John P.L. Roberts, the CBC/Radio Canada, and Art Music

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Edited by

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With assistance from Robert W. Bailey

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For John and Christina Roberts

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INTRODUCTION

FRIEDEMANN SALLIS
AND REGINA LANDWEHR

This book examines the impact of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Société Radio Canada (CBC/SRC) on the development of art music in Canada during the broadcaster's first fifty years (1936-1986). Though it does not exhaust the topic, our book opens a variety of perspectives pertaining to it. In so doing, the authors will also examine the achievement of one man. John Peter Lee Roberts played a crucially important role in commissioning, disseminating and promoting new music by Canadian composers. In 2014, he donated his papers to the University of Calgary. The following year, a two-day symposium was organized to celebrate his accomplishments, which in turn led to the publication of this book.[1]

For just over thirty years (1955-1987), Roberts worked tirelessly as a producer, administrator and adviser at the CBC to bring the music of Canada to the world and the world of music to Canadians. He succeeded in this endeavour and the country owes him a debt of gratitude. A good example of the scope of his achievement was the first World Music Week/Semaine mondiale de la musique, a biennial congress established by the International Music Council and inaugurated in Canada in 1975.[2] The purpose was to foster constructive exchange among musicians from five continents. As chairman, Roberts organized dozens of events which took place in five cities across the country, including presentations by the Ksan dancers of the Gitxsan First Nation (British Columbia), the Burmese State Theatre, as well as numerous exhibitions and concerts featuring the music of Canadian composers (among them Harry Somers's opera *Louis Riel* and a complete performance of *Lustro*, a triptych for eight singers, orchestra and tape by R. Murray Schafer).[3] The focal point of the week (29 September – 5 October) was an international conference entitled 'Music as a Dimension of Life' attended by nearly 500 delegates from fifty countries. Roberts now considers World Music Week to be his most important achievement. In fact, it was one among many.[4]

As necessary and overdue as it is, our book is more than a laudatio to Roberts. It also examines the contributions of the state broadcaster to the emergence of an art music that sought to capture something of a local sense of identity.[5] The Corporation was able to do this because during its first half century, it not only survived on a continent notoriously sceptical of state sponsored intervention, it thrived. The authors of this book will look at the successes, challenges, difficulties and failures of the work done by countless men and women, who, in devoting energy and resources to the creation, performance, dissemination and preservation of music, have left an indelible mark on our cultural landscape. Our book focuses on Toronto and Montreal, the centres of the English and French language services of the CBC and Radio Canada. The former was also where most of Roberts's career in broadcasting took place. Though he did work for a short period in Winnipeg and had strong ongoing contacts with Vancouver, no attempt has been made to achieve regional representativity. The space available in this book is simply inadequate, and in any case the result would be either a huge, unattractive catalogue of facts or a superficial survey, useful for decorating coffee tables, but not for much else. We sincerely hope that our book will encourage the writing of others that will eventually encompass the diversity of the country.

Timeframe and context

The fifty years from the founding of the CBC/SRC in 1936 to the mid-1980s constitute the chronological focus of this book. During this period Canada changed profoundly and for the better. In Quebec, the Révolution tranquille (ca. 1960-70), ushered in by the government of Jean Lesage, changed the face of the province; the large French-Canadian majority began to self-identify as Québécois, with political ramifications that were felt across the country. One of the early sparks that contributed to igniting this social upheaval was the *Refus Global* (1948), a manifesto written by Paul-Émile Borduas and signed by numerous fellow artists, including Jean-Paul Riopelle. Borduas unequivocally rejected the traditional values of Québec society, underwritten by the clergy and the conservative regime of Maurice Duplessis. In no uncertain terms, he denounced the "décadence chrétienne" and "assassinat massif du présent et du futur à coups redoublés du passé."[6] This short text (just over twelve pages in its current published form) has been described as "the single most important social document in Quebec history and the most important aesthetic statement a Canadian has ever made."[7] At about the same time, the British-oriented Anglophilia, solidly entrenched in the upper echelons

of English-speaking Canada since the nineteenth century, collapsed. On 17 April 1982, the Canadian government under Pierre Elliott Trudeau transferred the country's highest law, the British North America Act, from the authority of the British Parliament to federal and provincial legislatures. Most of the population was surprised (and somewhat bemused) to discover that until then they had been British subjects.

The 1980s also bore witness to changes on many levels at the CBC. During that decade digital devices began to replace analogue technology for the production, diffusion and preservation of music. The 1982 *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee* (chaired by Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert) declared that art and culture were ends in themselves and should not be used as instruments for building and orienting a sense of national unity (an idea that had held sway at the CBC since it was founded).[8] Finally, that same year Glenn Gould suffered a stroke and passed away. From 1950, when he gave his first recital broadcast by CBC radio, until his death, no musician (composer or performer) had a greater impact on music in Canada, and for most of that time Gould's closest confident and friend was John P. L. Roberts. Five years later Roberts left Ontario to become Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at the University of Calgary.

As one would expect, the economic, social and cultural changes that swept across Canada in mid-century had a strong impact on the arts. Indeed when Roberts arrived in 1955, Canada was on the cusp of a cultural flowering sponsored by unprecedented state intervention.[9] The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1949-51, known as the Massey Commission after its president Vincent Massey) promoted the idea that art can be a nation-building tool, and, in the Canadian context, it should be used to construct defences against the deleterious impact of American popular culture. In the wake of the Report, the government invested heavily to create the National Library of Canada (1953), and to establish the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities, and Social Sciences (1957).[10] It also increased funding for the National Film Board, the National Gallery, the Public Archives of Canada and the CBC/SRC, enabling the latter to dramatically expand its services. This direct intervention by the federal government was unprecedented. Before World War II, the sustained, co-ordinated government support for the arts and culture was non-existent, and private patronage was neither widespread nor systematic.[11]

The new funding had a transformative impact on the development of art music, but this was not the first flourishing of art and culture in Canada. To better understand the situation in the mid-twentieth century we need to briefly step back about sixty years. During the decades leading up

to World War I, massive British investment opened the West and industrialized the East. Increased economic activity and rapid growth (from 1900 to 1910 the population expanded by 34 per cent) had an indirect impact on the development of cultural infrastructure and brought the colonial phase of art music in Canada to its climax.[12] Toronto's Massey Hall, which opened on 14 June 1894, was built with the proceeds from the sale of farm equipment, donated by Hart Almerrin Massey (grandfather of Vincent Massey). In October 1910, The Montreal Musical Society (renamed the Montreal Opera Company/Compagnie d'opéra de Montréal the following year) launched an ambitious eight-week season presenting forty-eight performances of thirteen operas including Giacomo Puccini's *Tosca* and *Madame Butterfly*, and Jules Massenet's *Manon*. The Company, made up of 100 members of whom twenty-three were professional singers mostly from abroad, was supported financially by Frank Meighen, the president of the Lake of the Woods Milling Company.[13] In its first three seasons, the Opera Company was a critical success, producing 300 performances in Montreal and on tour, but it never turned profit. Writing in 1960, Helmut Kallmann described it as "the most ambitious opera enterprise ever undertaken in Canada."[14]

By mid-century, the imperial splendour that briefly shone in Montreal and Toronto had faded. Against the background of Edwardian expansion and development, Canada now appeared rather tawdry. Indeed, for young musicians seeking professional training in the mid-twentieth century, Toronto looked more like a cultural backwater in a crumbling empire. Evidence of this can be found in documents referring to the professional study of music at the University of Toronto at mid-century.[15] Fleeing the Nazis, Oskar Morawetz caught up with his family in Toronto in June 1940. Morawetz had misgivings about his father's decision to seek refuge in Canada and as it turned out, they were not unfounded.[16] Born in Czechoslovakia, he had received excellent training as a pianist and conductor in Prague, Vienna and Paris. Following his father's advice, Morawetz enrolled at the University of Toronto, where his focus turned to composition. Looking back forty years later, he stated unequivocally that the teaching of music at the University was "very primitive at the time … terribly bad." After six lessons with "a very average teacher" (likely Leo Smith), whose instruction consisted of pointing out parallel fifths and octaves, Morawetz left. He proceeded to teach himself at home and quickly obtained his bachelor's degree.[17] Morawetz's disparaging view of professional training in music at the University of Toronto in the 1940s is corroborated by Kallmann.[18] In a typescript dated 29 November 1949 (unpublished until 2013), he painted a candid picture of a decrepit Music Department stuck in an Edwardian past.[19] Though the aging faculty were

(or had been) competent musicians, as scholars and teachers they were weak to say the least. Kallmann's most scathing criticism was reserved for Healey Willan, who lectured on music history: "an old and perhaps tired man" who appeared to have no knowledge of either historical methods or musicology.[20] In Kallmann's view, Willan and his colleagues were caricatures for whom teaching at university amounted to reading aloud ideas published by others and getting paid for it.[21] To be sure, Kallmann was neither the first, nor the last graduate to look back in disgust at those who had tormented him academically. Also, Willan's generation holds no monopoly on armchair musicology, which has plagued the profession since it first emerged in Austria and Germany in the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, Kallmann's comments are precise and correspond remarkably well with reports by others. Looking back at his studies at the University of Toronto fifty years later, John Beckwith noted that taking a degree in music was a thoroughly British experience.

> Thursdays you went in threes and fours to Healey Willan, who blew pipe smoke at you, told witty anecdotes about English notables of the turn of the century and called you 'old man.' Mondays you went in similar small convoys to Leo Smith, who stroked his white pencil-line moustache, caressed the piano keys, and called you 'dear boy'.[22]

In 1950, Barbara Pentland went a step further than her male colleagues and published her complaints. In an oft-cited article, entitled "Canadian Music 1950," she claimed to be part of the first generation of Canadian composers. With Willan clearly in her sights, Pentland accused a clique of "imported English organists" for being responsible for the poor state of musical culture in Canada. She complained that an overly long dependence on "a *mother* country" (Pentland's emphasis) had allowed resources of native talent to be stifled and exported.[23] Indeed, she baldly asserted that the English organists had made no creative contribution of any general value. As a result, she and her colleagues had no older generation of Canadian composers to emulate or admire.[24] Looking back from the comfortable distance of the twenty-first century, these judgements may seem a bit harsh, but that does not make them untrue. In 1988, Kallmann confirmed Pentland's critique, albeit more diplomatically. On the one hand, he noted that in 1952, when he revised the CBC's *Catalogue of Canadian Composers* (initially published in 1947), he found it difficult to include and exclude composers based on the scope and quality of their production, because "very few of the works were available for inspection."[25] On the other, he observed that the retarded development of composition in Canada was caused by the lack "of teachers familiar with and devoted to the new

compositional techniques of Hindemith, Schoenberg, *Les Six* of France, Bartók or Stravinsky." [26]

Of course, it is highly unlikely that at mid-century Beckwith, Pentland, Kallmann or Morawetz would have received much sympathy from Toronto's musical establishment or its audience. For the happy few with the education and the means to be able to enjoy the bits and pieces of the imaginary museum of musical works then available in the city, Pentland's critique must have seemed unwarranted. A recent interview given by Vincent Massey Tovell (a scion of the Massey family) provides evidence. Schooled at Upper Canada College, Tovell had a privileged upbringing. As a child, he travelled frequently in Europe, was able to enjoy a collection of contemporary art at home and occasionally heard the Hart House String Quartet rehearse on the premises. When asked about musical life in Toronto in the 1930s and 1940s, Tovell replied: "Toronto already had an advanced musical culture, with much more going on than people generally assume today [2010]. There was a great deal of good music available."[27] From the plush perspective of the Massey Tovell household, this was no doubt true, but it would have been cold comfort for young composers (Pentland, Harry Somers and their teacher John Weinzweig to name only a few) working to position themselves in some form of musical modernism. Their problems were of no interest to the general public for whom "modernism could be defined as any kind of culture they disliked."[28]

Furthermore, Tovell's evaluation of Toronto's musical culture, should be set against those of outside observers. Joyce Atkins, a British writer who passed through Toronto in 1949-50, was decidedly unimpressed. She noted that the programmes played by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra were "similar to what one might expect to find in a provincial town in England … One rarely finds anything which might be called 'adventurous'."[29] She did occasionally find examples of first-rate chamber music, but unfortunately audiences for this type of music were very small. "Canadians, on the whole, prefer something a bit more spectacular."[30] Indeed, in Atkins's view a large portion of the population of Toronto "seems to believe that nothing can possibly be worth while which does not bring in dollars, and considers listening to music a complete waste of time."[31]

The Canadian League of Composers and the emergence of modernism

The Canadian League of Composers was founded in Toronto by Weinzweig and some of his former students (notably Somers and Samuel Dolin) in 1951 during the prosperous post-war period in which a better

future could not only be imagined, it was being built.[32] At the time, modern music was by no means absent in Canada. Ravel performed his compositions on a tour of Canadian cities in 1928 and Ernest MacMillan invited Stravinsky to conduct the Toronto Symphony in performances of *Oiseau de feu* and *Petrouchka* in 1937. During the interwar years, Léo-Pol Morin and Alberto Guerrero included the new music of Debussy, Fauré, Milhaud, Poulenc, Ravel, Roussel, Satie and Stravinsky in their piano recitals, and Toronto's Hart House String Quartet occasionally performed works by Bartók, Hindemith, Honegger, Malipiero, Prokofiev and Schoenberg. Nevertheless, Beckwith was correct in asserting that musical modernism came to Canada, "rather late in the day," during the 1930s and 1940s.[33] Music by Canadian composers was also occasionally performed both in Canada and abroad. Jean-Marie Beaudet (then Director of Music for the entire CBC/SRC, see chapter two) conducted the Czech Philharmonic in the first European concert made up entirely of music by Canadian composers during the Prague Spring in 1946.[34] In Canada, works by Canadians were highlighted in a concert performed in January 1948 by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and sponsored by the Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada (CAPAC). In March 1950 (the month in which Pentland's article was published), an unprecedented and highly ambitious festival, including the First Symposium of Canadian Contemporary Music, took place in Vancouver. The four-day event featured the music of thirty-three living Canadian composers in a wide variety of styles. At the Symposium, Weinzweig famously expressed the frustration of many when he observed that Canadian composers had the distinction of being "the most unpublished, unheard, unperformed and unpaid composers in the Western world."[35] Clearly, if their music was occasionally performed, this only whetted the appetite for more.

According to Weinzweig, the League's founding members were dedicated to what he called "the new sound" by which he meant a modernist style based primarily on the work of Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Bartók.[36] At the same time, the League claimed that its vocation going forward was to create a national organization committed to stylistic and regional inclusiveness. The desire to promote the cause of composers generally, coupled with a strong bias toward younger composers employing modern styles and techniques (especially those of the Weinzweig circle in Toronto) resulted in a tension that shaped the League's activities during its first decade and would continue to haunt the concept of 'Canadian music' going forward.

Despite repeated claims of inclusivity, the League's founders tended towards a 'tabula rasa' approach with regard to the organization's identity.[37]

Nothing made this clearer than the policy, adopted at the League's annual meeting in 1953, to exclude composers older than sixty years of age. For Benita Wolters-Fredlund, this blatantly exclusive policy can be understood as a "manifestation of the resentments and suspicions of the founders of the league—young Toronto composers associated with John Weinzweig—toward an older, conservative musical leadership in that city, especially Healey Willan, Leo Smith, Arnold Walter, and Sir Ernest MacMillan."[38] In truth, the League was perfectly justified. Willan and his colleagues were openly hostile to the new music of the twentieth century and dismissed the young modernists as ultra-radicals.[39] In its decision, the so-called "Weinzweig gang" simply provided the Willan establishment with a taste of its own medicine. In an interview published in 1951, Willan asserted that modern music is "noisome, shows a complete disregard for form" and added: "Of course, if you tear anything up by the roots it is bound to die!"[40] In gesture of conciliation, the League bestowed honorary membership on Willan and Claude Champagne (then the two most widely known Canadian composers) in 1955. When he was told, Willan testily replied, "tell me, does this mean I have to write like you chaps now?"[41]

In rejecting the old guard, the League effectively turned its back on a type of British modernism for which Willan's compositions provide a good example. Although the lion's share of his prolific output (ca. 850 works, much of which were choral pieces intended for the Anglican service) was composed in Toronto, the music has no particular relationship with Canada. His style of writing owes much to the music of Richard Wagner, Edward Elgar, as well as that of Hubert Parry and Charles Stanford.[42] It is rooted in an idea of 'Great' Britain and is symptomatic of an era during which British culture dominated the Dominion. Similar music would have been composed and performed in Sydney, Cape Town, Hong Kong or anywhere people congregated around the flag on which the sun would never set; but of course, it did.

If the founding members of the League drew a hard line between themselves and their older adversaries, they were much less clear on what the musical modernism that they promoted should be and struggled with the notion of inclusivity. On the one hand, the League did admit composers writing in a wide variety of styles, including those with more conservative aesthetic outlooks. Godfrey Ridout, a student of Willan, was invited to join in 1951, even though his music retains echoes of the British tradition his teacher so ardently defended. On the other hand, it refused admittance to Graham George. Yet another English-born organist, George was not too old, and his modernist credentials were beyond reproach (he had studied with Hindemith at Yale in the 1950s). The primary reason for the refusal of his

application likely lies with a short article, published in 1955 in which George severely criticized the music of many prominent members of the League, including Weinzweig.[43] Somewhat later, Udo Kasemets and Pierre Mercure quit because they felt the League was too conservative.[44] By the early 1950s, young composers in Quebec were already embracing serialism, aleatory techniques and electroacoustic music. Serge Garant, having returned from Paris where he studied with Olivier Messiaen and met Pierre Boulez and Karlheinz Stockhausen, organized, together with François Morel and Gilles Tremblay, what is currently considered to be the first concert of contemporary music in Quebec, featuring works by Boulez, Messiaen and Anton Webern in 1954.[45] Just as the League rejected British modernism, the young Quebec composers (following Boulez's example) turned their backs on the neo-classicism of the interwar years.

The problematic concept of 'Canadian music'

Pentland's plea in 1950 for support and recognition quoted above contributed to the emergence of what a new generation of composers was pleased to call 'Canadian music'. If we observe the concept from a certain distance, it seems unproblematic: i.e. Canadian music = music composed in Canada by Canadians. Indeed, the term continues to be used uncritically by a significant portion of the country's musical community as well as the listening public. On closer examination, the concept is difficult to pin down.

The 1951 constitution makes clear from the start that the League was to be devoted to facilitating and promoting the composition and performance of music by Canadian composers, as well as stimulating "the interest of the people of Canada in the work of their composers." Both the relatively young members and their older adversaries firmly believed that a national music culture of some kind would surely emerge at some point, rather like vegetation in a recently planted garden. The opening of the Canadian Music Centre in 1959 (a bilingual institution with national aspirations) appeared to confirm that the emergence was at hand. But the goal has not and likely will not be achieved for a number of reasons that are germane to the recent history of art music in Canada and to the content of this book.

First, national significance or national colouring in music are historical phenomena: rather than lording over music cultures, they emerge according to specific conditions and die away once those conditions no longer exist. The ideology of nationalism arose among the relatively well-educated European bourgeoisie during the late eighteenth century in the urban centres of the newly formed nation-states. The concept postulates that

in a clash of loyalties a citizen owes his or her primary allegiance to the state, rather than to a creed, a dynasty or a class.[46] In this context, music and especially folk song acquired the potential to articulate a national sense of place. Nation-states grew as an amalgamation of places from a welter of regional identities and dialects that could be identified in folk song. Collections undertaken by folklorists, ethnologists and philologists expanded in concentric patterns as local songs constituted regional repertories, which were in turn stretched across a national repertory. According to Philip Bohlman, the landscapes of the nation and its songs were considered isomorphic.[47]

In Germany during the last decades of the eighteenth century, Johann Gottfried Herder's notion of the Volksgeist (the spirit of the people) merged with political nationalism, resulting in a national consciousness characterized by a heightened sense of ethnicity. Michael Ignatieff suggests that ethnic nationalism was invented by the German intelligentsia during the Napoleonic wars. Against the French Enlightenment's vision of a political society of contractual equals, they exalted Germanness as a culture, grounded in the language, religions, customs and traditions of the German people. "In so doing, the Romantic writers, such as Novalis, Schiller, Fichte and Müller self-consciously constituted themselves as the true voice of the nation."[48] Composers followed suit and this idea quickly spread across Europe. National consciousness and the composition of art music became so closely intertwined that by the end of the century, Wagner, Verdi and Debussy fully adhered to the belief that their personal styles were imbued with an ethnomusical substance that reflected the nation and confirmed their identities. A touchstone of authenticity in the nineteenth century, this belief was absent one hundred years earlier. "No matter how violent the arguments as to the alleged superiority of the French or the Italian style, the fact remains that Gluck first chose one and then the other without being a Frenchman or an Italian at all. His nationality was beside the point."[49] During the twentieth century, as "former colonial and imperial holdings beyond Europe began to construct national myths and to transform these into national histories, national music quickly became invested with the power to serve international political capital, mapping the rest of the world to European musical geographies."[50]

With their languages, Britain and France also exported their cultural values, both good and bad. During the first half of the twentieth century in Canada, "ethnicity and culture were conceived of in strictly colonial terms."[51] A federal immigration policy pamphlet dating from the early 1940s rates immigrants according to their ability to assimilate. Whereas, Scandinavians "presented the fewest problems," Doukhobors (a

pacifist religious sect from Russia) "have been the most indigestible of any racial group admitted to Canada."[52] The two decades between the end of World War II and the Canadian centenary celebrations in 1967 bore witness to an unprecedented surge of nationalism.[53] Evidence of this is not hard to find. In 1957, Julian Park described the country's intellectual class as though it were under siege. Canadian universities were exhorted to resist the invasion of American pedagogical methods that would turn them into "vocational service stations" and the CBC was lauded for not succumbing to the "lower intellectual level" of American radio.[54] The founding of the League of Canadian Composers in 1951 and the establishment of the Société de musique contemporaine du Québec (SMCQ) in 1966, as well as the ever increasing use of terms such as 'Canadian music' and the relatively new 'musique québécoise' are also symptomatic of this. During the same period, successive Canadian governments struggled to establish a social compact based on what Ignatieff calls civic nationalism in which the nation is understood as "a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in their patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices."[55] The project remains a work in progress. Canada's indigenous communities and visible minorities continue to be treated as outsiders and interlopers. Nevertheless, the emergence of civic nationalism in the twentieth century has undercut arguments in favour of a national music culture based on the traditional ethno-centric models inherited from Europe. Moreover, the rise of individualism and the globalization of commerce during the second half of the twentieth century destabilized and decentred the voices supporting ethno-centric nationalism.[56] In the early 1960s, Marshall McLuhan, observing the impact of electronic media, noted the rise of the global village.[57] As Canada celebrated its centenary a few years later, Northrup Frye declared:

> It is widely believed, or assumed, that Canada's destiny, culturally and historically, finds its fulfilment in being a nation, and that nationality is essential to identity. It seems to me, on the other hand, quite clear that we are moving towards a post-national world, and that Canada has moved further in that direction than most small nations. What is important about the last century, in this country, is not that we have been a nation for a hundred years, but that we have had a hundred years in which to make the transition from a pre-national to a post-national consciousness.[58]

In other words, just as a national music culture appeared to be emerging, the 'national' rug was pulled out from under Canadian composers' feet. Thus, it now appears that Canada missed the chance to establish a national music culture because it began too late.

Second, even if the Canadian musical community had attempted to introduce the idea of a national music culture in the nineteenth century, the result would have been at best very weak because of the bi-cultural nature of the country. Nations like Switzerland, whose music culture is made up of the German, French and Italian traditions, have not been successful in establishing robust national art music cultures. Of course, this leaves the door open to regional cultures at the provincial or municipal level. Gilles Potvin has identified a Montreal School made up of composers born during the first decades of the twentieth century. Jean Papineau-Couture and Maurice Blackburn are often associated with this group. Both studied with Nadia Boulanger during the 1940s. Their scores are marked by the free use of dissonance, non-functional harmony and metric irregularity.[59] Robin Elliott has also argued compellingly that István Anhalt's late symphonic work should be identified with Kingston Ontario where the composer spent the last four decades of his life.[60]

Finally, in view of the fact that the musical nationality of some composers is a matter of debate (consider the careers of Handel or Liszt for example), Carl Dahlhaus noted that a national style "cannot be usefully defined as the sum of the common attributes of the works written by composers who belong to the same nation."[61] If the concept of a national music culture is to be meaningful at all (and not merely a decorative hieroglyph placed in concert programmes and website blurbs), then we must be able to define what it excludes so as to distinguish it from other music cultures.[62] Given the demographic development of Canada over the past half century, the idea of basing the country's musical culture on just one tradition (no matter how prestigious) is no longer tenable. Starting in the 1950s, immigration from Europe and the United States declined precipitously in favour of new arrivals from East and South Asia, Central and South America, the Middle East and Africa.[63] The cultural impact was and continues to be strong and has meant that Canada can now claim composers and musicians with strong roots in five continents. Presently there is no reason why music composed in Canada could not be related to any of the world's music cultures. As a result, 'Canadian music' has become an embarrassing example of a term that embraces everything but distinguishes nothing. Today it is truly a terminological phantom.

And yet, the concept has a historical function. When it occurs, it does so as an aesthetic phenomenon in the reception of music. Consequently when national music cultures do arise in the minds of listeners (as they most certainly did in nineteenth-century Europe), they can neither be summarily dismissed as extra-musical, nor blindly taken for granted.[64] Thus, despite its problematic nature, the reader will find that the term 'Canadian music' has

not been expunged from the pages of this book. To do so, would distort the history of art music in Canada, because during the period under study it was used to describe what composers, promoters and listeners thought they heard.

Over a quarter century ago, Dahlhaus, noted that "musical nationalism has been approached almost exclusively from the point of view of writing national histories of music."[65] This is precisely what we are doing and from the above it should be clear that the issue is terminological. We should begin by letting go of the national adjective. Rather than 'Canadian music,' we should write and talk about music in Canada. The deleted adjective would allow us to celebrate the incredible diversity of music cultures we enjoy without having to worry about who is in and who is out. We would also be able to better appreciate the remarkable achievement of a generation of composers, who (aided and abetted by the CBC and Radio Canada) sought to attain what turned out to be an impossible goal. In so doing, they created an enormous body of work that deserves more attention that it currently receives. It tells us, for example, that the quest to create a national music culture served as a trojan horse for the rapid introduction of musical modernism in Canada. The techniques and styles of twentieth-century music would no doubt have arrived sooner or later, but the process was greatly accelerated as composers responded to new senses of identity then taking shape in both Canada and Quebec.

Overview

This book was written primarily for the academic community, though we believe that non-academic readers interested in the twentieth-century music, the development of art music in Canada, broadcasting, state intervention in the arts, the archival challenges of all of the above and much more will find a great deal to chew on. The authors come from a variety of backgrounds and constitute a healthy mix of experienced and emerging voices. Among the chapters, the reader will find two eye-witness accounts. John Roberts, the book's main protagonist, looks back at his remarkable career in an interview given to Brian Garbet (chapter 8) and Norma Beecroft recounts her love affair with the Corporation (chapter 3). She began as a script assistant for the newly created television sector in the 1950s and a decade later had become a producer with CBC Radio. Her budding career as a composer serves as a counterpoint to the story of her work at the CBC. Our book also contains chapters by two privileged observers. Josée Beaudet, a former film producer at the National Film Board, presents the contributions her uncle, Jean-Marie Beaudet, made to the development of

the CBC/SRC as an accomplished pianist and conductor, and as an efficient administrator (chapter 2). Jean-Marie Beaudet's career in broadcasting began in 1933 with a contract issued by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC, precursor to the CBC/SRC) to conduct programmes of orchestral music for an end-of-evening broadcast slot. Throughout his long career, he consistently advocated for the transmission of high-quality art music and particularly the works of Canadian composers. The composer Brian Cherney examines the delicate relationship between the giver and the receiver of commissions (chapter 14). His thoughtful study of the correspondence between Roberts and Harry Somers (both of whom he knew personally) opens a window on a fascinating aspect of the creative process that normally remains closed.

The book is divided into three distinct sections. The first focuses on leadership and cultural infrastructure through an examination of some of the people and policies that enabled the CBC to achieve its goals. Following Friedemann Sallis's biographical sketch of Roberts's career at the CBC (chapter 1) and the chapters by Beecroft and Josée Beaudet presented above, Ariane Couture (chapter 4) looks at the web of relationships (both people and institutions) that enabled the Société de musique contemporaine du Québec (SMCQ) to establish itself in 1966 and promote contemporary music in Montreal and nationally. The following chapters zero in on the policy context. Richard Sutherland (chapter 5) examines how changing technology effected the implementation of policies recommended by the Massey Commission's report (1951). Robert W. Bailey looks at how the commissioning of composers evolved from an ad hoc practice to a written policy at the CBC (chapter 6) and highlights Roberts's contributions to this process. James Deaville and Keely Mimnagh (chapter 7) study the impact of the Applebaum-Hébert Report (1982) and how it brought an important phase of the CBC's history to an end.

The centre of this book is devoted to the collection, management and study of archival material. Every author in this book has made use of archival sources, some extensively. The two chapters present diametrically opposed views of the situation at the CBC. Allan Morris (chapter 9) focuses on the successful preservation of audio and video recordings of music by the CBC Library. In so doing, he provides a portrait of music programming at the CBC. Regina Landwehr (chapter 10) writes about the on-going challenges of preserving and accessing the CBC's documentary heritage, a complex task given the multimedia nature of the institution and tensions caused by competing agendas among stake holders at the centre and on the periphery (the Public Archives of Canada and the National Library on the one hand and a number of regional archives on the other). Readers interested

in archival research will find an excellent overview of the benefits and challenges of working with this type of material.

The last five chapters discuss how composers and performers benefitted from the CBC's relatively open embrace of the modernity. Jeremy Strachan (chapter 11) begins this section with an overview of radio programming during the 1960s and how it responded to the various modernist tendencies of the day. The chapter ends with brief examinations of two of Glenn Gould's early radio documentaries: *The Search for Petula Clark* and *The Idea of North* (both of which aired in 1967). This leads directly to the next in which Paul Sanden focuses on two of Gould's late documentaries on Leopold Stokowski and Pablo Casals (chapter 12). Sanden carefully untangles the content of each, looking for commonalities and linking Gould's work on radio to the ethical stance that he took as a pianist and creative artist. Kimberly Francis digs deep into the archival legacy of Igor Stravinsky's visits to Toronto in 1962 (chapter 13). Thanks to the documentary evidence contained in the Roberts fonds, she provides the reader with a running commentary on the day to day challenges that Roberts and others faced and overcame in preparing and managing this project. As noted above Brian Cherney (chapter 14) provides the reader with a look at the commissioning process from the inside through a study of the correspondence between Roberts and Harry Somers. Finally, Robin Elliott (chapter 15) examines the fraught relationship between R. Murray Schafer and the CBC. Elliott follows the meandering path of Schafer's career and presents the relatively long list of works by Schafer that were commissioned by the CBC in chronological order. No Canadian composer benefitted more from the broadcaster's capacity to commission, disseminate and promote music, but at the same time none complained more vociferously about "planned culture, complete with cultural commissars" who would "hound every artist in the nation … art will no longer be individualistic and haphazard; rather it will be pre-planned by the arts administrators like a big market garden."[66]

Clearly from Pentland's complaints in 1950 to Schafer's undated prediction, art music in Canada has come a long way. For much of this journey the CBC/SRC provided a space for this music, which was "unheard of" (to borrow yet another phrase from Beckwith) just fifty years ago.[67] Our book celebrates this achievement.

Languages

English and French are the two official languages of Canada. Anyone attempting to study the country's history and culture in any depth

must be able to deal with both. Consequently, we have left most French quotations in the original to ensure the accurate transmission of content. We assume that these excerpts will not be an impediment to serious engagement with the topics offered here. Also, in order to avoid weighing down the text with the official bilingual names of federal institutions (Library and Archives Canada/Bibliothèque et archives Canada; National Film Board/Office national du film; National Arts Centre/Centre national des arts; etc.), we use either the English or French name depending on which linguistic context the author is referring to. For example, employing the CBC as the name of the national broadcaster throughout would be confusing when the author is discussing events that only occurred in the French network, or when individuals move from one to the other. Thus, the reader will encounter the acronym CBC or the term Radio Canada when the text is discussing people or events that are clearly situated in the English or French networks respectively. Sometimes the context refers to both the CBC and the SRC at the same time. During the 1940s Jean-Marie Beaudet was Director of Music for both the English and French networks across the country. In these cases, the bilingual acronyms are used together.