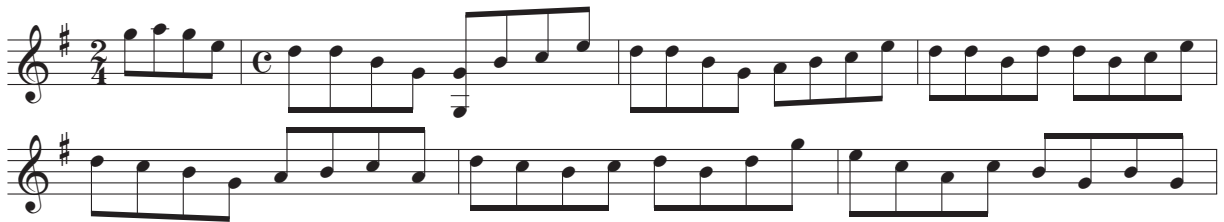
Figure 4.34   **Johnny Boivin's performance of "Money Musk" in G major (A strain, first phrase)**

Overlying rhythmic motifs: Many performances of the B strain are marked by a syncopated pattern of higher pitched notes, usually $\hat{8}$, in the first bar. These overlying rhythmic motifs often follow one of the patterns in Figure 4.35 and may be taken as specific examples of motivic coherence.

Figure 4.35   Typical overlying rhythmic motifs in bar one of the B strain (key of A major)

Performers use motivic coherence, including overlying rhythmic motifs, to construct settings of individual strains, and then embed those strains in four additional spaces of musical possibility: tonality, form, melodic extension, and national association.

Modulation: As detailed above, Dow's original "Money Musk" was in G major, though the tune was also played in A major within several decades of its composition. Both G and A major settings carried through to the twentieth century, and these are still the most common tonalities for fiddlers. Accordionists and harmonica players perform "Money Musk" in a variety of tonalities, depending on their instruments.[73]

Some settings of "Money Musk" expand the tune by placing the A and B strains in multiple registers and tonalities. Figure 4.36 presents a graphic representation of several such settings. Accordionists typically modulate between tonic and dominant, while fiddlers often

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[73] For instance, Alfred Montmarquette's 1928 recording of "Money Musk" begins in Eb major. Édouard Picard's 1930 recording is in C major.

progress from A major to D major to G major. These approaches exploit the physical

characteristics of the instrument. On a two-row accordion, moving from tonic to dominant or

vice versa is relatively simple: the player places his or her hand on a new set of buttons but uses

the same fingering. (On a one-row accordion, the fingering is similar but the pattern of pushing

and pulling is different.) Similarly, fiddlers may transpose a tune up or down a fifth (A major

down to D major, D major down to G major, G major down to C major) by playing the same

fingering on a lower string. Note, however, that some fiddle settings modulate between A major

and G major (a whole step below). This is not a simple move, as the two tonalities require

completely different fingering. It is possible that this modulation originated as a combination of

the G major and A major settings of "Money Musk."

Isidore Soucy (violin), 1927
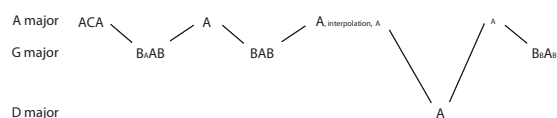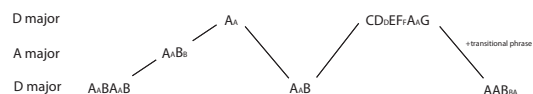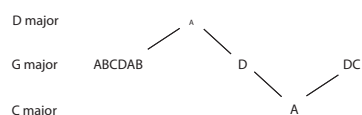
Johnny Boivin (violin), 1928

Alfred Montmarquette (accordion), 1928

Édouard Picard (accordion), 1930

Joseph Guilmette (accordion), 1931

Eugène Collin (accordion), c1932

Gérard Lajoie (accordion), 1951
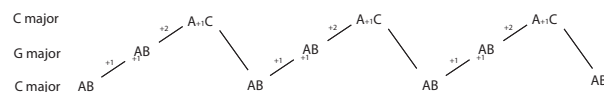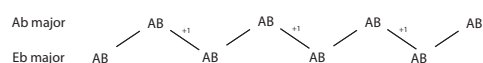
Gérard "Ti-Noir" Joyal (violin), 1956
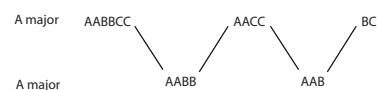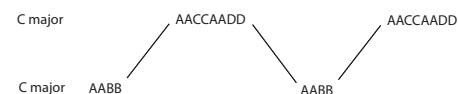
Gilles Paré (accordion), 1975
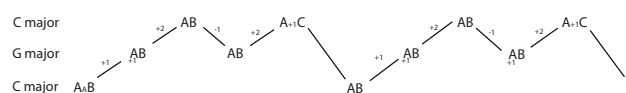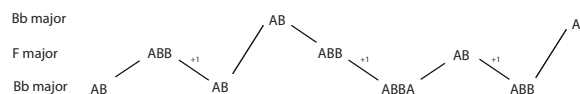
Ulysse Potvin (violin), 1977

"Ti-Blanc" Richard (violin), *Dans tous les cantons* LP, 1978
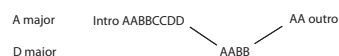
Figure 4.36   Graphic representation of modulations and registral shifts in several settings of "Money Musk." "+1" indicates an added beat (i.e., 1/2 bar) in an otherwise regular (four-bar) phrase structure.
See Table 4.4 for details regarding performers and recordings. Note that tonalities given for accordion players are based on A=440. The pitch of older recordings may have been altered during the digital transfer process.

Melodic extension: The recordings in Table 4.4 include dozens of additional strains. These strains may be loosely classified as follows:

- Many accordion players add a strain that begins with a syncopated pattern over an extended dominant chord and resolves to the tonic. These strains are particularly common in settings that modulate between tonic and dominant, and usually follow a B strain in the tonic key. The extended dominant chord at the beginning of these additional strains suggests, falsely, that the performer has modulated once again. Gérard Lajoie may have been the first to record this type of strain, in 1951 (Figure 4.37). Some earlier recordings also include a dominant-to-tonic strain, but without syncopation (Figure 4.38).

Gérard Lajoie (originally in C major), C strain, 1951

Gilles Paré, C strain (originally in C major), 1975

Figure 4.37   **Additional strains for "Money Musk": extended dominant with syncopation. This strain is common among accordion players in the second half of the twentieth century. Strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.**

Donat Lafleur, E strain, 1928

Eugène Collin, E strain (originally in D major), c1932

Eugène Collin, G strain (originally in D major), c1932

Tommy Duchesne, "Money Musk," D strain (originally in D major), 1935

Figure 4.38 **Additional strains for "Money Musk": extended dominant without syncopation. Strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.**

- Many fiddle players add virtuosic strains that leap above the nine-note compass of the A and B strains (Figure 4.39). These strains are always in A major and typically feature high C#, D and E notes, requiring the musician to shift to higher hand positions on the E string. They often echo or counterbalance an overlying rhythmic motif established in the B strain (Figure 4.40). Though J. E. Prince's description of community fiddlers suggests that many performed virtuosic settings of "Money Musk" simply to impress their neighbours, it seems likely that at least some of these technically challenging additional strains were used at for fiddle contests.

Jasper Bisbee, C strain

Jasper Bisbee, E strain

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à la canadienne," C strain

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à la canadienne," D strain

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à l'écossaise," C strain

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à l'écossaise," D strain

Jean Carignan, "Money Musk" in A major, D strain

Jean Carignan, "Money Musk" in A major, E strain

"Dad" [Frank E.] Williams, C strain

"Dad" [Frank E.] Williams, D strain

Figure 4.39   **Virtuosic additional strains for the violin. See Appendix 6 for naming protocol for additional strains.**

"Dad" [Frank E.] Williams reverts to all strong beats on one additional strain, and shifts the overlying rhythmic motif forward by one eighth note on another

Jasper Bisbee shifts the overlying rhythmic motif forward and delays the final eighth

Médard Bougie shifts the final eighth forward for one additional strain, and reverts to all strong beats on another
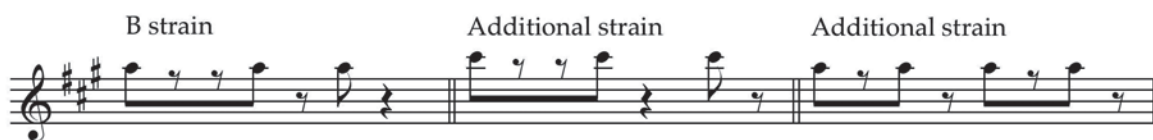
Figure 4.40   Overlying rhythmic motifs in virtuosic additional strains for the violin

- One common additional strain is borrowed from the tune "Keel Row." This is the usual third strain for New England contra dance fiddlers. ("Money Musk" as played for New England contradancing is twenty-four bars long.)[74] The "Keel Row" strain is the third strain of the four-strain setting of "Money Musk" printed in Henry Ford and Clara Bryant Ford's *Good Morning* (Figure 4.41).[75]

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[74] See [Ralph Page], "Contra Dance: Money Musk," *Northern Junket* 2, no. 11 (October 1951): 18–21; Ed Moody, "Money Musk," *Northern Junket* 10, no. 9 (July 1971): 7.
[75] Henry Ford and Clara Bryant Ford, *"Good Morning,"* 107.

Money Musk

Metronome 112

The tune of "Money Musk" took its name from the village of Moneymusk on the river Don in Aberdeenshire. It is about a century old.

Figure 4.41   **The "Keel Row" strain is the third strain of "Money Musk" as printed in the Fords' "*Good Morning.*"**

- In the 1960s, Don Messer recorded a setting of "Money Musk" that was quite similar to the Fords' publication, but with the third and fourth strains reversed (Figure 4.42). His third strain—the Fords' fourth—rises from $\hat{1}$ to two quarter notes on $\hat{8}$ in bars one and three, and $\hat{2}$ to two quarter notes on $\hat{9}$ in bar two. The resulting overlying rhythmic motif, which is weighted towards the second half of the measure, counterbalances the syncopated overlying rhythmic motif of Messer's A and B strains. Many fiddlers re-recorded Messer's four-strain setting over the following years, though often with slight modifications (Figures 4.43 and 4.44).[76] Note that John Pattee recorded variants of both of these strains in 1924, two years before the Fords' publication and long before Don Messer, and accordionist Eugène Collin recorded a version of the rising strain in the early 1930s. Another setting of the rising strain can be found in a manuscript from the years 1862–1881, probably from Norwich, NY. This three-strain "Money Musk" also includes a high, virtuosic strain. (There is no B strain.)[77]

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[76] Messer was, hands-down, the most influential Canadian fiddler of the twentieth century. For more on the impact of his repertoire and tune settings on fiddling across Canada, see Neil V. Rosenberg, "Repetition, Innovation, and Representation in Don Messer's Media Repertoire," *The Journal of American Folklore* 115, no. 456 (2002).

[77] "The Merry Men," handwritten music manuscript ([Norwich, New York?], between 1862 and 1881), https://archive.org/stream/MerryMen/MUMSS-00079#page/n5/mode/2up. Digitized by "American Vernacular Music Manuscripts, ca. 1730-1910," Digital Collections from the American Antiquarian Society and the Center for Popular Music.

Figure 4.42   Don Messer's setting of "Money Musk"

Figure 4.43   Settings of the rising strain (Don Messer's C strain). All strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.

John A. Pattee, C strain, 1924

Don Messer, D strain, 1950s

Unknown harmonica player from Douglastown, QC, D strain (originally in D major), 1962

"Ti-Blanc" Richard, D strain (Soirée québécoise LP), 1975
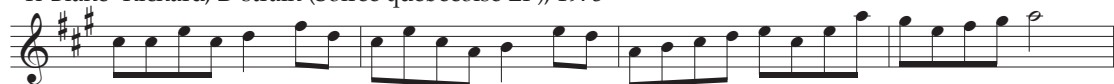
Henri Landry, D strain, c1975

Philippe Bruneau, D strain (originally in C major), 1977

"Ti-Blanc" Richard, D strain (Dans tous les cantons LP), 1978

Joseph Gilbert, D strain, 1979

Erskine Morris, D strain, 1983 and 1990

Gérard Durette, D strain, 2010

Liette Remon, D strain, 2004

Figure 4.44   **Settings of the "Keel Row" strain. All strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.**

- Some additional strains, from both fiddlers and accordion players, follow a loose I – V – I – V structure (one chord per bar) (Figure 4.45). Note that the final strain of Yvon Mimeault's father's "Money Musk" follows this structure (see Figure 4.4).

Johnny Boivin, "Money Musk: faux ton," D strain, 1928

Donat Lafleur, C strain, 1928?

Eugène Collin, F strain (originally in D major), c1932

Tommy Duchesne, "Money Musk," C strain (originally in D major)

Ti-Noir" Joyal, C strain, 1956

Henri Landry, E strain, c1975

Figure 4.45   Additional strains for "Money Musk": I – V – I – V pattern. All strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.

- Some strains are similar enough to either the A or B strain that they could conceivably be classified as distant concordances. Accordionists Donat Lafleur and Tommy Duchesne both include strains that, if transposed up one chord tone, would be A strains (Figure

4.46). Fiddlers Isidore Soucy and Jean Carignan both play additional strains that have

many characteristics of the B strain; in their settings of "Money Musk," these strains

immediately follow A strains (Figure 4.47).

Donat Lafleur, D strain, 1928?

Tommy Duchesne, "Money Musk," E strain (originally in D major), 1935

**Figure 4.46   Additional strains for "Money Musk": distant A-strain concordances.
Strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.**

Isidore Soucy, C strain, 1927

Isidore Soucy with La famille Soucy, C strain, 1968

Jean Carignan, "Money Musk" in A major, C strain, 1975

Figure 4.47   Additional strains for "Money Musk": distant B-strain concordances

Many of the additional strains that I have identified are unique to the musicians that performed

them, suggesting that these strains were of their own composition, or perhaps composed by

another musician in their immediate musical circle. Jasper Bisbee gives a nod to this "everything

but the kitchen sink" approach to "Money Musk" with his final strain, which quotes "Yankee

Doodle" (Figure 4.48).

Jasper Bisbee, F strain ("Yankee Doodle"), 1924

Figure 4.48   Final strain of Jasper Bisbee's "Money Musk"

Form: The previous two sections map the ways in which musicians use modulations and

additional strains to extend the basic AB form of "Money Musk." Other musicians deconstruct

"Money Musk" into a set of riffs that are repeated and combined in varying ways. Figure 4.49 is

a transcription of Tommy Duchesne's first iteration of "Money Musk": he plays the tune three

times in total. Note that Duchesne, an accordionist, performs "Money Musk" in D major.

Figure 4.49   Tommy Duchesne's setting of "Money Musk" (first time through the tune)

Figure 4.50 is a schematic representation of the same music, and demonstrates two

typical patterns of riff manipulation: playing a riff three times, and constructing a larger riff out

of smaller, similar riffs (as in the fifth tune segment shown). By comparing Duchesne's first and

second iterations (Figures 4.50 and 4.51), we may reconstruct the interpretive latitudes that he

allowed himself: repeating a riff three times instead of two, adding an extra beat, replacing an

"aab" pattern with "abab," and contracting two bars into one. Riff-based settings would not work

for figure-based group dances, which need fairly regular phrase lengths, but would for step-

dancing.

**Figure 4.50   Schematic representation of Tommy Duchesne's setting of "Money Musk"
(first time through the tune)**

Figure 4.51   **Schematic representation of Tommy Duchesne's setting of "Money Musk" (second time through the tune). Differences with the first time through the tune are marked in red.**

Regional and national association: Certain of these interpretive approaches may be loosely associated with geographic locale. Those players that I identify as riff-based—fiddlers Isidore Soucy, Johnny Boivin, and Ulysse Potvin; accordionists Tommy Duchesne and Wilbrod Boivin—are all from the adjoining regions of Saguenay/Lac-Saint-Jean, Bas-Saint-Laurent, and Charlevoix.[78] Associations between musicians, playing styles, and geography are by no means clear-cut in this repertoire, but I do think certain regional associations might be claimed for at least for the first wave of recorded settings of "Money Musk" in Quebec, in the 1920s and 30s. Isidore Soucy and Joseph Allard both recorded "Money Musk" not long after arriving in

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[78] Isidore Soucy (1899–1962) was from Sainte-Blandine, near Rimouski; Johnny Boivin (b. 1862–1930) was from Laterrière (Saguenay); Ulysse Potvin (b. 1931) was from Baie-Saint-Paul (Charlevoix); Wilbrod Boivin (1910–1981) was from Saint-Jérôme (Lac-St.-Jean); accordionists Tommy Duchesne (1909–1986) was from Val-Jalbert (Lac-St.-Jean) (Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels*, 50, 91, 213, 231; Jean Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique et le grand concours international de 1926 à Lewiston, Maine," *Bulletin Mnémo* 17, no. 1 [2016]: 5). Eugene Collin's setting of "Money Musk" is also riff-based. I have not found any biographical details for Collin, though the titles of two of the tunes that he recorded suggest that he may have been from the Gaspé peninsula or the Côte-Nord: "Reel du Saint-Laurent" and "Gigue des Sept-Iles" (both Victor 263872, 1932).

Montreal, Soucy from Bas-Saint-Laurent and Allard after spending many years in New England.

It may be that their vastly different settings—Soucy's riff-based form, Allard's regular eight-bar

phrases—reflected typical Saguenay and New England settings.

There is no indication that these musicians identified their performances as rooted in

regional styles, however. When they did associate specific settings of "Money Musk" with

geographic areas, it was to distinguish between broad, national styles—Scottish, American, and

French-Canadian—and to assert their ability to perform in more than one such style. Tommy

Duchesne, for instance, re-recorded "Money Musk" three years after the riff-based setting

discussed above. His second recording was a sixteen-bar, two-part setting entitled "Money Musk

américain" (Figure 4.52). Médard Bougie's two "Money Musks," recorded for E.-Z. Massicotte,

are both in A major, with additional virtuosic strains, but "Money Musk à la canadienne" has the

even rhythms of a reel while "Money Musk à l'écossaise" is slower, with the dotted rhythms of a

Scottish strathspey (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2).[79]

Figure 4.52   Tommy Duchesne's "Money Musk américain"

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[79] Similarly, Andrew Kuntz recalls this anecdote, probably from the 1960s or 1970s: "[Fiddle music collector] Paul Gifford says he once heard the brilliant Montreal fiddling cab-driver, Jean Carignan [1916–1988], play at a concert where he took requests. Gifford asked for "Money Musk" and Carignan obliged, asking if he wanted the French, Scottish or Irish version! Gifford suggested French, but Carignan played them all" (Andrew Kuntz, "Money Musk," Traditional Tune Archive, http://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Money_Musk_(1)).

4.5   Conclusion

Mark Slobin writes that music is "richer in codes than language":

> A band playing a song can pull together not just text and tune, but timbre, rhythm, and instrumentation for several performers simultaneously in a stratified system I call code-layering, style upon style upon style; it can then shift any number of the variables in the next section to produce a new kaleidoscopic code combination. Analysis becomes a process of untying a musical knot and seeing where all the strings come from before proceeding to the next node in the fabric.[80]

Slobin compares such an analysis to taking apart the contraption of a "Sunday do-it-yourselfer" in the hope that "the process will illuminate [the do-it-yourselfer's] motives," and notes that "you can't really be sure without asking—if he remembers and wants to tell you his secrets."[81] Most of the musicians I discuss in this chapter are no longer living, and few were offered the opportunity to "tell their secrets." I am left, therefore, untying the musical knots of their "Money Musks," pulling apart strings of melody, rhythm, form, and instrumentation and trying to see "where [they] all…come from."

In this chapter, I propose a new set of analytical approaches for traditional tunes. I argue that musicians conceive of tunes as carrying some sort of essence. This essence is unplayable but is still an important mental construct, and may be conceptualized as a space of musical possibilities. Each musician operates within the subspace of possibilities with which he or she is familiar, constructing tune settings that evidence both individual style and typical patterns of generic expression. These settings may be shaped by function, instrumentation, and regional or national association; these are specific types of generic expression.

I conceive of each setting of "Money Musk" as a node in a web of citations, and follow it outward via as many strands as I can. The web that I have constructed in this chapter consists

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[80] Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds*, 87.
[81] Ibid.

primarily of settings of "Money Musk," but similar webs might be constructed along other lines: webs for certain instruments, webs of related tunes, webs of mutually influential players, webs of dance figures or types. Ultimately, I see this chapter as a single detailed musical example that, were we to multiply it by a thousand or more, might explain the formation of a regionally-associated style.

Alan Jabbour has described the regional fiddle-based repertoires of the British Isles and eastern North America as "cultural cousins," born in the same years but raised in geographically distant locales; "Money Musk" was born in Scotland and grew up on both sides of the North Atlantic in parallel, and occasional intersecting, musical worlds.[82] Although "Money Musk" has a clear point of origin, it is much more than the notes in Dow's collection. It was transmitted and continually reshaped via social dancing, community gatherings, and concert performances, and we find it in multiple settings, on printed and handwritten sheet music and on commercial and field recordings. In this chapter, I take all of these settings as equally valid and read Dow's tune as but one disparate element among a host of others that, taken together, constructed "Money Musk" as we now know it.

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[82] Alan Jabbour, "Fiddle Tunes of the Old Frontier," Joseph Schick Lecture, Indiana State University (Terre Haute, IN), December 6, 2001. Transcription at http://www.alanjabbour.com/fiddle_tunes_old_frontier.html

Chapter Five

Soirée canadienne

November 16, 2013: Prise 2 rebroadcast of Soirée canadienne *featuring the village of Sainte-Hélène-de-Bagot. This episode originally broadcast on CHLT-TV/Télé 7 in 1979.[1]*

The host, Louis Bilodeau, is seated in a straight-backed wooden chair, a red carnation in the lapel of his three-piece suit. He leans an elbow on one knee and speaks earnestly into the camera: "Une autre Soirée canadienne. *Ce soir nous filons allègrement entre Montréal et Québec sur la Transcanadienne.... Nous sommes à peu près à quarante-cinq milles à l'est de Montréal dans un endroit magnifique qu'on appelle Sainte-Hélène-de-Bagot."[2]*

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[1] This episode and its broadcasting details may be found on the website "Soirée canadienne 11 #131 – TV show – Prise 2 – illico.tv" (Vidéotron, accessed March 24, 2016, https://illicoweb.videotron.com/channels/Prise-2/263645/Soiree-canadienne-11-no131). The entire episode is also available online ("Soiree Canadienne - Ste-Helene De Bagot 1975," Tagtélé video, 47:27, posted by "culturelles," January 23, 2014, http://www.tagtele.com/videos/voir/148044/). The above description is based on online viewing of the episode at the Tagtélé website.
The Sherbrooke television station CHLT-TV was launched in 1956 and purchased by Power Corporation in 1966. The station moved to new studios in 1967 and began broadcasting in colour. CHLT-TV became part of the Télémedia network in 1969. It was acquired by Pathonic Communications in 1979 and rebaptised Télé 7 ("TVA Sherbrooke >> » Histoire," TVA Sherbrooke, accessed March 24, 2016, http://tvasherbrooke.com/la-station/histoire/).
[2] "Another *Soirée canadienne*. This evening we travel enjoyably between Montreal and Quebec City on the Trans-Canada Highway…. We are about forty-five miles east of Montreal in a magnificent place called Sainte-Hélène-de-Bagot."

The screen cuts to a grainy image of a village church while an invisible pianist—Edna DesRoberts, according to the ending credits—introduces a short melody and then vamps on an A-flat chord. A clear alto voice with a light vibrato sings out: "Qui aime les voyages / Venez donc nous visiter."[3] Crossfade to the interior of a country home: rough stone walls, wood panelling and wallpaper, a grandfather clock, an iron chandelier, dishes on open shelves and ears of dried corn hanging from the walls.

The singer—Sister Françoise—stands easily in the centre of the floor, her arms raised slightly as she gestures along with the lyrics.[4] To her right, five people sit at a round wooden table with a spring green tablecloth and a harvest-themed centerpiece: later, Bilodeau will introduce them as the mayor and his wife, the parish priest, and the local organizer and her husband. To the singer's left are three rows of men and women, seated or standing and arranged more or less as couples. They smile and clap in time. An elderly couple sits on a padded wooden bench: they are the doyens, *the oldest married couple in the village. The dress code is formal and modern: suits, skirts, blouses and dresses, many with the wide lapels and collars of the 1970s, in all shades of brown, with a smattering of floral patterns, narrow vertical stripes, and leopard print.*

Sister Françoise continues: "Bienvenue à Sainte-Hélène / avec Soirée canadienne, */ Ils sont tous, tous, tous / Ils sont tous sympathiques."[5] The camera cuts to an elderly man in a rocking chair as everyone responds: "Ils sont tous, tous, tous / Ils sont tous sympathiques."*

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[3] "Those who enjoy travelling, come and visit us."
[4] I have not be able to determine the singer's full name.
[5] "Welcome to Sainte-Hélène / with *Soirée canadienne* / They are all, all, all / they are all friendly."

Each verse is a celebration: "Hommage à nos aïeux... / Ils étaient tous

audacieux"; "Admirez notre église... / Elle est toute magnifique"; "Voyez la Caisse

populaire, active et très prospère"; "Et notre coopérative / toujours si bien active"; "À

tous nos pionniers / nous disons notre fierté, / À tous nos dirigeants / tous nos

remerciements."[6]

Sister Françoise finishes the song and, suddenly awkward, steps backwards.

Bilodeau strides quickly onscreen and shakes her hand. He swings her around to face the

camera, congratulates her on an "absolutely extraordinary" performance, and addresses

the television audience:

"J'pense bien que vous avez remarqué qu'on célèbre un anniversaire à Sainte-

Hélène-de-Bagot. C'est le 125ᵉ anniversaire de la paroisse."[7]

5.1   Introduction

Soirée canadienne aired weekly on Sherbrooke television station CHLT-TV (later Télé 7)

for nearly a quarter of a century, from 1960 through 1983. For most of that time, it was

the station's most popular program and for many years it was a top-rated show in the

province.[8] Viewers tuned in religiously every Saturday evening to watch amateur singers,

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[6] "Praise our ancestors… / They all were audacious"; "Admire our church…. / It is so
magnificent"; "Look at the credit union / active and very prosperous"; "And our
cooperative / always very active"; "To all of our pioneers / we express our pride / To our
leaders / all our thanks."

[7] "I imagine you have noticed that Sainte-Hèlene-de-Bagot is celebrating an anniversary.
It is the 125th anniversary of the parish."

[8] *Soirée canadienne* producer Jean Collard remembers contacting many small, private
television stations elsewhere in Quebec in the early 1970s and asking if they would like
to carry *Soirée canadienne*. If so, he would send, by bus, a copy of the show on two-inch
tape. The show was rebroadcast on stations in Chicoutimi, Rimouski, Quebec City (Canal

dancers, fiddlers and accordionists from across Quebec perform chansons à répondre, instrumental dance tunes, and step and square dances in a mock veillée setting. Each episode featured performers from a different village in the province and included interviews with the village mayor, the priest, and the *doyens*, and a short film on local history and attractions.[9] Bilodeau welcomed the viewing audience like a proud tourist guide—"Nous sommes… dans un endroit magnifique qu'on appelle Sainte-Hélène-de-Bagot"—although virtually all of the episodes were filmed in the station's Sherbrooke television studios.[10]

Soirée canadienne was the longest-running series of staged veillées in twentieth-century Quebec. (Conrad Gauthier's "Veillées du bon vieux temps" ran from 1921 to 1941.) In its carefully regulated selection of repertoire and respectful presentation of amateur performers, *Soirée canadienne* is a direct descendant of Massicotte and Barbeau's "Veillées du bon vieux temps," though its motives were quite different. *Soirée canadienne* is also a reference point for Radio-Canada's "Bye-Bye 2008"—a connection made explicit by the latter's use of a clip, from the Sainte-Hélène-de-Bagot episode, of a young Joël Legendre. The village-to-village format of *Soirée canadienne*, and its dependence on local organizers, tied the program to local unstaged musical practice even as it encouraged villages to commoditize that practice and provided a template for doing

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4), Abitibi, Jonquière, and perhaps elsewhere (Jean Collard, interview by the author, November 27, 2015, Longueuil, QC).

[9] *Soirée canadienne* also included the occasional city (i.e., Montreal) or village from outside of the province (i.e., Lamèque, NB).

[10] "We are… in a magnificent place called Sainte-Hélène-de-Bagot." Two episodes were filmed in a Rimouski studio after that station joined the network that hosted *Soirée canadienne*. One and one-half of these two episodes were broadcast (Collard, interview by the author).

so. *Soirée canadienne* is a window onto staged and unstaged veillées in twentieth-century

Quebec, and a prime actor in the transformation of both.

The longevity, geographic reach and popularity of *Soirée canadienne* granted it a

cultural weight that persists today, though with a certain ambiguity of reception. *Soirée*

canadienne was authentic but also kitsch (or perhaps kitsch in its authenticity). It was

rough around the edges, and this roughness was both endearing and embarrassing.

Television commentator Louise Cousineau captured this ambiguity in her preview of a

2006 compilation of *Soirée Canadienne* highlights, commenting first on the women's

slick hairdos and the men's plaid pants—so similar to the wallpaper—but ending on a

clear note of nostalgia: "Vous feront redécouvrir un Québec profond et gentil qui a peut-

être disparu aujourd'hui. On espère que non."[11]

This chapter profiles *Soirée canadienne* and interrogates the program's role in

shaping the content, presentation, and reception of folk music in Quebec. I use *Soirée*

canadienne as a means of further connecting some of the threads of Chapter Two—

Massicotte and Barbeau's *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, Gauthier's *Veillées du bon vieux*

temps, unstaged veillées in the mid-twentieth century, Radio-Canada's "Bye-Bye

2008"—although a complete survey of staged veillées in twentieth-century Quebec is

beyond the scope of this dissertation.

To Barbeau and Massicotte, folklore was a precious national relic to be collected,

exhibited, and used in the service of high art. The act of performing folklore—at the

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[11] "They will make you rediscover a deep, thoughtful Quebec that has perhaps
disappeared today. One hopes not." This special episode was broadcast on TVA (Louise
Cousineau, "Mégabouffe avec Guy Fournier," *La Presse*, April 13, 2006, Section Arts &
Spectacles, 3.)

Veillées du bon vieux temps—was secondary to the act of documenting and preserving

folklore via publication. Folklore was that which could be published: songs, tunes,

dances, stories, etc.

On *Soirée canadienne*, this equation was inverted. The performance of folklore

was both the means and the end: folklore was still a precious national relic, but one that

only made sense in the act of performance. The ephemerality of music-making was part

and parcel of the show. Even after CHLT-TV acquired the technology to record to tape

for future broadcast, the *Soirée canadienne* team made no special effort to preserve the

musical contents of the program. In fact, they systematically erased all of the tapes at the

end of each season; it was only around 1976, with the introduction of three-quarter-inch

tape, that the station began preserving episodes.[12] On *Soirée canadienne*, folklore was

more than songs, tunes and dances. It was the act of performing this repertoire: the act of

aural transmission.

Performance studies scholar Diana Taylor explores this distinction between

written and embodied modes of cultural expression in *The Archive and the Repertoire:*

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[12] *Soirée canadienne* was broadcast live in its earliest years. From the early 1970s, the
show was recorded on two-inch tape. This technology allowed the *Soirée canadienne*
team to record two episodes per week. One village would arrive at the studio on Saturday
morning and record their show to tape in the early afternoon. A second village arrived
later in the afternoon and performed their show at 7 pm. This second show was broadcast
live and also recorded to tape. This schedule allowed the *Soirée canadienne* team to
finish taping the entire season (thirty-nine episodes in total) in under five months; they
broadcast the pre-recorded episodes beginning in mid-February.
Collard marked the highlights of each show on his cue sheet and, at the end of the season,
compiled those into a special, "best-of," episode. He also selected the thirteen best
episodes of the season for rebroadcast during the summer. He sent the remaining twenty-
six tapes for erasure and, at the end of the summer, erased the tapes for the thirteen
summer episodes and the special episode. At the time, a single reel of two-inch tape cost
$250 or $300 (Collard, interview by the author).

Cultural Memory and Performance in the Americas. In Quebec, traditional music is held

in archives—much of this dissertation depends on those sources—but it is, above all,

something that people *do*. It is, in Taylor's terms, a "repertoire": it "enacts embodied

memory" through "performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing." Taylor

continues:

> The repertoire requires presence: people participate in the production and
> reproduction of knowledge by "being there," being a part of the transmission. As
> opposed to the supposedly stable objects in the archive, the actions that are the
> repertoire do not remain the same. The repertoire both keeps and transforms
> choreographies of meaning…. Dances change over time, even though generations
> of dancers (and even individual dancers) swear they're always the same. But even
> though the embodiment changes, the meaning might very well remain the same.[13]

This description might apply equally well to the notion of tradition: folk songs,

dances and tunes change over time even as generations of singers, dancers,

instrumentalists and listeners (and folklorists) swear that they are "always the same." The

embodiment of these musical materials also changes over time, as songs, dances and

tunes move into new performing bodies and take on new gestures.[14]

Taylor proposes that we study the repertoire by examining "scenarios," or

"meaning-making paradigms that structure social environments, behaviors, and potential

outcomes."[15] She suggests six areas of potential study: physical location; physical bodies

and the roles that they play; the formulaic structures that frame a given scenario and lead

repeatedly to the same outcome; the various modes of transmission for the scenario; our

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[13] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Cultural Memory and Performance in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 20.
[14] Note that Taylor's definition of "repertoire" as performative is at odds with the typical musical usage of the term to indicate a list of works available for performance. In Taylor's framing, these works remain in the archive until embodied through performance.
[15] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 28.

own relationships with the scenario; and the ways in which cultural memory may

reactivate scenarios.[16] This chapter and Chapter Two engage with all six of these areas, to

varying degrees, and might thus be read as a Tayloresque exploration of the staged

veillée as a "meaning-making paradigm" in Quebec.

Taylor's examples are broad structures: scenarios of discovery, scenarios of

conquest. They have central storylines but are more than a narrative text; to analyze a

scenario is to consider "gestures, attitudes, and tones not reducible to language."[17] The

staged veillée seems to me to be, above all, a scenario of continuity and belonging. It

performs a story of geographic and demographic stability. It is the sequel to Taylor's

scenarios of discovery and conquest in that it stages the idyllic, harmonious society that

supposedly followed. In Chapter Two, I traced this scenario through nationalist writings

of the late nineteenth century and onto the stage in the early twentieth. This chapter

follows it onto television in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s.

Soirée canadienne used the format of the staged veillée to frame a particular

version of modern-day village life in Quebec. That rosy vision, in which every village

had its traditional musicians, home entertainment was always lively and tuneful, local

dignitaries placed themselves at the service of rural *habitants*, and the parish priest

condoned *chansons à répondre* and fiddle tunes, made for good television and good PR

for the villages. If it also distorted day-to-day realities of village life and skewed folk

music in a certain direction, that was beside the point; *Soirée canadienne* was never

intended as an accurate representation of local unstaged veillées. The choice of

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[16] Ibid., 29–32.
[17] Ibid., 28.

performers; the physical setting and the placement of villagers within that space; the

musical material to be performed; song type, tempo and length: all were regulated by the

Soirée canadienne production team and its village proxies, the local organizers. In this

chapter, I argue for *Soirée canadienne* as the meeting place of two visions of rural

Quebec: an intensely local and practical vision of a modernizing countryside, and a broad

and historically-rooted vision of rural folk and lifeways as carriers of national identity.

Soirée canadienne bent both of these visions in the service of popular entertainment and,

in the process, narrowed the musical definition of folk, or traditional, music.

I begin by locating *Soirée canadienne* in the context of early Canadian television

programming and profile its direct predecessor, the radio show *Fête au village*. I argue

that the staged veillées of *Fête au village* performed geographic belonging and cultural

continuity in order to promote a pan-Canadian francophone identity and encourage local

control over francophone affairs. Musically speaking, *Fête au village* took a catholic

approach to French-Canadian traditions and featured a broad range of songs and

instrumental music; the musical breadth of the performances is similar to that of the

unstaged veillées described in Chapter Two, but with a nostalgic twist.

Next, I argue that villages used their appearances on *Soirée canadienne* to

promote themselves as modern and forward-looking and I discuss how participation on

the show may have briefly upended local social hierarchies. I detail the symbiotic musical

relationship between *Soirée canadienne* and local veillées—staged and unstaged—in

Quebec: *Soirée canadienne* could trust villages to arrive in the studio with appropriate

songs, tunes and dances because villages self-curated in advance in accordance with the

show's aesthetic preferences. The show staged the repertoire of local unstaged veillées

but also reshaped the performance of that repertoire and supplied villages with a

prototype for local staged veillées.

I conclude with a brief discussion of kitsch and authenticity in traditional music in

Quebec. This section draws heavily on the words of long-time *Soirée canadienne*

producer Jean Collard, who generously consented to an extended interview.[18] Like

Barbeau and Massicotte in their time, Collard reads folklore as a force for strengthening

national identity in Quebec.

Each weekly broadcast of *Soirée canadienne* was an enactment of embodied

memory through song, dance, instrumental music, spoken word, movement, and gesture:

the repertoire. The goal of each episode was the performance itself and the decision to

preserve these performances came late; as noted above, tapes were systematically

preserved only from 1976 and few episodes remain from the first fifteen years of the

show.

This chapter is necessarily built upon the archive, however. My analysis is based

primarily on viewings of a portion of the approximately 200 episodes from the late 70s

and early 80s that were preserved on tape; many of these episodes are now available on

YouTube and are rebroadcast weekly on the speciality channel Prise 2. I also viewed a

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[18] Jean Collard was the fourth of six producers for *Soirée canadienne*, from 1966 to 1975 or 1976. Collard grew up in the village of Asbestos and, like many in the region, worked as a miner. He disliked the work profoundly, however, and studied to become a professional photographer. This led to a job at CHLT in the colour film department in the mid-1960s.
Collard also played saxophone with a dance band in Asbestos. At weddings, they would always play "one or two" quadrilles; Collard remembers playing the melody of "Turkey in the Straw" continuously for seven or ten minutes for a quadrille. Collard credits his ability to pace an evening, or a television show, from playing in this dance band (Collard, interview by the author).

partial 1972 episode preserved in a private video collection. At the Radio-Canada

archives, I accessed three video recordings of *Fête au village* from 1954; over a dozen

audio recordings of the radio show by the same name, dating from 1959 to 1962; and two

truncated episodes of *Soirée canadienne* from 1971.[19] As noted above, I also interviewed

Soirée canadienne producer Jean Collard. In the future, I hope to expand this research to

include the voices of participants and listeners.

5.2   *Fête au village*

In the 1950s, the variety show was king on Canadian television.[20] Television scholar Paul

Rutherford distinguishes between two types of shows. "Showbiz" programs, which made

up the bulk of Canadian variety, were bold, extroverted and flashy: they "dealt in a world

of glamour and glitter, handsome and beautiful people, much hype and much clever

talk."[21] "Old-fashioned" variety, by contrast, projected an "apparent sincerity and

ordinariness" and nostalgia for an older, simpler, more rural Canada. It championed

family and community, and featured some combination of country songs, folk songs,

fiddlers, step dancing, and square dancing. Old-fashioned variety shows were often set in

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[19] The 1971 episodes of *Soirée Canadienne* are from Saint-Charles-de-Mandeville
(broadcast June 2) and Buckland (July 21). These are presumably summer rebroadcasts
of episodes from the 1970–1971 season, as they have been edited down from the original
sixty minutes to thirty. Neither includes an interview with the village mayor or the priest.
They do include the short films about the villages, the interviews with the doyens, and, of
course, chansons à repondre and dancing. Both include a Russian-style dance (with
squatting and kicking) called "Le petit homme."
[20] Paul Rutherford, *When Television was Young: Primetime Canada, 1952–1967*
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). See especially chapter 6, "Variety's
Heyday" (188–226) and chart 6.3, "Some examples of 'old-fashioned' variety" (204).
[21] Rutherford's examples include the "Cross-Canada Hit Parade," "Music Hall,"
"Showtime," and many American imports, including "The Ed Sullivan Show" and "The
Perry Como Show" (Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 196–197).

a home—as *Soirée canadienne* would be—and many hosts invited viewers to "come right in" (as Bilodeau would invite viewers to join him in the featured village).[22] Old-fashioned variety shows were thus quite similar to what I call staged veillées and the two categories are not mutually exclusive.

From a modern-day vantage point, *Soirée canadienne* looks like an old-fashioned variety show with an ethnographic component and in a staged veillée format; or a staged veillée in the tradition of Massicotte, Barbeau, and Gauthier, but borrowing elements of old-fashioned variety shows; or an extended promotional video, set as a staged veillée with a variety show aesthetic, for a given village.

Rutherford's categorization of variety shows as "showbiz" or "old-fashioned" is retrospective, however, as is my assigning the label "staged veillée" to mediated performances of folk song and dance set as a community gathering in a rural home. This is not to discount these categories: it is the job of cultural historians to draw lines from the present to the past. Yet these distinctions may have meant little to 1950s television producers intent on creating marketable content for a new medium.

Film scholar Rick Altman has argued that scholars and critics attempting to categorize films according to genre typically ferret out identifying characteristics of present-day film genres and then trace those characteristics back in time in order to label older films as early examples of those genres. This retrospective "Critic's Game" does

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[22] Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 207. The success of old-fashioned variety shows mystified critics: a 1956 *Maclean's* article about CBC's *Holiday Ranch*—a western-themed show set on a ranch—was headlined "'The most baffling show on television'" (Dorothy Sangster, "The most baffling show on television," *Maclean's*, June 9, 1956). Rutherford notes that, although old-fashioned variety shows often enjoyed high ratings, networks broadcast fewer of them than they did showbiz variety shows (203).

not reflect how films are actually made, however. More typically, producers pull a variety of elements from recently successful films in the hope that one or more of those elements will lead to box office success. Altman dubs this a "Producer's Game."[23]

A 1958 episode of a variety show entitled *La soirée de chez nous* suggests just how widely producers cast their nets for early French-Canadian television shows. The episode is set in a country home and combines fiddle tunes, folk song and step-dancing with popular song, art song, and comedy, all in a mock veillée setting. Performers include the vocal duet "Louise et Micheline," who sing a light calypso number; opera singer Marguerite Gignac; actors and singers Gérard Paradis and René Caron, the latter with a chanson à repondre; stepdancer Gustave Denis from Petit-Cap in Gaspesie, and his three stepdancing sons; and actress Clémence Desrochers in Greek robes, performing a tragi-comedic monologue about a hapless lover. There is also a house band of violins, piano accordion, piccolo, piano, guitar, and double bass; they accompany the songs and read sparkling fiddle tune arrangements from sheet music.[24] From a presentist perspective, this reads as an old-fashioned variety show with some showbiz and art music elements. If we consider this program as the product of a Producer's Game, however, it points to, among other sources, the calypso craze of the 1950s; other televised variety shows, such as

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[23] Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: British Film Institute, 1999), 38.

[24] This episode is available at the Radio-Canada archives and online ("Variété avec Gérard Paradis, les duettistes Louise et Micheline, Marguerite Gignac, Louis Bédard et RENÉ CARON," YouTube video, 27:30, posted by "retroquebec," January 23, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=754s5CCwwM4). The two violinists in the house band play with the ease of well-trained classical musicians, and their perfectly matched bowings and effortless position-shifting are at odds with the calculated informality of their sheet music propped up on a bench.

Holiday Ranch, set in country homes; and enough of a public awareness of classical

Greek drama that it might be spoofed.

According to Jean Collard, *Soirée canadienne* was the result of a relatively

straightforward Producer's Game: Louis Bilodeau and Pierre Bruneau (CHLT's president

and director of programming) hoped to translate the success of a weekly radio show, *Fête*

au village, to television.[25] Recalls Collard,

> Il y avait une émission à la radio, à Radio-Canada, qui était semblable à *Soirée*
> *canadienne* mais c'était seulement qu'à la radio. Louis Bilodeau et Pierre
> Bruneau... sont inspirés de cette émission de radio-là pour créer une émission qui
> était du genre un peu à ça mais à la télévision. Parce que la télévision en 1960, ça
> venait de commencer.[26]

Radio-Canada's *Fête au village* was a travelling radio show hosted by Roland

Lelièvre, produced by Paul Legendre, and broadcast from French-Canadian communities

from 1959 through the early 1960s. Many of these communities were not in Quebec: the

show also broadcast from French-speaking parishes in New Brunswick, British

Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, and Saskatchewan.

In each community, the show gathered a group of villagers in a local home under

the pretense of an unstaged veillée. Lelièvre interviewed village notables and elders, and

invited the guests to sing, dance, play tunes, and tell stories. He also described the village

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[25] Jean Collard singles out *Fête au village* as the sole inspiration for *Soirée canadienne* (Collard, interview by the author; Jean Collard, interview by Marc Bolduc and Christiane Campagna, *Tradosphère*, CIBL radio, January 19, 2016), and most of the key elements of *Soirée canadienne* can be traced to *Fête au village*, as described below. That said, it seems probable that Bilodeau and Bruneau were also influenced by other contemporary television programs.
[26] "There was a radio program, on Radio-Canada, that was similar to *Soirée canadienne* but was only on the radio. That program inspired Louis Bilodeau and Pierre Bruneau to create the same kind of program but for television. Because in 1960, television was just starting" (Collard, interview by the author).

and its environs for the radio audience. (Note that *Fête au village* was a one-season

television show in 1954. After a five-year hiatus, the program was revived for radio in

1959, and it is these early radio broadcasts that inspired Louis Bilodeau and Pierre

Bruneau. Lelièvre may also have hosted a radio show entitled *Fête au village* in 1951.)[27]

    An episode broadcast on August 11, 1962, for instance, begins to the sounds of

collective singing: "Ma rivière chantait / Sous le ciel de mes vingt ans."[28] The voices

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[27] The Radio-Canada archives contain ten episodes of the television show *Fête au village*.
I was able to view four of these tapes. Of the remaining six, four are dated October 15,
1954, and may be segments of the same episode. The archives also contain nine acetate
discs from the antiquarian Jean-Marie Du Sault. Each disc contains one episode of a radio
show entitled *Fête au village*. Seven of these discs are dated 1951 and one is dated 1957,
though one of the 1951 discs is also listed as 1957. The descriptions given in the Radio-
Canada archives database suggests that these broadcasts followed the same format as the
later broadcasts of the same name. For instance, the description given for one episode
reads: "Ce soir, Radio-Canada salue Saint-Alexis-de-Grande-Baie, village qui repose au
fond de la Baie des Ha! Ha! L'émission prend place au grand salon de la maison de
Monsieur Alfred Simard, marchand général de la place" ("This evening, Radio-Canada
recognizes Saint-Alexis-de-Grande-Baie, a village at the end of Ha Ha Bay. The program
takes place in the large living room of the home of Mr. Alfred Simard, owner of the
general store.") These discs are not available for listening.
[28] This episode is available via the Radio-Canada online archives ("Fête au village |
Émission | Radio | Les Archives de Radio-Canada," Société Radio-Canada, 2008,
http://archives.radio-canada.ca/emissions/1398/). It is the only episode of *Fête au village*
available online. Other episodes are available at the Radio-Canada archives in Montreal.
This website notes, "L'émission de radio *Fête au village* reprend le concept d'une
émission de télévision, diffusée sur les ondes de Radio-Canada en 1954, également
animée par Roland Lelièvre et réalisée par Benoît de Tonnoncour. L'équipe se rend dans
un village francophone du pays pour y rencontrer ses habitants." ("The radio program
Fête au village takes the concept of a television program, broadcast on Radio-Canada in
1954, and also hosted by Roland Lelièvre and produced by Benoît de Tonnoncour. The
team travels to a francophone village in Canada in order to meet its inhabitants." This text
is under the "Le saviez-vous?" tab).
    The song "Ma rivière chantait" opens the episodes of *Fête au village* in Saint-
Jean-des-Piles, Québec (broadcast July 21, 1962) and Saint-Basile, New Brunswick
(September 8, 1962). It opens and closes the episodes from Saint-René-Goupil, Québec
(September 15, 1962) and Masson, Québec (September 22, 1962). I have not been able to
find any additional information on this song, except that it was sung by the Chœur Vive
La Canadienne in 1963. (Madeleine Genest Bouillé, "Ma rivière chantait," *Le grain de*

swell and then drop out, leaving only a subdued piano in the background, as Lelièvre

welcomes his listening audience to a house party in the French-speaking village of Saint-

Denis, Saskatchewan. The bulk of the thirty-minute show consists of interviews: Lelièvre

speaks with the couple hosting the house party, the director of the local credit union

(*caisse populaire*), the director of the local French-language radio station, and the eldest

man in the village (the *doyen*) and his wife. Lelièvre and his interviewees discuss French-

language education, the agricultural economy, recent political shifts in Quebec, and the

importance of French-language media in sustaining French-Canadian identity outside of

Quebec. There is one more song—a chanson à répondre—and one square dance tune.

The murmur and laughter of party guests continues throughout. Occasionally, between

interviews, Lelièvre re-sets the scene for his radio listeners, describing the women in the

kitchen preparing "something succulent" and the musicians gathered in the living room.

In *La Radio à Québec: 1920-1960*, an invaluable survey of radio broadcasts and

listening habits in Quebec City in the first four decades of the medium, the authors

include *Fête au village* in a long list of examples of "la médiatisation de la musique

folklorique"; they also cite *Les Joyeux copains*, *Les Soirées du bon vieux temps*, and the

renowned *Montagnards laurentiens*, all on CHRC; CKCV's *Les Joyeux Québécois* in the

late 1930s; and on Radio-Canada, *Le Réveil rural* (1938) with Omer Dumas et ses

Ménestrels, *L'Anthologie du folklore* (1940) with Tommy Duchesne et ses Chevaliers,

and *Soirée à Québec* (1951–1956).[29] Most of these shows featured the same musicians

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sel de Mado (blog), September 22, 2015,
https://legraindeseldemado.wordpress.com/page/6/).
[29] Jean du Berger, Jacques Mathieu, Martine Roberge, *La Radio à Québec, 1920-1960*,
([Sainte-Foy, Québec] PUL-IG, 1997), 144–147. The authors connect these folklore-

week after week, however, and many were dance orchestras of professionals or semi-professionals. *Fête au village*, by contrast, featured a new set of amateur performers in each episode and included a wide range of musical material. Although much of the music did adhere to the folklore formula of lively songs, instrumental dance tunes, and storytelling, some episodes included light art music for solo piano, or youth choral arrangements. Many singers chose slow performance tempos and some sang in a meditative, introspective style; Lelièvre gave them all the choice to perform with or without piano accompaniment. The vocal performances included old French and French-Canadian songs such as "Aux marches du palais," "Quand j''étais chez mon père" and "Marianne s'en va au moulin"; local songs, such as the Acadian "Le pommier doux" ("Le grain de mil") for an episode in Shediac, New Brunswick; but also parlour songs such as "Tante Rose," performed in Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Roxton Falls, Quebec.[30] From 1962

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based programs in Quebec City in the 1930s, 40s and 50s to early recordings, Gauthier's "Veillées du bon vieux temps," and early Montreal radio (*Living Room Furniture* with Isidore Soucy in 1926, *L'heure Frontenac* with Charles Marchand in 1928, and *Veillées canadiennes* in 1931, all on CKAC).

[30] The text of "Tante Rose" appears as "Un amoureux" on pages 201–202 in *Poésies de Hippolyte Guérin de Litteau: Mélodies* (Hippolyte-Louis Guerin de Litteau [Paris: Auguste Fontaine, 1856], available via Google Books). I have not found additional information on the arrangement for voice and piano performed on *Fête au village*. "Quand j'étais chez mon père" is also known as "Le pastouriau" and "L'apprenti pastouriau" and the setting sung on *Fête au village* is quite similar to the first version given by the Musée Virtuel Francophone de la Saskatchewan ("Musée virtuel de la Saskatchewan," accessed March 24, 2016, http://musee.societehisto.com/l-apprenti-pastouriau-n138-t502.html). Both "Tante Rose" and "Quand j''étais chez mon père" are sung during the episode of *Fête au village* broadcast from Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Roxton Falls on July 11, 1959; I use the titles given by the performers. "Quand j''étais chez mon père" is introduced as a Breton song. "Marianne s'en va au moulin" is in Ernest Gagnon's *Chansons populaires du Canada* (Quebec City: Bureaux du Foyer canadien, 1865–1867), 120–122.

        As might be expected, Lelièvre pointed out musical connections to France wherever possible. This was presumably an effort to connect contemporary francophone

on, *Fête au village* featured young singer-songwriters from the burgeoning *chansonnier*

scene: Felix Leclerc, Gilles Vigneault, and Monique Miville-Deschênes.

In Sainte-Marie-de-Beauce in 1961, Lelièvre requested a solo from the house

pianist with these words: "Est-ce que vous auriez dans votre souvenir, dans votre

répertoire, une pièce qui date quelque peu et dont vous aimeriez évoquer des souvenirs ici

ce soir au *Fête au village*?" She agreed and offered a "un morceau très vieux de ma

grand-mère": a piano solo suitable for the parlour and entitled "Espérant."[31]

In general, it seems that *Fête au village* gave its performers significant leeway in

choosing what to perform and how to perform it, but leaned towards songs and

instrumental pieces that were older, had clear family or community connections, evoked a

bygone era and created a sense of nostalgia, or asserted francophone identity. *Fête au

village* looked to the past via music and stories even as it engaged with the present and

the future economically, politically and demographically.

Canada to France and New France via song (as Barbeau, Massicotte, Gagnon, and
LaRue, had each done in his own time) but in the case of *Fête au village*, it was likely
also a nod to the show's listening audience, which included France and many other
French-speaking countries.

The musical contents of the 1954 television broadcasts of *Fête au village* are
similarly diverse. In an episode from Petite-Rivière-Saint-François (October 18, 1954), a
group of young people, home for the school holidays, sing "Vive la musique" and
"Berceuse aux étoiles" (with local singer Wenceslas Bouchard) in tight harmony, and
retired boat captains Clément and François Lavoie each sing a mournful lament ("La
Voile est à la grande hune [lune?]" and "Mon bric, comme ta marche est lente"). The
Deschambault episode (October 4, 1954) closes with pianist Simonne Roy performing
"Valse d'autrefois" from sheet music, and in Maniwaki (December 13, 1954), Willy
Commando, chief of the Maniwaki reserve, sings one line of a song that he learned from
the "frères de Baie James," presumably at a residential school.

[31] "Would you have in your memory, in your repertoire, a piece that dates back
somewhat, and for which you'd like to conjure up memories tonight on *Fête au village*?";
"a very old piece from my grandmother." This episode was broadcast on July 8, 1961.

According to Roland Lelièvre, the goal of *Fête au village* was to "redonner au Canada français un peu de ses traditions, dans son folklore, et aussi dans la façon de vivre de nos paysans."[32] This gives credence to *La Radio à Québec*'s labeling of *Fête au village* as an example of "la mediatisation de la musique folklorique" but also suggests that Lelièvre and his colleagues defined "folklore" according to contextual rather than strictly musical characteristics. Folk music, on *Fête au village*, was any rural music-making belonging to an older time—a sort of past tense version of the definition of folk music in operation at the unstaged veillées profiled in Chapter Two.

Fête au village was much more than a musical program. Its staged veillées performed physical rootedness and cultural continuity as an assertion of francophone Canadian identity and self-determination, and to advocate for local political control. Assurances Desjardins (the insurance wing of the Desjardins network of credit unions, or *caisses populaires*) chose to sponsor the show because it offered "une ligne de pensée… qui est positive" that highlighted the "social, patriotique, familiale, chrétien" characteristics of francophone Canada; like the Caisses Desjardins and Assurances Desjardins, *Fête au village* was "voulue par le peuple, bâtie par le peuple, contrôlée par le peuple: par les gens de chez nous."[33] When Lelièvre visited French-speaking

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[32] "to give back to French Canada some of its traditions, in its folklore, and also in the lifestyle of our country folk" ("Emission spéciale réalisée à Québec," broadcast July 7, 1960. This show previews and promotes the upcoming season of *Fête au village*.)

[33] "a positive line of reasoning"; "social, patriotic, familial, Christian"; "desired by the people, built by the people, controlled by the people: by our people." These statements are by Alfred Rouleau in conversation with Roland Lelièvre during a special preview episode of *Fête au village* broadcast July 7, 1960. Rouleau described Desjardins' association with *Fête au village* as a natural sequel to the company's ongoing sponsorship of the television show *Joindre les deux bouts*, on personal fiscal responsibility and family budgeting.

communities outside of Quebec, he queried his interviewees on local history but also engaged them in discussions of French-language survival and education, and sometimes of Quebec politics, as in the 1962 Saint-Denis episode.[34]

A house party may seem like an unusual setting for a radio show on French-language identity and politics, but the unstaged veillée in Quebec has a long history as frame for politically charged discussion, going back at least to the mid-nineteenth century, when Napoléon Aubin set his monthly periodical, *Les Veillées du Père Bonsens*, as dialogue between villagers, of various political leanings, at a fictitious veillée.[35] I am reminded of a recent public lecture by André Gladu, filmmaker and organizer of several folk music festivals in Montreal in the 1970s, including the 1975 "Les Veillées d'automne," which culminated in the celebrated "Veillée des veillées" concert.[36] As David Berthiaume notes, the "Veillées d'automne" were based on the idea of minority communities fighting for the survival of their cultural identity,[37] and Gladu explained his association of the festival with the idea of the veillée as follows:

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[34] Similarly, in the parish of St.-Sacrement, Vancouver (July 22, 1961), Lelièvre spoke with the priest about the local fight for francophone schools. In Bonnyville, Alberta (July 28, 1962), the program was broadcast from the local French-language school in order to, in Lelièvre's words, "rappeler sans doute par là l'importance du rôle de l'école, après celui de la famille, comme élément de continuité dans la survie de l'esprit français dans l'ouest canadien" ("to recall the important role of the school, after that of the family, as an element of continuity in the survival of the French *esprit* in western Canada")

[35] Fourteen issues of *Les Veillées du Père Bonsens* were published in 1865 and 1866, and thirteen in 1873 and 1874. Most are available online via the Collection Numérique of Bibliothèque et Archives nationale du Québec.

[36] André Gladu, "Les festivals de musique traditionnelle des années '70 à Montréal" (lecture presented as part of the series "Causéries sur les arts de la veillée," organized by SPDTQ / Espace Trad, Maison de la culture Ahuntsic, Montreal, Quebec, February 24, 2016).

[37] Writes Berthiaume, "Les Veillées d'automne sont articulées autour du concept des minorités luttant pour la survie de leur identité culturelle. On y retrouve donc

La veillée est devenue, de mon analyse à moi, le premier espace démocratique où les gens pouvaient prendre la parole à peu près librement.... Remettez-vous dans le contexte de l'époque, et en particulier le 19ᵉ siècle, où c'est là que le conquérant, avec la révolution industrielle, a pris un pouvoir économique. Il ne restait pas grande chose, là. Et surveillé par le curé, tout le temps, *les* curés, *les* communautés religieuses—c'est pas drôle, c'est pas drôle de tout, là. S'il n'y a pas eu de veillées, le monde n'aurait pas *toughé*. Jamais. Ça tenait le moral des gens. Et au travers les veillées, les contes jouaient ce rôle-là, les chansons jouaient ce rôle-là, et surtout la danse.[38]

In this sense, the background laughter and chatter, and the songs, tunes, and dances on

Fête au village may well have constituted, to participants and listeners, a highly

appropriate frame for Lelièvre's serious and probing interviews.

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thématiquement à travers la semaine, le Québec accueillant une représentation de l'Acadie le lundi..., de la Bretagne le mardi..., de la Louisiane le mercredi..., de l'Irlande le jeudi.... Le vendredi, tous se réunissent pour une célébration des ressemblances entre ces différentes cultures, formant une rétrospective de la semaine, une veillée des veillées. " ("The Veillées d'automne were articulated around the concept of minorities fighting for the survival of their cultural identity. Therefore, we find [this concept] thematically throughout the week, [with] Quebec welcoming a presentation of Acadia on Monday… Brittany on Tuesday… Louisiana on Wednesday… Ireland on Thursday… On Friday, they all gathered for a celebration of the similarities between these different cultures, constituting a retrospective of the week, a veillée of veillées") (David Berthiaume, "Les Veillées d'automne à Montréal [1975]," *Bulletin Mnémo* 10, no. 1 [Spring 2006], http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/les-veillees-d-automne-a-montreal).

[38] "The veillée became, in my analysis, the first democratic space where people could speak more or less freely…. Put yourself in the context of the era, in particular the nineteenth century, when the conquerer [i.e., the British], with the Industrial Revolution, had economic power. There wasn't much left. And [people were] monitored by the priest, by the priests, and the religious communities— it's not a laughing matter, not at all. If there hadn't been veilllées, the people would never have endured. Never. It kept up their morale. And through the veillées, the stories played that role [of maintaining morale], the songs played that role, and above all the dancing" (Gladu, "Les festivals de musique traditionnelle"). For more on André Gladu, see his interview with Pierre Chartrand ("André Gladu: cinéaste de notre musique traditionnelle," *Bulletin Mnémo* 10, nos. 1, 2, 3 [Winter 2007], http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/andre-gladu-cineaste-de-notre.)

Like "Fête au village," *Soirée canadienne* showcased French-Canadian villages (though almost all in Quebec) by staging a purportedly unstaged veillée of local amateur performers. *Soirée canadienne* also featured some Anglophone villages, however, though the show was always presented in French.[39]

Like Lelièvre, Bilodeau interviewed the mayor and priest, and the village's oldest couple (*les doyens*), though *Soirée canadienne* was less politically overt than *Fête au village*: Bilodeau's conversations with the mayors tended to centre on infrastructure and tourist attractions; with the priests, on the defining characteristics of the villagers (they were, inevitably, pious and hard-working); and with the doyens, on details of their courtship. This was not dissimilar to Lelièvre's conversations with villagers in Quebec; when Lelièvre engaged his interviewees on topics such as francophone survival, he was in French-speaking villages elsewhere in Canada.

Soirée canadienne did offer a narrower musical vision than did *Fête au village*. Lelièvre made space for the slow and introspective, whereas *Soirée canadienne* featured almost exclusively chansons à répondre and fast-paced dance tunes.[40]

Although the veillées of Massicotte and Barbeau, and later Gauthier, began by presenting amateur performers, the very success of these veillées led to professional careers for some (Isidore Soucy, Mary Travers) and a substantial amount of amateur work for others (Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny). *Fête au village* and *Soirée canadienne*, by contrast, featured different amateur performers every week. These shows celebrated

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[39] Jean Collard, e-mail to the author, April 7, 2016.
[40] A rare exception is the song "Hymne au Créateur," performed by M. Nadeau, the doyen of the village of Buckland. A thirty-minute version of this episode aired on July 21, 1971 and is conserved in the Radio-Canada archives.

folk music not only as songs, tunes, and dances but also as the product of a specific geographic locale (and devoted a healthy amount of airtime to promoting those locales).[41] This ethnographic premise lent every show an element of uncertainty and the performances were rarely perfect. The shows worked anyway. As hosts, Lelièvre and Bilodeau were careful and courteous ethnographers: respectful when presenting the musicians, unperturbed by awkward performances or memory lapses, and generous in allocating time for the airing of local concerns.

5.3   Staging a Village

Although every episode of *Soirée canadienne* contained the same elements and followed more or less the same format, villages enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in selecting performers and repertoire. A local organizer was charged with choosing the singers, dancers and instrumentalists and leading preparatory rehearsals. *Soirée canadienne* did request that singers perform older songs learned from family members and that each singer prepare two songs (so that Bilodeau and the producer would have a choice), but in most cases, the first time that Bilodeau—or anyone affiliated with the show—met the performers and heard their repertoire was just a few hours before airtime.[42]

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[41] Radio-Canada also produced a television show entitled "Dans tous les cantons" in the 1950s. According to Jean Collard, this was a travelling show broadcast from a large tent. The production team would go to a village one week in advance to program an episode (Collard, interview by the author). I have not viewed any episodes of this show, but the catalogue listings at the Radio-Canada archives suggest that it featured local folk dance troupes. There is no connection between this "Dans tous les cantons" and the program of the same name produced by Jean Collard in the late 1970s.
[42] According to Jean Collard, villages might spend up to six months preparing their *Soirée canadienne* performances.

Jean Collard remembers villages arriving at the CHLT studio in the late 1960s

and early 1970s. He would meet the performers' bus, give them a short tour of the

studio—"« O Seigneur! C'est donc ben petit! » Pis, les roches étaient faites en

Styrofoam.... Ils en revenaient pas"[43] —and then ask the manager (*régisseur*) to summon

Louis Bilodeau. Bilodeau arrived, always to thunderous applause, and asked the villagers

to "faites-nous votre *Soirée canadienne*."[44]

The possessive adjective ("votre") in this command is significant: villagers were

the creators of each episode of *Soirée canadienne*. The show offered the formal

framework of a staged veillée, but extracting performers and repertoire from local

unstaged veillées and fitting them into this framework was largely the work of the

villagers themselves.

This is not to suggest that villages had complete musical autonomy, however.

Soirée canadienne sent each local organizer detailed instructions regarding the number

and type of songs and dances to prepare. The show's popularity and longevity also

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In the first year of *Soirée canadienne*, Bilodeau met the participants in their village on the day of the performance and travelled with them by bus to the television studio. The singers performed their songs for him during the bus ride and he made his cue sheet accordingly. Upon arriving at the CHLT studios, he performed in the television drama *Père Anthime* (he played the title role), changed costumes quickly, and then hosted *Soirée canadienne*. The show was only thirty minutes in its first season, after which it was extended to sixty minutes.

From approximately 1961 until 1966, Bilodeau replaced these bus "auditions" with a mock *Soirée canadienne* held in the village shortly before the show date. Beginning in the late 1960s, Bilodeau met and heard the performers only upon their arrival at the studio.

Bilodeau's "real job" was as a salesman of commercial advertising on radio and television. He was also the first face to appear on CHLT when the station launched in 1956 (Collard, interview by the author).

[43] "'O Lord! It's so small!' And the rock [walls] were made out of Styrofoam… They couldn't believe it" (Collard, interview by the author)

[44] "Do your *Soirée canadienne* for us" (Collard, interview by the author)

engendered a certain musical conformity: local organizers and performers knew what song types were welcome on the show. Villages took inspiration from their neighbours at the same time that they sought to outperform them.[45] In this sense, the musical freedom that local organizers enjoyed was a direct result of the show's widespread popularity. The *Soirée canadienne* team did not need to closely regulate repertoire or handpick performers because local organizers and performers were self-regulating.

Soirée Canadienne shaped the villages' presentations according to the exigencies of television. Performers arrived in the studio prepared to sing their chansons à répondre at a moderate pace; Bilodeau, conducting from the sidelines, raised the tempos dramatically and signalled a cut-off if the song extended past its allotted time (usually two minutes; quadrilles were granted three and one-half minutes and step-dancers were given one and one-half minutes). Every musical performance included piano accompaniment, in the early years by a village pianist (often a nun) and, from 1968 or 1969, by house pianist Simon Blanchette. Blanchette helped Bilodeau keep the tempos up but in other ways accommodated his playing to the performers: he might modulate up by a half-step to follow a singer's rising pitch, or finesse rhythmically irregular transitions between verses.[46]

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[45] The *Soirée canadienne* team encouraged competition between villages by booking several villages from the same region at the same time. The performances of these villages were not necessarily broadcast consecutively. Villages also sought to outdo each other in the gifts that they presented to Bilodeau. Jean Collard instituted a policy that only locally distinct gifts—such as a sculpture from St-Jean-Port-Joli—could be presented on air (Collard, interview by the author).

[46] Villages worked with a local pianist (often a nun) to prepare for their appearance on *Soirée canadienne*. Singers did perform without piano accompaniment on occasion, but rarely. In the St-Jean-Port-Joli episode, a young man asked to perform with only his own foot percussion as accompaniment; the pianist acquiesced during the verses but joined in

According to Jean Collard, *Soirée canadienne* systematically refused material

from *La Bonne Chanson*, a series of widely distributed song collections founded by Abbé

Charles-Émile Gadbois in 1937 in order to "fournir... des chansons honnêtes et bien faites

pour lutter contre les chansonnettes françaises et le jazz américain."[47] In Jean Collard's

words, the goal of *La Bonne chanson* was to encourage the "bon parler français" and to

stamp out the "pas bonne" chanson, and *Soirée canadienne* wanted no part in it: "On ne

les prenait pas. Une sur mille…. S'il la choisissait comme deuxième chanson, nous, on ne

la choisissait pas."[48] *Soirée canadienne* did not explicitly ask local organizers to avoid

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on the responses ("Soirée Canadienne - St-Jean-Port-Joli," YouTube video, 47:25, posted by "YvesRoy," February 5, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tkJb2DAvbAk; this performance is at 30:46). Jean Collard also recalls a vocal duo that performed without accompaniment, and performances with fiddlesticks and a whirligig. Collard appreciate such unusual performances and often included them on the best-of compilation that he assembled at the end of each season (Collard, interview by the author).

[47] "furnish... [French-Canadians] with honest and well-made songs in order to combat French *chansonnettes* [i.e., the popular songs of Maurice Chevalier, Édith Piaf, Tino Rossi and others] and American jazz" (Manuel Maître, *La vie d'un vrai patriote: abbé Charles-Émile Gadbois : un fervent croyant, un homme de son temps, un grand musician* [Montréal: Fondation Abbé Charles-Émile Gadbois, 1993]), 36-37. According to Surmont, Gadbois was inspired by the words of Camille Roy, then rector of Laval University and president of the Comité de la Survivance française en Amérique, during a preparatory meeting for the second Congrès de la langue français in Quebec City (Jean-Nicolas De Surmont, *La bonne chanson: le commerce de la tradition en France et au Québec dans la première moitié du XXe siècle* [Montréal: Triptyque, 2001], 73). Surmont traces connections between Gadbois' project and the work of Théodore Botrel in France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[48] "We didn't take them [songs from *La Bonne Chanson*. We took] one in a thousand… If they chose [a song from *La Bonne Chanson*] as a second song, we didn't choose them" (Collard, interview by the author). De Surmont notes that *La Bonne Chanson* contained only a small number of French-Canadian folk songs (*La bonne chanson: le commerce de la tradition*, 77–78). Fiddler and traditional music scholar Éric Favreau argues that *Soirée canadienne* included many more songs from *La Bonne Chanson* than Collard claims, but notes that it is impossible to know the singers' sources. Some singers may have learned songs from a relative or friend who themselves had learned from *La Bonne Chanson*; others may have learned songs from loose-leaf sheet music or newspapers (personal communication, October 22, 2016).

songs from *La bonne chanson*, but they did ask singers to bring family songs, as much as possible, and culled the performers' song choices upon their arrival in the studio.

In short, *Soirée canadienne* roped folk music into a narrow musical range: fast and lively, tied to the harmonies of a pianist, over in three minutes or less, and disassociated from *La Bonne chanson*. This was folk music as mainstream televised entertainment and these musical restrictions were key to the show's success. "Cent pourcent de toutes les émissions qui ont passées à *Soirée canadienne*—cent pourcent—si on avait pris le groupe pis les mettre en ondes comme eux s'étaient pratiqués, au maximum, ça aurait même pas duré six mois," states Jean Collard categorically.[49] *Fête au village* performed the diversity of the unstaged veillée, but of bygone days; *Soirée canadienne* cherry-picked songs and instrumental pieces, and encouraged local organizers to do the same, and shoehorned diverse performance practices into an entertaining format made for popular television.

5.3.1 Modernity, Tradition, and Kitsch

For rural communities in Quebec, *Soirée canadienne* represented a significant promotional opportunity; some even passed municipal resolutions declaring their desire to appear on the show.[50] Although the program centered on traditional music and dance, villages also used the airtime to present themselves as modern and forward-looking, idyllic for tourists and businesses alike. Bilodeau supported this tact, interviewing village

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[49] "One hundred percent of all the episodes of *Soirée canadienne* that were broadcast—one hundred percent—if you had taken the group and put them on air as they had practiced [in their village], the show wouldn't even have lasted six months at the most" (Collard, interview by the author).
[50] Collard, interview by the author.

mayors about local attractions and new infrastructure projects—everything from

upcoming festivities to new cross-country ski trails—and encouraging parish priests to

wax eloquent about the generosity and piety of the local population. Most performers

wore modern-day clothing on the show, though on occasion a village might chose to wear

historical costumes in honour of a significant local anniversary. Every episode included a

three-minute film about the village, with a voiceover text penned by a member of the

community—often a historian—and read by Bilodeau.[51] The film for Ste.-Hélène-de-

Bagot is typical of the genre: it describes the village as a peaceful and refreshing oasis

located just off the Trans-Canadian Highway[52]; gives a brief and glowing overview of

local history; lauds the village church, school and convent; and highlights the credit

union, post office, agricultural cooperative, aqueduct, recreation centre, fire department,

and ultramodern slaughterhouse.

     Soirée canadienne required each village to appoint a local organizer to liaison

with tradition-bearers, and asked that the mayor and the priest appear on the show.[53] In

the television studio, these local dignitaries were seated apart at a "table des notables."

Though Bilodeau introduced the mayors, priests, and organizers courteously and was

unerringly respectful in his interviews and conversations with them, the stars of the

program were the musicians, dancers, and *doyens*. Yet Collard recalls that, to many of

these village dignitaries, folklore was kitsch (*kétaine*)—the music of a "mononcle qui

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[51] In the early years of *Soirée canadienne*, these films were narrated in real-time, on air, by a member of the community (Collard, interview by the author).
[52] "une oasis de paix et de fraîcheur"
[53] In some instances, the village priest chose not to appear on *Soirée canadienne* because he did not want to be associated with folklore. Bilodeau would finesse this absence by announcing that the priest had fallen ill, and wishing him a speedy recovery (Collard, interview by the author).

était ben chaud quand il chantait"[54]—and those who carried it in their families were of a lower social standing. *Soirée canadienne* required the dignitaries—Collard called them "les snobs," "les snobinettes," "les snobinos" or, more politely, "les gens modernes"—to put aside these prejudices in the name of free, televised publicity and to go out and find "les familles dans la campagne ou dans la ville... [qui] vivaient ça tous les Jour de l'An, à toutes les noces" because they themselves didn't sing: "eux-autres, ils savaient pas chanter."[55]

Once in the studio, these musicians and dancers cornered Collard to express their gratitude—and incomprehension—at this turn of affairs:

> Finalement, les gens qui étaient choisis par les snobinos-là, qui venaient, les gens de la campagne, les gens disaient, « Je comprends pas comment ça se fait que on est—je comprend pas encore comment ça se fait qu'on est icitte. On figure jamais dans les affaires de—C'est toujours les hauts de la place. On figure jamais nous autres… »[56]

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[54] "an uncle who was very drunk when he sang" (Collard, interview by the author)

[55] "the families in the countryside or in the town who lived that [i.e., folk music and dance] every New Year, and at every wedding"; "the others, they didn't know how to sing" (Collard, interview by the author). Accordionist Norman Miron described this same dynamic in a 2006 Radio-Canada interview: "Il y a beaucoup de monde, les intellectuels surtout, ils mettent ça dans un cadre à part. Quand on a pris six bières, là, on peut le sortir. Avant ça on ne sort pas le disque" ("There are many people, intellectuals above all, who think of traditional music as something different [lit. 'put it in a separate frame']. When you've had six beers, then you can take it out. Before that, you don't take out the recording") (Eric Beaudry, Normand Miron and Olivier Demers, interview by Pierre Maisonneuve, "La musique trad: pour les fêtes, et après?" *Maisonneuve en direct*, Radio-Canada, December 22, 2006, http://www.radio-canada.ca/radio/maisonneuve/22122006/81425.shtml)

[56] "In the end, the people who were selected by those *snobinos*, the people who came [and performed on *Soirée canadienne*], the country folk, they said, 'I don't understand how it is that we are—I still don't understand how it is that we are here. We are never part of the affairs of—It is always the dignitaries [*lit.*, the higher-ups of the locale]. We, the others, we never count'" (Collard, interview by the author)

Collard seems to have quietly revelled in this role reversal and he remembers commenting to Bilodeau, in reference to the tradition bearers, "Eux-autres, là, tu leur paies la traite en simonac, parce qu'ils fait [sic] chier les notables."[57]

This division of villagers into snobbish dignitaries and musical *habitants* is a sweeping generalization, of course, as Collard himself recognized; some mayors, and even priests, sang. (On *Fête au village*, Lelièvre systematically invited the mayor and the priest of the village to contribute a song, and many did.) It is also likely that this dynamic changed over the program's twenty-three years. Still, the longevity of *Soirée canadienne* is likely due in part to the fact that it made space for both dignitaries and tradition bearers, enlisted the former in service of the latter, and engaged respectfully with both on their own terms.

A critical investigation into this dynamic, by which one group of community members regarded the music-making of another group as kitsch and embarrassing, would require substantial ethnographic work and is well beyond the scope of this dissertation. Rather, I would like to take Collard's reading of village sociocultural hierarchies as a lead-in to a more general discussion of the relationship between folklore and kitsch. "Ça toujours... passé pour kétaine, le folklore," stated Collard categorically, adding, "Mais ça se comprend psychologiquement au niveau d'un peuple,"[58] suggesting that Quebec, in the rapid modernization of the 1960s and 70s, threw out the baby (folklore) with the bathwater of conservative morality and Catholicism. I find this association of folklore

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[57] "You are really giving them a treat, because they are pissing off the dignitaries" (Collard, interview by the author).
[58] "Folklore has always been taken as kitsch"; "But that is understandably psychologically at the level of a people" (Collard, interview by the author).

and kitsch provocative but imprecise, though it does offer some explanation for early twenty-first-century readings of *Soirée canadienne*, such as "Bye-Bye 2008" and Louise Cousineau's 2006 review (cited above), which consider the show endearing but unbearably kitsch (and do not differentiate between the social classes on screen).

Clement Greenberg defines kitsch as a "watered down" imitation of "genuine culture" that casts off the substance of the latter but retains its "devices, tricks, stratagems, rules of thumb, [and] themes."[59] It is aesthetically and spiritually cheap; it is about appearance rather than substance. Monica Kjellman-Chapin restates this definition of kitsch as a mimicry of "high" art and adds that kitsch may also bypass "high" culture completely to provide consumers with "mass-produced, cheaply made goods with no redeeming value, aesthetic or otherwise." Kitsch is derivative, not innovative, and "readily digestible" rather than challenging; it replaces "authenticity" with "pat emotionality."[60]

Kitsch is all surface and no depth. It may be a superficial staging of high art, or simply a maudlin, facile performance. To art music critics in the early twentieth century, folklore at the earliest staged veillées looked like what Greenberg and Kjellman-Chapin call kitsch: the exécutants du terroir were incapable of true artistic expression, even as they played their hearts out, and the fiddle tunes and folk songs they performed were facile, though charming: "Nos chants du terroir sont beaux, dans leur simplicité et leur naïveté, mais combien plus beaux seraient-ils avec des accompagnements écrits par des

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[59] Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 10–11.
[60] Monica Kjellman-Chapin, "The Politics of Kitsch," *Rethinking Marxism* 22, no. 1 (2010): 28–29, doi: 10.1080/08935690903411578.

maîtres de la musique?" wrote Gustave Comte in *Le passe-temps*.[61] The performances by

the exécutants du terroir were watered-down performances of genuine culture, except that

the item of genuine culture—art music based on folk melody—had yet to be created.

Even without the imperative to inspire art music composition, folk, or traditional,

music has something in common with these definitions of kitsch. Folk music is, by

definition, derivative; it is also innovative, of course, but, typically, our weighting of

these two qualities is different than for, say, art music or popular styles. Folk music looks

to the past and can tap easily into sentimentality and nostalgia; this enables the ongoing

association, in Quebec, of folk music with the holiday season. Folk music is also, by

definition, "readily digestible": it is participatory music (though this does not preclude it

from being musically, artistically or intellectually challenging at times).[62]

The antidote to kitsch is authenticity—an equally problematic word, but a concept

that goes hand in hand with the notion of folklore. Folklore derives much of its value

from the presumption that it carries some sort of authentic national or regional identity,

and the question of whether a folklore performance is kitsch hinges on the viewer's

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[61] "Our folk songs are beautiful, in their simplicity and naïveté, but how much more beautiful would they be with accompaniments composed by musical experts [*maîtres*]?" This quotation is drawn from Comte's review of the "Vie des voyageurs" veillée. He describes the terroir singers as "'types' rudimentaires, y allant de tout leur cœur, mais incapables de provoquer une émotion d'art, autre que celle du rire, parfois trop lourd et trop gros" ("rudimentary 'types,' playing with all their heart but unable to provoke an artistic emotion other than laughter, and often a guffaw"; Gustave Comte, "Disc-o-phonia: À propos de Folklore et de disques essentiellement du terroir par nos artistes," *Le passe-temps*, December 11, 1920, 551).

[62] See Chapter 2, "Participatory and Presentational Performance," of Thomas Turino's *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) for an in-depth discussion of the musical characteristics and social contexts of participatory music.

determination of the locus of that authenticity: is it in the musical material, the mode of transmission, the performers' bodies, or the physical setting?

For Barbeau and Massicotte, authenticity resided in melodies and texts, and could therefore be transferred intact from one group of people (exécutants du terroir) to another (art music composers).[63] For Jean Collard, authenticity resides in the process of aural transmission: it is carried through the act of performance. He describes the singers, musicians and dancers featured on *Soirée canadienne* as akin to national heroes, saying that their performances gave to the province as a whole "la force de notre authenticité, de notre… distinction," and remembers tears coming to his eyes when talking with singers whose repertoire had been passed down through several generations.[64]

> "Moi, j'ai eu des masdames ou des messieurs qui m'ont venus me dire... « M. Collard, moi, je chante plus cette chanson-là, mais ça, je suis la seule dans la famille qui a droit chanter cette chanson-là parce que c'était la chanson de ma mère. » Comme le gars, il disait, « C'est moi, moi j'ai eu en héritage cette chanson, c'est juste moi qui a le droit de le chanter dans la famille. »... Il transmettait quelque chose d'il y a 200, 300 ans. Moi, ça, je le vivais avec les gens."[65]

Twice during our interview, Collard described a future in which Quebec, devoid of cultural identity, rediscovers itself through the playing of a lone fiddler:

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[63] At the "Veillées du bon vieux temps," Barbeau and Massicotte used other elements—aural transmission, performers' bodies, physical setting—as indicators of a musical authenticity that resided in the melodies and texts.

[64] "the strength of our authenticity, our distinction." Collard believes that this lineage of oral transmission often meant more to him than it did to the performers (Collard, interview by the author).

[65] "I had women and men who came to say to me… 'Mr. Collard, I don't sing this song anymore, but I am the only one in the family who has the right to sing this song because it was my mother's song.' Like the man who said, 'I inherited this song, I'm the only one who has the right to sing it in my family.' They were transmitting something that was 200, 300 years old. Me, I lived that with them" (Collard, interview by the author).

Jamais au Québec, le Québec francophone va mourir, autant que le Québec anglophone. Il va rester une chose, il va rester une personne dans tout ça, ça va être un violoneux.... Il va juste rester de la braise dans feu. Lui, il va joueur son rigodon là, le feu va reprendre pis tu vas avoir du monde qui [viennent] autour. Alors, on partira jamais. Mais le monde savent pas ça, que c'est à cause du violoneux, ou à cause de nos racines, qu'il va faire ça. [66]

I find this image striking for its emphasis on performance as a vehicle for the resurrection of national identity, or a sense of national authenticity. There is no transfer of musical material here, as Barbeau and Massicotte envisioned, from singers and fiddlers to art music composers (via folklorists). Collard's imagined revival relies on individual musical memory and public performance: this is national self-knowledge via repertoire, in Taylor's sense of the word. No archive, however complete, could breathe life into Collard's dying fire of collective self-awareness.

This question of the locus of folklore authenticity is heady, imprecise, and unanswerable, of course, but it is also key to the staged representation of folklore, and to the reception of those representations.

For village notables, *Soirée canadienne* was kitsch for its focus on lower-class forms of entertainment. For critics like Louise Cousineau, today's reruns of *Soirée canadienne* are kitsch for the performers' clothing, hairdos, and physical awkwardness; the cloying stage set; and the reduction of small-town life to singing, dancing, and

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[66] "Never in Quebec will francophone Quebec die, or anglophone Quebec. One thing will remain, one person will remain in all of that, it will be a fiddler. Only the embers of the fire will remain. And he will play his rigoudon and the fire will restart and people will gather around. So, we will never go. But the world doesn't know that it is because of the fiddler, because of our roots, that it will be like that" (Collard, interview by the author).

reminiscing.[67] In our interview, Jean Collard recognized both sorts of kitsch but

dismissed them as superficial: at its core, *Soirée canadienne* was a "temoinage

d'authenticité."[68] To read it as kitsch was to miss the point. The core authenticity of

Soirée canadienne as a vehicle for aural transmission outweighed any superficial kitsch

of performance style or class association.

 This is the essential complexity of staged folklore: it carries both authenticity and

kitsch, depending on the viewer's perspective and on their definition of folklore. By some

reckonings, folklore is, by its very nature, authentic; by others, it is essentially kitsch. As

the former, it carries value as a source of national self-knowledge. As the latter, it is

something of a national embarrassment. Much of this chapter, and of Chapter Two,

interrogates how cultural actors—critics, journalists, producers, musicians, dancers,

singers, promoters—have chosen to weight these readings at different times and for

different performances.

 I began Chapter Two with a thick description of the staged veillée that begins

"Bye-Bye 2008." Radio-Canada's annual "Bye-Bye" is a send-up of the previous year,

and kitsch is always high on its production values. The opening sequence of "Bye-Bye

2008" set the tone for that year's show: nostalgic, silly, over the top, rough around the

edges, and in somewhat bad taste. I don't read this use of traditional music as problematic

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[67] Éric Favreau argues that until the late 1980s, the cover imagery of commercial recordings of folk music reinforced the association of this music with an idealized rural village lifestyle. He notes that one of the first commercial recordings of folk music to use the imagery of "un élément de ville sans lien avec une représentation du passé" ("an urban element not linked to a representation of the past") was La Bottine Souriante's celebrated LP *Je voudrais changer de chapeau*, released in 1988 (personal communication, October 22, 2016).

[68] "testimony of authenticity" (Collard, interview by the author).

in and of itself—"Bye-Bye" spoofs everything—but it is unfortunately typical of media

representations of traditional music in modern-day Quebec. Media attention to traditional

music is usually restricted to the holiday season and often presents the music through a

Soirée canadienne-tinged lens. In 2006, for instance, Radio-Canada hosted a rare round-

table discussion on traditional music—on December 22, and entitled "La musique trad:

pour les fêtes, et après?"—on why it is only of interest in late December.[69] In October

2009, I played for the monthly Montréal square dance, La Veillée du Plateau, and

Laurence Bareil—host of the TVA cooking show "Qu'est-ce qui mijote?"—attended; she

wore fur-lined boots and a checked shirt, aired the footage in late December, and

blogged, "Ahhh, ça sent le temps des Fêtes!"[70]

Many musicians, meanwhile, attack these associations head-on. In February 2016,

Les Frères Berthiaume released their debut album featuring the rough singing voice of

David Bertiaume backed by his brother Jean-François on foot percussion and frame

drum, with synthesizer and programming by Guido Del Fabbro; like other recent

"electro-trad" releases, it is musically indebted to Michel Faubert's 1992 breakthrough

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[69] "Trad music: for the holiday season, and after?" This title could be read as "Is traditional music not only for after the holiday season, but also for after?" or "Given that traditional music is only for the holiday season, what happens to the music and the musicians after the season is over?" (Beaudry, Miron and Demers, interview).
[70] "Ahhh, it feels like the holiday season!" (Laurence Bareil, "De la danse traditionnelle, aux Atocas!…" *Qu'est-ce qui mijoute* (blog), December 16, 2009. http://www.questcequimijote.com/de-la-danse-traditionnelle-aux-atocas/. This webpage is no longer available but has been partially archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20091221072131/http://www.questcequimijote.com/category/blog/.

album *Maudite Mémoire*.[71]   Many of the songs are two minutes long—punk rock

length—with heavy percussion, rhythmic jaw harp (*guimbarde*), alternately pure and

ragged tuning, and in-your-face studio effects. One track ("La discussion") uses samples

to stage an imaginary dialogue between renowned fiddlers Jean Carignan and Louis

"Pitou" Beaudreault and constructs a minimalist melody from fragments of their playing.

The one actual fiddle tune is a weirdly disjointed setting of "Reel St-Antoine" on an

English concertina that has been panned so dramatically in the mix that we seem to be

inside the instrument. The disc is titled *Le temps des Fêtes est terminé* ("The Holiday

Season is Over") and the cover image is a police-style chalk outline of a Christmas tree

branch.

5.4   Conclusion

In 1925, when Fabio decried the carrot-coloured wigs and rude language of Conrad

Gauthier's "Veillées du bon vieux temps,"[72] he was worried about the denigration of folk

music. This stance presumed that folk music was high art, or at least had the potential to

generate works of high art. Fabio's vehemence is a reminder that only a few years earlier,

this proposition had yet to be proven: it was Barbeau and Massicotte who, through their

writings and speeches, and above all, the Folklore Society's "Veillées du bon vieux

temps," elevated the standing of folklore among the intellectual and cultural elite by

framing folk songs, stories, dances and tunes as national artefacts in need of preservation.

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[71] Les Frères Berthiaume, *Le Temps des Fêtes est terminé*, David Berthiaume and Jean-François Berthiaume (La Tribu LFB2016, 2016, compact disc); Michel Faubert, *Maudite Mémoire* (Milles-Pattes, 1992, compact disc).
[72] Fabio, "Le Mois Théatral," *La Lyre*, March 1925, 11.

Of course, Barbeau and Massicotte also demonstrated, inadvertently, that the market for staged folklore cut across class lines—that folk singers, fiddlers and dancers could be commercially successful popular entertainment—thereby providing the impetus for Gauthier's "Veillées."

Fabio's critique reads as one voice in an ongoing conversation whose premise might be roughly summarized as follows: The work of the Folklore Society elevated folklore to the status of art, but with this added prestige came the potential for folklore to descend into bad art, or kitsch. Gauthier's "imitations burlesques" were threatening precisely because folklore had so recently been lifted above the social class of its origins. Barbeau had argued that folklore in its most pure form—texts and melodies—could serve as raw material for high art, but this required extracting the repertoire from the people who carried it, and giving it a good brushing off. Gauthier's "Veillées" did the opposite: revelling in burlesque-style performances and rough language, they (according to Fabio) tarnished folklore and, by extension, national identity.

This was not an either/or distinction. Gauthier's reading of folk music did not annul Barbeau and Massicote's, but rather thickened and complicated the web of citations around folk repertoire and performers. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to follow these ideas through staged veillées in the 1930s and 40s, but by the time of *Fête au village* in the 1950s and *Soirée canadienne* in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, folklore carried a heavy load. It was celebrated as musical proof of a conservative, rural French-Canadian identity deeply associated with staying on the land; this association goes back at least to the nationalist writings of the late nineteenth century. It was denigrated as kitsch, the backwards music of a backwards identity from which a modernizing Quebec hoped to

escape; this attitude also goes back at least to the turn of the century, when Barbeau's

fellow at the Royal Society chastised him for putting "ces niaseries" on stage. When

presented in a rough, folksy frame, as on old-fashioned variety shows, it was intensely

popular entertainment.

An episode of *Soirée canadienne* was a node in a complex web of citations. Each

show purported to represent an unstaged veillée in a specific locale and Bilodeau

welcomed the television audience as if he were broadcasting live from that village. The

local organizer was tasked with bringing in performers "qui avaient la tradition dans leur

famille,"[73] and the performances of these singers, dancers and musicians presumably

cited familial veillées. Yet they also cited earlier episodes of the show; local organizers

understood that they had an obligation to present "du monde qui étaient dans le style

Soirée canadienne" and many modeled their village's presentation on successful episodes

by other villages.[74] The earliest episodes of *Soirée canadienne*, in turn, cited *Fête au*

village and, to a degree, old-fashioned variety shows. *Soirée canadienne* also issued a

series of long-playing records of "best-of" performances; these LPs cited past episodes of

the show even as they provided a model for future staged veillées.

Upon returning home, some villagers borrowed Bilodeau's format and hosted

local, live "Soirées canadiennes." In St.-Bonifice, for instance, the "troupe" that had

travelled to Sherbrooke organized a "soirée du bon vieux temps" at the local Collège;

over 300 people attended.[75] According to Jean Collard, staged veillées inspired by *Soirée*

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[73] "who had the tradition in their family" (Collard, interview by the author)

[74] "people who were in the style of *Soirée canadienne*" (Collard, interview by the author)

[75] "Les Rumeurs d'une paroisse," *L'Echo du St.-Maurice* (Shawinigan, QC), January 20, 1965, 14.

canadienne lasted for a decade or more in some locales. In more recent years, the Sud-Ouest branch of the Association Québécoise des Loisirs Folkloriques (AQLF) has organized commemorative events in which *Soirée canadienne* performers or members of their families re-perform their televised repertoire.[76]

Some singers, musicians and dancers likely learned songs, tunes and dances from *Soirée canadienne*, though I have found little direct evidence of this. The young fiddler Nicholas Babineau recently posted, on Facebook, a clip of "Le reel du pendu" played by Eugène Morin (fiddle) and his wife (fiddlesticks) on the Chertsey episode of *Soirée Canadienne* in 1982; Babineau commented that his grandmother had recorded this performance on cassette and that he had listened to it some 200 times. His own version of "Reel du pendu," posted by a bandmate in the comment feed below the YouTube video, however, is much closer to the celebrated version by Jean Carignan.[77] Jean Collard

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[76] Paul Billette and Germain Leduc, "AQLF Sud-Ouest," accessed November 29, 2015, http://aqlfsudouest.com/Soiree_Canadienne.php. The first of these was organized by Jean Collard. He later passed the idea to the AQLF (Collard, interview by the author). These reconstructed performances notably follow the song tempos of the televised broadcast; even without Bilodeau's conducting or Blanchette's piano, performers adapted their performances to the musical aesthetics of *Soirée canadienne*

[77] "Mr & Mde Eugène Morin -Soirée Canadienne 1982," YouTube video, 1:24, from an episode of *Soirée canadienne* originally broadcast on Télé 7 in 1982 and rebroadcast by Prise 2 [date unknown], posted by "Mario Montreal Canadiens Prudhomme," December 23, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QkivK_fPHZY). Two videos of Nicolas Babineau playing the "Reel du pendu" are available online ("Violon Nicolas Babineau Secondaire en spectacle.wmv Reel du pendu [Hangman's Reel] nouveau," YouTube video, 5:02, posted by Nicolas Babineau, August 7, 2011; "reel du pendu," YouTube video, 2:29, posted by Mathieu Allard, December 21, 2015). A clip of Jean Carignan playing the "Reel du pendu" is also available online ("Jean Carignan – Hangman's Reel," YouTube video, 2:06, from the 1975 National Film Board film *Ti-Jean Carignan,* posted by "Chris Ricker," November 23, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gT3DctGzUhI). Other settings of this tune may be heard in the film "Le reel du pendu" (André Gladu, "Le reel du pendu" [National Film Board of Canada, 1972] film, 56:47, https://www.nfb.ca/film/reel_du_pendu).

recalls meeting some harmonica players who had learned tunes from *Soirée canadienne* but, perhaps surprisingly, given the preponderance of songs on the show, no singers. It seems that the amateur performances on *Soirée canadienne* inspired viewers to emulate the concept of a staged veillée, but not specific songs, tunes or dances. This is quite different from the reception of fiddler Don Messer, whose repertoire swept across Canada: Messer was a musical idol to viewers, whereas the performers on *Soirée canadienne* were their peers.[78]

Radio-Canada's "Bye-Bye 2008" is a late addition to this web of citations. It includes the key musical and visual elements of a staged veillée—chansons à répondre, group dances, a fiddler, step-dancing (if we may understand Alexandre Despatie's wet stomping as such), a certain excessive gaiety mixed with childlike innocence—but empties them of most musical substance. The veillée setting and the embedded clip of *Soirée canadienne*, featuring a young Joël Legendre, are a kitsch backdrop to pop stars, television and sports celebrities, and circus artists.

"Bye-Bye 2008" is one indicator of the popularity of *Soirée canadienne*: a spoof is, of course, a citation that requires viewers to know the original. The danger comes when the chain of citations stops there: if viewers know *Soirée canadienne* and its satirical successors, but not the web of citations that shaped *Soirée canadienne* and that then leads, in another direction, to modern-day musicians using traditional music as a

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[78] Neil V. Rosenberg, "Repetition, Innovation, and Representation in Don Messer's Media Repertoire," *The Journal of American Folklore* 115, no. 456 (Spring 2002), 191–208.

creative resource, then traditional music as a genre is restricted to a narrow set of musical materials and performative tropes.

In this chapter, as in Chapter Two, I position folklore as what happens at the veillée or, more precisely, as the acts of citation that constitute staged and unstaged veillées. I complicate the notion of tradition by historicizing both staged and unstaged veillées and interrogating the actions and decisions that shaped their musical contents.

To Jean Collard, folklore was the performance of songs and tunes that had been transmitted aurally from generation to generation, and the role of *Soirée canadienne* was to facilitate this most essential of citations.[79] This framing of folklore offers an invitation and a challenge to scholars. If we accept folklore as a performative act—as repertoire—as well as a collection of musical materials—an archive—then the preservation, documentation and publication of those materials is necessary but insufficient. We need to ask how the academy might lend its weight to supporting folklore as something that people *do*, and recognize that the act of aural transmission has as much weight and meaning as the notes, rhythms and texts being transmitted.

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[79] *Soirée canadienne* also contributed to the archive. After retiring as producer, Jean Collard published a three-volume folksong collection entitled *Chants du Pays*. One of his primary sources for these collections were homemade cassette recordings of *Soirée canadienne* from 1969 to 1983, made by an avid fan of the show (Collard, interview by the author; *Jean Collard presente nos Chants du Pays, Vol. 1: 16 chansons à répondre du Québec* [(Montreal): Les Éditions Télémédia Inc., n.d.]; *Jean Collard presente nos Chants du Pays, Vol. 2: 16 chansons à répondre du Québec* [(Montreal): Éditions du Chant du coq, 1991]; *Jean Collard presente nos Chants du Pays, Vol. 3: 16 chansons à boire et polissonnes* [(Montreal): Éditions du Chant du coq, 1992]. Each volume includes two cassette tapes.)

Conclusion

On February 4, 2011, I found myself at a veillée at the Club Social Firestone in the town of Notre-Dame-des-Prairies, Quebec. My husband and I had paid $10 each to attend this "Party comme dans l'temps"—a "party like back in the day"—with all the profits going to Mémoire et Racines, the local traditional music festival.

The room was low-ceilinged and split in two. To the right was the bar; to the left was a circle of musicians, a small dance floor, and four long folding tables set up perpendicular to the wall. Gilles Pitre, dance caller, stepdancer, and artistic director of Mémoire et Racines, was at the microphone when we walked in, and he called us into one of two square sets forming on the floor.

After the dance, I chatted with a friend. She used to go to parties like this every New Year, she said, sometimes several in a row: her own family, her mother's family, and then her father's family. Eventually, the parties got so big that they had to rent a hall. With her father's family, they turned on the radio and played cards. Her mother's family was the musical one: fiddle-playing uncles, and songs and stepdancing. Later in the evening, she introduced me to her mother, who said, "Ça fait du bien"—"it feels good," or "it does me good." When she was younger, there were parties like this from the New Year through Mardi Gras.

A succession of singers came to the microphone, each performing one song, and then André Brunet, fiddler with the band De Temps Antan and acting emcee for the evening, called for some fiddle tunes. The circle of musicians expanded to a dozen violins, a few guitars, and a banjo. We played "Reel du gaucher," "Reel St-Jean," "Reel à Ti-Mé," some of Jean-Paul Loyer's tunes in 6/8, and a hypnotic, groovy march by Simon

Riopel, of the band Ni Sarpe Ni Branche. The third time through the march, everyone

stopped playing and sang the melody. Simon Riopel himself was there. André invited

him to sing, and he invited his uncle Samuel to join him. Samuel Riopel has a wonderful,

raspy voice and as he sings each verse he raises his shoulders, bends his arms out, and

rotates his loosely cupped palms from side to side. Watching the audience watch him, I

noticed an elderly woman, perhaps in her eighties or nineties, sitting at one of the tables

and singing along with the responses. She was still there, surrounded by family members,

when we left at 12:30 a.m.

Playing music, singing, and dancing have the uncanny and lovely ability to take

us, however briefly, into a state of pure sound and movement. I, and most of the

musicians I know, play music in part to return to that state of "flow": a "feeling of

timelessness, or being out of normal time, and… of transcending one's normal self."[1]

There was flow at the "Party comme dans l'temps": in the square set, holding hands in a

line of six people and being led by the first man under an arch made by the fourth couple;

in the tunes, playing and singing Simon Riopel's march in unison; in the songs,

responding to Samuel Riopel and watching him shape each verse with his gestures. We

were out of normal time, but also hypersensitive to the passing of time: this was, of

course, a party like parties used to be, "back in the day." For some attendees, this party

cited their own family gatherings; it validated and revived their memories. For others—

myself included—it cited our imaginings of other people's family gatherings, perhaps

revising those imaginings in the process. In both cases, awareness of history—real or

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[1] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 4.

imagined—informed our thoughts and actions and, I would argue, enhanced our sense of flow.

It wasn't, I thought at the time, all that different from playing music. When I play a fiddle tune with others, we are—hopefully—completely present and in the moment, but we are also, simultaneously, aware of all the other times we've played or heard that same tune, or similar tunes. At traditional music sessions in Montreal, those connections often shape the conversation that follows a tune, with questions such as: What's that tune called? Where did you learn it? Do you know who wrote it? Don't you think it sounds modern / old / American / Irish / Scottish / Anglo Canadian / Gaspesian / Acadian / like an accordion tune? I know a different version, have you ever heard it like this? That tune reminds me of this other tune, do you know it? Few of us play the tune exactly the same, and none of us have the same set of references. It is by sharing our variants and our citations that we grow closer as a musical community. Playing a tune in full knowledge of its web of musical and extra-musical citations is a very different— perhaps more fulfilling—experience than just getting though the notes.

I thought about the "Party comme dans l'temps" for weeks afterwards. We had gathered to recreate an older way of making and listening to traditional music, in order to raise money for a modern-day way of doing the same. A good percentage of the musicians present that night made their living performing traditional Québécois music— and their own Québécois identity—on international touring circuits. (They were, in part, the draw.[2]) Some of the other musicians were regulars at weekly traditional music

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[2] The email message advertising this event began: "**Lanaudière Mémoire et Racines** vous invite à son tout premier *Party comme dans l'temps !* Plusieurs artistes trad seront présents : André Brunet (du groupe **De Temps Antan**), Simon Beaudry, Réjean Brunet et

sessions in nearby Joliette and in Montreal, and we played repertoire common to those

sessions, in a similar style. Some people, including the event organizers, could remember

parties like this in their own families. For my part, driving down a dark road until we

found a jumble of cars and a lone building full of music and dancing, I was reminded not

of my own family—growing up in urban California, we didn't have veillées—but of my

first trip to Cape Breton Island, when two friends and I drove through the woods looking

for the West Mabou square dance. Notably, the email advertising for this event made no

effort to explain what, exactly, it would be: everyone on the Mémoire et Racines mailing

list presumably already knew.[3]

Every person has an individual set of citations for traditional music in Quebec:

some know only Le Vent du Nord, De Temps Antan, and La Bottine Souriante; some

look back to Barbeau, Massicotte, and the "Veillées du bon vieux temps"; some look

outwards to fiddle tunes and dances from Scotland, Ireland, and the United States; some

go out dancing, but only during the holiday season; some stop at re-runs of *Soirée*

canadienne. If citation shapes the boundaries of musical genres, then we need to

recognize that the boundaries of the genre of traditional music in Quebec may be very

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Olivier Demers (**Le Vent du Nord**), Simon Riopel (de **Ni sarpe Ni Branche**), **La Tradition** et plusieurs autres." ("**Lanaudière Mémoire et Racines** invites you to its first ever *Party comme dans l'temps!* Many traditional music artists will be present: André Brunet (of the group **De Temps Antan**), Simon Beaudry, Réjean Brunet and Olivier Demers (**Le Vent du Nord**), Simon Riopel (of **Ni sarpe Ni Branche**), **La Tradition** and many others") (email correspondance from Mémoire et Racines to the author, January 23, 2011, italics and bold in original).

[3] "Les 100 chanceux et chanceuses qui seront présents sont invités à amener leur voix, leur instrument, leurs pieds ainsi que leur âme afin de faire… un party comme dans l'temps." ("The 100 lucky people who will be present should bring their voice, instrument, feet, and soul in order to make… a party like back in the day.") (email correspondance from Mémoire et Racines to the author, January 23, 2011).

different for different people. This is one of the dangers of a small-scale—some would say "niche"—musical genre: there isn't enough public conversation about the genre for there to be a clear consensus about its boundaries. There isn't enough sharing of citations.

Genres and generic boundaries are, of course, no more real than "the social," or "culture," or "tradition": which is to say, they are real enough to influence what repertoire musicians learn, how they learn and perform it, and how it is received.

Genres are formed and maintained by countless small-scale transactions between people, objects, sound, and movement. This dissertation spotlights some of those transactions: a folklorist recording a fiddler on a wax cylinder; a novelist imagining an evening of rural amateur music and dance; singers, dancers, and musicians on stage; other singers, dancers, and musicians making music and dancing in a rural kitchen; a fiddler recording a 78 rpm disc, and another fiddler listening to that disc; a musician or editor issuing a printed collection of tunes, compositions, or transcriptions, and other musicians copying those tunes into personal manuscript books; a village organizer soliciting for local performers; a television host selecting songs to broadcast. Each transaction reinforces existing generic boundaries, or alters them, or both.

As Brackett notes, each of these transactions is a citation of other, earlier, transactions, which are also citations. It is these chains of citations that give genres continued legibility, even as the boundaries of those genres shift. To label a genre as "traditional" is to assert that these chains of citations may be traced backwards to an idealized point of origin that unites land, repertoire, and certain groups of people (and, by the same token, disassociates other groups of people from that land). Such an assertion is always retrospective, however.

Seen from a different perspective, these same transactions reach outwards, across regional and national borders. "Money Musk" was played and danced in the 1790s in Britain, the United States, and Quebec, carried via dancing masters, musicians, publications, and manuscripts. Barbeau, an Oxford-educated anthropologist, documented French-Canadian folklore at the urging of an American colleague, and published his findings in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, a young and determinately pan-North American periodical. Joseph Allard made his name on the New England competition circuit long before he began recording 78 rpm discs in Montreal. Musically speaking, his recordings and those of his contemporary, Isidore Soucy, from the Bas-Saint-Laurent region, were worlds apart, though both were French-Canadian.

In this dissertation, I interrogate how the generic labels "folklore," "folk music," and "traditional music" have been used to circumscribe a subset of these musical, material, and human transactions. Generic boundaries are one way of making sense of an ongoing stream of transnational trajectories.

This dissertation contributes to growing bodies of scholarship on the construction of musical genre in the early twentieth century, and on folk music as an ideologically charged genre constructed from popular styles. I draw equally on the disciples of musicology (especially popular music studies), ethnomusicology, and folklore studies, and use the tools of the digital humanities to inform my research. Although I have restricted myself to traditional instrumental music in Quebec, I hope that many aspects of this dissertation, in particular the methodological approach and theoretical frameworks, will be of use to scholars of other musical traditions. I also

deeply hope that this dissertation with find its way to at least some of the many musicians who play this music and the music of related North Atlantic traditions.

This dissertation points towards many directions for further research. The computer system that underlies Chapter Three identifies concordances in a large body of monophonic repertoire and quantifies the degree of similarity between those concordances. In the future, I might extend this database to non-fiddlers, into the 1930s, and to recordings made in New York City and elsewhere in the same years. Ideally, I would like to incorporate this computer system into a curated, Web-based portal by which scholars and musicians could input new repertoire and compare tunes to an existing database. This could conceivably be in conjunction with existing Web-based archives of fiddle tunes, such as the Traditional Tune Archive or abcnotation.com. This resource would allow researchers working with regional repertoires from across North America to identify local variants of commercially recorded tunes and to trace connections between the recording industries of Montreal, New York City, and elsewhere.

I would also like to explore in greater detail the role of women as advocates for folklore in the early twentieth century. The women's magazine *La Canadienne* included "folklore" in its offerings and published one of the most detailed profiles of the Quebec Section at the time. The Cercle social Ste-Anne, a women's social organization, helped organize a "Veillées de bon vieux temps" in Ottawa in May 1920. Women were, from the mid-nineteenth century, idealized as "guarantors of cultural survival" (and, by extension,

excluded from politics).[4] Folklore was sold to the public—at times, via women's

magazines—as an umbrella term for those elements of national culture that had

"survived" and needed preserving. If women were the keepers of hearth and home, to

what extent were they also expected to be keepers of folklore, for instance by singing folk

songs to their children? Were women encouraged to embrace folklore rather than, say,

the women's suffrage movement?

Parts of this dissertation examine the ways in which scholars, by collecting and

studying a repertoire, can change the course of that repertoire. Other parts examine how

and why musicians alter tunes. Throughout, I am interested in the particular tensions of

tradition. Traditional musicians create new tunes and alter existing tunes within a

mythology of temporal continuity and geographic stability. They work with music that

carries deep associations of both authenticity and kitsch. At times, they use local settings

of transnational tunes or new compositions to represent a given region or nation. Moving

forward, I would like to find ways, both scholarly and musical, of presenting the ideas in

this dissertation to a public that knows less and less about traditional music and, at times,

takes parody as the genuine article.

Generic boundaries are, by definition, limiting, but they are also sources of

musical inspiration. In that sense, this dissertation expresses in words something that

many traditional musicians in Quebec already express through their music: that the

associations of nation, identity, and origin that hang so heavily on tradition are, in their

own way, compositions, and as open to improvisation and variation as the tunes

themselves.

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[4] Veronica Strong-Boag, "Women's Suffrage," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published June 20, 2016).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Terroir performers at the "Veillées du bon vieux temps" (1919-1922)

Name	Year of birth	Location	Occupation(s)	Instrument / Repertoire	Veillées
Sylva Alarie					1921: Nov. 24
Luc April		Notre-Dame-du-Portage, Témiscouata		Singer	1920: May 2
François-Xavier B[e]aulne	1881	L'Original (Prescott, ON); now living in Montreal	Metallurgist	Fiddler, dancer	1919: March 18
Philéas Bédard	1864	Saint-Rémi (Napierville)	Farmer	Singer, storyteller (*contes mimes*)	1919: April 24, June 24, Dec. 11 1920: April 25, 26, 29, May 5, 6, 7, Nov. 25, Dec. 2 1921: Nov. 24 1922: March 10, 11
Alice Bélanger				Poetry reading	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
M. Bélanger				Dancer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
Mme. Bélanger				Dancer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
Caïus Benoit		Born in Saint-Mathias (Rouville), also lived in Chambly, St-Jean and Montreal		Fiddler	1920: April 29
Treffle Bigras		Gatineau		Singer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
F.-X. Blache				Singer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Arsène Blaigner-Jarry	1847	Saint-Laurent (near Montreal)	Shoemaker	Fiddler	1919: June 24
Charles Blanchette		Rivière-Madeleine, Rivière-au-Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon or Percé		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2 1921: March, April 21, Nov. 24
Mme. Charles Blanchette		Rivière-Madeleine, Rivière-au-Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon or Percé		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2 1921: March, April 21, Nov. 24
Alcide Boivin				Actor	1921: April 21
Mlle. Whilhelmy [Boivin?]				Actor, dancer	1921: April 21, Nov. 24
Médard Bougie		Montréal		Fiddler (played left-handed on a right-handed violin)	1919: March 18, April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
Eugène Bourgeois				Dancer, fiddler	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Jean Bourgeois				Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec 2 1921: Nov. 24
Louis-Honoré Cantin	1875	Saint-Romuald (Lévis); then Montréal	Wood merchant	Singer; helped Massicotte find singers for March and April 1919 veillées	
M. Carisse				Dancer	1922: Mar. 10, 11
Mme. Carisse				Dancer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
M. Casaubon					1921: April 21
Mme. Casaubon					1921: April 21
Mme. Chailler					1921: Nov. 24
Hector Charland					1922: Nov. 6
M. Charron				Dancer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
Mme. Charron				Dancer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
Jérôme Cloutier	c1837	Chouayen, Québec		Dancer, singer	1920: May 2
Ludger Côté (father or son)		L'Anse-au-Griffon or Rivière-au-Renard		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2 1921: April 21, Nov. 24
M. Côte (father or son)					1921: April 21, Nov. 24
Paul Coutiée					1922: Nov. 6
Mlle. A. Curadeau		Rivière-Madeleine, Rivière-au-Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon or Percé		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec 2 1921: April 21, Nov. 24

Name	Year of birth	Location	Occupation(s)	Instrument / Repertoire	Veillées
Paul Curadeau		Rivière-Madeleine, Rivière-au-Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon or Percé		Dancer, fiddler	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Mme. S. Curadeau		Rivière-Madeleine, Rivière-au-Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon or Percé		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
					1921: March, April 21, Nov. 24
Mme. Stanislas Major, née Catherine Dagenais	1859	Saint Vincent-de-Paul, Ile Jésus		Singer, guimbarde (jaw harp)	1919: April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
					1921: Nov. 24
Israël Dagenais	1854	Saint Vincent-de-Paul, Ile Jésus			1919: April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
Jean-Baptiste Dagenais	1850	Saint Vincent-de-Paul, Ile Jésus			1919: April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
Olivier Dagenais	1844	Saint Vincent-de-Paul, Ile Jésus			1919: April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
Olivier de Repentigny		Valleyfield		Fiddler	1920: May 5
Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny	1858	Saint-Timothée (Beauharnois); now living in Hawkesbury (ON?). Also lived in Ontario and Michigan.	Farmer, navigateur, tailor, night watchman	Singer	1919: March 18, April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
					1920: April 25, 26, 29, May 5, 6, 15, Nov. 25, Dec. 2
					1921: Nov. 24
Mme. Desjardins				Dancer	1922: Mar. 10, 11
O. Desrochers				Fiddler	1921: April 21, Nov. 24
Joseph Dion		Château-Richer (Montmorency); now living in Montréal		Storyteller: "Une semaine chez Morel"	1920: April 29?
Philéas Drolet				Dancer	1920: May 2 [?]
R.-H. Duhamel		Québec	Actor?	Read story	1919: March 18
Armand Dumouchel					1922: Nov. 6
Oscar Durocher		Lachine		Fiddler	1920: April 29
					1922: Nov. 6
Achille "Ti-Chille" Fournier		Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, Kamouraska		Storyteller	1920: May 2
Conrad Gauthier				Singer, actor	1921: April 21, Nov. 24
					1922: Nov. 6
Edouard Giroux		Beauport		Fiddler	1920: April 29, May 6
Henri Groulx				Dancer	1919: June 24
Roméo Jetté				Singer	1920: April 29
Jeanne Ladouceur				Harmonium (accompaniment)	1919: June 24
Paul Lajoie					1922: Nov. 6
Alfred Laliberté				Pianist (accompaniment) and arranger	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Philippe Lambert		Louiseville		Fiddler	1920: April 29?
Oscar Laparé					1922: Nov. 6
Arthur Lapierre			Singer, maître du chapelle de l'eglise Saint-Jacques, Montréal (*LP* 1922-11-4, 8?)	Singer	1921: April 21
Stanislas Laporte					1922: Nov. 6
Mme. Laurendeau-Chailler				Dancer	1921: Nov. 24
					1922: Nov. 6
André Laurendeau					1922: Nov. 6

Name	Year of birth	Location	Occupation(s)	Instrument / Repertoire	Veillées
Mme. A. Laurendeau				Pianist (accompaniment)	1919: April 24
Mme. Laurendeau-Chailler				Dancer	1921: Nov. 24
					1922: Nov. 6
Louis Leduc		St.-Timothée, Valleyfield (Beauharnois)		Storyteller, jaw harp, "rouette"	1920: April 29
Armand Lefebvre				Actor	1921: April 21, Nov. 24
Honoré Leroux	c1837			Dancer	1920: April 29, May 2, 5, 6
					1921: March, April 21
Isaïe Leroux	1835	Coteau du Lac	Boat pilot	Dancer	1919: June 24, Dec. 11
					1920: April 29, May 5, 6
					1921: March, April 21, Nov. 24
					1922: Nov. 6
Xavier Leroux [perhaps a misspelling of Isaïe Leroux?]	c1831			Dancer	[1919: Dec. 11]
					[1920: Apr 29]
Omer Mallette		Pointe-Gatineau	Son of William Mallette	Fiddler	1922: Mar. 10, 11
William Mallette		Pointe-Gatineau		Fiddler	1922: Mar. 10, 11
Elie Ménard				Dancer	1919: Dec. 11
Mme. Moreau				Dancer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
Ulric Pageau		Ancienne-Lorette		Fiddler	1920: May 2
Michel Renaud				Piano (accompaniment for Adolphe Tison)	1919: Dec. 11
Joseph Roussel[le]	1872	Saint-Denis (Kamouraska)	"de la classe ouvrière" ("working class")	Singer, storyteller	1919: April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
					1920: May 15, Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Hervé Samson		L'Anse-au-Griffon or Rivière-au-Renard		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec 2
Mme. Hervé Samson		L'Anse-au-Griffon or Rivière-au-Renard		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Luc Samson		L'Anse-au-Griffon or Rivière-au-Renard		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Salomon Samson		L'Anse-au-Griffon or Rivière-au-Renard		Fiddler	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Mme. Salomon Samson		L'Anse-au-Griffon or Rivière-au-Renard		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Joachim Simard	c1883	Ancienne Lorette; also learned repertoire in Québec City		Accordion (also plays violin and harmonica [fMB B219 f36]	1919: Dec. 11
Ovide Soucy		Saint-Antonin, Témiscouata		Singer	1920: May 2
Jeannette Teasdale					1922: Nov. 6
Mme. M. Thériault		Rivière-Madeleine, Rivière-au-Renard, L'Anse-au-Griffon or Percé		Dancer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2
J.-B. Adolphe Tison	1863	Montréal	Head assistant clerk, Palais de Justice de Montréal	Singer	1919: March 18, April 24, June 24, Dec. 11
					1920: May 15, Nov. 25, Dec. 2
Mme. Joseph Tremblay				Singer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
Léo Vaillières					1922: Nov. 6
M. Vaive				Dancer	1922: Mar. 10, 11
Mme. Vaive				Dancer	1922: Mar. [10?], 11
Claire Vast					1922: Nov. 6

Appendix 2: Folklore artistique performers at the "Veillées du bon vieux temps" (1919-1922)

Name	Year of birth	Location	Occupation(s)	Instrument / Repertoire	Veillées	Notes
J.-P. L. Bérubé				Singer	1919: Dec. 11	
Mme. J.-Emile Dionne					1919: March 18, June 24	Studies in Montreal and Paris. Sister of Yvonne Montet.
Ruth Emerson		Living in New York City		Pianist (solo and accompaniment)	1920: April 25, 26, 29, May 2, 5	
					1922: March 10, 11	
Sarah Fisher	1896	Paris			1919: March 18	Youth in London, studies in Montreal and Europe
Stanley Gardner				Pianist (solo)	1920: Nov. 25, Dec. 2	
Lucienne-B. Laliberté				Singer	1920: Nov. 25, Dec 2	
Hercule Lavoie				Singer	1919: Dec. 11	
Aldéa Lussier				Pianist (accompaniment)	1919: Dec. 11	
Yvonne Montet				Singer	1919: March 18, June 24	Studies in Montreal and Paris. Sister of Mme. J.-Emile Dionne
August Paquette				Singer	1919: Dec. 11	
Loraine Wyman		Living in New York City	Lyric singer	Singer	1919: April 24	Youth and studies in France (student of Yvette Guilbert); known for collection and performances of Kentucky folk songs
					1920: April 25, 26, 29, May 5	
					1922: March 10, 11	

Appendix 3: Terroir repertoire at the "Veillees du bon vieux temps," 1919-1922

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
Dance	Clog dances	Clog dances	William and Omer Mallette (violins) with M. Vaive, M. Carisse, Mme. Desjardins and others (dance) (1922-03-10)
Dance	Curieux pas de danses de voyageurs	Stepdance	Jean Bourgeois with Eugène Bourgeois, fiddle (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Dance	Gigue à quatre		La famille Dagenais: Catherine, Israël, Jean-Baptiste and Olivier Dagenais with Médard Bougie, violin (1919-12-11)
Dance	Gigue carrée		La famille Dagenais: Catherine, Israël, Jean-Baptiste and Olivier Dagenais with Médard Bougie, violin (1919-04-24, 1919-06-24)
Dance	Gigue des anciens		Mme. S. Curadeau and M. Charles Blachette with Paul Curadeau, fiddle (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Dance	Gigue double		Israël and Olivier Dagenais with Catherine Dagenais, jaw harp (1919-04-24)
Dance	Gigue ecossaise		Isaïe Leroux with Médard Bougie, fiddle (1919-06-24)
Dance with accordion	Gigue hollandaise		Isaïe Leroux [with Joachim Simard?] (1919-12-11)
Dance	Gigue irlandaise		Elie Ménard, dance, and Joachim Simard, accordion (1919-12-11)
Dance	Gigue simple		Jérôme Cloutier and Honoré Leroux [Philéas Drolet in programme] with Ulric Pageau, fiddle (1920-05-02)
Danse	Gigue simple		F.-X. Baulne with Médard Bougie, fiddle (1919-03-18); Henri Groulx with Médard Bougie, fiddle (1919-06-24); Elie Ménard with Médard Bougie, fiddle (1919-12-11)
Dance	Grand cotillion		Mme. Salomon Samson, Mme. Hervé Samson, Mme. Charles Blanchette, Mlle. A. Curadeau, Luc Samson, Hervé Samson, Ludger Côté, Charles Blanchette, with Salomon Samson, fiddle (1920-11-25)
Dance	Le mardi gras		Israël and Olivier Dagenais with Catherine Dagenais, jaw harp (1919-04-24, 1919-12-11 [repeated as encore])
Dance	Le 'reel' à Sabourin	Reel	William and Omer Mallette (violins) with MM. Vaive, Charron, Carisse, Bélanger (1922-03-11)
Dance	Le 'reel' d'Alec	Reel	William and Omer Mallette (violins) with MM. Vaive, Charron, Carisse, Bélanger (1922-03-11)
Dance	Le "reel" des matelots		Mme. Salomon Samson, Mme. Hervé Samson, Mme. Charles Blanchette, Mlle. A. Curadeau, Luc Samson, Hervé Samson, Ludger Côté, Charles Blanchette, with Salomon Samson, fiddle (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Dance	La Spandae	Contredanse type de la Gaspésie	Mme. Salomon Samson, Mme. Hervé Samson, Mme. Charles Blanchette, Mlle. A. Curadeau, Luc Samson, Hervé Samson, Ludger Côté, Charles Blanchette, with Salomon Samson, fiddle (1920-11-25)

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
Dance	La varsovienne		Isaïe Leroux with Médard Bougie, fiddle (1919-06-24, 1919-12-11)
Accordion tune	La belle Catherine	Danse des pays d'en bas	Joachim Simard (1919-12-11)
Accordion tune (encore)	Horn pipe		Joachim Simard (1919-12-11)
Accordion tune (encore)	Valse inedite		Joachim Simard (1919-12-11)
Fiddle tune	Le cotillon des dames		Arsène Jarry (1919-06-24)
Fiddle tunes	Cotillons		Ulric Pageau (1920-05-02)
Fiddle tune	La dispute du vieux et de la vieille	Musique imitative	Médard Bougie, violin (1919-12-11)
Fiddle tune	La Fretillante	Gigue simple	Médard Bougie (1919-03-18)
Fiddle tune	La Gatineau	Gigue double	Médard Bougie (1919-03-18, 1919-04-24, 1919-06-24)
Fiddle tune	Le Moneymusk	Reel écossais, version canadianisée	Médard Bougie (1919-03-18); Arsène Jarry (1919-06-24); William and Omer Mallette (violins) with M. Vaive, M. Carisse, Mme. Desjardins, Mme. Moreau and others (dance) (1922-03-10, 1922-03-11)
Fiddle tune	Querelle du vieux et de la vieille	Fantasie imitative	Médard Bougie (1919-04-24, 1919-06-24)
Fiddle tune	Le Rêve du diable	Reel	Médard Bougie (1919-03-18, 1919-06-24 [combined with La Gatineau in listing], 1919-12-11); William and Omer Mallette (violins) (1922-03-10, 1922-03-11)
Fiddle tune	La Vrille	Reel	William and Omer Mallette (violins) (1922-03-10, 1922-03-11)
Fiddle tune and dance	Clear the Track		William and Omer Mallette (violins) with M. Vaive, M. Carisse, Mme. Desjardins and others (dance) (1922-03-10)
Fiddle tune and dance	La grondeuse		William and Omer Mallette (violins) with M. Vaive, M. Carisse, Mme. Desjardins and others (dance)? (1922-03-10); William and Omer Mallette (violins) with MM. Vaive, Charron, Carisse, Bélanger (1922-03-11)
Song	[Mon père,] je voudrais m'y marier	Chanson à répons, Parodie psalmodiée	Philéas Bédard, Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1920-04-29, 1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
	Ah! dis-moi oui—Ah! dis-moi non!		Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-06-24)
Song	L'anneau d'or et le plongeur	Chanson de rames	Ovide Soucy (1920-05-02)
Song	L'autre bord de la grande île		Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny with Jeanne Ladouceur, harmonium (1919-06-24)

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
Song	Les beaux souliers de ma mignonne	Chanson à répons; Randonné avec pas de gigue	Roméo Jetté (1920-04-29)
Song (encore)	La belle en mourant	Parodie militaire	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-12-11)
Song	La belle et le cavalier baron	Chanson de foulon	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02)
Song	La belle et le cavalier baron	Chanson du Canada pour le foulon	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-04-29)
Song	La bergère inconstante	Pastourelle	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-03-18)
Song	Biron	Ballad	Treffle Bigras and Mme. Joseph Tremblay (1922-03-11)
Song	Les cadeaux de ma mignonne	Rigmarole	Philéas Bédard (1922-03-10)
Song	C'est dans le faubourg Saint-Laurent	Chanson de marche	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-12-11)
Song	Caillette et le moine	Chanson satirique	Luc April (1920-05-02)
Song	Car je vais vous chanter	Chanson satirique	Philéas Bédard (1919-12-11)
Song	Ce sont les filles de Saint-Rémi	Drinking song, chanson de danse	Philéas Bédard (1922-03-10, 1922-03-11)
Song	Ce sont les gens de Boucherville	Chanson de mensonge	Philéas Bédard (1919-12-11)
Song	Chloris, la begère	Chanson à répons	Treffle Bigras and Mme. Joseph Tremblay (1922-03-11)
Song	Collin et sa poule	Satirique	Luc April (1920-05-02)
Song	Comment faut-il passer le bois?	Chanson ironique	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-12-11)
Song	Le coq et la poulette	Difficultés entre voisins	Philéas Bédard (1922-03-11)
Song	Corbleu, Marion!	Chanson dialogue de France	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-04-29)
Song	Le couvre-feu	Chanson militaire	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02)
Song	Dans la rue chez Collin	Chanson à répons	Treffle Bigras and Mme. Joseph Tremblay (1922-03-11)
Song	Dans le temps des fêtes	Chanson de moeurs	Adolphe Tison, voice, with Michel Renaud, piano (1919-12-11)
Song	Danses rondes chantées	Danse ronde	Ovide Soucy (1920-05-02)
Song	De Lachine à Bytown		Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
Song	Elle est en quinze brins, ma ceinture de laine		Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny with chorus (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Le fils du roi s'en va chassant	Chanson de foulon	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-04-24, 1919-06-24)
Song	En revenant de Chateauguay	Chanson mimé	Philéas Bédard (1919-06-24)
Song	Envoyons de l'avant nos gens	Chanson d'aviron	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-03-18, 1919-04-24, 1919-06-24, 1919-12-11 [by request])
Song	Les erables		Adolphe Tison (1919-06-24)
Song	La fille du cantinier	Chanson de danse, à répons	La famille Dagenais: Catherine, Israël, Jean-Baptiste and Olivier Dagenais (1919-04-24, 1919-06-24)
Song	L'habit de plumes	"le jongleur errant"	Luc April (1920-05-02)
Song	Je joue du pique, je m'en vas draver		Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny with chorus (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Le joli bas de laine		Adolphe Tison (1919-06-24)
Song	Je ne suis pas si vilaine	Chanson de métiers	Adolphe Tison (1919-03-18, 1919-04-24)
Song	Ma mere m'envoye au marché	Randonnée double	Philéas Bédard (1919-06-24); unnamed singer, probably Bédard (1919-12-11 [encore])
Song	Le marchand de velours	Chanson de métiers	Philéas Bédard (1922-03-11)
Song (encore)	Le merle		Adolphe Tison, voice, with Michel Renaud, piano (1919-12-11)
Song	Mon merle	Rengaine	Adolphe Tison (1919-03-18, 1919-04-24, 1919-06-24)
Song	Mon père, je voudrais me marier	Chanson à répons, Parodie psalmodiée	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny with Jeanne Ladouceur, harmonium (1919-06-24); Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-12-11 [encore]); Philéas Bédard, Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1920-04-29, 1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Nous voilà ici rassemblés à la table	Chanson de noces	unnamed singer, probably Philéas Bédard (1919-12-11)
Song	O Canada	National Anthem	All performers (1919-12-11); Adolphe Tison with all performers (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Le papillon suit la chandelle	Bachique	Luc April (1920-05-02)
Song	La parvenue qui se mire	Chanson de métiers	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-03-18)
Song	La passion de notre seigneur	Complainte	Ovide Soucy (1920-05-02)
Song	La petite louison	Sérénade	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-04-24)

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
Song	La prison du gourmand	Chanson bachique	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-03-18)
Song	Quand la Chopine fut bue		La famille Dagenais (1919-06-24)
Song	Quand on part du chantier		Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny with chorus (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Le retour à Bytown		Adolphe Tison with chorus (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Le roi qui s'amuse	Randonnée anglaise	Ovide Soucy (1920-05-02)
Song	Tourne la manivelle		F.-X. Blache with chorus (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Veux-tu venir, charmante-brune?	"The Lover and the Shepherdess", chanson à répons	Philéas Bédard (1922-03-10, 1922-03-11)
Song	La voix des erables	Chanson patriotique	Adolphe Tison, voice, with Michel Renaud, piano (1919-12-11)
Song	Vous me demandez t'une avis	Chanson satirique	Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny (1919-12-11)
Short story	L'oiseau et le crapaud	Historiette	Isaïe Leroux (1919-12-11)
Short story	La soupe aux pois	Historiette	Isaïe Leroux (1919-12-11)
Short story	Une si bonne famille et l'Enfant Jesus [Une si bonne famille!]	Historiette	Isaïe Leroux (1919-06-24, 1919-12-11)
Story	Les bossus	Conte comique	R.-H. Duhamel (1919-03-18)
Story	La casquette magique		Joseph Rouselle (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Story	Combien y a-t-il de sacrements?		Joseph Rouselle (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Story	Le cordonnier et la fileuse	Conte mimé	Philéas Bédard (1919-04-24, 1919-06-24, 1919-12-11 [encore])
Story	Le dragon de feu	Conte féérique	Achille Fournier (1920-05-02)
Story	L'homme qui a perdu sa vache		Joseph Rouselle (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Story	Le jeu d'epinette	Conte satirique	Joseph Rousselle (1919-04-24, 1919-06-24)
Story	Pierrot et Tansienne	Conte du terroir	Joseph Roussel (1919-12-11)
Story	La princesse du Tomboso	Conte féérique	R.-H. Duhamel (1919-03-18)
Story	Salutare	Beadeau, seigneur et curé	Philéas Bédard (1922-03-11)

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
Song and Dance		Chanson dansée	Jérôme Cloutier (1920-05-02)
Song and dance	[La boulangère	Danse chantée, Ronde	Mi[?] Philippe Lambert (1920-04-29)]
Song and dance	Le coq et la poulette	Fable populaire	Philéas Bédard with fiddler Salomon Samson and dancers Mme. Salomon Samson, Mme. Hervé Samson, Mme. Charles Blanchette, Mlle. A. Curadeau, Luc Samson, Hervé Samson, Ludger Côté, Charles Blanchette (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song and dance	[Ramenez vos moutons	Danse chantée, Ronde	Mi[?] Philippe Lambert (1920-04-29)]
Song or Story	Quand j'étais chez mon père	La gigue du malmarié	Philéas Bédard (1922-03-11)
Anecdote	La chaise volante	Aventure de chantiers	Louis Leduc (1920-04-29)
Folk-tale with songs	Le pari du silence		Philéas Bédard (1922-03-10)
Monologue	Monsieur Michel Morin	Macaronée (macaronic)	Philéas Bédard (1920-04-29)
Monologue	La prière du vieux garcon	Monologue assonancé	unnamed performer, probably Philéas Bédard (1919-12-11)
Pantomime with fiddle and dance	Pantomime du barbier		Eugène Bourgeois, raseur, Paul Curadeau, rasé, Salomon Samson, racleur (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
unknown	Un effort de "rouette"		Louis Leduc (1920-04-29)

Appendix 4: Folklore artistique repertoire at the "Veillees du bon vieux temps," 1919-1922

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
English Song	The Bitter Withy	Folk carol from Gloucestershire, arr. Cecil Sharp	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
English Song	Go no more a-rushing	Riddle song, arr. W. A. Barrett	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
English Song	My Johnny was a Shoemaker	Sea shanty, arr. Cecil Sharp	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
French Song	Adieux à la jeunesse	From Brittany, arr. B.-Ducoudray	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
French Song	L'Angélus		unknown
French Song	La belle jalouse	Ballade	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-04-29)
French Song	Disons le chapelet	From Brittany, arr. B.-Ducoudray	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
French Song	La fille du laboureur	Dialogue breton	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-04-29)
French Song	Le grillon et la fourmi	From Piémont, arr. L. Sinigaglia	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
French Song	La jeunesse se fletrira	Chanson lyrique	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02)
French Song	La légende de Saint-Nicolas	arr. Weckerlin	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
French Song	Ma fille, veux-tu un bouquet?	"The solicitous mother", arr. Weckerlin	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
French Song	Quand mon père m'a marié	From Normandy, arr. E. Moullé	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
French Song	Quelle mere j'ai	Brunette	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02)
French Song	Le retour du marin	Ballad, arr. Julien Tiersot	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02); Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
Song	Adieux à la jeunesse, arr. Bourgault-Ducoudray	Vieille chanson de France	Loraine Wyman with Mme. A. Laurendeau, piano (1919-04-24)
Song	Ah, qui me passera le bois?		Lucienne-B. Laliberté with Alfred Laliberté, piano (1920-11-25)
Song	L'ane de Jean, arr. G. Ferrari	rengaine	Loraine Wyman with Mme. A. Laurendeau, piano (1919-04-24)
Song	Au clair de la lune	Duo	J.-P. L. Bérubé and Auguste Paquette (1919-12-11)
Song	La belle Françoise	Chanson de rames, arr. E. Vuillormoz	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Song	Berceuse Sainte-Marguerite		Lucienne-B. Laliberté with Alfred Laliberté, piano (1920-11-25)
Song	La bergère et le roi d'Angleterre (arr. Julien Tiersot)	Pastourelle du XVIe siècle	Yvonne Montet (1919-03-18) with J.-Emile Dionne, piano (1919-06-24)
Song	Blanche comme la neige	Ballade	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02)
Song	Blanche comme la neige, arr. Marius Barbeau	Ballade	Lorraine Wyman with Mme. A. Laurendeau, piano (1919-04-24)
Song	Bonjour, jolie bergère, arr. D. Taylor		Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-04-29)
Song	Ce sont les amours de ti-Louis		J.-P. L. Bérubé with Aldéa Lussier, piano (1919-12-11)
Song	Cecilia		Sarah Fisher with Achille Fortier, piano (1919-03-18)
Song	Le couvre-feu	Chanson militaire dialoguée	Lorraine Wyman with Mme. A. Laurendeau, piano (1919-04-24)
Song	Dans Paris y a-t une brume		unknown

Type	Item	Sub-type	Performer and date
Song	La fille du cantinier	Chanson de danses	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02)
Song	Je ne veux pas d'un habitant [listed after "Rappel: Le vieux sauvage"]		Lucienne-B. Laliberté with Alfred Laliberté, piano (1920-11-25)
Song	Margoton, arr. Weckerlin	Vieille chanson de France	Loraine Wyman with Mme. A. Laurendeau, piano (1919-04-24)
Song	Margoton s'en va t'au Moulin, arr. Alfred Laliberté		Lucienne-B. Laliberté with Alfred Laliberté, piano (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song	Le petit moine d'amour	Pour métiers, arr. G. Ferrari	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Song	Pot-pourri d'airs canadiens	Trio	J.-P. L. Bérubé, Auguste Paquette, Hercule Lavoie (1919-12-11)
Song	La prisons de Nantes, arr. G. Ferrari		Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-04-29)
Song	Le retour du marin, arr. Charles de Sivry	Vieille chanson de France	Loraine Wyman with Mme. A. Laurendeau, piano (1919-04-24)
Song	Sainte Marguerite	Berceuse, arr. Grand-Shaefer	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Song	Le vieux mari	Malmariée	Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-05-02)
Song	Le vieux mari, arr. Marius Barbeau		Lorraine Wyman with Ruth Emerson, piano (1920-04-29)
Song	V'là le bon vent, arr. Alfred Laliberté		Lucienne-B. Laliberté with Alfred Laliberté, piano (1920-11-25, 1920-12-02)
Song from Brittany?	M'y allant promener	arr. Weckerlin	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Song from Brittany	Quand je menais mes cheveux	Arr. B.-Ducoudray	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Song from the Kentucky mountains	An inconstant Lover	Collected and arranged by Wyman and Howard Brockway	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
Song from the Kentucky mountains	The old Maid's song	Irish song collected and arranged by Wyman and Howard Brockway	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
Song from the Kentucky mountains	The Ground Hog	Hunting song collected and arranged by Wyman and Howard Brockway	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-10)
Song from Louisiana	Z'amours, Marianne	Arr. Nina Munroe	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Song from Louisiana	Suzanne, jolie femme	Arr. Nina Munroe	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Song from Louisiana	Tan patate-là tchuite	Arr. Nina Munroe	Loraine Wyman (1922-03-11)
Solo piano	Chants canadiens, arr. Ernest Gagnon		Choir of architecture students with P.-E. Corbeil, piano (1919-03-18)

Appendix 5: Select 78 rpm recordings, 1897—1929

This Appendix lists all 78 rpm recordings in the database used by our computer system, as described in Chapter 3, and all other 78 rpm recordings referenced in that chapter.

Recording details from the Virtual Gramophone (Library and Archives Canada, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/index-e.html); Gabriel Labbé, *Musiciens traditionnels du Québec: 1920-1993* (Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 1995); and Richard K Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records, Vol. 1: Western Europe* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

Lists are organized alphabetically by performer's last name. Recordings by a single performer are organized chronologically and then by catalogue number. Note that the sections for Joseph-Ovila LaMadeleine and Albert LaMadeleine have been combined.

Select 78 rpm recordings, 1897–1918

Performer	Year	Instrument	Title	Label	Catalogue #	Transcribed in database?
Danton, Eugene	1897 or 1904?	vocal	En roulant ma boule	Berliner	151	No
Eckstein, Willie	1923	piano	Turkey in the Straw	Compo	618	No
Gagnier, Raoul	c1917	violin	Medley of Scotch jigs: Come under my plaidie / Logie O'Ruchan / Kerry dance / Whistle and I'll come to you / Pibroch / The braw wooer / The laird o'Cockpen / Campbells are coming	Victor	216012-A	No
Gagnier, Raoul	c1917	violin	Medley of Irish jigs: St. Patrick's Day / Garry Owen / Sprig of Shillalah / Paddy whack / The brisk young lad / Paddy O'Rafferty / The Kerry girls / O'Gaff / Irish washerwoman	Victor	216012-B	No
Gagnier, Raoul	c1917	violin	Medley of reels: Warm stuff / Paresis / Morpeth / An old friend / Five	Victor	216013-A	No
Gagnier, Raoul	c1917	violin	Clog dance	Victor	216013-B	No
Gauthier, Eva	1917	vocal	En roulant ma boule	Victor	69311-A	No
Golden, Billy	1901	voice	Turkey in de Straw	Berliner	587	No
Leachman, Silas	1901	voice	Turkey in de Straw	Berliner	722	No
Lebel, Edouard	1906	vocal	En roulant ma boule	Berliner	3610	No
Ossman, Vess L.	1905	banjo	Turkey in de Straw medley	Berliner	4424	No
Roy, J. B.	1918	violin	Highland fling medley: Wha wadna fecht for Charlie / Johnny's made a wedding o'it / Saw ye Johnny comin' / Highland fling / McAllister	Berliner	216018-A	No
Roy, J. B.	1918	violin	unknown	Berliner	216018-B	No
Roy, J. B.	1918	violin	Country dance medley: Rustic reel / Fairy dance / Rakes of Mallon [Mallow] / Haste to the wedding / Irish merry making / Sir Roger de Coverley	Berliner	216021-A	No
Roy, J. B.	1918	violin	Reel medley: Miss McLeod's reel / McDonald's reel / The chopman / Guilderoy, or, All set / Reilly's own	Berliner	216021-B	No
Roy, J. B.	c1917	violin	A: Medley of hornpipes: College hornpipe / Mountain hornpipe / Harvest home / Devil's dream / Soldier's joy / Speed the plough / Rickett's hornpipe / Bridge of Lodi	Berliner	216011–A	No
Roy, J. B.	c1917	violin	B: Medley of jigs: Jig / The maid of the green / Hands around / Smash the window / Double jig / To the ladies	Berliner	216011–B	No
Saucier, Joseph	1915	vocal	En roulant ma boule	Victor	0017-A	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	Jig medley: Munster buttermilk / The hill side / Connaught man's rambles / Little house under the hill / Top of Cork Road	Berliner	216022-A	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	Reel medley: Burlesque reel / Holes in the carpet / Fireman's reel / Matinee / Wind that shakes the barley / Pease upon a trencher / Old crow	Berliner	216022-B	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	Jig medley: Paddy Carey / Paddy whack / The clay pipe / Young May Moon / Nay, tell me not / [If all those] Endearing young charms	Berliner	216024-A	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	Reel medley: The best ever / The lone appendicitis / Shule, shule agrah / Jasper's pride / The social sixty	Berliner	216024-B	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	Highland fling medley: Tullochgorum / Gillie Callum / Sword dance / Drones / Whistle o'er the lave o't	Berliner	216029-B	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	Stop jig medley: Willie's feet / Rastus / Love taps	Berliner	216029-B	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	A: Hornpipe: Fisher's / Liverpool / New century / Durang's / Vinton's	Berliner	216033-A	No
Zaffiro, José	1918	violin	B: Chevalier jig medley: Little Nipper / Wot cher [cheer] / My old Dutch, composers Albert Chevalier & Charles Ingle	Berliner	216033-B	No

Select 78 rpm recordings, 1923–1929

The following table includes, to the best of my knowledge, all recordings of instrumental tunes by French-Canadian fiddlers in these years.

Performer	Year	Instrument	Title	Label	Catalogue #	Transcribed in database?	Strains	Concordant Strains
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Reel du Pecheur	Victor	263514-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Quadrille de Chez Nous	Victor	263514-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Reel des ouvriers	Victor	263522-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Gigue canadienne	Victor	263522-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Reel du pendu	Victor	263527-A	Yes	A, B, B', C	A, B, C
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Money Musk	Victor	263527-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Quadrille Indien	Victor	263531-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Reel de Mme. Renault	Victor	263531-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Reel du voyageur	Victor	263534-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Poteau blanc - Jigue	Victor	263534-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Quadrille acadien	Victor	263543-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Le reel de la veuve	Victor	263543-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	La mère blanche - quadrille	Victor	263548-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Le reel de l'enfant	Victor	263548-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Quadrille français	Victor	263560-A	No		
Allard, Joseph	1928	violin	Reel Ecossais	Victor	263560-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel du plombier	Victor	263567-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel du cordonnier	Victor	263567-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Reel du cultivateur	Victor	263570-A	Yes	A, B	

Performer	Year	Instrument	Title	Label	Catalogue #	Transcribed in database?	Strains	Concordant Strains
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel du grand-père	Victor	263570-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Marche Sir Wilfrid Laurier	Victor	263578-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Reel de Chateauguay	Victor	263578-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Reel du chauffeur	Victor	263586-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Quadrille de Beauharnois	Victor	263590-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Reel aux cheveux blancs	Victor	263590-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	La joie du soldat	Victor	263597-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Cotillon à huit	Victor	263597-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Reel du berger	Victor	263599-A	Yes	A, B	B
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Reel des montagnes	Victor	263599-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Varsovienne - valse	Victor	263602-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel de minuit	Victor	263613-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Gigue américaine	Victor	263613-B	Yes	A, A', B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Quadrille Montcalm	Victor	263627-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel du bedeau	Victor	263627-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel des habitants	Victor	263634-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Breakdown de nuit	Victor	263634-B	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel du semeur	Victor	263648-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel des violoneux	Victor	263648-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Reel du journalier	Victor	263657-A	Yes	A, B	
Allard, Joseph	1929	violin	Le reel de mon maton	Victor	263657-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923	violin	Quadrille (on indique le pas) 1re partie	Victor	263129-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923	violin	Quadrille (on indique le pas) 2e partie	Victor	263129-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923	violin	Quadrille (on indique le pas) 3e partie	Victor	263130-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923	violin	Gigues pot-pourri [3 tunes]	Victor	263130-B	Yes	A, B | A, B | A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923	violin	Virginia Reel [part 1]	Victor	216419-A	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923	violin	Virginia Reel [part 2]	Victor	216419-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1924	violin	Canadian Set - 1st change	Victor	216452-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1924	violin	Canadian Set - 2nd change	Victor	216452-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1924	violin	Canadian Set - 3rd change	Victor	216453-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1924	violin	Turkey in the Straw	Victor	216453-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923/4	violin	Quadrille canadien 1re partie	Victor	263161-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923/4	violin	Quadrille canadien 2e partie	Victor	263161-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923/4	violin	Quadrille canadien 3e partie	Victor	263162-A	Yes	A, A', B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1923/4	violin	Quadrille canadien 4e partie	Victor	263162-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1925	violin	Sleepy Hollow	Victor	216565-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1925	violin	unknown	Victor	216565-B	No		
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1926	violin	Reels canadiens 1re partie	Victor	263236-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1926	violin	Reels canadiens 2e partie	Victor	263236-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1926	violin	Gigues simples	Victor	263237-A	No		
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1926	violin	Gigues à deux	Victor	263237-B	No		
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	American set no. 1 part 1	Victor	216528-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	American set no. 1 part 2	Victor	216528-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	American set no. 1 part 3	Victor	216529-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	Chicken Reel - breakdown	Victor	216529-B	Yes	A, B, C	A, B
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	Quadrille de Berthier 1re partie	Victor	263538-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	Quadrille de Berthier 2e partie	Victor	263538-B	Yes	A, B, B'	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	Quadrille de Berthier 3e partie	Victor	263539-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1928	violin	Gigue du campagne	Victor	263539-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Set canadien de Québec 1re partie	Victor	263575-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Set canadien de Québec 2e partie	Victor	263575-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Set canadien de Québec 3e partie	Victor	263576-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Reel des matelots	Victor	263576-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Reel du cowboy	Victor	263582-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Reel des cinq milles	Victor	263582-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Reel d'alouette	Victor	263603-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Valse champagne	Victor	263603-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Reel à quatre	Victor	263610-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Reel du laboureur	Victor	263610-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Reel de Verchères	Victor	263625-A	Yes	A, B	A
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Valse de Gaspé	Victor	263625-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	La ronfleuse – gigue	Victor	263638-A	No		
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Gigue du barbier	Victor	263638-B	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Valse clog de champagne	Victor	263642-A	Yes	A, B	
Boulay, Arthur-Joseph	1929	violin	Gigue du bourdon	Victor	263642-B	Yes	A, B	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Reel du marie	Starr	15254-A	Yes	A, B	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Reel à quatre	Starr	15254-B	Yes	A, B	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Reel du voyageur	Starr	15256-A	No		
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Valse de chez nous	Starr	15256-B	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Cotillon canadien no. 1	Starr	15278-A	Yes	A, B	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Cotillon canadien no. 2	Starr	15278-B	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Reel à huit	Starr	15279-A	Yes	A, B	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Marie Chamberland	Starr	15279-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Reel opéra	Starr	15280-A	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Marche-lanciers	Starr	15280-B	Yes	A, B	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Polka canadienne	Starr	15281-A	Yes	A, B	
Gauthier, Antonio	1926	violin	Reel de Saint-Maurice	Starr	15281-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1927	violin	Quadrille franco-américain 1re partie	Starr	15384-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1927	violin	Quadrille franco-américain 2e partie	Starr	15384-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1927	violin	Quadrille franco-américain 3e partie	Starr	15385-A	Yes	A, B	

Performer	Year	Instrument	Title	Label	Catalogue #	Transcribed in database?	Strains	Concordant Strains
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1927	violin	Quadrille franco-américain 4e partie	Starr	15385-B	Yes	A, B, C, D, E	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1927	violin	Quadrille franco-américain 5e partie	Starr	15386-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1927	violin	Quadrille franco-américain 6e partie	Starr	15386-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	Mon favori - reel	Starr	15393-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	L'aile de pigeon	Starr	15393-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	Reel des cageux	Starr	15394-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	Reel princesse	Starr	15394-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	Le Yankee 1re partie	Starr	15395-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	Le Yankee 2e partie	Starr	15395-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	Le Yankee 3e partie	Starr	15396-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	Le Yankee 4e partie	Starr	15396-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	La belle des États 1re partie	Starr	15397-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	La belle des États 2e partie	Starr	15397-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	La belle des États 3e partie	Starr	15398-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1927	violin	La belle des États 4e partie	Starr	15398-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1928	violin, voice	Caillette	Starr	15436-A	Yes	A	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1928	violin, voice	Petite brunette	Starr	15436-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1928	violin, voice	Je le mène bien mon dévidoir	Starr	15437-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1928	violin, voice	Quand vient le printemps	Starr	15437-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille de Matane 1re partie	Starr	15454-A	Yes	A, B	A
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille de Matane 2e partie	Starr	15454-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille de Matane 3e partie	Starr	15455-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille de Matane 4e partie	Starr	15455-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille de Matane 5e partie	Starr	15456-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille de Matane 6e partie	Starr	15456-B	Yes	A, B	A
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Eugène Daignault	1928	violin, voice	Ma maitresse a du chagrin	Starr	15480-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Eugène Daignault	1928	violin, voice	En faisant le tour de la montagne	Starr	15480-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Eugène Daignault	1928	violin, voice	Un peu de ça	Starr	15481-A	Yes	A	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Eugène Daignault	1928	violin, voice	Les vieilles filles parlons-en donc	Starr	15481-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille des bûcherons 1re partie	Starr	15493-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille des bûcherons 2e partie	Starr	15493-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille des bûcherons 3e partie	Starr	15494-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille des bûcherons 4e partie	Starr	15494-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille des bûcherons 5e partie	Starr	15495-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Quadrille des bûcherons 6e partie	Starr	15495-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	La chicanière	Starr	15506-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1928	violin	Rabidibidou	Starr	15506-B	Yes	A, B, B'	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1928	violin, voice	François Margotte	Starr	15513-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1928	violin, voice	Je veux me marier	Starr	15513-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1929	violin, voice	Le chat et le rat	Starr	15514-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1929	violin, voice	C'est la belle Françoise	Starr	15514-B	Yes	A	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1929	violin	Marche des francs-tireurs	Starr	15515-A	Yes	A, B, C	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with Albert LaMadeleine	1929	violin	Hilo-marche	Starr	15515-B	Yes	A, B, C, D, E	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Uncle Sam 1re partie	Starr	15571-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Uncle Sam 2e partie	Starr	15571-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Uncle Sam 3e partie	Starr	15572-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Uncle Sam 4e partie	Starr	15572-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Reel du cordonnier	Starr	15575-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Reel du plombier	Starr	15575-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Reel du cultivateur	Starr	15576-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Clara - reel	Starr	15576-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Marche de Québec	Starr	15582-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila	1929	violin	Reel de Châteauguay	Starr	15582-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila, with [Mme] Édouard Bolduc	1929	violin, voice	La chanson du crapaud	Starr	15592-A	Yes	A	A
LaMadeleine, Joseph-Ovila LaMadeleine, with Ovila Légaré and [Mme.] Édouard Bolduc	1929	violin, voice	J'ai fait longtemps la vie des filles	Starr	15592-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Mon reel favori	Victor	263605-A	No		
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Reel capricieux	Victor	263605-B	No		
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Quadrille des seigneurs 1re partie	Victor	263618-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Quadrille des seigneurs 2e partie	Victor	263618-B	Yes	A, B, C, D	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Quadrille des seigneurs 3e partie	Victor	263619-A	Yes	A, B, C, D, E, F	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Quadrille des seigneurs 4e partie	Victor	263619-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Quadrille des seigneurs 5e partie	Victor	263620-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Confiture	Victor	263620-B	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Set américain 1re partie	Victor	263645-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Set américain 2e partie	Victor	263645-B	Yes	A, B, B'	

Performer	Year	Instrument	Title	Label	Catalogue #	Transcribed in database?	Strains	Concordant Strains
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	Set américain 3e partie	Victor	263646-A	Yes	A, B	
LaMadeleine, Albert	1929	violin	La coquette – 4e partie	Victor	263646-B	No		
Larocque, Joseph	1928	violin	Le roitelet	Starr	15408-A	No		
Larocque, Joseph	1928	violin	Reel de Joe Renaud	Starr	15408-B	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	Le Rimouski	Columbia	34130-F-A	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	Reel Lindbergh	Columbia	34130-F-B	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	Ronde des voyageurs	Columbia	34136-F-A	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	Le vieux Québec	Columbia	34136-F-B	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	Rêve du diable	Columbia	34139-F-A	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	Réveil des oiseaux	Columbia	34139-F-B	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	Les joyeuses Québécoises	Columbia	34144-F-A	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	La Fortunat	Columbia	34144-F-B	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	L'Armandine	Columbia	34179-F-A	No		
Malouin, Fortunat	1928	violin	La Rivière-du-Loup – Reel	Columbia	34179-F-B	No		
Montmarquette, Alfred	1928	accordion	Money-Musk	Starr	15475-A	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Reel des noces	Starr	15347-A	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Valse charmante	Starr	15347-B	Yes	A, B	
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Ronfleuse Gobeil	Columbia	34109-F-A	Yes	A, B, C, D, E	
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Valse joyeuse	Columbia	34109-F-B	No		
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Quadrille lanciers 1re partie	Columbia	34112-F-A	No		
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Quadrille lanciers 2e partie	Columbia	34112-F-B	No		
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Quadrille le loup garou 1re partie	Columbia	34114-F-A	No		
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Quadrille le loup garou 2e partie	Columbia	34114-F-B	No		
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Quadrille le loup garou 3e partie	Columbia	34115-F-A	No		
Ringuette, Willie	1927	violin	Quadrille le loup garou 4e partie	Columbia	34115-F-B	No		
Soucy, Isidore	1925	violin	Gigues irlandaises 1re partie [3 tunes]	Starr	15220-A	Yes	A, B | A, B, B' | A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1925	violin	Gigues irlandaises 2e partie [3 tunes]	Starr	15220-B	Yes	A, B | A, B | A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Set américain 1re partie	Starr	15246-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Set américain 2e partie	Starr	15246-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Set américain 3e partie	Starr	15247-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Valse	Starr	15247-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille canadien 1re partie	Starr	15266-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille canadien 2e partie	Starr	15266-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille canadien 3e partie	Starr	15267-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille canadien 4e partie	Starr	15267-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille canadien 5e partie	Starr	15268-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille canadien 6e partie	Starr	15268-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille de Québec 1re partie	Starr	15288-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille de Québec 2e partie	Starr	15288-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille de Québec 3e partie	Starr	15289-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille de Québec 4e partie	Starr	15289-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille de Québec 5e partie	Starr	15290-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	Quadrille de Québec 6e partie	Starr	15290-B	Yes	A, B	A
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	La coquette	Starr	15303-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1926	violin	À Saint-Malo - reel	Starr	15303-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quatre coins de Saint-Malo	Columbia	34079-F-A	No		
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Valse de Québec	Columbia	34079-F-B	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille de campagne 1re partie	Columbia	34092-F-A	No		
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille de campagne 2e partie	Columbia	34092-F-B	No		
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille de campagne 3e partie	Columbia	34093-F-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille de campagne 4e partie	Columbia	34093-F-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille de campagne 5e partie	Columbia	34094-F-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille de campagne 6e partie	Columbia	34094-F-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Brandy	Starr	15302-A	Yes	A, A', B, B'	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Money-Musk	Starr	15302-B	Yes	A, A', B, C, D, E, F	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Set canadien-français Lanciers (1re partie: En roulant ma boule)	Starr	15311-A	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Set canadien-français Lanciers (2e partie: Par derrière chez ma tante)	Starr	15311-B	Yes	A, B, C	C
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Set canadien-français Lanciers (3e partie: C'est la belle Français [Françoise?])	Starr	15312-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Set canadien-français Lanciers (4e partie: Vive La Canadienne)	Starr	15312-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille Laurier 1re partie	Starr	15319-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille Laurier 2e partie	Starr	15319-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille Laurier 3e partie	Starr	15320-A	Yes	A, B', C, D, E	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille Laurier 4e partie	Starr	15320-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille Laurier 5e partie	Starr	15321-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Quadrille Laurier 6e partie	Starr	15321-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel du pendu	Starr	15330-A	Yes	A, A', B, C, D, E	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Grande gigue simple	Starr	15330-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	La pleureuse	Starr	15337-A	Yes	A, A', B, B', B", B''', C	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Les foins	Starr	15337-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Le Casse - reel	Starr	15338-A	Yes	A, B, B', B", C	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	La sautillante	Starr	15338-B	Yes	A, A', B, B'	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Capitaine voleur	Starr	15349-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Le cotillon	Starr	15349-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel du jubilé	Starr	15361-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel de l'enfant martyre	Starr	15361-B	Yes	A, B, C, D	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel des millionnaires	Starr	15363-A	Yes	A, B, B'	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Le rêve du diable	Starr	15363-B	Yes	A, A', B, C, D	B, C
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel américain	Starr	15366-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Gigue du roi	Starr	15366-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel des sports	Starr	15367-A	Yes	A, B	

Performer	Year	Instrument	Title	Label	Catalogue #	Transcribed in database?	Strains	Concordant Strains
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Valse Isidore [2 tunes]	Starr	15367-B	Yes	A, B | A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel des pompiers	Starr	15381-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Chiens et chats	Starr	15381-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	Reel de la police	Starr	15382-A	Yes	A, A', B	
Soucy, Isidore	1927	violin	L'as de pique	Starr	15382-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille "Champion" 1e partie	Starr	15378-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille "Champion" 2e partie	Starr	15378-B	Yes	A, A', B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille "Champion" 3e partie	Starr	15379-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille "Champion" 4e partie	Starr	15379-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille "Champion" 5e partie	Starr	15380-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille "Champion" 6e partie	Starr	15380-B	Yes	A, A', B	A
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Cotillon national	Starr	15405-A	Yes	A, B, B'	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Gigue du carnaval	Starr	15405-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Reel du bon vieux temps	Starr	15406-A	Yes	A, B, B', B"	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Gigue du Mardi gras	Starr	15406-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille national 1e partie	Starr	15427-A	Yes	A, B	B
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille national 2e partie	Starr	15427-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille national 3e partie	Starr	15428-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille national 4e partie	Starr	15428-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille national 5e partie	Starr	15429-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Quadrille national 6e partie	Starr	15429-B	Yes	A, B	A
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	La disputeuse	Starr	15439-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Clog danse	Starr	15439-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Gigue écossaise	Starr	15473-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Reel polonais	Starr	15473-B	Yes	A, B	A
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Gigue des artisans	Starr	15485-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	La joyeuse	Starr	15485-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	La jolie veuve	Starr	15509-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	Reel des vieux garçons	Starr	15509-B	Yes	A, B	B
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Gigue indienne	Starr	15517-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Reel d'Espagne	Starr	15517-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Boule de neige	Starr	15518-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Le mistigris	Starr	15518-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	La claqueuse - gigue	Columbia	34119-F-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1928	violin	Reel du pendu	Columbia	34193-F-A	Yes	A, B, B', C, D, F	A, B, C, D
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	Quadrille du peuple 1re partie	Starr	15532-A	Yes	A, B, C	A
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	Quadrille du peuple 2e partie	Starr	15532-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	Quadrille du peuple 3e partie	Starr	15533-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	Quadrille du peuple 4e partie	Starr	15533-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	Quadrille du peuple 5e partie	Starr	15534-A	Yes	A, B, C	A, C
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1928	violin, accordion	Quadrille du peuple 6e partie	Starr	15534-B	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Les sucres	Columbia	34230-F-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Gigue à Ti-Gus	Columbia	34230-F-B	Yes	A, B, C, D	C, D
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Set du Canada 1re partie	Columbia	34231-F-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Set du Canada 2e partie	Columbia	34231-F-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Set du Canada 3e partie	Columbia	34232-F-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Valse de Montréal	Columbia	34232-F-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Reel de la Pointe au Père	Starr	15548-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Gigue de Saint-Césaire	Starr	15548-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Les noces d'or	Starr	15549-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Émilia - valse	Starr	15549-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Reel royal	Starr	15558-A	Yes	A, B, C	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Marche des marguilliers	Starr	15558-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Gigue des amoureux	Starr	15568-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Reel québécois	Starr	15568-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Gigue à Tit Noir	Starr	15633-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Reel de Gaspé	Starr	15633-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Gigue des vieux souliers	Starr	15635-A	Yes	A, B, C	A, B, C
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Reel de grand'mère	Starr	15635-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Gigue des tricoteuses	Starr	15636-A	Yes	A, A', B, B'	A, B
Soucy, Isidore	1929	violin	Reel de la Gatineau	Starr	15636-B	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Quadrille des vieux Canadiens 1re partie	Starr	15649-A	Yes	A, B	A, B
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Quadrille des vieux Canadiens 2e partie	Starr	15649-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Quadrille des vieux Canadiens 3e partie	Starr	15650-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Quadrille des vieux Canadiens 4e partie	Starr	15650-B	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Quadrille des vieux Canadiens 5e partie	Starr	15651-A	Yes	A, B	
Soucy, Isidore, with Donat Lafleur	1929	violin, accordion	Quadrille des vieux Canadiens 6e partie	Starr	15651-B	Yes	A, B	

Appendix 6: Transcriptions of "Money Musk"

The following transcriptions are organized in chronological order, following Table 4.4. I reprint Table 4.4 at the beginning of this appendix for ease of use.

All of these transcriptions are from audio recordings. For the most part, I limited myself to transcribing notes and rhythms; I only rarely include bowings or ornamentation. Some of these musicians vary the melody or rhythm of a strain slightly when repeating that strain. I have indicated some of these variants, but not all.

All "Money Musk" settings include at least one strain with "A strain" characteristics. Most also include a strain with "B strain" characteristics (see section 4.4.1). I always indicate these strains with the letters A and B. Most settings begin with an A strain; some, however, begin with a B strain. Any subsequent strains with A- or B-strain characteristics are also marked as such. Some settings include additional strains that do not have A- or B-strain characteristics. I have named these in ascending alphabetical order for each musician. Thus the first strain that is neither an A nor a B strain is labelled "C." The next is "D," and so forth. If a musician repeats one of these strains later in the form, I retain the earlier label.

Note that one musician's C or D strain might be completely unrelated to another musician's C or D strain.

A double barline indicates the end of a strain.

Most musicians play eight-bar strains. These are often composed of a repeated four-bar phrase. Sometimes a musician will play a twelve-bar phrase composed of a four-

bar phrase repeated three times. I indicate these extended phrases by adding a lowercase

letter to the strain name. For instance:

- "A" usually indicates an eight-bar A strain.

- "Aa" indicates a twelve-bar A strain composed of a four-bar phrase repeated three

  times.

Similarly,

- "AA" indicates a sixteen-bar A strain composed of a four-bar phrase repeated four

  times.

- "a" represents a four-bar phrase that is not repeated.

In the case of asymmetrical settings, I used these labels only when there is a clear

repetition of musical material four ("AA") or three ("Aa") times, or a short, non-repeated

phrase ("a"). Note that the placement of barlines in asymmetrical settings is somewhat

arbitrary and at the discretion of the transcriber.

Year (Recording/ Release)	Principal musician(s)	Instrumentation	Title	Commercial Release (Source)	Non-Commercial Recording: Recorded By; Archival Identifiers	References and Biographical Info
1912	National Promenade Band	Winds and brass	"Money Musk Medley—Virginia Reel"	Edison Blue Amberol #1522 (UCSB Cylinder Archive, http://www.library.ucsb.edu/OBJID/Cylinder0365)		"Edison Blue Amberol Records, Domestic Popular Series, Vol. 1 (1501–1530)," ARCH D-10001, Edison Blue Amberols, Vol. 1 (December 2012): 1, www.archeophone.com/downloads/notes/10001.pdf
1918	François-Xavier Beaulne	Violin	"Money Musk"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-184.2, X-A-63.	Biographical info unavailable.
1918	Médard Bougie	Violin	"Money Musk à la canadienne"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-171.2 (1502), X-A-61.	Jean Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique et le grand concours international de 1926 à Lewiston, Maine," Bulletin Mnémo 17, no. 1 (Winter 2016), 4.
1918	Médard Bougie	Violin	"Money Musk à l'écossaise"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-171.2 (1503), X-A-61.	Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique," 4.
1918	Edouard Giroux	Violin	"Money Musk"		Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal; CMH, MAS-Aw-176.2, X-A-62.	Biographical info unavailable.
rel. 1923	Arthur-Joseph Boulay	Violin	"Gigues pot-pourri" [2nd	Victor 263130-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 63.
1923/1924	Jasper Bisbee	Violin, piano	"Money Musk with Variations"	Edison 51381, 78 rpm (A. Trae McMaken, "Jasper 'Jep' Bisbee 1843–1935," Michigan Fiddlers [blog], 2016, http://www.michiganfiddle.com/michigan-main/jasper-jep-bisbee-1923-1935)		Paul Gifford, "Jasper E. 'Jep' Bisbee—Old-Time Michigan Dance Fiddler," Old-Time Herald 9, no. 6 (Winter 2004–2005), http://www.oldtimeherald.org/archive/back_issues/volume-9/9-6/jasper-bisbee.html.
rec. 1924	John A. Pattee	Violin, piano	"Old Money Musk Quadrille"	Columbia 231-D, 78 rpm (A. Trae McMaken, "John A. Pattee Materials," Michigan Fiddlers [blog], 2016, http://www.michiganfiddle.com/michigan-main/john-a-pattee-materials)		Steve Abrams and Tyrone Settlemier, "COLUMBIA D-suffix 78rpm numerical listing discography: 1D - 5000," The Online Discographical Project, The Online Discographical Project (March 3, 2015), http://www.78discography.com/COL1D.htm.
1926/1927	Isidore Soucy	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	Starr 15302-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 231–232.
1928/1928	Alfred Montmarquette, Adélard St-Jean	Accordion, castanets	"Money Musk"	Starr 15475-A, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 182–183.
rel. 1928	Joseph Allard; A. Rochon	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	Victor 263527-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 33–34.
1928	Johnny Boivin	Violin	"Money-musk"		Douglas Leechman for Marius Barbeau, Ottawa; CMH, B-Aw-690.1.	Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique," 5.
1928	Johnny Boivin	Violin	"Money-musk—faux ton"		Douglas Leechman for Marius Barbeau, Ottawa; CMH, B-Aw-699.1.	Duval, "Les violoneux français d'Amérique," 5.
1928?	Donat Lafleur	Accordion, piano		CMH, coll. Marcel Lecours, LEC-A-24, XXI-E-59. From an unidentified 78 rpm: perhaps Columbia 34194-F (see Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 68–70).		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 142.
rec. 1929	"Dad" [Frank E.] Williams	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	Brunswick 306-B, 78 rpm (""Dad" Williams-Brunswick 306," Allan's Archive of Early Country Music [blog], April 13, 2014, http://allensarchiveofearlyoldcountrymusic.blogspot.com/2014/04/dad-williams-brunswick-306.html)		""Dad" Williams-Brunswick 306," Allan's Archive of Early Country Music (blog)
rel. 1930	Édouard Picard, Henri Lacroix	Accordion, jaw harp	"Danse du jardinier"	RCA Victor 263701-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 204.
rel. 1931	Joseph Guilmette	Accordion	"Money Musk"	RCA Victor 263779, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 120.
rel. c1932	Eugène Collin	Accordion	"Money Musk"	RCA Victor 263881-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Biographical info unavailable.
1935/1935	Tommy Duchesne	Accordion, guitar	"Money Musk"	Starr 15926-A, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 91–92.
1938/1939	Tommy Duchesne	Accordion, guitar	"Money Musk américain"	Starr 16212-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 91–92.
between 1931 and 1939	George Wade and his Corn Huskers	Violins, banjo, piano	"Old time reel medley: Flowers of Edinburgh, Richett's [Rickett's] Hornpipe, Money Musk"	RCA Victor 216580-B, 78 rpm (VG)		Margaret Daly, "George Wade And His Cornhuskers," in The Canadian Encyclopedia (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published February 8, 2006), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/george-wade-and-his-cornhuskers-emc/

Year	Performer	Instruments	Title	Recording details	Archive/Location	Source
1951	Gérard Lajoie	Accordion, piano	"Money Musk"	Collection les grands folkloristes québécois, volume 2: Gérard Lajoie (Disques Mérite 22-1382, 2006, compact disc). Originally recorded on Starr 16969, August 1951.		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 143–144.
1956	Gérard «Ti-Noir» Joyal	Violin, guitar, bass	"Reel du mois de mars"	Ti-Noir et ses compagnards (Carnaval C-411, 1960, 33 1/3 rpm). Originally recorded in 1956 on Starr 17203.		Note: sounds 1/2 step lower than usual tuning of violin. Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 126.
1950s	Don Messer and his Islanders	Violin, piano, spoons or bones	"The Money Musk"	The Best of Don Messer and his Islanders, Prince Edward Series Vol. 3 (Apex AL-1610, n.d, 33 1/3 rpm)		Richard Green, "Don Messer," in The Canadian Encyclopedia (Historica Canada, 1985—, article published April 4, 2008), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/don-messer-and-his-islanders/.
1962	Unknown musicians	Harmonica, guitar	[Money Musk]		Leo Fitzpatrick, Douglastown, QC	For more on Leo Fitzpatrick, see Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc Douglastown.
1968	La famille Soucy	Violin, piano, drums, spoons?, jaw harp	"Le Money Musk"	La veillée chez Isidore (RCA Victor CGP-215 [LCF-1030], 1968, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 229–232.
late 1960s	Elita Briand and Walter Rooney	Harmonium, violin	[Money Musk]	Recorded by Bernard Rooney, Douglastown, QC. Commercial release on Douglastown: Musique et chanson de la Gaspésie (Douglas Community Centre DOUG001, 2014, compact disc).		Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc Douglastown.
1974	Wilbrod Boivin	Harmonica, guitar	"Money Musk"	100 ans de musique traditionnelle québécoise (Transit TRCD 9508/9, 1999, 2 compact discs). Originally released on Wilbrod Boivin, Quadrilles avec Wilbrod Boivin (Trans-Canada TCM-2951, 1974)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 50–51.
1975	Jean Carignan	Violin	"Money Musk" [G major]	Jean Carignan, violoneux (National Film Board film directed by		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 74–76.
1975	Jean Carignan	Violin	"Money Musk" [A major]	Jean Carignan, violoneux (National Film Board film directed by		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 74–76.
c1975	Henri Landry	Violin, piano	"Le Money Musk"	Henri Landry, violoneux des Cantons-de-l'Est (Buda Records 92643–2, 1996, compact disc)		Patrick Desaunay, "Henri Landry, violoneux des Cantons de l'Est," Bulletin Mnémo 6, no. 4 (Spring 2002), http://www.mnemo.qc.ca/spip/bulletin-mnemo/article/henri-landry-violoneux-des-cantons
1975	Gilles Paré	Accordion, piano, guitar	"Money Musk"	Portraits du Vieux Kébec, vol. 10: Gilles Paré, accordéoneux de la Mauricie (Le Tamanoir OP-253, 1975, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 195–196.
1975	"Ti-Blanc" [Adalbert] Richard	Violin, guitar?, brass, bass, drums	"Money Musk"	Soirée québécoise du temps des fêtes (Promo-Son IPA 7501, 1975, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 217–218.
1976, 1980	Jean Carignan, Gilles Losier	Violin, piano	"Money Musk"	In two medleys: "Money Musk—Reel du Ti pit (Jean Carignan rend hommage à Joseph Allard [Philo FI-2012, 1976]); and "Money Musk et Reel de Châteauguay" (Jean Carignan, volume 1: La gigue à deux [Tout Crin TB-097, 1999], re-edition of Jean Carignan, Gilles Losier: Gigue à deux [Radio-Canada International RCI-621, 1980])		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 74–76.
1977	Philippe Bruneau	Accordion, piano	"Money Musk"		Mario Loiselle, Montreal; CMH, LOI-A-2 (2), XVI-F-4.	Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 68–70.
1977	Ulysse Potvin	Violin	"Money Musk"	Musiciens traditionnels québécois, volume 1: Gens de Charlevoix (Patrimoine PAT 18001, 1977)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 213.
1978	"Ti-Blanc" [Adalbert] Richard	Violin, piano, bass?	"Money Musk"	Dans tous les cantons: Vol. 1, Gigues avec Ti-Blanc Richard (Dans tous les cantons C-7202, 1978, 33 1/3 rpm)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 217–218.
1979	Joseph Gilbert, Linette Gilbert, Simon Blanchette	Violin, stepdancing, piano	[Money Musk]	Originally broadcast on the television show Soirée canadienne in 1979 (village: Notre-Dame des Pins). Reissued on the DVD Soirée Canadienne avec Louis Bilodeau [vol. 1] (TVA Films, TVA00396, 2006, compact disc and DVD set, produced by Jean Collard). This segment		Biographical info unavailable.
1983	Erskine Morris	Violin	[Money Musk]		Joseph and Anthony Drody, Cambridge, ON; GCSA, fonds Erskine Morris	Glenn Patterson and Brian Morris, Erskine Morris: Old-Time Fiddle Music from the Gaspé Coast (blog), 2010–2016, http://gaspefiddle.blogspot.ca/; Glenn Patterson, Laura Risk, and Luc Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc Douglastown: Musique et chanson de la Gaspésie (Douglas Community Center DOUG001, 2014)
1990	Erskine Morris	Violin	"Money Muss"		Erskine Morris, Cambridge, ON; GCSA, fonds Erskine Morris	Patterson and Morris, Erskine Morris (blog); Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc Douglastown.
2004	Liette Remon	Violin, guitar, bass	"La Money Musk à Réginald"	Comté de Gaspé-Sud (self-produced, compact disc, 2004)		Liette Remon, "Accueil—Liette Remon," http://lietteremon.com/, accessed August 9, 2016.
2005	Francine Desjardins	Accordion	"Quadrille Montcalm / The	Entrez et dansez chez Francine! (self-produced, compact disc, 2005)		Labbé, Musiciens traditionnels, 87.
2010	Gérard Durette	Violin	[Money Musk]		Gérard Durette, Gaspé, QC	Patterson, Risk, and Chaput, liner notes to the compact disc Douglastown.
2013	Pascal Gemme (playing his uncle's setting of "Money Musk")	Violin	"Money Musk"		Mario Loiselle, Laval, QC; recording housed in personal archives.	Pascal Gemme, "Pascal Gemme—Violoneux Québécois—Traditional Fiddler," http://pascalgemme.com/, accessed August 9, 2016.

Abbreviations

CMH: Canadian Museum of History Archives (access via http://www.historymuseum.ca/learn/resource-centre/)

GCSA: Gaspesian Community Sound Archives

VG: Virtual Gramophone, Library and Archives Canada (access via http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/films-videos-sound-recordings/virtual-gramophone/Pages/virtual-gramophone.aspx)

Table 4.4 (reprint): Select commercial recordings and field recordings of "Money Musk." Note that two of these recordings (Guilmette 1931, Desjardins 2005) are not included in the following transcriptions.

National Promenade Band (winds and brass)
"Money Musk Medley—Virginia Reel"
Edison Blue Amberol #1522 (cylinder)
Recorded 1912
Tunes in this medley: "Money Musk"/"Pop Goes the Weasel"/"White Cockade"/"We won't go home till morning"
Form: A A B B

Alfred Montmarquette (accordion)
"Money-Musk"
Recorded July 1928
Released October 1928
Starr 15475-A
Form: A B (Eb major) — A B (Ab major). Montmarquette repeats this form four times.
This transcription shows: A B (Eb major) — A B (Ab major)

Joseph Allard (violin), A. Rochon (piano)
"Money Musk"
Victor 263527-B (78 rpm)
Released September 1928
Form: A B A B A B A B A B A B A B A B A B A B a
This transcription shows: A B

Johnny Boivin (violin)
"Money-Musk"
Recorded by Douglas Leechman for Marius Barbeau, Ottawa, 1928
Form: A B C D A B (G major) — a (D to G major) — D (G major) — A (C major) — D C (G major).
This form is shown in the transcription.
Note that the D strain is similar to the B strain. It begins with a tonal centre of C major but resolves to G major.
Similarly, the A strain that begins in D major and resolves to G major could be considered an additional strain.
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Johnny Boivin
"Money-Musk"
Page 2/3

Johnny Boivin
"Money-Musk"
Page 3/3

Johnny Boivin (violin)

"Money-Musk: faux ton"

Recorded by Douglas Leechman for Marius Barbeau, Ottawa, 1928

Form: A B Cc D A B C D A B Cc, ending phrase

The transcription shows the whole form.

Boivin's violin is tuned AEAE (he sounds the open strings at the beginning of the recording), though at slightly lower than A=440.

He uses a bouncing bow on the repeated A notes of the C strain.

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Johnny Boivin
"Money-Musk: faux ton"
Page 2/3

Johnny Boivin
"Money-Musk: faux ton"
Page 3/3

 Donat Lafleur (accordion with piano accompaniment)
"Money Musk"
From an unidentifed 78 rpm
Form: AA B C Aa D A B C Ee, transitional c phrase, Aa B C A D A B C Ee, transitional c phrase, Aa B
This transcription shows the first AA B C Aa D A B C Ee, transitional c phrase
The "transitional c phrase" is a short transitional phrase between the E and A strains. It is a truncated
variant on the C strain.
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Donat Lafleur
Page 2/3

transitional c phrase

Donat Lafleur
Page 3/3

Variant for the second transition phrase. This transcription begins one bar before the transition phrase and ends after four bars of the following A strain.

"Dad" [Frank E.] Williams (violin, with piano accompaniment)
"Money Musk" (1st of 2 tunes)
Brunswick 306-B (78 rpm)
Recorded January 1929
Form: A B A B A C A D A C A D A
This transcription shows A B ... C ... D

Edouard Picard (accordion) and Henri Lacroix (jaw harp)
"Danse du jardinier"
1930
RCA Victor 263701
Form: AA BB AA CC AA DD. Picard repeats this form twice.
This transcription shows one iteration of the form.
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Edouard Picard and Henri Lacroix
"Danse du jardinier"
Page 2/2

Eugène Collin (accordion)
"Money Musk"
Victor 263881-B (78 rpm)
Released c1932
Form: Aa B Aa B (D major) — Aa Bb (A major) — Aa Aa B C Dd E Ff A G, transitional phrase, AA Bb a (D major).
This transcription shows: Aa B Aa B (D major) -—Aa Bb (A major) — Aa (D major) .... C Dd E Ff A G, transitional phrase (D major).
Page 1/3
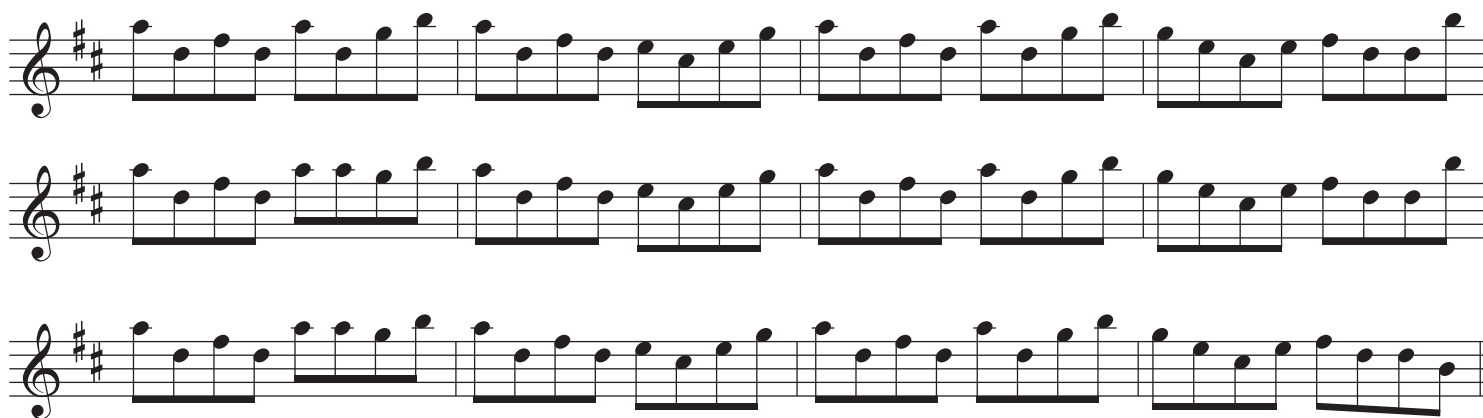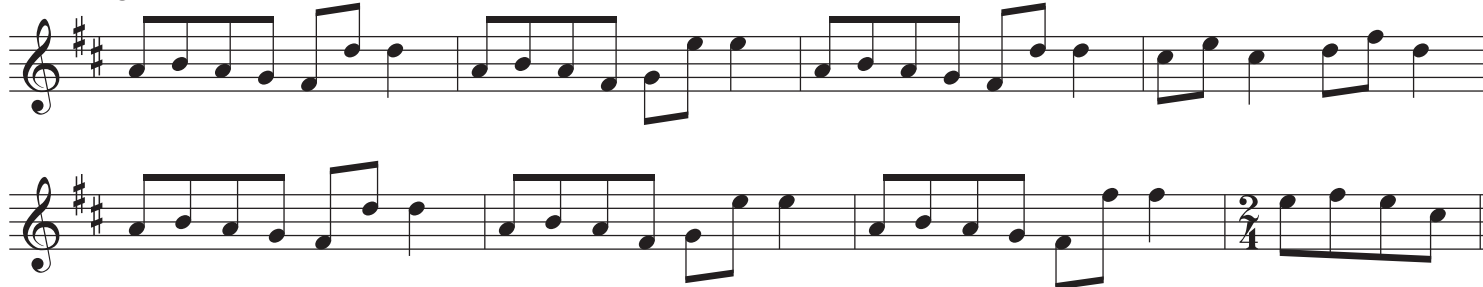
Eugène Collin (accordion)
"Money Musk"
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Eugène Collin (accordion)
"Money Musk"
Page 3/3

Tommy Duchesne (accordion)
"Money Musk"
Starr 15926 (78 rpm)
Rec.orded June 1935, released c. September 1935
Duchesne repeats approximately the same form three times.
Form (1st x): Aa b C D Aa E
Form (2nd x): Aa B C D Aa E
Form (3rd x): Aa b C D a
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Tommy Duchesne
"Money Musk"
Page 2/4

Tommy Duchesne
"Money Musk"
Page 3/4

Tommy Duchesne
"Money Musk"
Page 4/4

François-Xavier Beaulne (violin)
"Money Musk"
Recorded by Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal 1918
Beaulne first learned this tune on harmonica from a friend, Blondin [sp?] from Plantagenet, ON, around 1890.
Form: Aa B Aa B Aa B
This transcription shows the first Aa B

Variant for last bar of B

Tommy Duchesne (accordion)
"Money Musk américain"
Starr 15926 (78 rpm)
Recorded December 1938, released c. March 1939
Form: A B
Duchesne repeats this form approx. 12 times.

George Wade and his Cornhuskers (violins, banjo, piano)
"Old time reel medley: Flowers of Edinburgh, Richett's [Rickett's] Hornpipe, Money Musk"
RCA Victor 216580-B (78 rpm)
Recorded and released between 1931 and 1939
Form ("Money Musk" only): A B A B A B A B
This transcription shows the second A B

Gérard Lajoie (accordion) with piano accompaniment
"Money Musk"
"Collection les grands folkloristes québécois, volume 2: Gérard Lajoie" (Disques Mérite 22-1382, 2006, compact disc). Originally recorded on Starr 16969, August 1951.
Form: A B (C major) — A B (G major) — A C A B (C major) — A B (G major) — A C A B (C major) — A B (G major) — A C A b (C major)
This transcription shows: A B (C major) — A B (G major) — A C (C major)

Gérard "Ti-Noir" Joyal (violin) with accompaniment on guitar and bass
"Reel du mois du mars"
Ti-Noir et ses campagnards (Canarval C-411, 1960, 33 1/3 rpm).
Originally recorded in 1956 on Starr 17203.
Form: AA BB CC (higher octave) — AA B (lower octave) — AA CC (higher octave) — AA B (lower octave) — B CC (higher octave)
This transcription shows the whole form.
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Gérard "Ti-Noir" Joyal
"Reel du mois du mars"
Page 2/2

Don Messer and His Islanders (violin with accompaniment on piano and spoons or bones)
"The Money Musk"
"The Best of Don Messer and his Islanders, Prince Edward Series Vol. 3" (Apex AL-1610, n.d, 33 1/3 rpm)
Form A B C D A B C D A B C D A outro
This transcription shows: A B C D

Unknown musicians (harmonica and guitar)
[Money Musk]
Recorded by Leo Fitzpatrick, Douglastown, QC, February 1962
Recorded pitch is one half step below the notated pitch.
Form: A B C D A B C D A B
This transcription shows: A B C D

Isidore Soucy (violin) with La famille Soucy
"Le Money Musk"
"La veillée chez Isidore" (RCA Victor CGP-215 [LCF-1030], 1968, 33 1/3 rpm)
Form: B A B (G major) — A C A (A major) — A (D major) — A (A major) — B A B (G major) — A (A major)
This transcription shows the whole form.
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Isidore Soucy with La famille Soucy
"Le Money Musk"
Page 2/2

Elita Briand (harmonium) and Walter Rooney (violin)
[Money Musk]
Recorded by Bernard Rooney, Douglastown, QC, late 1960s
Issued on "Douglastown: Musique et chanson de la Gaspésie" (Douglas Community Centre DOUG001, 2014, compact disc)
Form: Aa Bb Aa B
This transcription shows: Aa Bb

Wilbrod Boivin (harmonica)
"Money Musk"
Originally recorded 1974
Issued on "100 ans de musique traditionnelle québécoise" (Transit TRCD 9508/9, 1999, 2 compact discs)
Form: ABAB (G major) — A (D major) — ABAB (G major) — A (D major) — A (G major)
This transcription shows the whole form.
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Wilbrod Boivin
"Money Musk"
Page 2/3

Wilbrod Boivin
"Money Musk"
Page 3/3

Jean Carignan (violin)
"Money Musk" (G major)
"Jean Carignan, violoneux" (National Film Board film directed by Bernard Gosselin, 1975)
Form: A B A B A
This transcription shows: A B (first iternation)

Médard Bougie (violin)
"Money Musk à la canadienne"
Recorded by Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal 1918
Form: A B A CC A B A DD A B
This transcription shows: A B A CC ... DD
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Médard Bougie
"Money Musk à la canadienne"
Page 2/2

Variant on bar 8 of the A strain (all A strains after initial A B A CC)

Jean Carignan (violin)
"Money Musk" (A major)
"Jean Carignan, violoneux" (National Film Board film directed by Bernard Gosselin, 1975)
Form: A B C B D E C
This transcription shows the whole form.
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Jean Carignan
"Money Musk" (A major)
Page 2/2

Henri Landry (violin) with piano accompaniment
"Le Money Musk"
Originally recorded c1975
Reissued on "Henri Landry, violoneux des Cantons-de-l'Est" (Buda Records 92643–2, 1996, compact disc)
Form Aa B C D A B C D A B C D A B Ee a
This transcription shows: Aa B C D ... Ee a

Gilles Paré (accordion)
"Money Musk"
Portraits du Vieux Kébec (Le Tamanoir OP-253, 1975, 33 1/3 rpm)
Form: Aa B (C major) — A B (G major) — A B (C major) — A B (G major) — A C (C major) —
　　　Aa B (C major) — A B (G major) — A B (C major) — A B (G major) — A C a (C major)
This transcription shows: Aa B (C major) — A B (G major) — A B (C major) — A B (G major) — A C (C major)
Page 1/2

Gilles Paré
"Money Musk"
Page 2/2

"Ti-Blanc" [Adalbert] Richard
"Money Musk"
Soirée québécoise du temps des fêtes (Promo-Son JPA 7501, 1975, 33 1/3 rpm)
Form: AA BB C D. Richard plays this form three times.
This transcription shows AA BB C D

Jean Carignan (violin), Gilles Losier (piano)
"Money Musk"
In two medleys: "Money Musk—Reel du Ti pit (Jean Carignan rend hommage à Joseph Allard [Philo
FI-2012, 1976]); and "Money Musk et Reel de Châteauguay" (Jean Carignan, volume 1: La gigue à deux
[Tout Crin TB-097, 1999], re-edition of Jean Carignan, Gilles Losier: Gigue à deux [Radio-Canada
International RCI-621, 1980])
Form: A B (repeated)
This transcription shows: A B

Philippe Bruneau (accordion), with piano accompaniment
"Money Musk"
Recorded by Mario Loiselle, Montreal, October 7, 1977
Originally recorded on audiocassette at la Casa-nous, 485 Sherbrooke O.
Form: AA BB (C major) — A B A (G major) — A B A B CC DD AA (C major)
This transcription shows: AA BB (C major) — A B (G major) ... CC DD (C major)
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Philippe Bruneau
"Money Musk"
Page 2/2

Ulysse Potvin (violin)
"Money Must"
"Musiciens traditionnels québécois, volume 1: Gens de Charlevoix" (Patrimoine PAT 18001, 1977)
Form: BABAB (G major) — a, interpolation, a (A major) — B Aa B A (G major) — B Aa B A (F major)
This transcription shows the whole form.
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Ulysse Potvin
"Money Must"
Page 2/3

Ulysse Potvin
"Money Must"
Page 3/3

"Ti-Blanc" [Adalbert] Richard
"Money Musk"
Dans tous les cantons: Vol. 1, Gigues avec Ti-Blanc Richard (Dans tous les cantons C-7202, 1978, 33 1/3 rpm)
Form: Intro AA BB CC DD (A major) — AA BB (D major) — AA outro (A major)
This transcription shows the whole form.
Page 1/2

"Ti-Blanc" [Adalbert] Richard
"Money Musk"
Dans tous les cantons: Vol 1
Page 2/2

Joseph Gilbert (violin), Linette Gilbert (stepdance), Simon Blanchette (piano)
[Money Musk]
Originally broadcast on the television show "Soirée canadienne" in 1979 (village: Notre-Dame des Pins).
Reissued on the DVD "Soirée Canadienne avec Louis Bilodeau" [vol. 1] (TVA Films, TVA00396, 2006,
compact disc and DVD set). This segment begins at 16:59 on the DVD.
Form: A B c D A B c d
This transcription shows the whole form.
Page 1/2

Joseph Gilbert, Linette Gilbert, Simon Blanchette
[Money Musk]
Page 2/2

Erskine Morris (violin)
"Money Muss"
Recorded by Erskine Morris, Cambridge, ON, 1983
Form: A B C D A B C D A
This transcription shows the first A B C D

Variant for bar 5 of the A strain (2nd iteration of the tune)

Médard Bougie (violin)
"Money Musk à l'écossaise"
Recorded by Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal 1918
Form: A B A C A B A D A
This transcription shows: A B A C D

Erskine Morris
"Money Muss"
Recorded by Erskine Morris, Cambridge, ON, 1990
Form: Aa B C Dd A B C D A B C D A B C
This transcription shows A B C D

Liette Remon (violin) with accompaniment (guitar, bass)
"La Money Musk à Réginald"
"Comté de Gaspé-Sud" (self-produced, compact disc, 2004)
Form: A B A B C D A B A B C D A B C D
This transcription shows: A B C D

Gérard Durette (violin)
[Money Musk]
Recorded by Gérard Durette, Gaspé, QC, 2010 (audiocassette)
Form: AA B C D AA B C D A
This transcription shows: AA B C D (first iteration of the tune)

Pascal Gemme (playing his uncle's setting of "Money Musk")
"Money Musk"
Recorded by Mario Loiselle, Laval, QC, January 2013
Form: AA BB AA BB

Édouard Giroux (violin)
"Money Musk "
Recorded by Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, Montreal 1918
Giroux learned this piece from his father around 1874.
Form: A B A B A
This transcription shows the second A B

Arthur-Joseph Boulay (violin)
"Gigues pot-pourri" (2nd of 3 tunes)
Victor 263130-B (78 rpm)
Released January 1923
Form: A B A B a
This transcription shows: A B

Jasper Bisbee (violin, with piano accompaniment)
"Money Musk with Variations"
Edison 51381 (78 rpm)
Recorded November 1923
Released 1924
Form: A B A B A C A B A D A B A E A D A C A B A D A B F A
This transcription shows A B A B A C ... D ... E ... F
Page 1/2

Jasper Bisbee
"Money Musk with Variations"
Page 2/2

John A. Pattee (violin and calls)
"Old Money Musk Quadrille"
Columbia 231D (78 rpm)
Recorded September 1924
This is the first of three tunes on this 78 rpm side. Pattee stops between the tunes.
Form: A B c a D c a (as shown in transcription)
Pattee shouts dance calls while playing, as indicated below. Note that these dance calls do not follow the standard "Money Musk" choreography.
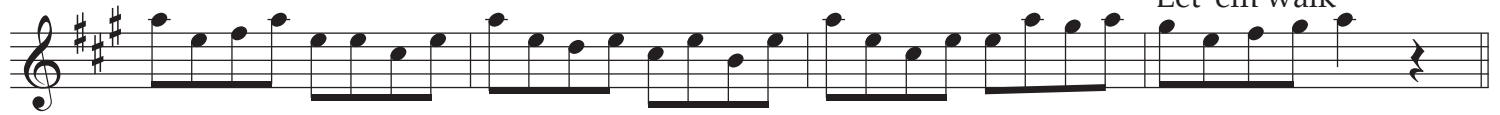
"First couples turn once and a half around"

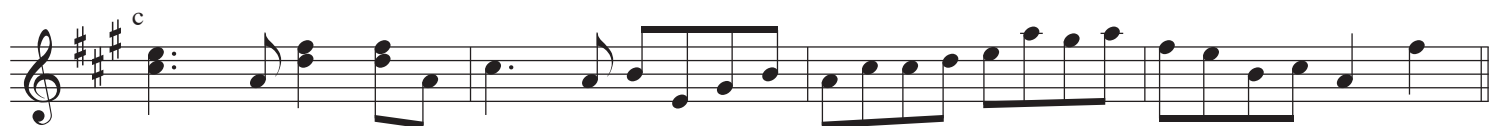
"Forward six"

"Let 'em walk"

"All repeat"

"[?] the last call [?]"

"Down the center and back"

Isidore Soucy (violin, with piano acompaniment)
"Money Musk"
Starr 15302-B (78 rpm)
Recorded November 1926
Released February 1927
Form: A C A (A major) — Bb A B (G major) — A (A major) — B A B (G major) — A, interpolation, a (A major) — A (D major) — a (A major) — Bb A b (G major)
This transcription shows the whole form.
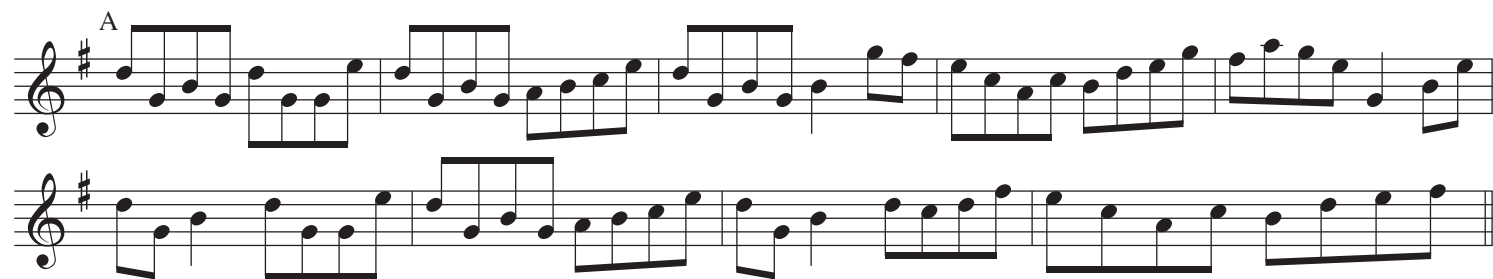Most of this transcription is based on a transcription by Jean Duval.
Page 1/3

Isidore Soucy
"Money Musk"
Page 2/3

Isidore Soucy
"Money Musk"
Page 3/3
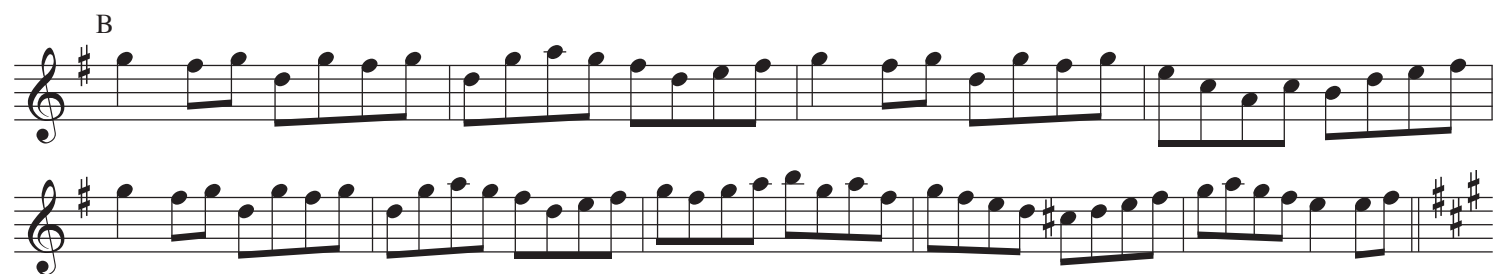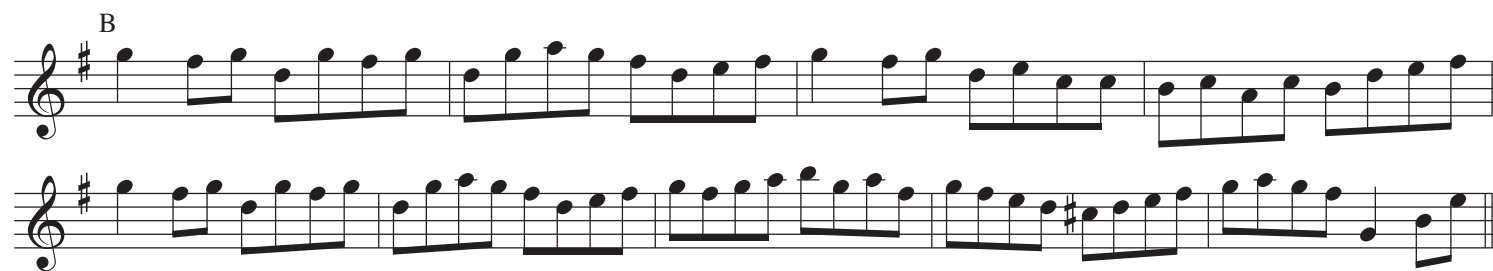
Appendix 7: A strains of "Money Musk"

This appendix gives the beginning of each A strain (usually four bars) for all "Money Musks" transcribed in Appendix 6.
NOTE: All strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.
See Table 4.4 (reprinted in Appendix 6) for recording details.

National Promenade Band (originally in Eb major)

F.-X. Beaulne

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à la canadienne"

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à l'écossaise"

Édouard Giroux (originally in G major)

Arthur-Joseph Boulay

Jasper Bisbee

John A. Pattee

Isidore Soucy

Isidore Soucy (originally in G major)

Isidore Soucy

Isidore Soucy (originally in G major)
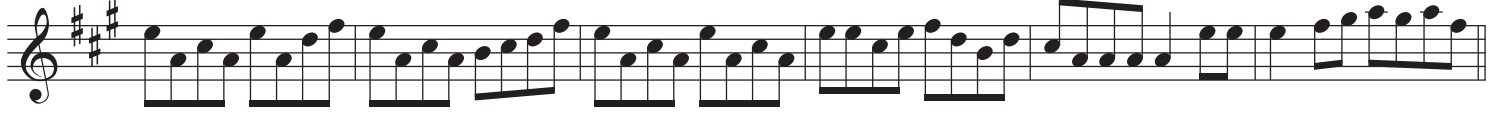
Isidore Soucy

Isidore Soucy

Isidore Soucy (originally in D major)

Isidore Soucy

Alfred Montmarquette (originally in Eb major)

Alfred Montmarquette (originally in Ab major)

Joseph Allard (originally in G major)

Johnny Boivin, "Money Musk: faux ton"

Johnny Boivin, "Money-Musk" (originally in G major)

Johnny Boivin, "Money-Musk" (originally in G major)

Johnny Boivin, "Money-Musk" (originally in C major)

Johnny Boivin, "Money-Musk" (originally in D major)

Donat Lafleur

"Dad" [Frank E.] Williams

Édouard Picard (originally in C major)

Eugène Collin (originally in D major)

Eugène Collin

Eugène Collin (originally in D major)

Tommy Duchesne, "Money Musk" (originally in D major)

Tommy Duchesne, "Money Musk américain" (originally in D major)

George Wade and his Cornhuskers

Gérard Lajoie (originally in C major)

Gérard Lajoie (originally in G major)
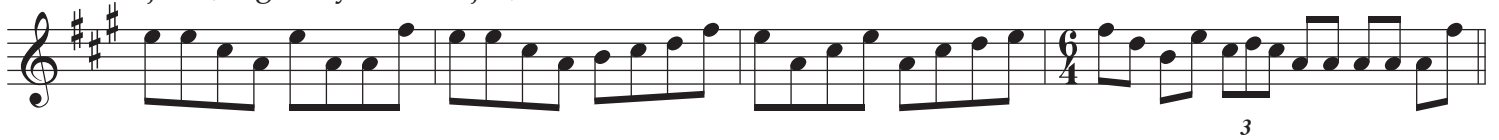
Gérard Lajoie (originally in C major)
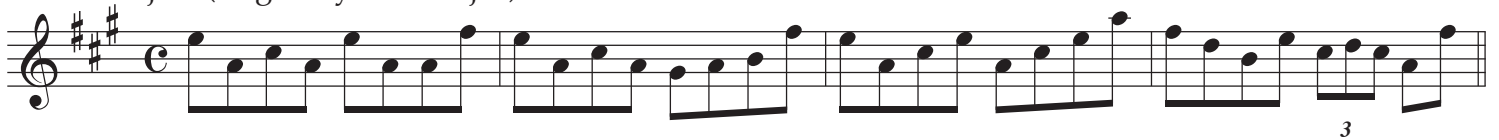
"Ti-Noir" Joyal

"Ti-Noir" Joyal (originally an octave lower)

Don Messer

Unknown harmonica player from Douglastown, QC (originally in D major)

Isidore Soucy with La famille Soucy (originally in G major)

Isidore Soucy with La famille Soucy

Isidore Soucy with La famille Soucy (originally in D major)
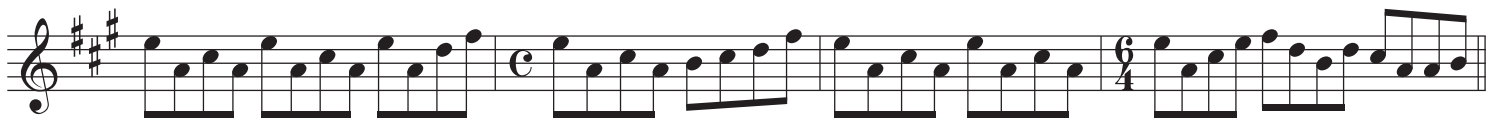
Elita Briand and Walter Rooney (originally in D major)

Wilbrod Boivin (originally in G major)

Wilbrod Boivin (originally in G major)

Wilbrod Boivin (originally in D major)

Jean Carignan (ONF film) (originally in G major)

Jean Carignan (ONF film)

Henri Landry

Gilles Paré (originally in C major)

Gilles Paré (originally in G major)

Gilles Paré (originally in C major)

Gilles Paré (originally in G major)

"Ti-Blanc" Richard (Soirée québécoise LP)

Jean Carignan (1976 and 1980 recordings) (originally in G major)

Philippe Bruneau (originally in C major)
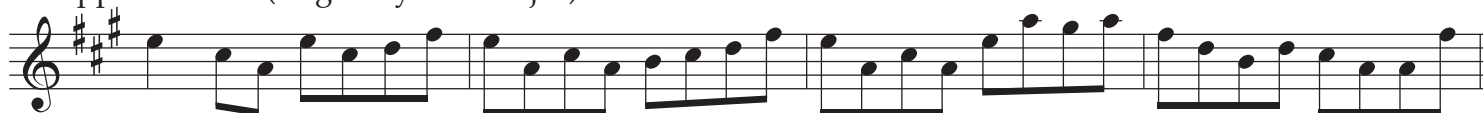
Philippe Bruneau (originally in G major)

Ulysse Potvin (originally in G major)

Ulysse Potvin

Ulysse Potvin (originally in F major)

Ulysse Potvin (originally in F major)

"Ti-Blanc" Richard (Dans tous les cantons LP) (originally in D major)

Joseph Gilbert

Erskine Morris (1983 recording and Sony C60 cassette)

Erskine Morris (1990 recording)

Liette Rémon

Gérard Durette

Pascal Gemme (playing his uncle's setting of "Money Musk")

Appendix 8: B strains of "Money Musk"

This appendix gives the beginning of each B strain (usually four bars) for all "Money Musks" transcribed in Appendix 6.
NOTE: All strains have been transposed to A major to facilitate comparison.
See Table 4.4 (reprinted in Appendix 6) for recording details.

National Promenade Band (originally in Eb major)

F.-X. Beaulne

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à la canadienne"

Médard Bougie, "Money Musk à l'écossaise"

Édouard Giroux (originally in G major)

Arthur-Joseph Boulay

Jasper Bisbee

John A. Pattee

Isidore Soucy (originally in G major)

Isidore Soucy (originally in G major)

Alfred Montmarquette (originally in Eb major)

Alfred Montmarquette (originally in Ab major)

Joseph Allard (originally in G major)

Johnny Boivin, "Money Musk: faux ton"

Johnny Boivin, "Money Musk" (originally in G major)

Johnny Boivin, "Money Musk" (originally in G major)

Donat Lafleur

"Dad" Williams

Édouard Picard (originally in C major)

Eugène Collin (originally in D major)

Eugène Collin

Tommy Duchesne, "Money Musk" (originally in D major)

Tommy Duchesne, "Money Musk américain" (originally in D major)

George Wade and his Cornhuskers

Gérard Lajoie (originally in C major)

Gérard Lajoie (originally in G major)
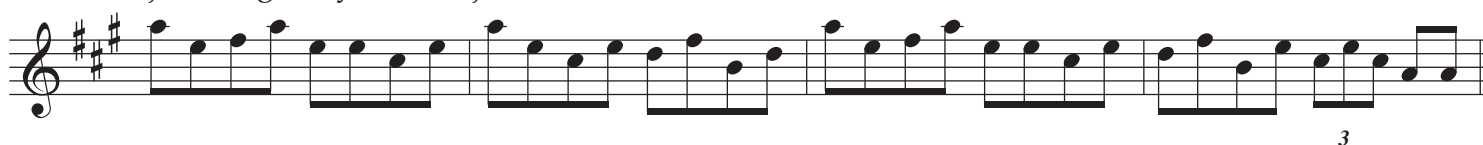
Gérard "Ti-Noir" Joyal

Gérard "Ti-Noir" Joyal

Don Messer

Unknown harmonica player from Douglastown, QC (originally in D major)

Isidore Soucy with La famille Soucy (originally in G major)

Isidore Soucy with La famille Soucy (originally in G major)

Elita Briand and Walter Rooney (originally in D major)

Wilbrod Boivin (originally in G major)

Wilbrod Boivin (originally in G major)

Jean Carignan (ONF film) (originally in G major)

Jean Carignan (ONF film)

Henri Landry

Gilles Paré (originally in C major)

Gilles Paré (originally in G major)

"Ti-Blanc" Richard (Soirée québécoise LP)

Jean Carignan (1976 and 1980 recordings) (originally in G major)

Philippe Bruneau (originally in C major)

Philippe Bruneau (originally in G major)

Ulysse Potvin (originally in G major)

Ulysse Potvin (originally in F major)

"Ti-Blanc" Richard (Dans tous les cantons LP)

"Ti-Blanc" Richard (Dans tous les cantons LP) (originally in D major)

3

Joseph Gilbert

Erskine Morris (1983 recording)

Erskine Morris (1990 recording)

Erskine Morris (Sony C60 cassette)

Liette Remon

Gérard Durette

Pascal Gemme (playing his uncle's setting of "Money Musk")

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- *Fête au village* (television; 1954)

- *Fête au village* (radio; 1959–1962)

- *Soirée canadienne* (television; 1971)

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Fonds

Archives de Folklore de l'Université Laval

- Fonds Édouard-Zotique Massicotte

Canadian Museum of History Archives

- Fonds Marius Barbeau. Some items in this fonds are available online,

http://www.historymuseum.ca/learn/resource-centre/

- Fonds Carmen Roy

Library and Archives Canada

- Fonds Gabriel Labbé

Additional Printed and Manuscript Music Collections

- National Library of Scotland. Special Collections Reading Room.

- The Sir Duncan Rice Library (University of Aberdeen)

- Dundee Central Library. Local History Centre.

Newspapers and Magazines

Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. Collection nationale; Revues et journaux

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- *L'action française* (1917–1924)

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