

Interpreting success and failure:  
The eclectic careers of Eva and Juliette Gauthier

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## Abstract

My dissertation explores the eclectic singing careers of sisters Eva and Juliette Gauthier. Born in Ottawa, Eva and Juliette were aided in their musical aspirations by the patronage of Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier and his wife Lady Zoë. They both received classical vocal training in Europe. Eva spent four years in Java. She studied the local music, which later became incorporated into her concert repertoire in North America. She went on to become a leading interpreter of modern art song. Juliette became a performer of Canadian folk music in Canada, the United States and Europe, aiming to reproduce folk music “realistically” in a concert setting.

My dissertation is the result of examining archival materials pertaining to their careers, combined with research into the various social and cultural worlds they traversed. Eva and Juliette’s careers are revealing of a period of transition in the arts and in social experience more generally. These transitions are related to the exploitation of non-Western people, uses of the “folk,” and the emergence of a cultural marketplace that was defined by a mixture of highbrow institutions and mass culture industries. My methodology draws from the sociology of art and cultural history, transposing Eva and Juliette Gauthier against the backdrop of the social, cultural and economic conditions that shaped their career trajectories and made them possible.

## Abstract

Ma thèse de doctorat explore les carrières éclectiques des chanteuses Eva et Juliette Gauthier. Nées à Ottawa, ces deux sœurs ont été supportées par le Premier Ministre Wilfred Laurier et sa femme Lady Zoë dans la poursuite de leurs aspirations musicales. Toutes deux ont suivi des cours de chant classiques en Europe, Eva passant quatre ans à Java où elle étudia la musique locale qu'elle a ensuite introduite dans son répertoire de concert en Amérique du Nord. Elle devint ainsi une des interprètes principales de la chanson de l'école moderne. Pour sa part, Juliette est devenue chanteuse de musique folk canadienne, donnant des concerts tant au Canada et aux Etats-Unis qu'en Europe, dans le but d'en donner une représentation « réaliste » à l'intérieur même d'un concert.

Ma thèse est le résultat de l'analyse des documents d'archive portant sur leurs carrières et de la recherche des divers milieux sociaux et culturels qu'elles ont traversés. Les carrières d'Eva et de Juliette sont révélatrices d'une période de transition dans le domaine des arts et, de façon générale, dans l'expérience sociale. Ces transitions sont reliées à l'exploitation des peuples non-occidentaux, à l'usage du « folk » et à l'émergence d'un marché culturel défini par le mélange des institutions établies et des industries de la culture de masse. Ma méthodologie puise dans la sociologie de l'histoire de l'art et de la culture, mettant Eva et Juliette Gauthier en relief dans le contexte des conditions sociales, culturelles et économiques qui ont marqué et rendu possible la trajectoire de leurs carrières.

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Finally, I dedicate my dissertation to the memory of my sister Shauna Saunders. I have tried to live up to her direction and advice, and to honour her unfailing dedication to my wellbeing and success. She is, and always will be, my inspiration.

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## Introduction

My dissertation investigates the careers of two Canadian singers, sisters Eva and Juliette Gauthier. Both were classically trained in Europe but neither pursued a career in opera. Eva (1885–1958) focused on lesser known art song repertoire, finding a place for herself in New York City’s world of modern music. Her reputation was founded on her interpretations of Javanese music and her innovative recitals. She maintained a high profile as a vocal teacher and supporter of contemporary music even after her stage career ended in the late 1930s. Eva’s sister Juliette (1888–1972) made a career out of singing Canadian folk music and promoting traditional handicrafts as an amateur folklorist and ethnomusicologist. Though she performed in Canada, the U.S. and Europe, the significance of her career is most obvious within the development of anthropology, emerging nationalism, and folk culture revival in Canada.

Eva and Juliette’s divergent, though parallel, careers shed light on cultural aspects of the early twentieth century. Their life stories offer glimpses of what it was like for Canadian women to pursue artistic careers when financial assistance was limited. As single women from a middle class background, they negotiated the tensions and dynamics of a range of cultural fields, including ethno-performance, popular culture and high art. The events and circumstances that shaped their careers offer insight into the interconnectedness of different elements of modernity, including modernist art, twentieth-century anthropology, feminism,



globalization and the rise of mass culture. My biographical study of the Gauthiers explores how economic and social factors, as well as everyday experience, affect the creation, circulation and meaning of cultural forms.

Susan Rutherford's recent history of the prima donna, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930*, explores both the cultural phenomenon of *prima donne* as well as their status as "working artists."<sup>i</sup> Her goal is to understand "the enterprise of becoming, and sustaining a career as, a singer."<sup>ii</sup> Similarly, my aim is to examine the trajectories of Eva and Juliette's careers, from their training in the early 1900s, to the apogee of their careers (for both, in the 1920s), and their waning success from 1930s onward. Their careers spanned a variety of social and cultural contexts. Eva, for instance, performed her repertoire in local musical clubs across America, vaudeville theatres, royal courts, private homes of the well-to-do and highbrow New York venues.

The continuities and disjunctions of Eva and Juliette's careers were shaped by events in their personal lives, as well as by the social, cultural, and political vicissitudes of the historical moments in which they were embedded. For this reason, I attempt to negotiate several threads at once—personal/subjective and cultural/political—and treat these as "interlaced plots."<sup>iii</sup> This strategy draws from sociological and cultural historical approaches to biography. Sociologist Martin Kohli argues that a life is ultimately a "social text"; and, for academic purposes, biography enables the study of the social through the individual. He

contends that a “hermeneutical understanding of individual lives” is “also the privileged way to historical or social reality.”<sup>iv</sup> In this vein, sociologist Franco Ferrarotti argues that individual biographies express “macro elements” or “global characteristics of a precisely dated and experienced social situation.”<sup>v</sup>

Yet, how do we recognize or map the “conjectures between historical context and individual life choices”<sup>vi</sup>? Paul Thompson defines constructing biography as tracing “connecting paths” between individual biographies and the larger social, political and economic structures that define a particular historical moment.<sup>vii</sup> In this project, I combine elements of Pierre Bourdieu’s rigorous sociological theory with a more open-ended cultural historical approach as “a certain sort of enquiry into the social production of meaning.”<sup>viii</sup>

Biography, by centering on the individual, foregrounds the importance of subjectivity and notions of self, agency and human purpose. At the same time, the lived realities and experiences of individuals do not have a determining influence on social, economic, political and cultural forces. Rather, such forces are expressed through or made visible through them. Thus, a subject’s trajectory can build an image of what made a particular life possible. Along these lines, my intention is to give a sense of the “repertoire of possibilities”<sup>ix</sup> for individuals at a particular place in time and to account for the meanings generated by individual action and creativity. I do not attempt simply to retell life stories or resolve some of the incoherencies in existing accounts of the lives of Eva and Juliette in a

unified tale. Both lives have the makings of a good story. However in writing about their lives, I realized the “good story” is only achievable by supplying speculative causal connections of my own devising. Instead I assembled chronologies of experiences and focused on those that had enough documentation to provide rich material for analysis and serve the purpose of posing questions about the social and cultural context of their careers. I also do not feign to have identified the personalities or the “selves” of either. As persons, they are, to me, relatively unknown.

Eva and Juliette were talented women, but their artistic careers could be described as mediocre, and at times even unsuccessful. Explaining the significance of their lives/careers without resorting to aggrandizement and without losing sight of why we should be interested in them can be challenging. In examining their careers, my approach has been to place equal emphasis on success as well as failure. Both are equally revealing of how esteem, importance and value are measured in a given context. How the Gauthier sisters were written about, praised, neglected and ignored during their lifetimes was bound up in issues of gender, class, status and power. In other words, their performance opportunities and the recognition they received were inextricably related to the social context.

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu elaborates on the links between cultural production and social context. For Bourdieu, social context is an intricate formation replete with internal differentiation. He argues there is a complex social web of

relationships between “the artist and other artists, and . . . the whole set of agents engaged in the production of work or, at the social value of their work (critics, gallery directors, patrons, etc.).”<sup>x</sup> The brand of inquiry associated with Bourdieu, known as cultural sociology or the sociology of art, attempts to reconcile the subjective and objective in sociological analysis and function as a mediating concept between the social context and cultural product (the *field*) and the agent and the system of objective relations (*habitus*). Sociologist Alan Swingewood argues that this makes Bourdieu’s ideas distinct from those of theorists such as Walter Benjamin and Charles Baudelaire, who link art directly to adjacent social features, and from those of Raymond Williams who “flattens out social terrain” in his notion of the “structure of feeling,” and others that might treat sociological matters as merely “background” or “milieu.”<sup>xi</sup>

For Bourdieu, the *field* is an objective structure that includes a hierarchy of positions, traditions, institutions and history. Bourdieu argues, “Agents are socialized into distinctive fields . . . through internalizing the social structure of the field itself.” In other words, the field is transposed into “mental structures” that “work to condition the ways the field is perceived, grasped, and understood, and the possibilities for action inherent within it.”<sup>xii</sup> Bourdieu’s companion notion of *habitus* is defined as a system of “durable dispositions” that “allow agents to understand, interpret and act in the social world.”<sup>xiii</sup> Swingewood writes, “Agents act through ‘practical sense’ in which goals and ends are not determined solely through conscious, deliberate and rational practice but flow from the socially

constituted ‘feel for the game.’<sup>xiv</sup> Both *habitus* and *field* circumscribe the choices individuals make.

According to Bourdieu’s theory, every component of society has its own *field* (for example, the economic field, the educational field, the political field, the cultural field, etc.), with its own laws of functioning and own relations of force.<sup>xv</sup> Thus each field has an internal logic. A field, however, also expresses, as a kind of social microcosm, “the external logic of the socio-historical context.”<sup>xvi</sup> The simultaneity of internal logic and external logic is what makes the nature of a *field* difficult to grasp.

In the case of the arts, the disjuncture between internal logic and external logic is most evident in the differences between economic capital and symbolic/cultural capital. The more symbolic/cultural capital is privileged, the more the artistic *field* appears to be autonomous. For Bourdieu, the autonomy of a *field* is represented by its ability to “reject external determinants” and obey its own specific internal logic.<sup>xvii</sup> Indeed Bourdieu argues that cultural production represents an inverted economy, meaning it is “governed by specific forms of symbolic capital”<sup>xviii</sup> that run in directions opposite to those by which value is determined by the external capitalist economy.

In my analysis of Eva and Juliette, I argue that the autonomy of the *field* is relative to the position one occupies within it. In their case, there is a persistent

tension between the internal logic of symbolic capital and the external logic of economic capital that reflects the marginalized positions they occupy within their artistic *fields*.

Using the concepts of *field* and *habitus*, it is possible to outline the space of available positions (and the historical developments of those positions), and to have a basis for understanding the strategies Eva and Juliette employ in their careers and the paths they chose along the way. In other words, I am inclined to analyze the actions of Eva and Juliette along the lines of a “feel for the game.” Their activities appear to me highly circumscribed by an objective set of possibles that orient their practices and positions and that account for “the more or less clearly avowed feeling of success or failure associated with [them].”<sup>xix</sup>

In other words, the kinds of recitals Eva and Juliette gave were dependent on external elements that shaped notions about the kind of music that was worthy of being heard in a given context. Those notions created and maintained certain aesthetic sensibilities and preferences. In her essay “The Ideology of Autonomous Art” sociologist Janet Wolff lists the various factors that determine how art is produced and consumed, including

forms of patronage; dominant institutions of cultural production and distribution . . . ; the relationship of the State to cultural production (censorship, control of certain institutions, funding); the sociology of cultural producers (background, class, gender); and the nature and

constitution of consumers (. . . technological developments, social divisions among audiences/viewers/readers).<sup>xx</sup>

Pieced together, such factors give an understanding of how cultural forms and practices are shaped.

Ramsay Burt argues the most compelling questions for cultural historians concern “who’s calling the shots and what power structures are at play in the situation he or she is investigating.”<sup>xxi</sup> Power structures, and the social and economic factors that sustain them, are particularly salient for investigations of women and cultural production. Feminist music historians observe a lack of attention to gender and status in music history. This lack, according to Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, accounts for the overall absence of women in music history. They write, “The questions so far asked by historians have tended to exclude them.” Namely, “musicologists have paid little attention to the sociology of music, whether this be concerned with the social class and economic status of musicians, stratification in the professions, or access to educational opportunities.”<sup>xxii</sup> The place assigned to women in the world of musical production reveals the larger power structures embedded in existing social divisions and institutions.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Eva and Juliette’s contributions as singers are “authorize[d], enable[d], empower[ed], and legitimize[d]” by social relations and institutional frameworks that determine the conditions of production as well as reception.<sup>xxiv</sup> In Bourdieu’s

theory of cultural production reception is a central component of the *field*. Randal Johnson explains:

If cultural works are produced in objective historical situations and institutional frameworks by agents using different strategies and following different trajectories in the field, the reception of such works, regardless of the level of that reception, also takes place in specifically historically constituted situations. Works have significance for certain groups and individuals based on their own objective position, cultural needs and capacities for analysis or symbolic appropriation.<sup>xxv</sup>

When researching performances that occurred decades ago, the surviving evidence of reception (reviews, programs, press releases and correspondence) offers a means to understanding the performance itself. Given the ephemeral nature of performance, analysis is limited to the paper trail of texts the performance generated. On the one hand, this can be seen as a constraint. Dance historian Anthea Kraut also sees it as a benefit because it “militates against isolating [performance] from its surrounding context.”<sup>xxvi</sup> In other words, it shifts focus from the performance itself (to which there is no access) to the discourses surrounding it.

My site/object of analysis is not the music or performance itself but the discourses that they drew upon and the contexts that give them meaning.

Historian Jeffrey H. Jackson and Musicologist Stanley C. Pelkey note that there



has been a shortage of work that looks at the social, cultural and historical context of “musical behaviour.”<sup>xxvii</sup> They challenge the idea that the serious examination of music must be left to musicologists or those who have a specialized body of musical knowledge.<sup>xxviii</sup> The significance of music, according to Jackson and Pelkey, can also be approached from outside the discipline of musicology. In particular, historians or cultural studies scholars can examine the creation, performance and consumption of music as a practice that provides insight into “a particular historical moment.”<sup>xxix</sup>

Owing to a greater interest in “music in culture,” Jackson and Pelkey argue “the number of ways in which one can legitimately talk about music within the academy has expanded.”<sup>xxx</sup> New discourses about music are also indicative of changes in history as a discipline. In the nineteenth century, the main focus of historical writing was the nation-state and its activities. Since then, there has been a proliferation of sub-disciplines in history: social history, labour history, family history, women’s history, and black history. T.G Ashplant and Gerry Smyth argue that “These sub-disciplines . . . were defined initially by attention to hitherto neglected social groups or aspects of society.”<sup>xxxi</sup> In general, they represented a shift away from focusing on the activities of elites to what is sometimes referred to as “history from below.” The development of the Annales school in France also changed the discipline of history with its commitment to “total history” or every aspect of human life and the reconstruction of historical belief systems.<sup>xxxii</sup>

Cultural history is similarly part of a shift away from political history or the history of elites. Jackson and Pelkey write,

for cultural historians, nearly all aspects of human experience are proper subjects for investigation as they seek to reconstruct the mental universes and value systems for people at different moments in time. Cultural historians interpret the changes in meanings behind events, practices, behaviors and documents. They seek to discover how those meanings influenced the choices of historical actors. To do so, these historians ‘read’ a wide variety of sources as symbols of ‘texts’ that make sense within a larger cultural framework. They try to uncover the larger patterns of perception and comprehension from the past not only by investigating what people said and did but also what they believed and how those beliefs shaped actions.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

My project involves the socio-historical analysis of cultural production, circulation and reception, as well as the discursive analysis of meaning construction. I attempt to reconstruct Eva and Juliette’s social realities and the symbolic worlds they inhabited. I look at how they made use of available intellectual motifs and cultural forms, and why certain forms of cultural expression occurred in a given place and time. I also consider how intention and reception can produce a range of competing meanings—this is particularly apparent when contrasting how Eva and Juliette’s cultural practices were

interpreted in their contemporary historical and cultural context versus how they appear to us now.

The historical specificity of Eva and Juliette's careers is often revealed in their self-fashioning and self-promotion. Their tendency to self-aggrandize and to exaggerate or even lie about their accomplishments reveals the kinds of public personas they wished to create for themselves and the kinds of cultural currents they were tapping into. They represented themselves in the press using available discourses and tropes, particularly those related to gender and the non-Western or primitive Other. Their career decisions were contingent upon objective structures (economic, social and political) that determined the opportunities available to them, and were thus often conventional.

#### Organization of Thesis:

The first two chapters of this thesis offer biographical summaries of Eva and Juliette Gauthier's lives. My analysis of their careers is organized into three subsequent chapters on themes that seemed particularly pertinent to both their trajectories. Chapter three investigates gender and status issues. I describe how Eva and Juliette pursued sources of income and financial support through institutions of patronage as well as commercial enterprises. I examine their actions and choices from a historical perspective. I also show how they confronted various restrictions imposed upon women at the time, notably those

that impinged upon their opportunities to participate in the public sphere. In Eva's case, I consider, in particular, the association of singing with the feminized notion of service.

Chapter four addresses the most apparent similarity between the two sisters: their practice of representing, appropriating and interpreting the music and culture of the non-Western, the primitive or the folk. I examine how they framed their encounter with the Other, imbued their work with "authenticity" and put it in the context of the exoticist/primitivist sensibilities and orientalist currents at the time. I also compare how exotic/primitive music was consumed in different settings—as art music, in ethnographic museums and in popular entertainment. I examine how consumption differed in Canadian and the U.S.

Chapter five investigates cultural boundaries. Eva and Juliette's career trajectories reveal the extent to which boundaries between high and low, and folk and popular culture were in flux. In this chapter, I show how the sisters negotiated cultural boundaries, focusing on Juliette's role in Canada's folksong revival, Eva's vaudeville tour in 1915-1916, and arguably the most high-profile event in Eva's career: her 1923 concert in which she sang "jazz" or ragtime numbers alongside modern compositions. I also consider how Eva interacted with what might be considered middlebrow culture.

To date, very little scholarly work has been done on either Eva or Juliette Gauthier. Eva Gauthier was the topic of a dissertation, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier (1885-1958): First French-Canadian Singer of the Avant-Garde” completed in 1986 by Nadia Turbide at the Université de Montreal. Turbide also published a handful of articles on Eva derived from her dissertation research.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Turbide’s work, which is a chronological account of Eva’s career, provided me with an overview of Eva’s life. Turbide also compiled useful appendices on Eva’s concerts, repertoire, and recordings.

Turbide argues that Eva Gauthier was a leading interpreter of modern song and that her recitals did much for the advancement of modern vocal literature in America. According to Turbide, Eva also “paved the way for other singers to enrich their recital programs.”<sup>xxxv</sup> Turbide did exhaustive research, examining over 350 of Eva’s recital programs as well as interviewing fifty-nine people who knew Eva and were familiar with her work. Much of my analysis concerns aspects of Eva’s career that receive little attention in Turbide’s work, particularly Eva’s performance of Javanese music and her appearance in vaudeville. I also cover new ground in offering critical gender analysis and discussing the cultural elements of early-twentieth-century modernity in relation to Eva’s career.

Eva is mentioned in other sources, including Carol Oja’s *Making Music Modern*, biographies of George Gershwin, Neil Leonard’s *Jazz and the White Americans*, and articles in *American Music* and the *Musical Quarterly*.<sup>xxxvi</sup> In each case, Eva

is discussed in the context of her 1923 concert, in which she performed jazz and ragtime accompanied by George Gershwin. Her affiliation with Gershwin garners for her the most recognition in existing literature on music history. A recently published article in *Indonesia and the Malay World* also looks at Eva's cross-cultural representations in the context of modernist appropriations of Javanese dance.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Juliette is referenced in texts that examine the CPR Folk Festivals of the late 1920s in which she had a prominent role—most notably Janet McNaughton's MA thesis, "A Study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicrafts Festivals, 1927-1930" (Memorial University, 1982). Canadian art historian Lynda Jessup has written about Juliette in two articles, one in the *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* and the other in *Visual Anthropology*, as part of an analysis of ethnographic representations in Canada.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

I consulted numerous archival sources documenting Eva and Juliette's careers. The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts and the Library and Archives Canada have collections devoted to Eva, comprising of correspondence, programs, newspaper clippings and autobiographical writings. Likewise, small archival collections at Library and Archives Canada and the Canadian Museum of Civilization are devoted to Juliette. The Fonds Marius Barbeau and the Fonds Noeline Martin at the Museum of Civilization also contain considerable information on Juliette. I also consulted the William Lyons Mackenzie-King

correspondence at the National Library and the archives at the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Eva and Juliette tended to perpetuate inaccuracies about themselves, especially in newspapers. Under these circumstances, reports can be unreliable. In certain instances, it was possible to determine the plausibility of reported facts, but not necessarily the accuracy. Sometimes, clarity could only be achieved by drawing from an analysis of people and practices adjacent to them. On the whole, I present the careers of Eva and Juliette Gauthier not as a definitive story but in the form of what Myra Jehlen describes as the scholar's task of providing "useful descriptions or redeployment of texts and materials such that they are more accessible to being thought about."<sup>xxxix</sup> It is my hope that their lives, redeployed as they are here, contribute a unique understanding of the environments from which they emerge.

Notes:

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- <sup>i</sup> Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera*, 2.
- <sup>ii</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.
- <sup>iii</sup> Michael M.J. Fischer, “Autobiographical Voices and Mosaic Memory,” 83.
- <sup>iv</sup> Martin Kohli, “Biography: Account, Text, Method,” 62-64.
- <sup>v</sup> Franco Ferrarotti, “On the Autonomy of the Biographical Method,” 19.
- <sup>vi</sup> Nadjé S. Al-Ali, “Between Political Epochs and Personal Lives,” 55.
- <sup>vii</sup> Paul Thompson, “Life Histories and the Analysis of Social Change,” 289.
- <sup>viii</sup> T. G. Asplant and Gerry Smyth, “Schools, Methods, Disciplines, Influences,” 5.
- <sup>ix</sup> William L. Cleveland, “The Worlds of George Antonius,” 126.
- <sup>x</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question*, 140.
- <sup>xi</sup> Alan Swingewood, “The Theory of Cultural Fields,” 86-107. For his discussion of Williams, including a definition of “structure of feeling” as “the ways in which social and historical relations express themselves through language and form within texts,” see “Contextualising Culture,” 70-85.
- <sup>xii</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.
- <sup>xiii</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.
- <sup>xiv</sup> *Ibid.*, 96, quoting Bourdieu and Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 126.
- <sup>xv</sup> Randal Johnson, “Editor’s Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu,” 6.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Swingewood, “The Theory of Cultural Fields,” 100.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Johnson, “Editor’s Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu,” 15.
- <sup>xviii</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.
- <sup>xix</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 189.
- <sup>xx</sup> Janet Wolff, “The Ideology of Autonomous Art,” 5.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Ramsay Burt, *Alien Bodies*, 5.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, *Women Making Music*, 3-4.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> See Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds. *Women Making Music* and Jane A. Bernstein, ed. *Women’s Voices Across Musical Worlds*.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Johnson, “Editor’s Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu,” 10.
- <sup>xxv</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Anthea Kraut, “Between Primitivism and Diaspora,” 436.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey, “Introduction,” *Music and History*, vi.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.
- <sup>xxix</sup> *Ibid.*, x.
- <sup>xxx</sup> *Ibid.*, xii.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Ashplant and Smyth, “Schools, Methods, Disciplines, Influences,” 3.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> Jackson and Pelkey, “Introduction,” *Music and History*, ix.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> These include “Eva Gauthier – de Java au jazz” *Aria*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (1982); “Canadian Eva Gauthier pioneered 20<sup>th</sup> century” *Music Magazine* (October 1985);



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and “Eva Gauthier (1885-1958): Premiere cantatrice canadienne-française d’avant-garde,” *Les Cahiers l’ARMuQ*, no. 7 (1988).

<sup>xxxv</sup> Nadia Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” x.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000); Edward Jablonski, *Gershwin: A Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987); Neil Leonard. *Jazz and the White Americans: The Acceptance of a New Art Form* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1962); Vernon Duke, “Gershwin, Schillinger, and Dukelsky,” *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 74, no.4 (1991); David Metzger, “The New York Reception of ‘Pierrot Lunaire’: The 1923 Premiere and Its Aftermath” *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 78, no. 4 (1994); Robert Wyatt, “The Seven Jazz Preludes of George Gershwin: A Historical Narrative.” *American Music*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1989).

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Matthew Isaac Cohen, “Dancing the Subject of ‘Java’: International modernism and traditional performance, 1899-1957,” *Indonesia and Malay World* 35, no. 101, (2007).

<sup>xxxviii</sup> “Moving Pictures and Costume Songs at the 1927 Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern,” *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 11.1 (1999); “Tin Cans and Machinery,” *Visual Anthropology* 12 (1999).

<sup>xxxix</sup> In David G. Nicholls. *Conjuring the Folk*, 18.

## Chapter One

### Eva Gauthier: the life history of a “high priestess of modern song”

Eva Gauthier (Josephine Eva Phoebe Gauthier) was born in Ottawa on September 20, 1885 to a middle-class French-Canadian family.<sup>i</sup> She was the eldest of what certain accounts cite as thirteen children.<sup>ii</sup> She studied music (piano and voice) from a young age. Her younger sisters also studied music, including Juliette (born 1888) who learned the violin.

Eva studied in Ottawa with the teacher Frank Buehls. From the age of twelve, she sang as a soloist at Ottawa’s St. Patrick’s Church and Notre Dame Basilica. She paid for her music lessons with the fee she received for her singing engagements at churches.<sup>iii</sup> Her professional debut occurred in 1902, when she participated in a service commemorating the death of Queen Victoria.<sup>iv</sup>

Though the Gauthiers were not a well-to-do family, they were closely acquainted with Canadian Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier and his wife Lady Zoë.<sup>v</sup> Lady Laurier in particular took an interest in the young Gauthier girls. Recognizing Eva’s exceptional talents, Lady Laurier raised funds to finance Eva’s musical training in Europe. Seeking contributions from politicians, she amassed a study fund of \$3,000.<sup>vi</sup>

Eva left for Paris in April 1902. On the day she set sail for Europe, with Lady Laurier as her chaperone, she wept: “Suddenly . . . I realized what a huge chasm was about to open between me and all that was familiar . . .”<sup>vii</sup> In Paris, she lived in a pension of Lady Laurier’s choosing in the suburb of Passy, near the Bois de Boulogne. She had her own room with a piano.<sup>viii</sup> Her first vocal teacher was Auguste-Jean Dubulle. In a letter to her parents, Eva wrote that she was encouraged to seek out a private tutor over auditioning for the Paris Conservatory of Music. She wrote, “Everyone is discouraging me from going to the Conservatory. They say that they’ll ruin my voice + my health + also that it is not a place for a young girl to go to.”<sup>ix</sup>

Due to her small stature (she was 4’11’’), Dubulle urged Eva to aspire to concert work rather than stage work.<sup>x</sup> Thus, her early training was not geared towards an operatic career. Dubulle trained Eva as a contralto, which was demanding on the middle register.<sup>xi</sup> She suffered significant damage to her vocal cords. Eva had surgery to remove nodules on them in 1903. Her studies were interrupted, and throughout her recovery, she was only permitted to sing for twenty minutes a day.<sup>xii</sup> Following this episode, she expanded her vocal range. Although she would become known primarily as a mezzo-soprano, she also gained recognition for her wide vocal range. Indeed, had her repertoire been confined to contralto, her opportunities would likely have been rather limited, particularly in opera. Contraltos were often cast in minor roles, such as old women or boys. Singing in

a lower voice was also associated with lust and sexual experience, which meant that contraltos were frequently typecast in the role of the “tart.”<sup>xiii</sup>

Despite the setback with her voice, Dubulle thought Eva should audition for the Paris Conservatory in the fall of 1903. He was confident she would be accepted—at least he told Eva so—on account of her “magnificent voice.”<sup>xiv</sup> Eva indicated in her diary that she did audition on November 5, 1903, but she writes, “I never sang so badly in all my life.”<sup>xv</sup> She was not accepted. The following day, November 6, she argued with Dubulle and left before her lesson was over. The next day she went to see Jacques Bouhy and had her first lesson with him three days later.<sup>xvi</sup> She reported in postcards to her parents that she was satisfied with her new teacher (although nothing in the postcards revealed what exactly happened with Dubulle).<sup>xvii</sup> Lady Laurier also seemed optimistic about Eva’s prospects with Bouhy. In January 1904, she wrote to her, “J’espère que cette année sera une année de succès pour toi.” Barely masking her disappointment with Eva’s experiences thus far, she told her she wanted to be able to show the people who helped her financially that “j’ai eu raison de t’envoyer à Paris.”<sup>xviii</sup>

What little evidence there is of Eva’s early years in Paris suggests that they were rather difficult. Her agenda from 1903 lists singing lessons, and records of her spending (for the tram, stamps, candy and cake) but very little about friends or social life (this would change in 1904 and 1905, when she always seemed busy with social engagements, especially within the French-Canadian community in

Paris).<sup>xix</sup> Eva also came across as quite dependent on her correspondence with her parents. She sent her mother and father weekly postcards and letters, which frequently noted the last time she received a letter from them, and stated that she was impatient to hear from them soon. She reminded them to “write often” and wrote that she liked the gifts of chocolate, jam and maple syrup they send her. In 1904, her postcards tapered off, and her tone was sometimes noncommittal: She wrote lines such as “je n’ai pas grand chose à vous dire.”<sup>xx</sup>

Her early postcards to her parents also give the impression of a young Eva who was rather provincial, especially against the backdrop of Paris at the turn of the century. She read the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Ladies Home Journal* that her parents sent her. She chose the Mona Lisa as her “tableau favori” at the Louvre<sup>xxi</sup>; and described the Moulin Rouge as “very odd.”<sup>xxii</sup> She also went to church every Sunday. These tastes and tendencies reflected her ordinary French-Canadian upbringing.

By 1905, Eva’s study fund had run out. She left Paris for London, where she made the acquaintance of the famous Canadian soprano Emma Albani, who had Eva audition for her then took the young singer under her wing. In Turbide’s words, Albani saved Eva “from the point of destitution”<sup>xxiii</sup> and proved to be the mentor Eva needed. She advanced Eva’s career by promoting her in London’s musical circles, and arranged little recitals for Eva so that she could become more comfortable singing in public and lose her stage fright.<sup>xxiv</sup> Albani also helped her

with her repertoire. Turbide observes that Eva's London connections garnered her countless invitations (and free tickets) to attend musical events.<sup>xxv</sup> This gave Eva a tremendous amount of exposure to music—much more than she had as a poor, somewhat isolated student in Paris.

Albani believed that Eva required more vocal training. She wrote personally to both Wilfred and Lady Laurier recommending that they support Eva for a year or two more. She explained, “[Eva] would have been ready now only that she began with a bad master in Paris and lost the whole of the first year . . . My husband thinks that five hundred dollars should be sufficient to prepare her for making a good career.” Albani told them she could arrange for Eva to train with William Shakespeare, “the best vocal master in London.”<sup>xxvi</sup> Lady Laurier replied that Eva ought to seek funding from Lord Strathcona (Donald Alexander Smith), the High Commissioner for Canada in London.<sup>xxvii</sup> She did, and Eva could have the much-needed training with Shakespeare.

In November 1905, Albani invited Eva to join her on her eight-week Canadian farewell tour starting in February 1906. Being associated with the famous soprano not only elevated her profile, it also meant that Eva could see her family for the first time in three years. Eva and Albani gave fifty concerts across Canada, which earned Eva significant recognition and praise, as well as cash: Eva was paid \$75 dollars a week for this tour.<sup>xxviii</sup> At one performance, Albani named Eva as her successor, declaring: "As an artistic legacy to my country, I leave you Eva

Gauthier.<sup>xxxix</sup> Eva also held a benefit concert in Ottawa, which raised enough money for her to return to Europe to continue her studies for two more years. Albani still thought that Eva needed more training before making an operatic debut with a “reasonable chance of success.”<sup>xxx</sup>

In other words, it seems that at this point Eva considered herself destined for the operatic stage. Whether Eva was suitable for an operatic career continued to be a matter of debate (and it is not clear what Eva herself wanted). When the Canadian tour finished, Eva went to New York for the first time. She gave a number of private recitals. In New York she also consulted with a J.R. Lamar and a Mr. Campanari (who worked for Oscar Hammerstein at the Manhattan Opera House). Campanari thought it would be too costly to train Eva for grand opera, and that she would always face obstacles due to her small size. His perspective, though largely economic, was that Eva would be better off in light opera or giving concerts. He suggested she could make money by singing at well-to-do hotels in Florida.<sup>xxxi</sup> Eva did not follow the advice of Campanari and de Lamar. She returned to London to sing in what Turbide describes as Eva’s “most prestigious engagement”—the soprano part in C.A.E. Harriss’s *Coronation Mass Edward VII*.<sup>xxxii</sup> Then she went on to Milan to study with the tenor Giuseppe Oxilia. There, Eva met Frans Knoote, a Dutchman in the diplomatic service, also a student of Oxilia, who would later become her husband.

Eva's operatic debut finally came in 1909 in Pavia, Italy. She sang the role of Micaëla in Bizet's *Carmen*. Reviews of Eva's singing were positive, though her acting was criticized because Eva had no dramatic training and experience. Her debut "a fait grand plaisir à Lady Laurier"<sup>xxxiii</sup>; after all Eva had already spent nearly seven years studying in Europe.

In the summer of 1909, Eva had engagements in Holland, Denmark, Germany and Belgium, where she performed with orchestras, including a concert with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in Scheveningen, Holland.<sup>xxxiv</sup> In Copenhagen, she performed with an orchestra at the Royal Palace. She was decorated with the Order of the Queen. Her publicity materials emphasized that such an honour was "only bestowed on four women before her, and never a foreigner."<sup>xxxv</sup> Come winter, Eva had no work. That said, she told her parents she had been singing for agents and impresarios and that she had been offered things she had not accepted, such as "une offre d'aller en Australie dans l'opérette pour trois ans, 300 \$ par semaine."<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Eva returned to London and auditioned for Covent Garden. According to Eva, in a letter to her parents, she "made a good impression."<sup>xxxvii</sup> Eva's trajectory here is typical for emerging opera singers—to debut in a small theatre and later strive to be taken in by a major opera house such as Covent Garden, in London. Covent Garden hired Eva for the 1910–1911 season. She was offered the minor boy's role of Yniold in Debussy's *Pelleas and Melisande*. This production was postponed.



Instead, she was given the role of Mallika in Leo Delibe's *Lakmé*. Despite her rehearsal and preparation for this operatic appearance, Eva was dismissed from the program at the last moment, on opening night in fact, according to some of her accounts. Eva maintained that the prima donna, Luisa Tetrazinni, requested the dismissal, finding Eva's voice too powerful for the role.<sup>xxxviii</sup> If Eva's account is true, it indicates that, as a matter of contract, prima donnas often had a great deal of authority over a production, including the selection of the supporting cast.<sup>xxxix</sup> Eva's contract with Covent Garden, on the other hand, had clauses that indicated it could be terminated at the Director's discretion, including this one:

La Société aura le droit de résilier le présent contrat, après la première représentation, et même après la répétition, dans le cas où la Direction croirait que l'artiste ne satisferait pas aux exigences du public"; and "Dans le cas où le Chef d'Orchestre jugerait que l'artiste ne connaît pas suffisamment un rôle de l'opéra quelconque de son répertoire, la Direction aura le droit de résilier le présent contrat ou diminuer les appointements de l'artiste.<sup>xl</sup>

In Eva's recollection of this experience, she says that King Edward died a few days after her dismissal and the performance of *Lakmé* was cancelled anyway.<sup>xli</sup> However, this is untrue. King Edward died May 6, 1910. Eva wrote to her parents that her debut in *Lakmé* was to be June 17 or 18—moreover, she sent this news on a postcard depicting "Royal Mourners at King Edward's Funeral."<sup>xlii</sup>

Albani sent Eva a letter on June 16, 1910 saying that she had heard that Covent Garden had treated her badly and that she had lost her engagement.<sup>xliii</sup> When Bouhy noticed that Eva was no longer on the program for *Lakmé*, he speculated it was due to her poor acting skills. He told her, “pour faire du théâtre il ne suffit d’avoir une belle voix.” He advised her not to get discouraged and to take lessons “à travailler la scène.”<sup>xliv</sup>

Eva’s records show she had contracts at two summer resorts for June and August.<sup>xlv</sup> In the meantime she decided to leave Europe and marry Frans, who had proposed to her the year before and who was stationed in Java as a tea plantation manager. Her scheduled departure was September 13, 1910, on a boat to Singapore. On her journey, she sent numerous letters to her parents, recalling the frequency of correspondence she had with them during her first two years in Paris. She told them about the weather, how she was feeling, that she had made friends, and that Frans impatiently awaited her arrival. She received news from him at each port. Eva, on the other hand, wrote to her parents from Colombo October 9, 1910, “je regrette que le voyage soit presque fini.”<sup>xlvi</sup>

Java was a Dutch colony, and remained such until the Republic of Indonesia gained independence in 1942 following a four-year guerilla war. Eva lived with Frans on a tea plantation above Bandoeng in the western island region for 11 months before moving to a hotel in the northern coastal city of Semarang. Eva and Frans were married on May 22, 1911. According to Eva the tea plantation

employed “about half a million people,” including men and women, who, from the start of dawn, picked tea leaves by hand.<sup>xlvii</sup>

Before Eva arrived in Java, Frans wrote a letter to the editor of *Musical America*, dated August 11, 1910, requesting that more European musicians come to Java. He claimed they would be well received, and he offered to help “direct them to the right people to do business with in Java.” The letter was printed along with a sarcastic reply from the editor titled, “Why Not Try Java”:

If things are as Mr. Knoote writes, the Antipodes certainly offer a great field for the development of brooding talent. The unfortunate part of it is that not ninety-nine of a hundred persons are aware of these facts. To the average man, a mention of Java brings up visions of rank tropical vegetation, a steady continuity of torrid heat, venomous and ferocious beasts, and anthropologically disposed natives rushing about in picturesque states of deshabelle, and a number of coffee plantations being about the only suggestion of civilization. Such thoughts are not conducive to an extensive immigration of singers, pianists, violinists or organists. Besides that, even musicians do not care to place such a large fragment of the world between themselves and their relatives.

Eva’s descriptions of daily life in Java barely contradict the editor of *Musical America*’s hyperbole. She wrote:

Snakes were the first thing one looked for on entering your home. [One would] look under the bed where they'd lie to digest their kill . . . Beds were high from the floor so you could readily see underneath . . . servants and nurses of the children slept on mats beside the bed. There was no barefoot walking [because of] scorpions in the house . . . All drinking and bathing water came from Holland, so diseased was the local water; Natives and animals washed and used the streams . . . One took 3–4 baths a day and an equal number of changes of clothing. [After] lunch, then everyone went to bed. At 5, everyone returned to work or social activities . . . Dinner at 9 or 10 . . . [Outside there were] monkeys by the millions, screeching and chattering at you, tigers . . . spotted leopards, elephants . .

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In one article she describes the nights as “hideous,” teeming with snakes, insects and wild cats, thieves lurking about, and so hot that one would sleep “with a long pillow on which to rest the feet, so as to allow as much air about the legs as possible.”<sup>xlvi</sup>

Eva complained in letters to her parents that she found the days monotonous, and the heat unbearable, and that she was gaining weight from lack of exercise.<sup>l</sup> She also indicated she was much happier living in a hotel than she had been on the plantation.<sup>li</sup>

Despite her marriage and her relocation, Eva had no intention of giving up her

musical career. Ursula Toomey (a friend of Eva's who attempted to write her memoirs) exaggerated the difficulty of this task, writing that Eva "Kept up practice in hot, humid climate of Java where few white people have survived, by lying on the marble floor, nude and vocalizing."<sup>lii</sup> Eva also mentioned nudity in one letter to her parents, explaining that it was so hot in Java in the afternoons that "le costume d'Eve . . . est le seul dans lequel on peut faire quelque chose."<sup>liii</sup>

On the other hand, numerous musical opportunities did present themselves in Asia. Soon after her arrival in Java she began giving concerts for the community of Europeans residing there. She planned a ten-week concert tour through Singapore, Hong Kong, Canton, Tientsin, Shanghai, Tjingtau, and Peking in 1911. Her concerts received extraordinary reviews; so positive that reviewers sometimes claimed it was the best vocal concert they had ever heard. In 1912, she toured Siam, Sumatra, Bangkok, and Australia. It was another successful tour. Her concerts attracted an international audience. One press notice stated, "The very extraordinary feature of this concert was the audience consisting of every nationality amongst which Chinese and Japanese, all of whom joined to give her a tremendous ovation."<sup>liv</sup>

Toomey's impression was that Eva's intention on these tours was to earn money, and save it "for the day when she had a chance to leave [Java]."<sup>lv</sup> Indeed, Eva wrote a personal note stating that she was "anxious to return to Europe."<sup>lvi</sup>

Eva considered giving music lessons in Java. She told her parents “cela me donnera quelque chose à faire.” As for her own studies, she was learning German (to sing) and Dutch (and forgetting much of her Italian), and using her time to explore modern music. She had scores of “nouveauautés” sent over from Europe, and asked her parents to send more.<sup>lvii</sup> She explained that she had tried incorporating modern music in her recitals but there was “not yet enough interest.” She told her parents she was “better off with songs like the *Barber of Seville*.”<sup>lviii</sup>

On the whole, life in Java did not seem to please Eva; she was rather out of her element. She complained, for example, of the trips she and Frans took to the mountains. She wrote to her parents on one such month-long sojourn: “je m’embête ici car il n’y a rien et je ne suis pas un sports lady, il n’y a personne d’intéressants, j’ai hâte que le mois soit fini, nous sommes ici seulement depuis huit jours.”<sup>lix</sup> However, the one way in which Java proved to be a crucial experience for Eva was through exposure to its music. This was a major turning point in Eva’s career.

Eva was not the first European visitor to be fascinated by Javanese *gamelan*, but she would be among the first to study it seriously. The first Dutch ethnomusicological “expert” on Javanese music did his field research, collecting music and making wax recordings between the years 1919–1934.<sup>lx</sup> Amateur interest in Javanese music (as well as dance and shadow puppetry) is evident in

turn-of-the-century travel writing. Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, writing in 1897, offers the following comments on *wayang* (shadow puppetry) in Javanese culture:

The Dutch were . . . wise enough never to interfere with these harmless pleasures of the people, the greatest distraction and delight of these sensitive, emotional, innately aesthetic and refined Javanese, who will sit through shadow plays for half the night, and are moved to frenzy and tears by the martial and romantic exploits of their national heroes.

She describes the music as “all soft harmonies, tender, weird, sad melodies in plaintive minor key” accompanied by singing she characterizes as “high-pitched nasal recitation.” The dancing is, according to Scidmore, “slowing, posing, stilted and automatic movements.”<sup>lxix</sup> A second account by Augusta de Wit, states that *gamelan* “produces the strangest, most weird and fascinating melodies in all the East.”<sup>lxxii</sup>

Musicologists have since studied *gamelan* extensively. In layman’s terms, a *gamelan* orchestra has between twenty and seventy-five different kind of instruments. Each orchestra includes two of each kind of instruments because there are two tuning systems: *slendro* and *pelog*, which vary in the number of keys and intervals between each tone. According to Jennifer Lindsey, “*Slendro* is said to express deep happiness or deep sadness, and also the feeling of *semdot*, which means ‘drama’ or ‘tension’ . . . *Pelog*, on the other hand is said to be more majestic . . . noble and calm.”<sup>lxxiii</sup> The instruments consist of gongs that hang in wooden frames, xylophones, kettles, drums, zithers, flutes, lutes, all in various

sizes, mostly made of bronze and bamboo. An orchestra also always consists of singing.<sup>lxiv</sup>

Eva was exposed to *gamelan* music through her connections with Paul Seelig, a half-Dutch, half-Javanese musician who worked as an orchestral conductor for the Sultan of Surakarta in Central Java from 1900 to 1908. Seelig also collected Javanese music and arranged it for voice and piano accompaniment, transforming the melodies into Occidental compositions. According to Eva, she made the acquaintance of Seelig when during one of her concerts in Java her usual accompanist arrived too drunk to play. Seelig spontaneously offered to accompany Eva instead.<sup>lxv</sup> Under Seelig's tutelage, Eva also learned the songs that Seelig had arranged, which she referred to as "les petits chef-d'œuvres de compositions." She began incorporating these songs into her recitals, with success.<sup>lxvi</sup> Her study of Javanese music kept her "très occupée," and she began desiring to bring this music to a European audience. In 1913, Seelig and Eva collaborated on a plan to tour Europe with a gamelan orchestra. Frans participated in the project as well, planning a conference on Javanese music.<sup>lxvii</sup>

Anxious though she was to return to Europe and pursue her plans, she did not want to do so prematurely, i.e. she wanted to become better acquainted with Javanese music such as it was in its original setting. Seelig, who was well acquainted with native musicians in Java, provided Eva with the opportunity to see them perform<sup>lxviii</sup> (Eva's contact with natives likely would have otherwise



been restricted to those employed as servants.). He took her to Solo “pour voir une grande fête javanaise.” She wrote to her parents, “j’ai entendu l’orchestre indigène qui . . . joue seulement une fois par an pendant huit jours et nuits.”<sup>lxxix</sup> Seelig also arranged for Eva to study for one month with a gamelan orchestra in the Sultan’s court. She explained to her parents her plans to “passer quinze jours à Solo, qui est le grand centre de Java pour répéter avec les indigènes . . . Je chanterai pour le sultan . . . ensuite je vais quinze jours à Bandoeng pour étudier avec un autre orchestre qui n’est pas pareil à celui de Solo.”<sup>lxxx</sup>

Eva told her parents she had also tried to learn some Javanese dancing while studying in the Sultan’s court, which she found very difficult, as Javanese dancers “take infinite pains to keep every muscle and every joint as limber as possible,”<sup>lxxxi</sup> and she found the movement “absolument le contraire de nous.”<sup>lxxxii</sup>

Eva’s approach to touring Europe was rather entrepreneurial. Not only did she see the artistic merit in the *gamelan* orchestra, but also “a chance of earning thousands.”<sup>lxxxiii</sup> However, it proved more difficult to arrange than she foresaw. Though no one doubted such a tour would meet enormous success, it proved difficult both artistically and financially. They were struggling to acquire the required instruments, musicians and dancers. Then, the project was postponed until the spring of 1915 because Eva signed a contract to tour Australia and New Zealand for twelve weeks (starting in June 1914) with Russian violinist Mischa

Elman, giving between thirty and fifty concerts. The plan was that Frans would go to Europe to make the preliminary preparations; Eva would join him following her tour with Mischa Elman; they would spend Christmas in Canada; and then begin the “gamelan affair” in the spring.<sup>lxxiv</sup> Eva left Java for Sydney on May 28, 1914, bringing her Javanese music with her.

World War I broke out while Eva was in Australia. She left for Hawaii on August 28, sailed to San Francisco on October 2 and boarded a train to New York, the city where she would live almost continuously for the rest of her life. Frans did not join her. He attempted to return to Holland but was apprehended in Italy where he remained as a prisoner throughout the war.<sup>lxxv</sup> They divorced in 1918.

Eva arrived in New York with a letter of introduction from the publisher Rudolf Schirmer that read,

Permit me to introduce to you herewith Mlle. Gauthier who has recently come from Java where she made an enthusiastic study of native music. Mlle. Gauthier would like to have an opportunity to appear before New York audiences in the native costume, in intricate dresses and sing some of the songs, which are . . . unusual . . . [and] of universal interest . . . if you could see [a] way [of] being of any help to her in this direction I would very much appreciate it.<sup>lxxvi</sup>

Eva's first New York recital was on December 4, 1914: a private recital in the home of Frank Damrosch. She performed a Javanese repertoire in native batik dresses.<sup>lxxvii</sup> Nadia Turbide claims that Eva was exploiting an “exotic edge over other returning singers”<sup>lxxviii</sup> (singers who had been in Europe until the outbreak of war). According to a review of a concert Eva gave at the MacDowell Club, December 29, 1914, her recital of Javanese music also included a “lecture-talk” where she shared “interesting bits of information concerning Javanese customs.”<sup>lxxix</sup>

Eva gave a number of recitals of her Oriental repertoire in and around New York in 1915, including at New York City's Waldorf Astoria Hotel, in New Jersey (at the Woman's Club of Orange), Ithaca (at Cornell University) and Scarsdale (in a private home). In June she traveled to Ottawa and gave a Javanese concert in Laurier's home.

In the summer of 1915, *Musical America* announced that Eva planned to perform her Javanese songs “dressed in spectacular costumes and headdresses” in vaudeville.<sup>lxxx</sup> Eva was initially lukewarm about vaudeville. She found “the engagements offered to her [upon her return to North America] . . . far from satisfactory.”<sup>lxxxii</sup> However, her friend Stanley Paul Bigelow wrote that she accepted them: “her gusto for life, her humor and her wit provided sufficient armor against the annoying aspects of vaudeville”; she was even able to find vaudeville “stimulating and amusing.”<sup>lxxxii</sup>

On August 24, 1915, the *New York City Telegraph* reported on a fifty-week contract Eva signed with the United Booking Office to put on “an elaborate Japanese [sic] act . . . [with] several native dancers.”<sup>lxxxiii</sup> The part about the native dancers is untrue. Instead she teamed up with Nila Devi (a Sanskrit stage name that translates as the “Blue Goddess”), a classically trained dancer to create a program featuring “original songs and dances.”<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Ella Wheeler Wilcox, a woman who had initiated contact with Eva earlier that year over their shared interest in Java, wrote in a personal letter to Eva, on August 6, 1915, “I think your voice, personality and songs will make you the most unique and distinctive figure in vaudeville today.”<sup>lxxxv</sup> Her intended act demonstrates how vaudeville was poised in between highbrow and lowbrow fare, or what women’s culture historian M. Alison Kibler describes as “a dialectical fusion of respectable theatre and ‘low’ amusements.”<sup>lxxxvi</sup>

The initial review of Eva’s act, however, suggests that it was not that suitable for the vaudeville stage. She and Devi appeared in September at the 81<sup>st</sup> St. Theatre in New York. The reviewer “Wynn” in *Variety* wrote:

Eva Gauthier and Nina Devie [sic], surrounded by special scenery and a series of wardrobe changes, offer what is programmed as their ‘original songs and dances’ . . . with Miss Gauthier (barefooted) singing in a foreign tongue while her nimble partner stalks up and down the stage with snake-like movements until the finale when the latter retires to full stage and a

futurist set to offer the dance of the future. If the future dance is anything like Miss Devie's interpretation, good night! Another song by the prima donna and then to the final scene, a Malayan set with Miss Gauthier in the doorway chanting at her very best while Miss Devie dances herself to a stage death. It was not clear whether Miss Gauthier was supposed to sing her to death or whether the girl died from exhaustion. However, she died and the entire offering went with her. Just what the girls are aiming at is a problem, but it might be considerate to advise the audience. Miss Gauthier has a pleasant voice, but the selections hardly fit, nor do the pedal efforts of Nina Devie. The scenery and wardrobe, attractive in their way, cannot be expected to carry Gauthier and Devie through vaudeville. They need an act.<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

Despite this poor review, Eva was scheduled to tour the Orpheum circuit, the major vaudeville circuit for the West Coast and the Midwest. She performed in St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans, Minneapolis, Winnipeg, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Stockton, Sacramento, Fresno, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Denver, Colorado Springs, Lincoln, Chicago and Kansas City.

In contrast to *Variety*, the *St. Louis Times* commented, "the act is a weird affair of considerable merit."<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Likewise, the *St. Louis Star* described the act as innovative and noted that "The Malay and Japanese [sic] songs and rituals were particularly well received because of their novelty."<sup>lxxxix</sup> However, because many

other reviews remained conflicted about its “considerable merit,” Eva and Devi modified their act to make it more suitable for a vaudeville audience. Hugh H. Huhn in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* explained:

The act offered during the past week by Eva Gauthier and Nila Devi at the Orpheum has created considerable conflicting criticism because of its oddity and originality. One is undecided just what to say of it, in a sense. Twice during the week it was changed, but on Friday, when Eva Gauthier introduced her solo number, ‘The Bird of Love Divine’ [an English ballad] the audience warmed up to the classical possibilities of the act . . . In rendering her songs in English, as she did on Friday, Eva Gauthier has acted wisely. Vaudeville audiences have yet much to learn.<sup>xc</sup>

In what seems like an attempt to make it seem more mainstream (and popular), the act was billed as “International” songs and dances. In addition to Javanese music it featured an English ballad, French waltz and “Greek Fantasy.” Eva was described ubiquitously as a prima donna. For instance, in Winnipeg she was billed as a “Special Added Attraction.” The program noted that Eva had toured with Mme. Albani and Mischa Elman and that she had appeared in the Royal Opera Company at Covent Garden, London.<sup>xc<sup>i</sup></sup> Not only was the emphasis clearly on her (dubious) status as a “prima donna,” the *Winnipeg Free Press Bulletin* also mentioned that since opening night Eva had “widened the range of her repertoire,” adding the aria from the *Barber of Seville*<sup>xc<sup>ii</sup></sup>, which indicates a

deliberate attempt to strengthen her association with the classical and operatic rather than the “exotic.”

Even though Eva’s song repertoire became more conventional, the act retained the “novelty” of being a joint performance of singing and dancing. As one reviewer puts it, “the association of prima donna and prima ballerina is the novelty offered by Nila Devi and Eva Gauthier.”<sup>xciii</sup> The new element was that the dancing was intended to “visualize” or illustrate the music, specifically the singer’s words.<sup>xciv</sup> One reviewer concurs as to the uniqueness of their joint performance, writing, “One is so rarely used to seeing a dance with a vocal accompaniment. For originality it possesses unusual merit.”<sup>xcv</sup> In December, Eva and Devi made an effort to emphasize this novel aspect of their act by giving it the name “Songmotion.” In turn, press coverage began drawing attention to this feature of their performance, remarking for example: “Until Eva Gauthier, the mezzo soprano, and Nila Devi, the dancer, combined their extraordinary talents, there had never been an instance of a prima donna and a premiere danseuse who worked together.”<sup>xcvi</sup>

Eva and Devi also received publicity for having invented a new word (“Songmotion”) to describe their act. One headline even announced: “Pretty Stage Girls Coin a New Word for Noah Webster’s Book.” The article goes on to claim that “Songmotion” would appear in the next edition of Webster’s dictionary.<sup>xcvii</sup> Another article referred to the act being “copyrighted under the name

Songmotion.”<sup>xcviii</sup> Eva claimed that Songmotion was “entirely her own adaptation of the Oriental method of using the voice as an accompaniment for the dance.”<sup>xcix</sup>

The *San Francisco Chronicle* described it as “an Occidental application of the Oriental theory that dance is incomplete without vocal accompaniment,” a “novelty” that has been “produced with great success in the East and abroad.”<sup>c</sup>

The *New York Evening Journal*, however, took issue with Songmotion as a “unique discovery,” stating “it has been an integral part of numerous operas for several centuries.”<sup>ci</sup>

A corps de ballet of four additional dancers was added to Songmotion. According to reviews, though they vary at times in their description, Songmotion consisted of a “Brahma Hindu Lament” sung by Eva and interpreted by Devi, a French waltz sung by Eva and danced by Devi and the supportive ballet, and a dance called the “Adoration of the White Elephant” performed only by the chorus of dancers. Some of the reviews also mention a Sicilian love song, a “Greek Fantasy,” and the Children’s March from *Carmen*. The stage settings consisted of “a reproduction of the Boeroe Boedoer famous temple in Java”<sup>cii</sup> (also referred to as a “Hindu Temple” or an “East Indian Temple”), an imitation of a traditional Javanese batik depicting elephants, as well as another set that frequently perplexed the audience, described along the lines of “futuristic and fantastical”<sup>ciii</sup> or “a futuristic effect of striking color.”<sup>civ</sup>



Reviews of Songmotion continued to be mixed. Sometimes it was considered to be “beautiful and new,”<sup>cv</sup> “unusually artistic and appealing,”<sup>cvi</sup> or “out of the ordinary and very high class.”<sup>cvi</sup> Rave reviews, such as the following from the *Fresno Republic*, were an exception:

Devotees of vaudeville are invited to consider the artistic performance of Eva Gauthier and Nila Devi with their bevy of dancing beauties. Miss Gauthier and Miss Devi are respectively prima donna and a premier danseuse who have won high fame in the operatic field and in the realm of the ballets. Their joint efforts as singer and danseuse provide a rich treat for the eye and the ear. The scenic setting of unusual beauty and distinction . . . make it register almost a perfect score.<sup>cvi</sup>

Attesting to the limited popularity of Songmotion, however, is that it did not always headline. Vaudeville headliners, as to be expected, had a more prominent place on the playbill and in the program, earned more money and were expected to draw in the crowds. In Memphis, New Orleans and other cities in the month of November the headliner was Mary Shaw, a “legitimate actress.” Eva and Devi sometimes double headlined with Ben Ryan and Henrietta Lee who had a comedy skit called “You’ve Spoiled It” that frequently received rave reviews, including the approbation, “After you have seen Henrietta do her funny contortions and dips in a spasm of physical insanity, you are willing to admit that you have seen one of the funniest acts of the year . . .”<sup>cix</sup> On one occasion, when Songmotion did

headline on its own, the *Stockton, CA Mail* declared “Ryan and Lee Out-Headline Headliners Gauthier and Devi Who Have Unusual Act.”<sup>cx</sup>

Several reviews praised Eva but criticized the dancers. For example, “Eva Gauthier was a surprise as a prima donna, but she had to divide her act with Nila Devi and a ballet whose ‘song motion’ was not up to Miss Gauthier’s clear and charming voice.”<sup>cx<sup>i</sup></sup> Another reviewer wrote that Eva has a “clear fluent voice” that was dulled by “five distracting young women in the act, who dance none too expertly.”<sup>cx<sup>ii</sup></sup> The most critical remarks about the dancers, the corps de ballet specifically, came in a review that praised Eva’s voice as “so exceedingly good and well trained” and Nila Devi for dancing “with a very genuine feeling for rhythm and an understanding of what bodily movement can convey.” The other dancers, however, are described as “nice-looking, clumsy girls that galumphed about.” According to the reviewer, “they should be engaged in some other occupation.”<sup>cx<sup>iii</sup></sup>

Eva was released from her vaudeville contract in March 1916. A letter from Martin Beck, the manager of Orpheum, March 14, 1916, reads, “I am sorry to learn from your telegram that you are ill and it becomes necessary for you to undergo an operation.”<sup>cx<sup>iv</sup></sup> However, in reality Eva was pregnant. In May, she returned to Ottawa to give a concert at Russell Theatre, a benefit for the war effort.<sup>cx<sup>v</sup></sup> Eva’s whereabouts for the duration of her pregnancy are unclear.

Eva's son, whom she named Evan Gauthier-Knoote, was born on September 20, 1916, in Chicago. The hyphenated name suggests that she was trying to disguise the fact that he was "illegitimate." Indeed, Eva told Frans about her son; and Evan believed Frans was his father. According to Turbide, the baby spent his first three months in the hospital. He was placed in the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Hammond in Chicago. Eva went back to New York and sent money to pay for his upkeep.<sup>cxvi</sup>

There is evidence that Eva considered becoming a vocal teacher in 1916. She inquired about a position at the David Mannes Music School; but they replied to her saying they were not hiring new teachers.<sup>cxvii</sup>

As a performer, Eva presented examples of Songmotion in New York. At one such performance at the Comedy Theatre, January 23, 1917, she sang while the English born dancer "Roshanara" performed "East Indian Dances." They also combined classical ballet with songs by Ravel and other European composers. Eva's experiments in the mixing of the folk, the Oriental, and the modern as well the combination of song and dance made her ideally suited to tour with Adolf Bolm's Ballet Intime in the summer of 1917. The Ballet Intime offered a program of expressive dance and exotic folk song. It ran for two weeks at the Booth Theatre in New York City, and then it toured Atlantic City, Washington, Newport, Bar Harbour and elsewhere in the Northeastern United States.<sup>cxviii</sup> Eva

sang her Javanese and Malay songs (as well as “The Star Spangled Banner” and the Russian revolutionary hymn, “The International,” at intermission).

In her recitals in 1917, Eva began to combine Eastern music with modern French song. Not only did this provide a didactic dimension to her repertoire, demonstrating to her audiences how “the modern movement signified largely the application of Oriental ideas to Western uses,”<sup>cxix</sup> it also provided her personal narrative and career trajectory with a logic that eliminated the traces of her past failures and false starts. In her post-vaudeville career as a singer in New York, she could present herself, convincingly, as someone who consciously decided to take up recital work rather than pursue an operatic career. She fashioned herself as someone ill-suited to the “fixed and inflexible” world of opera with natural inclinations to the uncharted territory of the original song recital, commenced by her “own awakening to the Oriental aspect of the modern movement.”<sup>cxx</sup>

Eva’s first of what would become annual concerts at Aeolian Hall was on November 1, 1917. The program featured the work of Stravinsky, Ravel, Rimski-Korsakov, and Charles T. Griffes. Eva collaborated artistically with Griffes, who was interested in her expertise on Javanese music and the songs she had collected in Asia. The selection she sang for her Aeolian Hall concert, “Five Chinese and Japanese Poems,” was inspired by Eastern melodies she had shared with him. This first appearance at Aeolian Hall received considerable and favourable

attention from the press: Twelve newspapers and three magazines in New York and Boston reviewed it.<sup>cxxi</sup>

Many important music critics favoured Eva, and she developed personal relationships with some, including Walter Kramer (*Musical America*), Lawrence Gilman (the *New York Herald-Tribune*), Pitts Sanborn (the *New York Globe*), Olin Downes (the *New York Times*) and H.T. Parker (the *Boston Transcript*). A letter from Jack Coles of the *Musical Courier*, April 25, 1920, refers to Eva having “swept the usually indifferent H. T. Parker off his feet.”<sup>cxxii</sup> Eva also achieved a special status amongst contemporary composers, who had high regard for her vocal interpretations. For example, American composer Amy Beach wrote, “No one could do [her songs] with more complete understanding than you, or with more entrancing beauty . . .”<sup>cxxiii</sup>

By 1919, Eva’s career as a performer was in full swing. That year she gave at least twenty concerts, including eight in New York City. Her repertoire continued to include a mixture of modern music and folksongs. Although she continued to perform Javanese music, including an “Oriental Song Recital” at a batik exhibit in New York City in July 1919,<sup>cxxiv</sup> her folk material also included French and Spanish songs. In the fall, she was invited to sing at the prestigious Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music, hosted by Elizabeth Coolidge, where she sang, for the first time in America, Ravel’s “Les Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé” and Stravinsky’s “Les Trois Poésies de la Lyrique Japonaise.”<sup>cxxv</sup>

Eva herself described the 1920s, the apogee of her career, as “une époque extraordinairement haute en couleurs, bourdonnante, prospère et d’une vitalité culturelle saisissante.”<sup>cxxvi</sup> An article written about Eva towards the end of her life described her as an “artist ideally suited to [this decade] which was invariably attracted to the ‘sophisticated;’ the ‘exotic’ the ‘adventurous’ and the ‘new.’”<sup>cxxvii</sup> Indeed, during the 1920s modernism flourished in New York City. Eva wrote, “La musique contemporaine y était devenue soudain un sujet d’intérêt, et tout le monde voulait être de la partie.”<sup>cxxviii</sup>

For Susan Noyes Platt, this popularization was evident in local newspapers where “modernism” was a topic of discussion on a daily basis, not only the “esoteric interest of an elite group.”<sup>cxxix</sup> Modernist artistic activity had been increasing in New York City ever since the outbreak of WWI gave rise to artistic traffic between Europe and the United States. Foreign artists flocked to New York in particular and created an important New York-Paris axis of modernist creativity.<sup>cxix</sup> Eva’s Parisian connections—notably to Ravel and Satie—were instrumental in making her part of an inner circle of musical modernism in New York. Eva’s friendship with Ravel, Satie and other members of Les Six began with her trip to Paris in 1920.<sup>cxix</sup> Eva went to Europe nearly annually throughout the 1920s. She also spent time with French composers upon their visits to New York. Eva is noted for hosting a birthday party for Ravel on March 7, 1928.<sup>cxix</sup>

Another factor in the popularization of modernism during the 1920s was the creation of musical societies in New York: the International Composer's Guild (1921–1927), the League of Composers (1923–1954), the Franco-American Musical Society (founded in 1920 and renamed Pro-Musica in 1925) and the American Music Guild (founded in 1922). They promoted modern music by putting on concerts featuring the works of contemporary composers. Only the American Music Guild was nationalist—its goal was to “further interest in American music,” “generate a sense of community” and “give local composers performance opportunities”<sup>cxxxiii</sup>; the other societies were interested in making “New York a major port on a bustling transatlantic modernist circuit.”<sup>cxxxiv</sup>

According to Carol Oja, they also aimed for and achieved what she describes as “more than counterculture success,” for example, by putting on concerts in large mainstream concert halls.<sup>cxxxv</sup> In all, fighting what Oja characterizes as a society reluctant to accept modernism, these societies “succeeded in putting in place essential institutional structures to help composers function in a democratic, capitalist society.”<sup>cxxxvi</sup> Such a description rather minimizes the contributions made by Eva to the modern music scene in New York. Indeed, Oja's book, which describes musical modernism in New York in the 1920s, does not give much weight to Eva, describing her as an “isolated artist” who “took up the cause.”<sup>cxxxvii</sup>

Eva did not have strong affiliations with the musical societies that secured the bulk of opportunities for the performance of new music in New York. Eva performed on only one occasion with each society in the 1920s, and once with the

League of Composers in 1937. With the International Composer's Guild she performed songs by Arthur Bliss, Maurice Delage, Vladimir Dukelsky, Walter Kramer, Maurice Ravel, and Igor Stravinsky at the Greenwich Village Theatre on March 19, 1922. In 1923, she sang for both Pro Musica and the American Music Guild in the month of March at Carnegie Hall and Town Hall respectively.<sup>cxxxviii</sup> Her performances under the auspices of the League of Modern Composers were at Town Hall, December 29, 1925, where she sang works of Manuel de Falla, and on March 7, 1937 when she sang material by Bartok and Randall Thompson.<sup>cxxxix</sup> One reason that might explain why she did not appear more frequently in their programming is that a contemporary and friend of Eva's in New York, Greta Torpadie, who also made a name for herself as a singer of modern song, seemed to be favoured by these societies. In the 1920s, Torpadie appeared five times each with the International Composers Guild and Pro Musica, and three times with the League of Composers.<sup>cxli</sup>

The role for which Eva is most often remembered is a historic concert on November 1, 1923, titled "Recital of Ancient and Modern Music for Voice," in which she sang jazz in a recital that otherwise consisted of the modern works by Milhaud, Bliss, Schoenberg, Bartok and Hindemith, traditional operatic pieces by Bellini, and art songs by Henry Purcell.<sup>cxli</sup> Eva's jazz selections were songs by Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, Walter Donaldson and George Gershwin, which she sang accompanied by Gershwin on the piano. This recital was the first time Gershwin appeared in a concert setting so it is considered to be a very significant



moment in his career. In this respect, Eva appears to be something of an adjunct to Gershwin's success. It is her connection to Gershwin that seems to make her relevant in most accounts of the time.<sup>cxlii</sup>

Eva made Gershwin's acquaintance after deciding to include a group of jazz numbers at her next recital. According to Eva, the idea of including jazz only occurred to her when she was looking to replace an unfinished song cycle by the American composer Wintter Watts. In other words, Eva planned the Gershwin recital not as an avowed champion of jazz but because she was "curious about jazz." It was also Eva's friend, the author (and avowed champion of jazz) Carl Van Vechten, who encouraged her to seek out Gershwin. In Van Vechten's words:

In the spring of 1923, in search of novelties to put on her fall program, Eva Gauthier asked me to suggest additions. 'Why not a group of American songs?' I urged. Her face betrayed a lack of interest. 'Jazz,' I particularized. Her expression brightened. When I met the singer again on her return from Paris, she informed me that Maurice Ravel had offered her the same sapient advice. She had, indeed, adopted the idea and requested me to recommend to her a musician who might serve as her accompanist and guide in the venture. But one name fell from my lips, that of George Gershwin . . .<sup>cxliii</sup>

Gershwin, at the time, was a “song plugger in Tin Pan Alley.”<sup>cxliv</sup> Gershwin’s particular brand of “jazz” was, to use jazz historian Neil Leonard’s terminology, “diluted,” “refined” or “commercial,” and “less barbarous—sweeter and smoother—than real jazz,” such as the kind of improvised instrumental jazz that came out of New Orleans and later Chicago.<sup>cxlv</sup> For Mary Herron Dupree, in diluted/commercial form “jazz” becomes a catchall term to refer to music that is popular. She writes: “musical definitions [of jazz] could be as vague as ‘music enjoyed by and large among the people of any country . . . British art critic Clive Bell used the term to signify any form of art or expression that demonstrated a preference for the short, obvious and uncomplicated.’”<sup>cxlvi</sup> Leonard argues more specifically that “Jazz reached its first wide [and white] public as . . . a written syncopated piano music, invariably happy in mood and rondo-like in form.”<sup>cxlvii</sup> The popular songs included in Eva’s November 1, 1923, concert: “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” by Irving Berlin, “The Siren’s Song” by Jerome Kern, “Carolina in the Morning” by Walter Donaldson and “Innocent Ingénue Baby,” “I’ll Build A Stairway to Paradise” and “Swanee” by Gershwin are all examples of the commercial jazz that was produced in New York City.

According to Eva, Gershwin was initially not interested in participating in her recital but changed his mind when Eva offered him \$3 an hour for rehearsals.<sup>cxlviii</sup> This recital was a turning point for Gershwin; by certain accounts, including Eva’s, Gershwin was introduced to the popular bandleader Paul Whiteman there. Whiteman was so impressed by Gershwin that he commissioned him to write a

concerto for his upcoming concert “An Experiment in Modern Music” in February 1924, resulting in the now very famous *Rhapsody in Blue*.<sup>cxlix</sup>

Gershwin’s biographer Edward Jablonski acknowledges the seminal role Eva’s recital played in Gershwin’s career. He contacted Eva in May 1951 to request an interview, writing:

We feel that you would have much of great importance to contribute to such a work [Gershwin’s biography]: It was you, really, who anticipated the Whiteman ‘Experiment in Modern Music’ by many months with your own Aeolian Hall ‘Recital of Ancient and Modern Music for Voice’ on Thursday November 1, 1923.

Jablonski also made note of the fact that it was Eva who introduced Gershwin to Ravel.<sup>cl</sup>

When Eva heard of what would become the fictionalized biographical film about George Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945), she contacted his brother Ira asking him if he knew whether her recital with Gershwin would be included in the film. He replied to her on April 3, 1941, saying that he didn’t know “because the form and incidents depend on what music will be used, what actor and what storyline will finally be decided on by the studio and my collaborators . . .”<sup>cli</sup> A letter from Warner Bros. Pictures, September 9, 1943, confirmed that a scene with Eva would not be included in the film: “I am sorry to inform you that we could not use incidents in which you were concerned. I hope you will forgive this omission, but

the necessity of keeping the picture within reasonable length gave us no alternative.”<sup>clii</sup>

From 1924–1925 Eva put together a concert program that showcased the breadth and eclectic nature of her repertoire, and gave it the catchy title “From Java to Jazz.” She toured the West Coast of the United States and Europe (in London and Berlin).<sup>cliii</sup> By Eva’s account, the concert was intended to educate audiences, particularly about the links between Oriental music and modern music, and to entertain. She said in an interview, “Most concerts bore people. Mine, I hope, is going to entertain as well as educate.”<sup>cliv</sup> The concert also served as a signature of who she was as an artist and what her mission in life was: “to sing new songs and discover new composers.” She said, “Perhaps it is the pioneer blood in me which makes me feel this. I am never so happy as when I find a new song writer, or someone who interprets songs in a new way.”<sup>clv</sup> Her “artful” interpretations of jazz garnered praise from those who thought she gave popular music “a spiritual verity that refined them, lifted them up, and made moving human experiences of them.”<sup>clvi</sup> However, the eclecticism of her program also attracted criticism. A review in the *Daily Telegraph* described the concert as “long and tortuous . . . songs in Italian, French, German, English, Javanese, Indian and colloquial American. The general effect was of an elaborately and badly composed salad . . .”<sup>clvii</sup> Interestingly, an article in the *Ottawa Citizen* related the variety of her repertoire to the fact that Eva belonged “to no particular locality.” It stated, “Gauthier has never permitted the flow of her art to coincide with the boundaries

of a country, or even within the limits of a continent . . . I shall regard her as a figure in the general world of music.”<sup>clviii</sup>

Eva in fact was without a permanent address for two years. In 1928, she gave up her apartment on West 53<sup>rd</sup> Street in New York and moved back and forth between Europe and America. In 1928, she gave a concert tour in Amsterdam, Paris, London, Vienna, Prague and Budapest, financed by one of her benefactors who, according to her accompanist and friend Celius Dougherty, had given Eva money to pay off her debts not to plan an expensive European tour.<sup>clix</sup> Subsequently, she gave no concerts until 1930.<sup>clx</sup>

During the last two years of the 1920s, Eva appeared to be in flux. She reached out to her past by reconnecting with her former teacher Jacques Bouhy while in Paris.<sup>clxi</sup> She also wrote to Prime Minister Mackenzie-King to tell him she would like to reclaim her Canadian citizenship. At the time, she had a Dutch passport. She wrote:

I would very much like to become a Canadian again and will you be so kind as to let me know what I must do . . . I haven't any plans for returning to America in the very near future. Conditions are so unsettled on account of radio and the talkies that I am going to keep away till its all settled one way or another.<sup>clxii</sup>

Eva did not move back to Canada.<sup>clxiii</sup> It seems, however, that she was contemplating giving up her career as a singer.<sup>clxiv</sup> This is intimated in a letter she

received from Walter Kramer. He wrote, “I don’t believe you are drifting out of music. If I could get into some thoroughly commercial, lucrative, and less absorbing business, I would probably be in it myself. But somehow or other the lure of our favorite art is strong.”<sup>clxv</sup>

Eva broke her two years of absence from the stage (1928–1930) with a series of concerts in Havana. She attributed her long silence to “un repos dont elle avait besoin.” She wrote to her parents: “car il n’y a pas de doute que j’étais à bout.” She also told them that her Havana concerts were among the “meilleurs récitals de ma carrière.”<sup>clxvi</sup>

In 1930, Eva moved into an apartment on West 51<sup>st</sup> Street in New York. This marked the beginning of a more tenuous period in her career. Up until the late 1930s, her stage career remained active, though performance opportunities diminished significantly, due to the Depression. Turbide writes, “Performing musicians, dependent on freelance engagements for survival, were among the most severely affected during this difficult period.”<sup>clxvii</sup> Many of Eva’s performances occurred in the context of a private recital. During the 1930s, she gave twice as many private recitals as she had in the previous decade.<sup>clxviii</sup>

In 1930, Eva attempted to renew her involvement with Javanese music, perhaps to capitalize on the “novelty” that aided her when she initially arrived in New York City. She planned to tour North America with a Javanese orchestra in a series of

forty concerts given under the aegis of Arthur Judson Concert Management. The idea was nearly identical to the thwarted one she had hatched with Seelig in 1913–1914 except that now she wanted to feature the Javanese music alongside modern numbers. The *New York Herald-Tribune* reported, “She hopes in this manner to trace to her audience the fact that modern music was largely influenced by Javanese themes and tendencies.”<sup>clxix</sup> She shared her excitement about this possibility in a letter to her parents:

Si je réussis cela sera une chose superbe pour moi et une tournée transcontinental avec une immense publicité, car je chanterai un group de chants javanais accompagnée par l’orchestre, et le reste sera entièrement javanais et pour finir je chanterai deux groupes modernes car c’est l’influence de la musique javanaise qui a été l’inspiration de l’école moderne française en commençant par Debussy.<sup>clxx</sup>

In 1928, Eva received a postcard from Paul Seelig who told her that he was planning to bring a Javanese gamelan and dancers to the 1930 Exhibition Coloniale in Paris.<sup>clxxi</sup> Eva travelled to Paris to secure arrangements to have this orchestra for the North American tour. As it turned out, the Javanese orchestra was not there, instead a group from “une autre île.” They were not persuaded to join in Eva’s endeavour. She wrote to her parents: “ils refusent d’apprendre mes chansons.”<sup>clxxii</sup>

Eva tried to get teaching jobs in New York at the Julliard School and in Philadelphia at the Curtis Institute, but was unsuccessful.<sup>clxxiii</sup> She began teaching privately in 1933, and later at the American Theater Wing giving master classes. In interviews Nadia Turbide conducted with some of Eva's noted students, they expressed high praise for Eva as an educator and mentor. The composer Ned Rorem (who was her accompanist for a short period) described her as "an invaluable pedagogue"; another student Karel Weiss appreciated Eva for her personal qualities, describing her as "amusing, outrageous and [someone who] lived life with great intensity."<sup>clxxiv</sup>

Having amassed a vast collection of contemporary scores, which were sent directly to her from composers, her home "became a lending library for students interested in contemporary repertoire." She also made information available on foundations and "available funding for aspiring performers and composers."<sup>clxxv</sup> In 1949, some of her students incorporated the Eva Gauthier Foundation, a non-profit organization to establish scholarships and offer grants to music students. However, the foundation does not appear to have been active.<sup>clxxvi</sup> Still, that such a foundation was created in her name shows Eva's commitment to sharing her knowledge not only about music and technique but also the practical aspects of having a career in music. Eva was also one of the founding members of the American Guild of Musical Artists, established in 1936, a labour organization for singers, musicians and later dancers designed to protect their rights and prevent their exploitation. She served on the Guild's board of governors and was officially



recognized as one of its “founding fathers” in 1957.<sup>clxxvii</sup> Later in her career, she became a jury member of the Fulbright Awards, the John Hay Whitney Foundation, and Jugg, Inc. (a vocal competition).

In 1936, Eva applied to the Federal Music Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA).<sup>clxxviii</sup> The WPA took on the responsibility of “providing jobs to those whom private industry does not hire.”<sup>clxxix</sup> The Federal Arts Project was founded in 1935; it allocated more than \$27 million for the arts. Such investment was rooted in a belief that artists could help rediscover and redefine a nation.<sup>clxxx</sup> The Federal Music Project’s primary objective was to provide “employment assistance for musicians . . . [establish] high standards . . . [stimulate] community interest, creating an intelligent musical public.”<sup>clxxxii</sup> Although Eva would seem to be a prime candidate, her application was rejected. A significant gender bias in the WPA’s hiring of musicians may have come into play: Its employment of women peaked at 16 percent.<sup>clxxxii</sup>

Though they were infrequent in the mid-1930s, Eva continued to be involved in significant modern music events in the United States. She sang at one concert at the Avery Auditorium in New York City and another at the Hartford Festival, both put on by the Friends and Enemies of Modern Music. For the Hartford Festival, which included music and cinema, she performed in a production of Satie’s *Socrates*. Her number was staged with Alexander Calder’s mobiles as a

background. The *Socrates* performance was repeated at the opening of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Centre in April 1936.

In 1936, Eva planned a series of three “retrospective” concerts to mark her twenty-year stage career and her retirement. The concerts primarily featured songs she had introduced to America. There were no popular jazz or Javanese numbers. The first concert, on December 8, 1936, was titled “Classic and Contemporary Composers of Spain.” The following two concerts were on January 13 and February 10, 1937, and were titled “Classic and Contemporary Composers of Central Europe” and “Classic and Contemporary Composers of France” respectively. All three concerts took place in the Ballroom of Hotel Gotham in New York City. The *New York Sun* noted that such a location, “an unfamiliar locale for musical events,” was in itself evidence of Eva’s individuality.<sup>clxxxiii</sup>

The program for her retrospective concerts cited the praise she received from music critics over the course of her career. A quote from Lawrence Gilman described Eva as an “interpretive artist.” He explained, “An interpretive artist, after all, is not merely a custodian of popular treasures . . . the interpretive artist should be a diver in deep seas, a trafficker for strange webs; should be older in sympathy and in imaginative experience, than the rocks and the waters, younger in eagerness and expansiveness than next year’s spring.” Walter Kramer credited Eva for performing works that otherwise would never have been heard.<sup>clxxxiv</sup>

In 1937, Eva also requested funding from the Governor General of Canada to stage a final concert in Canada, a request that was declined. Throughout her career, Eva performed in Canada on very few occasions and mostly in Quebec.<sup>clxxxv</sup> Her major Canadian solo recitals were on December 1918 in Montreal, January 1924 in Ottawa and Montreal, and in 1926 in Toronto at the invitation of the Women's Musical Club of Toronto.<sup>clxxxvi</sup> In 1927, she sang at Canada's Diamond Jubilee Celebrations, and she also participated in Canada's first transcontinental radio broadcast on this occasion. She performed at a Gala Concert in Ottawa in 1932.<sup>clxxxvii</sup>

At the time of the retrospective concerts, it was not clear that Eva was committed to retiring. Indeed she gave at least four more concerts in New York, Boston and Philadelphia in 1937 and 1938. Perhaps she announced her retirement to create more buzz around her concerts at a time when her career was in a slump. Only in a letter to her parents, dated March 17, 1938, did Eva seem resigned to giving up her stage career:

Je n'ai pas préparé de concerts pour cette saison et je commence à m'habituer à l'idée de me retirer de la carrière active de plus en plus car il n'y a pas grand chose [à part] que la répétition. Le public n'est pas intéressé dans les nouveautés en dehors de l'opéra et les concerts d'orchestre et [il y a] une grande renaissance pour la musique de chambre.<sup>clxxxviii</sup>

The lack of popularity for the song recital resulted in “the disappearance” of recitalists like Eva.<sup>clxxxix</sup> Turbide quotes from Ned Rorem, who wrote, “By 1959 there existed not one American singer—not one! —who was first and foremost a recitalist . . . those singers that attracted the public to a vocal-piano affair did so solely on their operatic fame.”<sup>cxo</sup> Indeed the disappearance of the song recitalist is a symptom of a growing culture of celebrity that produced a system of “star” conductors and performers in the classical music world.<sup>cxci</sup>

Although Eva was not, and never would be “famous,” she was respected in highbrow artistic circles for her musical integrity. In December 1949, she was honoured with a citation from the Campion Society, an organization named for the Elizabethan poet and composer Thomas Campion.<sup>cxcii</sup> John Edmunds founded it to present an annual festival of unfamiliar songs and develop “interest in the lesser known phases of song literature.”<sup>cxci</sup> Olin Downes reported the event in his *New York Times* column “This Week’s News and Comments Concerning Music” and took it as an opportunity to summarize all of Eva’s accomplishments and her uniqueness. He wrote:

She had devoted a lifetime to the study, performance and teaching of the best in song literature in all its phases, her open-mindedness and unorthodox enthusiasm having been initially responsible for the recognition of many vital and important composers. She has consistently followed the principle that the song involves poetry as well as music and

has required that both have esthetic significance in every work she has performed.<sup>cxiv</sup>

Indeed tributes to Eva were abundant. Olin Downes wrote, “She has met existence with the rarest courage and inexhaustible relish and would be as companionable on a desert island as at an exhibit of ultra-modern art.”<sup>cxv</sup> Her friends Stanley Paul Bigelow and Jordan Masse commented on her intellectual distinction, describing her as “a singer who knew why she sang and what she sang . . .”<sup>cxvi</sup> and praised her “rarest combination of warmth and sophistication.”<sup>cxvii</sup> A German newspaper described Eva as “a genuine musical being.”<sup>cxviii</sup> One of Eva’s closest friends, the composer Celius Dougherty, who was also her accompanist, once wrote to her: “My dear Gauthier—I have always believed everything you have told me in our too brief career together—except one thing—and that is that there is no one who cannot be replaced . . . New York hasn’t a substitute for you in any way, and I hope it doesn’t find it, because it is too undeserving . . .”<sup>cxix</sup>

In her later years, Eva maintained a strong presence in the art music world of New York, attending concerts and fundraisers. Arthur E. Knight wrote,

A familiar figure to be seen around New York City, especially at the finest musical events, is a tiny, white-haired lady beloved by collectors of great vocal recordings everywhere. Her name is Madame Eva Gauthier. It is a well-known fact that many concerts are incomplete until she arrives with her distinctive dress and queenly demeanor . . .<sup>cc</sup>

Along similar lines, Allan Hughes wrote that Eva was “one of the most familiar figures at interesting song recitals around town . . . a little doll-like lady with silvery white hair.”<sup>cci</sup> Philip Miller described Eva as a “Diminutive figure [with] intense black eyes, her white hair crowned with a striking hat.”<sup>ccii</sup>

Eva’s last years were marked by poor health. She suffered from diabetes and arteriosclerotic heart disease. In the final six months of her life, she required nursing care to provide her with daily urine examinations, injections of insulin several times a week, and oral medication for heart disease.<sup>cciii</sup> Her death on December 20, 1958, was followed by a funeral on Monday, December 29 at 2:30, in the Frank Campbell Chapel, at the corner of Madison Avenue and 81<sup>st</sup> Street in New York.

Turbide argues that no one has carried on Eva’s legacy as a performer. In 1953–1954, there were plans to put together a book of songs as a tribute to Eva Gauthier. However, due to copyright issues, the book was never published.<sup>cciv</sup> Nor do Eva’s recordings effectively represent her contributions to the music world. Throughout her career, Eva was not very active as a recording artist, more through a lack of opportunity than a choice on her part. In 1939, when she was presented on WQXR’s *Great Singers* series, the host Stephen Fassett introduced her saying, “Unfortunately for music lovers, the height of Mme. Gauthier’s career coincided with the period when recording companies were not willing to leave the

beaten track, and thus it is impossible for us to give you a fully adequate survey of her varied accomplishments in the field of song.<sup>ccv</sup>

Eva made few recordings, and only a small proportion of these went into circulation. Among her first recordings were French Canadian folksongs on the Victor label in 1916 and 1917. Earlier, in 1915, Columbia recorded two Javanese songs: “Ninah Boboh”<sup>ccvi</sup> and “Djika Begim,” along with a number of French songs.<sup>ccvii</sup> In 1938, the International Record Collectors’ Club reissued the 1915 recording of Nina Boboh. In 1937, Musicraft recorded Eva singing twenty-eight 12” singles of modern songs, including works by de Falla, Ravel, Debussy and Satie. Eva had copies of the test pressings only, which became worn out.<sup>ccviii</sup> In 1956, she wrote to Columbia records requesting that her Musicraft recordings be re-issued. The Director, David Oppenheim, replied that they were unable to do so at the time. In 1966, Town Hall issued a record of Eva Gauthier. It included six selections from the Musicraft recordings and six selections from the Columbia and Victor acoustic recordings of 1916 and 1917.<sup>ccix</sup> Currently, many pieces from the Victor recordings and the International Record Collectors’ Club’s Nina Boboh are available for streaming online at the “Virtual Gramophone,” the Library and Archives Canada music history website.<sup>ccx</sup>

Before she died, Eva made arrangements to donate her music and papers to the New York Public Library (NYPL). Carleton Sprague Smith of the NYPL wrote, on November 8, 1955, that the library would be “thrilled” to receive them. He

went on: “We will be most happy to have this material especially as you have had such significance for the musical history of the twentieth century.”<sup>ccxi</sup> Eva wished that her collection of music be named the “Gauthier Collection of Song,” however this never happened. Initially the acquisition was delayed because the library’s directors Philip Miller and John Edmunds hoped that a foundation would purchase the collection for the library and that the money could be used to ease Eva’s financial burdens.<sup>ccxii</sup> They also thought “the removal of her library [before her death] would have a very bad effect on her psychologically.”<sup>ccxiii</sup> After she died, her collection did go to the library; however, it is as yet unprocessed. Celius Dougherty, who was Eva’s primary caregiver in the last years of her illness, said he was “cross with [the music library] for ignoring Eva’s wishes to have her collection of music kept in tact, and given a special nook somewhere.”<sup>ccxiv</sup> It remains, however, the library’s intention to do so.

There were concerted attempts to produce Eva’s memoirs. Eva worked on her memoirs for over a decade. She also enlisted the help of friends, including Celius Dougherty, Vincent Ruzicka, Stanley Paul Bigelow and someone named Marie. Following her death, Ursula Toomey, a former student, friend and fellow vocal coach with whom Eva spent several summers in Vermont, started the task of writing Eva’s biography but abandoned it a few years later. The only complete life history of Eva is Nadia Turbide’s dissertation.



Back in 1938, Eva's ex-husband Frans suggested that Eva write her memoirs. He wrote to her: "It must be interesting to others to hear and read about you and your career; there are so many interesting episodes in your life."<sup>ccxv</sup> In 1941, Aaron Copland inquired whether his publisher—Whitsey House—would be interested in Eva's memoirs. Whitsey House responded that they would want to see part of her manuscript before they could promise publication. Copland passed this on to Eva, adding, "Naturally you know how wrong I think they are in not taking a chance on you—but there it is." He encouraged her to "keep hammering away."<sup>ccxvi</sup>

Whitsey House was only one of a sizeable number of publishers who expressed interest in Eva's biography. In 1953, both Alfred A. Knopf and Doubleday solicited her memoirs, as did Pierre Berton at *Macleans* magazine. Two years later, she had another offer from Merlin Press<sup>ccxvii</sup> and *Ladies Home Journal*.<sup>ccxviii</sup> All of these publishers wanted Eva to write her memoirs herself (i.e. they did not offer to provide her with a ghostwriter) and wanted to see a portion of the manuscript before they would give her a book contract.

Eva started working on her memoirs in earnest in 1953. She wrote to John Edmunds that she was working on an autobiography, which seems to have inspired her with a healthy dose of egotism: "What a job. I can't believe that I have accomplished so much and with such magnificent press. It's almost unbelievable," she wrote.<sup>ccxix</sup> A file amongst her collection of papers at the New

York Public Library appears to contain the product of this labour. It is filled with tiny notes for her memoirs on little ripped up bits of paper, often just names, dates, and places (Java, Paris, London, trip to Canada etc.) but sometimes information about composers and performers—when and where she had heard them and/or worked with them. With these papers is a clipping from an unknown source that describes a method for writing memoirs:

My system is to put down the idea for a chapter on a card, enlarge it to a half-sheet, then just go on enlarging and revising until finally I've found what I wanted, the style and the mood, the facts that must go in. Those facts that won't fit in the final version of the first chapter I chop out and pin onto the card for the second on so on. It is a plodding way, but that's the only way for me. I've learned that for me there are no short cuts. I'm professional.<sup>ccxx</sup>

The notes suggest that Eva was trying to emulate this method although she didn't seem to get very far.

Henry Simon of Simon and Schuster (another interested publisher) recognized that Eva might not be up to the task of writing her memoirs herself. He suggested:

What the job would seem to call for is a man who could devote full time, probably for the better part of a year, to going through your material, doing research on some of the backgrounds, very possibly traveling for some of it, and then writing, with your assistance, a book that will project yourself as a character against the enormously interesting series of

backgrounds against which you have lived a full life . . . This is a big menu, and the assignment calls for someone who is not merely at home in the world of music . . . but one who has had considerable experience in historical research, one who has lived in various parts of the world, and one who has proved literary capacity for projecting a time, a place, and above all a unique personality such as yours.

Still he suggested that Eva write a draft before seeking a professional writer.<sup>ccxxi</sup>

A friend, Stanley Paul Bigelow, helped Eva with her memoirs by writing a document titled “Notes on the Proposed Memoirs of Madame Eva Gauthier,” which seems more or less in line with the approach Simon thought she ought to take. He wrote, “To regard her memoirs as a mere record of a successful career in music, is to overlook their principle importance. They will be the record of the years of transition in the arts, of which music is only one, and of the years of transition in social and political ways of thought and behaviour.”<sup>ccxxii</sup> Bigelow’s notes are accompanied by a document titled “Chapter One” written in the first person, thus seemingly penned by Eva herself. The chapter misrepresents Eva as having had success in opera before embarking on her daring adventures in Asia. Other outright lies include being the niece of Wilfred Laurier, attending the Paris Conservatory, and claiming that Frans was the leader of the underground in Holland during WWII.

In a different document altogether she wrote that the intention of her memoir was “to show . . . how an artist makes his or her own career.”<sup>ccxxiii</sup> A woman named Marie, who described her credentials as having received an A in college writing, helped her create an outline, with an accompanying list of suggestions and inspiring quotations. The tentative title for the memoir was “With a Song From My Heart” by Eva Gauthier. Proposed chapter titles included: “Flight of a Lark,” “Land of Hope and Glory,” “Sunny Italy,” “Soaring with Song,” “Far East,” and “Teaching Made Fun.” The notes accompanying the chapters are equally whimsical and trite, for instance, “À Paris—what a magic phrase that is, especially to a young lady of fifteen”; and “A rainbow held out its shining hand, so what could I do but laugh and go.” The advice Marie dispensed (or that she and Eva came up with together) was “no bitterness or pettiness”; “a statement should pass three tests: it is true, kind and wise”; “paint your personalities with adjectives”; “say nice things that flatter”; and “make the book instructive as well as entertaining.”<sup>ccxxiv</sup>

As Eva’s health grew increasingly fragile, she paid Celius Dougherty and his friend Vincent Ruzicka a sum of \$500 each to carry on the work of writing her memoirs. The money came from a grant she received from the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>ccxxv</sup> This project was still in the works for Dougherty and Ruzicka when Ursula Toomey contacted them in the 1960s. Toomey was interested in gathering “intimate stories, about Eva’s private life and romances.”<sup>ccxxvi</sup> Dougherty admitted he knew nothing about, nor was he interested in, her personal

life. He wrote they were “busy with her program,” and he pointed out “in her last sad years there was enough for me to do getting the financial help she needed for her care.”<sup>ccxxvii</sup> Toomey eventually gave up but for a time she seemed determined to find someone who knew Eva’s “story.” She seemed to be motivated by her curiosity about certain things Eva had mentioned in passing while she was alive, particularly that she claimed she needed to be quiet about her personal life “because she didn’t want to hurt anyone”<sup>ccxxviii</sup> and that “the most dramatic events could not be told while certain ones she might hurt still lived.”<sup>ccxxix</sup>

In 1968 when Toomey asked Dougherty to contribute an appreciation of Eva to the memoirs, he refused saying, “I don’t think such things have too much value. Her life and achievement should speak for itself.”<sup>ccxxx</sup> Bigelow’s notes on Eva’s memoir echo this perspective. He wrote, “[Eva] has always been interested in life per se, and after all the crying after literary form and aesthetic principles is satisfied in the contemporary fashion, life per se remains the solid content, as it always has been, of all books of permanent value.”<sup>ccxxxi</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> For details about the Gauthier family background see Nadia Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier.”

<sup>ii</sup> Eva’s own biographical writing indicates that her mother bore 13 children. Turbide notes that only seven survived into adulthood. A website devoted to Gauthier genealogies lists five children born to Louis and Parmelia Gauthier: 4 girls – Eva, Juliette, Carmen and Claire; and 1 boy – Lyons. Indeed these are the names that arise in her correspondence.

<sup>iii</sup> Unpublished autobiography, n.d., Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, National Library of Canada (NCL).

<sup>iv</sup> Gilles Potvin and Nadia Turbide, “Gauthier, Eva,” *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com)

<sup>v</sup> According to Library and Archives Canada’s on-line Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Wilfred Laurier boarded at the home of Dr. Seraphin Gauthier, Eva’s grandfather, while a student at McGill in 1861, as did his future wife, Zoe Lafontaine, who was a piano teacher at the time. Seven years later, Zoe Lafontaine was engaged to another man. Evidently aware of Laurier’s interest in the matter, Dr. Gauthier contacted Laurier to relay this information. In response, Laurier rushed to Montreal to ask Zoe Lafontaine to marry him instead. The Association Gauthier tells a slightly different version, that Wilfred Laurier boarded in the home of Emma Gauthier-Coutu (Emma was the daughter of Phoebe Lyons, Eva’s grandmother, from her first marriage. Eva’s father Pierre was one of the ten children of Phoebe Lyons and Seraphin Gauthier – her second husband). The Association Gauthier also notes that the Lauriers employed Yvonne Gauthier-Coutu, the unmarried daughter of Emma, as Lady Zoë’s personal secretary when Laurier became Prime Minister in 1896. Yvonne, who would be Eva’s half cousin, lived with the Lauriers and was treated as both a salaried employee and a family member.

<sup>vi</sup> Nadia Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 23.

<sup>vii</sup> Notes on the Proposed Biography of Eva Gauthier, Stanley Paul Bigelow, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>viii</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 29.

<sup>ix</sup> Eva to her parents, 27 July 1902, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>x</sup> Eva to her parents, 2 July 1903, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>xi</sup> Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera*, 223.

<sup>xii</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 27.

<sup>xiii</sup> Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera*, 228.

<sup>xiv</sup> Eva to her parents, 2 July 1903, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>xv</sup> Unpublished diary, 1903, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>xvi</sup> Ibid.

<sup>xvii</sup> Eva to her parents, 13 November 1903, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>xviii</sup> Eva to Lady Laurier, 14 January 1904, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>xix</sup> Unpublished diaries (Box 13), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>xx</sup> Postcards (Box 1, file 2abc), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

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- xxi Eva to parents, 29 January 1904, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxii Eva to parents, 15 May 1903, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxiii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 42-43.
- xxiv Albani to Eva, 30 October 1905, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxv Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 47.
- xxvi Albani to Wilfred Laurier, 21 April 1905, and to Lady Laurier, 26 May 1905, Gauthier Collection, NYPL
- xxvii Lady Laurier to Albani, 15 May 1905, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxviii "Eva Gauthier, mezzo-soprano and voice teacher (1885-1958)," *The Virtual Gramophone*, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/m2-1009-e.html>
- xxix Ibid.
- xxx Albani to Lord Strathcona, 11 March 1908, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxi J.R. de Lamar to Eva, n.d. (Box 4, file 7), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 77.
- xxxiii Eva to her parents, 24 May 1909, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxiv Potvin and Turbide, "Gauthier, Eva," *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com)
- xxxv Promotional materials (1977-2, I, 10), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- xxxvi Eva to her parents, 1909 (Box 1, file 2c), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxvii Eva to her parents, 1909 (1977-2,I,1), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- xxxviii Eva Gauthier, "On the Edge of Opera."
- xxxix Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera*, 168.
- xl Contract between Eva Gauthier and the Grand Opera Syndicate, Ltd, Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, May-June 1910. Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xli Gauthier, "On the Edge of Opera"
- xlii Eva to her parents, 9 June 1910, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xliiii Albani to Eva, 16 June 1910, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xliv Bouhy to Eva, 19 June 1910, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xlv Contract with Bains des Mer d'Ostende, 12 June 1910 and Bains des Mer de Schevingue, 13 August 1910, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xlvi Eva to her parents, unknown date (Box 1, file 2c) Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xlvii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 125.
- xlviii Ibid.
- xlix Clippings and publications (1977-2, II, 2), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>l</sup> Eva to her parents, 16 July 1912 and 19 November 1913, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>li</sup> Eva to her parents, 11 June 1912, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lii</sup> Ursula Toomey, unpublished biographical notes on Eva Gauthier, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>liii</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 125.
- <sup>liv</sup> Press Notices, Straits and China Tour, 1911, G. Kolff & Co. Bandoeng – Java, Eva Gauthier fonds, Library and Archives Canada (LAC).

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- <sup>lv</sup> Ursula Toomey, unpublished biographical notes on Eva Gauthier, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Note in Eva's handwriting, 19 February 1911, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Eva to her parents, 11 June 1912, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lviii</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>lix</sup> Eva to her parents, 10 November 1913, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lx</sup> This was the Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst. See Kunst, *Indonesian Music and Dance: Traditional Music and Its Interaction with the West* (a compilation of articles [1934-1952] originally published in Dutch). Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1994.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, *Java: The Garden of the East*, 56.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Augusta De Wit, *Facts and Fancies about Java*, 161.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Jennifer Lindsay, *Javanese Gamelan*, 38-40.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 126-127.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Eva to her parents, 11 June 1912, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Eva to her parents, 10 November 1913 and 10 January 1914, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 536.
- <sup>lxix</sup> Eva to her parents, 10 January 1914, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxx</sup> Eva to her parents, 10 November 1913, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> "Mlle. Eva Gauthier: Music in the East," Clippings and Publications, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Eva to her parents, 10 January 1914, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> *Ibid.* and Eva to her parents 8 April 1914, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> Eva to her parents, 13 April 1914, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> Yvonne Beaudry, "The Canadian Who Discovered Gershwin," *Mayfair*, May 1958.
- <sup>lxxvi</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 151.
- <sup>lxxvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.
- <sup>lxxviii</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>lxxix</sup> "Javanese and Malay Folk Songs Presented," *Musical America*, January 9, 1915.
- <sup>lxxx</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 155-156.
- <sup>lxxxii</sup> Notes on the Proposed Biography of Eva Gauthier, Stanley Paul Bigelow, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxxiii</sup> Notes on the Proposed Biography of Eva Gauthier, Stanley Paul Bigelow, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.



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- lxxxiii "To Put on Javanese Act," *New York City Telegraph*, August 24, 1915.
- lxxxiv "81<sup>st</sup> St. Theater," *Variety*, September 3, 1915.
- lxxxv Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 150.
- lxxxvi in Davis, Janet M. "Freakishly, Fraudulently Modern" *American Quarterly* 55.3 (2003), 532.
- lxxxvii "81<sup>st</sup> St. Theater," *Variety*, September 3, 1915.
- lxxxviii Review in *St. Louis Times*, October 18, 1915, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- lxxxix Review in *St. Louis Star*, October 18, 1915, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xc Hugh H. Huhn, "An Act of Original Interest" *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xc1 "Orpheum Bill All Next Week," unknown source, December 7, 1915, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xcii Review in the *Winnipeg Free Press Bulletin*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xciii Review in the *Portland Oregonian*, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xciv "Orpheum Prima Donna is One of Noted Family," unknown source and date, and a review in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xcv Huhn, "An Act of Original Interest."
- xcvi "Music" *The Vogue*, New York, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xcvii Clipping, unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xcviii "Orpheum Prima Donna is One of Noted Family"
- xcix Ibid.
- c "Orpheum," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 9, 1916.
- ci Review in the *New York Evening Journal*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- cii "Eva Gauthier, Partner of Nila Devi, Owners of Unusual Scenery" unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- ciii Ibid.
- civ Review in the *Milwaukee Free Press*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- cv Review in the *Winnipeg Free Press Evening Bulletin*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- cvi Review in the *Milwaukee Free Press*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- cvii Review in the *Sioux City Daily News*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- cviii Review in the *Fresno Republic*, January 29, 1916, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- cix "Orpheum Bill Burns Bright and Entertaining," *The Colorado Springs Gazette*, February 29, 1916.

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- <sup>cx</sup> From January 22, 1916.
- <sup>cx<sup>i</sup></sup> “Victor Morley’s Orpheum Act Novel” unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>ii</sup></sup> Review in *The Kansas City Times*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>iii</sup></sup> “Orpheum Bill Good: Good Singer, Good Dancer,” unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>iv</sup></sup> Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>v</sup></sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 162.
- <sup>cx<sup>vi</sup></sup> *Ibid.*, 242.
- <sup>cx<sup>vii</sup></sup> David Mannes Music School to Eva, 21 November 1916, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>viii</sup></sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 171.
- <sup>cx<sup>ix</sup></sup> “World of Music Pays Tribute to Ottawa Singer,” *Ottawa Citizen*, April 7 1923.
- <sup>cx<sup>x</sup></sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>cx<sup>xi</sup></sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 68.
- <sup>cx<sup>xii</sup></sup> Jack Coles to Eva, 25 April 1920, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>xiii</sup></sup> Amy Beach to Eva, 17 March 1925, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>xiv</sup></sup> For a discussion of this event see Abby Gayl Lillethun, “Batik in America: Javanese to Javanese, 1893-1937” Ph.D. diss. Ohio State University. 2002.
- <sup>cx<sup>xv</sup></sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 68.
- <sup>cx<sup>xvi</sup></sup> Henry W. Levinger, “The Roaring Twenties,” *Musical Courier*, February 1, 1955.
- <sup>cx<sup>xvii</sup></sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>cx<sup>xviii</sup></sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>cx<sup>xix</sup></sup> Susan Noyes Platt, *Modernism in the 1920s*, 1.
- <sup>cx<sup>xx</sup></sup> Glen MacLeod, “The Visual Arts,” 207.
- <sup>cx<sup>xxi</sup></sup> On that trip she was requested by John Adams, President of the Music League of America (Eva’s management agency) to negotiate with Ravel regarding an American concert tour. She was authorized to offer him 25 concerts at a rate of up to \$250 per concert. Letter to Eva from John Adams, 14 May 1920, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cx<sup>xxii</sup></sup> “Eva Gauthier – New York and Celebrity,” *The Virtual Gramophone*, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/gramophone/m2-1009-e.html>
- <sup>cx<sup>xxiii</sup></sup> Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 157.
- <sup>cx<sup>xxiv</sup></sup> *Ibid.*, 178.
- <sup>cx<sup>xxv</sup></sup> *Ibid.*, 187.
- <sup>cx<sup>xxvi</sup></sup> *Ibid.*, 4.
- <sup>cx<sup>xxvii</sup></sup> *Ibid.*, 198.
- <sup>cx<sup>xxviii</sup></sup> For her Pro Musica concert she sang songs of Charles T. Griffes and Wintter Watts at Carnegie Hall, March 5, 1923. The American Music Guild concert featured songs by Alexander Steinart and Clifford Vaughan, March 7, 1923 at Town Hall (Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 367-404).
- <sup>cx<sup>xxix</sup></sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 431

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- <sup>cxl</sup> Oja, “Appendix: Programs of Modern-Music Societies in New York, 1920-1931,” *Making Music Modern*, 367-407. One exception, however, was the New York debut of Schoenberg’s *Pierrot Lunaire* put on by the International Composer’s Guild. Eva was their first choice but she declined the role.
- <sup>cxli</sup> This concert is ubiquitous in descriptions of Eva’s career. For example, *Mayfair*, May 1939, described Eva (in a headline) as “The Canadian Who Discovered Gershwin.” Her obituary in the *Toronto Daily Star* had the headline “First to Sing Jazz Eva Gauthier Dies” (December 27, 1958).
- <sup>cxlii</sup> An example of how it is a connection to Gershwin that puts Eva on the map is in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* (July 3, 1948) describing G. Robert Vincent’s Voice Library at Yale University. The article notes that the archive contains the “vocal autograph” of Eva Gauthier who is described as the “mezzo-soprano who introduced the music of George Gershwin to concert audiences.”
- <sup>cxliii</sup> Robert Wyatt, “The Seven Jazz Preludes of George Gershwin,” 70.
- <sup>cxliv</sup> Unpublished manuscript about George Gershwin (1977-2, I,12), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>cxlv</sup> Neil Leonard, *Jazz and the White Americans*, 13. Leonard identifies New Orleans as the birthplace of jazz, and argues that jazz reflects the cultural and racial background of New Orleans (as opposed to New York City). He writes, “In New Orleans, and elsewhere in the South, musical ideas from different sources jostled one another constantly. There was an easy exchange of material according to the whims and tastes of the performer and his audience. Developing in this environment, jazz borrowed from, among other things, Protestant hymns, British ballads, Spanish songs and Afro-Spanish rhythms, French quadrilles and marches, various West African rhythms and melodic elements found in spirituals, the blues, work songs and field hollers.” (11-12).
- <sup>cxlvi</sup> Mary Heron Dupree, “Jazz, the Critics and American Art Music,” 287.
- <sup>cxlvii</sup> Leonard, *Jazz and the White Americans*, 10.
- <sup>cxlviii</sup> Unpublished manuscript about George Gershwin (1977-2, I,12), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>cxlix</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>cl</sup> Edward Jablonski to Eva, 12 May 1951, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cli</sup> Ira Gershwin to Eva, 3 April 1941, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>clii</sup> Jesse Lasky to Eva, 9 September 1943, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cliii</sup> Turbide notes that it was announced that she was doing Java to Jazz in Berlin but in the end she replaced the jazz songs with Baroque and classical arias. While in Berlin, Eva took lessons with Anna Schoen-Rene. Turbide speculates that Schoen-Rene might have been the reason why Eva started to include works of the late Renaissance, Baroque and classical periods in her repertoire (Turbide, 329).
- <sup>cliv</sup> “Java to Jazz,” unknown source, May 13, 1925, (1977-2, II, 4), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>clv</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>clvi</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 350-357.
- <sup>clvii</sup> Untitled, *London Daily Telegraph*, May 25, 1925, (1977-2, II, 4), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

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- clviii “World of Music Pays Tribute to Ottawa Singer,” *Ottawa Citizen*, April 7, 1923.
- clix Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 362.
- clx In June 1928 Eva was presented to the Royal Court in England. A letter from the Office of the High Commission instructs her on this ceremonious affair: that she was to arrive in “good style” in a hired car, remain in a waiting area adjacent to the Throne Room until her turn, at which point she would give her card to Lord Chamberlain who would announce her name, and Eva would curtsy before the King and Queen. (Letter to Eva from the Office of the High Commissioner, June 1928, Gauthier Collection, NYPL).
- clxi Bouhy to Eva, 11 April, 10 May and 24 May 1928, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxii Eva to Mackenzie-King, n.d. Prime Minister’s Fonds, King, William Lyon Mackenzie (MG26 J1 Vol. 162 reel C2309), LAC.
- clxiii Eva eventually naturalized in the United States (Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 410).
- clxiv Turbide notes that an undated letter from Celius Dougherty during this period refers to Eva having begun “vending antiques” (Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 383).
- clxv Walter Kramer to Eva, 22 November 1929, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxvi Eva to her parents, 2 March 1931, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NCL.
- clxvii Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 386.
- clxviii *Ibid.*, 586-581.
- clxix Untitled, *New York Herald-Tribune*, July 3, 1931, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NCL.
- clxx Eva to her parents, 16 April 1931, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NCL.
- clxxi Paul Seelig to Eva, 1928 (Box 10), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxii Eva to her parents, 2 August 2 1931, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NCL.
- clxxiii Office of the Dean, Julliard School to Eva, 21 February 1929, and Josef Hofman, Director of the Curtis Institute of Music to Eva, 23 February 1929, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxiv Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 463.
- clxxv *Ibid.*, 410.
- clxxvi document in LAC MUS 81 1977-2, VI, 17.
- clxxvii Incorporation of the Eva Gauthier Foundation (1977-2, II, 5), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NCL.
- clxxviii Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 426.
- clxxix Kenneth Bindas, *All of This Music Belongs to the Nation*, ix-x.
- clxxx Bindas, x.
- clxxxi Bindas, 1.
- clxxxii Bindas, 86.
- clxxxiii “Eva Gauthier Sings at the Hotel Gotham,” *New York Sun*, December 9, 1936.

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- clxxxiv Program for “Three Retrospective Concerts Given by Eva Gauthier” excerpt from Lawrence Gilman in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, December 30, 1929, Eva Gauthier fonds, LAC.
- clxxxv She gave a series of concerts in small town Quebec in 1918; Sherbrooke in 1919; Lachine, Quebec City and Trois-Rivieres in 1921.
- clxxxvi Potvin and Turbide, “Gauthier, Eva,” *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com)
- clxxxvii Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 399.
- clxxxviii Eva to her parents, 17 March 1938, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- clxxxix Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 518.
- cxci Ibid.
- cxci See Joseph Horowitz, *The Post Classical Predicament*.
- cxcii Literature from the Campion Society (1977-2, I, 16), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- cxciiii Unpublished biographical sketch of John Edmunds (Box 5), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxciiv Olin Downes, “This Week’s News and Comments Concerning Music,” *The New York Times*, December 6, 1936.
- cxcev Quoted in *Hobbies – The Magazine for Collectors*, September, 1938.
- cxcevi Notes on the Proposed Memoirs of Eva Gauthier, Stanley Paul Bigelow, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- cxcevi Short tribute to Eva by Jordan Masse (1977-2, I, 14), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- cxceviiii Berlin Allgemeine Zeitung, Sept, 17, 1926 (reprinted in Arthur Judson publicity materials), Eva Gauthier fonds, LAC.
- cxciix Celius Dougherty to Eva, no date (Box 4, file 7), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cc “Eva Gauthier” by Arthur E. Knight, unknown source (Box 14, file 11), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cci Allen Hughes, “Eva Gauthier Song Society Heard in Donnell Library,” unknown source (1977-2, II, 5), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- ccii Philip Miller, biography of Eva Gauthier (liner notes) *Joy of Singing*, vol. 3, Town Hall, New York, 1966.
- cciii Dr. Robert McGrath “To Whom It May Concern,” 8 May 1958, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cciv Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 480. In 1948, 10 American composers (Ernst Bacon, Theodore Chanler, Celius Dougherty, John Duke, John Edmunds, Normand Lockwood, Paul Nordoff, Ned Rorem, Virgil Thomas, Wintter Watts) presented Eva with a “Garland of Song” at a special party in her honour. Each composer contributed a song or two. It was also never published (Turbide, 3).
- ccv Script for “Great Singers Series No. 5: Eva Gauthier” by Stephen Fassett, WQXR, March 2, 1939.
- ccvi “Nina Boboh”, a Malay slumber song, is supposedly popular with the Javanese as well as the Dutch, “as every white child born on the island has been put to

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sleep by the baboo (native nurse who is similar to the Negro mammies of the South). They are veritable slaves to the child, never leaving it night or day. She calls every little girl Nina as the Dutch names are too difficult for her to pronounce” (from the International Record Collector’s Club, Bulletin No. 75, September 1938)

<sup>ccvii</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 664.

<sup>ccviii</sup> Ibid., 434, 664-665.

<sup>ccix</sup> Turbide, p.434.

<sup>ccx</sup> Potvin and Turbide also note that in “1987 RCI issued a cassette (RCI 642) featuring the mezzo-soprano Linda Bennett (Maguire), with Michael McMahon at the piano, in a recital recreating part of Gauthier's 1923 recital at Aeolian Hall.” (“Gauthier, Eva,” *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com))

<sup>ccxi</sup> Carleton Sprague Smith to Eva, 8 November 1955, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxii</sup> John Edmunds to Celius Dougherty, 8 May 1958, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxiii</sup> Ibid.

<sup>ccxiv</sup> Celius Dougherty to Ursula Toomey, 10 March 1968, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxv</sup> Frans to Eva, September 21 1938, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxvi</sup> Aaron Copland to Eva, 11 June 1949, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxvii</sup> Doubleday & Co. to Eva, 2 March 1953, Alfred A. Knopf to Eva, 4 March 1953, and Merlin Press to Eva, 17 June 1955, Gauthier Collection, NYPL. Pierre Berton letter referred to by Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 482.

<sup>ccxviii</sup> *Ladies Home Journal* to Eva, 4 and 14 March 1955, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxix</sup> Eva to John Edmunds, 8 July 1953, Karel Weiss Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxx</sup> Clipping (Box 2, file 5), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxxi</sup> Henry Simon to Eva, 20 February 1957, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxxii</sup> Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxxiii</sup> Documents (Box 14, file 11), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxxiv</sup> Ibid.

<sup>ccxxv</sup> Written contract between Eva and Celius Dougherty and Vincent Ruzika, May 1958, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

<sup>ccxxvi</sup> Ursula Toomey to Celius Dougherty, 2 January 1968, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxxvii</sup> Celius Dougherty to Ursula Toomey, 10 March 1968, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxxviii</sup> Ursula Toomey to Celius Dougherty, 2 January 1968, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxxix</sup> Ursula Toomey to M. Kolodin, n.d. (1977-2, II, 8), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

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<sup>ccxxx</sup> Celius Dougherty to Ursula Toomey, April 1968, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

<sup>ccxxxii</sup> Notes on the Proposed Biography of Eva Gauthier, Stanley Paul Bigelow, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

## Chapter Two

### Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye: a “perfect folklore concert artist” in cultural context

Juliette was Eva’s younger sister by three years. Like Eva, she was considered musically talented, so she took up the violin. Due to her outstanding abilities, she had the opportunity to study at Montreal’s Conservatory of Music in 1907. As they had with Eva, the Lauriers wished to support Juliette in her musical pursuits. Lady Laurier wrote to Eva, “J’espère donner à Juliette ton dernier cent piastres pour commencer ses études au Conservatoire de Montréal. Si je dois te les envoyer, ton père sera obligé d’en payer . . .” In other words, as Lady Laurier saw it, it was time for Eva to “tirer d’affaire [soi]-même”<sup>i</sup> and let her sister develop her skills with the same financial support that she had enjoyed.

While training at the Montreal Conservatory, Juliette received a scholarship from Lord Strathcona to study music in Europe. Following Eva’s advice, she went to study in Hungary with the violin master Jenő Hubay. Shortly after, Juliette gave up the violin to pursue vocal studies with the esteemed Vincenzo Lombardi in Florence, Italy.

In Florence, Juliette became engaged to be married. When Eva heard the news she was less than enthusiastic. She wrote to their parents: “Est fiancée, avec qui? Est-



ce un étranger, quelqu'un avec une bonne position, mais si c'est avec un Italien pour l'amour de dieu empêche qu'elle fasse cette bêtise car elle le regrettera toute sa vie. Si elle peut trouver quelqu'un de bien au Canada, c'est ce qu'elle peut faire de mieux."<sup>ii</sup> An article in *Macleans* magazine confirmed that the fiancé was Italian but notes "the marriage has been postponed because of Italy's requiring him in his military capacity."<sup>iii</sup> There was no further mention of the mystery fiancé; possibly he was killed. Juliette never married.

The circumstances of Juliette's transition from violinist to singer are unclear. The *Macleans* article explained, "Her voice was too precious a gift to be left untouched."<sup>iv</sup> It is possible that Juliette saw the potential of succeeding where Eva had not, namely in opera. However, Juliette did not fare any better in her operatic aspirations than Eva, even less so in fact. There is no evidence of any correspondence between the two sisters while they were trying to embark on their careers, but they shared information through correspondence with their parents. In this manner, Eva advised Juliette to debut as soon as possible, once she thought she was ready,<sup>v</sup> suggesting that Eva might have had misgivings about her own delayed debut.

Eva was also convinced that Juliette should take a stage name. She wrote: "C'est dommage qu'elle n'ait pas un nom de théâtre car il se trouve [qu'il y a] un autre Gauthier dans le meme théâtre . . . s'il n'est pas trop tard elle devrait changer son nom. Car aussi pour moi et elle cela sera mieux."<sup>vi</sup> In this comment, Eva was not

referring to herself (in the third person) rather another Gauthier that she too had come across while in Paris and London. Eva felt it was too late for her to change her name, whereas for Juliette, who had yet to debut, it was not.

On the one hand, Eva seemed optimistic about Juliette's career because she had the impression that Juliette's teacher, Vincenzo Lombardi, had taken a special interest in her sister. Eva believed that her own career suffered because her teacher, Jacques Bouhy, was not more invested in her. While she blamed his lack of interest for all her "déboires," she attributed her successes entirely to her own work and the influence of Emma Albani.<sup>vii</sup> On the other hand, Eva seemed skeptical about how Juliette would fare in the very competitive world of opera. She wrote: "je suis bien curieuse [de voir] comment elle va se débrouiller avec toutes les autres artistes, quels rôles on lui donnera . . ." She also warned that Juliette would still face financial uncertainty as she was getting her start and suggested that she would continue need assistance from Lord Strathcona. She explained to her parents that in order to be financially self-sufficient one had to make a name for oneself singing important roles that garner much acclaim.<sup>viii</sup> Eva would know this from her own experiences and failures.

In 1912, Juliette was planning a debut in the Boston Opera. However, it never happened because the contract Juliette signed was for the role of understudy. Eva expressed surprise and disbelief that Juliette could have made such a career faux pas. She wrote, "je comprenais pas qu'elle ait pu signer un contrat comme

“comprimaria” [understudy] car elle sait assez l’italien pour savoir ce que cela veut dire.”<sup>ix</sup> Indeed it meant that Juliette never had the opportunity to sing in Boston.

The typical path for an aspiring prima donna was to debut in a leading role in a small theatre, and then build a reputation from there. According to Juliette, Lombardi discouraged her from taking a role in a small theatre. The fact that Juliette followed this advice signaled to Eva her sister’s naïveté (she told her parents, “Toutes les plus grandes artistes du monde ont commencé comme cela”) as well as Juliette’s tendency “à trop écouter les compliments de tout le monde,” which perhaps made Juliette believe that she could become a star in a big company overnight. There is evidence that Juliette felt deceived by the Boston Opera. However, Eva wrote, “la nouvelle que Juliette n’a pas chanté à Boston ne m’a pas surprise.” She advised her parents that Juliette should not be discouraged “si elle a vraiment du talent.” But she also pointed out that Juliette had no money and no influence “avec le plus grand talent du monde” (as Eva had had with Emma Albani. She wrote: “sans doute que moi si je n’avais pas eu Mme. Albani je ne serais pas mieux arrivée que Juliette.”).<sup>x</sup> Acknowledging Juliette’s difficult position, Eva wrote, “C’est bien dommage qu’elle ait laissé son violon.”<sup>xi</sup>

With no prospects in opera, Eva believed Juliette should pursue a career as a music teacher, giving singing lessons as well as teaching the violin. Eva pointed out, “Elle peut gagner sa vie très bien de cette manière . . . après tout, elle a eu

deux des plus grands maîtres pour [le] violon et [le] chant.”<sup>xii</sup> There is little information about how Juliette spent the next decade or so of her life. It is likely that she returned to Ottawa (particularly around WWI), as it is likely that she commenced a teaching career. Later, Juliette joined Eva in New York, teaching music at the Greenwich Music School.<sup>xiii</sup>

In 1926, Juliette began her stage career as a Canadian folk singer. Despite her lack of success with the Boston Opera, Juliette’s publicity materials described her as “putting aside the assured success of a career in grand opera” in order to dedicate herself to the interpretation of Canadian music.<sup>xiv</sup> She changed her name from Juliette Gauthier to Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye, claiming to be related to the explorer Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye.<sup>xv</sup> This name change, occurring at the beginning of her career as a folksinger, provided a metaphorical association with exploration and discovery. It was part of her attempt to situate herself as an explorer and pathfinder in the world of music.

Juliette’s folkloric performances emphasized “authenticity” which she believed she achieved by trying to recreate the songs’ original context in a concert setting, through costumes and stage design, and by using “primitive” instruments. Her dedication to authenticity led to her to combine a performance career with field research. Her recitals often incorporated lecture presentations and ethnographic films, which reflect a desire on her part to create greater awareness of Canada’s folk cultures, rather than to provide musical entertainment only.

Juliette's earliest recital as a folksinger seems to have been at the MacDowell Club, in New York, in January 1926. However, she had been learning folk music for years prior to this stage appearance, starting from the point she made the acquaintance of Marius Barbeau, an ethnologist at the National Museum of Canada. It is possible that Juliette became aware of Barbeau and his work on French-Canadian folksongs when, in 1919, he and fellow folklorist Edouard-Zotique Massicotte staged two concerts in Montreal called "Veillées du Bon Temps." These concerts, sponsored by the Société Historique de Montreal, presented the French-Canadian informants of Barbeau and Massicotte, as well as trained musicians who sang "art arrangements" of folk music, including Lorraine Wyman the well-known American folksinger.<sup>xvi</sup>

There is evidence of correspondence between Barbeau and Juliette, beginning in the latter half of 1925. Juliette's emerging folksong repertoire was dependent on the folklore material collected by Barbeau. Her letters to him consisted of requests for songs and expressions of gratitude for all he had done for her. Not only did Barbeau provide her with French-Canadian music, but also "Indian" and "Eskimo" music (that had been transcribed in Western musical notation) collected by his colleagues at the National Museum, Edward Sapir and Diamond Jenness. Juliette's move toward Canadian folk music seemed to be rooted in aesthetic appreciation. She told Barbeau that she found the Nootka songs collected by Sapir "interesting and lovely," certain among them "almost Highbrow in character."<sup>xvii</sup>

The Eskimo melodies collected by Jenness struck her as “so rich and wonderful in sentimentality.” She described “The Weather Incantations” as “so spooky.”<sup>xxviii</sup>

Juliette sought to render these qualities in her interpretations.

Juliette’s interest in folk music also seemed wrapped up in a sense of patriotism. She told Barbeau, “I am very happy to be able to sing songs of my own country and to try to honour your work . . . it is marvelous to think of all you have done for Canada and its folk lore.”<sup>xxix</sup> All of her efforts went into building up a repertoire that was exclusively Canadian. For instance, she described American Indian music as “of small value” compared to what is available in Canada.<sup>xx</sup>

The relationship between Juliette and Barbeau was mutually beneficial in the sense that her recitals introduced Barbeau’s work to a broader American public, and to key individuals like American composer Marion Bauer, who was a friend of Juliette’s. Bauer and Juliette bonded over a shared interest in French-Canadian folksongs. According to Juliette, Bauer was “very taken” with Barbeau’s “entire collection” of folksongs. She composed viola and oboe arrangements for several of his songs,<sup>xxi</sup> which Juliette incorporated into her repertoire. Bauer found Juliette’s singing of these melodies “not only authoritative but extremely artistic and beautiful.”<sup>xxii</sup>

Juliette’s affiliation with Bauer also speaks to the legitimacy of Juliette’s position within the New York music world. Although Juliette often expressed disdain for

New York in her letters to Barbeau (“I hate NY and all the false people, and artificial atmosphere in general,”<sup>xxiii</sup>) as well as the desire to be in Canada or Europe, New York, was a good place for her to be in 1926, and she made significant inroads there.

Juliette enjoyed recognition by some of the most eminent figures in the music world, notably Walter Damrosch, conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra. Damrosch wrote a letter of introduction for her that she quoted in her publicity materials. It praised her for “creating a field all her own in this overcrowded world of music.” He continued:

I have never heard anything more charming and fascinating than her renditions of French-Canadian folk songs, and the fascinating chants of the Eskimo Indians. She has discovered a veritable treasure, and sings these songs with all the skill of a great artist, and with a highly sympathetic voice, accompanying herself with a kind of zither, or an Eskimo drum.<sup>xxiv</sup>

One of her most important New York contacts was Viljamur Stefansson, the well-known, Canadian-born Arctic explorer and anthropologist. Stefansson traveled extensively in the Arctic between the years 1906 and 1918, when he settled in New York City to work as an author and lecturer. Stefansson most likely heard of Juliette through either Barbeau or Jenness, an old colleague who accompanied Stefansson on his Arctic expedition in 1913–1916. According to Barbeau, when

Juliette and Stefansson first met (perhaps in early 1926) Juliette made an impression on Stefansson despite the fact that Juliette believed him to be “not an easy person to win.”<sup>xxv</sup> Stefansson’s high regard for Juliette was the basis for a friendship that lasted for decades. He advanced her career by giving her letters of introduction for his friends and colleagues, from places such as Harvard (Stefansson’s alma mater),<sup>xxvi</sup> and the Museum of Natural History in New York. In June 1926, Stefansson arranged for Juliette to sing for officials at the Museum of Natural History, including the founder of American anthropology Franz Boas.<sup>xxvii</sup>

Juliette had a good standing with the Museum of Natural History, so they were willing to lend her items for her recitals. This was important to Juliette because a feature of her “realistic” performance was wearing authentic aboriginal garments lent by museums. Dr. Clark Wissler of the Museum of Natural History wrote a letter recommending her to the Field Museum in Chicago: “I have always found Miss Gauthier’s presentations authentic in every way.” He deemed her recitals “of a decidedly intellectual cast.”<sup>xxviii</sup>

Stefansson also helped Juliette learn Eskimo music; and he saw in Juliette much potential. He reported to Barbeau that “[Juliette’s] singing makes a great hit in New York. It is a sure fire with the high brows and even pleases the low brows—and it is real Eskimo, not merely based on their music but is actually their music,



in the sense that a well-taught American singer is giving us French music when she sings French songs in good French.”<sup>xxix</sup>

By 1927, Juliette seemed to have achieved a respectable degree of success. Her correspondence with Barbeau gives the impression that she was quite in demand. She wrote, “I do not know how and where I am going to fulfill all the concerts and theatre engagements offered me of late . . . I am doing so much work at present. Hardly have time to eat.”<sup>xxx</sup> Her recitals were enthusiastically received, according to Juliette, especially by male audience members; women, in her opinion, were “always too sedate and white gloved!”<sup>xxxi</sup> At one of her recitals, Leopold Stokowski, conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, fell under “the spell” of her “wonderful singing.” Stokowski arranged for Juliette to make two recordings for the Victor label. (Victor Records no. 223111 and no. 22329—educational list no. 80.)<sup>xxxii</sup> These recordings received a favourable review in the *Phonograph Monthly Review* in August 1930.<sup>xxxiii</sup> In February 1927, Juliette also told Barbeau that she made trial gramophone records for Columbia.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

Juliette’s success in 1927 culminated in an appearance at Town Hall in New York. This was the first major event of Juliette’s career as a Canadian folk singer. Her programme included Eskimo, Indian and French-Canadian music, supplied by Barbeau. While preparing for the concert, Juliette was particularly excited about her Eskimo repertoire, which she planned to sing with the accompaniment of an Eskimo drum only. She wrote to Barbeau: “It will create quite a sensation

this Eskimo music. It is really very beautiful to one who understands music and anthropology. Personally I am very taken with it all and just love being an Eskimo! . . . I am afraid I shall be in every paper of New York after this. It is all too extraordinary.”<sup>xxxv</sup>

During the planning of the Town Hall recital, Juliette met John Murray Gibbon, the General Publicity Agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR)<sup>xxxvi</sup>, whose role was to encourage tourism in Canada. In this regard, Gibbon saw the promotion of folk culture and the patronage of Canadian art as part of CPR’s agenda.<sup>xxxvii</sup> As a result, Gibbon has a lasting legacy as a cultural leader in Canada, particularly as someone who worked for “harmony between the culturally diverse peoples of Canada.”<sup>xxxviii</sup>

When Juliette first met Gibbon she deemed him a “good old Scotchman.”<sup>xxxix</sup> They ate at a Russian restaurant and he attended a recital she gave at the Jannus Roerich Museum in New York—a performance she planned with the help of Stefansson. Gibbon saw a publicity opportunity in Juliette and decided to underwrite her Town Hall concert as a “stunt for advertising” an upcoming Folk Song Festival in Quebec in May that he and Barbeau were planning together, and that would feature Juliette as one of the main attractions.<sup>xl</sup> Gibbon’s biographer, Bret Kines, writes, “in sponsoring [Juliette’s Town Hall] concert, Gibbon took a calculated risk in testing public response to, and audience acceptance of [Canadian folk music].”<sup>xli</sup>

Barbeau concurred with Gibbon's plan to use Juliette's concert for advertising and told Gibbon, "I found on previous occasions that giving a concert of Canadian things in New York served as our best Canadian publicity for similar concerts that were to follow later in Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa."<sup>xlii</sup> Stefansson agreed to introduce Juliette's Town Hall program with a lecture, which pleased Gibbon because he thought Stefansson's lecture together with the participation of the Arthur Hartmann Quartet (which Gibbon secured) would be "a very strong program." "As we are advertising thoroughly," Gibbon wrote, "I think we can count on a very good house."<sup>xliii</sup>

Much thought went into the staging of Juliette's Town Hall concert. The American artist W. Langdon Kihn agreed to paint scenery for her recital. Kihn, whose work concentrated on American Indian portraiture, had accompanied Barbeau on fieldwork expeditions to the Northwest and the Prairies. Many of his sketches that documented aboriginal life in Canada were displayed in the National Museum. He also illustrated Barbeau's book *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*.<sup>xliv</sup> Juliette was excited about the collaboration with Kihn and about the portrait he was making of her "in Eskimo attire."<sup>xlv</sup>

Juliette was preoccupied with having appropriate costumes for Town Hall. "It is so important to have authentic clothes," she wrote to Barbeau. For Juliette, borrowing garments from museums was less than ideal. She complained to

Barbeau: “I have to borrow, give back and reborrow continually and live in fear of not having what I need.”<sup>xlvi</sup> For Town Hall, she was upset that her Eskimo costume was “shabby”<sup>xlvi</sup> and that she needed to “improvise a Nootka costume.”<sup>xlvi</sup> Because Juliette saw herself as a representative of the anthropological work being done in Canada, Juliette believed that the Canadian government “ought to see that I am properly clad.”<sup>xlvi</sup> This was not the case, however, and the National Museum refused to lend her items for her Town Hall recital. Barbeau could not help her with this matter. Juliette needed permission from the Museum’s director Diamond Jenness. Barbeau suggested that she write Jenness “pour tenter une nouvelle chance.” Otherwise, he wrote, “tout ce qu’il y aurait à faire . . . ce serait de les voler pour vous, et je ne serais prêt à le faire que si vous consentiez à venir en prison avec moi!”<sup>1</sup>

Because Juliette’s Town Hall recital was intended to be an educational soirée, her songs were not only contextualized by Stefansson’s lecture but also by short ethnographic films. The films were screened while Juliette changed costumes between groups of songs.<sup>li</sup> Juliette was excited about including films in her recital. She wrote, “So many are against the pictures and think it will cheapen the recital. I personally do not mind and can’t wait to see them as I understand their great value.”<sup>lii</sup> Gibbon saw the inclusion of film as a key publicity opportunity for the CPR. The Town Hall recital included one called *Quebec Folk Festival*, produced by the Associated Screen News, a company that had Gibbon on its Board of Directors. According to Lynda Jessup, *Quebec Folk Festival* was produced

explicitly for screening at Juliette's Town Hall concert in order to attract tourists to Quebec in May.<sup>liii</sup>

Juliette's Town Hall concert was enormously successful. Juliette was thrilled, believing it meant an auspicious beginning to her folk singing career. She wrote to Barbeau, "It is delightful to sing in New York and to have a success here means I can go ahead."<sup>liv</sup> The press treated it as a real debut and presented her as a newcomer to the concert scene who studied for four years with "the famous Italian Vincenzo Lombardi" in Florence and who had "[given] up the stage to make a scientific study of folksong."<sup>lv</sup> An article in *Town and Country* stated, "she was a complete surprise to everyone, for very little is known of her."<sup>lvi</sup>

The *New York Sun* described Juliette's Town Hall recital as "novel"<sup>lvii</sup> and the *New York Times* as "one of the most interesting and original [concerts] of the seasons."<sup>lviii</sup> Juliette was praised for having a "tuneful voice" (this same description of her voice is given in the *Canadian Encyclopedia of Music*) and singing with "simplicity and charm."<sup>lix</sup> The Eskimo songs were "decidedly melodious"<sup>lx</sup> and the French-Canadian chansons were taken to indicate a "wise maternal art, the kind of thing that has made the birth of men plausible since time began."<sup>lxi</sup> Kihn's sets were praised and Stefansson's talk was described as "full of information, wit and humour."<sup>lxii</sup> For the *New York Times*, "The evening was as instructive as it was original."<sup>lxiii</sup> The Town Hall concert was successful as a CPR publicity event as well. A review in *Musical Digest* stated that Juliette's recital

“gave no doubt some hint of what may be anticipated in the Folk Song Festival to be held next May in Quebec.”<sup>lxiv</sup>

Though Juliette had found a place for herself in New York between 1926 and 1927, her activities were also compatible with those of the folksong movement in Canada, a movement that was edified by the CPR folk song festivals that took place in Canada from 1927–1931. The first CPR “Folk Song and Handicrafts Festival” took place at the Château Frontenac, in Quebec City, in 1927. It included free outdoor concerts, a series of five concerts in the Ballroom at the Château, an art exhibition organized by the National Gallery, displays of folk crafts and workers on display (the program indicated that the workers were not to be disturbed).<sup>lxv</sup> Outdoors, a log cabin was built “so as to provide the appropriate setting for the shantymen and canoe songs which will be specially featured at these concerts.”<sup>lxvi</sup>

Juliette was scheduled to perform French-Canadian *chansons* with viola accompaniment by Milton Blackstone on Friday evening. She would also give a Sunday matinee performance of Eskimo, Northern Alaskan, Nootka and Kootenay folksongs. The latter program also included a group of songs by the Lorette Indians of Quebec—the only aboriginal performers in the entire festival. Barbeau provided Juliette with costumes for her Indian repertoire, which included a Nootka cape, and a cedar bark belt, items that she didn’t have for Town Hall.

Though delighted with her costumes, Juliette asked Barbeau to have them “disinfected in some way.”<sup>lxvii</sup>

The festival received much attention in the press because nothing of its kind had ever taken place in Canada. H.P. Bell, the *Montreal Daily Star* music critic, described it as “the biggest musical event that has ever taken place in Canada.”<sup>lxviii</sup> It was also considered to be the first event “dedicated to the promotion of a better knowledge and appreciation of Canada’s great wealth of folk music, dances, arts, textiles and many choice handicrafts of the fireside or the workshop.”<sup>lxix</sup> The first concert alone had 1,200 attendees, exceeding the estimated five hundred. The festival was touted as the “first of many” that will become “bigger and better.”<sup>lxx</sup> Plans were underway to make it a “permanent institution.”<sup>lxxi</sup>

The festival’s program had two distinct categories of singers: “humble” folk singers and well-known “great” singers, including Juliette<sup>lxxii</sup> (or what Janet McNaughton refers to as “source” performers—those who learned their repertoire out of oral tradition—and “non-source” performers—those who learned their repertoire from collected materials).<sup>lxxiii</sup> Juliette was singled out in almost every review and announcement, often being described, prestigiously, as “a recent recitalist in New York.”<sup>lxxiv</sup> She was described as someone who had “devoted many years to the study of the folk-song of her own people”<sup>lxxv</sup> and compared to Loraine Wyman (“another Loraine Wyman in the making”<sup>lxxvi</sup>). One review

declared, “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye certainly scored heavily, for in her, many of us discovered the perfect folk-lore concert artist.”<sup>lxxvii</sup>

Juliette also received attention for her Indian and Eskimo repertoire in a festival that was devoted almost exclusively to the French-Canadian *chanson*. The only exceptions were Juliette, the Lorette Indians and the Hart House Quartet who, in a Sunday evening performance, played a group of Eskimo melodies. A review of this concert in the *Musical Leader* stated that the Hart House Quartet “showed the possibilities of this Eskimo music as a new field for serious development.”<sup>lxxviii</sup> In Juliette’s case, H.P Bell in the *Montreal Daily Star* observed that the Indian and Eskimo tunes “were not given by the people to whom they belong” though he wrote that Juliette “with the help of native dresses” gave a “close imitation.”<sup>lxxix</sup> The pianist and music critic Leo Pol Morin deemed indigenous music “le piquant nécessaire” at the festival.<sup>lxxx</sup>

Juliette was also engaged to perform at the second Annual CPR Folk Song and Handicraft Festival in Quebec, organized again by Gibbon and Barbeau. For the 1928 festival, Juliette (and all other performers) only presented French material. This was in keeping with the festival’s goal of “[illustrating] the history of the folksong in French Canada” traced back to thirteenth-century France.<sup>lxxxi</sup>

Juliette appeared three times in the 1928 Festival program. Twice she sang folksongs with Milton Blackstone’s viola accompaniment (Marion Bauer’s



arrangements). In her other appearance she sang a group of Medieval *Pastourelles* accompanied on “Cithole” by Jean Beck of the Curtis Institute of Music, who had also transcribed and prepared the material for presentation. Juliette learned the *Pastourelles* specifically for this performance—they were not part of her usual repertoire. Gibbon and Barbeau requested the *Pastourelles* as part of their scheme to situate Canadian folksongs within a musical lineage.<sup>lxxxii</sup>

This time round, Juliette’s performances were not as well received as they were the previous year. They were rarely mentioned in reviews as one of the highlights of the festival. Even praise was mixed: “Mlle Juliette Gaultier n’avait pas un choix de chansons intéressantes à son concert de l’après-midi au Château ni à l’auditorium. Il est malheureux que cette artiste de valeur indiscutable n’ait pas plutôt exercé sa jolie voix et sa belle diction sur un repertoire plus attrayant. Tout le folklore n’est pas également intéressant.”<sup>lxxxiii</sup> A nearly identical review stated, “Gifted with a very pretty voice, she had unhappily chosen monotonous old songs which she rendered in a lack-luster manner.”<sup>lxxxiv</sup>

Juliette’s involvement with CPR cultural activities was not restricted to the folk song festivals in Quebec City. In the summer of 1927, the CPR provided Juliette with a rail pass, enabling Juliette’s first field trip in Western Canada. First she went to Banff for several weeks to do “publicity work” for the railway.<sup>lxxxv</sup> There she also helped Gibbon organize the Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival by assisting in the selection of aboriginal performers from the Morley

Reservation in Alberta.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> She also traveled to Alaska, the Yukon and Vancouver Island. Juliette raved about her travels in letters to Barbeau. Likewise, Gibbon reported to Barbeau, “Juliette Gaultier has been having wildly exciting times with Indians.”<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

In Fort Rupert, British Columbia, Juliette participated in the filming of *Totem Land*, an ethnographic film produced by the Associated Screen News (ASN). The CPR was ASN’s major stockholder and *Totem Land* circulated as part of the railway’s advertising campaigns.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Lynda Jessup, and Rosalind Morris both critique the film for perpetuating the ideology of “salvage ethnography,” which treats the extinction of traditional culture as the inevitable outcome of modern industrialized culture (or “progress”).<sup>lxxxix</sup> In the typical “salvage ethnography” narrative, traditional ways of life are doomed to vanish simply because they are “primitive,” not due to governmental policies, the impositions of capitalism, or any of the other effects of European colonization.

There are two versions of the film that vary in length. Jessup speculates that the shorter version was made for commercial release.<sup>xc</sup> It omits an introductory sequence that the longer version has which explicitly invokes the salvage ethnography paradigm, including footage of a modern shoreline and paper mill, and intertitles that contrast modern practices with “ancient culture,” “ancient days,” and “the redman’s kingdom.”<sup>xc1</sup> By contrast, in the shorter version, there are no references to outside influences.

Both versions depict Juliette learning the songs and chants of the Nootka. The structure of the film is episodic and uses intertitles to jump from topic to topic (these include carving, religion, ritual, dance, handicrafts, cedar mats, masks, basketry, and food). Juliette's presence is integrated with an intertitle that reads, "A modern student of the ancient art—Juliette Gaultier de la Verndrye [sic], famous Canadian soprano, learns Indian songs and chants."<sup>xcii</sup> There are images of Juliette singing, rocking and beating a drum. The shorter version of the film includes a long close-up of Juliette posing in a cedar hat. Even taking into consideration Juliette's rather gratuitous close-up, her screen time is limited. It is therefore quite specious that she referred to *Totem Land* as "my personal picture,"<sup>xciii</sup> or that the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* lists *Totem Land* under the heading of Juliette's "Filmography."<sup>xciv</sup>

By then end of 1927, plans were underway to screen *Totem Land* and have Juliette perform at "The Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern" at the Toronto Art Gallery.<sup>xcv</sup> On the evening of January 25, 1928, there was a screening of *Totem Land*, a lecture by Barbeau and a song recital by Juliette. Wearing Aboriginal dresses lent by the National Museum, Juliette performed "Indian Songs of British Columbia and Eskimo Songs" arranged by Canadian composer Ernest MacMillan. The Group of Seven artist Arthur Lismer considered Juliette to be "in good form" at this recital, a well-attended affair.<sup>xcvi</sup>

In the summer of 1928, Juliette wished to do more field research in Canada, but she lacked the means.<sup>xcvii</sup> The following summer, Juliette was able to spend three weeks in Acadia collecting folk music. She claimed to have gathered a total of three hundred songs from the eldest generation of Acadians during that time.

Programs and clippings reveal that Juliette gave numerous recitals in 1929. In New York she sang at Columbia University (Teacher's College), Town Hall, the Reorich Museum, the American Museum of Natural History (A Lecture Recital for the Children of Members) and the Bishop McDonnell Memorial High School in Brooklyn. Outside of New York she gave concerts at Yale University (for the American Association of University Women), in Madison WI and on a radio program in St. Paul, MN.

In 1929, Juliette also gave her first concerts as a Canadian folksinger in the United Kingdom at Central Hall, Westminster and the Royal Anthropological Institute. She received good reviews in the press, including the following: "It was a most interesting and enjoyable experience to hear the music reproduced so realistically, and it would be hard to say which I admired the most—the feat of memory, the art of the singer, or the actual music. Juliette Gaultier gave me great pleasure by singing these strange, yet fascinating melodies."<sup>xcviii</sup> Another reviewer wrote:

In every way you succeeded in imparting the true atmosphere of the Folk music. There was a complete absence of anachronisms and of distortion;

the audience felt that your musical and histrionic gifts together with your appropriate costumes, successful stage settings and the excellent motion pictures, which preceded each group of Folk songs, all combined to make a unique entertainment, which also had educational value.<sup>xcix</sup>

Juliette's trip to Europe was facilitated by the personal relationship she had with Prime Minister Mackenzie King. Her connection with him likely extended from her family's close relationship with the Lauriers.<sup>c</sup> Juliette and Mackenzie King's longstanding correspondence (which spanned from 1927 until Mackenzie King's death in 1950) demonstrated that his influence helped pave the way for certain career opportunities. In their correspondence, Mackenzie King and Juliette addressed one another as personal acquaintances: he opened his letters with "My dear Juliette." It is clear that Mackenzie King was a fan and agreed with Juliette's conviction that her work benefitted Canada. On December 15, 1929, he wrote to her, "I was very pleased to receive your letter and its enclosures, and to learn from them of the increasing recognition which your exceptional talents are receiving."<sup>ci</sup> Though he did not directly help her in a financial way—he wrote, jokingly in a letter December 29, 1928, "To be a patron of a prima donna is a height to which I have not as yet attained" —he helped out by recommending her to representatives of the Canadian government abroad.

Prior to Juliette's departure to the U.K., Mackenzie King wrote a letter of introduction to Mr. Larkin, the Canadian High Commissioner in London alerting

him that Juliette would like to “win the favour” of Mr. Turcotte, the Exhibition Commissioner in the Department of Trade and Commerce, someone Juliette saw as instrumental in securing work for her abroad. His esteem for Juliette came across in the following section of his letter to Mr. Larkin:

The whole Gauthier family are talented artists. One sister, Eva, is already in Europe, and has had a number of public appearances. To at least one or more, you yourself have already contributed. Juliette is, I think, the most meritorious of all. She really deserves great credit for her skill in a field of artistic interpretation which is quite new, and which has both historic and scientific value.<sup>cii</sup>

In the 1930s, opportunities for Juliette were limited. She gave several recitals for children at the Roerich Museum and the well-to-do private schools Dalton and Spence. She also sang at Sarah Lawrence College and at the Women’s Club in Peoria, Illinois. In the summer of 1930, she came close to making a trip to Alaska to, as she put it, “see some of the Eskimo life.”<sup>ciii</sup> Stefansson had arranged for her to be invited as a guest of Ralph Lomen on his company’s ship sailing to Nome, Alaska for a ten-day stay.<sup>civ</sup> Juliette journeyed to Seattle, where the ship was due to set sail. The boat was delayed due to problems with the boilers and a fire. While she waited for the boat, she had to live at a hotel at her own expenses, which exhausted her resources. Ultimately, she realized the trip to Alaska would be too expensive and went back to New York disappointed.<sup>cv</sup>

For financial reasons, Juliette returned to Canada in 1931. She wrote to Stefansson, “Everything seemed too uncertain in the U.S.A. I thought I could pull through better in Canada . . . .” However, she indicated that she was still interested in doing recital work in New York, especially with Stefansson.<sup>cvii</sup> In the summer of 1931, she did more fieldwork with the Acadians.<sup>cvii</sup> In 1932, she formed a folk singing and dancing troupe called “Les Chanteurs et Danseurs de la Seigneurie de la Petite Nation,” which according to Juliette, presented “in its truest form the real Folk Lore of French Canada, such as it should be sung and danced in rustic fashion.”<sup>cviii</sup> She and her troupe performed educational concerts for children in the Ottawa area: at the Children’s Theatre, Glebe Collegiate, and Memorial Hall. Along with featuring the Habitant singers and dancers, these concerts included Juliette singing her Indian, Eskimo and French Canadian/Acadian repertoire in costume, and the presentation of ethnographic films.<sup>cix</sup>

During the Depression, Juliette shifted her attention from folk music to studying and promoting Canadian handicrafts. She spent a great deal of her time doing fieldwork in Quebec, which she described to Stefansson as “a very quiet life” and a vain attempt to “forget it all [the hardships of the Depression] by living among the peasants of the Laurentians.”<sup>cx</sup> She boasted of establishing her “own splendid school of C. handicrafts.”<sup>cxii</sup> Although an article written about Juliette in 1934 credited her with saving, along with folksongs, some of “the swiftly dying Canadian handicrafts” from oblivion,<sup>cxii</sup> Juliette’s interest in handicrafts was not only preservationist but linked to social concerns about unemployment. She

argued that people had been “made paupers through the lack of knowledge of those in charge of Social Service and a lack of knowing the Arts and Crafts of Canada.”<sup>cxiii</sup> In other words, she believed if Canada appreciated its handicrafts, there would be more employment for people in this domain.

Juliette became involved in the display of handicrafts when in 1935 and 1936 she received a \$50 grant from the Central Canada Exhibition Association to exhibit her Canadian handicrafts, although it is not clear where.<sup>cxiv</sup> In 1937, her ambition was to have a Canadian handicraft exhibit at the World Exposition in Paris. She contacted Mackenzie King for his help. He replied to her:

All matters pertaining to exhibitions come under the direction of the Minister of Trade and Commerce. I shall be glad, at any time the Minister speaks to me of the matter, to endorse very cordially what you are doing, and to let him know that I shall be glad to see your work furthered to any extent he may approve. I should prefer, however, that the initiative with respect to any matter relating to his own department should come from him, rather than take any step which he might regard as something to put pressure upon him.<sup>cxv</sup>

Whatever discussions may have ensued between the Prime Minister and the Minister of Trade, things worked out in Juliette’s favour. She was sent to Paris as an official delegate for the 1937 “Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques Appliqués a la Vie Moderne.” Juliette’s role was to direct a section of the Canadian Arts and Handicrafts Exhibit that represented “an early Canadian



interior.” Juliette, Marius Barbeau, the Handicrafts Guilds of Montreal and Toronto made the selections for the exhibit. The Handicrafts Guild, McGill University, The National Gallery and the National Museum of Canada lent items.<sup>cxvi</sup> Juliette was to receive \$4,840 “to pay the expenses of herself and two helpers,” over the course of six months. Juliette’s daily salary was \$8, while the workers received \$4. The rest of the money was to cover their boat passage and freight costs.<sup>cxvii</sup> Juliette’s exhibit was a huge success at the Paris Expo. She won a gold medal in the category of art and rural handicraft.<sup>cxviii</sup>

According to the initial arrangement, Juliette was to stay in Paris for six months. However, she remained in Europe for approximately two years. The extension of her stay was the source of some controversy with the Department of Trade and Commerce. That is to say, Juliette wanted to keep her exhibit in France beyond the closing of the World Exposition.<sup>cxix</sup> However, disputes arose about whether she was intending to keep some of the items in her exhibit that belonged to the National Museum. Although it is not clear how the issue was resolved, it is interesting to note that a secretary in the Department of Trade and Commerce contacted the personal secretary of Mackenzie King announcing their intention to “pack the property of the museum and return it to Canada” adding, “Knowing the Prime Minister’s interest in this case, I write to advise of our intention and to ask whether or not Mr. King has any objections.”<sup>cxx</sup> This reveals the extent to which Juliette fell under the protection of Mackenzie King’s favour.

During Juliette's stay in Europe, from 1938 to 1939, she toured France, Belgium, England, Switzerland and Holland as an authority on Canadian folk music and handicrafts. She gave lectures and recitals in Paris at the Musée de l'Homme and at the Musée Guimet for a conference of l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient; in London at the British Museum and on BBC radio; in Belgium at the Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire; and elsewhere in Switzerland and in Holland. Her recitals were given under the auspices of the Federation de L'Alliance Française, an organization dedicated to the study of France and French people everywhere. Juliette received some money for her work from the Alliance Française, although it was too little for her to continue. The Alliance Française contacted Mackenzie King requesting funds for Juliette, to no avail. King replied:

Vous demandez si d'autres fonds ne pourraient être obtenus des crédits parlementaires pour la continuation [des] recitals [de Juliette]. Je dois vous dire que l'estime originairement votée pour permettre à Mlle Gaultier de prendre part à l'Exposition de Paris, de l'an dernier, est maintenant épuisée. Avant la prochaine session du Parlement, l'an prochain, il n'y aura aucun moyen de voter d'autres sommes.<sup>cxxi</sup>

The *Ottawa Citizen* boasted of the acclaim and success Juliette was garnering in Europe and reported that she was being showered with invitations to perform her repertoire.<sup>cxxii</sup> Juliette's plans to continue her career in Europe, where she felt she had a receptive and enthusiastic audience for her work, were dashed by the

outbreak of war. These historical circumstances resembled those her sister Eva confronted fifteen years earlier.

Back in North America Juliette, planned to do further research with the Acadians, to continue to exhibit her handicrafts, and possibly to begin research in Louisiana. She also asked for Stefansson's advice on how to find work in America, writing, "Ottawa is as dead as ever. I miss Europe and the atmosphere here is killing me."<sup>cxiii</sup> Stefansson suggested that she explore the possibility of getting a lecture manager through the Division of Columbia Concert Corporation of the Columbia Broadcasting System, explaining that they did all manner of public appearances, not just radio bookings. She followed his advice, but her request was declined.<sup>cxiv</sup>

Confined to Canada, Juliette continued her fieldwork in Acadia and at the River Desert Reserve in Maniwaki, Quebec. The exact dates of her fieldwork in Maniwaki are unknown because she did not keep clear notes. There, she gathered Algonquin stories, legends and myths, which she wrote out by hand in English. There is no detailed methodological information about how she obtained them, aside from her attributing them to two principal informants: Was Ba Dic Kwe (White Caribou Woman, or Angelique Caponicin) and Mka di Mik kwe (Two Black Beaver Woman or Madeleine Jacko Clement).<sup>cxv</sup> It is not clear if they were originally told to Juliette in English, French, or Algonquin, and if they exist in transcript form.<sup>cxvi</sup>

When possible, Juliette still sought speaking/singing engagements in Canada. In 1940, she did a three-month lecture tour of Canadian Clubs.<sup>cxxvii</sup> Though perhaps heavily influenced by the Canadian Club setting, the tone of her lectures seems to have been fervently patriotic. A journalist in the *Guelph Daily Mercury* observed, "Mademoiselle Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye is an effective apostle of the creed that Canada has an amazing and beautiful folk lore in music that is unrivalled by any other country in the world."<sup>cxxviii</sup> Similarly, the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* reported, "She urged listeners to learn and appreciate their own land's folk songs and handicrafts before they interested themselves in others . . ." Juliette also warned of the threat that modernization posed to Canada's superior folk songs and crafts.<sup>cxxix</sup>

Juliette's lectures covered folklore, crafts and music and plant dyes, a dominant interest of Juliette's later years. "Mlle. Gaultier . . . said she spent all her spare time experimenting with vegetable, root, flower, and berry dyes . . . The speaker had recently discovered twenty new varieties [of plants] in British Columbia which she hoped would produce new and interesting shades for her ever-growing collection [of six hundred different colours]"<sup>cxxx</sup> Juliette planned to write a book on dyes once she had completed her experiments and research. An obituary for her sister Eva declared that Juliette, "internationally known as a student of musical folk lore later . . . became known for her vocation of making dyes from various Canadian minerals and vegetables." However, it is hard to gauge the extent of recognition she received for this "vocation."<sup>cxxxi</sup>

By and large, Juliette struggled to find work in the 1940s. Yet she was persistent. She made several attempts to gain employment through the federal government by trying to connect her activities to the war effort. Juliette thought she could do “special publicity work in the United States”<sup>cxxxii</sup> to forge a stronger relationship between Canada and the U.S., one of its important Allies. She described this to Mackenzie King as doing “my Bit . . . for the war effort of Canada.” She told him about her two-hour phone call with Mr. Benoît of the War Information Board discussing her potential “War Mission” tour. According to Juliette, Benoît was “extremely anxious to have me do some special work in publicity of Canada in the United States, Including the Music, the Exhibits, and in all to make [known] some of the Cultural Arts of Canada.” She described her project fairly incoherently:

I have also on hand some research work done on the different uses of Fibres, which are useful to the war effort, and of which would be of interest to the American people, and of which Washington is [already] interested in, as these have been carried out [by] some of them with plants grown by them and sent to me by the U.S. Dep. of Agriculture . . . Mr. Benoît was most enthused on the possibilities of Adding my programme as a means of Propaganda of our country, as a gesture of friendship, and making known the cultural side of life as well as the great war effort we are doing.<sup>cxxxiii</sup>

Juliette received this reply from Mackenzie King's personal secretary:

Mr. King is very much interested in your proposed musical and handicraft programme but in this, as in other matters connected with the war, Mr. King has to leave it to the officials directly in charge to determine just what their needs may be and to select the personnel required. Therefore it really rests with the Wartime Information Board to decide whether or not your programme would be of direct value to the war effort. I am sure you will understand that Mr. King does not feel he would be justified in asking the Board to undertake a project, which the Board itself might not otherwise be prepared to recommend at the present time.<sup>cxxxiv</sup>

The Wartime Information Board ultimately rejected Juliette's plan, explaining:

“to have a Canadian musical and handicraft programme in the United States and elsewhere would be of interest and might well be of some commercial and cultural [worth] but of little direct value to the war effort.”<sup>cxxxv</sup>

In 1943, Juliette met the Consul General of Mexico, Monsieur Calderon, in Montreal, who expressed interest in her work. This planted the idea for Juliette to go to Mexico to display her handicrafts; and again she asked Mackenzie King for assistance. She wrote:

[I] would like to do my bit in creating a better friendship with our Mexican Allies, as one essential to the war effort . . . Could you suggest any one, or any way my trip to Mexico could be made possible, or how I am to go about it, and if there is any special interest in any Department of your

Government in bringing something of Canada and its art or research of our people to Mexico, and if possible to get any possible help to accomplish my project.<sup>cxxxvi</sup>

This time he responded to her personally. First he thanked her for “sending to me the clipping about the porcupines. I will tell Pat [his dog] that you wrote it specially for him.” As for her trip to Mexico, he wrote,

It will take some time to see what may be done towards meeting your request to visit Mexico, to make known the extent and variety of Canadian folklore and handicrafts, especially as they relate to the Indian population of Canada. I am asking my secretary to make enquiries from the departments which will be interested in such a project, and I shall let you know in due course of the reply received.<sup>cxxxvii</sup>

With nothing coming through for Juliette in Canada, the Mexico plan included, she contacted the Library of Congress in 1944 expressing her wish to give a lecture on Canadian folklore and her research on the Acadians and Algonquin.<sup>cxxxviii</sup> The Library of Congress responded to her by asking her to make some recordings for their folklore archive. In 1945, Juliette traveled to Washington to record twenty-two folk songs, including examples of French-Canadian, Acadian, Algonquian, Inuit, Copper Eskimo, Assiniboine, Kootenay and Kwakuitl songs.<sup>cxxxix</sup>

There is little evidence that Juliette had recital work in the 1940s. She complained that the war restrictions made travel to the U.S. nearly prohibitive. However, she did at least give one concert of Acadian music at the Museum of Fine Arts in Syracuse, NY, April 23, 1945.<sup>cxl</sup>

Though there seemed to be few opportunities in Canada, a lucky break came in 1949 when Juliette was able to open her own museum in Kingsmere, Quebec.<sup>cxli</sup> The museum was located in Gatineau Park, an area owned and operated by the Federal District Commission (now the National Capital Commission). The FDC was formed by Mackenzie King to oversee such projects as the beautification of the national capital and the creation of a park within the vicinity of Ottawa “to serve the area as a recreation zone.”<sup>cxlii</sup> According to the Federal District Commission Act of 1928, the FDC had the right to expropriate land and take over private homes. Thus, Gatineau Park was created controversially by expropriating thousands of acres of land, despite protests from residents in the area.<sup>cxliii</sup>

Juliette’s museum, called the Gatineau Park Museum, was the result of an official contract between Juliette and the FDC, dated July 15, 1949. The contract stated that the theme of the museum was to be the “Traditional Arts and Crafts of Gatineau Park.”<sup>cxliv</sup> Juliette was to supply the exhibits. There could be no entrance fee; and the museum had to open six days a week from 10:00 until 5:30, including Saturday and Sunday, during the summer months.<sup>cxlv</sup>



Juliette's museum was located in the house that Ottawa lumber baron John R. Booth built for his youngest daughter May Belle (nicknamed "Chum").<sup>cxlvi</sup> He built the house for her after his wife Rosalinda died. At the time of Rosalinda's death, May Belle was just eleven years old. Initially she was sent to boarding school in Toronto, but after a number of unhappy semesters and an illness, she was sent home to her father and he "built her a pretty house in the lovely summer colony of Kingsmere." She lived there under the care of servants for ten years, until she died of tuberculosis in 1898 at the age of twenty-three.<sup>cxlvii</sup> The Gatineau Park Museum was housed on the ground floor of the home, while Juliette lived on the second floor, even during the winter when the museum was closed. Juliette wrote to Eva, "no other woman would live alone in this large house but a Gauthier, even the men are afraid, the rangers, the French-Canadian maids see ghosts in every corner, and won't stay alone ever." The Park covered her electricity, heat and telephone costs in addition to paying her a salary of \$100 a month.<sup>cxlviii</sup>

Juliette's role at the Gatineau Park Museum appeared to have come about without any intervention by Mackenzie King. If anything, Jacques Greber, the chief architect of the Paris World Exhibition in 1937, had some influence. He was invited to Ottawa by Mackenzie King to advise on FDC plans to design the capital city and Gatineau Park. Juliette was connected to Greber through the Paris Exhibition. She told Mackenzie King that it was "through [Greber] that I was awarded the gold medal of the French Government" for her exhibit.<sup>cxlix</sup> It is

possible that he paved the way for the Gatineau Museum as well. Though the master plan for the Gatineau Park was not completed until 1952 (and not only authored by Greber but the Gatineau Park Committee), it recommended using the park to foster the handicrafts industry, particularly for the benefit of tourists. The Committee suggested that Indians be brought to the area to carry on native industries, and to do the same for “folklore” and “pioneer life” in order “to commemorate the ‘lifestyle’ of former pioneer inhabitants.”<sup>cl</sup>

Juliette claimed her museum attracted 5,000 visitors each summer.<sup>cli</sup> The Annual Report of the Federal District Commission in 1950 attested to the museum’s success: “At Kingsmere the Commission opened a museum of Indian handicrafts . . . and it was fortunate in securing Madame Juliette Gaultier to supply, prepare and look after the exhibits. This museum has attracted many visitors to the Park and has become one of the most interesting features in the area.”<sup>clii</sup> Juliette described her Museum as representing “the ancient, historical things of the Ottawa Valley.”<sup>cliii</sup> It had sections on French Canada, Acadia, Algonquin and “Bush Indians” and displayed such items as a historic loom and spinning wheel, birch bark craft, French-Canadian carvings, her dye collection, and Habitant garments. According to Juliette, the museum was very popular with children, who would assist in her experiments with natural dyes. During museum hours, Juliette always dressed in costume.<sup>cliv</sup>

Juliette complained to her sister Eva that the museum was not financially viable for her. Her salary was “too little for the tremendous work I had to do.”<sup>clv</sup> Juliette wanted it increased to \$200 a month so that she could hire weavers and spinners. This would have made her museum more profitable; although her contract stipulated she could not sell anything from her collection at the museum, she was permitted to sell items handcrafted on the premises.<sup>clvi</sup>

The contract between Juliette and the FDC could be terminated if the museum was run in an “unsatisfactory manner.” In 1953, the FDC determined that the Gatineau Park Museum was substandard and that the Commission was interested in establishing a “high class museum” in its place.<sup>clvii</sup> An announcement was made in the *Ottawa Citizen* saying that the Gatineau Park Museum would not be opened in 1954. Juliette was infuriated because this, rather than any direct communication with her, was the first she had heard of the closure. She wrote a letter to Alan Hay, the manager of the FDC, telling him that she felt humiliated by the closure, not to mention the way it was handled in a public announcement.<sup>clviii</sup>

Juliette was given six months severance pay so that she might have the chance to establish herself elsewhere. Howard Kennedy, chairman of the FDC, explained to Juliette that the severance pay was “a token of the appreciation of the group for your efforts in carrying on a rather thankless task under the adverse conditions of inadequate equipment and unsuitable location.”<sup>clix</sup> The Booth home was eventually razed.<sup>clx</sup> Juliette made an effort to obtain space for her Museum at the

Government Experimental Farm. However, her appeal was rejected because her work was considered to have “a very slender relation, if any [at all], to the research we conduct at the Farm.”<sup>clxi</sup> Juliette did not find any other suitable location.

The closing of the Gatineau Park Museum signaled the petering out of Juliette’s career. Juliette wrote to Eva of plans to do motion pictures for television and plans to write several books on Indian legends. She confessed, “I have stayed too long in the bush, and cannot do anything else, and have lost contact with the outer world of Music.”<sup>clxii</sup> She also wrote of wanting to do an exhibit of her eight hundred plant dyes and to preserve her collection with photographs. None of these goals came to fruition.

In the mid-1950s, the most intimate correspondence took place between the Gauthier sisters. Eva initiated it by contacting Juliette while she was working on her memoirs. Eva asked Juliette to send her any cards, letters, and cuttings related to her career.<sup>clxiii</sup> Initially, Juliette seemed reluctant to assist and told Eva that she hadn’t time to send anything.<sup>clxiv</sup> However, a few months later she was more forthcoming with Eva, telling her, “I have always held your work and art with Great pride. You have done a marvelous contribution to Art and have honoured Canada greatly.”<sup>clxv</sup> In the last year of Eva’s life, Juliette expressed regret that they were apart and wished she could take care of her. She wrote, “I know you cannot answer my letters, but I wish you to know that we are thinking of you.”<sup>clxvi</sup>

For all of Juliette's efforts in the realm of Canadian folk crafts and folk music, she left little legacy. Some of her knowledge of French-Canadian handicrafts was preserved in a two-hour interview conducted by Carmen Roy, a folklorist at the Museum of Man (now the Museum of Civilization), in 1958. Roy also recorded Juliette singing twenty-one French Canadian folksongs, and these are kept in the Museum's archives.

A few years after Juliette's death in 1972, the Museum of Civilization purchased a collection of 475 artifacts from the law firm that served as the executors of Juliette's estate. Juliette's collection, purchased for \$2,174, was not catalogued until the 1990s, when museum volunteer Noeline Martin took on that project. Martin found that 350 of the items were bitten birch bark artworks, otherwise known as "sgraffito" pictures on birch bark, and templates associated with the pictures. These are thought to have been collected by Juliette on the River Desert Reserve near Maniwaki, Quebec, where she did fieldwork in the 1940s. Other artifacts in her collection were attributed to her trip to Western Canada in 1927. The museum also acquired an unpublished manuscript of Algonquin stories and legends that Juliette titled *Around the Birch Bark Wigwam*.<sup>clxvii</sup> and several folders full of Juliette's piecemeal and often incoherent field notes.

In addition to cataloguing Juliette's collection, Noeline Martin did extensive research on Juliette and organized the textual documents she acquired into a

collection that is now included in the ethnological records at the Museum of Civilization. This collection also includes several unpublished essays that Martin wrote about Juliette, including “Birch Bark Art: A Report and Analysis on part of the Gaultier Collection” (1992), “Around the Birchbark Wigwam—Stories Collected by Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye at the River Desert Reserve” (1995), “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye and the Gatineau Park Museum,” and “Juliette Gaultier: 1927.” Martin published a version of “Around the Birchbark Wigwam” co-authored with Daniel Clement titled, “Coûtures et légendes algonquines: d’après un inédit de Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye” in *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* (1993).

On the whole, Juliette’s career was marked by her inability to attain the level of achievement she sought. In the 1940s, Juliette applied for a scholarship from the Guggenheim Foundation in New York to further her research in the U.S. In a letter of recommendation Stefansson had this to say:

Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye has qualities in part similar to but in important respects different from those of her more famous sister Eva. Eva has more personality and promotional ability—knows how to forward her own interests and those of others, is tactful socially and a good salesman of anything she wants to support, including her own abilities. This is said to contrast with Juliette, who has in the opinion of several good judges whom I know (I am not a judge myself) an even better voice than Eva and

certainly has a nearly incredible ability to learn and reproduce verbally the songs of people of many languages, which naturally includes a special gift for the shades and accents of “strange” languages and dialects . . . The point in contrasting Juliette with her sister Eva is that Juliette has yet succeeded in making very little public use of her remarkable talents—she has not been able to make with them the money to finance, as would be desirable, the study she passionately wants to make and is qualified to make.<sup>clxviii</sup>

Stefansson’s enthusiasm for Juliette’s talents came up against the reality that it was not very lucrative to be a folk singer or handicrafts specialist, particularly during the Depression and the war years. In 1943, Juliette asked for Stefansson’s advice and help with arranging some recitals in New York. His reply was discouraging:

Even in regular times it is not easy to make expenses, let alone a profit, from recitals of folk songs, as you and I found out some years ago. I think the condition is worse now. I have tried to help various friends, with negligible success and considerable grief. I must therefore advise you against coming down unless you discover some angel whom I would not know how to find.<sup>clxix</sup>

There is no record of how Juliette spent her time between 1958 (the year of Eva’s death) and the year of her own death, 1972. When Ursula Toomey tried to reach

Juliette in 1965, she was living in a boarding house in Ottawa and expressed the wish not to be contacted about her sister. At that time, a staff member at the Ottawa Public Library had spoken to her, and it was her opinion that Juliette was “confused.”<sup>clxx</sup> The circumstances of her later years were likely rather grim.

In 1958, Juliette wrote to Eva “The life of an artist is not to be envied; the struggle is not worth the glory.”<sup>clxxi</sup> Having received what she felt was inadequate recognition for her work, Juliette doubted that Canada appreciated “its own talented people.”<sup>clxxii</sup>



## Notes

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- <sup>i</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 52.
- <sup>ii</sup> Eva to her parents, 8 April 1914, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, National Library of Canada (NLC).
- <sup>iii</sup> Madge MacBeth, “Canadian Women in the Arts,” *MacLean’s*, unknown date, Juliette Gauthier fonds, Library and Archives Canada (LAC).
- <sup>iv</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>v</sup> Eva to her parents, 11 June 1912, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>vi</sup> Eva to her parents, 10 November 1913, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>vii</sup> Eva to her parents, 11 June 1912, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>viii</sup> Eva to her parents, 10 November 1913, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>ix</sup> Eva to her parents, 8 April 1914, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>x</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xi</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xiii</sup> James B. MacPherson, “Gauthier de la Vérendrye, Juliette,” *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com)
- <sup>xiv</sup> Press material (MG26, vol. 141), Fonds William Lyon Mackenzie-King, LAC.
- <sup>xv</sup> Turbide (“Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier”) notes that claims to be related to de la Vérendrye are false.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Janet Elizabeth MacNaughton, “A Study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folksongs and handicraft festivals, 1927-1930” (MA thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. 1982), 47. Wyman also collected music in the Gaspé with Barbeau (McNaughton, 54)
- <sup>xvii</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 19 December 1925, Fonds Marius Barbeau, Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC).
- <sup>xviii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xix</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 15 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xx</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 19 December 1925, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 29 April 1926, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Marion Bauer to whom it may concern, 17 October 1928, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 19 December 1925, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Publicity materials (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 6 June 1926, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, February 1927 (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 15 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Clark Wissler to Berthold Laufer, 6 December 1929, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Stefansson to Barbeau, 12 January 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 15 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.

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- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>i</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 4 May 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>ii</sup> Noeline Martin, "Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye, 1927,"<sup>14</sup> (unpublished essay) Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>iii</sup> "Folk Song and Phonograph: Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye reveals the treasure store of Canadian folk music," *The Phonograph Monthly Review*, August 1930.
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>iv</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 7 February 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>v</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 6 June 1926, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>vi</sup> Gibbon had been the General Publicity Manager of the CPR since he emigrated from Britain to Canada in 1911. Since 1907 he worked for the CPR in England as the Supervisor of European Propaganda, which was to encourage European immigration to Canada (McNaughton, 18-19).
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>vii</sup> Lynda Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and the 'Business of Becoming a Nation'" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto. 1992); Bret Kines, "Chief man of many sides: John Murray Gibbon and his contributions to the development of tourism" (MA thesis Carleton University 1988) and Janet McNaughton, "John Murray Gibbon and the Inter-War Folk Festivals" *Canadian Folklore* 3 (1981).
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>viii</sup> Kines, "Chief man of many sides," iii.
- <sup>xxx</sup><sup>ix</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, February 1927 (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xl</sup> Gibbon to Barbeau, n.d. 1927 (Box 197, file 19), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xli</sup> Kines, "Chief man of many sides," 113.
- <sup>xlii</sup> Gibbon to Barbeau, 9 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xliii</sup> Gibbon to Barbeau, 2 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xliv</sup> McNaughton, "A study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folk song," 79.
- <sup>xl</sup><sup>v</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, n.d. (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xl</sup><sup>vi</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 19 February 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xl</sup><sup>vii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xl</sup><sup>viii</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 15 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xl</sup><sup>ix</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 19 February 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>l</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 24 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>li</sup> Lynda Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs," 10.
- <sup>lii</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 15 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>liii</sup> Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs," 10
- <sup>liv</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 22 April 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>lv</sup> "Novel Concert Won New York Audience," *The Gazette*, Montreal, Monday, April 11, 1927.
- <sup>lvi</sup> *Town and Country*. New York, May 1, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>lvii</sup> W.J. Henderson, *New York Sun*, April 9, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>lviii</sup> "Songs of Eskimos Given," *New York Times*, Saturday, April 9, 1927.
- <sup>lix</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>lx</sup> Ibid.

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- lxi *Town and Country*. New York, May 1, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxii “Songs of Eskimos Given”
- lxiii Ibid.
- lxiv Pierre V.R. Key, “Novelty in Folk Songs” *Musical Digest*, May 1, 1927.
- lxv Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival Annotated General Programme, 1927.
- lxvi Ibid.
- lxvii Juliette to Barbeau, 4 May 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxviii “Great Folk Song Festival at Quebec” *Devon & Exeter Gazette*, June 27, 1927.
- lxix *Toronto Globe*, Saturday, May 21, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxx *Montreal Daily Star*, Monday, May 23, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxi *Montreal Gazette*, May 25, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxii H.P. Bell, *Montreal Daily Star*, May 28, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxiii McNaughton, “A Study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folk song,” 71.
- lxxiv Oscar Thompson, “New Festival Turns Spotlight on Canadian Folk Art” *Musical America*, May 28, 1927.
- lxxv Fred Jacob, “Folk Song Festival at Quebec,” *Toronto Mail and Empire*, n.d., Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxvi Addington H. Bruce, “Jazz, Machinery, and Quebec” *The Boston Evening Transcript*, Friday, May 27, 1927.
- lxxvii “Folk Songs in Quebec,” *Musical News Herald*, London, England, July 15, 1927.
- lxxviii *Musical Leader*, Vol. 52, No.22, Chicago, June 2, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxix H.P. Bell, *Montreal Daily Star*, May 28, 1927, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxx Leo-Pol Morin, “La Musique,” *La Patrie*. Montreal, Samedi 7 mai, 1927.
- lxxxi John Murray Gibbon, “Introduction.” Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival General Programme. 1928, 1. The program included the 13<sup>th</sup> century comedy opera, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, for this reason.
- lxxxii Gibbon to Juliette, 21 March 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxxiii “Le folklore au Chateau Frontenac,” *le Canada*, Montreal, lundi 28 mai, 1928.
- lxxxiv *Le Droit*, Ottawa, 26 mai, 1928, Coupures de presse (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxxv Jessup, “Moving Pictures and Costume Songs,” 3.
- lxxxvi Gibbon to Barbeau, 12 August 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- lxxxvii Ibid.
- lxxxviii Jessup, “Moving Pictures and Costume Songs,” 3.
- lxxxix Ibid. and Rosalind C. Morris, *New Worlds from Fragments*.

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- <sup>xc</sup> Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs," 30 note 40.
- <sup>xc1</sup> *Ibid.*, 34
- <sup>xcii</sup> In Morris's treatment of the film she describes Juliette as "the somewhat eccentric opera star" (Morris, *New Worlds From Fragments*, 48)
- <sup>xciii</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 1 January 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xciv</sup> MacPherson, "Gaultier de la Vérendrye, Juliette," *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com). The entry also erroneously dates the film as 1921 rather than 1927.
- <sup>xcv</sup> The West Coast Exhibition opened at the National Gallery in November 1927. Juliette did not participate in the exhibition's original run in Ottawa, nor was *Totem Land* screened because it was not yet ready for presentation. Secondly, though Arthur Lismer, the secretary of the National Gallery's education committee and member of the Group of Seven whose work was included in the exhibition, had suggested including a recital by Juliette, the National Gallery's trustees did not agree to it. Lismer had stated, "Our aim . . . is not to put on a concert at the Gallery on these occasions but to have the music a complement to the exhibition." However, the trustees believed a concert "detracts from attention on objects in the show," and they refused Brown's request to include Juliette in the show's opening in Ottawa. This was a disappointment for Juliette. She questions Barbeau about whether this decision was financial, and wonders whether she should offer to sing for free. (Jessup, "Moving Pictures," 9).
- <sup>xcvi</sup> Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs," 25
- <sup>xcvii</sup> Juliette to Mackenzie King, 19 June 1928, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>xcviii</sup> Extracts from Press Reviews and Letters (Box 613, file 5), Fonds Juliette Gaultier, CMC.
- <sup>xcix</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>c</sup> See Chapter One, note 5.
- <sup>ci</sup> Mackenzie King to Juliette, 15 December 1928, Fonds Juliette Gauthier, LAC.
- <sup>cii</sup> Mackenzie King to P.C. Larkin, 4 April 1929, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>ciii</sup> Juliette to Stefansson, 20 March 1930, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>civ</sup> Stefansson to Juliette, 16 June 1930, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cv</sup> Juliette to Stefansson, 30 August 1930, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cvi</sup> Juliette to Stefansson, 8 February 1932, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cvi</sup> Juliette to Stefansson, 23 August 1931, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cvi</sup> "Folk Songs and Folk Dance Program" (Box 611), Fonds Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye, CMC.
- <sup>cix</sup> "Juliette Gaultier" *le Droit*, Ottawa, March 14, 1932 and "Juliette Gaultier" *le Droit*, Ottawa, April 7, 1932.
- <sup>cx</sup> Juliette to Stefansson, 7 May 1933, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cx1</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>cxii</sup> Alice Wetherell, "Sing a Song of Canada" *The Challenge*. Toronto, February 4, 1934.
- <sup>cxiii</sup> Juliette to Stefansson, 9 February 1937, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.

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- <sup>cxiv</sup> H.H. McElroy to Juliette, 26 March 26 1936, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>cxv</sup> Mackenzie-King to Juliette, 17 April 1936, Juliette Gauthier Fonds, LAC.
- <sup>cxvi</sup> “Pavillon du Canada,” Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. Fonds Juliette Gauthier de la Vérendrye, CMC.
- <sup>cxvii</sup> F.P. Cosgrove to A.T. Seaman, 11 March 1937, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cxviii</sup> “Fame of Canadian Folklore Spreading Rapidly in Europe,” unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>cxix</sup> J.O. Turcotte to Major Parmelee, 13 December 1937, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cxx</sup> Finlay Sims to Mr. Henry, 28 December 1937, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cxxi</sup> Mackenzie King to Professeur Hauser, 8 August 1938, Juliette Gauthier Fonds, LAC.
- <sup>cxxii</sup> “Folk Songs of Canada” *The Citizen*, Ottawa, October 15, 1938; “Fame of Canadian Folklore Spreading Rapidly in Europe” (subtitled: “Miss Juliette Gauthier de la Vérendrye, of Ottawa, is Honoured in Paris – Many Requests for Concerts”), Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>cxxiii</sup> Juliette to Stefansson, 3 May 1939 and 24 July 1939, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cxxiv</sup> Stefansson to Juliette, 15 July 1939, and Metropolitan Music Bureau, Inc. to Juliette, 25 July 1939, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cxxv</sup> Daniel Clement and Noeline Martin, “Coutumes et Legendes Algonquines,” 69.
- <sup>cxxvi</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>cxxvii</sup> Juliette to Mackenzie King, 25 March 1940, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC. Press clippings reveal that she appeared at Canadian Clubs in Guelph (January 16, 1940), and Saskatoon (around May 30, 1940), and at the University of British Columbia (October 11, 1940). Other dates are unknown.
- <sup>cxxviii</sup> “Canada Possesses Wealth of Native Music,” *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, Wednesday, January 17, 1940.
- <sup>cxxix</sup> “Canadian Club Hears Fascinating Program of Primitive Melodies” *The Star Phoenix*, Saskatoon, May 30, 1940.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> “Eva Gauthier Dies,” unknown source (MG30-D145), Eva Gauthier fonds, LAC.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Mr. Henry to Juliette, 22 November 1943, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> Juliette to Mackenzie King, 7 May 1943, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> Mr. Henry to Juliette, 22 November 1943, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Memo to Prime Minister’s office from W.J.T., 15 November 1943, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.

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- <sup>cxxxvi</sup> Juliette to Mackenzie King, 29 June 1943, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>cxxxvii</sup> Mackenzie King to Juliette, 1 July 1943, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>cxxxviii</sup> Juliette to the Library of Congress, 31 January 1944, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cxxxix</sup> The Library of Congress recordings are available at the Canadian Museum of Civilization Audio Archives.
- <sup>cxl</sup> Juliette to Mr. Botkin, 26 March 1945, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- <sup>cxli</sup> For information on the Gatineau Park Museum I am indebted to Noeline Martin, who was able to uncover information through what she writes was a “chance meeting with a past acquaintance” that put her in touch with the Historical Society of Gatineau and Elwood Eadie, the operations manager of the Park during the time of the Gatineau Park Museum.” (unpublished paper “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye and the Gatineau Park Museum” Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC).
- <sup>cxlii</sup> Alisa Catharine Apostle, “The view from the hill: National Park culture and the Gatineau Park, 1920-1960” (MA thesis, Queen’s University. 1997,) 98.
- <sup>cxliii</sup> *Ibid.*, 82 and 90-97.
- <sup>cxliv</sup> Martin, “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye and the Gatineau Park Museum,” 4.
- <sup>cxlv</sup> Contract is available at LAC RG34, National Capital Commission, Vol. 275, f.190-5(1).
- <sup>cxlvi</sup> In a letter to her sister Eva, Juliette writes that the museum is housed in the Booth summer home. However, an article in *Chatelaine*, “The Booths of Ottawa” (December 1963) specifies that the house built for Chum Booth “was kept as a museum for a while.”
- <sup>cxlvii</sup> Doris French, “The Booths of Ottawa” *Chatelaine*, December, 1963.
- <sup>cxlviii</sup> Martin, “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye and the Gatineau Park Museum,” 8.
- <sup>cxlix</sup> Juliette to Mackenzie King, 19 April 1948, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- <sup>cl</sup> Apostle, “The view from the hill,” 100
- <sup>cli</sup> “This Quebec Park is Living Museum” *The Miami Herald*. Sunday, December 21, 1952.
- <sup>clii</sup> Martin, “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye and the Gatineau Park Museum,” 5.
- <sup>cliii</sup> Interview with Juliette for “Harmony House” (radio program) Wednesday, December 17, 1952. On Library of Congress recording, CMC.
- <sup>cliv</sup> Martin, “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye and the Gatineau Park Museum,” 8.
- <sup>clv</sup> Juliette to Eva, 1 September 1954, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>clvi</sup> Martin, “Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye and the Gatineau Park Museum,” 8.
- <sup>clvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 10
- <sup>clviii</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>clix</sup> Howard Kennedy to Juliette May 1954 (Box 614, file 1), Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.

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- clx French, "The Booths of Ottawa"
- clxi J.G. Taggart to Howard Kennedy, 16 September 1954, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- clxii Juliette to Eva, 1 September 1954, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxiii Eva to Juliette, 25 July 1954, Fonds Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye, CMC
- clxiv Juliette to Eva, 10 August 1954, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- clxv Juliette to Eva, October 1952 (1977-2, I, 5), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- clxvi Juliette to Eva, 27 February 1958, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- clxvii There is one exception: the legend "Little White Caribou Child Meets Dwarfs in Sugar Bush" was printed in the *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, April 24, 1943 (Martin and Clement, 71)
- clxviii Stefansson to the Guggenheim Foundation, n.d.(Box 615, file 14), Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- clxix Stefansson to Juliette, 23 December 1943, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- clxx Marie Jean to Ursula Toomey, 10 April 1965, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- clxxi Juliette to Eva, 1 September 1954, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxii Juliette to Eva, 29 July 1954, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

## Chapter Three

Financial instability and practical choices: how Eva and Juliette Gauthier forged careers in music and folklore, a gender analysis

For many women in the early twentieth century, the opportunity to have a career in music began with being born into a musical family.<sup>i</sup> Such was the case for the Gauthiers. Their father Louis Gauthier, a civil engineer with the Department of the Interior by profession, also sang as part of an a cappella quartet. Their Canadian precursor Emma Albani also inherited her father's musicality. And it was because he gave her strict musical instruction from a young age that Albani was considered a child prodigy and made early public appearances as a singer.

Eva and Juliette likely benefited a great deal from the precedence set by Albani. Namely, she vanquished the impropriety associated with a young woman setting out on her own to pursue a singing career. Albani's biographer, Cheryl MacDonald, believes it was Albani's youth that removed the "scandal normally attached to a stage career,"<sup>ii</sup> i.e. that she was a child rather than a woman when she first appeared in public. She explains, "[Women] who made their living on stage, whether by acting, singing, reciting or lecturing, were scorned by polite society. Often actresses and female singers were considered little better than prostitutes, thus a stage career was hardly an ideal choice for a young Catholic girl."<sup>iii</sup> However Albani had support not only from her family but also the nuns at



Sacré Cœur, the convent in Montreal where she was educated. These circumstances and Albani's successes made stage life seem more respectable than it had previously, and this would have paved the way for the Gauthiers' entry into musical careers. Turbide writes, "By 1902, when Eva Gauthier left for Europe, the preparation of a singing career was deemed appropriate for a talented young lady."<sup>iv</sup> Turbide also notes that seven French-Canadian singers on the international scene preceded Eva.<sup>v</sup>

In other words, Eva and Juliette went to Europe when there was already a well-established tradition of young North American women going abroad for musical training. Many, like the Gauthiers, were not from the upper socio-economic classes and were identified as gifted from a young age. Such women "possess[ed] enormous quantities of determination" in face of the "heavy odds against success."<sup>vi</sup> Susan Rutherford observes that many young women sought success and training in Europe, but few succeeded.<sup>vii</sup> MacDonald argues that it took a particular type of personality to pursue a singing career; i.e. "courage and a deep conviction that success will eventually come as every outstanding artist encounters discouragement during his or her career."<sup>viii</sup> MacDonald also cites the importance of finding a patron, unless one was born rich, to pay for the expensive training. Indeed Eva and Juliette's careers were only made possible through the help of the Lauriers and Lord Strathcona.

Rutherford argues that financial difficulties were common among young female music students, particularly North American ones who were entirely reliant on sponsorship.<sup>ix</sup> Turbide writes that because Eva was dependent on others for survival, she contended with “the constant pressure to excel.”<sup>x</sup> However, both Eva and Juliette were lucky to have benevolent sponsors. Some of their contemporaries attracted sponsors who wanted full compensation for their aid, which in certain instances included sexual gratification. The greedy patron of American soprano Geraldine Farrar not only wanted repayment once her “voice should be a source of steady income” but also wanted compensation for “risk and loss” in the event of Farrar’s death.<sup>xi</sup> Eva and Juliette were free from the pressure such arrangements undoubtedly put on young aspiring singers.

Even with the financial means to pursue rigorous training, breaking into opera was challenging. Talent and hard work were not the only factors at play. Aspiring singers needed someone looking out for the advancement of their careers—and luck. The American soprano Clara Louise Kellogg also cited as requirements for any prima donna: “presence and personality; good teeth and a knowledge of how to dress; grace of manners, dramatic feeling, high intelligence and an aptitude for foreign languages . . .”<sup>xii</sup> Others have noted that the audience for opera was particularly demanding and so pleasing them “was no easy task.” MacDonald explains:

Opera was more than a show—it was a social phenomenon. Audiences went to be seen at the theatre as much as to enjoy the music, and it was

quite normal for men and women to talk among themselves throughout the performance. Conversation ceased, temporarily, when a favorite tenor or soprano appeared, then resumed again. If a prima donna thrilled an audience, moving them to tears, she might be moved to tears herself by their enthusiastic homage.<sup>xiii</sup>

The expectation was that one had to “wow” the audience. Opera was a “highly charged emotional affair”; “if an opera was superb, a singer fabulous, excitement could reach fever pitch.”<sup>xiv</sup> There was much pressure on the prima donna; although tenors were popular as well, women were “the focus of most operatic works and the most significant element at the box office.”<sup>xv</sup> Indeed, the female stars of opera were celebrities. MacDonald writes, they

had huge followings, becoming objects of intense curiosity. Hardly anything they did went unnoticed. Their pictures were displayed in shops, their clothing and hairstyle noted and frequently imitated. When they appeared in public, crowds of fans gathered to catch a glimpse of their idols. They were showered with gifts and proposals of marriage . . .<sup>xvi</sup>

It is not surprising that such star status was not easily attainable, and in this regard Eva and Juliette’s limited success would be the norm rather than the exception.

Eva and Juliette spent the majority of their careers in financially precarious situations. Money was a continual concern for Eva from the time that she set off for Europe in 1902. She received her stipend, in installments, from the Lauriers,

which Lady Laurier thought she spent much too quickly. In April 1905, she wrote, “Je crains, ma chère que tu ne connaisses pas beaucoup la valeur de l’argent, qu’il te glisse entre les doigts.”<sup>xvii</sup> By 1905, the Lauriers had already given her \$4000, and it seems that Eva expected to receive more. Lady Laurier informed Eva that she was “pas la seule que je protège” and that she intended to help finance Juliette’s violin studies as well.<sup>xviii</sup>

In December 1905, Lady Laurier arranged to give Eva \$50 a month, but urged her to start earning money herself. The singing engagements Albani arranged for Eva in London brought little financial gain. Albani explained to Lady Laurier, “ces engagements n’étaient que pour [l’] habituer à chanter en public sans que la peur ne gêne [ses] efforts . . .”<sup>xix</sup>

Lady Laurier disapproved of how much support Eva sought from Lord Strathcona. When Lady Laurier received a “compte rendu” of all the money he had given Eva, she deemed it “énorme.”<sup>xx</sup> She criticized Eva for abusing his generosity (even though they knew he had “les moyens”) by calling upon it too often and living too extravagantly.<sup>xxi</sup> She accused Eva of behaving like the daughter of a millionaire and overspending when she should be on a budget. She repeatedly reminded Eva that she had already been in Europe for six years.<sup>xxii</sup> By contrast, Eva’s contemporary, the Montrealer Pauline Donalda (born 1882), who also went to Paris in 1902 for vocal studies, made her formal operatic debut in Nice in 1904, something Eva would only do five years later.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Indeed after seven years in Paris, London and Italy, Eva did not have much to show for herself. In 1909, she was still an “inconnue.”<sup>xxiv</sup> That year, Frans Knoote wrote to an impresario in Stockholm asking if he would be willing to hire Eva (which suggests that Frans and Eva were then considering a move to Sweden). The impresario responded that he was not impressed with Eva—“her concerts at summer resorts” and the fact that she has only appeared in one operatic role. He said that he would be her manager but that it will be difficult for her to make money.<sup>xxv</sup>

With limited prospects of financial independence, it is not surprising that Eva considered marriage. Lord Strathcona wrote to Lady Laurier in early July 1910, telling her that Eva “has definitely decided to go out to Java to marry a Mr. Knoote.” He added, “I have felt that before giving her any encouragement or assistance to do so, you ought to be made acquainted with the circumstances, and it is with that view that I now write to you. I shall be very glad indeed if you will kindly let me know your wish in the matter.”<sup>xxvi</sup>

Lady Laurier, who presumably had no interest in offering Eva any further financial support, likely had no objection to the nuptials. In fact, no one seemed to dissuade Eva from marriage. Even Emma Albani encouraged her, which is telling because Albani would be well informed about the incompatibility of marriage and a stage career, particularly in Java. She sent Eva a letter after her dismissal from

Covent Garden that read: “Both my husband and I feel for you, and I wish we were in a position to help you and it is with great regret that I say it is absolutely impossible for me to do anything for you now—except sympathy in your troubles . . . write to your friend in Java—if he is well off, he ought to come and fetch you.”<sup>xxvii</sup> Eva cabled Frans Knoote and told him that she would marry him if he would send the money for her passage to Asia.<sup>xxviii</sup> In many ways, this seems like an unlikely end to seven years of vocal training. Her decision to leave for Java was steeped in failure.

Eva told her friend Ursula Toomey that she realized en route for Java that marriage would be a mistake, but she went anyway. Upon her return to North America in 1914, Eva minimized the fact that she went to Java in order to be with her future husband, and many articles in fact make no mention of her marriage at all. For example, in *Musical America*, Eva claimed that she was suffering from ill health and that her friends suggested that she take a trip to Asia whereupon the Java and Malay Peninsula “caught [her] fancy.”<sup>xxix</sup> Years later, Eva was more candid, admitting that her decisions to marry and venture off to Java were sparked by obstacles she encountered in her operatic career. In an article she wrote for *The Etude*, in October 1940, Eva revealed, “Even though I was engaged to be married, I hadn’t the slightest intention of getting married. Had the opera gone off as per contract and desire, I would never probably have gotten married, or even gone to Java.”<sup>xxx</sup> In her autobiographical writing, Eva characterized her marriage with the biblical quote: “Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.”<sup>xxxi</sup>

When Frans was back in Holland after WWI, he fixed up a house for Eva with a grand piano, a little dog and a siamese cat. In 1919, he wrote, “I expected you back.”<sup>xxxii</sup> Indeed their divorce papers of April 1918 indicate that Eva deserted her husband and “notwithstanding the requests on the part of the plaintiff in this matter, has preserved in her refusal to return.”<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Frans was undeniably jilted. The majority of information about Eva and Frans’ relationship comes from correspondence between Frans and Eva’s father, Louis Gauthier. Frans expressed heartbreak at Eva’s departure, their divorce, the fact that he never gets word from Eva, and that she treated him like he stood in the way of her career. He wrote to Louis Gauthier on January 8, 1919: “It is impossible for me to forget her and I do not know what is going to happen. But certainly the idea of not having her and not hearing from her takes the last bit of sun out of my life.” He claimed that throughout their engagement and marriage they lived in perfect harmony and never had a quarrel.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

Though Frans never wanted to divorce, he obliged Eva out of a sense of devotion: “I am very satisfied that I did a thing which pleased you after all.” He wrote, “Whatever happens, Kiddy [his pet name for her], let me know and I will do anything I can for you.”<sup>xxxv</sup> In particular, Frans maintained a sense of financial responsibility for her. He shared with her father that he wanted “to live with the satisfaction that I work and live for her, though we are divorced” and offered to

send her money every month via her father so that she did not have financial troubles; “She does not need to know where it comes from,” he wrote.<sup>xxxvi</sup> However he also sent Eva a copy of this letter to her father, which rather contradicts the message.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

In Louis Gauthier’s response to Frans, he told him that he wanted to conform to Eva’s wishes whatever they may be. He wrote: “I always made it a rule not to mix up in her private affairs knowing full well that she had enough experience and knowledge to conduct herself without anyone’s [advice] and left her perfectly free to act as we always do in this country.”<sup>xxxviii</sup> In this light, Frans appeared to be much more paternalistic than Eva’s father, who, in turn, seemed entirely comfortable with Eva’s desire for financial independence and not inclined to think that she should be looked after. From the time that Eva left for Europe at age seventeen, her father did not try to interfere in her autonomy (it is possible that he deferred to Lady Laurier in this regard). As a result, Eva was making decisions for herself from a young age.

Though Frans begged Eva to write, there is no record that she did.<sup>xxxix</sup> During WWII, she sent relief packages of shoes and clothing, with no letter attached, to him and his second wife and children in the Netherlands, as did Eva’s sister Claire. Frans sent thank you notes to each of them, and offered to send tulip bulbs to Claire, “if she has a gardener.”<sup>xl</sup>



For the remainder of her life, Eva presented herself as happily single. She wrote: “There are Gauthiers who should never marry. I am one of them. I have never enjoyed the invasion of personal privacy that marriage represents. Alone, I have never had to share a room with anyone, nor a railway compartment not a ship’s stateroom.” The company she preferred was that of her dog, a Pekinese.<sup>xli</sup>

If marriage was incompatible with Eva so too was motherhood, particularly as she attempted to forge a stage career. A letter she received from Martin Beck, the manager of the Orpheum vaudeville circuit, suggests that she initially considered an (illegal) abortion when she was pregnant in 1916. That is, in March of 1916 she asked for a two-week interruption of her vaudeville contract for an operation (rather than an annulment of her contract altogether). Beck agreed to a postponement of four or five weeks, given conflicting bookings with “Ruth St. Denis, the Morgan Dancers and several other acts of a similar nature.”<sup>xlii</sup> What happened next is unclear; Eva carried her pregnancy to term.

Eva concealed the fact she had a child from everyone. Turbide speculates that Eva told Frans about her son, Evan, while she was in Holland in 1920 or 1921. His response was compassionate. On April 22, 1921, Frans wrote to Eva that he had added Evan to his family tree (as his own descendent). “You should not have one minute more any worry about his future,” he wrote. He also included Evan in his will and testament. Furthermore, he told Eva that he had been in contact with Mrs. Hammonds (the woman who took Evan under her care) about finances and

entreated Eva to “leave this [Evan’s financial care] to [him].”<sup>xliii</sup> When Mrs. Hammonds died in 1923, and Evan was only six years old, Eva arranged to have him live with Mr. and Mrs. William Bussert in Chicago.<sup>xliv</sup> Evan does not recall Frans being in contact with the Busserts and remembers that it was his mother who periodically sent a cheque for his upkeep.<sup>xlv</sup>

Eva had periodic contact with Evan throughout her life, through letters, gifts, cheques and the occasional visit. While he was in college in the 1930s, Eva sent him \$10 a month to pay the rent for his room (Evan covered the rest of his expenses by working in restaurants and doing other odd jobs.)<sup>xlvi</sup> Evan visited Eva in New York City for ten days in 1939, on the occasion of the World’s Fair.<sup>xlvii</sup> He also visited when she was hospitalized six months before she died.<sup>xlviii</sup>

In 1953, Evan asked Eva for a loan of \$1,000 to buy a house. Eva sent \$1,200 as a gift and told him, “It will be taken off whatever I have to leave you.”<sup>xlix</sup> However, Evan was nowhere mentioned in Eva’s will. Through an out-of-court settlement, Evan eventually received a third of her estate. To the surprise and incomprehension of her friends, Eva died with over \$10,000 of savings.<sup>1</sup>

Evan was not secretive about his mother’s identity. He wrote to Eva that people called him at the office to let him know when they heard her on the radio.<sup>ii</sup> However, the Gauthier family only became aware of his existence after Eva’s death. A letter to Evan from the Knox and Knox legal firm (that was handling

Eva's estate) relayed the family's point of view: "They have expressed somewhat shocked surprise that your first contact with them has come after Mme. Gauthier's death. Records and documents among Mme. Gauthier's collection indicate that she had no children." The legal firm requested an autobiographical sketch to support his claim of kinship.<sup>lii</sup> At the time, Evan was living in Bangor, Michigan, working at the Sutherland Paper Company as the manager of recreation, retirement and insurance. He was married with two children.

Once it had been established that Evan was Eva's son, the Gauthier family discouraged Dougherty and Ruzicka from writing Eva's biography.<sup>liii</sup> The family's reaction, which suggests they thought Evan would bring shame to both Eva and the Gauthier family, gives a sense of the mentality that kept Eva silent about Evan's existence. The fact she omitted him from her will shows she did not want her family to know about him but whose best interest she ultimately had in mind is unclear. It is not surprising that in 1958 there was a stigma attached to having a child out of wedlock, especially for a Catholic family affiliated with the Lauriers. It is interesting that Eva's family, at least her father, was so comfortable with divorce in 1917, which would not have been acceptable either according to Roman Catholic doctrine. At any rate, Eva managed to escape both the constraints of marriage and the social isolation that would have resulted from people knowing that she had an "illegitimate" son.

To facilitate her career aspirations, as a single woman, Eva needed to find a patron or someone willing to lend her money. In June of 1917, she received a loan of \$2,500 from a friend.<sup>liv</sup> In 1919, she was quite persistent with a Colment Du Pont in requesting a loan of \$10,000 to be paid in two parts over two years. Du Pont was skeptical about the terms. Namely, he did not believe she would have the means to pay it back as quickly as she said she would. He said he would do it if a Miss Nellie Niles of Toledo, Ohio, agreed to take responsibility for the business side of things and see to it that the loan was repaid. Miss Niles refused. Eva asked Niles and Du Pont to reconsider their decision. Both replied that they thought highly of her but that the loan was too risky.<sup>lv</sup>

Niles suggested that Eva seek assistance from the wealthy philanthropist and patron of music Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge.<sup>lvi</sup> It is unclear whether Eva received financial assistance from Coolidge. Twice (in 1919 and 1924) she performed at the Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music, which Coolidge hosted at her home in Pittsfield, Mass. This was a prestigious engagement (attendance was by invitation only) but not that lucrative. One of the organizers wrote to Eva:

In asking you to give me your terms, I beg you to consider that this festival is arranged on a basis that all participating artists are willing to cooperate to a degree to the artistic idea by making the terms come within the scope of possibility of our Festival which much be conducted on a financial basis which will make the permanency of it secure.<sup>lvii</sup>

Later Eva wrote to Coolidge that the 1919 Berkshire festival was “the turning point of my career in this country.”<sup>lviii</sup> Turbide notes that the attendees were a Who’s Who of the music world.<sup>lix</sup>

Eva’s dependence on wealthy philanthropists came across in another letter she wrote to Coolidge, in which she complained that the commercial dimension of music was “bewildering and so stifling.”<sup>lx</sup> She wrote, “America’s commercialism is killing the artist’s soul, as long as we fought with talent but now its fighting with dollars and I can’t do it anymore . . . our only hope is people like yourself who do things for art and not the financial result.”<sup>lxi</sup>

In 1921, Eva received a three-year, interest-free loan from George and Rosamund Eustis-Corcoran (for an unknown amount). The money was made available to Eva “on demand” at the National Savings and Trust Company.<sup>lxii</sup> Her friend Mrs. Louise Morgan Theis expressed surprise that finding a patron had not been easier for Eva. She wrote, “I wish I were rich. I can’t understand why some rich person hasn’t already supplied you with an accompanist and the other things you need. When anyone is so marvelously equipped as you are for adding beauty to the world, it seems so stupid not to leave you perfectly free to do it . . .”<sup>lxiii</sup>

In addition to pursuing private patronage in the United States, Eva sought support in Canada. There was no strong tradition of philanthropy in Canada (i.e. no family comparable to the Carnegies or the Rockefellers), nor did Canada have the

infrastructure to provide institutional support to artists (the Canada Council for the Arts was only formed in 1957). Eva asked Prime Minister Mackenzie King for direct assistance personally. He turned her down saying that he was not in a position to offer patronage to anyone, particularly not a “young lady resident in the United States” (He did not want to be “ridiculed in Parliament”).<sup>lxiv</sup> Due to his status as a bachelor it would “cause undue embarrassment and offense” to have his name associated with a lady.<sup>lxv</sup> He also claimed that turning down patronage was a matter of policy. He explained: “To avoid having to discriminate between artists, I have come to the conclusion that it would be better for me not to attempt extending any patronage in any direction.”<sup>lxvi</sup>

Eva spoke out frequently on what she saw as Canada’s poor support of the arts. She argued that musicians were compelled to go the United States because it was “impossible to keep the pot boiling in Canada.”<sup>lxvii</sup> Historians concur with Eva’s perspective. Gordana Lazarevich writes:

In the absence of a national cultural policy, artists lacked a consistent source of material and spiritual support. They perceived the attitude of the Canadian public as one of colossal indifference towards the arts, and felt that foreign performers were more readily received than home-grown artists: A Canadian musician would only become interesting to Canadian audiences after having developed a reputation abroad.<sup>lxviii</sup>

Giving recitals in private homes was another means for Eva to earn income. At these kinds of recitals there was no hall rental fee, or other expenses, and all the money raised through (pricey) ticket sales went directly to the artist. The American soprano Alma Gluck (1884–1938) wrote to Eva that she was opposed to recitals in concert halls, which she saw as benefiting that upkeep of the hall more than the livelihood the artists, the majority of whom were “just about barely able to keep body and soul together.” She wrote, “[W]hy throw money away! I shall be glad to buy tickets for a concert in a private home where I know that 100 percent goes at least to the artists but not one cent for a concert in a hall!”<sup>lxix</sup> The downside of private recitals is that they were elitist.

Eva sought patronage for each of her prominent public recitals. Her correspondence is filled with responses, mostly positive, for such requests. Patronage took the form of monetary donations or through the advance purchase of box seats.

Once Eva’s concert career was over and her health was failing, Eva’s finances became precarious. Celius Dougherty took on the responsibility of finding support for her. He revealed that her patrons had “not been very helpful to her when she needed them most, i.e. in her last sad years. To get financial aid for her in that period was, in many ways, a bitter experience.”<sup>lxx</sup> Dougherty might have been referring to people such as Nancy Laughlin, who felt she was no longer in a position to help Eva. She wrote, “The only thing that relieves my conscience now

in regard to helping Eva is the fact that I did help her regularly through many of her difficult years.<sup>lxxi</sup> In 1954, she was lucky to receive a small inheritance from the estate of Alma Morgenthau, a well-known supporter of modern music in New York<sup>lxxii</sup> and Eva's friend. Two years later, Martha Rockefeller offered to support Eva while she waited for the results of a Guggenheim Fellowship application (to write her memoirs). Cesar Saerchinger wrote to Eva:

Knowing how long these things take . . . I have also, and quite confidently, told Martha Rockefeller about you, and she has authorized me to make interim contributions of \$300 a month for six months. You will receive a cheque as soon as I can get it through the works . . . These installments are unconditional and bear no relation to the actual progress of your work.<sup>lxxiii</sup>

Agents and managers were also important intermediaries for Eva's livelihood. In New York City, various concert management firms represented Eva. From 1918 to 1923, she was with the Music League of America. They were responsible for booking her concerts throughout the United States, which amounted to more than forty engagements. Her contracts indicate that Eva received between \$200 and \$500 per concert (Her fee went up as she became more famous—by 1923, \$500 was her standard fee, whereas three years earlier it had been \$300). According to her contracts, Eva's earnings with the Music League of America would have been \$4,750 (for eleven concerts) in 1922, for example.<sup>lxxiv</sup> However it is quite possible that this does not include the cut the agency took (which might have been as much as 50 percent), travel expenses or a salary for an accompanist. Sometimes Eva



required a roster of musicians to perform her repertoire, including a string quartet, pianist, harpist, and wind and horn players, depending on the selections she had chosen.<sup>lxxv</sup> If it included none of these considerable expenses, it is obvious why Eva needed to be someone's beneficiary. Furthermore, her records show that she was frequently in arrears with the agency; statements show she owed rather large sums: \$655, \$1,272 and \$800, for example.<sup>lxxvi</sup>

Between 1923 and 1925, the Wolfsohn Music Bureau (which was affiliated with the Music League of America) represented Eva. By then, she rarely performed anywhere for less than \$500. From 1926 to 1928, she was with Arthur Judson. In the 1930s and beyond, there is no evidence that she had a manager. At this point Eva had turned to teaching for a more secure source of income.

In many ways Eva was adept at managing and advancing own her career.

Between 1912 and 1914 (while Eva was in Java), she made a scrapbook "with innumerable cuttings from *Musical America* of famous singers, neatly arranged in alphabetical order."<sup>lxxvii</sup> On the surface this might seem like an idle pastime. Yet, in doing so, Eva likely made a close study of what it took to be a successful singer in America, gathering information about how she might pursue her own career and mould her public persona. In other words, making her scrapbook might have allowed her to glean insight into career management (handling such things as tour organization, press releases, public image, and program strategies)<sup>lxxviii</sup> and might,

in part, be the reason that she made such astute career decisions, upon her return to North America.

Eva deserves credit for what distinguished her as a singer—her “curiosity, audaciousness and an eagerness to adventure along untrodden paths.”<sup>lxxxix</sup> She was, in the words of music critic Lawrence Gilman, “a student, a scholar and a musicologist” as well as a gifted singer.<sup>lxxx</sup> This mix of roles gave her an edge over other performers in putting together “well-planned and cohesive programs.”<sup>lxxxi</sup> She used the organizational principles of chronology, geography and theme in interesting and sometimes unpredictable ways. Professor John Peirce of Vassar College asked Eva’s permission to use an example of one of her programs in his book *The Art of Program Making* (1951).<sup>lxxxii</sup> It included the second and third programs from her retrospective concerts in 1937.

Eva did a lot of legwork to advance her reputation. Her correspondence is replete with details of the substantial informal publicity work she did: networking and inviting people to her concerts and the concerts of other artists, especially her students. The French singer Doda Conrad described Eva as an institution: “She would go out of her way to do social work among her numerous wealthy lady friends, always carrying in her handbag leaflets for concerts and events.”<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Eva’s self-promotion helped her to build up an audience of the “intelligent public.”<sup>lxxxiv</sup>

Juliette was in a more difficult position throughout her career, not having found a consistent and enthusiastic audience as Eva had. A major obstacle to Juliette's success, and a cause for her perpetual marginalization, was her amateur status as a folklorist and ethnomusicologist. Juliette did not have any professional qualification or formal training in folklore or ethnomusicology, although this fact was not often pointed out (even the entry on Juliette in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* describes her as an ethnomusicologist.) Her amateur status was significant because it meant she lacked the consistent support from institutions, such as museums and universities, which professionals were more likely to secure.

Throughout her career, a lack of money stood in the way of Juliette's ambitions. When she expressed to Barbeau that she wished to tour Europe but had no funds, she lamented, "If only one could work for art and not all this worldly talk."<sup>lxxxv</sup> In comparison, a salaried ethnologist like Barbeau did not have to worry about how his work in folklore would earn him a living or produce "marketable commodities,"<sup>lxxxvi</sup> a need which Andrew Nurse observes as being "one the central characteristics of early twentieth-century folklore research."<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Amateur folklorists like Juliette, on the other hand, were "dependent on selling the culture they collected to sustain themselves."<sup>lxxxviii</sup> In letters to Barbeau, Juliette referred to the \$300 fee she charged for each recital. However, it is not clear whether she frequently received this sum. For example, Juliette complained to Barbeau that

she was only receiving \$30 for a concert in Boston in 1927 (and her travel expenses were not covered).<sup>lxxxix</sup>

Despite Juliette's obvious dependence on a paying public, it is not clear whether she differentiated herself from professional folklorists and anthropologists. For example, Juliette's early correspondence with Barbeau reveals not only a friendship but also the fact that she saw herself as a fellow folklorist and a contemporary. In one letter, she reflected openly on their chumminess and wondered whether it created "the curiosity of the Ottawa people who are generally so kind and love to gossip about [the] poor innocent Folk lorist[s] we are!" In Juliette's view, people did not understand that their mutual passion for folklore was "all for the love of Science!"<sup>xc</sup>

In reality, despite her interest in folk music and "love of Science" Juliette had little to do with anthropology in Canada, which was heavily into its professionalization stage. Beginning with the establishment of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1910, anthropology was considered the domain of professional anthropologists employing standardized research methods (intensive fieldwork) and new modes of anthropological writing (synchronic monograph, problem-centered essay and the compilation of primary documents).<sup>xcii</sup> The Division's director Edward Sapir insisted that professional qualifications were "a precondition of anthropological

research<sup>xcii</sup> deliberately moving Canada away from its earlier amateur phase in Anthropology.

The Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) had been conducting anthropological investigations for several decades prior to the creation of the Anthropological Division in 1910. The GSC, founded in 1842 to encourage the development of Canada's mineral industry (It was part of the Department of Mines), was the "important center of geological and natural science in Canada."<sup>xciii</sup> In 1872, ethnographic collection became one of the GSC's official mandates, though all its practitioners were amateurs.<sup>xciv</sup> Nineteenth-century ethnological research was carried out by those variously described as hobbyists, dilettantes and amateurs, such as Daniel Wilson, professor of History and English at the University of Toronto, William Dawson, geologist and principal of McGill, and his son, George Mercer Dawson.<sup>xcv</sup>

Anthropology in Canada was wrested from amateurs following "long-standing, persistent demands from Canadian, British and American anthropologists concerned about the 'disappearance' of aboriginal cultures in the modern age."<sup>xcvi</sup> In 1884, a conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Montreal. It was presided by the prominent British anthropologist E.B. Tylor for the purpose of promoting a "concerted anthropological presence in Canada."<sup>xcvii</sup> British authorities wanted a map of aboriginal cultures in Canada whereas the American anthropologist Franz Boas thought there was already this

kind “general reconnaissance” of the field. Boas thought Canadian anthropologists should “concentrate on specific [understudied] regions and [contested theoretical] problems such as the development of corn agriculture, the diffusion of artistic motifs . . . and the causes of cultural similarities between North American Amerindians and the indigenous peoples of Africa and Australia.”<sup>xcviii</sup> When the Anthropology Division was finally established and Sapir put in charge, he echoed Boas’s concerns and wanted Boasian anthropologists to work with him. The Division was organized into four sub-divisions (archeology, museum preparation, ethnology and linguistics, and physical anthropology), which mimicked the structure of American anthropology.<sup>xcix</sup> For Douglas Cole, this meant “an incipient Canadian school of anthropology [based on a tradition of amateurs] was “abruptly halted by the dominance of Boas and the installation of his school in Ottawa.”<sup>c</sup> Cole writes, “Sapir’s professionalism and affinities virtually eliminated Canadian pioneers, historians, local archeologists and dilettantes.”<sup>ci</sup>

Professionalization is part of a general trend that is viewed as distinctly modern: the increased specialization and atomization of knowledge, and the demarcation of what constitutes a science. The upshot of professionalization meant that in the early twentieth century, as Roger Abrahams notes, “scientific study had to be organized within already established institutions, such as museums or universities, for individuals to find a place of importance in which to carry out research and to have it published in such a way that it would be recognized as significant.”<sup>cii</sup> In

other words, part of professionalization was the rejection of the amateur.<sup>ciii</sup> Sapir was a kind of gatekeeper in this regard, only allowing certain amateur anthropologists to be hired as assistants.<sup>civ</sup>

The mandate of the Anthropological Division was primarily salvage ethnography (“to collect and preserve Amerindian cultures of Canada”); however, under the Boas/Sapir influence, this specifically meant the collection of artifacts related to prehistoric aboriginal cultures in Canada *uninfluenced* by white society.<sup>cv</sup> In other words, professional anthropology was not just collecting or “accumulating masses of aboriginal artifacts for their own sake.”<sup>cvi</sup> Likewise, the ethnographic exhibitions at the National Museum, for which the Division was also responsible, needed to be selected by a professional in order to faithfully reflect what anthropologists determined to be authentic and pure aboriginal culture.<sup>cvii</sup>

Juliette, whose priority was to perform folk music in costume, really had no role within either the Anthropological Division or the National Museum. It is possible that she did not obtain a university degree because she saw her work on a par with work of professional standards. Both in her correspondence and in the press, Juliette indicated that scientists considered her work legitimate. In 1929, she wrote a letter to Mackenzie King that stated her work has been “accepted by all the large universities of the U.S.A.”<sup>cviii</sup> Though it is not possible to verify professional opinions of her (aside from what is evident from her correspondence with Stefansson and Barbeau), it is hard to imagine that she did not apprehend a

difference between herself and a scientist, or that she was not aware of the disdain for amateurs as “quack educationalists” among professional anthropologists.<sup>cix</sup> Evidently, she eschewed the professional role in favour of costume recitals etc., but she took herself very seriously and expected others to do so too. The reality was, however, that she was always a bit of an outsider.

Even though the pre-World-War-II staff of anthropologists at the National Museum in Canada was exclusively male, (women were employed in support services as stenographers, secretaries and librarians),<sup>cx</sup> professionalization worked to women’s advantage; Susan Hegeman argues that the professionalization of anthropology enabled “the opening up of its ranks from the gentlemen explorers and military men who comprised the ethnologists of the nineteenth century to a more socially diverse group, including women and men, whose origins were in the working class, or who came from immigrant families.”<sup>cxii</sup> However, professional anthropological training was not available in Canada. One had to go to the U.S. or Europe for a graduate degree in Anthropology. It wasn’t until the 1950s that a graduate degree in Anthropology was available in Canada (an MA at the University of Toronto).<sup>cxiii</sup>

Juliette would have had the opportunity to seek professional qualifications while living in New York. Columbia University was the centre of American Anthropology at the time. Many women were trained at Columbia in and around the 1920s, including Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Zora Neale Hurston, Elsie



Clews Parsons, Ruth Bunzel and Esther Goldfrank (the latter two were Franz Boas' secretaries who later became his students). Indeed, almost half of Columbia's anthropology PhDs were granted to women. Judith Modell argues that Boas had pragmatic reasons for supporting women: "Their fieldwork uncovered things to which men didn't have access, and . . . he perceived women to be less in need of economic support."<sup>cxiii</sup> Despite the number of female anthropological graduates, women had less opportunity to continue within the academy. Far fewer of Franz Boas' female students went on to have academic careers, compared to their male counterparts.<sup>cxiv</sup> By 1938, there were only ten women anthropology faculty members in the U.S.<sup>cxv</sup>

However, it is unlikely that Boas would have supported Juliette (even though she boasted that she has sang for him at the Museum of Natural History in 1927). Indeed, Boas was at odds with museum officials regarding what he saw as an over-emphasis on the museum's populist goals, to the detriment of actual research.<sup>cxvi</sup> So while Clark Wissler of the Museum had a positive take on Juliette's song recitals, Boas most likely considered them outdated and possibly misguided, at least where the discipline of anthropology was concerned.

In other words, Juliette's approach to folklore was out of synch with the shift from museum-based anthropology to university-based anthropology that was happening in the U.S. Susan Hegeman points out that this shift represents anthropology's evolving object of inquiry—from the ethnological artifact to the

abstract notion of “culture.”<sup>cxvii</sup> In this context, the practice of “rounding up material artifacts seemed unskilled: the work of dilettantes”<sup>cxviii</sup> and popularizers (like Juliette). Hegeman writes, “Boas himself was remembered as having said, ‘If a man finds a pot, he is an archaeologist; if two, a great archaeologist; three, a renowned archaeologist.’”<sup>cxix</sup> Ultimately, Juliette sought recognition on these kinds of terms.

Another obstacle for Juliette was that she struggled to forge and maintain the allies she needed to have a successful career. In part, this might have been due to her misapprehension and lack of awareness, particularly when it came to recognizing when others were exploiting her. This happened with John Murray Gibbon, publicity manager of the CPR. When they first met, Juliette believed Gibbon to be “greatly taken” with her, “most charming” and helpful. Because of his enthusiasm for her singing, Juliette even changed her mind about signing a twenty-week contract with Famous Players in order to accommodate the Quebec Folk Song Festival in May.<sup>cxx</sup> She did not seem to suspect that Gibbon was using her strategically for CPR publicity; rather she reveled in all the attention and felt confident that she and Gibbon were good friends.

By 1929, Gibbon wanted to sever ties with Juliette because they were no longer mutually beneficial. Gibbon supported artistic/cultural endeavours only when the CPR had something to gain. It is clear he collaborated with Juliette in the interest of promoting his first festival in Quebec. His biographer Bret Kines notes, Gibbon

was “always on the lookout for talented people he could put to work promoting the CPR.”<sup>cxix</sup> However, by 1928 Gibbon was putting distance between Juliette and the CPR. He told her that he believed she “should sing mostly under the Department of Indian Affairs, a museum or the patronage of the Canadian Government in general.” According to Juliette, Gibbon “was afraid it would hurt my artistic standing [to be associated with the CPR].”<sup>cxii</sup>

According to Juliette, she also did not have much success with booking agencies in New York. In 1928, she referred to being represented by the Pond Bureau. A letter to Mackenzie King indicated that she was lukewarm about Pond because they took a commission of 50 percent on all her bookings, “which seems rather too bad,” she wrote.<sup>cxiii</sup> In 1930, she was represented by the Arthur Judson Concert Bureau (like Eva). Optimistically, she wrote to Stefansson, “I do hope at last to fall into the right hands.”<sup>cxiv</sup> However when she left New York, she concluded: “Judsons have proved useless.”<sup>cxv</sup>

Juliette tried to get as much assistance as she could from the government of Canada. Her extensive correspondence with Mackenzie King reveals an ongoing attempt to convince him of how valuable her work was for Canada. Mackenzie King seemed easily convinced of Juliette’s merit and believed that she was making a valuable contribution to the promotion of Canada’s arts and crafts. She boasted to her sister, “M.K. said he can’t personally recommend people [but] he

has allowed me to use his letter of recommendation on my program which no one else is allowed to do so [her underline].<sup>»cxxxvi</sup> Eva would know.

At the time of Juliette's career, however, Canada had little infrastructure to support artists with public funds. In 1948, Eva made an appeal to Mackenzie King:

I wish more would be done to encourage our Canadian artists in their own country. For instance Juliette . . . is outstanding in her field but is practically starving from lack of work—it is very serious . . . Her work is something of future great value to the history of Canada . . . it seems a great pity that it should go to waste . . . Could you do something for her before your retirement—She needs it and deserves it.<sup>cxxxvii</sup>

Mackenzie King's reply indicates that he saw himself as having little opportunity to make a difference:

I am indeed sorry to learn of the difficulties that Juliette is experiencing. I have, as you know, tried at different times, to be of assistance to her through one or another of the Departments of Government. The absence of any special appropriation by Parliament for her particular class of work, and the difficulty of securing the same from Parliament, has proved an obstacle that I have not found it possible to overcome. Whether, Mr. St. Laurent, when he comes into office, may find it possible to have some of the officials view the situation differently than I have been able to have them do, I cannot say. I am sure, however, that he would not be less

anxious than I am to further in whatever way might be feasible, the wishes of Juliette or other members of your distinguished family, in furthering the arts of our country and an appreciation of its history and culture.<sup>cxxviii</sup>

The irony for both Eva and Juliette was that St. Laurent did turn things around for artists in Canada. In 1951, he commissioned the Massey report, which brought to the table the necessity for state patronage of the arts, and led to the establishment of the Canada Council for the Arts in 1957.<sup>cxxix</sup> Later developments, like the establishment of Canada's Department of Heritage in 1973, would have also been a possible source of government support for Juliette's work, provided she brought her politics and approach in line with more progressive currents.

Despite lacking external support, Juliette was often expected to sing for free. She balked when McGill University refused to have her give a recital there unless she covered her own expenses.<sup>cxxx</sup> She wrote to Barbeau that she was only willing to do free work for "real friends" like Barbeau or Stefansson because they had helped her so much in her work.<sup>cxxxi</sup> For example, Juliette was willing to participate in the 1927 "Exhibition of West Coast Art, Native and Modern" regardless of what she was paid. She wrote to Barbeau:

Regarding Toronto [the West Coast Art Exhibit], you must know that financial affairs will not stand in the way, if it is to oblige you, and help in any way, to your success and your exhibit. You have been extremely kind to me and was it not for you I could not have made much study of these

songs. It is through all your efforts and wonderful work among the Indians that Canada knows their value; scientifically speaking and musically, you have done more to help Canadian folklore than any one else.<sup>cxxxii</sup>

Her situation, as it is expressed here, is indicative of how her autonomy came up against both her financial needs and her dependence on others.

The unviability of Juliette's situation becomes apparent when contrasted with that of other women active in the promotion and development of handicrafts through various organizations and guilds throughout Canada. Though they all valued craft in Canada, particularly for its potential benefits to the national economy and employment levels, Juliette worked alone (for profit), whereas organizations such as the Canadian Handicrafts Guild were structured as networks of volunteers.

Alice MacLeod argues that the Canadian Handicrafts Guild reflected the value placed on "female volunteerism" as well as the "substantial role played by [upper-class] women as volunteers, educators, and patrons of the arts."<sup>cxxxiii</sup>

There is no evidence that Juliette was concerned about the status of women in the arts, whereas the purpose of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild was to promote it.

They sought to collapse the hierarchical distinction between art and craft that often served as a barrier to women's inclusion in artistic circles and to their work being valued as "art." According to MacLeod, the Guild founders set the goal of helping "women find productive work in the arts." She explains,

They knew few could hope to earn a living in painting or sculpture, but they were aware of other possibilities. Urban arts and crafts societies and social reform movements promoting craftsmanship were gaining importance in other countries [a reference to the Arts and Crafts Movement in Europe and the United States] . . . and they hoped they could make a difference in Canada.<sup>cxxxiv</sup>

The Canadian Handicrafts Guild also sought to preserve handicraft traditions by advocating for more practical art training for women in Canada. As MacLeod points out, “because fine handiwork was viewed as a ‘natural’ female attribute, Canadian decision makers felt there was little need to provide this art education to women.”<sup>cxxxv</sup> The Guild attempted to counter this misconception.

The women who formed the Guild’s steering committees worked from within so-called “civic roles of nurturing.” McLeod explains, “many privileged women joined purposeful groups to aid their society as a whole. They believed that voluntary work for self-betterment or social benefit, was an extension of their role ‘in the home.’”<sup>cxxxvi</sup> Though the ethos of volunteerism did not challenge gender stereotypes or underlying structural inequalities between men and women, it helped create women’s networks outside the home, and made it possible for women to found their own cultural associations.<sup>cxxxvii</sup>

Juliette, who did not seek out women’s networks to further her goals, remained an outsider both in male-dominated and female-run cultural spheres. Furthermore,

unlike volunteers who worked for social betterment, Juliette needed remuneration for her services. Because Juliette did work that was otherwise performed by professionals (mostly men) and/or volunteers (upper-class women), Juliette fell between the cracks and usually faced financial difficulties.

Gender (gender roles and gender ideologies) played a pivotal role in determining the spaces Eva and Juliette occupied and the social meanings attached to them.

For Eva, this meant contending with a world of modern music in New York was dominated by male composers and finding her place within the community of women who provided “an intricate network of publishers, promoters, performers, editors and patrons”<sup>cxviii</sup> that “laid important groundwork”<sup>cxix</sup> for modernist music. Musicologist Carol Oja argues that women’s roles within the modern music movement have been largely forgotten, and the influence women had “as hostesses of the parlor, as supporters of the opera and symphony, as teachers and as vigorous local activists through music club”<sup>cxl</sup> has been overlooked even though at the time Oja believes it reflected the sovereignty women had “over certain aspects of music making in the United States.”<sup>cxli</sup> “Composers certainly dominated the foreground,” she writes, “but they did not attain success alone.”<sup>cxlii</sup>

Women mainly took roles behind the scenes. In this regard, Eva would be an exception. However as a singer she occupied a lower rank than that of the composer, in the musical hierarchy. Therefore she experienced a similar predicament to her female contemporaries who served as patrons, publishers, and



organizers, such as Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, Alma Morgenthau Wertheim, Blanche Walton and Claire Reis, all of whom poured “creative energy . . . into discovering and encouraging others, not drawing attention to [their] own work.”<sup>cxliii</sup>

By the twentieth century, there was a growing acceptance of women looking for self-realization outside of the home.<sup>cxliv</sup> An environment of cultural feminism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries began to create a space for women who might never marry (also known as “superfluous women”) to enter the paid labour force and take their work and careers seriously instead.<sup>cxlv</sup> Jane Bowers and Judith Tick argue that this also shifted notions of “women’s artistic place”—from domestic/private to public—and women’s career expectations altered. In music, there was “an enhanced consciousness of women’s abilities based in their prior achievements.”<sup>cxlvi</sup> As a result, women sought more advanced instruction, had higher career aspirations and aimed to be accepted in the professional sphere.

By the turn of the century, perceptions of the role of women in music were changing. Firstly, the percentage of women employed in music between the years 1870 and 1900 “rose dramatically from 36 to 56.4 percent.” Indeed, Tick writes, “Music was, according to the 1900 census, one of the professions whose sex distribution altered the most between 1880 and 1900.”<sup>cxlvii</sup> The increase has to do with the fact that more and more women became instrumentalists. The strides

women made as instrumentalists during that time period are especially pertinent because Juliette began her training then as a violinist.

Up until the mid-nineteenth century, a female instrumentalist was considered to be “inappropriate, improper and aesthetically jarring.”<sup>cxlviii</sup> Only the piano and the harp were deemed to have the “capacity to be played in accordance with feminine gestic codes.”<sup>cxlix</sup> “Feminine instruments,” as Tick explains, were those that were used for “domestic entertainment and required no facial exertions or body movements that interfered with the portrait of grace the lady musician was to emanate.”<sup>cl</sup> However, as the nineteenth century progressed, there was a growing roster of instruments that became suitable for women, including Juliette’s choice: the violin. In the period between 1870 and 1900, string instruments, but not wind or brass, became acceptable instruments for women. Tick argues that this change in attitude towards women and the violin is owed in part to the precedence established by two successful women violinists in the 1870s and 1880s, Maud Powell and Camilla Urso. Powell and Urso also advocated for equal opportunities for women in music. In 1888, Urso made a call for action in this regard: “Let my sisters agitate this question and assert their rights. It will in time benefit women with scanty means who have spent their time and money, when now alone men profit.”<sup>cli</sup>

Urso’s comment speaks to the fact that even though there were many more educational opportunities available to women, their opportunities to work as

professional musicians lagged far behind those of men. As professionals they were paid less than men, and more often they played at small-scale enterprises like tearooms, department stores, cinemas, and other venues aimed at a wider public audience.<sup>cliii</sup> In this regard, Beth Abelson MacLeod argues that female musicians were seen as a means to provide low-cost entertainment for the public.<sup>cliii</sup> Because until 1904 in America, women were excluded from the Musicians Union League (which essentially banned women from playing in public orchestras), “lady orchestras” were often the only source of employment for women in music.<sup>cliv</sup> Such orchestras became popular; yet they were marginalized as middlebrow entertainment. For example, the *Musical Courier* (in 1895) suggests that all-women orchestras “might make a success as a unique feature in social engagement.”<sup>clv</sup> They were also featured in vaudeville. One of the most popular of these was “the Fadettes” on the Keith’s circuits. They gave over 3000 concerts in vaudeville between 1890 and 1920, playing a “light” repertoire of classical and popular fare.<sup>clvi</sup> For Tick, the fact that female instrumentalists were funneled into a vernacular institution, which “exploited the prejudice that made them oddities,”<sup>clvii</sup> is an example of the extent to which the “cultivated” orchestral world was male dominated and closed to women.

With fewer performance opportunities than men, women turned to teaching music to make money. Tick’s research indicates that there were always a disproportionate number of women in the teaching profession. In fact, teaching accounted for a substantial amount of the work women did in music.<sup>clviii</sup> So while

things seemed to have changed dramatically for women in music by the beginning of the twentieth century, there continued to be a strong element of the more traditional division of labour, with an emphasis on teaching as a socially acceptable role for women.<sup>clix</sup>

Furthermore, into the twentieth century, priority was given to the role music played in the domestic sphere for young women. It functioned as a social accomplishment and a marker of class and refinement. Alice Stone Blackwell (in *The Women's Journal*, in 1891) observed, critically, "Girls are as a rule taught music superficially, simply as an accomplishment. To enable them to play and sing agreeably is the whole object of their music lessons,"<sup>clx</sup> rather than teaching them to understand the principles of music which would better prepare them to make contributions to music, particularly in the capacity of composers, or as virtuosos.

A lingering Victorian mentality meant that singing and piano playing were considered the only appropriate musical modes of expression for girls and women, and there was still strong opposition to women assuming public roles, and eschewing marriage and motherhood. MacLeod quotes John Freund, the editor of *Musical America*, who wrote, "women who studied in Europe would risk losing the chance to become the gentle, loving wife of some good American, and the mother of children, and so fulfill woman's noblest destiny."<sup>clxi</sup>

The denouncement or postponement of marriage for the sake of one's career was a reality faced by singers. Historically, this was "understandable in light of Victorian law, which, in effect, allowed a husband to forbid his wife to perform. Husbands were also given control of their wives' earnings."<sup>clxii</sup> Opting out of the loss of autonomy that marriage represented was also compatible with the ethos of the "New Woman," such as expressed by the prima donna Mary Garden (1874–1967) who said, "When I sit and think that I can be alone in this world, that I can go into my bedroom and sleep alone, it gives me a shiver of freedom. That is my ecstasy, that knowledge of freedom."<sup>clxiii</sup>

Garden's attitude towards marriage represents the presence and effectiveness of the women's movement that "called into question much received wisdom concerning the totality of restrictions on girls' and women's roles in society."<sup>clxiv</sup> Susan Rutherford observes the female operatic stage performer was a *proto-feminist*, "a role model of female endeavour and achievement,"<sup>clxv</sup> who "enjoyed unusual freedom and independence."<sup>clxvi</sup> She earned high wages and celebrity status, and was sometimes rumoured to have numerous lovers. In other words, she was "the opposite of a dependent and subjugated woman."<sup>clxvii</sup>

At the same time, the role of the singer did not break with Victorian notions of femininity. Susan Rutherford analyzes how the female singer has been "the most idealized musical occupation" since the growth of opera in the seventeenth century. She argues it embodied a "feminine ideal," that of the "songbird" or

“nightingale” associated with such qualities as morality, simplicity, beauty, purity, majesty, and devotion.<sup>clxviii</sup> In this vein, Cheryl MacDonald argues the most favored prima donnas were often “the operatic sopranos whose light, almost girlish voices and fabulous costumes seemed to their fans the epitome of Victorian femininity.”<sup>clxix</sup>

Rutherford argues that the prima donna was a “puzzling social phenomenon” because it combined notions of the “songbird” with “elements of female ambition and achievement.” The powerful figure of the prima donna was sometimes contained, or explained, with recourse to the trope of the “siren.” She explains, “the siren myth provided a kind of classical explication of the singer’s unusual position in society, her submission to the lure of the stage rather to the guidance of husband and domesticity, and her attraction of numerous admirers.”<sup>clxxx</sup> She speculates, “One might even argue that nineteenth and early-twentieth-century society’s most desired and unattainable ‘ideal’ of the singer was in fact an embodiment of both these extremes: the charisma, irresistibility and vocal genius of the siren, mixed with the sweetly docile temperament of the songbird.”<sup>clxxi</sup>

The association of singing with service also minimized the power and freedom of the professional singer. In *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), John Ruskin argued that female music making should be at the service of others rather than a reflection of internal passions:

In music especially you will soon find what personal benefit there is in being serviceable . . . Get your voice disciplined and clear, and think only of accuracy; never of effect or expression . . . but most likely there are very few feelings in you at present, needing particular expression; and the one thing you have to do is to make a clear-voiced little instrument of yourself, which other people can entirely depend on for the note wanted.<sup>clxxii</sup>

Similarly, in the 1880s, George Upton argued that the role of women in music was to be the “recipient and interpreter” rather than the “creator.”<sup>clxxiii</sup> The consequence of being relegated to the status of the “interpreter” is particularly evident in Eva’s career: it meant that her work was primarily cast as one of service for the advancement of the “creators” of music, i.e. male composers (only rarely did Eva perform the works of women composers). In this regard, pursuing a career as a singer was consistent with traditional gender roles, as well as consistent with Amy Fay’s critique that:

Women have been too much taken with helping and encouraging men to place a proper value on their own talent, which they are prone to underestimate and to think not making the most of. Their whole training from time immemorial has tended to make them take an intense interest in the work of men and to stimulate them to their best efforts. Ruskin was quite right when he so patronizingly said that ‘Woman’s chief function is to praise.’ She has praised and praised and kept herself in abeyance.<sup>clxxiv</sup>

To be sure, Eva was not cast unequivocally in a servile role. Throughout her career, many composers prized her endorsements, considering her an impeccable judge of taste and aesthetic value. In 1927, American composer Henry Cowell asked Eva to be an honorary member of the New Music Society, expressing gratitude for her interest in his songs. He wrote, “Your mention of [my] songs [in the *Musical Leader*] is really of the most indispensable value to me.”<sup>clxxv</sup> In 1949, British composer Benjamin Britten wrote to Eva, “Praise from you is praise indeed.”<sup>clxxvi</sup>

Despite the esteem in which she was held, Eva often had her talents described in terms of their service to composers. For example, H.T. Parker wrote, “To the living composers of song, after Debussy, Eva Gauthier gives her voice . . . Into her singing passes every inflection, every suggestion of the composer, be it a golden image of Duparc, a sensuous tremor of Debussy, an ironic stroke of Ravel.” The *Chicago Evening American* described Eva’s voice as “a mirror of expression” and the *Minneapolis Daily Star* wrote that “the artist’s voice is one of the clearest, fullest and best-placed vocal instruments one has heard in many a day.” Indeed, H.T. Parker concluded, “Miss Gauthier serves composers well.”

clxxvii

At the same time, the quality of her interpretations was also linked to her personality. The *New York Sun* wrote of her ability “to take possession of a song



and make it wholly her own.<sup>»clxxviii</sup> H.T. Parker also wrote, “She summons and sustains the atmosphere in which each song has its being and out of herself animates, intensifies and colours it. At her command is the mood, the passion, the picture of every song; while again out of herself she shades, warms and deepens them.”<sup>»clxxix</sup> Pitts Sanborn in the *New York Globe* wrote that Eva was “always a singer of intelligence, insight and sympathies denied to most of the recitaller tribe.”<sup>»clxxx</sup> *The New York Times* declared that composers were “indebted to her.”<sup>»clxxxi</sup>

To honour Eva’s memory, musicians and composers, some of whom had been Eva’s students, formed the “Eva Gauthier Society for Living Song” in 1959. The society was created out of what was initially intended to be the Eva Gauthier-Janet Fairbank Association. Janet Fairbank (1903-1947) is an interesting foil for Eva and one that speaks to the way the role of singer is bound up with the trope of being “the noble servant to male genius.”<sup>»clxxxii</sup> Like Eva, Fairbank was a singer who specialized in modern music (specifically the American art song). She came on the scene slightly after Eva, following in her footsteps (she even consulted Eva on her programs).<sup>»clxxxiii</sup> Fairbank died of leukemia in 1947. As the granddaughter of a wealthy industrialist, Fairbank saw her concert career, unproblematically, as a philanthropic endeavour. An article written about her in 1946 stated, “Most of Janet Fairbank’s recitals lose money, a fact which doesn’t concern her greatly (‘I figure I like to sing and it’s worth it to me!’).”<sup>»clxxxiv</sup> She used the pleasure she received from singing for the greater good of advancing the composer’s career.

The proposed purpose of the Gauthier-Fairbank association was to sponsor one or two concerts annually by young singers (with an emphasis on contemporary American repertory); to commission songs from American composers; and to subsidize the publication of notable contemporary American songs. From these objectives, it seems that the foundation was mostly designed to help contemporary American composers rather than singers like Eva. Indeed the association clarified that its objectives “are to be *financed* by two or three annual recitals by established singers” [my emphasis]. In other words, the established singers were seen as the means to making money, so performers (singers and instrumentalists) were expected to participate for free.<sup>clxxxv</sup>

The objectives of the society, such as they are set out here, mimic Fairbank’s contributions to the music world, rather than Eva’s. Indeed some argued that Fairbank was “the most important singer from the point of view of the American composer.”<sup>clxxxvi</sup> However, the association decided to operate under Eva’s name because it considered “Janet Fairbank’s range of musical interests were too specialized to be compared with Eva Gauthier’s universal interest in song literature”<sup>clxxxvii</sup> and that “the ideals reflected in [Eva’s] career are the most significant element of common interest to all persons present.”<sup>clxxxviii</sup> The composer John Duke was the most articulate and persuasive in this regard. He wrote, “I think that Eva’s aim was (and ours should be) to reinvigorate the art of *lieder* singing by the inclusion of much new and vital material, both classic and

contemporary, rather than to act as a propagandist for contemporary composers.”<sup>clxxxix</sup> Using his recommendations the society established the goals of “1) Bringing composers and singers together for their mutual benefit; 2) Teaching the true art of program building; 3) Making singers (and therefore eventually the musical public) aware of the great amount of interesting song material, both classic and contemporary, which is so conspicuously absent from the usual recital program.”<sup>cxo</sup> The singer was thus positioned as an important mediator between the composer and the public.

According to music reviewer Allan Hughes, the Eva Gauthier Society for Living Song failed in carrying out its mission. Such was his impression following the society’s first concert. He criticized it for presenting exclusively “songs written by its members and friends.” He continued, “It is a disappointment . . . to find that this should be done in the name of one who seemed to have espoused songs on the basis of their merit rather than pedigree.”<sup>cxci</sup> The program was considered “dullish” and thus “did not represent Eva Gauthier’s esthetic principles very well.”<sup>cxcii</sup>

From the beginning, some members saw the danger of the society “[reducing] itself to a small group which . . . inevitably, would reflect itself rather than Eva Gauthier.”<sup>cxciiii</sup> The missing element was not only Eva’s catholic taste but also her “selflessness”<sup>cxciiv</sup> and her “lofty” and “impersonal” goal of introducing the public to worthy music.<sup>cxci v</sup> The perception that Eva subjugated her own interests for the

advancement of others is consistent with defining the roles and contributions of women in terms of service. In reality, Eva was hardly less preoccupied with her own gain than contemporary composers. For this reason, “The Eva Gauthier Society of Living Song” (the discourse surrounding it) reflects a way of memorializing her that recalls Rutherford’s argument about the female singer (idealized as both powerful and docile). Eva embodied competing ideals—personality, taste and ingenuity, servility and generosity. Ultimately, there is little to commemorate her achievements; and so they continue to be ancillary to the achievements of the composers whose works she performed.

## Notes

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- <sup>i</sup> Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, "Introduction," *Women Making Music*, 5.
- <sup>ii</sup> Cheryl MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 26.
- <sup>iii</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.
- <sup>iv</sup> Nadia Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 527.
- <sup>v</sup> *Ibid.*, 558.
- <sup>vi</sup> MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 88-89.
- <sup>vii</sup> Susan Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 112-113.
- <sup>viii</sup> MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 88-89.
- <sup>ix</sup> Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 146.
- <sup>x</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 527.
- <sup>xi</sup> Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 141.
- <sup>xii</sup> MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 77.
- <sup>xiii</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.
- <sup>xiv</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.
- <sup>xv</sup> Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 4.
- <sup>xvi</sup> MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 51.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Lady Laurier to Eva, 24 April 1905, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Lady Laurier to Eva, 14 October 1905, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xix</sup> Albani to Eva, 30 October 1905, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xx</sup> Lady Laurier to Eva, 26 August 1908, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Lady Laurier to Eva, 4 May 1908, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Lady Laurier to Eva, 265 August 1908, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Donalda went to Europe on a Lord Strathcona scholarship, and went on to have a successful career in opera in Europe and North America. She retired at 40 in 1922, taught in France until 1937, and then went back to Montreal where she founded the Opera Guild in Montreal. She was very active as a music organizer in Montreal until her death in 1970. See Ruth C. Brotman, *Pauline Donalda: The Life and Career of a Canadian Prima Donna*. (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress/Eagle Publishing Co., 1975.)
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Edward Frazer to Eva, 30 December 1909, Gauthier Collection, NYPL. Frazer arranged a concert for Eva in Helsingfors, Denmark. He wrote, "Les depenses sont 350-400 francs. Pour une artiste inconnue c'est certainement toujours difficile de rassembler un public pour la premiere fois."
- <sup>xxv</sup> Gustave Thalberg to Frans Knoote, 15 October 1909, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Lord Strathcona to Lady Laurier, 2 July 1910, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 108.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Unpublished notes for a biography of Eva Gauthier (1977-2, II,2), Ursula Toomey, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>xxix</sup> "Lived In a Sultan's Harem to Glean Java Folk Songs," *Musical America*, February 20, 1915.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 182.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> *Ibid.*

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- xxxii Frans to Eva, April 1919 (Box 1, file 3), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxiii Divorce papers (Box 15, file 12), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxiv Frans Knoote to Louis Gauthier, 8 January 1919, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxv Frans to Eva, April 1919 (Box 1, file 3), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxvi Frans Knoote to Louis Gauthier, 8 January 1919, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxvii Frans Knoote to Eva, 8 January 1919, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xxxviii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 183.
- xxxix Frans to Eva, April 1919 (Box 1, file 3), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xl Frans to Eva, 1 November 1946, and Frans to Claire, 10 November 1946, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- xli Unpublished autobiography (1977-2, I, 14), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- lxii Martin Beck to Eva, 4 March 1916, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- lxiii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 242.
- lxiv Ibid., 274.
- lxv Ibid., 244.
- lxvi Ibid., 411.
- lxvii Ibid., 441.
- lxviii Ibid., 507.
- lxix Ibid., 485.
- <sup>1</sup> Ibid., 507. Also letter from Knox and Knox to Evan Gauthier, 7 January 1959, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>li</sup> Evan to Eva, 20 July 1953, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lii</sup> Knox and Knox to Evan Gauthier, 7 January 1959, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>liii</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 507.
- <sup>liv</sup> Ibid., 168.
- <sup>lv</sup> Du Pont to Nellie Nile, 15 July 1919; Du Pont to Eva, 25 July 1919; Du Pont to Eva, 6 August 1919; Niles to Eva, 21 July 1919, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Niles to Eva, 21 July 1919, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Hugo Kortschak to Eva, June 1919, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lviii</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 201.
- <sup>lix</sup> Ibid., 198.
- <sup>lx</sup> Ibid., 334.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Ibid., 349.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Eustis-Corcoran to Eva, 7 October 1921, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Mrs. Louise Morgan Theis to Eva, unknown date (Box 7), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> Mackenzie King to Eva, 28 March 1928, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 363.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Mackenzie King to Eva, 28 March 1928, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> "Eva Gauthier Proud of Being Canadian," unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Gordana Lazarevich, "Aspects of Early Arts Patronage," 260.
- <sup>lxix</sup> Alma Gluck to Eva, n.d. (Box 5), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.

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- <sup>lxx</sup> Celius Dougherty to Ursula Toomey, 1968 (1977-2, II, 8), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> Nancy Laughlin to Ruzicka, 2 November 1958, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Herbert A. Cone to Eva, 16 August 1954, Gauthier Collection, NYPL. She received a cheque of \$1,000 “in payment of your bequest under the Will of the late Alma Morgenthau,”
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> Cesar Saerchinger to Eva, 15 October 1956, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> Contracts (Box 15), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 209.
- <sup>lxxvi</sup> Music League of America to Eva (Box 3, file 6), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxxvii</sup> Leo Riemens to Eva, 13 October 1953, in Unpublished notes for a biography of Eva Gauthier (1977-2, II,2), Ursula Toomey, Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>lxxviii</sup> Annegret Fauser, “Creating Madame Landowska,” 23.
- <sup>lxxix</sup> “Eva Gauthier’s Anniversary,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1936.
- <sup>lxxx</sup> In *New York Herald-Tribune*, December 30, 1927.
- <sup>lxxxii</sup> Professor John Peirce to Eva, 2 February 1943, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>lxxxiii</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 459.
- <sup>lxxxiv</sup> Margaret Carrigan to Eva, n.d. (Box 4), Gauthier Collection, NYPL. She wrote, “the intelligent public will always appreciate you.”
- <sup>lxxxv</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, June 1926 (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>lxxxvi</sup> Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 321.
- <sup>lxxxvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 321.
- <sup>lxxxviii</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.
- <sup>lxxxix</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, February 1927 (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xc</sup> Juliette to Barbeau, 19 December 1925, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>xcii</sup> Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” i.
- <sup>xciii</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.
- <sup>xciv</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.
- <sup>xcv</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.
- <sup>xcvi</sup> Michael Ames, *The History of Canadian Anthropology*, 3-4.
- <sup>xcvii</sup> Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 123.
- <sup>xcviii</sup> Alexander M. Ervin, *Canadian Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology*, 15.
- <sup>xcix</sup> Nurse, “Traditional and Modernity,” 129.
- <sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.
- <sup>ci</sup> Douglas Cole, “The Origins of Canadian Anthropology,” 33.
- <sup>cii</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.
- <sup>ciii</sup> Roger D. Abrahams, “The Foundations of American Public Folklore,” 248.
- <sup>civ</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.
- <sup>cv</sup> Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 133.
- <sup>cvi</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-135.
- <sup>cvi</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

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- cvi *Ibid.*, 138.
- cvi Juliette to MacKenzie King, 31 March 1929, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- cix Regna Darnell, "The Sapir Years at the National Museum," 115.
- cx Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 151.
- cx Susan Hegeman, *Patterns for America*, 44.
- cxii By the 1960s, this situation changed very quickly due to the massive growth of universities across the country. By the 1970s there were 24 Anthropology departments and 8 combined Sociology/Anthropology departments (this meant nearly 500 academic Anthropology positions in Canada). See Ervin, *Canadian Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology*, 18.
- cxiii Hegeman, *Patterns for America*, 9.
- cxiv Deborah Gordon, "The Politics of Ethnographic Authority," 49.
- cxv Maria Lepowsky, "Charlotte Gower," 179.
- cxvi Hegeman, *Patterns for America*, 42.
- cxvii *Ibid.*
- cxviii *Ibid.*, 44.
- cxix *Ibid.*
- cxx Juliette to Barbeau, February 1927 (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxxi Kines, "Chief man of many sides," 88
- cxiii Juliette to Barbeau, December 1927 (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC. From her correspondence with Barbeau, it is evident that Juliette did really care about her artistic integrity. In this vein, she shares with Barbeau that she refused to sing for the 1927 movie *Policing the Plains* because, in her words, "I thought it would hurt any other work I would like to do."
- cxiii Juliette to Mackenzie King, 19 June 1928, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- cxiv Juliette to Stefansson, 31 March 1930, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- cxv Juliette to Stefansson, 8 February 1932, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- cxvi Juliette to Eva, 1940 (Box 1, file 3), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxvii Eva to Mackenzie King, 9 August 1948, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxviii Mackenzie King to Eva, 6 September 1948, Fonds William Lyons Mackenzie King, LAC.
- cxix Glen Carruthers and Gordana Lazarevich, eds. *A Celebration of Canada's Arts 1930-1970*. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, Inc. 1996)
- cxix Juliette to Barbeau, 15 December 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxix Juliette to Barbeau, 7 November 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxix Juliette to Barbeau, December 1927 (Box 196, file 24), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxixiii Ellen Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 4
- cxixiv *Ibid.*, 1
- cxixv *Ibid.*, 75.
- cxixvi *Ibid.*, 60
- cxixvii *Ibid.*, 64.



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- cxviii Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 201.
- cxviii *Ibid.*, 7.
- cxix *Ibid.*, 223.
- cxli *Ibid.*, 223.
- cxlii Oja, “Women Patrons and Activists,” 130.
- cxliii *Ibid.* In Oja’s analysis, the role of women as patrons points to “an unlikely alliance between social feminism and the American avant-garde.” Social feminism provided a model for women’s participation in the public sphere as social service, which Oja interprets as a perpetuation of a Victorian sense of womanly duty.
- cxliiii Bowers and Tick, “Introduction,” *Women Making Music*, 9.
- cxliiii Judith Tick, “Passed Away is the Piano Girl,” 342.
- cxliiii Bowers and Tick, “Introduction,” *Women Making Music*, 7.
- cxliiii Tick, “Passed Away is the Piano Girl,” 326.
- cxliiii Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 78.
- cxliiii Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 49.
- cxliiii Tick, “Passed Away is the Piano Girl,” 327.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 327-328.
- cxliiii Tamara L. Hunt, “Review” *Journal of Social History*, 225.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 226.
- cxliiii Tick, “Passed Away is the Piano Girl,” 332.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 330.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 330-331.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 329.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 326.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 334.
- cxliiii Beth Abelson MacLoed, *Women Performing Music*, 44.
- cxliiii MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 87.
- cxliiii Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 160. If a singer did not avoid marriage on her own accord, she could have been forbidden to marry by her manager. MacDonald reveals that “many female singers had contracts containing clauses which prohibited marriage without the permission of the impresario.” Emma Albani, who delayed marriage until she was well established, avoided the perceived conflict of interest between husbands and impresarios by marrying Ernest Gye, the manager of Covent Garden (MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 87).
- cxliiii Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, 98.
- cxliiii Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 34.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 162.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 47-49.
- cxliiii MacDonald, *Emma Albani*, 51.
- cxliiii Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera*, 42.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 57.
- cxliiii *Ibid.*, 52.

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- clxxiii Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl," 334.
- clxxiv Ibid., 335.
- clxxv Henry Cowell to Eva, 11 May 1927, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxvi Benjamin Britten to Eva, 9 November 1949, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxvii Publicity material published by the Music League of America (MG30-D145), Eva Gauthier fonds, LAC.
- clxxviii "Eva Gauthier Sings at Hotel Gotham," *New York Sun*, December 9, 1936.
- clxxix Clipping (1977-2, I, 10), Eva Gauthier Fonds, Music Archives, NLC.
- clxxx Pitts Sanborn in *The New York Globe*, December 15, 1919.
- clxxxi "Eva Gauthier's Anniversary," *The New York Times*, December 9, 1936.
- clxxxii Annegret Fauser, "Creating Madame Landowska," 23.
- clxxxiii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 454.
- clxxxiv "Song Plugger," *Time Magazine*, Dec. 16, 1946.
- clxxxv Minutes from the Eva Gauthier-Janet Fairbank Association meeting (Box 16), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxxvi Statement attributed to John Edmunds, minutes from first meeting of the Eva Gauthier-Janet Fairbank Association (Box 16), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxxvii Statement attributed to Theodate Johnson, minutes from first meeting of the Eva Gauthier-Janet Fairbank Association (Box 16), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxxviii From summary of first two meetings of Eva Gauthier-Janet Fairbank Association (Box 16), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- clxxxix John Duke to Gibner (Box 16), 3 October 1959, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cx<sup>c</sup> From minutes of Eva Gauthier Association (Box 16), 8 October 1959, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cx<sup>i</sup> Hughes, Allan. "Eva Gauthier Song Society Heard in Donnell Library" unknown source (1977-2, II, 5), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- cx<sup>ii</sup> Ibid.
- cx<sup>iii</sup> Claire Mann to John Edmunds, 20 May 1959, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cx<sup>iv</sup> Helen Boatwright to Philip Miller, 26 May 1959, Gauthier Collection, NYPL, She wrote, "To perpetuate the ideals of two such distinguished and self-less artists is certainly a worthy cause."
- cx<sup>v</sup> Hughes, Allan. "Eva Gauthier Song Society Heard in Donnell Library" unknown source (1977-2, II, 5), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.

## Chapter Four

The new, the unfamiliar, the traditional and the primitive: songs of the Other in  
the repertoire of Eva and Juliette Gauthier

Both Eva and Juliette were involved in the enterprise of representing differences. In their practice, difference was essentialized. “Javanese,” “Indian,” “Eskimo” and even “French-Canadian” was clearly demarcated as the primitive Other, which they produced and appropriated by performing *as* Other, via costumes and other affectations. Their constructions of the Other were underscored by Western ideologies of Orientalism, colonialism, cosmopolitanism and nation building. They worked from within, and reinforced, the privileged position of Western civilization as dominant and normative.

In this chapter, I investigate how Eva and Juliette represented themselves as having a genuine appreciation of cultural difference and framed their encounters with Others in positive ways. At the same time, they assumed the superiority of the West’s cultural and aesthetic values. In this regard, Eva and Juliette drift between a colonialist and cosmopolitan framework. They display, at times, a relativistic attitude characteristic of the latter, yet their activities, locked within a “logic of Empire,” do not shift the power structure that takes for granted the authority of white Europeans to interpret the Other according to their own agendas.<sup>i</sup> They both appeared oblivious to the cultural and political subjugation of

indigenous/colonized people and to the asymmetries of power that vested Eva and Juliette with the authority to represent the Other in their recitals. As a result, their projections of the Other must be framed within a critique of folkloric and ethnographic representation.

Both Eva and Juliette presented themselves as having inclinations towards the exotic, derived from their lineage of French-Canadian pioneers. An article in the *Ottawa Evening Citizen* stated, “Collecting rare songs is an enthusiasm shared by the two gifted sisters.” Eva explained, “You see we have Canada in our blood. And that pioneer spirit, the going on and on through trackless paths—I can hardly describe its lure, but I feel it keenly when I am hot upon my own special trail.”<sup>ii</sup> She argued that her ancestors passed on to her “the instinct to seek out new lands” that lead her to “the wilds of American jazz, the labyrinths of Oriental pentatonics, [and] the jungles of French Impressionism . . .”<sup>iii</sup>

The time Eva spent in Java cast her unequivocally as a free spirit, even though she went there, ironically, seeking the security of marriage. For the press, however, Eva expunged the fact of her marriage and presented herself as “one of those fortunate beings born with the spirit of wandering in them and . . . able to let their star lead them where it will,” as well as someone “intensely interested in Eastern people, their customs and particularly their music.”<sup>iv</sup> Another source described Java as just one stop on Eva’s “trip around the world” and “her marvelous peregrinations through the Orient.” The article explained she was “fascinated by

the native music in all its forms, going to India, Japan, Siam, China, the Philippines and Australia gathering rare and enchanting melodies . . .”<sup>v</sup> Her experiences would have seemed more compelling re-narrativized in this way. Java also functioned neatly as her segue into modern music, because it was Javanese music that introduced her to the quarter tone, frequently employed by modernist composers.

Sophie Fuller argues that women sometimes had a relationship to exotic music distinct from that of their male counterparts. She observes that an interest in the exotic was often superficial, representing “brief flirtations with different sounds, images and dreams.” An “exotic” musical piece was no different than a “Japanese woodcut [or a] Persian rug.”<sup>vi</sup> Certain women, on the other hand, particularly women in music (such as the British female composers about whom she writes), who “stood outside the establishment mainstream,” were actually “searching for freedom outside of Europe” in their Eastern peregrinations.<sup>vii</sup> In this regard, the “exotic” represented an escape and sense of longing for “the mystery of paradise” that would free women from “the clearly understood reality of late Victorian life” that confined them.<sup>viii</sup> The publicity surrounding Eva supports the notion that a woman’s encounter with the exotic was tantamount to a brush with freedom. The exotic, in other words, did not only represent the primitive Other but also the cosmopolitan future: the possibility of “having the whole world as one’s country”<sup>ix</sup> and the privilege of feeling oneself “to exist without boundaries.”<sup>x</sup>

Eva deliberately cultivated an exotic and cosmopolitan identity as her public persona. This strategy was aided by the press, which, for instance, promoted the idea that “people generally become tinged with the atmosphere, and shall we say, personality, of the country in which they stay.”<sup>x1</sup> Her experiences in Java left her, according to one source, with “something curiously suggestive of Oriental countries about her.”<sup>x2</sup> H.T Parker in the *Boston Transcript* had a similar impression of Eva and wrote, “She diffuses a hint of the exotic, as though face and hair had caught a lasting imprint of her Javanese days.”<sup>x3</sup>

At a dinner party in 1918 or 1919, Eva met the artist John Singer Sargent. She regaled him with her tales of Java, and he was inspired to sketch her portrait. The two sketches he produced emphasize Eva’s “exotic” features (her dark eyes and her long black hair). The Sargent portraits were frequently re-printed in her programs and publicity materials. They are an example of how Eva’s association with Java, or Eastern culture more generally, became part of her identity. Sargent later referred to Eva (incomprehensibly) as “the little Persian-Canadian.”<sup>x4</sup>

Eva presented herself as having genuine respect and admiration for what she saw as the highly developed aesthetic sense of the Javanese (whom she described as “natives of an enchanting land”). She also stereotyped them as childlike and naïve. Though she referred to a “distrust” of “white people” brought on by the “havoc” wrought by “the conquerors,” she ultimately characterized the Javanese as blissfully unaware, living more or less in a state of nature. She said: “Java is a

land of great poverty and much happiness. It sounds paradoxical, yet it is true. The coolies, who work in the fields, are slaves, yet they are happy through their sheer ignorance. The climate is always warm, so they require little clothing, and as for food—she shrugged her shoulders—there are bananas and other luscious fruits growing on trees to be had for the plucking.”<sup>xv</sup>

Deborah Poole uses the term “image-world” to describe the way a place is both “imagined and desired.” Stressing that all representations are embedded in “historically specific networks of social [and discursive] relationships” and “a comprehensive organization of people, ideas and objects,” she argues, quoting the art historian Griselda Pollack, “the efficacy of representation relies on a ceaseless exchange with other representations.”<sup>xvi</sup> The romanticized version of Eva’s sojourn in Java is conveyed via the tropes of the travelogue, dominated by the picturesque, wonderment and discovery of “faraway lands” and an imperialist possessiveness. Edward Said identifies such narratives as an “Orientalist discourse that seeks to naturalize the Orient into Western knowledge.”<sup>xvii</sup>

Eva’s romanticized version of encounters with the exotic often speaks directly to orientalized notions of the East Indies. A good example of this is Carlo Edwards’ account of how Eva discovered gamelan music on one hot afternoon:

One day the temperature rose to two hundred and thirty degrees in the shade. The first month of a honeymoon and such a temperature was entirely too much for a Christian to bear comfortably. Madame looked out

the window and the ocean smiled at her. It looked so cool, so refreshing, like an absinthe frappé in that dear Paris. She headed straight for the beach to leap into the sea like Sappho. But suddenly a familiar sound struck her ear. It was unfamiliar too. It was music—Javanese music. A gamelan, a native orchestra was playing the in shade of palm trees. The heat was forgotten. Madame listened all afternoon . . .<sup>xviii</sup>

Eva's encounters with Javanese music and dance left her with the impression that "A more artistic race than the natives of this country it is impossible to find." She was impressed that they would ask her to sing for them and had "only to hear the air once to completely seize it."<sup>xix</sup> By contrast, their music was exceedingly difficult for a European to grasp or imitate (the latter, she exaggerated, might be lethal). She explained:

The players know a thousand pieces of music: and though there is no conductor, they have an extraordinary aptitude for tempo . . . The score of the music is in picture-writing, for example, they will portray a rosebud and the shape of the leaves or the direction in which the petals are traced will indicate all manner of things . . . And the rhythm!—Why I think after listening to those people, that we have no idea of rhythm. Then they have singers, nearly all mezzo-sopranos, who sing from the throat, and yet they can sing all night. If Europeans tried to do it, they would die. It is all marvelously interesting.<sup>xx</sup>



Her study of Javanese music was further hampered, she claimed, because “[i]t is the hardest thing in the world . . . to get the Javanese to sing specially for you or to teach you in any way. They are so shy and reserved and the only way to get an idea of their music is to go to their theatres, or else hide near their festival places when they are celebrating some event.”<sup>xxi</sup> Ultimately, she believed that in order to truly understand the music, one had to “give up years to its research, as Professor Seelig has done.”<sup>xxii</sup>

Despite such obstacles, she did make an effort to understand the “exotic” music of Java on its own terms. She claimed that other Europeans discouraged her from pursuing her curiosity about Javanese music: “All my friends shook their heads and said it would be impossible for me to understand.”<sup>xxiii</sup> Turn-of-the-century travel writer Augusta De Wit expressed a similar point of view. She wrote:

A just appreciation of sentiments and motives repugnant to our own is among the difficult of intellectual feats. The Germans express their sense of this truth by a concise and vigorous, if not altogether elegant, saying: ‘No man can get out of his own skin and into his neighbour’s.’ A different colour between said skins, it may be added, withholds even adventurous souls from attempting the temporary trans-migration.<sup>xxiv</sup>

Though they were greatly exaggerated and sensationalized, Eva’s experiences of living in Java and studying gamelan made her different from European artists before her who also were fascinated and influenced by Javanese culture. Those

earlier artists, such as Debussy, took what Matthew Isaac Cohen refers to as “an experientially distant attitude to Java.” He writes, “They romanced it as a living classical civilization.”<sup>xxv</sup>

The perceived impossibility of understanding the Other is part of what justified the Victorian approach to anthropology, which sought to classify cultures according to Western knowledge and modes of understanding. This mentality underwent a substantial shift in the twentieth century, when anthropology devised a methodology that aimed to capture the “native’s point of view” by learning his language/customs/beliefs and living “in the field.”<sup>xxvi</sup> Encounter with the Other was thus integral, epistemologically, even if the results of the encounter was subject to “systems of representation that render [the Other] unrecognizable” and like other previous Orientalist discourses “say far more about the West than they do the East.”<sup>xxvii</sup> Eva’s situation was similar. Even though Eva’s experiences and encounters in Java were likely artistically enriching and educational, her ultimate goal was establishing how she would present Javanese music to a Western public. References to the “real” Java and her actual engagement with its music, would give way to “exoticism,” which, in music, Carl Dahlhaus defines as “the attempt to add a musical dimension to a depiction, on stage or in literature, of a remote and alien milieu.”<sup>xxviii</sup> In other words, the results of exoticism were fictitious.

This was especially true in the way the press became fixated on Eva’s experiences in a “harem” (the month Eva spent at the Sultan’s court, or *kraton*, in Solo and

Bandoeng). The amount of time she spent in the Sultan's "harem" was greatly exaggerated, from six months to four years. It was described as something she did in order to "obtain a correct version of the original songs" and to learn "the exotic artistry of the orient."<sup>xxxix</sup> In reality, the majority of what she learnt about Javanese music came from Paul Seelig; but her encounters with the exotic were credible enough to an uninformed audience yearning for salacious details about the "Other."

In particular, stories of a "harem" (or the mere idea of a harem), the prime orientalist trope of the "sexual culture of the East," disclose what many be an attempt to sublimate "unrepresentable desires through Othering,"<sup>xxx</sup> or to use the Other "to represent repressed erotic energy."<sup>xxxi</sup> Reina Lewis explains that the hyper-sexualization of the Eastern woman was a by-product of Victorian notions of femininity that saw all middle- and upper class women as "innately chaste" and lacking in sexual feeling. The "harem" had erotic currency because it was constructed as a forbidden place of sexual deviancy (i.e. it represented a licentious sexual arrangement uncharacteristic of the bourgeois Christian family).<sup>xxxii</sup>

Reina Lewis argues that based on nineteenth-century orientalist paintings (by men), harems were imagined to be "isolated sexual prison[s] crowded with half-clothed somnolent women"<sup>xxxiii</sup> or "frozen tableau[x] of erotic ennui."<sup>xxxiv</sup>

European women, on the other hand, who had gained first-hand access to harems, produced rather different representations. Lewis's work, which looks at the

painter Henriette Browne (1829–1901), as well as various travel writers, uncovers an alternative view of the harem as a social realm of power and kinship among women, highlighting a difference between the “‘harem’ as a concept, a set of ideas that had iconic status in the West . . . [and] the actual (and varied) living arrangements of women in Islamic households.”<sup>xxxv</sup>

Eva’s representations of the harem are consistent with Lewis’s arguments about women observers of the harem. In one article, Eva is quoted as saying, “These harem women form a society apart from the rest of the population and constitute a peculiar feminine court, which lives its own life, has its own traditions, manners, customary laws and etiquette . . .”<sup>xxxvi</sup> The emphasis on the harem as a social space (rather than a fantasy space of sex and idleness) challenges assumptions about Oriental women. Eva spoke to this notion when she asserted: “The women of the palace are by no means looked upon as mere playthings or pretty flatterers by the Sultan of Solo.” She argued that women had an integral political role as communicators and go-betweens: “To them is entrusted one of the most important and tactful functions of the royal household—the diplomatic exchange between their master and the Dutch government exercising control over Java.”<sup>xxxvii</sup> She explained:

Three times a week the Sultan receives the Prime Minister. But he never actually sees him face to face. The message of the Prime Minister is carried to the Sultan by one of his ladies of the harem. The answer is returned to the Sultan by another lady of the harem . . . the women can of

course shape the questions and answers with any construction they choose to put into them. It is as much of a game as any political game in any other country. And they love it and play it well.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

In 1867, Emmeline Lott observed similarly that women of the harem were not deprived of power or influence, describing them as “the *profoundest* adepts in every species of political cabal or domestic intrigue” and “state-crafty and astute.”<sup>xxxix</sup> Based on Lott’s, and other’s, descriptions, Lewis writes that women of the harem form an important communication network. Thus, they had “an active and recognized part in political life . . . women’s communication networks were more than mere gossip circles; they constituted a recognized but unofficial part of the structure of communication and power.”<sup>xl</sup>

Eva’s descriptions of the harems of Java, like the ones cited by Lewis, can be seen as challenging the notion that harem women live in a state of abject oppression. However, Eva also attributed to them a certain amount of naïveté. Eva’s comments sometimes conveyed the condescending opinion that Javanese women were happy with their lot in life simply because they did not know any better. According to Eva, the “harem women” were “much happier as they are than they could possibly be in any other state.”<sup>xli</sup> When questioned about twelve-year-old girls forced into arranged marriages, she replied, “Rebel? Why should they? They know better, they cannot conceive of any other fate, so they calmly accept it.”<sup>xlii</sup>

The complacency Eva expressed in such comments is somewhat indicative of her attitude towards the status of women in general. For the American public, the significance of Eva's "Experiences in a Harem" was also related to questions and concerns about women and the franchise, and gender equality. For instance, one article claimed that Eva, "who has traveled all over the world, who has seen other women in all kinds of environments, is better equipped than the average person to talk upon the subject of the economic independence of the gentle sex." Eva's thoughts on the matter recall her descriptions of the harem, in a way: "I think women can get pretty much what they want from men. They always have." In terms of the vote, she said, "I don't know that it would do any harm to give it to them." She went on to argue, "Where women are paying taxes, certainly it is fair that they should share in the decision as to how the money should be spent." But she added that women should not have a superior attitude because women are not equal to men in "a great many ways."<sup>xliii</sup>

Eva's comments on women and harems exemplify how she sought publicity in every way possible, even by indulging the interests of the press. "Amusing anecdotes" became a way for her to generate interest in her concerts. Her adventures, however falsely construed, were essential to Eva's claims of authority and authenticity, and there was an audience eager to hear the supposed insider knowledge she had gained through her experiences.

Though Eva's claims to authenticity are not entirely unfounded, her style of presenting original Javanese songs was significantly westernized. In at least one source, Eva noted that she did not adopt the true Javanese style of singing falsetto because, "as much as I like their music, I do not like their voices, and I am sure my audience would not."<sup>xliv</sup> However, the fact that she selectively borrowed from the style and aesthetic of the Javanese is not mentioned in the press coverage and reviews of her recitals. Turbide similarly observes, "Malgré des accompagnements 'européénisants' du compositeur hollandais Paul Seelig, qui avait lui-même séjourné longtemps à Java et à Siam (la Thaïlande actuelle), ce répertoire parassait suffisamment exotique au public et aux critiques nord-américains."<sup>xlv</sup> One reviewer of the *Ballet Intime*, however, made note of the quasi-authentic style of Eva's Javanese performance. It read, "[Despite] the concessions demanded by a transcript for Occidental instruments . . . [Eva's songs] add their quota to the exotic folk song quality of the *Ballet Intime's* music."<sup>xlvi</sup>

Eva was aware that her knowledge of Javanese gamelan distinguished her from some of her contemporaries or near contemporaries who merely affected "Java" in order to lay claim to a very dubious exotic cachet. Matthew Isaac Cohen observes other twentieth-century interpreters of Javanese tradition "had never actually seen actual traditional performances," even in international exhibits, "But nonetheless identified themselves as 'Javanese.'"<sup>xlvii</sup> Eva, on the other hand, made efforts to study gamelan even after her exit from Java. According to *Musical*

*America*, Eva obtained information on gamelan from the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>xlviii</sup> Her personal archives also contain at least fifty pages of notes on gamelan in her own handwriting, including descriptions of each instrument as well as historical information. The notes also contain generalized descriptions of the Javanese: “enthusiastic admirers of poetry,” “[with a] delicate ear for music,” “very superstitious,” “[people who] can be taught almost anything,” and “[whose] ingenuity is extraordinary.”<sup>xlix</sup>

Eva also made a point of distinguishing authentic Javanese dance, which she described as “the embodiment of music and poetry in motion” from what she referred to as “the wild ‘oriental abandon’ which is commercialized in the midways and bazaars of America and Europe.”<sup>1</sup> *The Modern Dance Magazine* printed an article that singled out Eva Gauthier from other “Occidental Imitators” of Oriental song and dance. In this article, the author Anana Coomaraswamy expressed an incisive critique of the European perspective on Asia. She wrote:

By what curious transposition of ideas has it come to pass that the good European looks upon the lands East of the Suez as a sort of wicked paradise where all his most unconfessed desires are realized! . . . Amongst the last fashion to be seen in Europe and America is a kind of dancing called ‘Oriental’ . . . It seems to reflect certain mannerisms of Indian or Siamese art, but it is certainly not oriental dancing: for one cannot evolve out of one’s own head or learn from American or Russian dancing masters an



ancient art of severe connection, spiritual purpose and intensely cultivated technique . . .

Coomaraswamy praised Eva for her study of Javanese singing “as it exists” and suggested that dancers might follow Eva as a model in this regard.<sup>li</sup> The biography of Ruth St. Denis also congratulated Eva for singing the “weirdly beautiful songs of Burma and Java” with the “familiar artistry . . . no other artist in America can express.”<sup>lii</sup>

In the discursive economy of popular entertainment, “oriental” or “exotic” was a code word for something louche or sexual in nature. Eva’s awareness of this was apparent in the way she downplayed the “exotic” and “oriental” in her vaudeville act “Songmotion.” She used the generic label “international” instead—either to avoid offending the more conservative audiences in the Midwest or to distance herself from what she saw as imposters of Eastern song and dance.

Burlesque acts in vaudeville, sometimes referred to as “coochee coochee” numbers, often imitated some form of Eastern/exotic dance. There were a number of “Salome” dancers putting on various versions of the “Dance of the Seven Veils” and other sexually suggestive acts purportedly based on Eastern religious myths.<sup>liii</sup> One such performer, who went by the name Princess Sita Diva, described as “a shapely woman who had no compunction about showing her figure,” had an act called “The Diva Dasi” set in a “Hindu Temple.”<sup>liv</sup> Another popular dancer was Gertrude Hoffman. Andrew Erdman writes that she “pushed

the limits of acceptability” in her performance of a “Hindu Temple Dance” (in 1909) that “featured Hoffman in flimsy skirts writhing about on stage in a depiction of the ‘five senses.’”<sup>lv</sup>

Erdman observes that at the time “a semblance of the exotic, the non-Western and the anthropological . . . could permit an unusually liberal display of the female form.”<sup>lvi</sup> Performers such as Hoffman, Sita Diva, “Princess Rajah” and Millie De Leon wore scant attire and performed movements that were described as “wild and barbaric” or “seductive wriggles and gyrations.”<sup>lvii</sup> Some of these performances were considered scandalous. For one particularly provocative “oriental dance,” Millie De Leon was arrested for indecency.<sup>lviii</sup> Other performances were censored.

The conservative mindset of the Midwest was insinuated in the *St. Paul Daily News* in a review of Songmotion that noted, “there are no bare-limbed dancers in this act, a matter for felicitation, for the artistic achievements are quite equal, if not superior, to those of extremists who conceive art to be but a near approach to nudity.”<sup>lix</sup> In slight contrast to this description, another reviewer stated: “Nila Devi is a versatile dancer. Her freedom of movement is not hampered by unnecessary clothing,”<sup>lx</sup> suggesting in a subtle, yet awkward, way that her performance might be titillating, and Devi scantily clad.<sup>lxi</sup>

More than the dancing or the music, it seems that the sets for Songmotion, which were originally designed for the performance of Javanese songs, were largely responsible for giving the act an exotic and unusual flavour even though the music had moved, for the most part, in the opposite direction. The *Los Angeles Examiner* spoke to the particular mixture of song and scenery in Songmotion:

[Songmotion] originated as an exact Javanese combination of song and dances, but it was found to be too far removed from general comprehension of vaudeville audiences. So the settings were retained, the costumes continued to be of the original type, but the music was altered into grand opera arias and Mlle. Devi does the toe dancing that made Paris famous. It is, even modernized, the most singular act of the two-a-day.<sup>lxii</sup>

This description from the *Los Angeles Examiner* reveals much about the tastes of vaudeville audiences. At least it suggests that audiences responded more favourably to “exotic” scenery and costumes (Eva’s costumes were authentic cotton and silk batik, which Turbide speculates were “procured from the Dutch representative of the East Indian Exhibit at the Panama Pacific International Exposition”<sup>lxiii</sup>) than “exotic” music. On the whole, the changes made to Eva’s program imply that a fascination with the Other resonated only superficially with the general public who may have preferred the picturesque aspects of the exotic over anything that actually challenged Western conventions.

Nonetheless, the modern period is widely associated with a fascination for the non-Western, particularly in the arts. In *The Poetics of Imperialism*, Eric Cheyfitz

argues that fascination with the exotic is linked to personal fantasy. He writes that the Other becomes a “usable fiction.”<sup>lxiv</sup> This is similar to Edward Said’s notion of orientalism, which posits that the Other is a colonial fantasy, i.e. that the native Other does not exist, and never did, the way he/she does in the European imagination.<sup>lxv</sup> Cohen, who focuses primarily on the phenomenon of “Javanese dancers” argues that the enactment of Javanese rituals on “stages outside of Indonesia . . . represents a new way of being in the imaginative space between cultures.”<sup>lxvi</sup> By this he refers to “inventing” Java through the work of interpretive artists, particularly “exotic dance.” Cohen contends that in this regard Java is “less a bounded geographical entity” than a “fantasy object”: “something one can become by taking on the appearance and structures of desire of the other,” a mentality, he argues, that is distinctly modern.<sup>lxvii</sup>

While there are certain immutable aspects to orientalism, what changes in the modern period, according to Barkan and Bush, is the *acceleration* of the Western appropriation of the non-Western. Particularly they note that the Other becomes not just a topic of ethnographic discourse, but a facet of both high and popular culture. Appropriations of the Other also burgeoned with the increase of world travel and the trend of bringing back photographs, artifacts and souvenirs from foreign countries.<sup>lxviii</sup> Barkan and Bush assert that the Other is more a part of twentieth-century modernist culture than any period that preceded it, heralding, according to Bruce Knauff, a new kind of globalism that gave rise to various flows—“flow of commodities, flow of people, flows of imagination, flows of

transnational discourse.<sup>lxi</sup> Knauff argues that globalism foregrounded consumption and laid the groundwork for consuming the Other in various contexts and forms.

Barkan and Bush contend that the modern period brought heterogeneity in representation/modernist appropriations of the Other and called for attention to the “ideologically diverse representations of the primitive within the Western cultural economy.”<sup>lxx</sup> One relevant component of the modern cultural economy in this regard is modernist artistic practice. For Michael North, non-Western influences in art can be interpreted as “part of an escapist daydream” and aligned with an attraction to the “radical disruption of European representational conventions,” which modern artists embraced.<sup>lxxi</sup> The volume *Recovering the Orient* favours this view of “the exotic as creative stimulus,” and highlights the potential it presents to be freed of Western conventions.<sup>lxxii</sup> Contributors see this potential in a myriad of examples, from the influence of Javanese music in Debussy and the inspiration of Japanese art in Monet to the link between Cubism and African masks. In the U.S., it is evident in the work of modern dancers and choreographers such as Martha Graham. Ramsay Burt argues, “[Graham] does not value ‘primitive’ . . . dance out of a desire for a return to primitive one-ness with nature but for its potential to deconstruct outmoded cultural traditions, just as Cubist, Expressionist and Dadaist artists in Europe has used ‘primitive’ art to break away from and destroy the aesthetic forms and conventions of nineteenth-century bourgeois culture.”<sup>lxxiii</sup>

Fantasies of the Other were also informed by modern psychoanalytical ideas, which posited that locating divisions between self and other are “essential to well-being.” The Other became a way to manage the precariousness of a sense of self and deal with threats to self-integration.<sup>lxxiv</sup> Sander Gilman writes, “The fear we have of our own collapse does not remain internalized. Rather, we project this fear onto the world in order to localize it and, indeed, to domesticate it. For once we locate it, the fear of our own dissolution is removed. Then it is not we that totter on the brink of collapse, but rather the Other.”<sup>lxxv</sup> Primitive art, therefore, as consumed by modern Europeans and Americans, functioned to assuage anxieties as well as to provide Europeans with inspiration in visual art, choreography and music.

In short, Melba Cuddy-Keane argues, “The modernist period [1850–1945] merits attention for its significant role in the emerging global consciousness” and a “growing awareness on the part of the ordinary citizen of living in a global space.” This was related to an increase in world travel, travel literature and other accounts of life in non-Western areas, the broader dissemination of information through newspapers and broadcasting, and dispositions in the arts and popular culture. Eva’s presentation of Javanese music can be seen as part of a trend to import and present the culture of non-Western Others, starting with Colonial Expositions and World’s Fairs. As Bruce Knauft emphasizes, such a trend “drew fundamentally on mercantile and incipient capitalist exploitation of non-Western

areas.”<sup>lxxvi</sup> Indeed, Eva’s case of Javanese music and the opportunities she had to present it to audiences outside of Java are directly related to the European exploitation of the East Indies. That is, Eva’s study and performance are not necessarily exploitative but the circumstances—her marriage to a Dutch tea plantation manager that brought her to Java—point exactly to “the Western intrusion and exploitation of non-Western peoples.”<sup>lxxvii</sup> In other words, the “exotic” turn Eva’s careers took reflects how it is squarely situated within Western and colonial modernity, both culturally and materially.

From a material perspective, Eva’s representations of Java are enmeshed with the burgeoning of industrial capitalism, “the increasing activities of Europeans overseas” and the drawing in of “non-Western areas into a global network of commodity production”<sup>lxxviii</sup> (tea in this instance). Interestingly, Matthew Isaac Cohen points out that “Java” in the quotidian American lexicon is a synonym of coffee,<sup>lxxix</sup> supporting Deborah Poole’s argument that notions of non-Western people and places are shaped by “the production and exchange of the material goods or commodities that form the life blood of modernity.”<sup>lxxx</sup>

Juliette was different from Eva in that she saw herself as a cross between an entertainer/artist and a scientist. A journalist in the *New York Sun* labeled Juliette a “research artist,” declaring in a headline: “Mlle. Gaultier Manages to Combine Playing Indian with Real Research Work in Indian Folk Songs and Legends.”<sup>lxxx</sup>

In other words, Juliette and her admirers saw her as making anthropologically informed attempts to communicate folk culture to a broad public.

In this endeavour, Juliette was not alone, and relatively speaking, not particularly successful. In Canada, for example, Emily Carr (1871–1945) might be classified as a “research artist” for her documentary approach and her commitment to experiencing, recording and learning about Native culture. Regarding Carr’s work on totem poles, Gerta Moray argues: “She committed herself to observing standards of accuracy that would satisfy current anthropological criteria,<sup>lxxxii</sup> particularly in the sense that Carr “respected Native cultures as a coherent system that made sense on their own terms,<sup>lxxxiii</sup> an approach which encapsulated the relativism of modern anthropology.

In the U.S., Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960) and Katherine Dunham (1909–2006) are examples of two academically trained African-American anthropologists who researched, produced and performed in concerts of black folk songs and dances. Hurston’s concerts, described as “original Negro folklore,” were derived directly from her anthropological research in the southern states and the Bahamas, which she undertook as part of her doctoral studies at Columbia University. Anthea Kraut argues that Hurston was particularly concerned about “commercialized depictions of blackness [which] were being misconstrued as representative of African-American life” and wanted to offer her own interpretations of black culture to a predominantly white audience.<sup>lxxxiv</sup> According



to Kraut, Hurston was determined “to offer a corrective to contemporaneous presentations of African-American culture on Broadway and in the concert hall,” which often “valorized blackness as a vital, unfettered alternative to the alienation of modernity.”<sup>lxxxv</sup>

Juliette’s performances likely had more in common with the kind of representations Hurston was attempting to counteract. To compare them only underscores the fact of Juliette’s cultural appropriations vs. Hurston’s concerts “that reveal in embodied form her own nuanced theory of black vernacular expression.”<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Likewise, Katherine Dunham was a “research artist” of a different order because she successfully established “Negro Dance” as a serious artistic genre. Dunham’s stagings and choreography were based on anthropological fieldwork in the Caribbean. Historian John Perpener writes that at the time there was much made of the fact that Dunham, a black woman, could be taken seriously in universities and anthropological societies, while also having a stage persona that was “sensuous and glamorous.”<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Kraut describes this as her “dual role as a sensuous performer and scholarly anthropologist,” and her “simultaneous embodiment of the ‘primitive’ and the ‘intellectual.’”<sup>lxxxviii</sup> This same duality cannot be seen in Juliette’s case because her style of performance, less “sensuous” than Caribbean dance, would not be considered as antithetical to a scholarly persona.

As suggested in this brief comparison with Hurston and Dunham, Juliette's costume recitals were critically flawed. She was, to use Susan Hiller words, "party to the erasure of self-representation of colonized people in favour of a western representation of their realities."<sup>lxxxix</sup> In fact, by combining research and art, Juliette seemed to point to problems shared by both fields. Hiller argues, "While anthropology tries to turn the peoples who are its subject matters into objects, and these 'objects' into 'theory,' art tries to turn the objects made by the people into subject-matter, and, eventually, into 'style.' Both practices maintain, intact, the basic European picture of the world as hierarchy with 'ourselves' at the top."<sup>xc</sup>

It is clear that Juliette's practice of appropriating and interpreting indigenous culture was doing nothing, in a practical sense, to ensure the survival of the cultures she purportedly supported. More specifically, she seemed to have nothing to say about the criminalization of indigenous culture, and the assimilationist policies of the Indian Act. Lynda Jessup makes this point with reference to Juliette's participation in the Highland Gathering in Banff in 1927. There Juliette sang in Native costume alongside aboriginal performers. Jessup writes,

performers from the Blood Reserve in MacLeod and the Stoney Reserve in Morley, Alberta . . . were permitted to participate in Native dress by special permission of the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott . . . The awful irony that such activity by Aboriginal peoples was outlawed seemed to have little impact on Gaultier,

however, who later delighted in her belief that the whole trip had made her more ‘Indianized.’<sup>”xc1</sup>

In Juliette’s account, being more “Indianized” was better for the staging of her Indian programme. Her attitude towards Native people themselves was entirely romanticized, apolitical and seemingly devoid of any grasp on reality. She gushed to Barbeau: “ I love Indians. They have won my heart. They were so kind to me. They fascinate me. I could listen to them forever.”<sup>”xc2</sup>

Furthermore, Juliette’s “discovery” of aboriginal folk music is often underscored in reviews of her program. Following a concert she had given at the Little Theatre in Ottawa, February 1928, at the persuasion of Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, a reviewer in the *Ottawa Citizen* credited Juliette with bringing folk songs “from obscurity,” and, by revealing their “unsuspected beauty,” elevating them “to artistic heights never dreamt of by their original singers.”<sup>”xc3</sup> This description of her repertoire more or less grants Juliette ownership of the material she uses, as it was she who rescued it from oblivion and imbued it with aesthetic value.

This attitude is consistent with one that pervades anthropology of the time—of obviating the Native. Bronislaw Malinowski claimed that Natives do not grasp the significance of their cultural products, nor the order and coherence of their culture. Instead it is the anthropologist that has the power to grant a “[system] of intelligibility to Native peoples.”<sup>”xc4</sup> James Clifford notes that this attitude takes

on a moral as well as a scientific dimension in the context of salvage or “redemptive” ethnography; that is because “It is assumed that the other society is weak and ‘needs’ to be represented by an outsider.”<sup>xcv</sup> The unjust glorification of the West’s ethnographic representations of cultural “Others” came across in the following press description of Juliette’s work, which praised her for “living and dressing as one of themselves [the Eskimos and Indians], entering into their modes and customs, for the purpose of capturing and preserving for the civilized world the haunting age-old melodies of these ancient and now disappearing races.”<sup>xcvi</sup>

Juliette’s claims to authenticity and authority are problematic. In the early twentieth century, anthropology developed its methodology of participant observation. Claims of having been “in the field,” or “entering into . . . the modes and customs [of natives]” gave the anthropologist/academically trained fieldworker the power to designate authenticity.<sup>xcvii</sup> Juliette was complicit with this ethnographic construction of authority. She paraded endorsements by others who could lay claim to the anthropological authority of “being there.” For example, her publicity materials quote Stefansson as follows: “Except for the quality of your beautiful and well trained voice, you rendered the songs exactly as if the Eskimos themselves were singing.”<sup>xcviii</sup> She also played up her field experience in the press, though it was minimal. Eva likewise exaggerated Juliette’s fieldwork. In one source, Eva claimed that Juliette herself transcribed

“the folk songs of the Eskimos and all the Indian tribes” and that she had accompanied Stefansson on two of his Arctic expeditions.<sup>xcix</sup>

For Juliette, it was her costumes and stage settings especially that conferred authenticity, almost to the point that her costumes seemed to lead her to lose any sense of herself as an “outsider” (“I just love being an Eskimo!”<sup>c</sup>). This suggests a considerable degree of fantasy on Juliette’s part, as well as an entrenched acceptance by her and the audience of the objectification of the “Other” as nothing more than a “primitive” garment.

By today’s standards, it is hard to imagine that people would associate Juliette’s costume recitals with authenticity rather than affectation. In her performances, there is no real connection between place and authentic experience or identity; rather identity is associated with costumes and a background of aurora borealis. In other words, there was a naïve equation between authentic identity and theatrical self-presentation. In her performances, nothing registered as artifice; all was authentic. Today it would be the other way around. For example, the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife, an annual two-week cultural festival in Washington, D.C. “often presents performers without costumes or sets on a bare platform in a tent.” The festival organizers believe “this plain style of presentation—the very absence of the theatricality we associate with folkloric troupes—is an ‘ethnographic’ way of marking the authenticity of what appears on the stage.”<sup>ci</sup>

The American Folklife Festival offers an example of how the practice of folklore outside the university evolved over the course of the twentieth century. Indeed, it wasn't until the 1970s that there was a distinct academic field of "public folklore," concerned with "the representation and application of folk traditions . . . within and beyond the communities in which they originated, often through the collaborative efforts of tradition bearers and folklorists or other cultural specialists."<sup>cii</sup> Examples of public folklore would include local museums and folk festivals, community radio programs and documentary films. Juliette's era was only beginning to exploit the public, commercial and political uses of folklore, which left her with few options, and certainly few laudable ones.

In the late 1920s, Juliette was successful in bringing Canadian folk music to the public, in the sense that she gave it popular appeal. Initially, Diamond Jenness was somewhat doubtful that this would be the case. In a letter to Stefansson, he wrote: "As you know, the Eskimo songs sound rather differently in a snow hut, but perhaps she may find themes in them which would appeal to the musical public, when interpreted and arranged by an artist. I have not heard her sing these songs, however, so I do not know how closely she adheres to the original themes."<sup>ciii</sup> Stefansson replied to Jenness enthusiastically in Juliette's favour, describing her singing as

remarkable from the artistic and popular point of view . . . As for fidelity to the Eskimo, I was astonished by it. Of course her voice with its training

and fine natural quality is a great deal better than any Eskimo voice that we have heard singing the same songs. There is a certain impression of sophistication introduced, too, in some ways, especially by piano accompaniment. But when she sings without accompaniment or with only a drum, which she beats herself, you might well think you were listening to an Eskimo.<sup>civ</sup>

Stefansson, however, ignored the issues of cross-cultural translation that affect not only presentation but also the collection and transcription of non-Western music. Some of Juliette's material was derived from *The Songs of the Copper Eskimo* (1925), collected by Diamond Jenness on the Stefansson expedition and transcribed in terms of Western tonality by Helen Roberts. This volume was the subject of ethnomusicological critique shortly after its publication. George Herzog's review of *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* in the *Journal of American Folklore* argues that to understand Eskimo music in terms of Western concepts is to misinterpret what one is hearing. Significantly, he takes issue with Robert's assessment that the scale is recognized and represented by the Copper Eskimo. Herzog argues that it is not: "What we have in these melodies is that musical growth out of which scales are elaborated, and not compositions undertaken in conformity to norms of interval order already fixed in the consciousness of the singers."<sup>cv</sup> For Herzog, the concept of the scale "is consistent with the tendency of our civilization to deal with clearly defined, fixed, objective elements."<sup>cvi</sup> According to Herzog, such a tendency is not applicable to "primitive music,"

which has less to do with “fixed points” than with flexible melodic functions and variability.<sup>cvii</sup> Secondly, the song texts themselves, which are stark by Western standards, represent a particular kind of relationship and dependence on the audience to apprehend or fill in meaning. In any given song, a single word may be meant to evoke a whole occurrence.<sup>cviii</sup>

The problem of translation, or the untranslatability of Inuit song, has meant that assessments of Inuit music have centered on its enigmatic qualities; as Canadian author and literary critic Rudy Wiebe writes in 1972, the appreciation of Inuit song lies in its rhythmic line and repetition, both of these are, in his words, beautiful and strange.<sup>cix</sup>

Yet the enduring and intractable foreignness of Juliette’s Inuit repertoire to a Western ear meant that New York proved an ideal starting point for Juliette’s career. Namely, it was the centre of avant-gardism in North America, a movement that placed high aesthetic value on the shocking and the strange. Though, unlike her sister Eva, there is no evidence that Juliette deliberately sought out a niche for herself within the avant-garde, her repertoire had appeal among its disciples. *New York Nights* (1927), by Stephen Graham, describes a performance by Juliette at the Washington Square home of Romany Marie (“the Queen of Greenwich Village”). In his account, Stefansson was there with Juliette, although Juliette is mistakenly referred to as “Therese de Gautier.” Graham contrasted the aesthetic qualities of Juliette’s Inuit music with her French-Canadian songs. He responded



to the radically “other”/aesthetically subversive qualities of her performance, its surrealistic shock value, and its interplay between the familiar and the strange.

Specifically, he wrote:

An unearthly keening, snow huts, little people fur-wrapped, reindeer, darkness dimly lighted by snow, explorers, an explorer’s mind—A spell has been wrought. But what does it mean? Where am I? Whose galoshes have I put on by mistake? . . . Time, heartbeats, civilization, history? The wail of Eskimo music seems to remind us that it is not civilization. It says so much that is paradoxical, says that the West is East, that the New World is the Old World. Asia seems to expand in the night, Europe is an extension of Asia, America is an extension of Europe. In an occult sense Asia is the subconsciousness of everyone, Asia is the world . . . It was different when the Frenchwoman turned to Canadian-French folk-music. We were rendered more comfortable, were nearer together, more domestic. The centuries telescoped and gentle Europe consoled the spirit with its communicable hopes and loves. The old pots on the shelves, the country plates on the walls, were pleased.<sup>cx</sup>

While Graham’s reaction might not reflect the effect Juliette intended to have on her audiences, it nonetheless would have resonated within artistic circles at the time. The exoticized artistic value of her repertoire might have influenced the fact that in 1926, she was offered a sixteen-week engagement at the Neighbourhood Playhouse in New York. Stefansson described the Neighbourhood Playhouse as

“the most artistic theatre in New York, maintained by wealthy people for the sake of putting on plays etc. that are considered to have great artistic merit and which it is thought may not make a popular success.”<sup>cx1</sup> The fact that Juliette performed at such a venue demonstrates that her singing was appreciated as a form of high art.

Stefansson’s support of Juliette was based on an impression that the public (certainly a more affluent, educated and urban public) craved the exotic and the strange. Along these lines, Janet McNaughton writes, “The fact that Gaultier was able to earn a living by performing folk and primitive music is an indication of the interest among educated urbanites in the cultures of rural and pre-industrial peoples of the time.”<sup>cxii</sup> However, the reality was that Juliette struggled to earn a living this way, indicating that she did not capitalize on the intellectual appreciation of the overlap of art and anthropology, and the interest in the culture of “Others” found among the educated and artistic elite. In fact, more and more beyond 1928, Juliette performed for children. Rather than striking a chord with a highbrow and modern preoccupation with the exotic, her performances tapped into a fascination with the Other and the strange that was distinctly childish and unsophisticated.

Interestingly, Jenness told Stefansson, “I hardly think that [Juliette] would make a reputation on Eskimo and Indian songs alone, but they will always be a unique and interesting item in her repertoire.”<sup>cxiii</sup> Eva, similarly, did not make a lasting reputation on her Javanese material alone. Eva’s purpose, to always present

something new and *unfamiliar*, contrasts with Juliette's, which was to *familiarize* audiences with aboriginal and traditional French-Canadian music. In this regard, Juliette's intentions were out of synch with the avant-garde and modern art and she could not sustain herself in this milieu. As George Marcus and Fred Myers explain, the tension between the ethnographic and avant-gardist investment with the Other lies in the difference between *understanding* human activities and products and *experiencing* the "shock of the new."<sup>cxiv</sup>

The unusual or unexpected combination of Juliette's classically trained voice and primitive music created a buzz of "novelty" around her performances. Stefansson thought that in order to be successful, she ought to play up her uniqueness: the fact that she was a white woman singing in native languages accompanied by primitive instruments (which no one had ever done before). When Juliette told him that she would be singing French-Canadian songs at the Greenwich Village Theater in 1928, he advised her:

I hope you will at least give three or four Eskimo [songs]. The French songs are beautiful, but the Eskimo songs surprise people more and therefore make a stronger impression—with equal delight in the singing itself, your audiences would talk ten times as much about the Eskimo music and that would be publicity that translates into box office returns which the management should appreciate.<sup>cxv</sup>

Juliette's primary intent, however, seemed to be proving that folk songs were worthy of serious musical consideration and that they had "a place in a concert hall as well as a museum."<sup>cxvi</sup> When she sang in the concert hall in New York, elsewhere in the U.S. and Europe, "Canadian" music was considered akin to "primitive" music, and loosely synonymous with non-European. This is probably why French-Canadian music and indigenous music could appear alongside each other in the same program as examples of Canadian songs, despite the fact that one group belonged to the category of settlers/colonizers, and the other to that of the conquered/colonized. They both had so-called primitive qualities that contributed to the same charming, naïve and romantic image of Canada.

Juliette's performances of Canadian folk music were intended to evoke the primitive with its "positive" connotations (purity and simplicity) rather than inferiority and lacking in artistic merit. She did not always succeed. In a review of her concert at Wellesley College, February 15, 1927, the *Boston Transcript* was somewhat critical of Juliette, noting that her "tones rose and fell with a quaver and an occasional portamento, which, though unmusical in the accepted 'art' sense, undoubtedly must have characterized the singing of these songs in their original setting."<sup>cxvii</sup> The fact that the reviewer did not think highly of the French-Canadian material is betrayed in him/her using the lukewarm term "noteworthy" to describe how Juliette and Miss Smail (who introduced Juliette's recital with a lecture on the Habitants of Old Quebec) devoted themselves "to preserving the attractive simplicity of nothing less homely than the folklore and nothing less

rudimentary than the folk songs of their joint program.”<sup>cxviii</sup> The *Boston Monitor* review also expressed some uncertainty with regards to the material, writing that the French-Canadian songs possessed “definite characteristics of their own, neither French nor English, but definitely and clearly a product of the New World and its vast wilderness.”<sup>cxix</sup>

However, the negative emphasis on the primitiveness of French-Canadian music in these Boston reviews might have had less to do with particular biases of reviewers than with the tone set by Margaret Smail in her lecture on the traditional culture of French Canada. Indeed, Juliette complained about Smail to Barbeau saying that Smail’s speech “made us all pass for poor miserable uneducated beings.”<sup>cxx</sup> It also might be attributed to Juliette’s style of presenting folk music. Juliette was committed to what she considered the authentic representation of aboriginal and French-Canadian song. For her, this was best achieved through simplicity. She preferred singing the songs unaccompanied, or with the accompaniment of a drum or string instruments: violin or Autoharp, rather than piano. For French-Canadian songs, she also liked using a spinning wheel for rhythm.

At the Wellesley College recital, Juliette performed for the first time without piano. This was because the organizers “refused to pay for an accompanist.”<sup>cxxi</sup> Instead, Juliette improvised by accompanying herself on the Autoharp, an elementary chorded string instrument. According to Juliette, she received praise

for the absence of piano accompaniment and her choice of the Autoharp, which henceforth became her signature instrument. Among those who preferred the Autoharp to piano were Leopold Stokowski and her sister Eva. In a letter to Barbeau, Juliette wrote that Stokowski “begged of me never to sing without the harp.”<sup>cxvii</sup>

Others, including Marius Barbeau, preferred a more embellished version of folk material. Barbeau’s influence on Juliette is unparalleled, and to a large extent, it was his work in Canadian folklore that enabled Juliette to pursue her musical interests. In fact it is difficult to understand Juliette’s career as a folksinger without examining Barbeau’s research interests and career. A Quebec native, he earned a Rhodes Scholarship and studied the newly emerging discipline of Anthropology at Oxford. He also studied with Marcel Mauss at the Sorbonne before returning to Canada in 1911 to take an ethnologist position at the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada, making him only the second person in Canada to be employed as an anthropologist. (The first was the American Edward Sapir who began serving as director of the Anthropology Division in 1910). Barbeau worked with the Anthropological Division from 1911 until 1949. Throughout his career, the Anthropological Division—and the National Museum (later the Museum of Man, and currently the Museum of Civilization), which fell under its jurisdiction—was the centre of anthropological studies in Canada. Barbeau was considered the most publicly prominent

anthropologist in Canada, widely known for establishing folk culture studies as a field of scholarly inquiry.<sup>cxxiii</sup>

Andrew Nurse's extensive study of Barbeau's work points out that for Barbeau, unlike other modern anthropologists, anthropology was not the study of "others"; he was merely studying "remnants of vanishing races" in Canada. In his opinion, these remnants could "provide modern culture with important insights into its own development and goals"<sup>cxxiv</sup> and provide inspiration for contemporary artists. Relative to other academic anthropologists, Barbeau's orientation was not particularly scholarly or scientific. He published little on anthropological theory.<sup>cxxv</sup> The unique feature his career was his interest in collaborating with Canadian artists, most notably members of the Group of Seven, who would accompany him on his field trips, and folksingers like Juliette.

Barbeau had a fringe status as an anthropologist because folklore was not part of the original mandate of the Anthropological Division. According to Nurse, certain of Barbeau's colleagues also felt "his close connection with the arts detracted from his status as a scientist."<sup>cxxvi</sup> He began collecting French-Canadian folklore, art and music in 1914 at the suggestion of the Franz Boas, the founder of American Anthropology, who had a strong influence on the development of Anthropology in Canada.<sup>cxxvii</sup> Unlike Barbeau, Boas did not see the collection of French-Canadian folklore as an end in itself; rather, he believed that a survey of French-Canadian folklore would "allow anthropologists to gauge the impact

French culture had on Amerindian culture.”<sup>cxxviii</sup> Likewise, Sapir did not support the collection of French-Canadian folklore to the extent that Barbeau might have wished.<sup>cxxix</sup> He agreed to it for the same reasons as Boas, but ultimately did not see a national anthropology museum as the proper home for folkloric research. In a letter to Barbeau, he wrote: “The whole of the material gathered will, when published, constitute an invaluable archive, and I am sure that some permanent Canadian organization, such as might well be found in the province of Quebec, would be the logical development of the work that you have inaugurated and to so large an extent developed.”<sup>cxxx</sup> Barbeau, however, wanted recognition of his French-Canadian work at the National Museum. This recognition eventually came: Folkloric studies were institutionalized at the museum in 1957 with the creation of the Folklore Division (renamed the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies in 1970).<sup>cxxxi</sup> In the meantime, Barbeau was somewhat marginalized. When Diamond Jenness was appointed director of the museum in 1925, he ordered Barbeau to “confine his work to Indians.”<sup>cxxxii</sup> Barbeau refused, which caused a permanent rift. According to Richard Preston, “He became a separate splinter of the museum, did not work through Jenness and went his own way.”<sup>cxxxiii</sup>

Because Juliette did not have her own professional qualifications, she needed connections to anthropologists carrying out folkloric research. Marius Barbeau was an important ally. When they developed differences relating to the presentation of folk music, their professional relationship came to an end. The rift



with Barbeau, in 1928, was detrimental to Juliette's career. It alienated her from the National Museum and all of Barbeau's connections.

The divisive issue was Juliette's accompaniment at the CPR festivals, which Barbeau organized along with CPR publicity manager John Murray Gibbon. In 1927, Juliette preferred to sing without accompaniment. Barbeau rejected this idea:

Je serais bien désappointé si vous décidiez de chanter vos chansons françaises à Québec sans accompagnement. Les circonstances là seront bien différentes de celles de New York. A New York les musiciens et les auditoires sont probablement fatigués d'entendre chanter avec accompagnement de piano. La chose est devenue trop lieu commun, mais à Québec, c'est différent. Nous aurons des chanteurs qui chanteront presque à la journée là, sans accompagnement, eux-mêmes; alors le contraste nécessaire est que les professionnels transforment leurs chansons en les élevant au niveau de concert et en les élaborant d'un accompagnement quelconque. D'ailleurs, un accompagnement, quand il est bien fait, suggère un développement artistique et un fond de scène émotionnel qui, dans les circonstances, est loin d'être inutile.<sup>cxxxiv</sup>

However, the issue was greater than just an aesthetic preference for simplicity or embellishment. It concerned Juliette's role as a professional singer in the world of folk music. Barbeau wrote, "Chanter une chanson sans accompagnement, c'est

tout simplement chercher à reproduire le chant tel qu'il se trouve parmi les indigènes ou dans le terroir. Alors pourquoi ne pas avoir des chanteurs eux-mêmes, qui ont la vraie tradition et la qualité native."<sup>xxxv</sup> Indeed Barbeau did not understand why a professional singer like Juliette would bother singing folksongs if she wasn't going to distinguish them from the way an amateur would sing them. Along these lines, in a letter to the composer Ernest MacMillan, Barbeau criticized Juliette for her "semi-primitive" style of singing her West Coast repertoire, saying "she refused 'to do very much' with the songs they gave her."<sup>xxxvi</sup>

It is unclear whether Juliette saw the potential redundancy of her performance style of reproducing folk music such as it exists in its original context, especially when the original source performers were available to do it themselves. For McNaughton, Juliette's style was indicative of her "over-identification" with the source performers, and her absorption in a "primitivist attitude."<sup>xxxvii</sup> At any rate, Barbeau's remarks highlight the incommensurability of Juliette's style with what Barbeau believed Juliette's contribution to the world of folk music should be.

It seems that Juliette was not prepared for the consequences of her differences with Barbeau. In 1928, the Canadian Clubs of Canada had arranged a cross-Canada folksong tour with Barbeau and the National Museum. Juliette felt affronted that Barbeau gave the work to another singer, Jeanne Dusseau (who was

willing to sing French-Canadian songs with piano accompaniment). “Such gratitude one gets from friends,” she wrote to Stefansson.<sup>cxxxviii</sup>

The more marginalized Juliette became from her colleagues in music and folklore, the more she seemed to identify with her folkloric subjects. She wrote in one of her last letters to her sister, “I have stayed too long in the bush and cannot do anything else.”<sup>cxxxix</sup> Her preoccupations with handicrafts and natural plant dyes become all consuming and eventual a complete lifestyle that isolated her from the modern world. By the 1950s, she was thoroughly skeptical about the modern human condition. She wrote to Eva, “With all the war clouds and sputniks overhead, what all will we turn to.”<sup>cxli</sup>

Juliette’s identification with and attempts to embody the primitive Other was a constant feature in her career. The tenacity of this feature perhaps says something about her own acute primitivist desire to escape contemporary civilization. In this respect, it is possible to align Juliette with what George Stocking has termed the “romantic motif” in anthropology around the 1920s. This included “primitivist yearnings for unbroken community . . . [and] superior quality of human relations” on the part of anthropologists, and the quest to find in other cultures an idyllic alternative to the West.<sup>cxli</sup> Stocking cites the work of Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and Robert Redfield as part of this romantic trend. A shared characteristic of their work is that it has all since been contested as dubious accounts of cultural others and accused of merely reflecting what they, the Western anthropologists,

wanted to see. In other words, their ethnographic accounts, to varying degrees, were deeply subjective, betraying a romantic motif, or quest for the exotic that is a form of what Susan Sontag describes as “applied Hegelianism”—carrying out a search for the Self in the Other.<sup>cxlii</sup> Similarly, in Juliette’s case, there is both evidence of romanticism and a Hegelian logic in the sense that an encounter with the Other was in some ways for her an encounter with an authentic Self. By turning to the folk, Juliette was addressing her own longings—“I was so happy with the Indians,”<sup>cxliii</sup> she wrote to Barbeau—and sense of identity as, in her words, “a peasant, which I am at heart.”<sup>cxliv</sup>

## Notes

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- <sup>i</sup> For a discussion of the differences between colonialism and cosmopolitanism in cross-cultural representations see Debbie Lisle *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008).
- <sup>ii</sup> *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, October 20, 1934.
- <sup>iii</sup> Notes on the Proposed Biography of Eva Gauthier, Stanley Paul Bigelow (1977-2, I, 14), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>iv</sup> “Mlle. Eva Gauthier: Music in the East,” unknown source, July 4, 1914.
- <sup>v</sup> Publicity materials published by Arthur Judson Concert Management (1977-2, I, 1.), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>vi</sup> Fuller, Sophie. “Creative Women and ‘Exoticism,’” 238.
- <sup>vii</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.
- <sup>viii</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.
- <sup>ix</sup> Jessica Berman, *Modernist Fiction*, 31
- <sup>x</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.
- <sup>xi</sup> “Mlle. Eva Gauthier: Music in the East,” unknown source, July 4, 1914.
- <sup>xii</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xiii</sup> Publicity materials published by Arthur Judson Concert Management (1977-2, I, 1.), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>xiv</sup> David McKibbin to Eva, 26 August 1953, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>xv</sup> Yetta Dorothea Geffen, “Studying Music in a Harem,” *The New York Press*, March 14, 1915.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, 7-8.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Maria Lourdes Lopez Roper, “Travel Writing and Postcoloniality,” 52.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Carlo Edwards, “Eva Gauthier,” *Pearson’s Magazine*, July, 1917.
- <sup>xix</sup> “Mlle. Eva Gauthier: Music in the East” unknown source, July 4, 1914.
- <sup>xx</sup> “Music in Java: Mlle. Gauthier’s Impressions,” *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, May 22, 1914.
- <sup>xxi</sup> “Mlle. Gauthier’s Experience: Women in Java,” *The Sun*, May 13, 1914.
- <sup>xxii</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Philip Miller, biography of Eva Gauthier (liner notes), *The Joy of Singing*, Vol. 3 Town Hall, New York, 1938. Eva intimates that her relationship with the Javanese was different from her European counterparts in other ways. She explains, “White people used to dislike me, as I trusted the natives whereas they kept things under lock and key” (Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 125).
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Augusta de Wit, *Facts and Fancies about Java*, 98.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Matthew Isaac Cohen, “Dancing the Subject of ‘Java,’” 9.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> See George W. Stocking Jr. *The Ethnographer’s Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) and Clifford Geertz *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1988), the latter for a description/analysis of how methodology influenced rhetorical strategy and vice versa.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Martin Claton and Bennett Zon, “Introduction” *Music and Orientalism*, 2.

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- xxviii Matthew Head, "Musicology on Safari," 211.
- xxix "Music" *The Vogue*, New York, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xxx Elazar Barkan, "Victorian Promiscuity," 73.
- xxxi Wendy Martin, "Remembering the Jungle," 311.
- xxxii Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 54.
- xxxiii *Ibid.*, 149.
- xxxiv *Ibid.*, 112.
- xxxv *Ibid.*, 128.
- xxxvi Jean Hamilton, "Before Women Can be Man's Equal She Must Give Up the Idea that She Is His Superior: Mlle. Eva Gauthier, Who Once lived in the Harem of the Sultan of Java, Shows How 'Slave Women' Can Sometimes Exert More Power Than Those Who Are Free," *The Evening Sun*, Saturday, April 3, 1915.
- xxxvii "New Bride's Arrival Always Signal for Jealousy" unknown source, April 8, 1915, NYPL Gauthier Scrapbooks, Book Four.
- xxxviii Hamilton, "Before Women"
- xxxix Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 151.
- xl *Ibid.*, 154.
- xli "My Experiences in a Harem," *The Baltimore American*, April 11, 1915.
- xliv Geffen, "Studying Music in a Harem"
- xlvi Hamilton, "Before Women Can be Man's Equal"
- xlvi James Whittaker, "Music Notes," *Chicago Examiner*, April 9, 1917.
- xliv Nadia Turbide, "Eva Gauthier (1885-1958): Premiere Cantatrice Canadienne-Francaise D'Avant-Garde," 6.
- xlvi Fredrick H. Martens, Review of Ballet Intime, *The New Music Review*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xlvi Cohen, "Dancing the Subject of 'Java,'" 10.
- xlvi Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 152-153.
- xlvi Notes (Box 1, file 5) Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>1</sup> "New Bride's Arrival Always Signal for Jealousy," unknown source, April 8, 1915, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Four), NYPL.
- <sup>li</sup> Anana Coomaraswamy, "Spiritual Freedom Expressed in India's Dances: A Philosophy of Life in the Basic and Abiding Idea on Oriental Movement with Occidental Imitations but Mere Mimicry," *The Modern Dance Magazine*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- <sup>lii</sup> Ruth St. Denis, *An Unfinished Life*, 207.
- <sup>liii</sup> Andrew L. Erdman, *Blue Vaudeville*, 107-112.
- <sup>liv</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.
- <sup>lv</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.
- <sup>lvi</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.
- <sup>lvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.
- <sup>lviii</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.
- <sup>lix</sup> Review in *St. Paul Daily News*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL

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- <sup>lx</sup> Review in the *Sacramento Bee*, January 24, 1916, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Comments about the clothing, or lack thereof, or the physique of female performers were quite common in vaudeville reviews. Erdman writes, “Indeed, it is hard to find a review of a female performer in which the (always male) reviewer makes no mention of her ‘beauty of face and form’ ‘statuesqueness’ or fails to point out that she ‘looks fine in tights’ It seems, then, that the sexually provocative female body was part of the vaudeville theatre’s stock-in-trade.” Erdman goes on to argue that such an “emphasis on anatomy” seems contradictory to vaudeville’s claims to be suitable to an audience comprised as men, women and children. He questions how many women and children actually attended vaudeville, writing, “there is evidence to suggest that, perhaps beyond an initial burst of popularity, women in fact scarcely attended vaudeville in such great numbers, and that, indeed, vaudeville was, like burlesque or the concert saloon, a form of entertainment that relied much more heavily on male ticket-buyers for its success than on female ones.” He argues that vaudeville merely had “a rhetoric of purity” but ultimately heavily promoted the “sexualized female form” (Erdman, *Blue Vaudeville*, 9-15).
- <sup>lxii</sup> “Song Motion, Clothed in Java’s Mysticism, Orpheum Act Most Singular of the Two-a-Day: Modernized Combination of Island Songs and Dances Has Retained Setting of Orient, With Music of Grand Opera,” *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 3, 1916.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Turbide, “Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier,” 152-153.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> Eric Chefitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism*, 105.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage Books [1978] 1994).
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Cohen, “Dancing the Subject of ‘Java.’” 10
- <sup>lxvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush. “Introduction,” *Prehistories of the Future*, 8-10.
- <sup>lxix</sup> Bruce Knauff, “Critically Modern,” 38.
- <sup>lxx</sup> Barkan and Bush, “Introduction,” *Prehistories of the Future*, 19.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> Michael North, “Modernism’s African Mask,” 270.
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Andrew Gerstle and Anthony Milners, eds. *Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars, Appropriations*. (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994.)
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> Ramsay Burt, *Alien Bodies*, 102.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>lxxvi</sup> Knauff, “Critically Modern,” 6.
- <sup>lxxvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.
- <sup>lxxviii</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>lxxix</sup> Cohen, “Dancing the Subject of ‘Java,’” 14.
- <sup>lxxx</sup> Poole, *Vision, Race, Modernity*, 8.
- <sup>lxxxii</sup> Anabel Parker McCann. “She Sings of Hiawatha in Ojibway and She Croons in Kwakuitl,” *The New York Sun*, Wednesday, April 8, 1929.
- <sup>lxxxii</sup> Gerta Moray, “Emily Carr,” 75.

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- lxxxiii Ibid., 79
- lxxxiv Anthea Kraut, "Between Primitivism and Diaspora," 440.
- lxxxv Ibid., 435.
- lxxxvi Ibid., 440.
- lxxxvii Ibid., 448.
- lxxxviii Ibid., 448-449.
- lxxxix Burt, *Alien Bodies*, 163.
- xc Ibid.
- xcI Jessup, "Moving Pictures," 13.
- xcii Juliette to Barbeau, 7 November 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- xciii "Canada's Folk Songs," *The Ottawa Citizen*, Wednesday, February 8, 1928.
- xciv Marc Manganaro, *Culture, 1922*, 62. See also George W. Stocking Jr.. *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1992).
- xcv Lynda Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery," 5. See James Clifford. "On Ethnographic Allegory" in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds. (Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1986.)
- xcvi Keith Morris, "Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye," unknown source (Box 616, file 2), Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- xcvii For discussions of ethnographic authority see James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: Stanford UP. 1988); Marc Manganaro, ed. *Modernist Anthropology: From Fieldwork to Text*. (Princeton: Princeton UP. 1990.); George W. Stocking Jr., ed. *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983.)
- xcviii Programmes (MG30-D50), Juliette Gauthier Fonds, LAC.
- xcix Unpublished memoir (Box 14, file 11), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- c Juliette to Barbeau, 6 June 1926, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- ci Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Confusing Pleasures," 232.
- cii Robert Baron and Nicholas R. Spitzer, "Introduction," *Public Folklore*, 2.
- ciii Jenness to Stefansson, 17 May 1926, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- civ Stefansson to Jenness, 25 May 1926, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- cv George Herzog, "Book Review: *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*," 218
- cvi Ibid., 219
- cvii Ibid.
- cviii See Rudy Wiebe, "Songs of the Canadian Eskimo," *Canadian Literature* No.52 (1972) and Robin McGrath, *Canadian Inuit Literature: the development of a tradition* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man. 1984) for a textual interpretation of Inuit songs.
- cix Wiebe, "Songs of the Canadian Eskimo," 58.
- cx Stephen Graham, *New York Nights*, 79-80, 83.
- cxI Stefansson to Jenness, 25 May 1926, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- cxii Janet McNaughton, "A study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folk song," 65.



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- cxiii Jenness to Stefansson, 9 May 1927, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- cxiv George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers, "The Traffic in Art and Culture," 4-5.
- cxv Stefansson to Juliette, 16 March 1928, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- cxvi "Music in Our Town," *Mail and Empire*, Toronto January 28, 1928.
- cxvii "Folk Wise" *Boston Transcript*, Wednesday, February 16, 1927.
- cxviii *Ibid.*
- cxix "The Habitant of Old Quebec," *Boston Monitor*, February 16, 1927.
- cxx Juliette to Barbeau, 19 February 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxxi *Ibid.*
- cxii Barbeau to Juliette, 5 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxiii See Andrew Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," and Lawrence Nowry, *Man of Mana*.
- cxiv Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 4-5.
- cxv *Ibid.*, 15.
- cxvi *Ibid.*, 17.
- cxvii See Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," Michael Ames, *The History of Canadian Anthropology*, and Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage*.
- cxviii Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 308.
- cxix Barbeau and Sapir did not have a good relationship. It is possible that their differences were more personal than professional. Sapir complained about Barbeau to Robert Lowie (in 1919): "Barbeau, who is out in the St. Lawrence country collecting French Canadian folklore, is agile and smart, but strangely uninteresting. Carrying on a conversation with him is often as painful as an ordeal, at least to me . . . How he delights in the use of platitudes and how childishly his self-esteem paces, all out of step . . ." (Richard Preston, "C. Marius Barbeau, 128).
- cxx Regna Darnell, "The Sapir Years," 102.
- cxxi See Lewis, Chris. "C. Marius Barbeau and the Establishment of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies" *Culture and Tradition* 18 (1996).
- cxxii Preston, "C. Marius Barbeau," 130.
- cxxiii *Ibid.*
- cxxiv Barbeau to Juliette, 24 March 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxxv *Ibid.*
- cxxvi Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery," 29
- cxxvii McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folk song," 122.
- cxxviii Juliette to Stefansson, 15 March 1928, Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- cxxix Juliette to Eva, 1 September 1954, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxl Juliette to Eva, 14 December 1957, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxli George W. Stocking, "Romantic Motives," 4. See also George Stocking "The Ethnographic Sensibility of the 1920s," 208-271.
- cxlii Susan Sontag, "The Anthropologist as Hero," 185.
- cxliii Juliette to Barbeau, 7 November 1927, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxliv Juliette to Barbeau, 6 March 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.

## Chapter Five

### The contours of cultural boundaries: explaining high/low, folk/mass and the middle

Eva and Juliette mediated points of convergence between key components in the cultural and artistic landscape of modernity. This is represented by their movement between and around various cultural boundaries, including boundaries between categories of culture (high/low, folk/mass), but also boundaries pertaining to definitions of national identity. I begin the chapter by investigating how Eva's career was affected by "the development and proliferation of consumer culture"<sup>i</sup> and various manifestations of the mixing of high and low. Next, I investigate Juliette's involvement in folk culture revival in Canada. Specifically, I look at how social and cultural hierarchies, and a polarization of the "folk" and the "modern," played a significant role in the formation of a Canadian national identity.

Miriam Hansen argues that the culture of modernity involved "a paradigmatic transformation of the conditions under which art is produced, transmitted and consumed."<sup>ii</sup> In Eva's case, I look at how this is expressed in the negotiation of cultural boundaries between high and low, modern and mass, and an emerging middlebrow. Specifically, I consider Eva's vaudeville tour (1915–1916), and her November 1, 1923, concert "A Recital of Ancient and Modern Music for Voice"

that included “jazz” and George Gershwin as her accompanist in his historic concert hall debut. I also examine those characteristics of Eva as a singer, stage performer and radio artist, which suggest she belonged to a category of middlebrow cultural production.

Throughout the twentieth century, the crossover between high and low in theatre, music and dance had aesthetic consequences on the artistic development of various media. For example, Paul DiMaggio argues that the commercial stage was responsible for innovations in dance. He explains:

The rapid expansion of commercial popular entertainments, from vaudeville to international expositions, had shaken traditions of stage dancing and provided a vast range of styles from which an innovator could choose, splicing together old-fashioned clog dances and cake-walks, social dance in many forms, Spanish styles, the exotic ‘Oriental’ dance . . .<sup>iii</sup>

According to DiMaggio, “The pioneers [like Ruth St. Denis and Martha Graham] innovated on the New York vaudeville stage, then proceeded to Europe, where they won wide acclaim.”<sup>iv</sup> By extension he contends that “aesthetic [modern] dance” is not only rooted in vaudeville and other commercial enterprises but “would have been impossible” if not for those venues.<sup>v</sup>

In music, Bernard Gendron argues that the “friendliness” between modernist composers and popular culture is evident in a variety of ways, among them “the direct appropriations of intertextual allusions” and “shared formal devices or

attitudes,” most obvious in the borrowing from jazz.<sup>vi</sup> Furthermore, Gendron points out that the attraction to jazz was not just about the music (the formal jazz components) but also the discourses and practices associated with jazz. For instance, Jean Cocteau’s jazz club, Le Boeuf sur le Toit, was a gathering place for all of the cutting edge modernists in Paris. In a wider sense, consuming jazz was perfectly suited to the “modernist flaneur” who “constantly subjects himself to the ‘shock of the new.’”<sup>vii</sup> In turn, high art validated popular culture as a source of vitality. Gendron explains,

Since [the artist’s] home market, the institutionalized art world, is not sufficiently well-endowed to provide the necessary raw materials for his continued need to reproduce the new, he must typically venture outside this world, to nearby flea markets or cheap nightclubs, or even to the carnivals of folk rituals of distant countries, in search of the transient, the shocking and the soon-to-be fashionable.<sup>viii</sup>

Gendron argues that the borderlines between entertainment and “art, and high and low culture were challenged more vigorously in Europe, particularly in Paris, than in the U.S. He writes:

In the United States during the same period, high culture was more hostile to mass culture and sought clearly to distinguish itself from the latter, for reasons that are not difficult to decipher. American high culture did not have the support from state institutions and private sources typical of the European art and literary worlds, which otherwise would have put them on

a better footing to protect themselves from, and to compete with, the incursions of mass culture. American mass culture, in turn, was a much more economically potent force than its European counterparts. In addition, the European avant-gardes added insult to injury by displaying much more interest in American mass culture—Charlie Chaplin and Louis Armstrong—than in American high culture, thus frustrating the efforts of the latter to achieve the international prestige so far denied it.<sup>ix</sup>

Many North Americans also had no choice but to consume high culture in more popularized forms. The main reason was geographical: “physical distance from the centres of cultural production”<sup>x</sup> meant that exposure to high culture forms was limited. This was the case for Eva growing up in Ottawa. In her reminiscences, she wrote that one of the most inspirational performances she saw as a child came to her via popular entertainment. It was a concert by, in her words, “a Negro singer of enormous versatility and power,” who went by the stage name of Black Patti.<sup>xi</sup> Named after the famous Spanish soprano Adelina Patti (though she herself preferred the un-racialized stage name Madame Jones), Black Patti sang operatic arias in a variation of the traveling minstrel show.<sup>xii</sup> Eva did not see her first opera until she was in London with Lady Laurier in 1902. They saw *Faust* starring Nellie Melba.

When circumstances made it necessary for Eva to drift into the more commercialized realm of music and entertainment, in 1915, vaudeville provided a

unique opportunity due to its wide and varied programming. The history of American vaudeville spans over forty years (1885–1930) but a consistent feature of it is that it aimed to attract people from different classes, ethnicities, genders and ages. Given its “something for everyone” ethos, most of the literature, in one form or another, characterizes vaudeville as a democratizing popular form. It catered to popular taste by “always seeking the subject matter of maximum pertinence to its audience.”<sup>xiii</sup> Robert Snyder notes that vaudeville attempted to de-fragmentize a society “divided between race, gender and ethnicity.”<sup>xiv</sup> Performances were eclectic and generally included nine acts such as song, dance, music, comedy, burlesque, magic acts, animal acts, acrobatics, short dramas, film and sometimes performers from the “legitimate” stage or opera. James Brander Matthews argues that “legitimate” performers were “occasionally tempted by the lure of high pay for hard work to condescend to vaudeville engagements.”<sup>xv</sup> In Eva’s case, there weren’t other engagements to be had, or at least not any that paid \$150 a week.<sup>xvi</sup>

The Orpheum vaudeville circuit in particular was an obvious choice for Eva. It was managed by Martin Beck, known for his attempts to elevate the standards of vaudeville by bringing “the best of high-culture drama, music, and dance to the vaudeville stage.”<sup>xvii</sup> According to the *Encyclopedia of Vaudeville*, “Beck, known for his bite, nevertheless raised the standard of vaudeville by his readiness to pay big salaries to concert musicians and ballet dancers, declaring that a lot of people *liked* good music.”<sup>xviii</sup> Hiring Eva was consistent with his strategy of bringing in

artists from the “legitimate stage.”<sup>xxix</sup> Arthur Frank Wertheim describes Beck as “a risk-taker and visionary who viewed vaudeville as an art form with boundless possibilities” and quotes Beck as saying: “I love beauty. I wanted to do beautiful things.” His ambition was “to make the Orpheum circuit bring the highest forms of art within reach of the people with the slimmest purses.”<sup>xxx</sup>

Eva’s manager at the time, Maximilian Elser, shared Beck’s outlook. An article in *Musical America*, from October 16, 1915, titled “To Convert the Curious Into Genuine Music Lovers is Mr. Elser’s Ambition,” quotes Elser as saying: “I do not believe in giving the public what it wants . . . I believe in working toward an ever higher artistic standard . . . a manager’s work has only begun when he supplies an attraction that will thrill the real music lovers. He must assist . . . in making the mere amusement seekers part of the audiences [as well].”

M. Allison Kibler, however, sees the “elevation” of vaudeville fare as a necessary component of building vaudeville as a “mass culture machine.” In other words, she argues that vaudeville entrepreneurs were required to address the “deep fissures in late-nineteenth-century American culture with those favoring the so-called ‘feminine’ (refined, highbrow) legitimate theatre on one side and those used to the decidedly male-oriented concert saloons and wine houses ‘associated with vice’ on the other.”<sup>xxxi</sup> Eva’s role in vaudeville therefore was ultimately a reflection of such a business strategy. But her complicity with it points to how Eva too was an “artistic entrepreneur who had learned to create publicity for [her]

products and to negotiate the cultural marketplace for [her] own advantage.”<sup>xxii</sup>

Indeed in 1919, one journalist noted in *Canadian Magazine*: “With a discrimination which is truly astounding in one of artistic temperament, [Eva] possesses rare business and executive ability.”<sup>xxiii</sup> Her appearance in vaudeville indicates an attempt to turn her talents and skills into a commodity.

The genre of “refined” vaudeville, like Orpheum, is an example of what Gendron describes as “bipolar middlebrowism” where “popular and modern elements [stand] out in contrast with another,”<sup>xxiv</sup> and the boundary between high and low stays more or less in tact.<sup>xxv</sup> This is evident even in Orpheum’s publicity, which emphasized Eva’s status as a “high class” artist who would otherwise be featured on the “legitimate” European stage. For instance, Eva was frequently billed as an “opera star” and represented as a former prodigy (“a star at 19, an age when most girls are learning to make fudge or embroider a necktie rack for Harold.”<sup>xxvi</sup>) The Davenport, Iowa, *Democrat* hyperbolically described Eva as an example of one of Europe’s “greatest artists.”<sup>xxvii</sup> The accompanying narrative is that she (like Devi) was “persuaded” to tour the Orpheum circuit when the war broke out.<sup>xxviii</sup>

Likewise, *The Vogue, New York* reported that Eva was among “musical artists for whom the war has meant the abrupt end of inspiring work with European masters and indefinite postponement of cherished plans for appearing before the European public.”<sup>xxix</sup> For a writer in the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, Eva’s crossover from European highbrow to American show business represented “yet another



instance of the manner in which vaudeville is gradually usurping the place of the concert and is offering artists formerly only heard in the latter field.”<sup>xxx</sup>

On the other hand, audiences did not necessarily respond favourably to the “elevation” of vaudeville fare, which only served to reinforce the distinction between high and low. Most reviews of Eva’s “Songmotion” found it to be incomprehensible, incoherent and too intellectual. One confused reviewer wrote. “Individually, both are remarkably clever women. One appeals to the ear, the other to the eye. The great difficulty of their dual performance is that it is difficult to concentrate the attention. The performance of either considered separately deserves praise but when one hears a song well sung . . . or a dance well danced to the rhythm of the voice, one is puzzled as to which the concentrated attention should be given.”<sup>xxxi</sup> The reviewer in the *San Francisco Chronicle* considered the concept of Songmotion—that “the combination of song and dance being carried on simultaneously” equaled “melody turned into motion” —required “too much explanation.”<sup>xxxii</sup>

Many reviewers wrote candidly that the act baffled them. The review in the *Los Angeles Courier* stated: “the two out future futurism in a puzzling beautiful manner . . . You know the singing is beautiful, the dancing remarkable, and the costumes and scenery mean something vast, deep and intellectual—but you don’t know exactly what; so if you are wise you will applaud and look learned.”<sup>xxxiii</sup> Likewise, the *Minneapolis Journal* expressed: “One wishes to be enthusiastic but

somewhere there is the inability to appreciate the dancing turn of Eva Gauthier and Nila Devi . . . The Misses Gauthier and Devi are symbolic of something. It is all mysterious.<sup>»xxxiv</sup> Another article referred to the audience being bewildered, saying, “the majority were asking what it was all about . . .”<sup>»xxxv</sup>

The confusion Songmotion caused exemplifies a mismatch between performance and audience, creating what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes as obtuse meaning. Obtuse meaning is a concept she borrows from Roland Barthes that refers to “severing the expected relationship between signifieds and signifiers, refusing the logic of narrative, or emptying the sign of obvious meaning.” In an act like Songmotion, obtuse meaning exists because “signifiers float free, not because something familiar has been made strange by virtue of formal operations in the work itself, but because a disjuncture between a performance and its audience has been created and preserved.”<sup>»xxxvi</sup> Such obtuse meaning led the *Sacramento Bee* to quip, “A forty-horsepower imagination might help deduce how Nila Devi, the dancer, interprets the music of Eva Gauthier, the singer,<sup>»xxxvii</sup> and the *Argonaut* to complain,

If Nila Devi is trying to express, or join in the expression of a Hindu lament by interpretive dancing, I want to know it. You know, between you and me and the doorpost there isn’t much interpretation in dancing anyway . . . and in spite of all the elaboration of dance, costume, music and setting, there is a sort of pointlessness about the whole thing. Just an exhibition without a core of meaning or a soul.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

Another reviewer argued that Songmotion was “a good opportunity to talk during the show,” offering the following (sample) running commentary:

Say, this is going to be great all right. I bet she can sing. Look at her dress. I’m glad she sings in English ‘cause you know what it means then. What do you suppose those elephants on the curtain mean? Nothing to do with the dancers, has it? Say, I wish she’d stick to English like her first song . . . That Gauthier woman can sure sing all right but I bet she didn’t live in a harem like the paper said.

Regarding the “futuristic” stage set, the reviewer offers the sarcastic remarks—“Say ain’t that a pretty backdrop? Looks like a lot of targets, but I guess that’s the kind of flowers they have in Java. Maybe they’re coffee plants.”<sup>xxxix</sup> Two other reviews attracted similar comments about the peculiar set design—one referring to “a backdrop composed of spotted poker chips”<sup>xl</sup> and another to “a futuristic scene of large red and white—are they mushrooms?”<sup>xli</sup> The *Sioux City Journal* concluded that the “Distinctiveness of the act does not appeal to average theatre goer.”<sup>xlii</sup>

Albert F. MacLean argues that vaudeville was tailored to the social experiences of modernity. As a “kaleidoscopic succession of contrasted amusements” it spoke to the placelessness and disembeddedness of modern social experience. The modern metropolis amalgamated what James Brander Matthews refers to as “waifs and strays,” who found opportunity within the world of vaudeville. He writes:

[Vaudeville] is ready to welcome the wandering conjurer and the strolling juggler. It extends its hospitality to the acrobat, single or in groups, throwing flip flaps on the stage, flying thru the air on a trapeze or diving into the water in a tank. It acts as host to the trainer of performing animals, dogs and cats, seals and elephants. It lends its stage to the puppet-show performer, to the sidewalk conversationalist, and to the ventriloquist, with his pair of stolid figures seemingly seated uncomfortably on his knees . . .

xliii

This kind of random community of vaudevillians reflects, in some way, the changing social structure of modernity, and the experience of “incessant movement.” Moreover, vaudeville’s appeal to the senses (rather than the emotions or the intellect),<sup>xliv</sup> makes it, according to Matthews, “the ideal entertainment for that redoubtable entity, the Tired Business Man, who checks his brains with his overcoat, and who resents viewing anything in theater which might make him think . . . and to the similar tastes of his fit mate, who is fatigued because her life is idle and empty.”<sup>xlv</sup> Spectacle, like the alienated worker and bored housewife, is void of purpose.

In this regard, vaudeville did not only negotiate the boundary between high and low but also blurred distinctions between folk culture and mass commodity culture. Vaudeville arose at a time when Albert F. MacLean argues that traditional folk art was becoming meaningless, particularly in the American city. People were seeking some kind of art form that responded to urbanization— “images,

gestures and symbols which would objectify their experience and bring to their lives a simple comprehensive meaning.”<sup>xlvi</sup> Vaudeville was also undeniably rooted in an increasingly urban, industrial and corporate nation. Andrew L. Erdman writes, “Unlike earlier entertainments, which involved small groups not acting in concert with one another, vaudeville developed as a hierarchically arranged, centrally controlled, large-scale commercial entity . . . From [the 1890s] on, there were ‘syndicates’ of theatres run by a vast network of hierarchically arranged professionals.”<sup>xlvii</sup> Thus, vaudeville is identified as “the beginning of standardized entertainment on a mass scale” as well as the “beginning of constructing an undifferentiated mass audience.”<sup>xlviii</sup> At the same time, vaudeville was still very conscious of differences (class, ethnic, gender) in the audience, which is why it relied so heavily on a varied bill of fare and acted as a midway point between various cultural spheres.

Vaudeville reflects a keen awareness of both cultural and social stratification. By the beginning of the twentieth century Lawrence Levine argues that it was commonplace in America to distinguish culture “vertically.” He writes:

The ubiquitous discussion of the meaning and nature of culture . . . was one in which adjectives were used liberally. ‘High’, ‘low,’ ‘rude,’ ‘lesser,’ ‘higher,’ ‘lower,’ ‘beautiful,’ ‘modern,’ ‘legitimate,’ ‘vulgar,’ ‘popular,’ ‘true,’ ‘pure,’ ‘highbrow,’ ‘lowbrow’ were applied to such nouns as ‘arts’ and ‘culture’ almost *ad infinitum*.<sup>xlix</sup>

However, such distinctions did not necessarily reveal anything about their aesthetic worth. According to Levine:

New forms of expressive culture . . . were barred from high culture from the very fact of their accessibility to the masses: the blues, jazz or jazz-derived music, musical comedy, photography, comic strips, movies, radio, popular comedians, all of which though relegated to the nether world culturally, in fact frequently contained much that was fresh, exciting, innovative, intellectually challenging and highly imaginative.<sup>1</sup>

In Levine's perspective rigid cultural categories "made it so difficult for so long for so many to understand the value and importance of the popular art forms that were all around them."<sup>li</sup> By placing Gershwin and other ragtime composers alongside some of the most difficult modernist composers like Schoenberg, Hindemith and Milhaud, Eva's "Recital of Ancient and Modern Music for Voice," November 1, 1923, is an example of throwing into question accepted notions of aesthetic worth. To be sure, her recital did not unmoor a system of classification that identified classical music as "universal and eternal" and popular music as "regional and ephemeral."<sup>lii</sup> Rather it participated in questioning whether "good music" needed to be "difficult to create and difficult to understand."<sup>liii</sup>

With Gershwin as Eva's accompanist on the piano, the recital also anticipated his place in American music history as a straddler of high and low. Gershwin is uniquely well known for his ragtime "hits" as well as his serious music. His

reconciliations between commercial success (He was attracted to both the “heart” and “money” in popular tunes)<sup>liv</sup> and artistic accomplishment blurred the boundary between high and low. Stylistically, he combined the vernacular of Tin Pan Alley with elements of Western classical composition. Mary Heron Dupree describes Gershwin’s style as an “admixture of Liszt and pianistic rough stuff.”<sup>lv</sup> Carol Oja takes the crossover even further by likening the dual elements, particularly as they are expressed in such works as his *Concerto in F*, to “cinematic cross-cuts between one location and another”: “They splice aural images of the blues together with ones of the European piano-virtuoso repertory.”<sup>lvi</sup>

Oja describes Eva’s 1923 “Recital of Ancient and Modern Music for Voice” as a “watershed moment in the crossover between high and low.”<sup>lvii</sup> She notes that reviews addressed the “interaction between popular music and the concert sphere” and sparked discussion about the division between highbrow and lowbrow art, and “the effect of transferring performance standards from one realm of music to another.”<sup>lviii</sup> Oja observes that critics responded to Eva concert in accordance with their already established musical allegiances. Pro-jazz critics like Gilbert Seldes were enthusiastic. Seldes argued that popular expressions like movies, songs and comic strips should be viewed as “art.”<sup>lix</sup> He believed that “his essays on jazz and popular music” had encouraged Eva’s concert and “helped people [like her] to [develop] a fresh and most appreciative attitude toward popular music.” He even

asked Eva to write something to this effect and send it to his publisher as an endorsement of his forthcoming book *The Seven Lively Arts*, published in 1924.<sup>lx</sup>

The critic and composer Deems Taylor confirmed the idea that jazz belonged in the concert hall and should be placed on programs of “serious” music, as was done by Eva.<sup>lxi</sup> His review of Eva’s concert in the *Literary Digest* noted that the audience was appreciative of the popular numbers:

Here was music they didn’t have to think about, or intellectualize over or take solemnly. They didn’t have to do anything about it, in fact, except listen to it—which was easy—and enjoy it—which was unavoidable. And apparently it said something to them, touched some hidden spring that evoked a response as genuine as it was a little shame-faced . . . That jazz group touched something the other music didn’t. I watched one distinguished European whose musical sophistication is proverbial. ‘Alexander’s Ragtime Band’ disturbed him ever so slightly: He looked a little bored and a little puzzled . . . but ‘Cavalier in the Morning’ did something rather drastic to him. Even as his face expressed incredulity and a faint disapproval, his shoulders began to, well, ‘shimmy’ is too vulgar a word to apply to a foreign visitor.<sup>lxii</sup>

The audience’s enjoyment of “jazz” elicited a different reaction from Herbert T. Peyser in *The Musical Observer*. He wrote, “The spectacle of Americans palavering over these shoddy excrescences of national sentimentalism and



vulgarity as ‘current modes of expression’ and ‘symbols of the spirit of the time’ makes contemptible watching.”<sup>lxiii</sup> This comment, though somewhat vituperative, represents rather a commonly held negative attitude towards jazz. The difference between those who appreciated popular music and those who disdained it reflects what the composer Henry Cowell identified as a division “between those who regard music as something for the purpose of amusement and those who regard it as a medium for expressing greater depths of feeling.”<sup>lxiv</sup>

Eva’s concert also raised the issue of whether jazz should be regarded as an authentic expression of national culture. Paul Whiteman was fervent in advancing the view that “Jazz is the spirit of a new country.” He argued:

[Jazz] catches up the underlying life motif of a continent and period, molding it into a form which expresses the fundamental emotion of the people and the place and time so authentically that it is immediately recognizable. At the same time, it evolves new forms, new colors, new technical methods, just as America constantly throws aside old machines for newer more efficient ones.<sup>lxv</sup>

H.C. Colles, reviewing Eva’s concert, argued similarly, “these songs . . . are the typical American contribution to the art of music whether you approve of them or not . . . they are in sympathy with their fellows and are in fact part and parcel of the national life.”<sup>lxvi</sup> Likewise the American composer Daniel Gregory Mason agreed that jazz was characteristically American, however for him it “represented

not our virtues but our vices: our restlessness, fondness for hustling and our  
‘thoughtless, superficial, optimism.’<sup>lxvii</sup>

Other critics questioned Eva’s interpretation of the popular songs, namely that she sang them “straight,” in a style similar to the other pieces in her program. Henry O. Osgoode in *So This is Jazz* (1926) contended “that’s no way to sing jazz songs; it is like drawing a comic strip in the style of a pre-Raphaelite.” Osgoode concluded, “She did not do well by the songs . . . The excellency of Gershwin’s accompaniments only served to accentuate the insufficiencies of her interpretations.”<sup>lxviii</sup> On the other hand, Bernard Rogers in *Musical America* praised her interpretations, given what he believed to be the weakness of the material: “Mme Gauthier sang these songs about as well as they can be sung, not in the vulgar and raucous manner of the coon shouter but with a certain archness, restraint and attention to detail which revealed them in the best light.”<sup>lxix</sup> H.C. Colles in the *New York Times* disagreed but blamed what he considered to be the failure of the concert on not only Eva’s singing, but also the setting (Aeolian Hall) and the audience (too highbrow). His review reads:

Any effort toward a brighter concert room especially when the moderns are straining our faculties as some of them do, is to be commended and there was just one moment when it seemed almost possible that the audience might break from their highbrow pose and join in the chorus of the ‘Ragtime Band’ with Miss Gauthier. But they sat tight in the end and contented themselves with a tittering amusement so the thing was a

failure. You cannot work up the true jazz mood in the subdued light and facing the solemn row of organ pipes in Aeolian Hall. If you want that sort of thing it is to be found much better done and in the appropriate surroundings two or three blocks off. For the fact is Miss Gauthier cannot do it. Any singer of the variety stage could give her lessons in how to put the song across to the audience. To begin with, there are the words—half of them were inaudible—then there is just that peculiar lilt, the going-on-forever feeling, which seems to be the peculiar quality of rag and jazz and the only thing which really distinguishes it from a ‘straight’ song. It is useless to patronize this form of music and to say that because it is a national product of America it may develop into a great form of art. It has developed into all it is capable of, it has become a thing which captivates people all over the world and hypnotizes them into dancing all the night away: it is impossible to say why. But its home is not the concert room.<sup>lxx</sup>

What was Eva’s perspective on mixing high and low? Eva believed that she sang “jazz with the same art and the same care [she gave] to Schubert or Beethoven.”<sup>lxxi</sup> Oja refers to Eva as an “unabashed uplifter.”<sup>lxxii</sup> She aligns her with Paul Whiteman, who believed that jazz could be orchestrated and elevated into serious music, and Walter Damrosch who, for instance, described Gershwin as a “knight” who accomplished the “miracle” of lifting “Lady Jazz” “to a level that would enable her to be received as a respectable member of musical circles.”<sup>lxxiii</sup> Oja writes:

For her 1923 program, [Eva] claimed to have chosen songs with ‘life to them, not the sentimental, saccharine, love-sick ballads we hear so much of,’ and she took pride in performing these tunes ‘with artistry.’ Gauthier believed she validated popular songs by programming them, holding little respect for the performance traditions from which they came. Lamenting that such songs had ‘previously been relegated to the cabaret and vaudeville house, where singers with uncultivated and saw-tooth voices rasped them out,’ Gauthier intended to perform them ‘with “tone and technic” . . . and see how the people would receive them.’<sup>lxxiv</sup>

For Oja, this makes Eva “at once open-minded and unreformedly highbrow.”<sup>lxxv</sup>

On the other hand, it is possible that Eva’s performance of the jazz numbers might have been more experimental than Oja gives her credit for. For instance, rather than segregating high and low, or elevating the low, her concert is an example of blending and blurring the distinctions between the two. In other words, her concert may be an example of Lawrence Rainey’s argument that “postulating a rigorous opposition between high and low culture is inadequate to account for the complexity of cultural exchange and circulation in modern civil society.”<sup>lxxvi</sup>

Embedding jazz songs in her recital and entitling it “Recital of Ancient and Modern Music for Voice,” emphasizes neither the high-low hierarchy nor Eva’s abilities to vanquish the shortcomings of popular material. Rather this draws attention to the fact that these songs are “modern.” In other words, her concert re-

categorizes jazz tunes as modern songs without necessarily denying that popular music represents art in its own right.

Eva was a “modern” artist not only because she became known for performing the works of modern or contemporary composers, but also because her recitals pushed the boundaries of typical concert music, including her forays into folk songs of various traditions, “jazz” and lesser known European work of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Eva was regarded for her pioneer work in debuting previously unperformed work of contemporary composers but also her own modern explorations in putting together her original and unusual recitals, that often included those works that “have elements of folk song, orientalism, [and] the music hall.”<sup>lxxvii</sup> She repeatedly performed the works of modernist composers who displayed “recurrent and highly amicable encounters with popular music.”<sup>lxxviii</sup> Composers who “were enthusiastically consuming jazz and attempting to assimilate its aesthetic into their own practices,”<sup>lxxix</sup> most notably Milhaud and Stravinsky, mediated the “rarefied aesthetic terrain of high modernism and the more accessible plains of ‘jazz.’”<sup>lxxx</sup> Because of her emphasis on such contemporary works, a reviewer in the *Des Moines Register* contended “Listening to [her] program . . . is one of the joys derived from living in the twentieth century.”<sup>lxxxi</sup> Viewing her squarely as a trailblazer, *New York Tribune* music critic Lawrence Gilman referred to Eva as the “feminine Columbus of musical modernism.”<sup>lxxxii</sup>

Jazz, in other words, fit in with Eva's interest in pursuing various expressions of modernism in music. She also believed jazz represented true creativity. A newspaper reported, "Madame Gauthier felt that ragtime was an important phase of American music. In fact, she said it was the only direction in which American musicians had achieved anything creative."<sup>lxxxiii</sup>

Eva likely would have agreed with the American composer John Philip Sousa who wrote:

Notwithstanding the credo of musical snobs . . . popular does not necessarily mean 'vulgar' or 'ephemeral.' To touch 'the public heart' required inspiration and the 'stamp of genius.' 'Artistic snobbery is so ridiculous!' . . . Many an immortal tune has been born in the stable or the cotton-field *Turkey in the Straw* is magic melody; anybody should be proud of having written it, but for musical highbrows, I suppose the thing is declassée. It came not from a European composer but from an unknown Negro minstrel.<sup>lxxxiv</sup>

When Eva adopted Jazz in her repertoire, it was not the first time, of course, that she'd looked beyond European composition for what she considered to be worthy music; the obvious examples are her Javanese music and other folk songs. Eva likewise enthusiastically promoted the Fisk Jubilee Singers, a group of African American singers who performed "slave songs" and Negro spirituals. In a Letter to the Editor in the *New York Times*, Eva urged readers to attend their concert:

It is not necessary to be interested in folk songs or primitive sources of American music in order to appreciate these singers, although to those who have that interest there is, of course, an added and unique appeal. But as sheer music—as art—the songs and the singing of this quartet stands out as something none of us can afford to miss . . . their [positive] reception all through Europe were due not to sentiment or to interest in an unusual type of music, but to the perfection of their rendition of songs which are imbued with the art of true music as well as the spontaneity that gives life to any art.<sup>lxxxv</sup>

Representing the American Guild of Musical Artists, Eva also spoke out against the Daughters of the Revolution's decision to ban the African-American singer Marion Anderson from singing in Washington's Constitutional Hall in 1939. In a radio broadcast, Eva demanded recognition for the contributions of "great Negro artists," citing "Negro-African sculpture as having been the direct inspiration to contemporary art and to such painters as Picasso, Leger, Braque and others" and the fact that Negro music had influenced Ravel, Stravinsky, George Gershwin and others.<sup>lxxxvi</sup>

Indeed, Eva's 1923 concert betrays the significant influence of European modernists like Ravel and Stravinsky who were drawn to jazz as "raw material for modernist experimentation or avant-garde shock tactics."<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Her 1923 concert imitates similar concerts that had occurred in Paris, such as a program in 1920

that, “scheduled Billy Arnold’s Novelty Jazz Band, on the same bill as a player piano rendition of Stravinsky’s *Le Sacré du Printemps* and a Sonata by Milhaud.” Maurice Ravel attended that particular concert and he praised its impresario, Jean Weiner, for including the American jazz band. He said, “You did very well to have us hear these musicians. It was wonderful!”<sup>lxxxviii</sup> It is not surprising that Ravel encouraged Eva to embark on the same kind of experimentation in 1923.

The mixing of high and low is among what Miriam Hansen refers to as modernism’s “range of cultural and artistic practices that register, respond to and reflect upon the processes of modernization and the experiences of modernity.”<sup>lxxxix</sup> In Eva’s career, there was movement from high to low in vaudeville, reflecting the rise of commercial mass culture, and low to high in her concert in 1923, which called into question the validity of the distinction altogether. More and more in the twentieth century, the blurring of high and low was a feature of the cultural landscape. In this context, the ideology of *l’art pour l’art* (or the notion that the artist worked “in total independence from external pressures”<sup>xc</sup>) was sustained by institutional developments in the nineteenth and twentieth century as well as by the creation of personnel in the art world, including dealers, critics, publishers, agents, museum curators and editors who mediated between the individual artist and society, in an effort to invent/safeguard the autonomy of art and creativity (or the appearance thereof).<sup>xcii</sup>



The perspective that art and creativity must be withdrawn from the world of capitalism is distorted by what Walter Benjamin refers to as nostalgia for a “golden cultural age.”<sup>xcii</sup> For Benjamin, cultural products are affected negatively and positively by the mechanisms of capitalism (including the mass media). Though the mass media can threaten creative value, by usurping the products of high culture mass media can also challenge the notion that culture is “naturally” organized in a stratified way.<sup>xciii</sup>

Indeed cultural and social stratification go hand in hand. Cultural boundaries reinforce other boundaries such as class, gender and race. According to Bourdieu, “what people consume does not simply reflect distinctions and differences embedded elsewhere, which cultural consumption makes visible, but that cultural consumption is the means by which they are produced, maintained and reproduced.”<sup>xciv</sup>

Paul DiMaggio contends that distinctions between “high” and “low” are meaningless unless the organizational systems that give rise to these classifications are examined.<sup>xcv</sup> He argues that in the U.S., high culture needed to be “separated out” from popular entertainment<sup>xcvi</sup> and “removed from shared public culture.”<sup>xcvii</sup> In other words, high culture was constructed by “conscious efforts to demarcate specific areas . . . of cultural practice” removed from “the commercial reach of cultural entrepreneurs.” This involved the rise of an institutional system that “define[d] and reinforce[d] boundaries between different

forms of art.” The “high culture model” (comprised of trustee-governed non-profit cooperations and disinterested patrons and benefactors) became the way of legitimizing high culture, whereas low culture was dominated by “commercial entrepreneurs” aiming to “attract the largest possible audiences.”<sup>xcviii</sup>

However, the influence of show business on the cultural market place as well as the dictates of taste, governed by a public with an increasing amount of leisure time and a desire to be entertained resulted in a weakened distinction between commerce and high culture, or amusement and aesthetic-intellectual experience. The products of such weakened distinctions are sometimes referred to as “middlebrow.” David Carter explains, “Middlebrow institutions typically reproduce high-culture value and forms—such as good writing, good music, or serious talk—but reconfigured them through new media and new forms of consumption, broadening their markets and multiplying their utility.”<sup>xcix</sup> Middlebrow, in this respect, does not represent a genre or a style, but rather a category of cultural consumption or a type of audience.

Disdain for commercialism and the influence of mass culture was a significant factor in laying the groundwork for middlebrow musical consumption. Critics of mass culture in the early twentieth century were concerned about the social and cultural repercussions of catering to the taste of the masses. Culture was becoming increasingly mass-produced and profit-minded. Taste was becoming ever more debased, and audiences more passive.<sup>c</sup> The quality of music that people

consumed was especially worrisome because popular music or “jazz” (as well as the dance “craze” that accompanied it) was inescapable. Charles Hamm observes, “The elite had not been concerned with the ‘inferior’ cultural products of the lower classes as long as they were contained within their own cultural spaces; but with the development of the new mass media—radio, phonograph, film—they moved out of this space and became available to the entire population.”<sup>ci</sup>

The idea of a commercialized mass culture catering to the lowest common denominator of society was a threat to certain sectors of the elite who saw high culture as a force for moral and social order. Jazz, on the other hand, represented the threat of a world enveloped in chaos. In response, the public needed to be provided with higher quality amusements, as Lawrence Levine puts it, “to sow the seeds of culture among [the masses] in order to ensure civilized order.”<sup>cii</sup> Along these lines, middlebrow was instigated in opposition to the burgeoning of popular music and the emergence of mass culture industries, rooted in the conviction that popular culture was inferior. In other words middlebrowism functioned in the service of high culture by professing the legitimacy and superiority of its products, while modifying the form in which they were received, benefiting (supposedly) those whom high culture typically excluded. In this regard, middlebrow products and forms also functioned to police the boundaries of legitimate culture, by reinforcing what counted as legitimate culture, and by maintaining cultural hierarchies.

Women in the musical world fostered the development of middlebrowism; they saw it as their duty to make worthy music accessible to the masses. Drawing on the mentality that women were the “higher principled moral guides for the nation,”<sup>ciii</sup> the goal of making music more accessible was linked to the desires for society’s moral improvement and the education of the masses. A prime example of this feminized notion of social service (construed, Oja argues, as a modern perpetuation of a Victorian sense of womanly duty) is the People’s Music League, established in 1911 by Claire Reis, a woman who was deeply committed to arts advocacy (particularly music), philanthropy and social service (educating the lower classes and fundraising for worthy causes).<sup>civ</sup> The People’s Music League was created to present free concerts of standard European concert repertory and folksongs to newly arrived immigrants in New York City.<sup>cv</sup> The League was active, putting on two hundred such concerts a year.

The founding of Town Hall in New York City in 1921 is another example of the efforts to modify the elitist trappings of concert music. Built by a group of suffragists called The League for Political Education, Town Hall was meant to be a concert venue and a public space where people could learn about important issues of the day. Both Eva and Juliette performed there. Unlike other auditoriums, Town Hall did not privilege upper-class patrons: it had an egalitarian design with no box seats, and no seats with obstructed views.<sup>cvi</sup>

The goal of giving good music to the people attracted the criticism of some who saw it having a negative impact on musical development. Women like Claire Reis were scapegoated. Deems Taylor wrote in 1922, “[the] predominance [of women] in our musical life aggravates our already exaggerated sense that art be edifying” in America.<sup>cvii</sup> Taylor was not alone in disparaging the involvement of women in music. In a 1920 article for the *Dial*, Paul Rosenfeld wrote, “the fact that in America musical organizations have patronesses more often than they have patrons” is the reason why contemporary music has failed to thrive. He went on to say “the control of women of art is not the health of art.”<sup>cviii</sup>

Rosenfeld’s antipathy towards women was specifically directed towards their patronage and advocacy of modern music. His prime target was the League of Composers, also managed by Claire Reis. Rosenfeld admonished the League for serving “a social function.”<sup>cxix</sup> Likewise, the *Christian Science Monitor* characterized the League as entertaining “a rather good-humored, even indulgent, notion of its responsibilities to the public” and as offering programs that favored “music which is fanciful and entertaining, rather than that which is intellectual and uncompromising.”<sup>cx</sup>

Such descriptions of the League of Composers stood in stark contrast to representations of its rival, the International Composers Guild, which was founded and managed by the modernist composer Edgar Varèse. Reis had previously been an executive member of the International Composers Guild until

she formed a faction that split off to constitute the League of Composers. The fission developed over the issue of whether works could be repeated at concerts sponsored by the Guild. Varèse believed that the Guild should only present previously unperformed works. Reis, on the other hand believed that certain works needed to be repeated in order to be understood. This (rather minor) difference points to a populist (or middlebrow) vs. elitist approach to modern music that became amplified in gendered ways. The gendering is evident in contrasting descriptions of Varèse and Reis. For example, Lawrence Gilman referred to Varèse as the Guild's "high priest"<sup>cxix</sup> and Paul Rosenfeld described Varese as "a kind of philosopher or sacred doctor."<sup>cxii</sup> By contrast, Gilman described Reis as a "nurse to modernism," a role, he explained, that was suited to "an indefatigable, devoted and experienced domestic with nothing else on her mind."<sup>cxiii</sup> Varèse, a bonafide modernist artist, on the other hand, "got tired of being a manager," and the Guild dissolved in 1927 because it didn't have the benefit of an "industrious executive secretary,"<sup>cxiv</sup> such as Reis, who maintained the League of Composers until 1954.<sup>cxv</sup>

Reis believed that a mass audience was well suited to the reception of modern music because it had a "contemporary spirit." David Metzger writes:

The ["man on the street"] according to her responded naturally to the contemporaneity of new music, whereas the symphony subscriber . . . was deadened . . . instead of having the cultivated concertgoer direct the masses, Reis claimed that the latter could lead the dulled elite to an

appreciation of modern music. Such a ‘reversal’ had already occurred in architecture and visual arts, she argued, as the skyscrapers, photography, and ‘vivid colour combinations’ had been made part of American life due to the appreciation of the ‘man on the street’ rather than the connoisseur.<sup>cxvi</sup>

Efforts to widen the audience for modern music worked to Eva’s advantage. In her position, she needed to both distinguish herself as an artist among her peers and appeal to the broadest concert-going audiences. Yet, she avoided music that was already popular.

A few years after she arrived in New York Eva, was identified as a leading interpreter of modern music. She had a wide vocal range (She was classified at various times as a soprano, mezzo-soprano and contralto), and her facility for dissonant harmonies made her adept at performing atonal music. In the *Boston Transcript*, H.T. Parker referred to Eva as a “mistress of . . . tonal contrasts.” She opens “her hearers wider and wider ranges of penetrating perception and interpretive imagination.” Parker praised her for matching “subtlety for subtlety, producing the ‘sounds’ of new music, achieving no less its direct, pungent, instant impression, its brevities, its recurring harshness, its smart and smack.”<sup>cxvii</sup>

The superlative “ultramodern” was sometimes used to describe Eva’s repertoire.<sup>cxviii</sup> Her successful recitals featuring the works of modern composers

culminated in Walter A. Kramer in *Musical America* naming Eva the “high priestess of modern song” in December 1919.<sup>cxix</sup> Thus by the start of the 1920s, Eva already had a guru-like status. The cachet also applied to her audience. Parker wrote: “An audience which assembles to hear Miss Gauthier is a pleasure in itself. It usually wears bright clothes for it is a cheerful company [and] comes for pleasure and not from a sense of duty or in semi-boredom.”<sup>cxx</sup>

Parker’s comments suggest that modern music attracted a particular kind of public, different from the average concertgoers. There was also the idea that the average concertgoer might not be adequately primed for the acceptance of modern music. Preferring the tried and the true, such an audience would need to be won over. For example, in Paul Rosenfeld’s account, Eva felt compelled to “[come] on to the stage grinning” before her presentation of Stravinsky’s *Three Japanese Melodies* in 1919; in his estimation this was “to let the audience know [she] at least [was] not balmy.”<sup>cxxi</sup> It is not clear whether Rosenfeld’s interpretation of Eva’s grin is correct; however, the point about balminess speaks to a prevalent attitude towards modern music. For instance, the journalist Frank Patterson believed that modern music was evidence of a world gone mad. He asked, “Has our normal mental development ceased, and are we destined to become a universe of idiots, imbeciles, neurotics, and hysterics?”<sup>cxxii</sup> There was a reason to approach the audience cautiously because reaction to modern music was often mixed and even polarized between strong supporters and strong detractors.



Aaron Copland wrote that the average listener “would probably tell you, that whereas the older music—the classics—seems designed to caress and invite the soul, the newer music is disconcerting.”<sup>cxxiii</sup> He explained, “the more radical new music hits the ear with something like the violence that hits the eye in modern painting,” referring to “cacophonous harmonies, tuneless melodies, the head-splitting sonorities, the confusing rhythm and cerebral forms.”<sup>cxxiv</sup> If the characteristics of modern art and music were seen to respond to the conditions of modern living (such as discontinuity, the increasing presence of machines, “the intensification of nervous stimulation”),<sup>cxxv</sup> much of the population, at least in America, found the results peculiar. Susan Hegeman argues that Middle America, for example, did not recognize itself in the offerings of modern art.<sup>cxxvi</sup> The disdain for modernism was evident in the press coverage of the opening of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Centre in 1936, which along with Eva’s performance in Satie’s *Socrates* included a marionette production by Manuel de Falla and a dance recital by Martha Graham. One reviewer stated: “the entire week’s offerings were considered very strange and dubious by the local people, who did not understand them at all.”<sup>cxxvii</sup>

Eva addressed the lack of accessibility in her repertoire by including informal lecture presentations, in the form of anecdotes and interesting bits of information, to unpack the meaning of unfamiliar music for her audiences. Turbide describes this as Eva’s “method of taking an audience into her confidence and explaining what she is trying to do.”<sup>cxxviii</sup> She adopted this method on discovering it was

effective to give “little impromptu talks” before her Javanese songs.<sup>cxxxix</sup>

Prefacing “each of her songs with a brief summary of its content,” according to a reviewer in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, “added much to the interest”<sup>cxxx</sup> of her recitals. This would have worked particularly well at her numerous engagements in what can be considered middlebrow venues—women’s clubs, civic clubs and public schools, where audiences would not necessarily have specialized knowledge of music.

Eva succeeded in making her work accessible while maintaining her status within the highbrow elite for performing new and unusual fare. In part this is because her specialization—the pursuit of the esoteric in music—also spoke to the “aspirational dimensions” of middlebrow taste (in 1925, the British magazine *Punch* described the middlebrow as “People who are hoping that someday they will get used to the stuff they ought to like.”)<sup>cxxxi</sup> Thus, her appeal to middlebrow audiences depended on her authenticity and credibility as an artist. It was in this light that she was promoted by the Wolfsohn Music Bureau in the mid-1920s. An excerpt from her press material reads:

Eva Gauthier has had to struggle hard to win recognition . . . every sound artist is necessarily subjected to a period of bitter struggle, of disillusionment, of battered hopes in this difficult job of attaining public recognition. Unfortunately, it is often true that the sounder the artist the longer is the period of travail. Popularity in the arts is usually a heartbreakingly long and slow growth, especially when an artist is trying

to do in his art something new and out of the ordinary. Such was—and is—the case of Miss Eva Gauthier . . . For Eva Gauthier is a singer with a conscience. She wanted her success, when it materialized, to be no cheap one; she did not want the recognition that comes to an artist through repeating over and over again those things—old, hackneyed, common—that have brought success to others before her. Eva Gauthier’s struggle has been to make the whole people realize that modern music is worth listening to and encouraging. Her ambition has been to establish herself as the interpreter of this great new movement to a public partly skeptical, partly indifferent. And that is what she has done.<sup>cxxxii</sup>

Wolfsohn’s middlebrow strategy is evident in the attempt to convert high culture currency—inaccessibility—into box office success.

Eva’s pursuit of a broader audience also meant that she embraced the radio as a viable avenue for her work. She performed her song repertory and commented on music as an invited guest on such shows as CBS’s *Radio Symphony Hour* and *You Think You Know Music*. She also put together radio programming such as a two-part series titled *The Story of Song*.<sup>cxxxiii</sup>

Eva had misgivings about radio’s role in the world of music. She blamed it for the deterioration of the art of singing. The deficiencies of broadcast technologies distorted “the quality and sonority of the voice.” The radio also promoted what Eva referred to as “blue, torch, and swing use of female voices” which she

deemed as having an unpleasant male quality and throatiness.<sup>cxxxiv</sup> Nonetheless, she had no qualms about using the medium to her advantage, and even a certain degree of tolerance for its commercial aspects. In her 1927 performance on the popular national program the *Maxwell House Radio Hour* (sponsored by the coffee company Maxwell House), she was complicit enough to sing, as a quasi-advertisement, excerpts from Bach's Coffee Cantata.<sup>cxxxv</sup> She also catered to the medium in certain instances by choosing accessible program themes. For example, her series, *The Story of Song*, was divided into two parts. The first presented lullabies and *chansons à danser*. The second part was organized thematically around "songs of childhood" and "animals in songs."<sup>cxxxvi</sup>

Eva's participation in radio was part of a movement to elevate radio's musical programming. It was often the mechanisms of mass culture that provided the opportunity for elevating the tastes of the masses. That is, its modes of dissemination like vaudeville circuits and radio could provide the means of spreading high culture to the masses (while safeguarding high culture as the purview of the elite and leaving vertical distinctions between high and low intact). Letters sent to CBS in appreciation of Eva attest to her contributions in this regard. One described Eva's radio programming as something worthwhile given that "so much trash is inflicted on the public."<sup>cxxxvii</sup> Another appreciative listener wrote:

If more such programs were given over the radio it would prove an inspiration for the musical future of young America and would develop in

the youth of this country a knowledge and liking of that which is best and elevating and save them from the results of most of the dreadful programs which come over the radio. For your understanding and encouragement in this educational field—I thank you.<sup>cxxxviii</sup>

The drawing in of concert recitals, whether on the radio or in a hall, into the realm of an educational field is another middlebrow contribution. Eva's attempt to educate her listeners, via her dual role as an expert music interpreter and amateur lecturer, is all the more middlebrow because of her accessible style of relaying information in the form of personal experience, using anecdotes about her circle of friends and acquaintances that included both the major and lesser known international modern composers. In other words, her authority was based on first-hand knowledge and her proximity to the cultural elite that was inaccessible to the general audience. In this regard, Eva acted as a cultural intermediary and the "expertise" she shared was not restricted to music but also to other artistic fields of the modernist movement. Indeed the Contemporary Arts Club of the state of New York, a women's organization that founded a "Painting-of-the-Month Club," invited Eva to an event and asked her to give a fifteen-minute talk on the topic "the painters that I know."<sup>cxxxix</sup> Eva's ability to maneuver herself within the cultural middlebrow in such a way was an essential strategy for her survival as an artist.

The similarities between Eva's role in educating and ameliorating the tastes of her middlebrow audiences and Juliette's involvement in folk music concerns questions of "whose culture should dominate society, and represent it as the societal or national culture."<sup>cxl</sup> The modern period is associated with a "crisis of cultural authority."<sup>cxli</sup> The rapidity of change, and the development of concepts of relativity—that "no vantage point can be given preference over another"<sup>cxlii</sup>—created a general atmosphere of cultural flux. This crisis of authority and cultural flux was sometimes expressed as anxiety about the degrading influence of mass culture, which applied not only to high art but also to traditional crafts. Debates about which values and tastes to support and which to condemn influenced practices of cultural consumption, and therefore had a profound influence in shaping Eva and Juliette's careers.

In the second part of this chapter, I consider some of the details of the CPR Folksong and Handicraft Festivals that took place in Quebec City in 1927 and 1928 (part of a series of thirteen festivals that took place in Canada between 1927 and 1931). My purpose is to analyze Juliette's participation in the CPR festivals as distinct expressions of nationalism and modernity in Canada that drift across the high, the low and the folk.

Juliette was involved in the world of folk music at a time when there was tension between folk culture and an emerging commercialized mass culture. The latter was comprised of standardized products "dependent on a star system and a

professionalized type of performance.”<sup>cxliii</sup> Folk culture, on the other hand, was celebrated as being “of the people, for the people, and by the people.”<sup>cxliv</sup> Its authenticity was determined by the fact that it was not created by “professionals,” but by “performers and audiences [who] usually melded into one.”<sup>cxlv</sup> When appropriated by mass culture, folk culture is exploited as a form of ethnic spectacle that reinforces the distance between audiences and performers.

A stark distinction between producer and consumer is a central feature of the mass-culture industries. Profit-minded cultural producers sought maximum distribution for their standardized products. Critics of mass media, such as the *Christian Science Monitor*'s Archibald T. Davison argued, for instance, that “jazz” was only “popular” because it held such a significant portion of radio and gramophone repertoire. He wrote that it took hold “not because we elect to hear it but because we cannot escape it. Custom dulls our revolt against it; its din lulls us into passivity; we submit to it, and, behold, it is ‘popular.’” By contrast, he argued that folk music was “truly popular” because “it springs directly from the common people, it is the spontaneous expression of their experience and emotions.”<sup>cxlvi</sup>

In the Canadian context, the “authenticity” of folk culture was pronounced because mass culture had a distinct American identity. For this reason, folk cultural events like the CPR festivals were appreciated as a powerful tribute to Canadian culture, giving hope to “Those who fear that Canadian thought, culture and methods will be engulfed by the onrush of United States civilization.”<sup>cxlvii</sup>

Indeed much of the celebration of folk music in Canada pertained to the fact that it was antithetical to “jazz.”<sup>cxlviii</sup> A folksong revival was needed in Canada to reorient people away from the jazz that was leading them astray. One *Montreal Gazette* journalist wrote:

It must be admitted that there is a growing tendency amongst people to be satisfied with what may be called the “ready-made music” of the day, and quite content with the ‘sociableness’ of jazz that conforms itself to so many. Therefore, with disquieting indifference, they neglect to cultivate a taste for something that is so much more intellectually worthwhile.<sup>cxlix</sup>

The *Montreal Gazette* predicted the CPR folk festivals would “surely help to a better understanding and a higher appreciation of what is purely melodic and harmonic, in contrast to much of what is supplied today under the name of music.”<sup>cl</sup>

The CPR folk festivals in Quebec City, organized by Marius Barbeau (ethnologist at the National Museum) and John Murray Gibbon (general publicity manager for the CPR), tried to cultivate and cater to refined taste in music. It included string quartets and opera singers in addition to folk musicians. Indeed, for Gibbon and Barbeau the point of organizing these festivals was to impart the notion that folk music was the central ingredient in the formation of a more sophisticated and developed national art. Specifically, folk culture could be elevated into high art.



Folk music scholars, notably Alan Lomax, indicate that the meaning and function of folk music is variable, depending on the context of performance and its social basis. “Who performs?” and “To whom are performances directed?” are important questions given that “[folk music] may have very different functions when settings for its performance shift.”<sup>cli</sup> Namely, it operates according to a different aesthetic system when it shifts across the boundary between high and low.

Folk music is typically defined in opposition to art music, or “composed” music. It is considered an everyman’s art, “defined by ubiquitous musicality, never by the creative impetus of individual personalities,” or the result of individual creativity.<sup>clii</sup> Cecil Sharp, the founder of English folklore revival, defined folksong as the “unaided composition of the unskilled.”<sup>cliii</sup> For Sharp, however, certain songs had inherent musical qualities that “might ascend the evolutionary ladder to become suitable materials for high culture.”<sup>cliv</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> CPR folk song and handicraft festival that took place in Quebec City in 1928 featured the results of the E.W. Beatty Competition for Composition Based on Canadian Folk Melodies.<sup>clv</sup> The purpose of the competition clearly echoes Sharp’s perspective on folk music. In this vein, Barbeau reported, “Ici, au Canada, notre folklore constitue une riche mine d’inspiration. Tous nos musiciens qui y ont travaillé parlent avec enthousiasme de la qualité de ces airs populaires pour la composition.”<sup>clvi</sup>

However, the competition was not an overwhelming success. *Montreal Daily Star* music critic H.P. Bell agreed that an “important part of the proper function of folksongs”<sup>clvii</sup> was to serve as the basis for musical composition. Furthermore, he wrote: “There cannot easily be any better material for a composer to work on than folktunes.” At the same time he contended that this came at the cost of “the most characteristic quality of folksongs—freedom.”<sup>clviii</sup> For others, the attempts to improve upon folk music, transform it into art or treat it as source material brought some skepticism. Lawrence Mason in the *Toronto Globe* described the competition as an “exhibition of ‘folk’ material dressed up in ‘art’ form.”<sup>clix</sup> It also brought disdain. A *Toronto Globe* reviewer criticized the CPR festivals for privileging highbrow elements. He wrote, “The special appeal and unique feature of such an occasion is the native element and this should be played up more judiciously.”<sup>clx</sup> Professional singers, by contrast, “can be heard anywhere.”

The Beatty competition was a disappointment for Gibbon and Barbeau as well. Part of the problem was that all the French-Canadian composers boycotted it. McNaughton writes, “This unfortunate outcome arose from the fact that the Beatty Competition was open to competitors from any country. The young musicians of Quebec, who had almost without exception been educated in France, felt that they could not compete successfully with Europeans, and refused to try.”<sup>clxi</sup> Following the festival, Barbeau shared with Gibbon that he believed “the

results of the Beatty Competition did not justify its renewal,<sup>»clxii</sup> leaving the 1928 competition as a unique affair in the history of Canadian music.

The Beatty Competition betrays an elitist agenda that sought to use folk music as a means to achieving national goals that were both artistic and political. It openly embraced the notion that folk tradition is a precursor for the development of a national art, and that composition based on folk melodies is a step towards developing a “natural school of Canadian music.”<sup>»clxiii</sup> August Bridle in *Mayfair* wrote that “all over the world” folk music was “being exhumed” as “raw material” for contemporary composition.<sup>clxiv</sup> The mining metaphor positions folk music as an exploitable natural resource, in line with Canada’s desire for achievement in the sphere of cultivated music, and the creation of a national identity.

The Quebecois music critic, composer and pianist Leo Pol Morin used Juliette’s concert of “Indian” and “Eskimo” music at the 1927 folk festival as an opportunity to draw attention to the fact that Canada had been slow to appreciate/show an interest in its indigenous music. He wrote, “car si dans les archives de New York, de Washington, de Berlin et de Copenhague . . . on trouve des études approfondies des folklores indiens et eskimaux, les archives canadiennes ne possédaient encore rien de précis ni de complet sur ce sujet.”<sup>»clxv</sup> He argued that every other country would have already treated Canadian indigenous music as “l’objet d’une grande curiosité,” pointing out that musicians

like Bartok and Stravinsky “savent que le folklore peut être, à l’occasion, une source d’inspiration. Nous n’en sommes pas encore là (outre les specialists du musée d’Ottawa).<sup>clxvi</sup>

Indeed Canada was slow in turning to folk music and folklore for a sense of cultural and national identity. Its precepts originate with “romantic nationalism” of the nineteenth century, and philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder. Herder in particular believed that “folk traditions are amongst a nation’s greatest assets” and that “the collecting and preservation of folklore [is] vital to the formation of a national art.”<sup>clxvii</sup> In Europe, therefore, “The use of folk music as a national identifier is a well-known device in the nineteenth century where national traits were used to develop a musical style that was representative of a particular country or ethnic group.”<sup>clxviii</sup> The use of folk musical idioms is common amongst the work of composers, especially Eastern European composers such as Smetana (1824–1884), Dvorak (1841–1904), Chopin (1810–1849), Liszt (1811–1886), and Bartok (1881–1945).

The idea that art should be “rooted both in the landscape and historic folk traditions of the country”<sup>clxix</sup> was fundamental to Canada’s nationalist movement in the arts. In this endeavour, Barbeau saw an opportunity for collaboration between anthropologists and artists. Anthropologists like himself could “discover” traditional culture and preserve it for artists to use as inspiration in their contemporary works. Barbeau wrote, “Folksongs and traditions, as collected

today, are materials for the future arts of Canada, either musical, literary, or plastic. They are the basic materials. These are available to all Canadians, and the modern arts cannot develop in a way that reveals originality unless these are known by our artists and creators of present day . . .<sup>»clxx</sup> Barbeau describes this project as “the creative use of traditional culture.”<sup>»clxxi</sup>

Juliette, however, did not treat indigenous music as a source of inspiration but instead did her best to emulate it as “authentically” as possible. For Gibbon and Barbeau, this approach served no real purpose. For the 1928 CPR Festival, Gibbon and Barbeau were not interested in having Juliette sing her Indian and Inuit material. He dismissed Eskimo music as having “lost the charm of novelty at Quebec.”<sup>»clxxii</sup> He also wrote to Juliette that “The few Indians last year were generally considered to be disappointing,” so the organizers were going to eliminate aboriginal music altogether.

There were numerous disagreements between Barbeau/Gibbon and Juliette in the planning of the 1928 CPR folksong festival. Gibbon ruled out the Autoharp, the instrument Juliette used to accompany herself. He disparaged the Autoharp as “a German toy, which has no relation whatsoever to French Canadian folksong.”<sup>»clxxiii</sup> Juliette liked the Autoharp, even though it was not authentically French-Canadian, because it emphasized the simplicity of the melodies and approximated the sound of the lute. Fred Jacobs in the *Toronto Globe* agreed, “It was clever of Mlle Gauthier to realize that the tonal effects of the chords secured on this semi-

mechanical zither would approximate those of the lute, to which the old songs were frequently sung.<sup>”clxxiv</sup>

Most significantly, Gibbon did not want professional singers such as Juliette appearing in performances with folk singers, which is exactly what Juliette had in mind. In January she wrote to Barbeau, “I hope you shall pay me the honour of appearing with the Indians and Habitants, which I love more than the supposed civilized musicians.”<sup>clxxv</sup> Barbeau thought that if she did appear with Indians and Habitants, the point would be to have her reinterpret the same folksongs in a more sophisticated style. In fact, he advocated for this in a letter to Gibbon, writing that he believed, “the contrast of modern with old-fashioned art is vital and inspiring, and we should utilize it as much as possible.”<sup>clxxvi</sup> Gibbon disagreed. In March, Juliette pleaded with Barbeau: “Let me as a great privilege work with your delightful peasants and like a peasant which I am at heart.”<sup>clxxvii</sup> But to no avail. Gibbon wrote to Juliette telling her that her request to sing with folksingers “practically as one of them” was “making it difficult to arrange [the] program.”<sup>clxxviii</sup>

Furthermore, Gibbon wrote that it would be “unfair to the folksingers” to have Juliette sing with them:

We have little enough time to give them on the program, and a professional singer with a trained voice would make them feel outclassed, and therefore they might be nervous and disappoint the audience. On the

other hand, if they are left to themselves and sing as a group among themselves, there is no such contrast of voices and they will be much more at ease.

He patronizingly conceded, “Of course it would be very nice of you to dress up and be as one of them,” but he told her to “think of other people as well.”<sup>clxxxix</sup>

Ultimately, Gibbon threatened to drop Juliette from the program if she insisted “on being a Habitant and a Habitant only.”<sup>clxxx</sup> Indeed Barbeau confided to Gibbon in early May that he would “welcome the move” to eliminate Juliette because he believed she would be “unpleasant in Quebec.”<sup>clxxxi</sup> Gibbon told Barbeau that he would tell Juliette to come to Quebec “strictly on the understanding that she does not talk back.”<sup>clxxxii</sup> In the end, Juliette chose to do what Barbeau and Gibbon asked of her, because she really had no choice if they were willing to drop her from the program altogether. In a letter to Barbeau she wrote, “I shall have to make the best of a bad job.”<sup>clxxxiii</sup>

In Janet McNaughton’s opinion, Juliette did not in fact “make the best” of it. She believes it was Juliette’s lost enthusiasm that led to the bad reviews of her concerts and even suggests that the disputes with Barbeau and Gibbon were what caused Juliette “a gifted performer” to give “a poor performance.”<sup>clxxxiv</sup> It will never be certain whether Juliette purposefully gave a bland performance to prove her point that she was better unaccompanied. At any rate, she would have felt vindicated by R.O. Pelletier, who wrote in *Le Devoir* that Juliette’s performance

“did not provoke overwhelming enthusiasm, which can be explained by the weakness of the accompaniments and the lack of the conviction of the singer. No one would insist on hearing it again. Perhaps her talent, for she has some, would be more at ease if she sang *par coeur*.”<sup>clxxxv</sup> The fact that the review spoke directly to the conflict Juliette had with the Gibbon and Barbeau is either purely coincidental or suggests that Pelletier was aware of the conflict and wrote the review in solidarity with Juliette.

Juliette and Barbeau became permanent adversaries over her style of presenting folk music, which led to Barbeau’s loss of respect for Juliette as a musician. The longstanding antipathy between them is suggested in a 1937 letter to Barbeau from Marguerite D’Harcourt, the French composer. Barbeau met D’Harcourt during his student days in Paris. It was she who piqued his interest in indigenous music.<sup>clxxxvi</sup> In 1937, D’Harcourt had seen Juliette perform at the Musée Guimet. She reported to Barbeau that her program claimed she was singing under the patronage of the National Museum of Canada, yet she did not credit Barbeau for collecting the songs; instead she claimed to have collected hundreds of songs herself. Beyond that, D’Harcourt gave Juliette a bad review that included unkind comments such as, “I found her costumes authentic and well-suited to the concealment of her overplump peasant physique.” However, her main point of criticism concerned the issue of accompaniment. D’Harcourt’s opinion was that Juliette had not “learned to handle” the native drum she used to accompany herself; that she was “lacking rhythmic subtlety”; and that the whole effect was



“quite uninteresting.” As for her “zither,” D’Harcourt wrote that Juliette was “merely drawing from the instrument quite expressionless strummings bearing little or no relation to the interpretation.” She concluded:

To me the lady appears to be completely devoid of musical culture and I must confess that my belief in what she says is extremely limited. The proportion of bluff in all this is apparent. It was plain to see that the performance had been planned to please the public and to impress the impressarii with a view to lucrative engagements in a European tour.<sup>clxxxvii</sup>

D’Harcourt’s comments also raise the issue of what kind of audience Juliette was targeting. Juliette’s career occurred around the time of the growth of the tourist industry in Canada and elsewhere. Her activities point to the overlap between preserving folk culture, promoting cultural heritage and developing tourism and the tourist industry.

The growth of the tourist industry was of no small importance to Juliette’s career. Whether she wished to or not, Juliette catered to touristic demands for romantic presentations of the Folk—in her involvement with the CPR, the World Exposition in Paris and her own Gatineau Park Museum. Indeed the most successful of Juliette’s activities were associated with tourism. This is particularly true of her affiliation with the CPR.

Though her patronage by the CPR was limited (lasting through 1927 and part of 1928), it facilitated the most instrumental and high profile events of her career, including her Town Hall concert, the CPR folk festivals, her first field trip and ethnographic film. The fact that the CPR furthered Juliette's artistic goals is not unusual. The relationship between the railways and art in Canada was nothing new in the late 1920s. According to Jessup, railway patronage of the arts, which began in the nineteenth century, "was established to the point of convention by the third decade of the twentieth century."<sup>clxxxviii</sup> It was also not just the CPR but the government-owned Canadian National Railways that joined forces with the arts to promote "the idea that their lines offered access to a national landscape steeped in cultural heritage."<sup>clxxxix</sup> Both lines were in the business of providing free rail passage for writers, musicians and artists who could "produce tangible evidence of a national cultural identity."<sup>cxc</sup>

As a singer of Canadian folksongs, Juliette fell readily into this category. Folk music could fill a cultural void in Canada and contribute to its national development. It spoke to an otherwise absent sense of a national past and a national identity. One reviewer of the CPR folk festivals described the festival as a "worthy cause." He believed it had "brought forth something dormant, a wealth of national culture, that has been buried under an oppressive weight of materialism."<sup>cxc</sup> In other words, the success of the festival was not confined to the world of music, it meant "that a most lofty and national object has been

attained<sup>»cxcii</sup> in terms of national unity. In the *Musical Leader*, Marion Bauer wrote:

A word of praise is due to Mr. E.W. Beatty, President of the Canadian Pacific Railways, without whose cooperation this most valuable and educational movement would not have been possible. In the same way that Canada has been made one from East to West by means of a great railroad track line, it will be made one musically and artistically by means of the spreading of this common heritage of folk music.<sup>cxciii</sup>

In reality, it is hard to see the “common heritage of folk music” as anything more than CPR propaganda.

When it comes to the link between tourism and the promotion of folk culture, the role of the CPR and John Murray Gibbon cannot be overstated. As the publicity manager for the CPR, he sought to increase tourism but also, as the *Montreal Gazette* put it, “to deepen and enrich national life.”<sup>cxniv</sup> Gibbon believed that artistic endeavours could operate in the service of tourism. Therefore, for example, spreading folk festivals throughout Canada, in addition to providing more publicity and more business for the CPR, could also promote the idea that “each section of Canada has something to contribute of music and art to the rest of the Dominion.”<sup>cxv</sup> Gibbon believed “the railway’s resources should stand behind a concerted effort to revive and popularize the old songs, the history, the customs and the legends, not only of the original settlers of the Dominion but also of those who had come and were coming to Canada more recently.”<sup>cxvi</sup> Taken

with this idea, a journalist in the *Montreal Gazette* wrote: “the Canadian Pacific Railway . . . [is] discovering and tapping for all the world to know, a vast reservoir of beauty and art hidden away in the great melting pot of races and customs that make up the Dominion.”<sup>cxvii</sup>

Along these lines, the search for “authentic” rural crafts was a central feature of the tourist industry in Canada.<sup>cxviii</sup> Conceptually, the “modern” tourist has an antithetical identity to the “pre-modern” Folk (or the native). The former is defined by mobility, whereas the latter, as Arjun Appadurai argues, is “immobilized”; that is, “natives are not only persons who come from certain places, and belong to those places, but they are also somehow *incarcerated*, or confined, in those places.”<sup>cxix</sup> They know nothing about life except for what is in their immediate surroundings. The notion of the immobilized folk, and its romanticization, is apparent in Marius Barbeau’s description of the Quebec countryside. He wrote, “Isolation has long invested Charlevoix in the Laurentians with a peculiar charm . . . Their people are quaint and ‘insular’ in their speech and their ways and habitations . . . For two hundred years they have lived by themselves, and the spell of fairy-like enchantment is not yet quite broken.”<sup>cc</sup> This constructed image of the country folk as frozen in time was advanced in the service of tourism in Canada. For example, a 1927 Canadian Pacific Railways advertisement for the Château Frontenac hotel in Quebec City read, “Be happy this spring among people who still dwell in a romantic age.”<sup>cci</sup>

The promotion of folk culture, in other words, was steeped in both primitivist desire (longing for escape and encounter with the Folk) and nationalist discourse/propaganda. Folk artists were endowed “as bearers of cultural essence” and seen as essential to national identity. This mentality was especially pronounced in Quebec because the decline of agriculture and the rural population was seen as a threat to francophone cultural identity. Henri Bourassa said in 1923, “Our race will survive, grow and prosper in the measure that it remains peasant and rustic.”<sup>ccii</sup>

Outside of Quebec, the relationship between folk arts and nationalism was more problematic, politically speaking. Barbeau and his followers contended that the folk represented “the essence of the country,” which was under threat by modernization. In his opinion, “the cultural essence of Canada” could only be found on “the margins of modern life.”<sup>cciii</sup> Therefore the exclusion of marginalized groups, French Canadians and First Nations, from the centers of political control was a positive and necessary condition for Barbeau’s cultural agenda of preserving national essence. For this reason, Barbeau was guilty of what Benedict Anderson described as the tendency to “support . . . the revival or creation of folk art forms that aestheticized marginalized cultures . . . while maintaining the political and economic subjugation of those cultures.”<sup>cciv</sup>

To the extent that Folk was positioned as Canada’s “cultural core,” folk music has been linked to nationalism, as well as the development of art that is considered to

be distinctly Canadian. This is part of what Lynda Jessup describes as the naturalization of Native art and Folk art, and “their institutionalization as nationalizing sources of contemporary ‘modern’ art.”<sup>ccv</sup> In Jessup’s view this institutionalization involved the collaboration of artists, government and, significantly, railway companies. The CPR folk festival stands as a perfect example of this collaboration and the “effort to define and advance a distinctively ‘Canadian’ culture.”<sup>ccvi</sup> These cultural goals also parlayed into a broader nationalist sentiment and an emerging national consciousness. Jessup argues, at this particular historical juncture, “evidence of cultural existence was evidence of the existence of the nation itself.”<sup>ccvii</sup> In a Canadian context, therefore, the Folk and a national consciousness are closely intertwined.

Folk music revival played different roles in French Canada and English Canada and adhered to two kinds of nationalism—the French-Canadian one that was steeped in a sense of marginalization, subjugation, and resistance to assimilation, and the Anglo-Canadian one that was looking to assert Canada’s modern identity as a thriving settler nation.

Ernest Gagnon, among others such as Lionel Groulx, is a good example of the French Canadian nationalist movement in music. Gagnon was the first person to collect folk music in Canada. He published his first book of folksongs in 1865.<sup>ccviii</sup> In 1911, Gagnon wrote to Barbeau, “I have spent my life studying and documenting the history of our country. It has always been my belief that the

‘discovery’ of our roots would help establish a sense of national identity.”<sup>ccix</sup>

Music scholar Gordon Smith observes that Gagnon’s nationalist stance regarding music and his belief that a society can establish its identity by uncovering its roots was consistent with the nationalist literary and historical movement in Quebec. In other words, Gagnon’s nationalism was specifically French-Canadian. Smith writes, “Unlike Marius Barbeau in this century, who consciously tried to convince musicians to cultivate musical idioms based on ‘nationalist’ sources, Gagnon’s work as a musical nationalist was part of a broader cultural movement aimed at establishing a sense of French-Canadian identity.”<sup>ccx</sup>

The disparity between two kinds of Canadian nationalism was noted in Janet McNaughton’s examination of local newspaper articles published while the CPR festivals were being staged in Quebec. She writes that at certain times the festival was “being regarded by the conservative nationalist element in Quebec as a means of promoting the insular type of nationalism which was popular at that time, a nationalism rooted in devotion to the land, the Church and traditional peasant culture.”<sup>ccxi</sup> There was also a sense that if the festival demonstrated a Canadian national music based on “chanson populaire,” this was exclusively French Canadian. For example, when a reviewer in *Le Droit* wrote that folk songs embody “toutes les caractéristiques de l’âme d’un peuple” he meant francophone Canadians. “Le Canada français,” he writes, “peut donc dès maintenant se féliciter de posséder une musique vraiment nationale.”<sup>ccxii</sup> By contrast, the festival organizers and many journalists in English Canada appropriated “la chanson” as

representing the entire Dominion and even pride in Canada's identity as a British colony. In this latter extreme, a journalist in the *Hamilton Spectator* stated, "Quebec, with its quaint French-Canadian setting, stands for those traditions of liberty, which constitute the chief glory of Britain's history."<sup>ccxiii</sup> Perhaps it was due to this mentality that Fred Jacob in the *Toronto Mail and Empire* refers to the fact that for some the celebration of the French-Canadian chanson was "nothing more than a gesture on the part of the intelligentsia of Ontario to flatter the racial self-consciousness of their French fellow-citizens."<sup>ccxiv</sup>

More commonly, however, Canada's folk music was seen as an important ancillary to a sense of Canadian patriotism and national unity. This seemed particularly fitting in 1927, when Canada was celebrating sixty years of Confederation. Several folk music programs were included in Canada's Diamond Jubilee celebration, including a performance by Juliette of her Eskimo, Indian and French Canadian repertoire. (Eva also participated in the Diamond Jubilee festivities, including the first trans-Atlantic broadcast from Ottawa).

The publicity surrounding the Diamond Jubilee, including speeches given by politicians and government officials, gives a good indication of the discourse of Anglo-Canadian nationalism at the time. The official theme of the festivities, unanimously adopted by both houses of parliament on April 14, 1927, was to "lend added inspiration to the patriotic fervour of our people, and afford a clearer vision of our aspirations and ideals, to the end that from sea to shining sea there



may be developed a robust Canadian spirit, and in all things Canadian, profounder national unity.<sup>»ccxv</sup> How was national unity conceived? In part, unity was sought in a discourse of progress. The Governor General Viscount Willingdon suggested that the Diamond Jubilee was time for the citizens of British and French origins to “join together with pride and gratitude” in recognizing their joint contributions to the development of the country.<sup>ccxvi</sup> Celebrating development meant celebrating the industrial, commercial and social achievements of modernization, particularly as they were reflected in Canadian towns: “their fine public buildings, well-paved streets, wonderful means of transportation, well-equipped and efficient public schools and the innumerable modern comforts and conveniences, water supply, electrical light, telephones, street railways, and so forth . . .”<sup>ccxvii</sup> National unity in this regard was devoid of any cultural element that was distinctly Canadian. Indeed a writer in the *Montreal Gazette* observed that Canada had a “lack of artistic spirit comparable with its great advance in wealth and development.”<sup>»ccxviii</sup>

Folk culture was a significant factor in forging a national identity as it underwent modernization. It was constructed as having a legitimate claim on national identity because it signified the “authentic” culture of the people, located in the preindustrialized past. By contrast, the products of modern culture—those that arose out of changes in technologies and growing commodification—had a dubious relationship to national identity because they were seen to be trivial, ephemeral and without “roots.” Juliette’s emphasis on “authenticity” suggests antipathy towards modernization. The major flaw of her “authentic”

interpretations is that they now appear to infringe on the cultural sovereignty of indigenous people. However, at the time they were seen as part of an agenda to maintain national and cultural sovereignty in the face of modernity.

Frederick J. Hoffman argues that while an attitude of “surface gaiety” and “exuberance” dominated post-WWI America, there was also a sense of nostalgia, and a feeling that the “postwar period was inferior to the past.”<sup>ccxix</sup> Canada similarly enjoyed post-war confidence along with “skepticism about progress.”<sup>ccxx</sup> The American historian T. Jackson Lears identified this motif in a combination of social, political, economic and religious views that became prevalent in the U.S. in the early twentieth century and used the term “antimodernism” to describe it. According to Lears, antimodernism is “the pervasive sense of loss that often coexisted in the decades around the turn of the century along with an enthusiasm for modernization and material progress.”<sup>ccxxi</sup> He also described it as “the recoil from an ‘overcivilized’ modern existence to more intense forms of physical or spiritual existence.”<sup>ccxxii</sup> Canadian historian Ian McKay associates antimodernism with the fear that unprecedented social and economic changes were destroying the possibility of “authentic” experience.<sup>ccxxiii</sup> In this context, the “primitive” or the “folk” functioned as an alternative to “fragmented modes of being . . . defined by rationality, mass production, capitalism and the commodity” and “evidence of the existence of forms of humanity which are integral [and] cohesive.”<sup>ccxxiv</sup>

McKay argues that Folk “signified the romantic antithesis” of everything dislikable “about modern, urban, industrial life.”<sup>ccxxv</sup> Folk culture also represented a purer alternative to the cheap, commercial, and inauthentic commodities of popular culture, and along these lines, provided a way to avoid the debasement of taste associated with industrialization and increasing mass production and consumption. Sentiments of antimodernism played a role in the folk music revival movement in Canada in the sense that it was construed as responding to a “craving for something beyond the standardized ideas of modern life in North America.”<sup>ccxxvi</sup> Liking “jazz” for instance was equated with mass complacency, which in turn, was linked to the negative features of modernization: moral debasement, loss of authenticity and increased homogenization. Because of this, the CPR folk festivals were highly praised. One journalist stated, “In a world which threatens to become increasingly drab, standardized, wholesale, machine-made, every atom of individual flavour, of human quality, of ancestral contacts, of simple home traditions, becomes increasingly precious . . .”<sup>ccxxvii</sup> Likewise, H. Addington Bruce in the *Boston Transcript* argued: “human beings have instinctive urges that cannot possibly be satisfied by mechanization and its present-day accompaniment of jazz.”<sup>ccxxviii</sup> Therefore, for Bruce, the CPR festival seemed to point a way out from the nerve-wracking soul-torturing tempo of machinery and jazz . . . The festivals to come, I make bold to predict, will mark turning points from the crass materialism, the savage, ‘Let us hop and jump and yell today, for tomorrow we die’ of jazzism. Quebec,

ancient seat of idealism, of spirituality, of power, may yet save us from both jazz and the machine.<sup>ccxxix</sup>

In other words, the appeal of folk music lay, in part, in its perceived therapeutic role: as a tonic for people dealing with the whirlwind of social and economic changes associated with modernity. Eugene LaPierre in *Le Devoir* suggests, “La foule de plus en plus aime les vieilles choses. . . . Après un siècle et demi de vertige; les peuples semblent avides de revenir en arrière.”<sup>ccxxx</sup> The turn to the Folk (or “les vieilles choses”) as a way to deal with the vertigo of modernity exemplifies McKay’s argument that “the Folk” was invented as a concept for “thinking about the impact of modernity.” Along these lines, “urban cultural producers pursuing their own interests and expressing their own view of things” constructed a romanticized and value-laden notion of the Folk as “a better more authentic, purer culture than that which existed in the modern age.”<sup>ccxxxi</sup>

Juliette’s success in folksinging, especially her validation of the simplicity and purity of folk melodies, drew on sentiments of antimodernism. So did her efforts in the promotion of traditional handicrafts. The late nineteenth century saw a booming interest in folk crafts, represented in the Arts and Crafts Movement in Europe and the United States. The Arts and Crafts Movement, and its leader William Morris, “affirmed joy in labour, organic community, and the collapse of distinctions between art and craft,”<sup>ccxxxii</sup> believing that “everyday objects should be beautiful as well as useful.”<sup>ccxxxiii</sup> In an age of increasing mass production and

consumption, the Arts and Crafts Movement was “antimodernist”; it was ideologically positioned as a “critique of the excesses of civilization and ills of industrialization”; and it advocated a search for the “folk” and “a preindustrialist past that might save European and American society from itself.”<sup>»ccxxxiv</sup>

Handicrafts, in contrast to the products of mass manufacture, were associated with non-alienated labour, and mitigated against “fears of creeping uniformity . . . of the nation being engulfed by cheaper, commercial and inauthentic tastes.”<sup>»ccxxxv</sup>

Ian McKay, who studied the handicrafts movement in Nova Scotia, argues: “What middle-class people often admired about the Folk, and loved about handicrafts, was the authenticity and calm they seemed to invoke at a time when social conditions were in an uproar, and many testified to feelings of weightlessness and inauthenticity.”<sup>»ccxxxvi</sup> Handicrafts were also connected to “the simple life,” which McKay describes as “the phrase that best captured the personal side of antimodernism.”<sup>»ccxxxvii</sup> In other words, in Canada, the turn to folk crafts was part of a hunt for authenticity and originality, as well as a sense of roots and history.

If nationalism gave Juliette’s work a purpose and sense of importance, antimodernism gave it meaning at both a personal and national level. Nationalist and antimodernist discourses were essential to the way Juliette determined the value of her costume recitals, her handicrafts museum and her other aspirations. This is what makes Juliette’s career illuminating in relation to Canada’s cultural history and its forging of a national identity.

The movements of cultural practices between high, low and folk, as represented in the activities of Eva and Juliette, express distinct configurations of the categories of art and culture, as well as notions of authenticity and aesthetic value. In “On Collecting Art and Culture,” James Clifford argues, “Every appropriation of culture, whether by insiders or outsiders, implies a specific temporal position and form of historical narration.”<sup>ccxxxviii</sup> Therefore, my attempts to contextualize the variability of meanings associated with cultural boundaries is not only to analyze selected episodes in their lives but also to help explain the historical and political contingencies of Eva and Juliette’s “stories” as they unfold within “historically specific relations of power.”<sup>ccxxxix</sup>

## Notes

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- <sup>i</sup> Susan Hegeman, *Patterns for America*, 26.
- <sup>ii</sup> Miriam Bratu Hansen, "The Mass Production of the Senses," 60.
- <sup>iii</sup> Paul DiMaggio, "Cultural Boundaries and Structural Change," 39.
- <sup>iv</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>v</sup> Ibid., 49.
- <sup>vi</sup> Bernard Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 86.
- <sup>vii</sup> Ibid., 93
- <sup>viii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>ix</sup> Ibid., 12-13.
- <sup>x</sup> Hegeman, *Patterns for America*, 35.
- <sup>xi</sup> Unpublished memoirs, (1977-2, I, 14), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- <sup>xii</sup> For a short biography of Sissiretta Jones ("Black Patti") see Women in History <http://www.lkwdpl.org/wihio/jone-sis.htm>.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Albert F. MacLean, *American Vaudeville as Ritual*, 4.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Robert W. Snyder, *The Voice of the City*, 4.
- <sup>xv</sup> James Brander Matthews, *A Book About Theater*, 246
- <sup>xvi</sup> Contract with the Central Vaudeville Promotions Company, June 3, 1915.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Arthur Frank Wertheim, *Vaudeville Wars*, 63.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Anthony Slide, *The Encyclopedia of Vaudeville*, 64.
- <sup>xix</sup> Beck is known for having booked Sarah Bernhardt for the 1912-1913 season as well as Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn in 1917. (Slide, *The Encyclopedia of Vaudeville*, 45, 120).
- <sup>xx</sup> Wertheim, *Vaudeville Wars*, 63.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Andrew Erdman, *Blue Vaudeville*, 4.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Mary Gluck, "Theorizing the Cultural Roots," 352.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> "The Futurist Song Bird," *Canadian Magazine*. October, 1919.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 58.
- <sup>xxv</sup> The alternative to bipolar middlebrowism is "a more blended and homogenous middlebrow . . . in which the high and low were sutured into such an evenly textured whole that they were no longer recognizable as separate and somewhat discordant elements." Gendron argues that more avant-garde forms like the cabarets at Zurich's Club Voltaire are an example of the blended middlebrow.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> "Orpheum Prima Donna is One of Noted Family," unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> "At the Columbia," *Davenport Democrat*, October 6, 1915.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> See reviews in *Kansas City Globe*, March 6, 1916, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL and "Three Years in a Sultan's Harem to Learn Songs," *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 30, 1916.
- <sup>xxix</sup> "Music" *The Vogue*, New York, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- <sup>xxx</sup> "Concert Singer in Vaudeville," *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.

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- xxx<sup>i</sup> Hugh H. Huhn, "An Act of Original Interest," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xxx<sup>ii</sup> Review in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks, (Book One), NYPL.
- xxx<sup>iii</sup> Review in the *Los Angeles Courier*, February 2, 1916, quoted in Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 158.
- xxx<sup>iv</sup> "The Orpheum's Classy Bill," *The Minneapolis Journal*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xxx<sup>v</sup> "Mediocre Bill at the Majestic," unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xxx<sup>vi</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Confusing Pleasures," 243.
- xxx<sup>vii</sup> Review in the *Sacramento Bee*, January 24, 1916, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book One), NYPL.
- xxx<sup>viii</sup> Review in *The Argonaut*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xxx<sup>ix</sup> Maitland Davies, "Orpheum Offers Varied Bill," unknown source and date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xl Walter Armstrong, "Good Comedy and Singing on Bill," unknown source, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xli "The Orpheum's Classy Bill," *The Minneapolis Journal*, unknown date, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xlii Review in the *Sioux City Journal*, Gauthier Scrapbooks (Book Five), NYPL.
- xliii Matthews, *A Book About Theater*, 241
- xliv Ibid.
- xl<sup>v</sup> Ibid.
- xl<sup>vi</sup> MacLean, *American Vaudeville*, 2.
- xl<sup>vii</sup> Erdman, *Blue Vaudeville*, 6-7.
- xl<sup>viii</sup> Ibid.
- xl<sup>ix</sup> Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 224.
- l<sup>i</sup> Ibid., 232.
- l<sup>i</sup> Ibid.
- l<sup>ii</sup> Charles Hamm, *Putting Popular Music in Its Place*, 3.
- l<sup>iii</sup> Mary Heron Dupree, "Jazz, the Critics and American Art Music," 56.
- l<sup>iv</sup> Vernon Duke, "Gershwin, Schillinger and Dukelsky," 120.
- l<sup>v</sup> Dupree, "Jazz, the Critics, and American Art Music in the 1920s," 294.
- l<sup>vi</sup> Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 323.
- l<sup>vii</sup> Ibid., 329.
- l<sup>viii</sup> Ibid.
- l<sup>ix</sup> Ibid., 316.
- l<sup>x</sup> Gilbert Seldes to Eva, unknown date (Box 7), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- l<sup>xi</sup> "Respectabilizing Jazz" *The Literary Digest*, Nov. 24, 1923.
- l<sup>xii</sup> Ibid.
- l<sup>xiii</sup> Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 285.
- l<sup>xiv</sup> Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 317.
- l<sup>xv</sup> Neil Leonard, *Jazz and the White Americans*, 86-87.



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- lxvi H.C. Colles, "Youth and Nationality As Passports for Composers," *New York Times*, November 11, 1923.
- lxvii Leonard, *Jazz and the White Americans*, 27.
- lxviii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 289.
- lxix Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 330.
- lxx H.C. Colles, "Miss Eva Gauthier" *New York Times*, November 2, 1923.
- lxxi "Java to Jazz," unknown source (1977-2, II, 4), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- lxxii Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 329.
- lxxiii Leonard, *Jazz and the White Americans*, 82.
- lxxiv Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 329.
- lxxv *Ibid.*, 330.
- lxxvi Lawrence Rainey, "The Cultural Economy of Modernism," 34.
- lxxvii Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 547.
- lxxviii Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 3.
- lxxix *Ibid.*, 2.
- lxxx Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 318.
- lxxxi Publicity materials published by the Music League of America (1977-2, I, 10), Fonds Eva Gauthier, Music Archives, NLC.
- lxxxii *New York Tribune*, November 3, 1923.
- lxxxiii "Eva Gauthier Proud of Being Canadian," unknown source, January 24, 1924, Gauthier Scrapbook (Book One), NYPL
- lxxxiv Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 237.
- lxxxv Eva Gauthier, "The Fisk Jubilee Singers" *New York Times*, November 1, 1925.
- lxxxvi Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 445.
- lxxxvii Gendron, Bernard. *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 81.
- lxxxviii *Ibid.*, 100.
- lxxxix Hansen, "The Mass Production of the Senses," 60.
- xc Janet, Wolff, "The Ideology of Autonomous Art," 3.
- xci *Ibid.*
- xcii T.G. Ashplant and Gerry Smyth, "Schools, Methods, Disciplines," 45.
- xciii *Ibid.*, 45-46.
- xciv John Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*, 43.
- xcv *Ibid.*, 33.
- xcvi *Ibid.*, 37.
- xcvii *Ibid.*, 40.
- xcviii DiMaggio, "Cultural Boundaries and Structural Change," 21-22.
- xcix David Carter, "The Mystery of the Missing Middlebrow," 178.
- <sup>c</sup> For a summary of the critique of mass culture see Herbert Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
- ci Hamm, "Putting Popular Music in Its Place," 8.
- cii Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 206.
- ciii Kenneth Bindas, *All This Music Belongs to the Nation*, 87, referring to a November 1929 special issue of *Etude* on the topic of women in music.

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- civ For details on the career of Claire Reis see Thomas, Penny. "Claire Reis: Advocate for contemporary music" (Ph.D. diss. University of Florida, 1991) and Oja, Carol. "Women Patrons and Activists for Modern Music: New York in the 1920s" *Modernism/Modernity* 4.1 (1997).
- cv Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 217.
- cvi "If These Walls Could Talk" <http://www.the-town-hall-nyc.org>
- cvi Dupree, "The Failure of American Music," 311.
- cvi Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 221.
- cix *Ibid.*, 222
- cx *Ibid.*, 223.
- cx *Ibid.*, 41.
- cxii *Ibid.*, 42.
- cxiii R. Allen Lott, "New Music for New Ears," 282.
- cxiv *Ibid.*
- cxv Interestingly, Reis was first appointed as the executive secretary of the International Composers' Guild, according to Louise Varese, Edgar's wife and author of his memoirs, because her connections were "many and monied." However Varese was turned off by what he saw as her emphasis on the afterconcert receptions (and "the mounds of mayonnaise which covered chicken salad" served at the receptions). Reis quit the Guild and founded her own League.
- cxvi David Metzger, "The League of Composers," 58.
- cxvii Parker, H.T., "Gauthier the Pioneer," *Boston Transcript*, April 23, 1920.
- cxviii For example, a headline in *Musical America*, September 17, 1921 reads "Eva Gauthier Achieves Renown As Explorer of Ultra-Modern Fields."
- cxix Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 204.
- cxix Parker, "Gauthier the Pioneer" *Boston Transcript*, April 23, 1920.
- cxix Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 289.
- cxix David Metzger, "The New York Reception of 'Pierrot Lunaire,'" 682.
- cxix Aaron Copland, "A Modernist Defends Modern Music," *The New York Times*, December 25, 1949.
- cxix *Ibid.*
- cxix Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," 35.
- cxix Hegeman, *Patterns for America*, 145.
- cxix Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 422-424.
- cxix *Ibid.*, 301.
- cxix "Javanese Greatly Influenced Much So-Called Modern Music" *Montreal Daily Star*, March 14, 1942.
- cxix *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, December 7, 1926.
- cxix Carter, "Mystery of the Missing Middlebrow," 178.
- cxix Publicity materials (Box 14), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxix Columbia Broadcasting System to Eva, 23 June 1937, 26 March 1940, 11 June 1948, Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxix Script for "Golden Age of Song" and "Voices of the Past" (Box 14, file 10), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- cxix Turbide, "Biographical Study of Eva Gauthier," 347.

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- <sup>cxxxvi</sup> Program for CBS “Story of Song,” (Box 14, file 10), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cxxxvii</sup> Unknown to Eva, 15 August 1937, (Box 1, file 4), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cxxxviii</sup> Marion Lovell to Gentlemen of Columbia Broadcasting Co., 15 August 1937.
- <sup>cxxxix</sup> Emily A. Francis to Eva, 1937 (Box 9), Gauthier Collection, NYPL.
- <sup>cxl</sup> Herbert Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture*, 3.
- <sup>cxli</sup> T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 61.
- <sup>cxlii</sup> Christopher Herbert, “Frazer, Einstein and Free Play,” 135.
- <sup>cxliii</sup> James Naremore and Patrick Bratlinger. “Introduction,” *Modernity and Mass Culture*, 12.
- <sup>cxliv</sup> *Toronto Globe*, Saturday May 21, 1927.
- <sup>cxlv</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music*, 85.
- <sup>cxlvi</sup> “Folk Songs Are Characterized as Only True Popular Music,” *Christian Science Monitor*, April 6, 1927.
- <sup>cxlvii</sup> “New Music for Canada,” unknown source, (Box 346, file 16), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- <sup>cxlviii</sup> An absolute opposition between jazz and folk music is problematic. The influence of traditional folk music was also a major facet in development of popular/lowbrow/commercial music, particularly in America. This is what immediately came to mind for one reviewer of the CPR festival who, referring to “jazz,” wrote, “The present age has shown its fondness for folk melodies by use of tunes derived from the negroes.”
- <sup>cxlix</sup> “Musical Education” *The Gazette*, Montreal, Friday, May 13, 1927.
- <sup>cl</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>cli</sup> Bolman, *The Study of Folk Music*, 59.
- <sup>clii</sup> *Ibid.* 70.
- <sup>cliii</sup> Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 19.
- <sup>cliv</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>clv</sup> The winners of the competition were Arthur Cleveland Lloyd for Orchestral Suite. Cash prize \$1000; Claude Champagne, for first place in Canatatas. Cash prize \$750, no second place was awarded; George Bowles for Suite for String Quartet. Cash prize \$500; Ernest C. MacMillan for Arrangement for Male Voices. Cash prize \$250; and Alfred E. Whitehead and Irvin Cooper for Arrangement for Mixed Vocals. Cash prize \$250. Honorable mentions and \$100 cash prizes were awarded to George Bowles for Orchestral Suite, Miss Wyatt Pargeter for String Quartet, and Pierre Gauthier for submitting four chansons “which did not conform strictly to the terms of the Competition but was recommended for some award.” With the exception of Miss Wyatt Pargeter from England, all the winners were Canadian. Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival General Programme. 1928.
- <sup>clvi</sup> “Les Tresors du Folklore.” Entretien Avec M. Barbeau, *L’Evenement*. Samedi 12 Mai, 1928.
- <sup>clvii</sup> H.P Bell, “Teaching Canada to Sing,” *Montreal Daily Star*, May 12, 1928.
- <sup>clviii</sup> Bell, “Music of the Soil,” *Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday, May 19, 1928.

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- clix Lawrence Mason, "Musical Programs at Quebec Festival Replete with Riches," *The Globe*, Toronto, Saturday, May 26, 1928.
- clx "The Log of 'The Music Special,'" *The Globe*, Toronto, Saturday, May 28, 1927.
- clxi McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folk song," 136.
- clxii Barbeau to Gibbon, 7 May 1929, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxiii T.J. Palmer, "Quebec Music Festival Opened by Gov. General," *The Citizen*. Ottawa, Friday, May 25, 1928.
- clxiv Augustus Bridle, "Quebec's Folk-Festival Revives Early Chansons," *Mayfair*, June 1927.
- clxv Leo-Pol Morin, "La Musique" *La Patrie*. Montreal, Samedi 7 mai, 1927.
- clxvi Morin, "La Musique" *La Patrie*. Montreal, Samedi 14 mai, 1927.
- clxvii Kines, Bret. "Chief man of many sides," 103.
- clxviii Carl Morey, "Nationalism and Commerce," 1.
- clxix Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 23.
- clxx Marius Barbeau, "I was a pioneer" Edited transcript of CBC interview (1965). Published by the National Museum of Man. 1983.
- clxxi Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 391.
- clxxii Gibbon to Juliette, 21 March 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxiii *Ibid.*
- clxxiv Fred Jacobs, "Folk Song Festival At Quebec," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, n.d. (Box 346, file 16), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxv Juliette to Barbeau, 16 January 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxvi Barbeau to Gibbon, 24 January 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxvii Juliette to Barbeau, 8 March 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxviii Gibbon to Juliette, 21 March 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxix *Ibid.*
- clxxx *Ibid.*
- clxxxi Barbeau to Gibbon, 7 May 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxxii *Ibid.*
- clxxxiii Juliette to Barbeau, 30 March 1928, Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- clxxxiv McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folk song," 7.
- clxxxv *Ibid.*, 173.
- clxxxvi Renee Landry and Denise Mernard, "Barbeau, Marius" *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com).
- clxxxvii Marguerite D'Harcourt to Barbeau, n.d. English translation (Box 617), Fonds Noeline Martin, CMC.
- clxxxviii Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State," 5.
- clxxxix Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery," 25
- cx c Kines, "Chief man of many sides," 146.
- cxci "Quebec Festival of Folk Song and Music is Success," unknown source (Box 346), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- cxcii *Ibid.*
- cxciiii Marion Bauer, "A Railway Dispenses Music," *Musical Leader*, Chicago, Thursday, May 26, 1927.

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- xciv “Musical Festivals in Canada,” *The Gazette*, Montreal, Monday, February 4, 1929.
- xcv Ibid.
- xcvi Ibid.
- xcvii Ibid.
- xcviii Ellen Easton McLoed, *In Good Hands*, 34.
- xcix Arjun Appadurai, “Putting Hierarchy in Its Place,” 35.
- cc Barbeau, “In the Heart of the Laurentians,” 3.
- cci Lorna Senechal Carney, “Modernists and the Folk,” 107.
- ccii McNaughton, “A Study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec folk song,” 38.
- cciii Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 25.
- cciv Paraphrased by Lynda Jessup, “Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: An Introduction,” 7.
- ccv Jessup, “Moving Pictures and Costume Songs,” 4
- ccvi Jessup, Lynda. “Canadian Artists, Railways, the State,” 5.
- ccvii Ibid., 79
- ccviii Morey, “Nationalism and Commerce,” 1.
- ccix Gordon Smith, “Ernest Gagnon on Nationalism,” 1. It is quite possible that Barbeau was also influenced by A.Y. Jackson as well. Two years earlier there had been an exhibition of Quebec art at the Art Gallery in Toronto, “The Exhibit of Painting, Sculpture, and Wood Carvings of French Canada,” which exhibited materials collected by Marius Barbeau. The exhibition ran adjacent to a show by the Group of Seven). Jackson claimed in the exhibit’s catalogue that “Quebec had given rise to a national art,” a rhetoric duplicated by Barbeau and Gibbon in the Quebec CPR Folk Festival of 1928. According to Lynda Jessup, at the time of “The Exhibit of Painting, Sculpture, and Wood Carvings of French Canada” (1926) Barbeau did not see the “immediate connection between the ‘Canadian Art Movement’ of the present day and his efforts to give the country a “background” through his collection of Canadian folklore. (Jessup, “Canadian Artists, Railways, the State,” 76-87).
- ccx Smith, “Ernest Gagnon on Nationalism,” 6.
- ccxi McNaughton, “John Murray Gibbon,” 70.
- ccxii “Success remarquable du Festival de Quebec,” *Le Droit*, Ottawa, Mercredi, 25 mai, 1927.
- ccxiii Reprinted in *Montreal Daily Star*, May 25, 1927.
- ccxiv Fred Jacob, “Folk Song Festival at Quebec,” *Toronto Mail and Empire*, n.d. (Box 346, file 16), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- ccxv Mackintosh, Hon. Charles H. *Chronicles of Canada’s Diamond Jubilee*, 27.
- ccxvi Ibid., 115.
- ccxvii Thornton, H.W. “Celebrating Canada’s Nationhood, Canada’s Dream” *Canada’s Confederation Jubilee, Souvenir Book*.
- ccxviii “Musical Festivals in Canada,” *Montreal Gazette*, February 4, 1929.
- ccxix Frederick J. Hoffman, “Fiction of the Jazz Age,” 310-313.
- ccxx Ian McKay, *The Quest for the Folk*, 2.
- ccxxi In Jessup, “Antimodernism and Artistic Experience,” 3.

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- ccxxii Ibid.
- ccxxiii McKay, *Quest for the Folk*
- ccxxiv Ibid.
- ccxxv Ibid., 4.
- ccxxvi “Quebec Festival of Folk Song and Music is Success” Montreal Gazette, May 23, 1927.
- ccxxvii *Toronto Globe*, Saturday, May 21, 1927.
- ccxxviii Clipping (Box 346, file 16), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.
- ccxxix Ibid.
- ccxxx Eugene LaPierre, “Le ‘Festival de la Chanson,’” *Le Devoir*, Montreal, Mardi 24 mai, 1927.
- ccxxxi Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 134.
- ccxxxii Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Confusing Pleasures,” 236.
- ccxxxiii McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 102.
- ccxxxiv Ibid., 103
- ccxxxv Ibid., 102
- ccxxxvi McKay, *Quest of the Folk*, 218.
- ccxxxvii Ibid.
- ccxxxviii James Clifford, “On Collecting Art and Culture,” 232.
- ccxxxix Ibid., 232, note 9 (Clifford paraphrasing Bakhtin’s definition of chronotope).

## Conclusion

Eva and Juliette were promoted throughout their careers as “pioneers” in new musical fields: Juliette in folk music and Eva in everything that was new and unfamiliar. While this might have inspired interest in them in their immediate context, over time their status as “pioneers” lost resonance. Their adventures, discoveries, and innovations waned and diminished in importance in the broader perspective of twentieth century history.

In terms of music history, Eva has been likened to Povla Frijsh, Greta Torpadie, Vera Janacopolous, Maggie Teyte, Jennie Tourel and Janet Fairbank—they all performed modern song). She is also comparable to her co-nationals, such as Pauline Donalda (whose career was confined to opera). A stained glass mural at the Place Des Arts metro station in Montreal depicts Eva along with fellow Canadian mezzo-soprano Rosita del Vecchio.<sup>1</sup> At the height of her career, Juliette was compared to the American folksinger Lorraine Wyman and Canadian opera singer Jeanne Dusseau who also participated in the CPR folk festivals singing the *chansons* collected by Marius Barbeau.

On the whole, the Gauthiers have no clear position in the history of music in Canada. In part, this is because Canada lacks a unified and coherent music history. For instance, Elaine Keillor’s recent book *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity* (2006) is an episodic assembly of microhistories, local

histories and institutional histories, often told in terms of the contributions of individual Canadians. Juliette is included in Keillor's discussion of the CPR folk festivals. Eva is not mentioned.

Of the two sisters, Eva had a much more pronounced artistic persona. In an interview with the *Montreal Star*, Eva suggested that artists should "If possible have something which the public associates with you alone. Perhaps it will be a song or the way the hair is dressed, or the style of clothing."<sup>ii</sup> For her concerts, Eva donned unusual dresses and hats (that she claims to have made herself) that were never in the style of the day.<sup>iii</sup> One of her concert reviews stated, "As is her custom the singer embellished her performance by the bejeweled splendor of a fascinating costume."<sup>iv</sup> Ursula Toomey wrote that Eva came to be known as the "most distinctively dressed woman on concert stage."<sup>v</sup> Dramatic costumes were part of Eva's identity. She wrote, "Dressing up is a favorite indoor sport of most little girls; with me it has lasted a lifetime."<sup>vi</sup> She confessed she devoted "as much consideration to the design and execution of [her] costumes as [she did] to the choosing of [her] programs for one must be careful that they harmonize with – not combat- the spirit of the songs."<sup>vii</sup> Her eccentric wardrobe was part of what made her recitals memorable.

Implying a degree of imitation, Juliette also placed emphasis on her costumes as a central ingredient of her performance. But because her goal was to look "authentic," her costuming did not express the artistry and creativity that were



associated with Eva's sense of fashion. Still, a preoccupation with costumes is one of the ways in which Eva and Juliette resembled one another in their approach to their singing careers. Juliette also imitated Eva in developing a specialization and occupying a niche. Eva's strategies to distinguish herself in the concert world are similar to those adopted by the harpsichordist Ewa Landowska. In an interesting analysis of Landowska's career, Annegret Fauser observes how Landowska presented herself as a specialist, and made her name through a particular repertoire, namely musical rarities.<sup>viii</sup> Fauser notes that Landowska introduced her songs with "short verbal commentary,"<sup>ix</sup> presented herself as an informed specialist and researcher who unearthed "hidden treasures" and gave programs that had "unity and a general governing idea."<sup>x</sup> In this regard, Eva was strikingly similar: She made her name singing unfamiliar music that was both old (certain songs in her repertoire dated back to the sixteenth century) as well as new (each of her recitals contained premieres). Because she sang obscure music, Lawrence Gilman in the *New York Herald Tribune* argued that she had to be "a student, a scholar and a musicologist."<sup>xi</sup> Juliette too played up the "scholarly" aspects to her recitals and considered her choice of music a field of study as well as concert repertoire.

In promoting themselves as "explorers" in music, Eva and Juliette's personalities, public images and notions of self were similar to those of turn-of-the-century women travel writers. Sara Mills argues that women travel writers tend to represent themselves as "remarkable, odd, eccentric . . . exceptional" and

indomitable. This was, according to Mills, a feminized version of the trope of the hardy adventure hero that frequently appears in the travel literature of men.<sup>xii</sup> Ruth Behar observes a similar “male quest narrative” in men’s ethnographic writing, wherein Western male anthropologists figure as “heroes.” The ethnographic genre “[allows], even [insists], that they exploit their alienation, their intrepid homelessness, their desire . . .”<sup>xiii</sup> By adapting elements of this narrative, as women, Eva and Juliette appear not so much as heroines but as anomalies in their independence and their propensity to travel and extend their boundaries.

Living up to their self-fashioned image of veering off the beaten path, Eva and Juliette shared an affinity for folk music. In the immediate wake of WWI, there was a unique context for the reception of folk music, one that betrayed a craving for international fraternity. Eva promoted this attitude at one of her recitals in Baltimore in 1919 that included the works of “picturesque” French and Spanish folksongs. She said to the *Baltimore American*, “I feel . . . that folk songs have a real service to perform at present in creating interests between countries. A knowledge of what has stirred the hearts of other peoples of the universe will do more toward establishing a federation of the world than all the international laws that may be made.”<sup>xiv</sup> Juliette echoed this perspective in the 1940s when she tried to promote her work in folklore as a tool in the war effort.

Using folk songs to get to know other nations was the impetus behind a group of fifteen concerts given by the People’s Music League of the People’s Institute at

the Great Hall of Cooper Union in New York City in 1919. The series was titled “Six Centuries of Folk Songs Comprising all the Races of Europe and North America.” Eva sang in a program of French music on January 28, 1919. The program for the series, written by Max Merz, offers a mini-treatise on the political, social and artistic value of folk music, and the place it occupied in an America deeply marked by the First World War. He wrote:

Never before has the American people occupied itself with the doings and destiny of the European nations as during the wild years of the world war. For years, the eyes of all the world have been fixed upon the happenings in Europe, where the nations stirred with hate and passion have again and again renewed their strength and courage for battle in the consciousness of their national peculiarities. The more separate nations were thrown together by the movement of gigantic armies, the more plastic and evident appeared their national differences.<sup>xv</sup>

According to Merz, in folk songs “the poetic and musical peculiarities of the various nations have found their richest and fullest expression.” Celebrating folk music as powerful expressions of national and cultural diversity could act as a balm for a world recovering from the strife and chaos of war. It also was a way to resist the cultural homogenization associated with industrialization, which Merz described as a “one-sided development, which was transforming the world into one huge machine.” He wrote: “It is not mere chance that in the same degree that

this industrialization began to spread and endanger national culture, even perhaps to destroy it, so likewise grew the recognition of its splendid worth.”<sup>xvi</sup>

By singing folk music, both Eva and Juliette were tapping into salient features of the political and social aspects of post-WWI modernity. H.E. Krehbiel, reviewing Eva’s folksong recital, explained, “there has been great awakening to the significance and beauty of racial utterance in music of late, as there has been to the need of racial expression in literature and politics.” He went on, “if one chooses to associate the phenomenon with the bloody struggle going on in the Old World, he would seem amply justified in doing so.”<sup>xvii</sup> However, an interest in “racial utterance” also points to changing demographics in North America and an increasing cross-cultural awareness and cosmopolitanism, particularly in urban settings.

Bruce Robbins describes cosmopolitan communities as those defined by “multiple attachments” comprised of selves engaged in more than one location.<sup>xviii</sup> Those living in cosmopolitan communities must recognize a “relationship to their own past and to the lives of others.”<sup>xix</sup> The results of this arrangement are indefinite, open-ended and to a certain extent un-bordered. Drawing links between modern multicultural communities and dissonant modern music, the American composer and philosopher Dane Rudyar wrote: “Yet men must live in society, and sound must live in symphonies of whatever type they may be.”<sup>xx</sup>

Urbanization accounts for a substantial shift in social experience, namely a move away from the institutions of home, community, family and church to “commercialized or privately improvised forms” of public life.<sup>xxi</sup> T.J. Clark cites a guide to life in Paris that characterizes the modern Parisian as having inclinations away from the home: “To live at home, to think at home, to eat and drink at home, to love at home, to suffer at home, to die at home, we find this boring and inconvenient. We need publicity, daylight, the street, the cabaret, the café, the restaurant . . . We like to *pose*, to make a spectacle of ourselves, to have a public, a *gallery*, witnesses to our life.”<sup>xxii</sup>

Social connections also became less stable. Eva’s wide and varied correspondence suggests a fragmented and revolving circle of friends and acquaintances, owing to the facts that she’d lived on three continents and that New York’s musical world was marked by constant comings and goings. It is difficult to decipher Eva’s relationship with her family; however the randomness of surface facts, namely her parents living in Ottawa, her (biological) son in Chicago and her ex-husband in Holland, points to a distinctly modern social experience.

Notions of collective identity were changing in what Douglas Mao describes as a “complexly modernist” mixture of cultural relativism and anxiety related to identity.<sup>xxiii</sup> In Eva and Juliette’s careers, this is reflected in their cosmopolitanism and antimodernism. The discourse of preservation and nostalgia mobilized in Juliette’s work in handicrafts in particular suggests an “experiential sense of self-

loss and historical rupture<sup>»xxiv</sup> associated with modernization. Eva's repertoire, on the other hand, represented North, South, East and West, suggesting an increasing tendency towards cosmopolitanism and cultural pluralism.

Susan Hegeman argues that cultural pluralism was a central concern of early-twentieth-century comparative relativistic ethnographies, such as Margaret Mead's widely popular *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). Hegeman writes:

At the end of *Coming of Age in Samoa* . . . Mead advises modern Americans to learn from Samoan educational practices *not* in order to attain a unified culture, but in order to prepare children for the existence of a *disunified* one . . . [Mead writes] 'then we shall have realized the high point of individual choice and universal toleration which a heterogeneous culture and heterogeneous culture alone can attain. Samoa knows but one way of life and teaches it to her children. Will we, who have the knowledge of many ways, leave our children to choose among them?'<sup>»xxv</sup>

The heterogeneity of being "modern" is attested to in twentieth-century music. In the *New York Times*, H.C. Colles writes, "Musical speech (i.e. styles) have become More international or polygot: "This is natural enough if we consider that the facilities for communication of modern life tend to make us all more or less cosmopolitan. We no longer live in segregated communities. Art passes as freely from country to country as commerce."<sup>»xxvi</sup>

Colles comments speak to the relationship between cosmopolitanism, capitalism and communication technologies, all of which are harbingers of globalization.

Roland Robertson writes, “Globalization . . . refers to both the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.”<sup>xxvii</sup> In *The Condition of Postmodernity*, David Harvey argues that the more the world becomes compressed, represented, in part, by “the greater the mobility of capital, the stronger the nostalgia for place specific identity.”<sup>xxviii</sup> Folk music, certainly as it figured in Juliette’s career, represented this nostalgia for place-specific identity. Some argue that folk music still plays such a role today. Examining the popularity of Celtic music in Canada in the 1990s, Karen Pegley writes:

I do not believe it is coincidental that as national imaginaries give way to postnational ones, Canada, as a nation-state that is in the midst of changing its maps and perpetually on the verge of dismantling, would particularly embrace Celtic music . . . increasing transnationalization and the proliferation of Diasporic communities, rapidly changing technologies, and the turn of the millennial calendar have created a new set of anxieties for the Canadian mainstream, thus providing a partial explanation for why white Anglo folklore has been adopted in a form of cultural (musical) nostalgia.<sup>xxix</sup>

Benita Wolters Fredlund critiques Pegley for not examining the way “nostalgia” also polices the boundaries of national identity, pointing out that only certain folk music represents national culture and others are contained as “difference.”<sup>xxx</sup>

Stuart Henderson argues to this effect in his analysis of the CPR folk festivals in Western Canada in the 1920s, which featured the music and folk crafts from numerous recent immigrant groups from Eastern Europe.<sup>xxxii</sup> An article in the *Montreal Gazette* of June 26, 1928, described the folk festival as an opportunity for people to have “a new conception of the new Canadians.” It elaborated, “Whatever these new Canadians may look like when on our streets there is no question as to their beauty when in the gala dresses of their races.”<sup>xxxiii</sup> Another stated:

The New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival, which has been staged in Winnipeg this week, comes just at the right time. During the past two months numerous statements have been made in Ottawa voicing criticism of the foreign born element in the West . . . The New Canadians . . . have in many cases brought with them a highly interesting culture as evidenced in their handicrafts and in their folkmusic which is likely to prove an important factor in Canadian development if properly fostered, as it is being fostered by this Festival.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Folk music, in other words, can represent deeply conservative elements in society. The deployment of the “folk” as representing a traditional homogenous past and/or a pluralistic future embodies a spectrum of ideological and political positions. There is a lack of evidence pertaining to the political views of the Gauthiers (aside from their personal connections to the Liberal Party of Canada in the Lauriers and Mackenzie-King). Nonetheless, their activities (travel and



developing an awareness of other cultures) at least gesture towards their  
implication in the building of a modern, cosmopolitan version of community.

## Notes

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- <sup>i</sup> The mural is called L'Histoire de la musique à Montréal ou Les Arts Lyriques, by Frédéric Back, 1967.
- <sup>ii</sup> "Javanese Greatly Influenced Much So-Called Modern Music" *Montreal Daily Star*, March 14, 1942.
- <sup>iii</sup> "Javanese Greatly Influenced Much So-Called Modern Music"
- <sup>iv</sup> *New York Evening Sun*, Jan. 5, 1927. (reprinted in Arthur Judson publicity materials).
- <sup>v</sup> Ursula Toomey's notes for a biography of Eva Gauthier, MUS 81 1977-2, II, 2.
- <sup>vi</sup> Eva Gauthier, "Chapter 1" of her memoirs, MUS 81 1977-2, I, 14.
- <sup>vii</sup> Ursula Toomey's notes for a biography of Eva Gauthier, MUS 81 1977-2, II, 2.
- <sup>viii</sup> Fauser, Annegret. "Creating Madame Landowska," 9
- <sup>ix</sup> Fauser, 13.
- <sup>x</sup> Fauser, 17-18.
- <sup>xi</sup> December 30, 1927.
- <sup>xii</sup> Sara Mills, *Discourse of Difference*, 35-38.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Ruth Behar, "Introduction: Out of Exile," 16.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Review in *Baltimore American* (circa Jan. 24, 1919) in NYPL, Gauthier Scrapbook (microfiche), Book Five.
- <sup>xv</sup> "Six Generations of Folk Songs" Program in Gauthier Scrapbook, Book Five.
- <sup>xvi</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>xvii</sup> H.E. Krehbiel, "Folk Music Given By Miss Gauthier," *New York Tribune*, January 24, 1917.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Jessica Berman, *Modernist Fiction*, 16.
- <sup>xix</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.
- <sup>xx</sup> Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 105.
- <sup>xxi</sup> T.J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, 3.
- <sup>xxii</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Douglas Mao, "Culture Clubs," 160.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Rosalind Morris, *New Worlds From Fragments*, 170.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Mao, "Culture Clubs," 169.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> H.C. Colles, "Youth and Nationality as Passports for Composers," *New York Times*, November 11, 1923.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Roland Robertson, *Globalization*, 8.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Molly H. Mullin, "Patronage of Difference," 171.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Karen Pegley, "Toronto 2000" (Discourses of Music, on-line)
- <sup>xxx</sup> Benita Wolters-Fredlund, "Canada's Lack of a National Music Identity" (Discourses of Music, on-line).
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Stuart Henderson, "While there is still time"
- <sup>xxxii</sup> "Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival Finished," *Montreal Gazette*, June 26, 1928.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> "Folk Song and Handicraft," *Winnipeg Tribune*, n.d. (Box 346, file 19), Fonds Marius Barbeau, CMC.

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