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J W HERBERT & Co.

MUSIC PUBLISHING IN CANADA: 1800-1867

by

Maria Calderisi

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Musical Arts.

Faculty of Music
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ABSTRACT

Maria Calderisi

Music Publishing in Canada: 1800-1867

M.M.A. degree
Faculty of Music
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Music publishing in the Canadas before Confederation is divided into three categories: books, periodicals and newspapers, and sheet music. The publishers within each category are introduced and examples of their publications described. Besides the primary evidence provided by the music itself, contemporary reports and chronicles are drawn upon to document the birth and growth of the new industry. A brief description of the printing methods used in music publishing of the period is followed by a section on copyright which outlines the progress of provincial legislation until a national Copyright Act came into effect in 1868, and describes the relationship between Canadian and American music publishers of sheet music in the latter part of the period under study. To assist in the dating of sheet music published in pre-Confederation Canada, a Directory of Canadian sheet music publishers and printers is appended, as is a Synoptic Chart of music publishing activity from 1800 to 1867.

ABSTRACT

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L'édition musicale au Canada avant la Confédération a été subdivisée en trois catégories: les livres, les journaux et revues ainsi que la musique en feuille. Pour chacune de ces catégories, la présentation des éditeurs et de leurs éditions se complète des comptes rendus et articles de l'époque sur la naissance et l'évolution de cette nouvelle industrie. En outre, la thèse comporte une brève description des procédés d'impression de la musique, accompagnée d'un chapitre général sur l'évolution juridique des droits d'auteur dans la législation provinciale jusqu'à l'entrée en vigueur de la Loi nationale sur les droits d'auteur de 1868 ainsi que sur les rapports entre les différents éditeurs de musique en feuille canadiens et américains. A des fins de datation, le texte comprend un bottin des éditeurs et des imprimeurs de musique de même qu'un tableau synoptique des activités dans le domaine de l'édition musicale.

PREFACE

Musicologists and librarians have long been aware of the immense value of such works as Musikverlags Nummern by Otto Erich Deutsch (Berlin: Berseburger, 1961) and Music Publishing in the British Isles by Charles Humphries and William C. Smith (London: Cassell, 1954) in the dating of 18th- and 19th-century music. But the need for a similar reference tool relating to Canadian music publishing became apparent to me as a music librarian at the National Library of Canada. As a first step in that direction, I decided to attempt an in-depth study of the earliest phase in the development of the music publishing industry in pre-Confederation Canada. My intention was not to make inventories of publishers' outputs but rather to identify the publishers, gather information on them, examine examples of their work, and thus to form conclusions on the birth and growth of the industry.

This would not have been possible without access to the wealth of source material in the National Library, not only in the Music Division but also in the Official Publications and Serials Divisions, and in the collection as a whole. The National Library also granted me a year's leave in which to complete the course requirements for the M.M.A. degree in Musicology, and I hereby gratefully acknowledge the faith in me thus demonstrated. But I would never have embarked upon this study without the inspiration of Dr. Helmut Kallmann, Chief of the Music Division at the National Library. To him

I express my heart-felt thanks for his advice and assistance always cheerfully and selflessly given. The work of Drew Smith, Research Assistant in the Music Division, on the "Union Catalogue of Early Canadian Sheet Music" made my task infinitely lighter. The willingness to help and the courtesy afforded me by the staff at both the Lande Room at McGill University and the Metropolitan Toronto Music Library was greatly appreciated, as was the assistance, encouragement and patience of the staff of the Music Division of the Library of Congress in Washington and of the Music Division of the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center. The early interest and encouragement of Dena Epstein who put the fruits of her own extensive experience in the field at my disposal is gratefully acknowledged. And, finally, in a much larger sense than the preparation of this thesis, I wish to acknowledge, with deepest gratitude and respect, the constant and patient guidance of my advisor and tutor, Professor Marvin Duchow.

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1

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Music publications in Canada can be divided into three categories: music books, such as hymnbooks, song collections and tutors; music in periodicals and newspapers; and sheet music. The problems and circumstances of publishing each were quite different, and few publishers functioned in all three areas.

It is only in the last and largest category that dating is a problem: books were nearly always dated and, needless to say, so were periodical publications. Most of the sheet music published in Canada before Confederation is undated. For someone trying to investigate any aspect of the musical activities of that time and place, this circumstance represents a serious handicap. Dating can be attempted by various means: (1) the presence of such clues as a dedicatory inscription, or commemorative publication, may lead to the approximate dating of a work; (2) similarly, the text of a song might refer to some contemporary event, thereby suggesting chronological boundaries; (3) or, again, a cover illustration, such as that of the Victoria Bridge on the cover of the Grand Trunk Waltzes by D'Albert¹ (Frontispiece), will suggest a date. All or any of the above methods must often be used, but a more precise method would be to date the publisher. The years during which a publisher was active, and his changes of

¹Published in Montreal by J. W. Herbert. The bridge opened in 1859.

address, (most important since addresses are often given on early publications) can be traced through city directories and verified in contemporary newspaper and magazine advertisements. It is hoped that the "Directory of Canadian Sheet Music Publishers (1840-1868)" (Appendix A, pp. 117-121) will provide a useful and accurate reference tool for future researchers in this area.

In order to permit as complete a search for information as possible within a limited period of time, it was decided to confine the study to provincial Canada before Confederation. The period 1800-1867 represents the birth and early years of the music publishing industry in Canada. By the end of the 1850s, it was beginning to flourish, but few of the publishers active during that time survived beyond Confederation. The wave of new music publishers which began to form in the 1870s could be the subject of continued research. Also, a new era of legal and personal rights began in 1868 with the introduction of a national copyright act; although previous provincial legislation had existed, very few works were entered for copyright before Confederation. And, since the greatest publishing activity took place in Quebec, Montreal and Toronto; geographically the delimitation is Upper and Lower Canada, reunited into the Province of Canada in 1841. Only a few music publishers in the Maritimes have been noted, but, since Halifax was the cradle of printing and publishing in Canada, it is probably safe to assume that music publishing developed in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

to a greater extent than the available sources indicate. Rather than to present a false picture of geographical imbalance, it was decided to omit the Maritimes from this study in the hope that someone closer to the primary sources will be tempted to pursue the facts.

After a brief historical and social resumé to place the subject into context, the main body of this study is divided into three sections: (1) book publishers, 1800-1867; (2) periodical publishers, 1836-1864; and (3) sheet music publishers, 1840-1867. It is followed by a brief section on music printing and one on copyright, two technical aspects of the industry which must be considered. In conclusion the type of music published and the role of the music publisher are discussed. Appended to this study are the Directory already mentioned above and a "Synoptic Chart" (Appendix B, p.122) which shows the period of activity of all known music publishers in pre-Confederation Canada and provides a cross-section of music publishing in any given year.

No major studies of music publishing in Canada have been made to date besides that of Dr. Helmut Kallmann, Chief of the Music Division at the National Library of Canada. Some 20 years ago he recognized the need to collect and preserve the concrete record of Canada's musical heritage. He began then not only to acquire whatever early publications he could find, but also to record information on all such publications seen or unseen from whatever sources he happened upon or sought out, such as dealers' catalogues, newspapers, magazines

and advertisements. In 1966, as a centennial project, the Canadian Music Library Association, under Dr. Kallmann's supervision, decided to continue and expand his work. Since that time over 8,000 pieces of music published before 1921 located in libraries and private collections have been catalogued. Of these, about 600 were published in Canada before Confederation and represent perhaps 40% of the total output of music publishers during that time. Located in the National Library in Ottawa, this "Union Catalogue of Early Canadian Music" has been the major secondary source for this thesis.

Dr. Kallmann's exploratory studies, culminating in a paper delivered to the Bibliographical Society of Canada in 1973,² provide an excellent foundation upon which the present study is based. The broad outline of the subject, over a longer period and across a greater physical area, has been skillfully sketched, and certain details have been most useful as points of departure and of reference. Other secondary sources are few. Of the little that has been done on Canadian publishing history in general, the works of Beaulieu, Fauteux and Gundy³ are the most important. Parallel studies on American music publishing, such as those by Epstein, Dichter and Shapiro, and Krummel,⁴ have been helpful in indicating the path.

² Helmut Kallmann, "Canadian music publishing," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, XIII (1974), 40-48.

³ & ⁴ See "Sources Consulted", pp. 123-130.

This work has been based largely on information available in the National Library of Canada. The large Canadian sheet music collection in the Music Division is itself a rich primary source and secondary information contained in the "Union Catalogue" enabled key publications held elsewhere to be sought out and examined. Also located in the Music Division is a chronological index of Canadian music books compiled by Dr. Kallmann. It includes seen and unseen works, some reported by other libraries or private owners, some found in contemporary advertisements or auction catalogues. Dr. Kallmann has included in the index titles which suggest the presence of music but which in fact contain none. One such title is the Book of Temperance Melody, and the card index states "no music" as a warning to future researchers. Other works whose titles suggest the presence of music, as yet undetermined, have also been included in the index. One such work is La Guirlande, ou recueil de chansons canadiennes. This index was the main secondary source for information on book publications. The National Library also provided more general source material: city directories for dating and locating the publishers; provincial statutes and other government documents to help trace the copyright and tariffs history; and contemporary newspapers and magazines for advertisements and announcements which help verify and fill out directory information. All the periodicals discussed in Chapter 3 are in the National Library. Although its holdings of certain titles are sometimes incomplete, a

first-hand familiarization and evaluation of the publications was possible.

Important information was also furnished by other collections. The Lawrence Lande Collection at McLennan Library of McGill University is a rich source of musical Canadiana and it was possible to examine selected items when verification of bibliographical details became necessary. The Metropolitan Toronto Music Library is the second source drawn upon through consultation of the "Union Catalogue." Its collection of early sheet music, possibly the largest and richest of English pre-Confederation music in the country, has not as yet been completely catalogued.

Not examined was the Villeneuve Collection, the counterpart of the Toronto collection for French Canada, acquired by the Université de Montreal in 1973. It has yet to be sorted and listed, a project which it is hoped will be undertaken shortly. Neither were the collections of the Bibliothèque municipale de Montréal and the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec investigated. All of these will have to be examined most closely should someone decide to make an inventory of any publisher's output or to do an analytical appraisal of the musical productivity of a region. For the purposes of the present study, the sources consulted were sufficient.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In Europe 1800 to 1867 was a period of dramatic social, political and cultural upheaval: from Napoleon to Marx, Beethoven to Wagner, nationalism, trade unionism, wars, famines, financial crises and technological progress. It ushered in the age of Romanticism expressed so eloquently by Goethe and Heine, Scott and Poe, Hugo and Dumas, Gogol and Dostoyevsky. Painters such as Goya, Constable and Delacroix, and musicians such as Berlioz, Wagner, Verdi and Liszt were not far behind in depicting, each in his own way, the dissatisfaction with the old order, the yearning after seemingly unreachable goals, and the glorification of nature and of feelings. It was a rich and colourful period, a many-textured tapestry, a kaleidoscope of ever-changing patterns.

The new world was affected by the above legacy, but only to a certain degree, due not only to its physical remoteness and therefore lack of effective communication, but also to the greater immediacy of very different problems, challenges and even of satisfactions.

Canada of that time, a British colony divided into two provinces in 1792 and reunited in 1841, was more concerned with maintaining its sovereignty against the occasional thrusts of its rebellious neighbour, while at the same time trying to work out a governmental system which would suit both the French- and the English-Canadians. British immigration


in the '20s, internal rebellion in the '30s, repercussions in the '40s, railways in the '50s, and union in the '60s: the barest bones of a most fertile period in Canada's history.

Some population figures might be more illustrative of the colony's progress: in 1806, the population of Lower Canada was 250,000, Upper Canada, 70,718; by 1831, Lower Canada had 553,134 inhabitants and Upper Canada, 236,702; the 1851 figures were 890,261 and 952,004, respectively, and in 1861, 1,111,566 and 1,396,091.¹ The dramatic increases in Upper Canada, or Canada West as it was called after 1841, were due to immigration, while the lower but still considerable increases in Lower Canada (Canada East) were largely due to propagation.

Music in the early decades of the century, apart from the traditional songs and dance music of the habitants for which no printed, or even hand-written, score was needed, was largely restricted to the military and governmental upper class. Military band musicians provided the music for dancing and listening. With the growth of a comfortable merchant class came the awareness of music-making in the home as a symbol of genteel well-being. Young ladies were encouraged to learn to play and sing pretty tunes, thus creating a demand for more music teachers from Europe and consequently for more music. Shops opened to meet the demands, both for instruments and for the latest pieces of imported salon music, of their generally undiscerning clientele. Music dealers soon began to produce their own sheet music and so a new industry was born.

¹Canada. Bureau of Statistics. Census of Canada, 1870-71, IV, xlv-1.

However, the above does not reflect the didactic and spiritual function of music in Canada during the same period. The problems faced by the American colonists in overcoming the Puritan disapproval of music as a lascivious evil did not exist in the north. The Catholics were accustomed to the chanted liturgy and to the singing of canticles and hymns. So, too, were the Anglicans and Presbyterians who comprised the large majority of English-speaking Canada. Music publishing in Canada began by fulfilling the needs of the colonists for hymnbooks and tutors long before the more frivolous demands for musical entertainment were met.



CHAPTER 3

BOOK PUBLISHERS

As early as 1703 a prayer-book with square notation scattered throughout was published in Paris by Simon Langlois entitled Rituel du diocèse de Québec,¹ indicating an awareness of the special needs of the new world. All printed music in Canada came, for the most part, from France and England until 1800 when the first known music was produced in Quebec. Appropriately, it was a book of prayer, Le Graduel romain à l'usage du diocèse de Québec, published by John Neilson (1776-1848). In the Québec Gazette (November 23, 1797), the publisher had announced his intentions of meeting the popular demands for portable liturgical books on the condition that a subscription for 400 copies could be collected. He planned to use the Vannes [French] edition as a model and to add chants peculiar to the Quebec service.

Les deux volumes [the Graduel and the Vespéral] bien reliés se vendront ensemble pour la modique prix d'Une demi-guinée ...²

His conditions were evidently met since three years later the first volume appeared.

A most substantial beginning, the Graduel was made up of 431 octavo pages of mass chants for the feasts of the Lord (Propre du temps), plus a new sequence of 214 pages of chants

¹Kallmann, "Music Publishing," 40.

²Marie Tremaine, A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 572-573.

for the feasts of individual saints (Commun des saints) and for the Ordinary of the Mass. The square notation on four-line staves and accompanying text was printed from moveable type. Neilson recognized the importance of his undertaking, pointing out in the preface the previous lack of music books in the diocese.

C'est le premier essai de ce genre qui ait été fait en Canada et l'on espère qu'il ne sera pas sans mérite.

In 1801, Neilson followed up the Graduel with Le Processional romain (377p.) and in 1802 with Le Vespéral romain (614p.). The Extrait du processional romain (1819) is the only other example of music publishing by Neilson, although it is known that he was attempting to print an opera score.

Correspondence from Joseph Quesnel,³ poet, playwright and composer, to John Neilson between 1807 and 1809 indicates in some detail the problems involved in the publication of Colas et Colinette, ou Le Bailli dupé first presented in Montreal in 1790.⁴ The spoken dialogue of the play was interspersed with sung "ariettes" and Quesnel asked the publisher (March 18, 1807) if he was planning to print the entire work in score form with the music and the spoken parts in proper order, or

³Public Archives of Canada, Neilson Collection, MG24 B1, vol. 2.

⁴Joseph Quesnel, Colas et Colinette, ou Le Bailli dupé. (Quebec: John Neilson, 1808), "Avis de l'Editeur."

...avés-vous dessain de graver⁵ en cahiers séparés le chant et les parties d'accompagnement?

He suggested the latter would be less costly for Neilson.

Quesnel's comments (April 6, 1807) upon receiving a copy of the score for his approval before engraving were far from complimentary. After complaining about errors in punctuation and spelling; he went on about the music:

Les ariettes y sont exactes mais les Duo n'y sont pas reconnaissables; les deux parties y sont croisées de manière a former une cacophonie la plus complete. S'ils ont été executés tels qu'ils existent sur cette copie il y avait de quoi faire fuir du théâtre tous les spectateurs, même les moins sensibles aux accords de la mélodie. Il est a présumer que celui qui a fait cette copie n'a aucune notion de la musique.⁶

In the same letter he also complained about the instrumentation of the accompaniment to the ariettes, written expressly for a string quartet and now assigned to "clarinettes criandes et des cors etourdissans," but excused himself to Neilson,

... j'oubliais que vous m'avés dit ne pas entendre la musique et cet article est déjà trop long même pour un amateur ...

and promised to return corrected proofs as soon as he received them.

The correspondence continued sporadically over two years until, on February 10, 1809, Quesnel wrote enquiring after Neilson's health and "si vous avez réussi dans votre entreprise touchant la gravure des arrietes [sic] de Colas et Colinette."

⁵Note the word "graver" used here for the first time in connection with music publishing in Canada.

⁶Orthographic irregularities have been reproduced literally.

Neilson had promised him proofs⁷ to look over but since he had received none, he wondered if

... n'ayant pu peut-être vous procurer cet ouvrage, comme vous le désiriez, vous avez pris le parti d'abandonner ce projet ou de le faire exécuter ailleurs.

But on April 10, 1809:

Je viens de recevoir l'épreuve de musique ... et que je trouve aussi bien gravée qu'ils est possible. Cet essai doit assurément faire honneur à la personne qui l'exécute, vu que cela ne le servit guères mieux en Europe; et les amateurs doivent vous savoir gré monsieur d'avoir encouragé et fait naître en ce pays-cy un art qui sans vous y aurait été sans doute encore long temps inconnu.

He made some lay-out suggestions and corrections in notation, fearing that he was trying the publisher's patience to the extreme, but closed with the following expressions of good will and congratulations:

Je désire néanmoins que vous ne vous ralentissiez pas désirant beaucoup tout ce qui peut contribuer au succès de votre entreprise; et que ce que vous avez fait déjà à cet égard promet plus qu'ils n'était possible d'espérer [en] ce pays ou l'on n'avait avant cette époque aucune idée de graver de la musique.

Quesnel died in July of that year⁷ and Neilson abandoned the project. In 1812, the text of Colas et Colinette was issued and the following explanation for its tardy publication -- it was dated 1808 -- appeared in the Quebec Gazette of April 12:

La publication en a été retardée dans l'espérance d'y ajouter la musique, mais plusieurs essais pour la faire graver d'une manière convenable ayant manqué

⁷W. Stewart Wallace, Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), p. 613.

... on a enfin obtenu la permission de le publier sans musique.

The only surviving copy of the vocal parts⁸ contains errors of the kind referred to by the composer in his April 1807 letter, but no copy of the printer's proofs has yet been found. Nevertheless, the foregoing is evidence enough that Neilson was a most progressive publisher and merits the title, "Father of Canadian music publishing."

John Neilson was also an important public figure in Lower Canada. At the age of 20 he inherited control of the Quebec Gazette, a politically independent newspaper which, under his direction, became an influential and respected voice in the community. Neilson was elected to the provincial assembly in 1818 and soon after, to avoid a conflict of interests, he turned over his publishing operations to his son, Samuel. He continued his political activities, initially siding with Louis-Joseph Papineau against the reunification of the Canadas but later disapproving of the extreme measures of the rebels. He held the laws of the land in great respect and after the reunification was again elected to the assembly.⁹

Neilson's sons continued in his publishing footsteps. They were responsible for two of the four later editions of the Graduel/Processional/Vespéral to be published before

⁸ Archives, Séminaire de Québec, Université Laval.

⁹ Henry J. Morgan, Sketches of Celebrated Canadians. (Quebec: Hunter, Rose, 1862), pp. 297-308.

Confederation. These editions serve as a convenient vehicle for the introduction of their respective publishers. As a group these men represent the most important pre-Confederation publishers and printers of books containing musical notation.

Samuel Neilson, John's eldest son, and his partner William Cowan published the second edition of the three volumes: Le Processional romain in 1825, Le Graduel romain in 1827, and Le Vespéral romain in 1828. Also in 1828, they published an Elementary Treatise on Music, more particularly adapted to the piano forte/Traité élémentaire de musique, particulièrement adapté au piano forté, if not the first music theory book published in Canada, certainly the first bilingual one. It was prepared by T. F. Molt, the German immigrant who called on Beethoven on a visit to his homeland and moved the great man to dedicate to him the canon "Freudich des Lebens."¹⁰

A third edition of the Graduel was published in 1841, and of the Processional and the Vespéral in 1842, by William Neilson. He is listed in the Quebec directory from 1844 to 1847 as publisher of the Quebec Gazette, but no mention is made of him in Beaulieu¹¹ nor in the biographical dictionary articles on John Neilson which were consulted, and there is no

¹⁰ Helmut Kallmann, History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp. 79-82.

¹¹ André Beaulieu et Jean Hamelin. La Presse québécoise, des origines à nos jours. I (1764-1859). (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 1-4.

individual entry for him in any of the same dictionaries. However, an article by Francis Audet establishes William as one of John Neilson's sons.¹² This fact is borne out by the colophon of the Quebec Gazette which William Neilson did indeed publish at least from 1838 to 1848:

Printed and published at No. 19 (formerly 3 and 14) [sic] Mountain Street, Quebec, by WILLIAM NEILSON, of Valcartier, in the County of Quebec, for self and Isabel, Margaret and John Neilson, Junior, Donors of their late brother SAMUEL NEILSON, decease.¹³

William Neilson published at least two other music books. The Receuil de messes, d'hymns, de proses, de motets, &c. (1843) is in square notation on four-line staves. The substantial volume (485p.) contains two-, three-, and four-part music and has a title index. Aiamieu kushkushkuta mishinaigan (1847), edited by Frère Flavien Durocher, was perhaps the first hymnbook in the Indian language to be published in Canada, the text underlying the monophonic chant notation.

A fourth edition of the three volumes was published in 1854 by Augustin Côté of Quebec. He also published three editions of Chants liturgiques extraits du Graduel, du Vespéral et du Processional de la province de Québec in 1860, 1863 and 1867. Two other publications by Côté were: Aiamieu kushkushkuta mishinaigan (1856) perhaps the second

¹² Francis Audet, "John Neilson," Memoires de la Société royale du Canada, 3e série, XXII (1928), 94.

¹³ Found at the end of almost every issue during the years in question, sometimes accompanied by a larger advertisement.

edition (33 pages longer than the Neilson edition), and L'Office de la semaine sainte selon le Missel et le Breviaire romains (1860).

Augustin Côté was a printer and publisher in Quebec, active from 1844 to 1898. From 1848 to 1852 he was also listed in the directory as a bookseller and from 1858 to 1875 as the proprietor and editor of Le Journal de Québec. He is best known for his publication of the Rélations des Jésuites ... dans la Nouvelle France (1858), in three volumes, and the Abbé Ferland's Cours d'histoire du Canada (1861-1865).¹⁴ The previously mentioned religious publications appear to be the only music published by Côté, all of it in square notation.

The last pre-Confederation publication of the Graduel/Processional/Vespéral was by G. and G. E. Desbarats in 1864. The Desbarats family had a long tradition of printing dating back to 17th-century France. George¹⁵ Paschal Desbarats was named Queen's Printer after the union of the Canadas and he and his son, George Edouard, who had trained as a lawyer, went into partnership and produced, among other important works, the first two volumes of Le Foyer canadien (1863-

¹⁴H. Pearson Gundy, Book Publishing and Publishers in Canada Before 1900. (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1965), p. 10.

¹⁵André Beaulieu et Jean Hamelin. La Presse québécoise, des origines à nos jours, II (1860-1879). (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1975), 28, n. The authors claim that, in spite of the spelling used in dictionaries, there is no "s" on "George," according to family correspondence.

1864);¹⁶ subtitled "Receuil littéraire et historique," it was published monthly until 1866. After the senior Desbarats' death in 1864, George Edouard continued his publishing activities in Quebec for another year. That year, 1865, he published and printed the first edition of Ernest Gagnon's Chansons populaires du Canada. Perhaps the most widely known and used collection of Canadian songs, it has since been published in 10 editions, the latest in 1955, and in numerous reprints. Each of the 104 songs is preceded by introductory notes by Gagnon; the melody, neatly and clearly type-set, is underlaid with the text to the first stanza and the remaining stanzas follow in verse form. Desbarats moved to Ottawa in 1865 when the seat of government was transferred to that city, and he became Queen's Printer in 1867. He resigned from that position when his printing plant was destroyed by fire in January 1869 and he moved to Montreal where he was very active in periodical publishing until his death in 1893.¹⁷

Seventy-two books known to contain music were published before 1868, about half of which were examined by the writer. The presence of musical notation in 37 other works included in Dr. Kallmann's index has not yet been established. Some of the other significant publications of the period include the earliest engraved music, collections of sacred and secular songs, and musical treatises and tutors.

¹⁶Gundy, Book Publishing, p. 29.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 30.

In 1811, the Vocal Preceptor, or Key to Sacred Music from Celebrated Authors was probably published by the author, A. Stevenson. The imprint reads simply, "Montreal, 1811." Although the text was type-set, the title page and five pages of musical examples were printed from plates,¹⁸ the earliest known example of engraved music in Canada. But the first Montreal printer to own a set of music punches and other tools needed for engraving music has not yet been identified.

It would be tempting to link this work with one published in Montreal by William Gray 10 years later. A Selection from the Psalms of David by Dr. Miller, "arranged in such a manner, as to present, at one view, the Music in score for four voices, ..., by the Revd. George Jenkins, B.D., Chaplain to His Majesty's Forces, and Evening Lecturer of Christ Church, Montreal,"¹⁹ was exquisitely executed. The psalm text and the music are on facing pages, but each leaf is composed of either text which was type-set, or music which was engraved. Gray was a Scot who arrived in Canada in June, 1811-- the same year the Vocal Preceptor was published-- and founded the Montreal Herald, the first number of which appeared on October 19, 1811.²⁰ It is not impossible that he

¹⁸ John Hare, "The beginnings of music printing in Lower Canada," Canadian Notes and Queries, No. 5 (May 1970), 9-10. Copies are located in the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec and in the Musée de Québec, but were not seen by the writer.

¹⁹ Title page.

²⁰ Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 27.

brought with him from Scotland printing equipment which included the necessary music engraving tools and printed the earlier work. But, at the foot of plate 1 (facing page 1) is found the following statement: "Engraved and Printed by T. G. Preston Montreal 1821." The four-part music is generously and evenly spaced, the note-heads round and the downward stems of the half-notes on the right in the British manner. The two lower lines are arranged for keyboard with small black note-heads suggesting chords below the treble voice and the bass figured. It is possible that T. G. Preston, on whom no information has been found, was the printer of the Vocal Preceptor, but since that work was not available for comparison with the Psalms of David the assumption cannot be made. No other works by Preston are known to exist.

In 1819, between the appearance of the above two works, a most ambitious publication had emerged from the presses of the Nouvelle Imprimerie²¹ in Quebec: Nouveau recueil de cantiques à l'usage du Diocèse de Québec. Philéas Gagnon claimed that the volume was published at great expense by M. [Jean-Denis] Daulé while he was chaplain at the Ursulines.²² The expense would no doubt apply to the 180 pages of "airs notés des cantiques gravés par Fr. Hund" which constitute the second part of the volume. The tunes are numbered according

²¹Then owned by Thomas Cary, Jr., according to Hare, "Music printing," 10.

²²Philéas Gagnon, Essai de bibliographie canadienne, I. (Québec: imprimé pour l'auteur, 1895), no. 2547.

to the hymn texts printed in the first part and consist of solo melodies and two-part pieces, the latter having the appearance of keyboard pieces or other instrumental duets. The engraving is neat and easy to read, but the art of fitting a piece of music into a certain number of staves was evidently lacking: measures are split and unused spaces left at the ends of lines. However, since the engraver is thought to have been Frederick Hund, a piano maker and organ tuner, and former co-owner of a music store,²³ his efforts--and indeed his success--as a music engraver are to be admired.

The greatest number of the remaining musical book publications of this period were sacred in nature. The Colonial Harmonist (1832) was published in Port Hope by the compiler, Rev. Mark Burnham. The printer of this elegantly type-set four-part music is unknown and the type face resembles no other yet seen. The Lyre sainte; recueil de cantiques ..., compiled and arranged by T. F. Molt, was published in two volumes (1844, 1845) with continuous pagination (1-24, 25-48) by Stanislas Drapeau, an important newspaper publisher in Quebec. They are inferior examples of music books, both in terms of the paper which appears to be common newsprint, and of the typography which is smudgy and uneven. James Paton Clarke's Canadian Church Psalmody (1845), published by Henry Rowsell in Toronto, is a fine example of extraordinarily well-executed typography by Rowsell & Thompson. John C. Becket in Montreal printed the Psalmist (1845),

²³Kallmann, "Music publishing," 41.

edited and published by George Anderson, precentor of St. Andrews Church, Montreal. The Canadian Church Harmonist, subtitled "a collection of sacred music ... from the works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart ... selected and compiled by a committee ...," (1864) was published by Samuel Rose of the Wesleyan Book Room in Toronto.

Although many of the above hymnbooks included some instructional material, other publications were devoted entirely to music theory. Charles Sauvageau's Notions élémentaires de musiques ... (1844) was published in Quebec by Napoléon Aubin, an active and prolific newspaper publisher and journalist. T. F. Molt's second theoretical treatise, Traité élémentaire de musique vocale (1845), was also published in Quebec but by Stanislas Drapeau. John Becket printed the Vocal Tutor (1854) for the author, George F. Graham, professor of music and organist of the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal. And Gustave Smith, Montreal composer and writer, published two editions of his own Abécédaire musicale (1861, 1864).

Very few volumes of secular music were published during this period. Gagnon's Chansons has already been mentioned, but perhaps the earliest collection of secular songs was La Lyre canadienne, subtitled "Répertoire des meilleurs chansons et romances du jour" (1847), published in Quebec by Wm. Cowan, former partner of Samuel Neilson. It included only four pages of music after 314 pages of text. More ambitious was a Collection of Miscellaneous Pieces ... Suitable for

Temperance Meetings (1856), 109 pages containing 64 songs with music and 10 without, printed and published by J. C. Becket.

John Becket was most active in the newspaper and periodical field, as were all of the previously mentioned publishers and printers. His social and moral concerns are reflected in the names of some of his periodicals, e.g. the Canada Temperance Advocate (1835-1842) and the Children's Missionary and Sabbath School Record (1844-1857), both of which included music.

Almost one-quarter of the books discovered to date which are known to include music were the work of perhaps the most important, and certainly the most prolific, publisher-printer of the time, John Lovell (1810-1893).²⁴ Lovell began his career as an independent job printer in Montreal in 1835, concentrating on the printing of journals and newspapers, among which was the Literary Garland,²⁵ his own publication. Contrary to the practice of most of his contemporaries, he never owned a newspaper, nor ran a bookstore, directing all his energies to his trade. He is probably best known for his gazeteers and directories which continue to be published today. In 1842 he entered into partnership with his brother-in-law, John Gibson, and opened a branch in Toronto before 1850. Although Gibson died in 1850, the Toronto branch

²⁴ Douglas Lochhead, "Introduction," Specimen of Printing Types and Ornaments in Use at the Printing Office of Lovell & Gibson. (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1975), pp. 1-7; and Gundy, Book Publishing, p. 20.

²⁵ See pp. 28-30 below.

continued using the name. A full-page advertisement in the 1862 Toronto directory proclaims:

.../particular attention given to the / PRINTING
OF MUSIC / to which department a beautiful NEW
font has just been added /...

In 1867 the directory elaborates the entry for the firm "(James Lovell and Sarah Gibson)," and there are no further entries.

All but two of the Lovell music books were published in Montreal where the firm has continued its operations to this day. A selection of titles shows the diversity of Lovell's output: A Collection of Original Sacred Music by F. H. Andrews (1848); Répertoire de l'organiste by Jean-Baptiste Labelle (1851); Business Guide to the City of Montreal with Popular Songs (1860); Graduale romanum (1864); Tsiatak nihononsentsiak ... Le livre des sept nations, ou Paroissien iroquois (1865); A Help to Country Congregations in the Diocese of Quebec (1865); and Messe royale et messe du second ton (1867). Two editions of A Selection of Chants and Tunes for the Diocesan Synod of Toronto were published in that city in 1861 and 1867.

Lovell's work was of a superior quality and easily recognizable, his type fonts, especially those for music, being quite distinctive. Evidence of the firm's vision and self-confidence is the Specimen of Printing Types and Ornaments in Use at the Printing Office of Lovell & Gibson published in 1846 and recently reprinted by the Bibliographical Society of Canada (1975).

The importance of the role played by book publishers in the introduction and development of music publishing in Canada cannot be overemphasized. It is somehow touching that the busy and often harassed men who published books, pamphlets, newspapers, journals and official papers during that exciting period of Canadian history should have considered worthwhile the considerable extra expense and effort required to produce music. But once a font of music type, or a set of music punches, had been acquired, why was it not put to more use? Why did some publishers produce only a single musical work? Part of the answer must be that there probably was more musical book publishing activity than is evident from the above, and a great deal more effort must be made to locate and report other examples. But it must also be remembered that competition from imported music books was a factor. Most of the books printed in Canada included locally significant material or were written or compiled by Canadians. Many more hymnbooks, song collections and tutors produced in Europe and the United States were available on the Canadian market.²⁶ Then, as now, the "home-grown" product was less appealing and traditional "old country" practices among the immigrant population were fondly nurtured. However, some of the Canadian book publishers and printers used their equipment to produce music in other formats. Lovell was one of the very few who published sheet

²⁶The proportion of foreign publications of this nature found in private collections, second-hand stores, and antiquarian catalogues is considerably higher than Canadian.

music. More of them, e.g. Becket, Drapeau, and again, Lovell, published music within a context already familiar to them: newspapers and periodicals.

CHAPTER 4

PERIODICAL PUBLISHERS

Newspapers were very important to the people of Canada in the 19th century as indeed they were to the whole of settled North America. They not only provided a link with Europe, bringing news of the latest wars and the latest fashions, but also gave the colonists the sense of identity which comes with involvement in local and colonial affairs.

In Quebec, the Gazette (1764-1874) mentioned in the last chapter in connection with the Neilson family, was not a political party organ and tried to report events impartially. Not so, however, was the Quebec Mercury (1805-1903),¹ owned by the Cary family during the period under study. It was the voice of the English-speaking conservatives of the province of Lower Canada and provoked the founding of a rival newspaper, Le Canadien (1806-1893)² founded by Pierre Bédard, to speak for the French-Canadian liberals. Le Canadien was suspended from 1810, when its presses and type were seized and its editors and printer arrested for seditious plots, until 1817. After other interruptions because of financial difficulties and changes of ownership, it settled into continuous publication in 1831 under Etienne Parent and Jean-Baptiste Fréchette.

¹Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 14-15.

²Ibid., 15-18.

It was among the pages of Le Canadien on January 4, 1836 that the first piece of music known to be printed in a "periodical" appeared as a New Year's offering to its subscribers. The large folio-size page is ornately framed by a temple-like typographical structure, with the names of Papineau and O'Connell in the pedestals of the two lateral columns which support, at the topmost level, a printing press between the lion and the unicorn. Within the frame is a song, Chant patriotique du Canada, the words by "M.F.R.A." and the music by Napoléon Aubin, the Swiss-born journalist who was later to become editor of Le Canadien (1847-1849).³ The four lines of melody in D major are marked "maestoso moderato" and are underlaid by the first stanza of the song, the other five stanzas set out in two columns filling the remaining space. No other example of this form of music publication has been found so far.

It is, therefore, probably safe to state that the first music to be published periodically was an integral part of the Montreal monthly magazine, the Literary Garland (1838-1851). Published and printed by John Lovell and later by Lovell & Gibson, and edited by John Gibson, the Literary Garland had the longest lifetime of any magazine in British North America prior to Confederation. It was the first in the Canadas and the Maritimes to survive more than three years.

³Ibid., 16-17; and Wallace, Macmillan Dictionary, p.23.

Primarily a literary publication with a large volume of Canadian contributions, the Garland was addressed to the "well-ordered and leisured society"⁴ it served. Right from the start, each monthly issue of 45-50 pages contained from one and a half to three pages of music. The notation was type-set, large, clear and well spaced in keeping with the excellent printing standards of John Lovell. On the last page of the first issue is the following notice:

It affords us much gratification to state that the Musical Department of the Garland has been generously undertaken, by a gentleman of the highest professional celebrity, who has furnished us with a favourite Waltz of the 1st or Royal Regiment, hitherto unpublished. This will prove a most delightful science of harmony and song.⁵

In the following issue the above-mentioned "gentleman" is identified as W. H. Warren who became a regular contributor to the journal. His original compositions -- for the most part, dance music and marches for the piano -- or arrangements of traditional airs or themes by such fashionable composers as Adam, Bellini, Meyerbeer, and even Mozart, as well as those of lesser musical fame, account for over 75% of the Garland's music pages. Other Canadian composers whose works were presented were J. P. Clarke, Joseph Maffré, Charles Sauvageau, and J. W. Dunbar Moodie. The last was the husband of Susanna Moodie, celebrated pioneer author whose best-known book, Roughing it in the Bush (London, 1852), first appeared

⁴ Mary Markham Brown, An Index to the Literary Garland (Montreal 1838-1851). (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1962), p. iii.

⁵ Literary Garland, I (1838), 48.

as a serial in the pages of the Literary Garland,⁶ 1847.

There were very few references to music in the magazine. Apart from the occasional announcement of a recently published piece of music, such as that for the Garland, a new collection of songs published by Armour & Ramsay, "the object of which is to supply to the musical taste of 'the million', the place of the trashy collections with which the Province has hitherto been inundated,"⁷ or an article such as "Singing, conducive to health" [especially of young ladies],⁸ there was little or no attempt to teach or to guide the musical taste or awareness of its readers, other than, of course, by the choice of its musical offerings.

After John Gibson's death in 1850, Mrs. E. L. Cushing, the associate editor, could not keep the publication going and it ceased in December 1851 with the admission that it was impossible to compete with the American periodicals.⁹

During this period, other magazines followed the Garland's example of publishing music. It appears that the first to do so was Le Ménestrel, a literary journal published in Quebec by Marc-Aurèle Plamondon and printed by Stanislas Drapeau.¹⁰ Although it survived less than year (June,

⁶Wallace, Macmillan Dictionary, pp. 524-525.

⁷Ibid., II, n.s., (1844), 336.

⁸Ibid., I, n.s., (1843), 567.

⁹Brown, Index, p. ix.

¹⁰Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 133-134.

1844-January, 1845), it was a most ambitious project for the publisher who believed that literature served a triple function in society: entertainment, education -- moral and psychological -- and social awareness. The Menestrel was published weekly: 20 large-octavo pages of which 16 were devoted to literature and four to music. Beaulieu¹¹ points out that the music section was issued separately so that it could later be bound into a volume distinct from the literary ones. Unfortunately no music from the Menestrel has been seen, but announcements of music being delivered with a certain issue, or excuses for music omitted, are most revealing. A fair amount was by Canadian composers, for example, Petitclaire, Sauvageau and the publisher Plamondon himself. It was not all for piano or piano and voice, but included pieces for guitar, e.g. "Une Romance pour guitare, 'Le lac des fées', tirée de l'opéra de la Dame Blanche par Auber."¹² Other composers represented include Donizetti and Strauss [senior]. Apropos of the latter, the journal congratulated itself in a note on November 14, 1844:

Avec le présent numéro nos abonnés recevront la continuation des "Valses de Strauss" qui seront terminées dans notre prochain.--Nous ne savons pas où quelques uns de nos abonnés ont pu trouver que nous sommes en retard pour la musique: Nous les invitons à jeter un coup d'oeil sur cette partie de notre feuille; ils verront que nous avons à cet égard rempli strictement les promesses de notre prospectus.¹³

¹¹Ibid., 134.

¹²Le Menestrel, I, (1844), 272. The editor has erroneously attributed La Dame Blanche to Auber rather than to Boieldieu.

¹³Ibid., 352.

The occasional failure to print the music section was always explained and made up for in subsequent issues:

La partie musicale de notre feuille ne paraîtra que Jeudi prochain, en huit pages. (15 août 1844, p.144)

Avec le présent numéro nos abonnés recevront douze pages de musique formant les numéros 9, 10 & 11 de la partie musicale, et contenant la ... (29 août 1844, p.176)

Interesting also are the allusions to the state of musical typography in Quebec. A continuation of the last-mentioned announcement reads:

Nous aimons à informer nos abonnés que nous avons reçu récemment beaucoup de caractères variés pour l'embellissement de la partie musicale de notre feuille.

And on October 3, 1844 (p.256):

En conséquence d'un accident qui nous a privé des services de notre compositeur de musique, pendant plusieurs jours, nous sommes forcé de remettre à Jeudi prochain la publication de la partie musicale de notre feuille. Nous donnerons alors douze pages. Notre imprimeur de musique étant le seul compositeur en ce genre à Québec, il nous a été impossible de le faire remplacer à la casse. Cette raison est, nous l'espérons, une excuse suffisante que nos abonnés voudront bien agréer.

If indeed there was only one music compositor in Quebec at that time, it was the same who had set the two volumes of La Lyre sainte mentioned in Chapter 3, also printed by Drapeau in 1844 and 1845, and his work would have stood in poor comparison to that of Lovell's compositor in the Literary Garland.

Le Menestrel was the only Quebec publication to include music during this period, although Le Fantásque (1837-1849)¹⁴

¹⁴ Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 96-97.

the humorist organ of the Papineau party published by Aubin and over which he was imprisoned in 1838, announced on March 16, 1840 (p.103) that it was in a position to print music lithographically and in later numbers advertised its "Album artistique & lyrique." However, since this music was issued separately and undated, it is discussed in Chapter 5 which deals with sheet music (pp. 47-51).

In Montreal, The Montreal Witness, weekly review and family newspaper was founded by John Dougall in 1846 and printed by John Becket from its beginnings until 1858. Its purpose was declared in the prospectus published in December 1845:

This journal is intended to be a faithful Witness for the Truth in love, devoted more particularly to such subjects as Christian Union -- Missions -- Education -- the Efforts of Religious and Benevolent societies -- Public and Social Improvements -- Immigration -- Cheap Postage -- and, generally, the development of the resources of the country.

The large folio-size paper, printed in three columns, eight pages per issue, occasionally included a piece of music with a religious text. Music never took up an entire page. For example, the first piece, "Peace--be still," words by Mrs. Dana, music by Mozart, (February 2, 1846, p.38) occupies two columns in width and all but the last four inches of the page in length. It is reasonably well-set and easy to read. During the first year of publication, only two other pieces of music were included. It is possible that the well-meaning publisher, while admitting that music sometimes served his purpose, did not want it to become an expected pleasure to his readers.

Two other periodicals were printed by Becket. The Children's Missionary and Sabbath School Record (1844-1856?),¹⁵ the organ of the Canada Sunday School Union, was published monthly. It used parables, anecdotes and illustrations to reach the readers for whom it was intended. Volume one, small octavo, 184 pages, contains no music, but volumes six and seven (1849 and 1850) in the Lande Collection include an average of two pages of music per issue. Apart from a serialized "Catechism of music" (elementary music theory), all of the music consisted of simple, sacred songs.

The Canada Temperance Advocate (1835-1854?)¹⁶ was published by the Montreal Temperance Society and although its principal message was on the evils of alcohol, it included sections on agriculture and education and later, poetry and a children's section. There is no evidence of music in the issues between 1835 and 1847 (incomplete run in the National Library), but a single issue from volume 18 (April 1, 1852) includes the following notice at the foot of page 119:

To subscribers and correspondents -- A press of original matters compels us still to omit the Music for another number; for the same reason several communications and articles are left out.

It is possible that the music in the Collection of ... Pieces ... for Temperance Meetings,¹⁷ published and printed by Becket in 1856, had been gathered from among the pages of

¹⁵ Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 132.

¹⁶ Ibid., 87-88.

¹⁷ See pp. 22-23 above.

the Advocate.

In 1852, the only other English-language periodical of the period to include music appeared. The Anglo-American Magazine, published monthly in Toronto by Thomas Maclear, was printed by Lovell & Gibson, and had as its aim the fostering of "those characteristic elements of the genius of British Colonists--monarchical principles."¹⁸ Some of its regular columns were "Colonial chit-chat," "News from abroad," "Facts for the farmer," and "Science & art." Each issue was almost 100 pages long and included engraved plates of portraits, fashions from Paris, and views of Canadian cities, as well as two pages of type-set music near the end, followed by one to three pages of musical articles. All the music was for voice and piano, five of the six items in the first volume by J. P. Clarke, a Canadian composer. Volume II (January-June, 1853) contained five pieces of music; volume III, four; volume IV, one; and volumes V and VI, none. No explanation was given for the inclusion of music in the first place, nor for its gradual exclusion. The octavo pages were well set and agreeably laid out, but they do not in the least resemble the typography of the Montreal shop.

To return now to the French-language press, among the many literary supplements published by thrice-weekly or daily newspapers, the Revue canadienne (1845-1848),¹⁹ owned and

¹⁸ Anglo-American Magazine, I, (1852), 67.

¹⁹ Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 139.

published by Louis-Octave LeTourneux and printed first by Lovell & Gibson in Montreal and then by its own press, was the first to include music. It is true that it had before it the examples of the Literary Garland and the Menestrel but it was a novel step for a newspaper. The monthly supplement was called Album littéraire et musical de la Revue canadienne²⁰ and began publication in January, 1846. It included about 30 pages of literature and four pages of music, each paginated separately but consecutively to allow for collecting and binding as distinct volumes. The quarto-size pages were handsomely printed, the largely piano-vocal music neatly type-set and enclosed in a simple frame with ornate corners.

When the Revue canadienne ceased publication in February 1848, LeTourneux sold his Album rights to Ludger Duvernay, owner of La Minerve, a twice-weekly Montreal newspaper. Duvernay, a patriot and founder of the Société St. Jean-Baptiste, was imprisoned three times for his outspoken journalism. He had been elected by acclamation to Parliament as member for Lachenaie in 1837, but went into exile to avoid further imprisonment. He took refuge in Burlington, Vermont where he published a newspaper called Le Patriote canadien. When a general amnesty was declared in 1842, he returned to Montreal and resumed publication of La Minerve after an interruption of five years, and he continued until his death in 1852.²¹

²⁰ Ibid., 146-147.

²¹ Louis-Marie LeJeune, o.m.i., Dictionnaire générale de biographie ... du Canada. (Ottawa: Université d'Ottawa, 1931), pp. 566-567.

Duvernay published the Album under the original title until December, 1848 when he announced certain substantial changes such as increased circulation, more Canadian content and a change of name to Album littéraire et musical de la Minerve. The new Album was in effect simply a continuation of the former: a slightly smaller format with narrower margins and without the decorative corners, but with the same layout and content. The music was printed from the same type font but was reduced to two or three pages per issue and was not always a self-contained section, that is, it was sometimes printed on the verso or recto of a page of literature. The music pages were themselves unnumbered but counted in the overall pagination.

In September, 1850 (p.263), the Album printed the following criticism by Le Canadien, the important French-Canadian Quebec newspaper. After acknowledging receipt of the August issue and praising the piece of music contained therein ("A la Vierge Marie"), it continued:

Puisque nous en sommes à exprimer notre opinion sur la musique de l'Album, nous nous permettons de faire quelques remarques que bien des abonnés ont faites à part nous; c'est que l'éditeur devrait varier le choix des compositions musicales, et donner alternativement des morceaux pour le piano, la harpe, la guitare, la flûte et le violon; ... D'ailleurs, nous sommes certains que les musiciens en général aiment de la variété dans les morceaux qu'ils exécutent, et que des romances et toujours des romances, comme il en est publié dans l'Album Musical, finiront par devenir monotones et insipides.

It ended, however, by expressing regret at the impending suspension of the Album due to insufficient support by indiscriminating readers:

Nous avons souvent remarqué avec chagrin le peu de goût de nos compatriotes pour la lecture des publications littéraires canadiennes, tandis que les feuilletons étrangers, des romans aussi pauvres de style que d'intérêt, et pêchant quelquefois même contre la raison et la morale, sont lus avidement par un grand nombre de nos jeunes lecteurs canadiens-français.²²

After further threats to discontinue publication, and continued support from the French-language press, Duvernay decided to continue to publish the Album, and did so for another year.

After the Album's demise in 1851, French Canada was without periodical music for over 10 years. It is true that the Journal de l'instruction publique²³ published in Montreal by the Département de l'instruction publique from 1857 to 1879 made a slight bow to music. Printed at first by Sénécal & Daniel and continued in 1860 by Eusèbe Sénécal alone, it contained only brief notices of music teachers' activities during the first two years. Then, in 1859, two issues appeared with music inserts: Sol canadien by T. F. Molt (février, [37-39]) and Chant canadien by Charles Sauvageau (juin, [109-111]). Both were also available as separate sheet music publications. It was obviously never the intention of the journal to include music on a regular basis, and there is no evidence to show that any other than the above two pieces were ever published.

²² Apparently gratuitous quotations have occasionally been included in this chapter to illustrate more graphically the atmosphere of the times and the difficulties faced by the publishers.

²³ Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 200-202.

But music was obviously dear to Eusèbe Sénécal, for when he took over the publication of the Echo du cabinet de lecture paroissial (1859-1875)²⁴ in 1862, it immediately became a regular feature of that journal. The Echo was the official publication of the Cabinet de lecture paroissial, a very active literary circle founded in 1857 as an integral part of l'Oeuvre des bons livres, itself founded in 1844 by the Sulpicians. It began publication, after some trial issues, in 1859 with the purpose of bringing to as wide a public as possible a variety of reportage on world and national events, religion, philosophy, science, literature, law and so on, all from a morally acceptable -- that is, Catholic -- point of view.

The Echo had a series of publishers: Duvernay & Frères, 1859; Plinquet & Cie., 1860; J-B. Rolland, 1861; and Eusèbe Sénécal, 1862-1868. The new era, with Sénécal as publisher and Joseph Royal as editor, was announced in the final issue of 1861:

Par suite de nouveau arrangements et à partir du premier numéro de l'année 1862, l'Echo, sous un format élégant, avec un frontispice magnifiquement illustré et ne comprenant moins de 24 pages de matière imprimée sur beau papier, dont une ou deux de musique inédite et des mieux choisie, ...²⁵

In the first issue of 1862, the opening editorial expands on the many important changes.

Comme revue musicale, l'Echo doit être reçu par tous ceux qui aiment la musique et surtout la musique originale et bien choisie.²⁶

²⁴ Ibid., 221-222.

²⁵ Echo du cabinet ..., III, (1861), 399.

²⁶ Ibid., IV, (1862), 1.

And on page 2 of the same issue,

Chaque numéro contiendra une ou deux pages de musique: le choix sera fait par des artistes de goût et de réputation. Les compositions nationales trouveront dans le directeur de l'Echo un éditeur toujours empressé et toujours reconnaissant, sinon davantage ... Pour accomplir tout à fait le but du journal et imprimer à la musique en Canada ce mouvement ce ton et ce goût si essentiel à tout véritable progrès artistique, la collaboration de l'Echo compte dans son sein des amateurs et des écrivains qui fourniront la chronique musicale.

In the second issue of 1862 (p.27), after apologizing for some undesirable results of quick organizational and editorial changes such as the many errors in the piece of music printed in the first issue ("La Huronne" by Célestin Lavigüeur), the editor goes on:

Puisque nous parlons musique, nous devons répéter ici que notre collaboration musicale se montrera assez sévère sous le rapport du mérite et du cachet des morceaux que publiera l'Echo; c'est le seul moyen de répandre le bon goût [sic, goût?] et de ne pas nous laisser encombrer par toute espèce de musique, sous le prétexte que les auteurs sont canadiens.

Such a didactic approach is evident throughout the musical contents of that year. Besides two pages of music in each issue except the last, various musical announcements, news, critiques and chronicals from Montreal and Quebec, as well as a series of eight articles, "Musique et Musiciens", written by Gustave Smith under the pen name of Diérix, there was usually an editorial announcement and description of the issue's musical offering.

The opening editorial for the following year comments:

La partie musicale de l'Echo n'a peut être pas attiré, de la part de nos lecteurs, toute l'attention qu'elle mérite. Cependant parmi les 24 (in fact 23) morceaux que nous avons publiés, il y en a plusieurs de composés ou d'harmonisés par des auteurs canadiens, et dont quelques uns sont réellement remarquables. Certaines de nos romances sont les meilleurs ouvrages de compositeurs et chansonniers populaires et jouissent d'une vogue justement méritée ...²⁷

He continued with a description of the piece offered in this issue, "Pandore, ou Brigadier, vous avez raison!" by G. Nadaud, a French composer,

On remarquera que la basse de l'accompagnement est chiffrée; il est probable que c'est la première fois qu'il se publie quelque chose en ce genre en Canada. Si cet accompagnement avait pour effet d'engager nos jeunes musiciens à étudier l'harmonie! ...

The above is the last substantial musical statement to appear in the Echo. Although the editorial made no mention of the journal's intention to diminish its musical content, little was made of musical events throughout 1863, and the more didactic and literary columns on music did not once reappear. Music continued to be printed, but irregularly, and was seldom announced or described. The majority of the composers were French instead of Canadian as in the previous year, and the type of compositions became almost entirely vocal. The number of pages was cut back to the original 16, evidence perhaps of financial difficulties borne out by the resignation of the editor at the year's end. Mr. Royal claimed

²⁷ Ibid., V, (1863), 2.

that his efforts to make the Echo a superior family newspaper by the choice of generally good music and extracts of the best publications were not seconded by the paying subscribers.²⁸ With the resignation of Royal, the scope of the Echo became more limited, with a greater emphasis on philosophy, theology and narrow-minded history, and a rejection of literature.²⁹ It never again included music.

In May 1863, the following announcement had appeared in the Echo:

Nous venons de voir le second numéro d'un journal mensuel ayant pour titre les Beaux-Arts, publié par MM. Boucher & Manseau. Comme l'indique son titre, il est consacré aux beaux-arts et surtout à la musique. ... Les Beaux-Arts publient deux pages de musique à chaque numéro.³⁰

Founded by J. Adélarde Boucher, owned and published by Boucher & Manseau, music dealers, from April to December, 1863, and by Gustave Smith and M. Leprohon from January to May, 1864,³¹ Les Beaux-Arts was elegantly laid out, the text, in two columns, delicately enframed. The music was printed as a self-contained and numbered series, with its own title page, "Album des Beaux-Arts." Undated and unpaginated, it was meant to be collected and bound into a music volume.

Conceived as a literary journal, Les Beaux-Arts became with Smith "Une revue des sciences, des lettres, de

²⁸ Ibid., 369.

²⁹ Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, I, 222.

³⁰ Echo du cabinet, V, (1863), 147.

³¹ Beaulieu, Presse québécoise, II, 32-34.

l'industrie."³² Its brief existence was a difficult one and the following text by Gustave Smith in the January, 1864 issue merits quotation, lengthy as it is, because it could be applied to the founding of most of the specialized periodicals of the 19th century:

Il y a environ quatre ans, M. Boucher eut l'idée de fonder un journal littéraire et musical. Nous causâmes assez longuement sur ce sujet, et tout bien considéré, nous reconnûmes que les frais d'impression absorberaient les bénéfices.

De notre côté, nous écrivions, vers cette époque, notre Abécédaire Musical. Quelques démarches que nous fîmes pour le faire imprimer, nous permirent de reconnaître que l'impression de ce travail était coûteuse. Que faire? Qui veut la fin veut les moyens, ainsi que dit le proverbe. On nous suggéra la pensée de faire l'acquisition du matériel nécessaire pour en commencer la composition, sauf, à nous, de remettre les formes à un imprimeur. Nous adoptâmes de suite cette idée qui entraînait on ne peut mieux dans nos goûts.

Nous achetâmes donc un petit matériel d'imprimerie et nous nous mîmes à l'œuvre. Tout marcha bien. Mais nous n'avions point de presse. Puisque nos pères imprimaient passablement bien avec une presse en bois, pourquoi ne construirions-nous pas une modeste presse en bois? Il ne s'agit souvent, dit-on, que de vouloir pour pouvoir. L'esprit occupé de ce projet, nous prîmes la scie et nous débitâmes le bois nécessaire à la construction de cette presse. Quant aux accessoires, nous en fîmes nous-même les modèles pour les faire couler. Ce travail nous prit deux années entières; car c'est à titre de distraction que nous entreprenions cette rude tâche. Bref, nous réussîmes assez bien dans la confection de cet ustensil qu'on a porté, de nos jours, à une si haute perfection.

Nous étions donc en possession, le 1er Janvier de l'an de grâce mil-huit cent soixante-trois, d'une certaine quantité de caractères et d'une presse. Il fallait employer l'un et l'autre. C'est alors

³² Subtitle.

que nous allâmes voir M. Boucher et que nous lui proposâmes de publier un petit journal. Il agréa cette idée qui, du reste, entraînait parfaitement dans ses précédentes vues.

Pensez-vous, chers lecteurs, que nous constituâmes un comité de rédaction ou une société de collaborateurs? Pour dire vrai, nous aurions désiré nous entourer de quelques personnes pour nous aider dans cette tâche. Mais, en ce pays du Canada, chacun a ses occupations, et nos maigres ressources ne nous permettaient point de payer une collaboration. Nous résolûmes, dès lors, et à l'unanimité, de rédiger notre feuille d'après les principes de morale et de religion qui assurent le succès d'un travail. ...

Reconnaissant de plus en plus l'infériorité de l'impression de notre journal et désirant secondar les efforts de notre confrère M. Boucher qui était chargé de la propagation de cette feuille, nous n'hésitâmes pas à faire l'achat d'une presse en fer, excellente presse avec laquelle nous avons réussi à donner aux Beaux-Arts un cachet de perfection que nous désirions depuis longtemps.

Mais qu'il nous coûtait d'abandonner notre chère presse en bois, elle qui nous donna tant de peines, et que nous construisîmes à la sueur de notre front! Quoiqu'il en soit, elle peut nous rendre des services secondaires.

Voilà en quelques mots l'historique de la fondation de notre journal. Nous ne l'avons pas écrit dans le but de nous attirer des louanges; non. Notre intention a été d'apprendre à nos lecteurs que leurs encouragements avaient puissamment contribué au succès de notre œuvre. Puissent nos efforts nous les faire toujours mériter! GUST. SMITH.³³

The last issue was dated May 25, 1864. The publishers' explanatory "Adieux" ends with a pitifully hopeful postscript:

N.B.--Si un certain montant des abonnements venait à notre aide, nous nous empresserions de continuer la publication de notre journal."³⁴

³³ Beaux-Arts, II, (1864), 3-4.

³⁴ Ibid., 65.

Some of the periodicals described were in book format and the music included was an integral part of the publication (e.g., Literary Garland, Missionary ... Record, and Anglo-American Magazine). But others, usually larger in format (folio or quarto), which included music meant to be collected separately into a volume for performance purposes (e.g., Menestrel, both Albums, and Beaux-Arts), were scarcely different from the sheet music becoming more and more popular. An important role played by music periodicals was the dissemination of their contents in rural areas without access to retail music outlets. It is not difficult to imagine with what anticipation they were awaited or with what pleasure received. Yet subscriptions were never sufficient to financially support such periodicals for very long. The demise of periodical music no doubt added to the demand for the separate music publications which were becoming increasingly available.

CHAPTER 5

SHEET MUSIC PUBLISHERS

Early Attempts

As previously mentioned,¹ attempts at the separate publication of a single composer's work date back to as early as 1807. But an opera vocal score can hardly be classified as sheet music and therefore advertisements in the Quebec Gazette by the composers Alexander Kyle for a march (1818) and J-C. Brauneis for his Grand Overture of Quebec (1819) must be considered the earliest references yet discovered to that type of music publication.² Brauneis also advertised a piano piece written in memory of the Duke of Richmond only 19 days after that noble's death. Dr. Kallmann wonders whether the advertisements might not have been for handwritten copies rather than printed ones. He rightly points out that if the latter were the case there would not have been time to have them printed in the United States, a not unknown procedure.³ Since it is known that Neilson had attempted music engraving earlier and therefore possessed the necessary tools, it is not unlikely that he had improved his methods and had printed the above-mentioned offerings which would have been infinitely less complicated to produce than the

¹pp. 11-14 above.

²Kallmann, "Music publishing," 41.

³Ibid.

Quesnel work.

The earliest examples of sheet music that have been found to date, however, were published over 20 years later, in 1840.

One of the two earliest pieces published that year was Le Dépit amoureux, a romance by Napoléon Aubin, the Swiss-born journalist, who had produced the New Year's offering in Le Canadien described on page 28. It consists of a single folio measuring 8 inches by 11. The cover, which is illustrated by a melodramatic scene of two lovers, and the single page of music overleaf were crudely lithographed by Aubin himself. The staves and notation as well as the text underlay were clearly hand-done and poorly printed on low quality paper. The three stanzas of text on the page facing the music have been type-set and neatly enframed, and are followed by the colophon: "Quebec: de l'imprimerie lithographique de N. Aubin & W. H. Rowen, No.2, Rue Grant, St. Roch." (Pls. I-III).

The date of 1840 has been applied to the above piece based on an advertisement in Le Fantasque,⁴ owned, edited and published by N. Aubin and W. H. Rowen, for the sale of Le Dépit amoureux and of Deux valses by Charles Savageau which has not yet been found. In the editorial of an earlier number, an announcement had been made of a new Album of art and music, the first number of which had just appeared. The

⁴Le Fantasque, II, (1840), 248.

ALBUM LYRIQUE. N° 1



(Quantité de paroles inédites recueillies de mon jeune piano, habitué. And.)

N. Aubin. L'éditeur.

LE PETIT AMOUREUX,

Romance Composée Par

N. AUBIN,

ACCOMPAGNEMENT. PIANO

ÉDITEUR

POOR COPY

Allegretto Genuino.

Chant.

Piano.

de sa vaine gloire les B-ah... le le chagrinait fait le bon hour les mœurs de...

et le grand bel air bel le la papillon de l'air... de son cœur... les mœurs... fait chagrinait fait le bon hour...

jours, la croyant simple... -li... je n'ai pas de bras... les pères... mais les jeunes...

mon... temps...

vent le air en... au-tre-mond... chagrinait... le qu'on... je n'ai pas de bras... mais les jeunes...

VERY OLD COPY

following apology was made:

Le premier numéro de l'Album que nous avons publié n'est qu'un essai, de sorte que nous espérons en améliorer le travail à mesure que nous exercerons l'art lithographique qui nous était auparavant étranger.⁵

Le Dépôt amoureux was this first attempt, bearing at the head of the title page the series title: "Album lyrique no. 1". The Sauvageau waltzes were probably no. 2 of the series, but no other numbers have been found to date.

Also in 1840, John Lovell published the Merry Bells of England by J. F. Lehmann, choirmaster from Bytown.⁶ It, too, is a single folio but measures 9-1/2 by 11-3/4 inches and is completely type-set in the distinctive style already made familiar in the pages of the Literary Garland described in Chapter 4. The simple, straightforward song in C is well laid out, the music and underlaid first stanza of the text occupy page two and half of page three, followed by the second and third stanzas. The full, dated imprint appears on the title page (Pls. IV-VI).

The two pieces of sheet music described above are the only ones found which predate 1844. Besides the Sauvageau waltzes mentioned, two others have been advertised. The first, in the Literary Garland,⁷ was the Montreal Quadrilles by Frances Woolcott described as a "series of quadrilles"

⁵Ibid., 103; see also pp. 32-33 above.

⁶Kallmann, "Music publishing", 42.

⁷Literary Garland, I, n.s., (1842), 480.

THE
MERRY BELLS OF ENGLAND.

SONG,

BY

J. E. CARPENTER.

Composed, and Respectfully Dedicated

TO

Major Daniel Bolton, R. E., Wytown,

BY

J. F. BERNARD.

MONTREAL:

Printed by John Metcalf, in the Office of the Literary Garland,
SAINT NICHOLAS STREET.

1840.

*John Metcalf
Lithographer
2. 2. 4th*

POOR COPY

The Merry Bells of England.

ANDANTE LIVELY.

The merry bells of Eng - land! I

love to hear them sound, The glad some chime of olden time that spreadeth joy around; They ring from moss-clad steeples a-

mid the cottage band, And send their sound of re-vel-ry o'er all our happy land; They sound from stately edi - fice, from

many an old church tow'r, The rich and poor a-like can feel the influence of their pow'r; To ev'ry heart their

cres *f* *ff*

cres *f* *ff*

tones impart fond mem'ry's dearest spells,— For a Briton's native music is old England's merry bells! *D.C. §*

f *D.C. §*

con 8^{va}

II.

Oh! the merry bells of England—their chiming ring loud and free,
 To hail again, of land or main, some well-fought victory;
 For England's brave, in honour's grave, their music seems to say
 "The mem'ry of your glorious deeds shall never pass away."
 And oft too ring the village bells to hail the wedded pair,
 When nuptial vows the swain have bound love's heart and home to share;
 There's not a sound can e'er resound in which such rapture dwells
 As in Britain's native music—old England's merry bells!

III.

The merry bells of England! what rapture fills the scene
 When their joyous peal the day reveals, the birthday of our Queen,
 As 'mid the shout their tones ring out, and voices clear and gay
 Proclaim a nation's homage on VICTORIA's natal day;
 Oh may they sound as time comes round, and fill with joy the air,
 On many a happy birthday of old England's choicest fair;
 There's naught a people's loyalty more truly, clearly tells
 Than a Briton's native music, old England's merry bells!

published by J. W. Herbert & Co. of Montreal. It appears to have been a substantial and handsome publication: "They are 'got up' in the best English style, the title page being embellished with a spirited lithographic sketch of our Island City."⁸ The other piece advertised was the Chant canadien by Charles Sauvageau, listed in the L. Hyman catalogue no. 91 of 1962, item 327, and subsequently purchased by the British Museum.⁹ It was described as belonging to the series: "Trois marches canadiennes pour la musique de la Société St. Jean-Baptiste" with a title page lithographed by N. Aubin, and "Chanté au banquet national de la Société St. Jean-Baptiste, juin 1842."

Nordheimer

The year 1844 marks the possible beginning of the publishing activity of A. & S. Nordheimer in Toronto, the first Canadian firm to publish nothing but music. Abraham and Samuel Nordheimer opened a music store in Toronto in June 1844. They had emigrated from Germany to New York in 1839 and the elder brother, Abraham, moved to Kingston in 1842 where he advertised as a music teacher, offering lessons in piano, violin and voice. In November he announced that he had opened a music store in that city where it appears he was an active participant in its musical life. He continued

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Data sheet prepared by Kallmann in the "Union Catalogue of Early Canadian Music."

his musical activities in Toronto where he played the second violin in the Toronto Philharmonic Society besides appearing as a pianist or vocalist on other occasions.¹⁰ Less is known during this period about Samuel, the younger brother, who carried on the business with Albert, a nephew, after Abraham's death in 1862. He later became German consul and was a leading member of Toronto society.¹¹

Although primarily a music dealer and later piano manufacturer, A. & S. Nordheimer was by far the largest pre-Confederation music publisher in Canada with close to 100 discovered pieces known or presumed to have been published before 1868. Sixty-eight others, of which 60 are probably pre-Confederation, have not yet been precisely dated, and some 125 of the 272 pieces listed in the Board of Music Trade 1870 Catalogue¹² have not yet been found. The Catalogue listed the then-available publications of the 25 members of the Board, Nordheimer being the only Canadian.¹³ Since the earliest dated piece published by Nordheimer (St. George B. Crozier's quick march, Those Evening Bells, copyrighted in New York in 1846) was listed as still available, and if it can be assumed

¹⁰ Helmut Kallmann, "Abraham Nordheimer," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, IX, not yet published.

¹¹ House of Nordheimer, 1840-1903. (Toronto: Nordheimer, 1903), p. 17. This anniversary booklet erroneously claims 1840 as the founding date of the firm.

¹² Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Works Published by the Board of Music Trade of the United States of America, 1870. (New York: Da Capo, 1973).

¹³ See p. 108 below for more details.

that the firm's publication rate did not increase dramatically between 1868 and 1870, then it is likely that close to 90% of the works listed had been published before Confederation.

Because of Nordheimer's practice of registering its publications for copyright-- from 1846 through 1862 in the State of New York and from 1859 in Canada¹⁴-- and because of its use of plate numbers-- unique among early Canadian publishers-- it is possible to date more of that firm's sheet music than that of the other publishers under study.

Plate no. 1, presumably the first Nordheimer publication, is undated. But, given the rate of publication in later years --plate no. 36 is dated 1846 and no. 91, 1851-- of approximately 10 a year, it could easily have been published in 1844, the very year of Nordheimer's establishment in Toronto. But the work, Beautiful Venice by J. P. Knight, was engraved by Ellis & Co. of Toronto which began its business in 1845.¹⁵ The engraving is inexpert, with the notes widely spaced in the first page and quite crowded in the final two systems on the last page, the whole irregular and sometimes untidy.¹⁶ (Pls. VII and VIII.) Ellis was also the engraver of plate no. 22, Empress Henrietta's Waltz by Herz.

¹⁴See pp. 106-110 for further information.

¹⁵Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of York, Ontario. (Toronto: J. H. Beers, 1907), p. 519.

¹⁶Printing techniques are described in Chapter 6, pp. below.

BEAUTIFUL VENICE.

Written by J. E. Carpenter.

Composed by J. P. Knight.

MODÉRATO.

The musical score is written for piano and consists of four systems of two staves each. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 12/8. The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system includes a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The third system includes a piano (*p*) dynamic. The fourth system includes a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic and a *rall* (rallentando) instruction. The score concludes with a double bar line.

[Poor Copy]

known many homes, but the dwelling for me . . . Is beau - ti - ful Venice the

bride of the sea . . . Is beau - ti - ful Venice the bride of the sea.

rall

Col. Vues.

a tempo.

Beau - - ti - ful Venice, beau - - ti - ful Venice, beau - - ti - ful Venice the

a tempo.

bride of the sea! Beau - ti - ful Venice, beau - ti - ful Venice, beau - ti - ful Venice the

bride of the sea.

rall

Poor Copy

While not all sheet music bears the name of the engraver --commonly at the end of the music on the last page -- several of the seen pieces by Nordheimer include that information. The most often occurring name is that of Birch, identified in Dichter and Shapiro¹⁷ as a music engraver active in New York. Another engraver of at least two of Nordheimer's publications was Wakelam, also identified in the above-mentioned work as a New York engraver, associated with the firms of Firth, Pond, and Firth, Hall & Pond of that city.¹⁸ All of the plates by the American engravers are far superior to the early efforts of Ellis.

Evidence of the close association between Nordheimer and the American music publishing community, apart from its membership in the Board of Music Trade from 1859, is the frequent registration of works for copyright in New York, the use of American engravers which implies that the actual printing process was accomplished in New York, and the appearance of Nordheimer's name in subsidiary imprints indicating that the firm was an agent of the principal publisher.

Early publications by Nordheimer were largely reprints of popular European works, such as airs from the operas of Bellini and Donizetti, and salon pieces by such composers as Herz, Knight, Labitzky, Meyer and d'Oginsky. But a good number were by Canadian residents such as Clarke, Crozier,

¹⁷ Harry Dichter and Elliott Shapiro, Early American Sheet Music: Its Lure and Its Lore, 1768-1889. (New York: Bowker, 1941), pp. 59 and 82.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 93.

Hecht, Lazare, Schallehn and Strathy. All of the Nordheimer output is for piano, or solo voice and piano. The most ambitious was J. P. Clarke's Lays of the Maple Leaf, 30 pages of music in varying textures for up to six voices. But the imprint, "Toronto, published for the author and for sale by A. & S. Nordheimer," suggests that the publisher did not risk financial loss on that work.

The large majority of Nordheimer sheet music covers were designed in black and white lettering, more or less embellished. Very few among the known pieces have elaborate illustrations, but it seems that different covers were sometimes prepared for the same work. The copies of the La Crosse galop¹⁹ in both the National Library and the Toronto Public Library have an ornately-framed but simply-lettered type-set and engraved cover with the first page of music on the verso (page 2). Another version in the National Library, without dynamics and sectional indications but otherwise typographically identical, is bound into a volume, is without a cover and the music begins on page 3. Harry Dichter advertised the same piece for sale in his Handbook of American Sheet Music, 1947 (no. 1908) with a reproduction of the cover depicting a lacrosse game between Indians and settlers. This could be the missing cover of the second version, but the reason for the two versions of the same publication by the same publisher has not yet been discovered.

¹⁹ J. Holt, La Crosse galop. (Toronto: A. & S. Nordheimer, c. 1867)

Colour was rarely used on Nordheimer covers: not more than five of the pieces discovered to date were printed in a single colour on white, and only two, both patriotic songs,²⁰ were in red, white and blue.

Nordheimer was one of the very few Canadians of the period to publish music in series. The Band; a selection of fashionable dances for the piano forte had an elaborate cover, lithographed by W. C. Chewett & Co. of Toronto, depicting a band playing on a belvedere in a park above a fountain, with Victorian-looking ladies and gentlemen strolling in the background and sitting on the staircase in the foreground. Four galops, three waltzes, and three quadrilles by such composers as Woodlawn, Hagemeyer, Coote and Relle were listed below the illustration. While the individual pieces might have been published separately before, the series itself can be dated between 1864 and 1870 because of the subsidiary imprints: Gould & Hill is listed in the Montreal city directory from 1864 to 1870; W. A. Pond & Co. continued the operations of Firth, Pond & Co. in New York from 1863;²¹ and R. Morgan ran his music store in Quebec from 1861 to 1884.

While the imprint on the title page of the above series shows Nordheimer in Toronto as the publisher, three other series were published by Nordheimer in Montreal at Great St. James Street, with branches listed in Toronto, London and

²⁰J. Holt, Our Dominion [1867]; and Anon., Red, White and Blue [185-?].

²¹Dichter and Shapiro, Sheet Music, pp. 192 and 224.

Hamilton. The Montreal city directories list Nordheimer at that address from 1852 to 1867 with a gap in 1853 and one in 1864. But there are no listings for Nordheimer in the London and Hamilton directories during those years.²² It was therefore assumed that the three series had been published in the early 1880s when all four branches were reported in the directories. However, the Montreal address from 1880 to 1904 was on St. James, not Great St. James. It was not until another series title page was found, with the imprint "MONTREAL-TORONTO-HAMILTON-LONDON / Published by A. & S. NORDHEIMER," that the dating of the three series before Confederation could be justified. Below the imprint was the stamp of the music dealer, Gould & Hill, at 59 Great St. James in Montreal. That firm was listed at those premises (which were also those of Nordheimer until 1863) only in the city directory for 1864. From 1865 until 1870 its address was 115 Great St. James, adjoining Nordheimer's at 119. It follows that unless the dealer's stamp had been misused the four branches co-existed before 1864. Furthermore, it is not only possible but probable that the three series were published before that year, and in any case before 1867. Although city directories are invaluable sources of information, they are not always infallible.

²² London directories for the years 1856, 1857 and 1863 were consulted, and Hamilton directories for the years 1853, 1856, 1862 and 1866. The missing years were either unavailable or unpublished.

The title page of another series bears the imprint "Published by A. & S. NORDHEIMER, Toronto & Montreal" on one line, and below it, centred, the word "Canada." One is tempted to put it aside immediately as being a post-Confederation publication, but, on no other grounds than appearance and the wording of the title, it is considered as having been published in provincial Canada and is described first among the remaining Nordheimer series:

- "Nordheimer's Collection of Vocal Music for the Piano Forte" (imprint quoted above) lists 12 numbered songs by non-Canadians (five by Balfe, composer of the Bohemian Girl, and one from Rigoletto by Verdi).
- "Nordheimer's Collection of Danse [sic] Music for the Piano Forte", Montreal: A. & S. Nordheimer, Great St. James St., Toronto, London, Hamilton. Twelve waltzes, six galops, and eight quadrilles, many of which were among the earliest Nordheimer publications, works by Herz, Beethoven, Strauss, Labitzky, Schallehn, Jullien, Linter and others.
- "A. & S. Nordheimer's Collection of Favorite Dances" (same imprint as above). Twenty-four polkas and three mazurkas, over half by Canadians, such as Crozier, Hecht, Schallehn, Clarke and Strathy. Many of these had been published much earlier by Nordheimer.
- "A. & S. Nordheimer's Collection of Popular Songs & Ballads" (same imprint as above two series). Twenty-four songs, some by Canadians and, like the two previous series, are reissues of early Nordheimers, including the earliest,

Knight's Beautiful Venice.

- "A. & S. Nordheimer's Collection of Popular Songs & Ballads".

Montreal-Toronto-Hamilton-London: A. & S. Nordheimer.

Although the series title is identical to the preceding series, the songs, listed alphabetically, are different and fewer (12), none by Canadians, and none from among Nordheimer's early known works.

The covers of all five series are similar in style: an embellished title followed by a list of the compositions included in the series. Each piece in a series has an identical cover; there was nothing to indicate the contents until the caption title on the first page of music.

Nordheimer's sheet music series are perhaps the most illustrative evidence of the scope, the breadth, the variety, and the quality of that firm's publishing activities which were unequalled, nor even vaguely rivalled, by contemporary Canadian music publishers.

A Group of Montreal Publishers

While Nordheimer was alone and unchallenged in Toronto, at least five firms in Montreal were publishing sheet music. All of them were primarily dealers in imported music and musical instruments and only incidentally music publishers. Their production was sparse and irregular with little, if any, uniformity in appearance, and they all had business arrangements with American music publishers.

The earliest of these, J. W. Herbert & Co., was listed in the first Montreal directory in 1842, but a running advertisement in La Minerve, beginning June 1, 1837, offering his services as a piano and organ builder and repairer indicates he was active at least that early, although no mention is made of retail activities. However, the 1842 directory carried an advertisement for Herbert, as did subsequent volumes (Pl. IX).

Twenty-six pieces of music bearing Herbert's name have been found. On 13 he is the sole publisher; one credits Lee & Walker in Philadelphia as co-publisher or agent; and one, O'Leary's University Polka, was reported by the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec as having been published by Herbert,²³ while the National Library's copy, or edition, was published by S. T. Gordon in New York, 1864, three years after Herbert retired. The remainder were published by others with Herbert's name in a secondary position.

Of the pieces published by Herbert alone, only three were produced in Canada and these by the printer John Lovell (Palmer, Snow Shoe Tramp; St. Clair, Snow Shoe Galop; and Therefore with Angels ... , Doxology). The others, either because they bear traceable plate numbers or the names of American engravers or lithographers, were probably printed in the United States.

²³This information was not verified since the Montreal copy cannot be located.

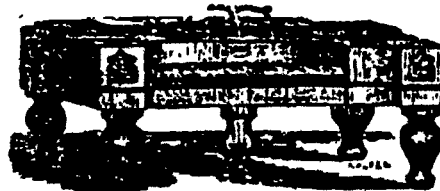
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKERS, &c.

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J. W. HERBERT & CO.,

Sign of the Golden Lyre,

131 & 133 NOTRE DAME STREET,

MONTREAL,**Manufacturers & Importers of Pianofortes,**

Would respectfully call public attention to their very superior *Piccolo and Boudoir Pianofortes*. They combine the power, brilliancy, richness of tone, and lightness of touch of the Grand, with compactness, elegance of outline, and great durability. These instruments were much admired at the "Crystal Palace," London, and obtained the first Prize (against competition), at the Provincial Exhibition, September, 1853.

BOSTON and NEW YORK PIANOFORTES of the most celebrated and esteemed Makers.

J. W. H. & Co.'s long experience in Canada, both as Importers and Makers, gives them advantages in selecting Pianos in the United States few others possess.

Tuning, Repairing and Regulating executed with despatch, in a superior manner; the arrangements in this department being more efficient than in most other houses on this Continent.

In Sheet Music and Musical Publications they possess many advantages, having made arrangements with several large European Publishers for the early transmission of Choice copies for the purpose of Reprinting. Also, for a weekly supply of every Novelty as soon as it appears in Europe or America.

BRASS and WOOD WIND and STRINGED MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of every description, of best Makers, Double Basses, Violoncellos, Violins, Guitars, Clarinettes, Flutes, Cornopians, Sax Cornopians, Sax Horns, Ophicleides, Trombones, French Horns, Accordions, Flutinas, Strings, Reeds, Tuning Forks, Tuning Hammers, with every other article connected with the Trade—the whole at very Low Prices.

Quick Returns and Small Profits.

Montreal City Directory, 1854-55

1000 000

The majority of Herbert publications are by Canadians and on Canadian themes, but the most Canadian of all is among that group of publications not primarily published by Herbert. The Original Canadian Quadrilles by the Montreal bandmaster Joseph Maffré was based on traditional Canadian airs, and its black and white cover features a beaver and the maple leaf, perhaps for the first time as a national illustration. But, although Herbert's name appears on the cover, it is secondary to Firth & Hall in New York, whose plate number it bears and in whose name it was registered for copyright in 1847. The very "Canadian" cover was lithographed by Endicott in New York.

The presence of cover illustrations on several Herbert publications is to be noted since they are among the first in Canada. Of particular interest, both for content, design and execution, is the coloured cover of d'Albert's Grand Trunk Waltzes [frontispiece] featuring the Victoria Bridge which opened in 1859 and including a steamship and a train.

Well before Herbert gave up his music business in 1861, Henry Prince set up shop in the premises occupied until then by Herbert. He advertised for the first time in the 1854 city directory as an importer of music and musical instruments at the "Sign of the Harp" and as "successor to Mead, Brother & Co.", also a dealer who discontinued his business that year and whose stock Prince had probably acquired (Pl. IX).

Although throughout his more than 25 years of activity he never advertised as a publisher, 29 pieces published by

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MILLINERS AND DRESSMAKERS.

MILLINERS AND DRESSMAKERS.

Arthur, Miss, 24 St Joseph, sub
 Blackadder, Mrs, 269 (late 189) Notre Dame
 Dennie, Mrs, 13 Great St James
 Franchere, Mrs, 15 St Lambert
 Robinson, Mrs & Daughters, 238 Notre Dame. See
 card
 Silverman, Mrs, 159 (late 127) Notre Dame

MINERAL SPRINGS DEPOTS.

Georgian Springs, E Cheney, agent, 43 Great St
 James
 Plantagenet Springs, Depot, No. 4 Place d'Armes

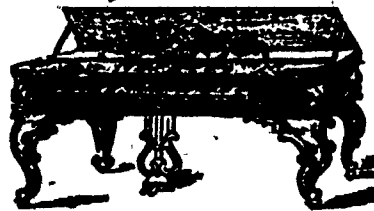
HENRY PRINCE,

(Successor to Mead, Brother & Co.)

SIGN OF THE HARP,
 NO. 145 NOTRE DAME STREET, MONTREAL,

IMPORTER OF

Pianofortes, Guitars, Music and Musical
 Instruments,



Has constantly
 on hand the
 latest and most
 fashionable Eu
 ropean and
 American
MUSIC,

with every de
 scription of Instruction Books for all Instruments.
 Teachers will always find a varied assortment of
 Progressive Music, carefully selected at his Estab
 lishment.

Every description of WOOD and BRASS INSTRUMENTS,
 proved and warranted, always on hand; also, Fittings for all in
 struments and General Merchandise connected with the trade.

Instruments Repaired, Exchanged, or Lent on Hire.

13 Country Dealers supplied on very reasonable Terms.

Montreal City Directory, 1854-55

Post 607

Prince have been located to date, 17 of which are known or presumed to pre-date Confederation and five are positively later. Again, dating evidence is the presence of American plate numbers and/or copyright dates. Prince collaborated with more American publishers than any of the Canadians of this period and his product, therefore, is even more varied in appearance than that of the others.

Prince was a band musician and director of repute. He led the Volunteer Militia Rifle Band in a Grand Military Promenade Concert in Montreal on September 17, 1857 at which he also played a cornet solo from Bellini's La sonnambula.²⁴ He was praised in the Echo du cabinet de lecture paroissial June 1, 1862 issue (p.245):

Cet habile violoniste [Torrington], ainsi que M. Prince, dans un solo sur un motif de Tancredi, pour cornet à piston, ont ajouté à leur réputation si bien établie d'excellents musiciens et d'artistes accomplis.

And again, the reviewer in the July 1, 1862 issue (p.304) recommends to members of "la Bande Hardy" certain methods of improving their performance so that "cette organisation sous peu luttera avec succès contre la Bande plus exercée de M. Prince."

Prince was also a prolific composer of dance music for the piano, such as quadrilles, galops, polkas and schottisches; 22 of his works have been found, 11 published by him. Many of them have patriotic sounding titles or dedications, such

²⁴ Montreal Daily Transcript and Commercial Advertiser (September 17, 1857):

as Form! Riflemen Form! (printed by John Lovell, 1859) and Shoulder to Shoulder on the Border (perhaps in connection with the Fenian raids). In a lighter, more gallant vein, is one entitled Mermaid Polka, dedicated to the Ladies of Canada, and another, the Irresistible Polka, dedicated to the Ladies of Montreal. The first also bears the information "as played by the Maffré and Prince's Quadrille Band," another indication of the publisher's active role in the musical life of Montreal. These two pieces, along with five of Prince's most "Canadian" works, including the Jubilee or Celebration Polka, dedicated to the directors and managers of the Canadian Grand Trunk Railway Co. (New York: S. T. Gordon, c. 1856), were published in the United States with Prince sub-listed on three as an agent.

At least 75% of Prince's publications were by Canadian composers, and, although Nordheimer and Herbert had published Canadians before him, he appears to have been the first to publicize Canadian music. The following advertisement ran in the Montreal Daily Transcript and Commercial Advertiser from July 18 to September 16, 1857:

NEW CANADIAN MUSIC

Visitors who are desirous of procuring the
N A T I O N A L M E L O D I E S O F C A N A D A
and the Compositions of various popular
CANADIAN COMPOSERS, should call at

Prince's London Music Store,
145 NOTRE DAME STREET

Where a large assortment of the Newest and
most Fashionable European and American Music
is constantly kept on hand.

H. PRINCE

Laurent & Laforce appeared for the first time in the 1861 city directory and throughout its 40 years of existence as a firm there were no individual entries for the partners, an unusual practice. They were listed variably as dealers in music and instruments, later as piano manufacturers and later again (from 1871 on) as importers of pianos and organs, but never as publishers.

If they only began their business in 1861, it was on a large enough scale to have become a major music dealer in the city by early 1862,²⁵ to survive a fire, and to sell a large part of their stock to Boucher & Manseau then setting themselves up in the music business.²⁶ The report of their move to 131 Notre Dame (same location as Boucher & Manseau, and previously occupied by J. W. Herbert) announced their intention of expanding their piano and harmonium business.²⁷

It would appear that the publishing activities of the firm took place in its early years, that is before Confederation. The Jacques Cartier Quadrille by Henri de Terlac was playfully described in the Echo du cabinet:

Avis donc à tels qui se sentiraient affligés de la goutte, crampe, rhumatisme, ou de quelqu'un des autres plaisanteries de notre nature ... Passez chez MM. Laurent et Laforce, procurez-vous un "Jacques Cartier," prenez-le en cinq doses [the work is in five sections], guérison assurée, sinon ...²⁸

²⁵Echo du cabinet de lecture paroissial (Montreal), IV, (1862), 125, 150-152.

²⁶Ibid., 199.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., 33.

The same article described two other publications of Laurent & Laforce: Souvenir de Cacouna, an unlocated mazurka by Mr. Eslobé and the Skating Club Galop by Chas. Emery St. Clair. The latter is at the Toronto Public Library and is reported to have been engraved by T. Birch & Son, New York engravers.

Four other pieces are in the National Library: La Mansarde by Valois; La Mascarade by Doremus; La Vierge de France by Destres; and Fabiola by Bohrer. The last is dedicated to Madame Georges Etienne Cartier, and bears a sub-imprint for "G. Schirmer, 701 Broadway," by whom it was registered for copyright in New York in 1867 and whose plate number appears on the publication. The Valois and the Destres pieces both belong to a series "Lyre Canadienne" and are numbered 5 and 6, respectively.

Adélard Joseph Boucher had a rich and varied background in music, theology, law and commerce²⁹ before opening a music store in partnership with J. A. Manseau in 1862, having bought stock from J. W. Herbert and Laurent & Laforce.³⁰

Boucher had been a partner and manager of the music department of Laurent & Laforce and Manseau had been employed for many years by J. B. Rolland et Fils, a book dealer and printer.³¹

Their first premises were those occupied by Herbert until 1861, which suggests that they bought his whole stock since Herbert did not appear to continue his business thereafter.

²⁹ Mgr. Olivier Maurault, "Adélard Boucher (1835-1912)", Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société Royale du Canada, 3e série, XXXI, (1938), 85-97.

³⁰ Echo du cabinet ..., III, (1862), 199.

³¹ ...

Boucher and Manseau were probably friends; they shared living quarters and interests other than music. It is reported that they and Stanley Clark Bagg, prominent public figure and President of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, met in each other's homes to discuss their favourite topics and to share discoveries.³² Nothing else is known of Manseau or why the association was so short-lived.

Boucher & Manseau published six of the located works known or thought to pre-date Confederation, and five were published by Adélard J. Boucher. None of these were registered for copyright. They are a mixture of the usual dance music, romances, religious and patriotic songs and are all for piano or voice and piano, the most ambitious work being for TTBB and piano (Sabatier, [Cantate]). Two are arrangements by Boucher himself (Souvenir de Sabatier and the Celebrated Russian Carriage Song). Others of interest are the Hippocrate Quadrille by Valade, dedicated to the professors of the "Ecole canadienne de Medecine et de Chirurgie de Montréal," and the Confédération Quadrille by Casorti.

There seems to have been some collaboration between Boucher & Manseau and Laurent & Laforce. The second edition of the Jacques Cartier Quadrille was published by Boucher & Manseau, as were numbers 1 and 3 of the series "Lyre Canadienne" (Notre religion, notre langue, nos moeurs et nos lois, and Dieu, mon enfant, te le rendra).

³²Pierre Landry, "Stanley Clark Bagg," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, X, 31.

The relationship between Boucher & Manseau and U.S. publishers, whose publications no doubt comprised a large proportion of its early stock, is evidenced by some of the works engraved by Clayton (active in New York around 1856-1868),³³ the occasional presence of plate numbers, obviously American, and the inclusion of some of these firms in secondary positions on Boucher imprints.

Although the business of selling sheet music went on long after Adélaide's death in 1912-- the store closed its doors in May, 1976-- there appears to have been scant publishing activity after that date.

The last of the five Montreal publishers to be discussed is the firm of Gould & Hill, first appearing in the city directory in 1864. Freedom Hill was listed from 1855 to 1862 as an employee of A. & S. Nordheimer and in 1863 as a piano forte maker. Joseph Gould was listed as "of Ira Gould & Sons, City Flour Mills" prior to, and for one year (1866) during, the partnership. But the same year that he began his business with Hill, he founded the Mendelssohn Choir of Montreal made up of members of the choir of the American Presbyterian Church which he had directed for some time. He continued as director throughout the 30 years of the choir's existence and, generally, took an active part in the musical life of Montreal.³⁴ Hill had been an agent for Chickering pianos

³³ Dichter and Shapiro, Sheet Music, pp. 68, 75, 92, 112, and 117.

³⁴ H. J. Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time. (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1912), p. 462; and Joseph Gould, "The Mendelssohn Choir". McGill University Archives, 512/35. Holograph notes.

before Nordheimer established a Montreal branch, at which time he was taken on as general manager. The same account³⁵ states that Gould & Hill took over Nordheimer's business when that firm ceased operations "in March last [1864]." This is borne out by the first listing of the firm in 1864 at Nordheimer's old address and by the lack of a listing for the latter firm. However, Nordheimer resumed a Montreal operation the following year and Gould & Hill continued to work out of adjacent premises until 1869. In 1870, both Joseph Gould and Freedom Hill were individually listed as piano dealers at separate addresses and so continued until 1879.

During the brief existence of the firm, its occupation was the sale of pianos and organs principally, and of sheet music secondarily. Publishing played a very minor role if the number of pieces found to this date can be used as evidence. Of the five, two by Amos Patton and two by Moritz Relle were copyrighted and engraved in the United States. Only the fifth piece, the March of the Men of Harlech, shows no other publisher or agent and is much less expertly executed. Not only is the paper poor, but the words appear to have been typeset rather than punched. There is no copyright notice, nor date, nor pagination.

³⁵ Montreal Business Sketches ... Montreal: printed by M. Longmoore & Co., Gazette Job Office, 1864, p. 195.

Three Quebec Publishers

J. & O. Crémazie were booksellers and stationers and, for a time, also wine merchants. Their shop on Fabrique Street was a meeting place for a group of litterati in the 1850s and '60s. Octave Crémazie, himself a poet, was involved in the founding of Les Soirées canadiennes, a literary journal printed by Brousseau.³⁶ During the years they were listed in the Quebec city directory (1844-1862), no mention was ever made of their involvement with music, either as publishers or dealers. But publish music they did. Four of their publications are in the National Library: a collection of Chants canadiens; Quadrille canadien by Dessane; and L'Alouette and Le Drapeau du Carillon by Sabatier. The first two are very fine examples of music engraving with most simple black and white covers. Although the imprints read: "Québec, Chez J. et O. Crémazie," they both bear the engraver's name, A. Curmer, on the final page and the second carries the additional information that it was printed in Paris. The two Sabatier pieces, both setting words by Octave Crémazie, were typeset and probably printed locally, but it is doubtful that Crémazie owned a font of music type, given the paucity of his musical output.

J. T. Brousseau, listed in the Quebec directory from 1850 as printer and bookseller, has been difficult to trace. In 1854, and that year only, his credits include "dealer in

music and musical instruments" and from 1858 to 1862 he is listed also as "printer and proprietor of the 'Courier [sic] du Canada'." By 1862 all the credits previously appended to the entry for J. T. now follow that for L. Brousseau and Brother, while J. T. Brousseau is listed as M.P.P. (Member of the Provincial Parliament). The following year and thereafter, entries are found for J. D. Brousseau, M.P.P. at the same address as the former J. T., and for Léger Brousseau, bookseller, etc.

Consultation with the reference and genealogy sections of the Archives nationales du Québec, as well as with a member of the staff of Le Soleil who has done research on former mayors of Québec³⁷ has not produced definitive evidence as to whether or not J. T. and J. D. were one and the same, a view held by all the persons consulted. The introduction to "Inventaire analytique du fonds Léger Brousseau" by Claude Poirier in the Rapport des Archives nationales du Québec, tome 50 (1972) mentions only J. D. and establishes him as Léger's brother and owner of Le Courrier du Canada from 1858.

Nevertheless, at least three pieces of sheet music published by "J. T." Brousseau are known to exist. Two of them located at the Université de Montréal but not seen by the writer are by Antoine Dessane. They are La Capricieuse; polka caractéristique and Souvenir de Kamouraska; quadrille historique. The third piece, in the National Library

Joseph-Denis Brousseau Mayor from 1880 to 1882.

collection, is the Montmorency Galop by Mrs. W. H. Rankin, with a fine illustration of the Falls on the cover lithographed by Sarony in New York. The National Library copy is grey on white, but the copy in the Lande Collection is multi-coloured. The imprint clearly reads, "Published by J. T. Brousseau, Quebec, C.E." and the five pages of music are well engraved and clearly printed. There is no copyright statement, but another piece in the National Library was identically engraved: The Chateau d'eau, or Municipal Polka, composed by Mrs. P. Sheppard and dedicated to "Jos. Morrin, M.D. (Mayer of Quebec)." It was published in New York by William Hall & Son, 239 Broadway. The original words "the author" after "Published for" have been partially erased and "J. T. Brousseau" hand-written in their place. It is hoped that more music published by Brousseau will soon be located--perhaps in the Villeneuve Collection--and his identity more clearly established.

Robert Morgan ran a music store in Quebec, selling music and musical instruments from 1861 to 1884. Seven of his publications are known to pre-date Confederation. The earliest is Yes Polka by G. Raineri, Bandmaster of the 4th and 60th Regiments, registered for copyright with the Provincial Registrar in 1861. Two other pieces by Raineri, the Quebec Galop and the Warrior Quadrilles were advertised in Les Beaux-Arts (1863) along with Stadacona Walk by Dunlevie and Cacouna Polka by Tourangeau. Scintillation by Damis Paul, also a Canadian, was registered for copyright by H. Tolman & Co.

in Boston but carries the Morgan imprint. The St. Lawrence Waltz by Bandmaster Moritz Relle with a similar imprint bears an Oliver Ditson plate number which dates it at 1865.

A Hamilton Publisher

Peter Grossman was listed in the first Hamilton directory of 1853 as a musician. When the next edition was published in 1856, it included a paid advertisement for Grossman declaring him to be the owner of a music store. He was so listed again in the 1862 edition. But from 1865 to 1867 the business is listed under August or Augustus Grossman with Peter variously listed as "gentleman" or as an employee of A. Grossman. The confusion was likely due to misinformed canvassers since from 1872 onwards the main listing is for Peter Grossman.

Of the 20 sheet music publications by Grossman known to exist, only three were published before 1867. Two were by William Miller, bandmaster of the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade, both registered for Canadian copyright by the composer in 1863, but both bearing Oliver Ditson plate numbers. The cover of the Gordon Galop, dedicated to Lady Alexander Russell, features an ivy wreath which enframes the entire title statement and imprint, while on that of the Regimental March [of the] 13th Batt'n Canadian Volunteers, ivy vines emerge from an upper central cameo of a beaver on a log. Both are obviously the work of the same craftsman. The third piece is Stolen Kisses Galop, "as performed by the Band of her

Majesty's 1st Battalion, 16th Regt. Arranged for Piano by James Kennedy, Band Master." This, too, bears a Ditson plate number.

Grossman's publications reflect his military background and his experience as a bandmaster.³⁸ He participated in the active musical life of Hamilton which by 1858 had a population of close to 20,000 and was the second largest city in Upper Canada.³⁹ Although not the only music dealer, it appears he was the only music publisher in Hamilton before Confederation.

Six Others

John Lovell, of book and periodical fame, responsible for the printing of one of the two earliest known pieces of sheet music, published or printed at least 16 other pieces of sheet music in Montreal before Confederation. Two of these were printed for other music publishers: St. Clair's Snow Shoe Galop, published by J. W. Herbert, and Henry Prince's Form! Riflemen Form! published by the composer. All are by Canadian composers and represent a wide variety of composition; they include: a march for piano by Brauneis, Jr.; Ave Maria for SATB and piano by Ernest Gagnon; a nocturne for violin and piano, also by Gagnon; a song by Octave Peltier offered to the St. Jean Baptiste Society in 1858; and a grand march

³⁸ Betty Mullin, "Peter Grossman," article to be published in Encyclopedia of Music in Canada.

³⁹ Kallmann, History, p. 101.

arranged for piano, and La Montréalaise, chant d'union both by Sabatier. The imprint on the last piece reads: "Montreal: Des presses à vapeur de John Lovell, Bureau du 'Canada Directory,' rue St. Nicolas. 1859." Two other works by Ernest Gagnon, Stadaconé, danse sauvage and Souvenir de Venise, grand nocturne are both long and serious pieces for piano (8p. and 11p.) with elegantly designed black and white typographic covers.

The Toronto branch, Lovell & Gibson, printed two pieces that have been found so far: My Love Annie!, a song by Mrs. George Low, and the Orphan's Prayer (1856), a hymn written and published for the benefit of the Orphan's Home, Toronto. The latter, arranged from Handel^{40a} by H. J. Havcraft, was beautifully printed using a different type face from that of the Montreal firm. The two pages of music are enframed by a delicately ivy-entwined line.

It must be remembered that Lovell did not own a music store, but his widespread printing activities would have been a more than adequate source of income should there have been any financial loss in the publishing of music. And, too, almost all of the pieces found so far state clearly that they were printed, not published by him; therefore his liabilities were few.

Another publisher, important in a field other than music, was the firm of Sénécal, Daniel & Co., and later Eusèbe Sénécal. It has been discussed in Chapter 4 in connection with the Journal de l'inspection publique and le bureau du cabinet.⁴⁰

40

See pp. 38-42 above.

40a

Based on the title "Alcina" from Alcina.

As music printers and publishers, the output of the original partnership was scant. Only five works printed by them during 1859 and 1960 have been reported, two of which were also published in the Journal de l'instruction publique: T. F. Molt's Sol canadien and Charles Sauvageau's Chant canadien. From 1861 to 1867, seven pieces of music printed by Eusèbe Sénécal are known to exist. There is no difference in the appearance of the music produced by the two firms: the type fonts are identical and the cover designs are simple black and white with varied lettering and borders. Unlike most music publishers, but in keeping with their experience in periodicals, the imprint is given clearly and fully on the cover, complete with date, which was also the case with Lovell. While the firm continued printing and publishing into the 20th century through three generations, music was never an important part of its activities with the exception of the two years of music in the Echo du cabinet.⁴¹

Works have been found by two other Montreal publishers, both of whom had very brief careers as music dealers. S. T. Pearce was listed in the city directory as "importer and dealer in pianofortes, music &c." for two years (1858-1859). During that time he published at least three pieces of music: It is the Hour by J. M. Müller, Phoebe Dearest Tell Oh Tell Me by J. L. Hatton, and Dolly's Quadrilles arranged by Gustave Smith. All three were engraved by G. W. Ackerman,

⁴¹Ibid.

active in New York in the early 1850s.⁴² The cover of the last piece is from a photograph by W. Notman in Montreal but lithographed in black and cream by Sarony, Major & Knapp in New York. Despite the brevity of his publishing period, Pearce had evidently entered into an agreement with American publishers.

E. Thornton was listed in the 1856 and 1858 directories as a pianoforte maker, in 1860 as an agent, in 1861, again as "E. Thornton & Co., pianoforte factory." His publishing years were 1863 and 1864 during which time he is listed as "E. Thornton, Victoria music store" and "Victoria musical repository", respectively. Three works of Thornton's have been reported: The Styx Galop by A. C. Sedgwick Jr. bears a subsidiary imprint of Wm. A. Pond & Co. and plate number 6171, undoubtedly Pond's;⁴³ Happy New Year Mazurka by A. Crochet might well have been produced in Montreal since the cover was lithographed by Roberts & Reinhold of Montreal and the notation, also lithographed, is somewhat crude; Maryland! My Maryland, subtitled "The Confederate National Air", has a beautifully engraved cover featuring the Maryland coat-of-arms. There is no similarity between any of the above pieces, and once again the brevity of Thornton's active period makes it difficult to understand his collaboration with American publishers.

⁴²Dichter & Shapiro, Sheet Music, pp. 58, 83, 88 and 89.

⁴³Ibid., p. 92; plate no. 5922 is dated 1864.

Finally, there was another type of music publisher; the self-publisher. Henry Prince has already been described to some extent in this capacity but he was a very prolific publisher of works other than his own. Not so Antoine Dessane, the illustrious Quebec composer and organist who had studied at the Paris Conservatoire under Cherubini and was an associate of César Franck. He was known to have a lithography shop in his home where he printed some of his own compositions.⁴⁴ Two of his known self-publications in the National Library are Le chant des voyageurs (Pls. XIII-XV; pp. 96-98, below) and La mère canadienne. The music for both songs occupies one and a half pages with the succeeding stanzas of the poem hand-written on the remaining half-page. The notation and the covers were also hand-engraved. The imprint was simply "Publié à Québec" and was followed by Dessane's signature.

Gustave Smith (1826-1896),⁴⁵ composer, writer and publisher, came to Canada from France, via the United States, shortly before 1860. He had studied at the Conservatoire in Paris from an early age and had been a hero in the 1848 revolution for which he belatedly received the Legion of Honour in 1860. His publishing activities began almost immediately for he produced the first edition of his textbook, the Abécédaire musical (p. 22, above) in 1861. He began

⁴⁴ Helmut Kallman, "Marie-Hippolyte-Antoine Dessane," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, X, (1871-1880), 228-229.

⁴⁵ Edgar Boutet, "Organiste et journaliste," Le Droit (Ottawa) (8 novembre 1958), 24; and various family documents reported to Dr. Kallman.

collaborating with Boucher on the founding of Les Beaux-Arts (pp. 42-44.) about 1860 and the magazine was launched in April 1863. His own typography firm in Sault-au-Recollet, in partnership with M. Leprohon, took over the printing of the periodical at the beginning of 1864 and advertised in its pages (16, 32, 48, 64 and 80) that it was in a position to execute all kinds of material,

... dans le meilleur goût, en noir et en couleur.
 Nous avons aussi fait l'acquisition d'une magnifique fonte de musique, la plus belle qui soit en Canada; cette partie de la typographie engagera, nous l'espérons, les marchands-éditeurs à s'adresser à notre maison pour tout ce qui concerne les impressions en Musique, ...

It is possible that Smith & Leprohon acted as job printers to some of the local publishers of sheet music, but the city directory lists the firm for only one year (1864). The only piece of sheet music known to have been published by Smith is his own work, En avant!!!, for four unaccompanied male voices and dedicated to the "chasseurs canadiens;" the imprint reads, "Montréal, Chez l'Auteur." Smith moved to Ottawa in 1867 where he devoted himself to performance (he was organist at the Cathedral), to music education, and to journalism.

Conclusion

Sheet music is considered ephemera by most libraries because of its format and fragility which pose storage problems, but also because of its slight musical value. It is also among the first lot of material discarded, along with old newspapers and magazines, when attics and basements are

cleaned out or residences moved. For these reasons, less than half of the sheet music published up to 1867 has been preserved if the figures for Nordheimer can be taken as evidence. It is probable that more examples exist which have not yet been reported because of the low priority attached to such material. The words of Ernst Krohn may be borrowed to illustrate the importance of these documents of the past (substitute "Canadian" for "American"):

The study of early American sheet music is a phase of American Kulturgeschichte that has nothing to do with absolute music values. ⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Ernst C. Krohn, Music Publishing in the Middle Western States Before the Civil War. (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1972), p. 10.

CHAPTER 6

MUSIC PRINTING

Three printing techniques were used for music publications in Canada before 1867: type-setting, engraving and lithography.¹

Although moveable type had been used for the printing of mensural music at the end of the 15th century, the few efforts were crude and uncertain. It was only in 1501 with the publication of Petrucci's Harmonice musices odhecaton that the craft became an art which included the design, cutting and casting of the type, the alignment of notes and text and the overall layout and spacing of the music. Petrucci used three impressions to attain his excellent results: first the staves were printed; then the text and signatures; and finally the notes. The earliest dated mensural music printed from moveable type in a single impression was Chansons nouvelles en musique by Pierre Attaignant in 1527.²

Type-setting was the technique used in Canada for the first known music publication, the Graduel romain published by John Neilson in 1800. It continued to be used throughout the 67 years under study by those publishers primarily involved

¹Most of the technical information included in this Chapter was extracted from the excellent book by W. Gamble, Music Engraving and Printing. (London: Pitman, 1923). Individual citations will be given only for specific statements.

²A. Hyatt King, Four Hundred Years of Music Printing. (London: British Museum, 1968), pp. 12-13 and 38.

with the printing of general books, newspapers and periodicals. They were already familiar with the method and had the basic equipment, but they had to acquire a font of music type with an average of 400 different characters (Pl. XI) in multiples necessary to set up to four pages of music at one time. The type was expensive and easily worn. Music set skillfully from new type can hardly be distinguished from engraved music except by the impression marks made by the type. It is worn type which gives the characteristically type-set appearance of interrupted staff lines and note bars.³ Lovell's music, although excellently laid out, usually exhibits this characteristic, evidence of the amount of use his music type received.

Great skill was required of a music compositor. Gamble claims that an apprentice might take up to four or five years to become a reasonably good music compositor. He must know music to minimize the possibility of error; he must be familiar with all the characters, their location in his "case" and the combinations necessary to produce the desired notation.

A bar of eight consecutive notes in 3/4 time, and with a tenor clef, contains at least seventy-eight characters, and there will be more if the measure contains accidentals or complicated harmony.⁴

A method for saving wear of the music type was stereotyping in which a mold was made of the bed of set type and a metal plate cast from that mold. Prints were made from the

³ See Pls. V and VI, pp. 53 and 54 above.

⁴ Gamble, Music Engraving, pp. 170-171.

Synopsis of Characters in the Gem Music.

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|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1 | 48 | 95 | 144 | 193 | 242 | 291 | 340 | 389 | 438 |
| 2 | 49 | 96 | 145 | 194 | 243 | 292 | 341 | 390 | 439 |
| 3 | 50 | 97 | 146 | 195 | 244 | 293 | 342 | 391 | 440 |
| 4 | 51 | 98 | 147 | 196 | 245 | 294 | 343 | 392 | 441 |
| 5 | 52 | 99 | 148 | 197 | 246 | 295 | 344 | 393 | 442 |
| 6 | 53 | 100 | 149 | 198 | 247 | 296 | 345 | 394 | 443 |
| 7 | 54 | 101 | 150 | 199 | 248 | 297 | 346 | 395 | 444 |
| 8 | 55 | 102 | 151 | 200 | 249 | 298 | 347 | 396 | 445 |
| 9 | 56 | 103 | 152 | 201 | 250 | 299 | 348 | 397 | 446 |
| 10 | 57 | 104 | 153 | 202 | 251 | 300 | 349 | 398 | 447 |
| 11 | 58 | 105 | 154 | 203 | 252 | 301 | 350 | 399 | 448 |
| 12 | 59 | 106 | 155 | 204 | 253 | 302 | 351 | 400 | 449 |
| 13 | 60 | 107 | 156 | 205 | 254 | 303 | 352 | 401 | 450 |
| 14 | 61 | 108 | 157 | 206 | 255 | 304 | 353 | 402 | 451 |
| 15 | 62 | 109 | 158 | 207 | 256 | 305 | 354 | 403 | 452 |
| 16 | 63 | 110 | 159 | 208 | 257 | 306 | 355 | 404 | 453 |
| 17 | 64 | 111 | 160 | 209 | 258 | 307 | 356 | 405 | 454 |
| 18 | 65 | 112 | 161 | 210 | 259 | 308 | 357 | 406 | 455 |
| 19 | 66 | 113 | 162 | 211 | 260 | 309 | 358 | 407 | 456 |
| 20 | 67 | 114 | 163 | 212 | 261 | 310 | 359 | 408 | 457 |
| 21 | 68 | 115 | 164 | 213 | 262 | 311 | 360 | 409 | 458 |
| 22 | 69 | 116 | 165 | 214 | 263 | 312 | 361 | 410 | 459 |
| 23 | 70 | 117 | 166 | 215 | 264 | 313 | 362 | 411 | 460 |
| 24 | 71 | 118 | 167 | 216 | 265 | 314 | 363 | 412 | 461 |
| 25 | 72 | 119 | 168 | 217 | 266 | 315 | 364 | 413 | 462 |
| 26 | 73 | 120 | 169 | 218 | 267 | 316 | 365 | 414 | 463 |
| 27 | 74 | 121 | 170 | 219 | 268 | 317 | 366 | 415 | 464 |
| 28 | 75 | 122 | 171 | 220 | 269 | 318 | 367 | 416 | 465 |
| 29 | 76 | 123 | 172 | 221 | 270 | 319 | 368 | 417 | 466 |
| 30 | 77 | 124 | 173 | 222 | 271 | 320 | 369 | 418 | 467 |
| 31 | 78 | 125 | 174 | 223 | 272 | 321 | 370 | 419 | 468 |
| 32 | 79 | 126 | 175 | 224 | 273 | 322 | 371 | 420 | 469 |
| 33 | 80 | 127 | 176 | 225 | 274 | 323 | 372 | 421 | 470 |
| 34 | 81 | 128 | 177 | 226 | 275 | 324 | 373 | 422 | 471 |
| 35 | 82 | 129 | 178 | 227 | 276 | 325 | 374 | 423 | 472 |
| 36 | 83 | 130 | 179 | 228 | 277 | 326 | 375 | 424 | 473 |
| 37 | 84 | 131 | 180 | 229 | 278 | 327 | 376 | 425 | 474 |
| 38 | 85 | 132 | 181 | 230 | 279 | 328 | 377 | 426 | 475 |
| 39 | 86 | 133 | 182 | 231 | 280 | 329 | 378 | 427 | 476 |
| 40 | 87 | 134 | 183 | 232 | 281 | 330 | 379 | 428 | 477 |
| 41 | 88 | 135 | 184 | 233 | 282 | 331 | 380 | 429 | 478 |
| 42 | 89 | 136 | 185 | 234 | 283 | 332 | 381 | 430 | 479 |
| 43 | 90 | 137 | 186 | 235 | 284 | 333 | 382 | 431 | 480 |
| 44 | 91 | 138 | 187 | 236 | 285 | 334 | 383 | 432 | 481 |
| 45 | 92 | 139 | 188 | 237 | 286 | 335 | 384 | 433 | 482 |
| 46 | 93 | 140 | 189 | 238 | 287 | 336 | 385 | 434 | 483 |
| 47 | 94 | 141 | 190 | 239 | 288 | 337 | 386 | 435 | 484 |
| | | 142 | 191 | 240 | 289 | 338 | 387 | 436 | 485 |
| | | 143 | 192 | 241 | 290 | 339 | 388 | 437 | 486 |
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Synopsis sheet of characters in Shank's Music Type, reproduced by W. Gamble in Music Engraving and Printing (London: Pitman, 1923) between pp. 178 and 179.

Poor Copy

plate and thus allowed the immediate redistribution of the type in the case for reuse. This also lessened the need for multiple type characters and allowed for reprinting from the stored plates. There is no evidence of the use of stereotyping for the publication of music in pre-Confederation Canada.

Most of the music set from moveable type was fairly simple, the large majority involving no more than three musical lines. Very active instrumental music with long runs is the most difficult to produce successfully, (Pl. XII). Engraving is the ideal method for more complicated music printing and indeed was the method preferred by publishers specializing in the production of music scores.

A piece of music printed from an engraved plate is immediately recognizable by the surrounding impression on the page, more or less faint, made by the edge of the plate in the press. The appearance of the music, too, is less rigid and generally smoother than its type-set counterpart.

The music engraver requires a set of tools, some of which are: scorers for different sizes of staves, other scorers for single and double bar lines, elliptical gravers for cutting swells, flat gravers for note ties and ledger lines, dividers, compasses, callipers, hammers, T-square, scrapers, and so on.⁵ He must also have a set of punches, usually composed of about 50 pieces, for the musical notes, clefs, accidentals and letters.

⁵Ibid., p. 88.

poco rit.

rallentando.

precipitato.

Largo e fortissimo.

Ped

Ernest Gagnon, Souvenir de Venise (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860), page 11.

POOR COPY

The music is first scratched faintly onto a pewter plate. This requires great skill and judgment, especially when working from a manuscript, in the spacing and layout so that the last measure of a music section coincides with the end of a page. Then follows the actual engraving which demands great control and regularity on the part of the craftsman in the striking of the punches to obtain a uniform impression. Errors can be corrected and editorial changes made by hammering out the impression from the back of the plate and by burnishing the front. However, this cannot be done too often without weakening the plate.

The practice of printing music from plates resulted in dating problems. Since the plates could be stored and copies printed from them when required, it was commercially expedient to leave them undated. Until a copyright statement came into common use, there was no way of telling if the music being sold was an exciting new composition or a long-unsold leftover. The convenience for the publisher and dealer of old has led to great confusion and difficulties for music bibliographers of today. The use of plate numbers by large music houses, however, has assisted to a certain extent. Usually assigned in chronological order as a work came in to be printed, it was a convenient method for the publisher to keep track of his stock and to store the plates in a certain order. Should any plate number be dated, either by direct consultation with publishers' ledgers, or by a copyright statement, or by any other means at a researcher's disposal, it is possible then,

by inference, to date neighbouring or intervening plate numbers. This practice is not infallible, however, since some publishers reused a plate number when the original work was withdrawn or discarded because of damaged plates.

Nordheimer was the only Canadian music publisher before 1867 to use plate numbers. It is not clear why, since he did not print his music himself, nor was it always executed by the same engraver or printer. Yet his early works--from plate number 1 (1845?) through to 91 (1851), not all of which have been located--were probably all numbered. This leads to another puzzling practice: copies of some Nordheimer publications have been found both with and without plate numbers. The suggestion has been made that those numbered were proof copies and the ones without were lithographed final copies. This cannot be so. The plate impressions are as prominent on the unnumbered copies as on the numbered, and later post-Confederation works, obviously lithographed, bear plate numbers. There was no reason to remove the plate numbers, yet it is not possible that they were added to later reprints for convenience since some of the lowest plate numbers were found on legal deposit copies. It is hoped that more details will be brought to light when a more complete inventory of Nordheimer publications can be accomplished.

The third method of music printing was very seldom used in early Canadian music. The music and text could be copied directly onto lithographic transfer paper with a special greasy ink (auto-lithography). But the usual practice was to engrave

the content onto a thin copper plate, to ink the plate with the special lithographic ink and pull one copy on a special paper, which copy was then transferred to the stone. The only examples of lithographed music of the period seen by the writer are the piece by Aubin⁶ which was probably auto-lithographed, and the works of Dessane which appear to have been engraved first (Pls. XIII-XV).

Although lithography and stereography came to be the principal methods of printing music in later years (before the advent of photolithography), typography was the only method developed to any degree of proficiency in pre-Confederation Canada. The engraving of music was a much more personal skill which could only develop with constant practice. But few of the sheet music publications were engraved in Canada and those usually recognizable by their crudeness. Compare the first and the last pages of Beautiful Venice engraved in Toronto by Ellis (Pls. VII and VIII, pp. 58-59) with the last page of the Ontario Quick March engraved in New York by Birch (Pl. XVI). Both were early publications by Nordheimer, the only Canadian music publisher with an output large enough to enable a local engraver to improve his skills, but who chose to have the great majority of his work engraved and printed in the United States.

⁶See Pls. I-III, pp. 48-50 above.

A l'Honorable
J. C. CHENON

Le Chant

des

Voyageurs

Paroles

O. CRÉMAZIE

MUSIQUE

A. DESSANE

Prix 15 Cents

Revue de la Presse

G. L. L.

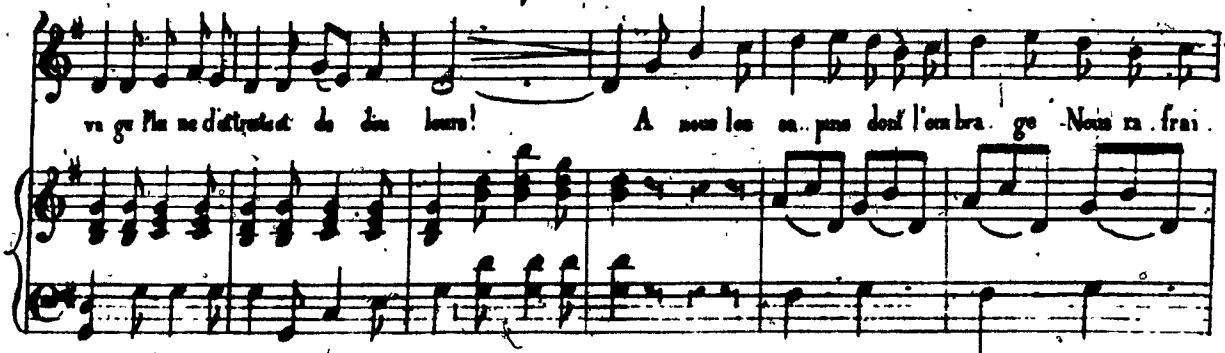
POOR COPY

Le chant des voyageurs.

Paroles de G. GRÉMASIN.

Musique de A. DESSANE.

ALLEGRETTO.



For Copy

Retour en Chœur.

chit dans nos la bours Dans la fo rôt Dans la fo. rôt et sur la

Chœur Nous sommes tren te vo ya geurs, Nous sommes tren te vo ya geurs

2

Brevant la foudre et les tempêtes,
Avec leur aspect sévère,
Qu'ils sont beaux ces pins dont les têtes
Semblent les colonnes du ciel !
Lorsque privés de leur feuillage
Ils tombent sous nos coups vainqueurs,
On dirait que dans le nuage
L'esprit des bois verte des pleurs.

3

Quand la nuit de ses voiles sombres
Couvre nos cabanes de bois,
Nous regardons passer les ombres
Des Algonquins, des Iroquois.
Ils viennent, ces rois d'un autre âge,
Contar leurs antiques grandeurs
A ces vieux chênes que l'orage
N'a pu briser dans ses fureurs.

4

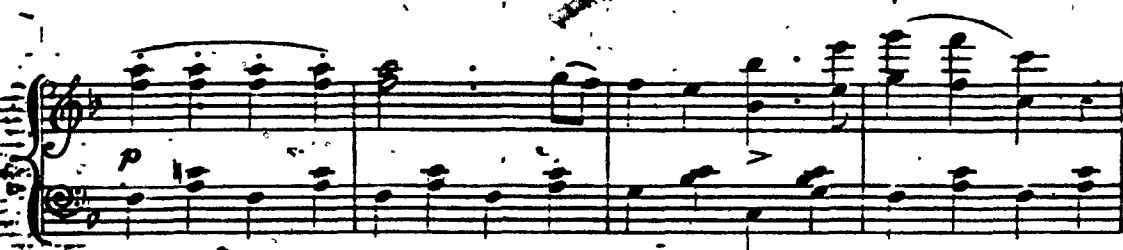
Pas sur la *Gage* qui s'avance
Avec les flots de Saint Laurent,
Nous rappelons de notre enfance
Le souvenir doux et charmant.
La *blonde* l'aime au village,
Nos mères et nos jeunes sœurs,
Qui nous attendent au rivage
Pour à leur sein battre nos cœurs.

5

Quand viendra la triste vieillesse
Affaiblir nos bras et nos voix
Nous conturons à la jeunesse
Nos aventures d'entrefeux.
Quand enfin pour ce grand voyage
Où tous les hommes sont rumeurs,
Le mort viendra nous crier *Nige* !
Nous dirons bravant ses terreurs



MARCH



Buch E & P.

Henry Schallehn, Ontario Quick March (Toronto: A. & S. Nordheimer, c1848)

Poor Copy

None of the sheet music publishers described in Chapter 5 (pp. 46-87) -- with the exceptions of Lovell and Sénécal who were general printers and Dessañe and Smith who were self-publishers -- had printing plants of their own. Since publishing was not their major occupation, they hired job printers to execute the work.

The only identified Canadian engraver of sheet music is John Ellis who engraved the two Nordheimer publications mentioned on page 57. On the title pages, below the imprint, appears the following information: "Ellis & Co. fe[cit] Toronto." (Pl. XVII.) John Ellis (1795-1877)⁷ came to Toronto from England in 1836. He was an amateur cellist who took an active part in the musical development of Toronto. He organized string quartets and choral societies and was a member of all the amateur orchestras from 1837 to 1870. In 1845 he opened an engraving office on King Street near Yonge and continued this work until 1868 when he sold his business to Joseph Rolph. It is hoped that other examples of Ellis' work will be found when a more complete study of Nordheimer publications is undertaken.

⁷ Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of York, Ontario. (Toronto: J. H. Beers, 1907), p. 519; and "Music in Toronto; reminiscences of the last half-century," Toronto Mail (December 21, 1878).

BEAUTIFUL VENICE

A

Popular BALLAD Song

with much Applause by

M. Humphreys.

Composed by

JOSEPH P. KNIGHT.

Toronto.

Price 25 cts.

Published by A. S. NORDHEIMER, King Street.

VERY POOR COPY

CHAPTER 7

COPYRIGHT: PIRACY AND COOPERATION

The following chapter has little to do with Canadian musical copyright in practice, although the list of literary publications in most of the copyright acts to be discussed includes "musical composition." Where it is not so included, the following interpretation of the word "book" is given:

... every Volume, part or division of a Volume, Pamphlet, Sheet of Letter Press, Sheet of Music, Map, Chart or Plan separately published.¹

Nor does the chapter have much to do with Canadian publishing as a whole. Legislation in Canada was patterned upon that of Great Britain and, since that country was the first to pass a copyright act, as early as 1709 during the reign of Queen Anne, it is not surprising that such provision was made in its colony. But few Canadians availed themselves of the protection offered, and later legislation seemed more concerned with the protection of British copyright than Canadian. Yet, copyright was an element of publishing history and merits consideration.

The earliest copyright law in ~~Canada~~ was contained in the Provincial Statutes of Lower-Canada enacted in 1832 during the second year of the reign of King William IV by the Governor-in Chief, Matthew Lord Aylmer. The first article of "An Act for the protection of Copy Rights" (2 Geo. 4, c.53),

¹Great Britain, Statutes, 1842 (5 & 6 Vict., c.45) and Canada (Province), Statutes, 1850 (13 & 14 Vict. c.6).

contains the substance of the law:

Be it therefore enacted ... that ... any person or persons resident in this Province, who shall be the author or authors of any book ... or musical composition ... and the executors, administrators or legal assigns of such person or persons, shall have the sole right and liberty of printing, reprinting, publishing and vending such books, ... musical composition ... for a term of twenty-eight years ...

It goes on to set out the conditions for renewal of copyright, the procedures to be followed by the applicant, and the penalties to be imposed upon violators of the Act. Article 8 of the same Act also merits quotation:

And be it further enacted ... that nothing herein contained shall extend to prohibit the importation or vending, printing or publishing of any map, chart, book, musical composition, print or engraving, written, composed or made by any person [not] residing in this Province.²

After the reunification of Upper and Lower Canada under Queen Victoria in 1841, the above Statutes were replaced by the Provincial Statutes of Canada. "An Act for the protection of Copy Rights in this Province" (4 & 5 Vict., c.61) was virtually identical to the repealed Act of 1832.

The intention of both Acts was to protect the intellectual property of the residents of the Province. Legally, nothing prevented the publication or reprinting in Canada of works previously published in the United States or in Europe. The dangers inherent in this permissive legislation were early recognized by Great Britain. Not only was it possible for British works to be reprinted in Canada, but it was also

²The omission of "not" before "residing" is clearly an error which was not made in the French version of the Act.

possible for Canadians to purchase American reprints of British works. Such pirated editions were very attractive to Canadians because they were much less expensive and because they were more quickly available. It was not uncommon for the American reprint to appear in Canadian bookshops before the British original.³

In 1842 "An Act to amend the Law of Copyright"⁴ was passed at Whitehall which prohibited the importing into the United Kingdom or into any part of its possessions abroad any printed works copyrighted in the United Kingdom and reprinted outside of the British Dominions. After much dissatisfaction and protestation from the British colonies in North America,⁵ an amendment to the above Act was passed on July 22, 1847. Unofficially called the Foreign Reprints Act,⁶ it permitted the entry of such reprints provided that British authors would be adequately compensated. This ambiguous legislation took less than a month to pass both Houses of Parliament and little notice was taken of it by British authors and publishers, much to their later regret.⁷ Six days later, the Province of Canada passed a revision to its 1841 Act "... to extend the Provincial Copyright Act to

³James J. Barnes. Authors, Publishers and Politicians. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974.) p.140.

⁴Great Britain, Statutes, 1842. (5 & 6 Vict., c.45).

⁵Barnes, Authors, pp.138-140, 146-147.

⁶Great Britain, Statutes, 1847 (10 & 11 Vict., c.95).

⁷Barnes, Authors, p.148.

persons resident in the United Kingdom, on certain conditions".⁸ The conditions were that the work so protected be printed and published in Canada and that, following the prescribed copyright statement, the name and address of the printer and/or publisher appear. It was not until August 10, 1850 that Canada passed a new Act "... to impose a duty on Foreign re-prints of British Copyright Works"⁹ conforming to the provisions of the Foreign Reprints Act which had been virtually impossible to enforce. It provided for up to 20% duty on the importation of pirated works in Canada for distribution to the legal copyright owner.

The Consolidated Statutes of Canada for 1859 contained "An Act respecting Copyright" (22 Vict., c.81) which reviewed and restated the conditions for copyright protection and the consequences of infringing upon such rights as set out in all the foregoing copyright acts. In brief, a printed work could be entered for copyright by any resident of the Province on the conditions that one copy be deposited in the Office of the Registrar of the Province and one copy in the Library of the Legislative Assembly, and that all copies published bear the prescribed statement of copyright registration. The same rights were available to any British subject residing in Great Britain or Ireland on the added conditions that the work be printed and published in the Province and that the

⁸ Canada (Province), Statutes, 1847 (10 & 11 Vict., c.28).

⁹ Canada (Province), Statutes, 1850 (13 & 14 Vict., c.6).

name and address of the printer and publisher appear following the copyright statement.

When Confederation took place in 1867, the British North America Act declared copyright to be one of the Powers of the Parliament,¹⁰ but there were no changes to the above Copyright Act until the first Session of the first Parliament of Canada when the Copyright Act of 1868¹¹ was passed on May 22.

Although adequate provisions for the protection of copyright existed in Canada, very few authors or publishers took advantage of their rights. The Appendix to the Seventeenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada consists of a list of copyright registrations entered from 1841 to early 1859 numbering 166 in all. Only seven of these are musical works, all of them hymnbooks. The earliest Canadian copyright notice on a piece of sheet music found so far-- Lazare's Canadian National Air-- is dated 1859 and was no doubt entered after the above list was issued. Published in Toronto by A. & S. Nordheimer, it was registered by W. Matthews, the lyricist's husband.

Though little interested in seeking the protection of native copyright laws, Canadian publishers were not disinclined to exploit the benefits of American copyright legislation. Thus, Nordheimer (est. 1844), the most prominent

¹⁰Great Britain, Statutes, 1867 (30 Vict., c.3, art.6: Distribution of Legislative Powers).

¹¹Canada, Statutes, 1868 (31 Vict., c.54).

music publisher of the period under study, began registering his publications for copyright in the Southern District of New York as early as 1846.¹² Since the same residency requirements were attached to the U.S. copyright laws as to the Canadian laws, they were not entered in the Canadian firm's name but in that of Adam Stodart, an important piano manufacturer in New York.¹³ The relationship between Nordheimer and Stodart has not been documented, but it is assumed that Stodart acted as a legal agent for Nordheimer in return for certain considerations; Nordheimer, also in the piano business -- a more lucrative one than sheet music in the mid-19th century -- was an agency for Stodart pianos. Why would a Canadian publisher be more interested in protecting his rights in the United States than in Canada? It was probably purely good business to do so. The sheet music industry was just beginning in Canada and, since there was little competition among the few music publishers, there was no need for protection. But the American music market, already established and growing, must have appeared most attractive to an ambitious newcomer. It would, however, have been commercially futile for him to offer his works for sale

¹²Le songe de Crozier by T. C. Crozier, a Canadian bandmaster, entered on October 23, 1846, and contained in the Library of Congress copyright deposit album M1 A12 I, vol. 13.

¹³Virginia Larkin Redway, Music Directory of Early New York City. (New York: New York Public Library, 1941), p.78; and Daniel Spillane, History of the American Pianoforte. (New York: D. Spillane, 1890), pp.180-183.

there without legal rights; they would have been considered public domain and therefore eligible for pirating.

It was a disagreement on the sale price of such pirated editions which helped create the Board of Music Trade in 1855,¹⁴ an association of major American music publishers whose aims were to fix prices and to control the reprinting of non-copyright music. Nordheimer became a member in 1859,¹⁵ the only Canadian in the association. Acceptance by the Board meant that Nordheimer had already published "at least 1,000 engraved pages of music"¹⁶ which, at an average of three pages per piece, would mean over 300 pieces. The Board published a catalogue of its available music in 1871. It included 272 pieces ascribed to Nordheimer, the large majority of which were undoubtedly published before Confederation.

The beginning of Canadian copyright registration for sheet music coincides with Nordheimer's entry in the Board of Music Trade. Both events in 1859 might constitute the external acknowledgment that the Canadian industry had entered a period of greater productivity and also, therefore, of competition. In 1866 and 1867 there are examples of double copyright entries, one entered in the Office of the

¹⁴ Dena Epstein, "Introduction", Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Works Published by the Board of Music Trade of the United States of America, 1870. (New York: Da Capo, 1973), p.viii.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.xxiii.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.viii.

Registrar of the Province of Canada and the other in a State District Court. There was nothing in the Provincial Copyright Act to prevent residents from registering in Canada works printed outside the Province, but apparently it had not been considered necessary until then.

While most of the Nordheimer publications have a single imprint and some, especially the later ones, have subsidiary imprints indicating agencies, there are a few with double imprints, such as Les jolis oiseaux by Linter which clearly states: "Toronto, published by A. & S. Nordheimer" and "New York, published by Wm. Hall & Son, 239 Broadway." At times an attempt has been made to hide the double association as in Henry Schallehn's Cathcart Polkas on which the second imprint has been almost completely effaced. Enough of a suggestion remains to allow a reconstruction of the Wm. Hall imprint quoted above, while the legal deposit copy at the Library of Congress of the Linter piece mentioned above bears only the New York imprint. Les jolis oiseaux, as well as Kühner's My Own Galop, and the Cathcart Polkas, were all entered by Adam Stodart on May 27, 1948 and bear succeeding deposit numbers, 168, 169 and 170, respectively.¹⁷ Since the last two at the Library of Congress and the first at the Toronto Public Library all bear double imprints with Nordheimer appearing first, and since Wm. Hall always entered his own works for copyright, being a resident of New York, it may be

¹⁷ Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Music Division, M1 A12 I, vol. 22.

concluded that the Nordheimer imprint on the Linter piece in the Library of Congress had been suppressed before the deposit copy was printed. Why either imprint would be effaced or what arrangements might have been made between the two publishers, or, indeed, between them and Adam Stodart must remain, for now, unanswered questions.

Another area which needs to be investigated further and which might provide an answer to the above questions is the actual physical production of the music. Most of Nordheimer's publications -- and, it can safely be said, all those registered in New York -- were engraved and probably printed in New York. The State laws demanded not only that the copyright holder be a resident, but that the work being copyrighted had been "made" in the State. Many of the works published during this period bear the name of the music engraver (as opposed to the cover engraver or lithographer) on the last page of music. Some of these names -- Ackerman, Birch, Quidor and Wakelam, the more frequently occurring ones -- have all been identified through Dichter and Shapiro's¹⁸ most useful work on early American sheet music as being Americans. It is possible that the plates were engraved in the States and delivered up to Canada for printing, but that is highly unlikely and not only because of the above-mentioned law. If there was any commercial reciprocity taking place -- a most probable assumption -- the number of copies needed in

¹⁸ Harry Dichter and Elliott Shapiro, Early American Sheet Music: Its Lure and Its Lore, 1768-1889. (New York: Bowker, 1941).

the States would be more than in Canada, considering the size of the market. And since there were more printing facilities available in New York and Boston, the two major collaborating areas, it is therefore more likely that the music was also printed in the States and a pre-arranged number of copies delivered to the Canadian publisher.

Further evidence of collaboration between the United States and Canada are the publishing activities of two other important music publishers. Adélard J. Boucher of Montreal (est. 1862) never registered his works for copyright. A large proportion of his output comprised reprints of American publications, as evidenced by the presence of plate numbers which can be traced. Sometimes the original publisher is named among the subsidiary imprints which precludes the possibility of piracy. Henry Prince, also of Montreal (est. 1854), published works bearing either American copyright notices or plate numbers. But Prince was also a composer, and many of his compositions, including some of his most patriotic ones, were published in the States with American imprints, his name appearing in the subsidiary imprints as an agent. It was no doubt more prestigious to be published in the States and probably the arrangement was more financially attractive to Prince.

From the unanswered questions, uncertainties and assumptions presented thus far, a picture emerges of the interdependence and cooperation which existed between the United States and Canada despite the Imperial and Provincial

legislation attempting to protect and reinforce the colony's relationship with its mother country. Evidence of the futility of the laws was the formation of the Anglo-Canadian Music Publishers' Association in 1885. In reporting the new company the American Art Journal declared:

As was anticipated, the work of the association is aimed less against Canadian publishers than against American firms whose cheap reprints of British copyrights cross the border and thence penetrate into England.¹⁹

It went on to quote from the association's prospectus:

The principal object for which this company is formed is the printing, publication and sale of English musical copyrights in Canada. The Canada Copyright Act of 1875 gives power to the copyright owner on printing and publication in Canada to stop all further importations of American piratical or other reprints of such works into the Dominion of Canada, and thus restores to the English owner a right of which he has for so many years been deprived by unwise and unworkable legislation.

That year, music publishing in Canada increased by about 500%.

A large amount of the music published in Canada between 1800 and 1867, especially from 1840 on, was non-copyright European music. This continued to be so until the signing by Great Britain in 1886 of the Berne Convention, whereby all the signatories agreed to reciprocal respect of copyright, which was binding also for Canada as a British possession.

¹⁹ American Art Journal, XLII (March 28, 1886), 77.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

From its ambitious beginnings in Quebec, music publishing in Canada expanded not only geographically-- to Montreal and on to Toronto-- but also in quantity and in content. The earliest needs were for hymnbooks and missals, a reflection of both the French Catholic and English Protestant piety and appreciation for their respective religions. Elementary music treatises and tutors followed closely, often accompanying the foregoing since such instruction was necessary for communal singing and generally given by the church choir director. By the end of the 1830s, with the advent of the Literary Garland, publication began of music for other than church needs. The last to emerge, secular music for home entertainment and for public assembly, soon overtook the religious and didactic publications and became the mainstay of the swiftly developing industry.

The widespread assumption that all music in early Canada was folk music of the oral tradition and religious chants must therefore be corrected. It is true that in the rural areas this was generally so, but the staple of the ever-increasing urban population was national airs, ballads, operatic excerpts, part songs, quadrilles, polkas, and other dance music, most of which had come to Canada in printed form. The simpler pieces found their way onto the music racks of the growing number of pianofortes or parlour organs increasingly found in middle-class homes.

The popularity of such music was evident to the music dealers who were importing it from Europe and the United States and so they became publishers. Although much of their product was reprints of popular European compositions, by Bellini and Meyerbeer for example, a fair amount was by Canadian composers who responded to the so familiar needs of their compatriots. Thus, the large majority of Canadian sheet music publications was dance music, patriotic songs and romantic ballads, frequently with locally pertinent titles, e.g., Les jolies filles du Canada, the Montreal Bazaar Polka, Ontario Quick March, and the Grand Trunk Waltzes. The music was naive but not vulgar as it tended to become toward the end of the century with increased mass production and a larger "nouveau riche" population.

A modest contribution to art music was made by the publication of works by such Canadian composers as Dessane, Sabatier and J. P. Clarke. Having such composers in their midst, and visibly so since they usually performed their own music, raised the consciousness and self-esteem of Canadians. It also created an increased demand for serious music instruction which in turn increased the profits of music and instrument dealers.

The publication of sheet music was never a profitable undertaking. Only the sale of imported music and musical instruments could permit a dealer occasionally to publish some music himself. But also, publishing was probably as good a source of advertisement as any. Having his name on the title

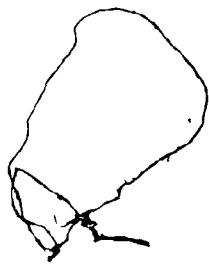
page must have raised the dealer in the esteem of his clients. Collaboration with American publishers made this form of advertising less costly.

Nevertheless, straightforward methods of promotion were used by Canadian music publishers and dealers. Advertisements in newspapers and directories were paid for by the more prosperous firms. (See Pls. IX and X, pp. 67 and 69.) Others sent in notices of new shipments of music and of new publications to magazines and newspapers which were occasionally printed as news items. Some used the backs of their sheet music to list other music available at their shops -- rarely their own publications. This was the closest that any of them came to printing a catalogue; no separate music catalogues pre-dating Confederation are known to exist.

The geographical and linguistic aspects of music publishing in Canada are inseparable. It began in Quebec which was largely French-speaking and therefore the majority of music books and periodicals were in French. As the industry spread to Montreal, there was an equalizing trend which reflected the bilingual nature of the city, but the majority of sheet music songs were in English and the greater number of books and periodicals were in French. And finally, in Toronto which had the least number of music publishers, all were in English. It is interesting that the only publisher of sheet music in that city became the most active and prolific, producing more by far than the combined total of all other pre-Confederation sheet music publishers.

Something more might be said of the nature of the music produced by the two linguistic groups. There were patriotic and commemorative songs in both languages; so too were there occasional religious songs. There were probably more sentimental romances and ballads by French-Canadian publishers, but only marginally, while the majority of dance music was probably published by English-Canadians. But a better study of this must be made which should follow as complete an inventory as possible of all Canadian music publications.

It must be recognized that the collecting of early Canadian music has not been long under way. It is hoped that the present study will stimulate more interest in this field, long neglected by historians, collectors and librarians alike. It will be found most fascinating, an almost unexplored territory which can provide an insight into so many aspects of Canadian life: social preoccupations, musical taste, legal rights, printing and publishing, marketing, patriotism, and artistic expression. It is an ideal approach, both visual and aural, to a better understanding of Canada's past and, through it, a keener appreciation of its present.



APPENDIX A

DIRECTORY OF CANADIAN SHEET MUSIC PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS (1840-1868)

Unless otherwise indicated, the information included herein has been extracted from available city directories. Inclusive dating has been used if the address is the same after a gap in the sources. An address change between two available but not consecutive volumes is indicated by interrupted dating. The dates given are the years of publication of the directories and are inclusive. It must be remembered that the information may have been gathered as much as a year before publication--the reason for including 1868 addresses--and some establishments were extremely mobile. Allowance must also be made for the possibility of errors both in the collecting and the reporting of information.

- Where it has been possible to verify, a change of numbering and not an actual move is indicated by an asterisk (*).

AUBIN, N.

Quebec

Aubin was listed in the city directory only in the two years given below, and then as editor of two different newspapers. No listing for Aubin & Rowen was found, but their address in 1840 was printed on the last page of Le Dépit amoureux (Pl. III): No. 2, Rue Grant, St. Roch [Quebec].

| | |
|------|-------------------------------|
| 1848 | St. Eustache str., St. John's |
| 1850 | 11 Mountain st. |

BOUCHER & MANSEAU

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1862-1864 | 131 Notre Dame |
|-----------|----------------|

BOUCHER, ADELARD J.

| | |
|-----------|-------------------|
| 1864 | 176 Notre Dame |
| 1865-1866 | 260 Notre Dame* |
| 1867-1868 | 130 Gt. St. James |

The Montreal directory did not include a street guide until 1865 and it is uncertain whether the change from 131 to 176 Notre Dame was a move. It is assumed that it was since Boucher's home address remained the same and changed number only with the next change of address. The firm is listed for the

last time in the 1969 directory, but the music store did not close its doors until May, 1975.

BROUSSEAU, J. T. Quebec

1850-1857 9 Buade street, U.T.
1858-1861 7 Buade street, u.t.

CREMAZIE, J. & O. Quebec

1844 St. Famille street
1847-1862 10-12 Fabrique street

DESSANE, ANTOINE Quebec

1850 St. Helen St. U.T.
1858-1860 4 St. Olivier st., s.j.
1861-1865 3 St. Olivier

Listings for Dessane resume only in the 1870 directory and continue until 1872. Thereafter, only Mrs. Antoine Dessane is listed.

ELLIS, JOHN & CO. Toronto

1846-1856 8 King St. West
1859-1868 11 King St. West

It is reported that Ellis set up his engraving shop in 1845 on King Street, just west of Yonge, but there was no directory for that year.

GOULD & HILL Montreal

1864 59 Great St. James
1865-1868 115 Great St. James*

The firm continued at the same address until 1870.

GROSSMAN, PETER Hamilton

1853 Upper John
1856 36 King
1858 James, opp. Mechanics Hall
1862-1863 James n. Merrick,
1865-1868 61 James north

The last listing was under August Grossman and is believed to be an error since it resumed in 1872 under Peter Grossman and continued into the 1890s.

HERBERT, J. W.

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 1842-1844 | 110 Notre Dame |
| 1847-1853 | 113 Notre Dame |
| 1854-1861 | 131 & 133 Notre Dame* |
| 1862 | 161 Notre Dame (Cathedral block) |
| 1864-1865 | Thornton's Music Store, Victoria Square |

The earliest known address for Herbert was found in a running advertisement in La Minerve from June 1, 1837: Magasin de la Lyre d'Or, Place d'Armes.

LAURENT & LAFORCE

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1861 | 169 Notre Dame |
| 1862-1864 | 131 Notre Dame |

LAURENT, LAFORCE & CO.

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1865-1866 | 233 Notre Dame |
| 1867 | 302 Notre Dame |
| 1868 | 225 Notre Dame |

The firm continued its retail business, becoming Laurent, Laforce & Bourdeau in 1888, until 1901.

LOVELL & GIBSON

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| 1842-1843 | St. Nicholas street |
| 1844-1845 | 7 St. Nicholas |
| 1847-1850 | 5 and 7 St. Nicholas |

LOVELL, JOHN

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
| 1852 | 5 and 7 St. Nicholas |
| 1854-1855 | 18 and 20 St. Nicholas |
| 1856 | 16 St. Nicholas |
| 1858-1864 | 16, 18, 20 and 22 St. Nicholas |
| 1865-1868 | 23 and 25 St. Nicholas |

Although John Lovell began his printing career in Montreal in 1835, the earliest address found is in the Literary Garland, 1838: St-Nicholas Street. With the volume for 1842, the imprint becomes Lovell & Gibson at the same address. The firm continued without interruption and is still active at this date.

LOVELL & GIBSON

Toronto

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1850 | Front street |
| 1856 | 88 Yonge street, e.s. |
| 1859 | 66 and 68 Yonge st. |
| 1861 | 66 Yonge street, w.s. |
| 1862-1867 | 67 Yonge |

MORGAN, ROBERT

Quebec

| | |
|-----------|-------------|
| 1861 | 39 St. John |
| 1862-1864 | 27 St. John |
| 1865 | 30 St. John |
| 1866-1868 | 28 St. John |

Morgan continued to run a music store until 1884.

NORDHEIMER, A. & S.

Toronto

| | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| 1846-1868 | 15 King Street East |
|-----------|---------------------|

The firm continued under that name until 1899 when it became Nordheimer Piano and Music Co. and remained at the above address until 1916. It continued in business until 1937.

NORDHEIMER, A. & S.

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 1848 | 106 Notre Dame street |
| 1852 | Odd Fellows' Hall, Great St. James |
| 1854 | 43 Great St. James |
| 1855 | 51 and 59 Great St. James |
| 1856-1858 | 57 and 59 Great St. James |
| 1865-1867 | 119 Great St. James |

There was no further listing until 1880 when it continued to be listed until 1911. The Montreal branch is the only one here listed since some publications originated from that city.

PEARCE, S. T.

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| 1858-1859 | 19 Great St. James |
|-----------|--------------------|

PEARCE & WARREN

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1861-1862 | 51 Craig street |
|-----------|-----------------|

No publications have been found with the imprint of the second firm; it is included here for the sake of continuity.

PRINCE, HENRY

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1854-1864 | 145 Notre Dame |
| 1865 | 249 Notre Dame* |
| 1866-1868 | 305 Notre Dame |

Prince continued in business until 1888, possibly the year of his death since the 1889 directory lists "Mrs. L. Prince, wid Henry."

SENECAL & DANIEL

Montreal

| | |
|------|----------------|
| 1854 | 70 Notre Dame |
| 1855 | 22 St. Vincent |
| 1856 | 4 St. Vincent |

SENECAL, DANIEL & CO.

| | |
|-----------|---------------|
| 1858-1859 | 4 St. Vincent |
|-----------|---------------|

SENECAL, EUSEBE

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1860-1864 | 4 St. Vincent |
| 1865-1868 | 10 St. Vincent* |

The firm continued in business until 1902.

SMITH, GUSTAVE & M. LEPROHON

Montreal

| | |
|------|-------------------|
| 1864 | 14 1/2 Craig west |
|------|-------------------|

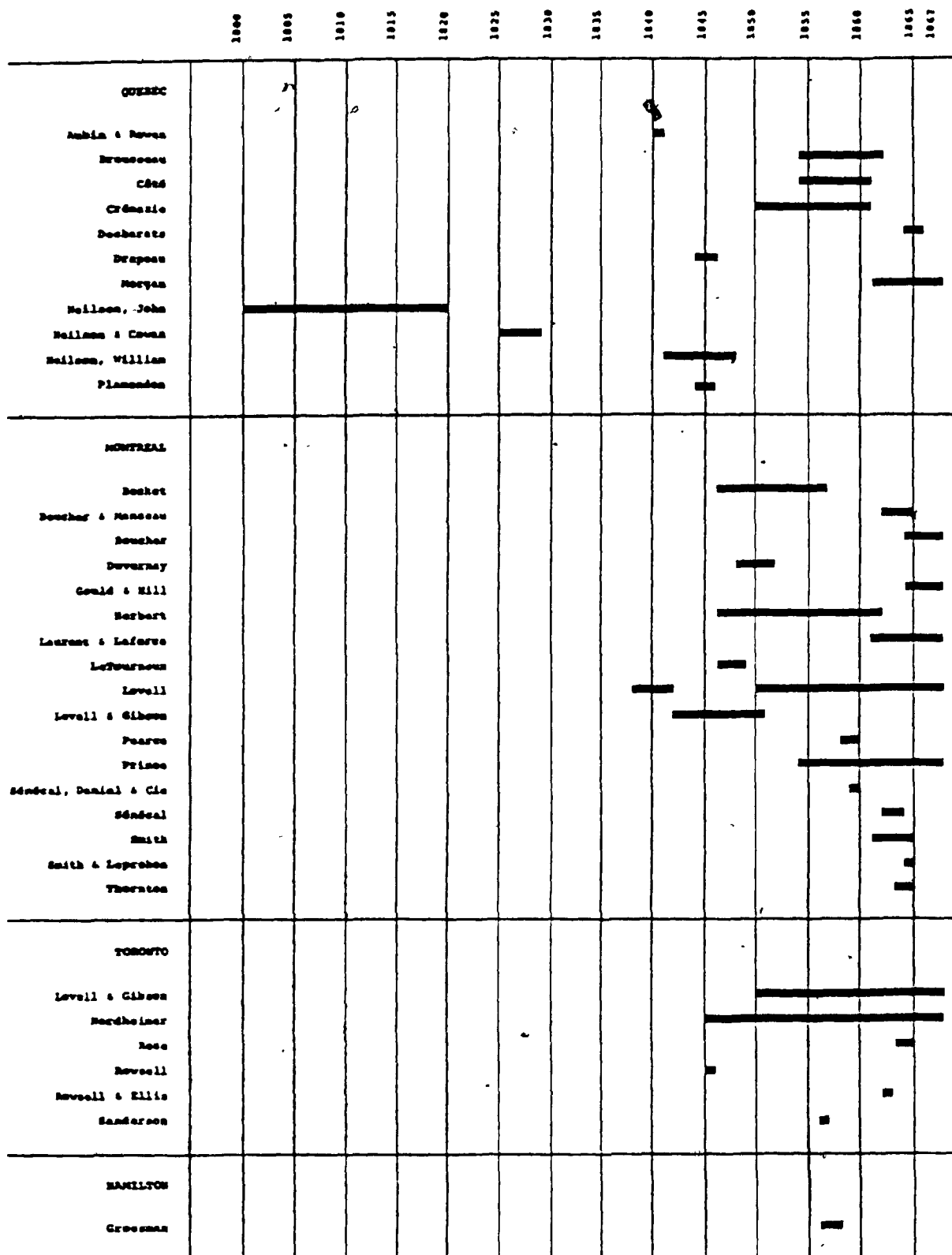
Earlier in 1864, the firm was located at Sault-au-Recollet, outside of Montreal. The advertisement of its move to Montreal and subsequent advertisements in Les Beaux-Arts gives the address as 144 Craig.

THORNTON, E.

Montreal

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1856 | 33 Sanguinet |
| 1858 | 79 German |
| 1860 | 6 St. Elizabeth |
| 1861 | 55 St. Charles Borromée |
| 1862 | 6 St. Elizabeth |
| 1863-1864 | 3 Victoria Building, Victoria Sq. |

SYNOPTIC CHART OF CANADIAN MUSIC PUBLISHERS (1800-1867)*



*The time frame shown for each publisher is that during which it is known or can be reasonably assumed that music was published.

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