Canada’s Musical Group of Seven

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In 1920 the Group of Seven formed itself into an organization that, over its 13-year tenure, fashioned one of the most distinctive Canadian movements to occur in the arts. Partly in response to frustration with the conservative and derivative quality of then-extant Canadian visual art, these painters rebelled against prevailing 19th century naturalism, focusing on the expression of feelings in the representation of our landscapes. This band of visual artists was successful in developing a canon of distinctively Canadian artwork that has, in many ways, come to define how we picture our geography, both to ourselves, and to the world at large.

The success of the Group of Seven did not go unnoticed in the other arts. This paper concerns the story of some relatively unknown efforts of the musical community to develop what might be considered its own Group of Seven. This was a band of people who wanted to forge a distinctively Canadian music, not unlike the Group of Seven had done with landscape painting. In the process, they laid the groundwork for how the folk festival emerged in the Canadian context.

The Leader of the “Musical Group of Seven”

The central player in the movement discussed here was John Murray Gibbon, the head publicist of the Canadian Pacific Railway between 1913 and 1944. While in the CPR’s employ, Gibbon initiated a number of projects, driven by his view that a united Canada could be forged out of the diverse cultural backgrounds of its primary founding nations and many immigrant communities. There was no need to force everyone into an assimilative melting pot, Gibbon argued, suggesting we can come together by understanding and appreciating our own cultural uniquenesses. Among other things, he popularized the term “Canadian mosaic” and put into place models for what we today know as folk music and heritage fes-
tivals – no small feat. He also published many works attempting to help various cultures understand each other, such as a series of books with English-language translations of French-Canadian folk songs. Gibbon's activities placed special emphasis on music and handicrafts as sites in which cross-cultural understandings could flourish. All the while, he answered to the CPR’s need to increase rail traffic and revenues, doing a rather amazing balancing act between propagation of the arts and the business of the railway, which, in those days, were not seen as separate from each other as they are today.

Gibbon was born in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the son of a wealthy tea plantation owner. After an extensive, high-quality education in Europe and work as a magazine editor, he became the “Supervisor of European Propaganda for the Canadian Pacific Railway” in 1907. His job was to encourage European immigration to Canada, giving him the opportunity to visit many countries. Some scholars suggest that his legendary sensitivity to alternate cultures was the result of these many travels. In 1913 he was invited by Lord Shaughnessy to become head publicist of the CPR, a task he accepted with great enthusiasm.

By the time he retired, 31 years later, Gibbon was an accomplished novelist, publicist, musical arranger, non-fiction writer, and, perhaps most importantly, organizer extraordinaire. In his own way, he had placed an indelible stamp on Canadian culture.

A driving force behind Gibbon’s activities was what could be considered the “national romantic school of thought”. In the late 1800s, English composers of classical music were beginning to rebel against a century of domination by German musical styles and tropes. The key to developing a truly national music was thought to lie in the folkways of a nation; cultural uniqueness was believed to thrive in the oral traditions of a region’s indigenous musics. Collectors like Cecil Sharp went out into the British countryside, returning with all kinds of musical treasures, which were seen to contain the seeds of a truly national music. Folk art forms, they argued, could be the inspiration for more formal art. This romantic movement was not restricted to Britain, with many other European composers dipping into their own folkways for inspiration: Kodaly, Bartok, and Smetana, to name a few. In Britain, interest generated by Sharp and others resulted in a number of talented British composers, such as Ralph Vaughan Williams and Percy Granger, fashioning a respectable music based on English folk melodies.

While studying in Britain, Gibbon was exposed to this ongoing folksong and folk dance revival along with its underlying school of thought. The value of the folk arts, especially as an avenue to serious art music, was well-imprinted on the young man as he began to organize his publicizing activities for the CPR.

Number Two

The second major player in our musical Group of Seven was Marius Barbeau, one of Canada’s most eminent collectors of both Francophone and Aboriginal folklore. Trained as an anthropologist and encouraged by the great Franz Boas, Barbeau emerged as one of the major players in the documentation of French-Canadian rural culture, its music, handicrafts, tales and other manifestations. In 1914, Barbeau had been hired by the National Museum of Canada to study native Aboriginal cultures. At that time, he began to collect French-Canadian folklore, much to the chagrin of his employers. Nonetheless, he persisted. Like Gibbon, Barbeau shared the national romantic school of thought which he had encountered during his time studying at Oxford. Even more than Gibbon, he was committed to the idea that making folk music available to serious composers would result in the emergence of a national music.

Figure 2: Marius Barbeau

In addition, Barbeau adopted an orientation that has subsequently been dubbed, perhaps unflatteringly, “salvage anthropology”. This was an antiquarian view that saw folklore as the last-remaining vestiges of dying cultures. By this view, both artifacts and folklore had to be collected before they disappeared. In addition, the past was romanticized, perhaps reflecting some discomfort with the rapid progress of industrialization at the time. To the extent that much of rural Quebec was undergoing significant change and urbanization during Barbeau’s time, this orienta-
tion was justified, and Barbeau’s work resulted in the documentation of many aspects of our cultural past.

In the mid-1920s, Gibbon and Barbeau worked together, communicating about various projects such as Barbeau’s book *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*. They made a good team, united by their commitment to the national romantic school of thought and concerns for Canadian culture. A major stimulus for their collaboration was the CPR’s reconstruction of a wing of the Chateau Frontenac in Québec City, called “la chambre Canadienne”. This wing contained handicraft exhibits and reconstructions of furniture and housewares from early Québec. For the reconstruction, Barbeau provided materials to Gibbon to insure the authenticity of the displays. Once complete, Gibbon was asked to plan an event to publicize “la chambre Canadienne”. Out of this request came the first folk festival held in Canada, an event designed to demonstrate aspects of Franco- phone culture.

This festival, which turned out to be an immense success, was driven by multiple goals: practical, political, and artistic. The most practical function was to provide publicity to the Chateau Frontenac and to increase the CPR’s business during the slack May travel season. The CPR was willing to foot the bill because of this. On a more political level, Gibbon and Barbeau wanted to increase interest in folklore in Canada that would, ideally, enhance understanding of francophone Canadians in anglo communities. To quote Barbeau:

[The festival will] help a great deal … in removing misconceptions and prejudices between Canadians of French and British origins. It will bring people together not to dwell upon political controversies, but to enjoy what appeals to all in common and is apt to create interest and sympathy (Barbeau, 1928, p. 3).

The major artistic goal for the festival was the promotion of a national music for Canada. With these goals in hand, and the considerable backing of the CPR, Gibbon and Barbeau embarked on the design of a folk music and handicraft festival that took place May 20-22, 1927, at the Chateau Frontenac. The event was described as “under the auspices of the National Museum, the National Gallery, and the Public Archives of Canada”. The National Museum’s contribution included loaning Barbeau to the programme committee.

The programme, most of which took place at the Chateau Frontenac, included: (1) a huge handicraft exhibit with costumed craftspeople and singers dispersed throughout, (2) a full choral music high mass, and (3) five different folksong concerts which included a wide range of musicians: classical stringed quartets and singers, professional musicians, many of whom performed their folksongs in habitant costume, and some carefully selected “informants” from Barbeau’s field work, suitably costumed.

To draw an audience, CPR offered a package deal from Montreal which included train fare, accommodation at the Chateau Frontenac, meals, and access to the festival events, all for a mere $39.50! Ever the publicist, Gibbon convinced the CPR to underwrite a series of pre-festival concerts in Toronto and New York, intended to whet would-be audience members’ appetites.

**The Other Five**

In addition to Barbeau and Gibbon, a number of others were recruited to help further the multiple goals of the festival.

Ernest MacMillan, a talented Canadian composer and arranger, became involved to help facilitate the serious music project. He wrote many arrangements for festival concerts as well as several important articles supporting the national music project. MacMillan was so enthusiastic about Barbeau’s collecting projects that he went on several field trips with him as a transcriber.

![Figure 4: Ernest MacMillan](image-url)
Healey Willan was a well-known Toronto organist and arranger, who, like MacMillan, was brought on board to facilitate the transition of folk music to serious, national music.

Arthur Lismer, a member of the actual Group of Seven, painted some of the backdrops for festival concert presentations, especially those in the second and third festivals, which involved several ballad operas.

Charles Marchand was a popular professional folk performer who became a fixture at most of the CPR festivals. He performed to rave reviews in habitant costume with his group the Bytown Troubadours. His untimely death just before the third Quebec festival resulted in its postponement.

Juliette Gaultier was a classically trained singer who became engrossed in realistic performances of French, Inuit, and Indian music. She refused to “upgrade” her performances, attempting to keep as close to the original as possible. Her efforts to honour the original singers resulted in some deep disagreements with Barbeau, who wanted the music “cleaned up” for formal performance. Nonetheless, she was a fixture at the Québec festivals.

These seven individuals can be thought of as music’s Group of Seven, dedicated to the emergence of a distinctive Canadian music. This collective was different from the painters’ group in that they never met formally and planned out their strategies. Rather, they worked together on the first Québec festival, all united by their desire to present aspects of Canadian cul-
ture in its best light, and, hopefully, to be part of a groundswell toward a truly national music.

Of particular interest during the first Québec festival was the announcement of the E. W. Beatty Competition for compositions based on French-Canadian folksong melodies, perhaps the clearest manifestation of the festival’s aim to stimulate the growth of a Canadian music. The CPR’s president, Edward Beatty, arranged for prize money of $3,000 to be made available, no small amount of money back then, when a Ford car cost about $1,000. Ralph Vaughan Williams was one of the judges, along with other eminent composers from Great Britain, France, the US, and Canada. The competition was open to anyone who wished to enter, and the winning compositions would be performed at the 1928 festival.

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Figure 9: E.W. Beatty

The 1927 festival was a resounding success. Two trains came from Montreal and Toronto, each packed with over 200 folks on the package tour. The concerts were full to overflowing, with many turned away. Reviewers raved about the quality and breadth of the event, and political animosities that could have flared up because of the heavy anglo involvement did not surface. There was a large “walk up” crowd of interested French-Canadian spectators and Québec City virtually buzzed with excitement about this grand festival. Plans for a repeat performance, even larger, were well underway before the 1927 festival had ended.

Murray Gibbon was quick to pounce on the opportunities afforded by such festivals to enhance both his practical and artistic goals. Through his office, the CPR embarked on a remarkable series of events all across Canada. In all, between 1927 and 1930, the CPR sponsored 13 festivals of the scope and quality of the Québec event.

The Québec City event was repeated in 1928 and 1930. The latter event faltered on artistic grounds, in part because of the unexpected death of Charles Mar- chand, as well as a falling-out between Barbeau and Gibbon which resulted in Barbeau not participating in the 1930 festival. The events had become too big and had moved too far away from Barbeau’s conceptions for him to continue his involvement.

The Other Festivals

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A week long Yuletide Music Festival took place in Victoria’s Empress Hotel in 1929. The same year Toronto’s York Hotel hosted a festival of British music, which involved, among other things, displays of Morris dancing and the performance of a considerable amount of classical music based on the folk music of Great Britain.

Gibbon moved in a new direction when he faced the challenge of creating events that would draw people to CPR facilities on the prairies. Here he developed the prototype for what we have now come to know as Heritage Festivals, where people from different immigrant communities are invited to display their home cultures to the interested spectators through their music, dance, costumes, and handicrafts. This was the first attempt to demonstrate the cultural wealth that the new arrivals to prairie Canada brought to their adopted country.

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flags of various nationalities of Canada’s new settlers, bright-coloured tapestries and rugs everywhere, and craft workers in their native costumes demonstrating their skills. These displays included: Britishers, Czechoslovakians, Danes, Doukhobors, Germans, Hungarians, Icelanders, Italians, Yugoslavs, Norwegians, Poles, Roumanians, Russians, Swedes, and Ukrainians. As well, exhibits from Eastern Canada (both anglo- and francophone) were included. In a review, the Reverend Dr. C. W. Gordon noted: “The six performances wound up on Saturday night with a splendid display of folk dancing and singing by 300 New Canadians representing fifteen different racial groups, all appropriately costumed, and the audience was most enthusiastic.” Gibbon’s desire to promote understanding through folklore was well-rewarded when the same reviewer said the festival had given him a fresh conception of new Canadians. He was greatly impressed with what he had seen and he thought it would be well if more people in the west, as well as those in the east, had an opportunity to see what Winnipeg had during the last week. Gordon also commented that the festival served to bring about a stronger feeling of friendship between the different groups taking part.

Gibbon had hit yet another home run with this prairie festival. Partially in response to the financial successes of the Winnipeg event, as well as a request from the Premier, a similar event was staged in Regina’s Hotel Saskatchewan in 1929, again to rave reviews. Calgary’s Palliser Hotel was the site for a third festival in 1930. This event was likewise showered with accolades. It was attended by large crowds and Premier J. G. Brownlee lauded the manner in which the festival “served to bring the New Canadians of the Great West into closer accord and understanding”. Single out for especial attention by the reviewers were: a concert of Breton songs, dances of the old French court period, a Welsh chorus, Norwegian dancers and singers, the Ukrainian National Ballet from Edmonton, Hungarian, Bavarian, and Morris dancers from Vancouver, Finlay Campbell, a Cape Breton baritone resplendent in his kilt, and a set of Hungarian folk songs by Carrie Mahalek. The handicraft display, under the auspices of the Dominion Handicraft Guild, was likewise singled out for praise. These delicious displays of cultural diversity were exceeding popular and set the mold for heritage festivals that are still part of our lives.

**Gibbon’s Legacy**

Taken in total, the CPR festivals, under the able hand of J. Murray Gibbon, were landmarks in the development of Canadian cultural performance. Not only did Gibbon and the CPR develop the forerunner of the contemporary folk festival, they also created the beginnings of Heritage Day festivals. Beyond that, the CPR actively promoted Scots, sea, British and Christmas music. When the amount of money that the railway put into sponsoring concerts, books, artists, and other arts-related projects is added to this, the CPR emerges as one of our premier patrons of the arts during this formative time of our country.

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**More of Gibbon’s Influence**

*Another one of Murray Gibbon’s CPR projects had a rather different impact on music. This was his involvement in the formation of the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, a kind of club that has been organizing horseback trail rides in the Canadian Rockies since 1923, most often in Banff National Park. This was another effort to increase the traffic to one of CPR’s signature destinations. In Gibbon’s day, music was an integral part of these outings. He, along with a number of others, developed a song sheet for use during the evening campfires. This sheet was professionally prepared, acting as a source for words as well as a souvenir. The lyrics were, for the most part, parodies of then-popular songs. For example, “When It’s Trail Time in the Rockies” is a knock-off of “When It’s Springtime in the Rockies”.*

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When it’s trail time in the Rockies
I’ll be coming back to you
For I’m fed up with the talkies
And I want to talk to you
I’ll forget what price the stock is
In the markets far away
When it’s trail time in the Rockies
In the Rockies I shall play
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The CPR festivals, like many things of the time, ran into a bit of a hiccup when, in the autumn of 1929, the stock market crashed, ushering in Great Depression. Traffic and revenues declined and soon the CPR’s budgets demanded that the festival projects be cancelled. This happened in 1930. While some other organizations attempted to carry on the various festivals, none were able to mount the kind of profile that the CPR had. It took the folk music revival of the 1960s before the festival movement began to regain significant momentum, leading us to our contemporary folk and heritage festivals.

The reference to movies (talkies) and stocks in these rewritten lyrics signals that most of the trail riders were drawn from the higher end of the income scale. There are several evenings worth of these kinds of parodies in the Trail Riders songbook.

Wilf Carter, the most popular country and western singer on the Canadian prairies between 1935 and 1950, was involved in these trail rides. In his day, Wilf’s fame matched today’s superstars like Shania Twain or Nickelback. In 1933 Gibbon hired the relatively unknown Carter to be the “official trail songster” on the trail rides. Some historical sources credit this trail riders’ gig as an important part of the development of Carter’s musical career. No doubt, he met many influential people on these trail rides and the CPR hired him several years later to perform on its showcase steamship, the Empress of Britain. So it does appear that the CPR and Gibbon had an impact on the beginning of Carter’s successes. Murray Gibbon’s hand, and the mentoring of the CPR, have reached into the domain of country and western as well as folk music.

Another of Gibbon’s projects involved writing new words for old songs, as he had done with the Trail Riders Songbook. In addition to his English-language translations of French-Canadian folksongs, he also wrote Canadian words for classical folk tunes. One example is his “Up on the Amber Athabasca”, a song celebrating shipping in the old days on the river that runs through Jasper National Park. The melody for this song was the Ukrainian folksong “The Roaring Dneiper,” said by Gibbon to be “much sung by Ukrainians now settled in Canada”. Again we find Gibbon working hard to promote a Canadian music, this time drawing on ethnic and classical musics, hoping the songs would find homes in Canadian musicsways.

1It has been suggested that Carter met Cindy Walker, an accomplished American songwriter, on one of these outings, and that she wrote the iconic song, “Blue Canadian Rockies” for him.
2Gibbon (1936), p. 36-37.
The Fate of Canada’s Musical “Group of Seven”

But what, in hindsight, became of Gibbon’s and Barbeau’s passion for developing a national music – their effort to be Canada’s musical Group of Seven? Was it simply aborted by the termination of the CPR festivals? The answer here is quite complex. We can get a hint of what happened from examination of the results of the original Beatty competition. You may recall that the competition was looking for classical compositions based on French-Canadian folk melodies. In an effort to be inclusive, the Beatty competition had been open to anyone, Canadian or otherwise, who wanted to submit an entry. This created difficulties for the emerging Québec composing community because they were concerned about being overshadowed by the continental French composers, whom they held in very high regard. As a result of this and several other factors, the emerging community of French-Canadian composers boycotted the Beatty competition. This group was the most likely to create the sought-after compositions because they were most familiar with the relevant folk traditions. Their decision to avoid the Beatty competition resulted in what the judges described as a disappointing collection of submissions. Ironically, Gibbon’s desire to be inclusive, by opening the competition to everyone, had undermined his goal of facilitating a national music. This failure especially rankled Barbeau and was one of several reasons that led to his withdrawal from the 1930 Québec festival.

Another reason for the failure of the Gibbon/Barbeau efforts for a national music lies in a direct comparison with the Group of Seven. This group of visual artists did not have an easy time of it, being ridiculed and vilified by the existing art establishment when they started out. As a result, they took a confrontational position, both politically and artistically. Gibbon, having to answer to the CPR, and not being an argumentative man, could not afford to take such a confrontational stance. After all, you do not sell railway tickets by insulting your potential customers. He was more interested in harmony and cooperation than the kind of infighting that seemed to prime the visual artists. Without an “enemy”, or the willingness to stand up to it, his national music project foundered.

As well, developments on the Continent, especially the arrival of avant-garde music, which captured the imaginations of many Canadian composers, undermined the emergence of the old-style national music that Gibbon and Barbeau had envisioned.

Finally, Gibbon’s own efforts at creating a national music were not successful. His English-language translations of French-Canadian songs generally did not work. For example, the song “Ah si mon moine voulait danser” was translated by Gibbon as “If my old top were a dancing man”. While this lyric scans with the tune, it totally misses the double entendre of the French song where the word “moine” translates as both “top” and “monk”. This gives the song a religious undertone, something critical to its place in French-Canadian tradition; this was completely missed in Gibbon’s translation. By today’s aesthetics, these songs must be sung in French, rendering the English translations ineffective. As well, Gibbon’s new words for European songs did not enter Canadian tradition, mostly because the music was not familiar to all but a particular community, and this community already had their own words. So generally, Gibbon’s own musical work has not had an impact.

In sum then, a number of factors, not only the Depression and its attending termination of the festivals, led to the crumbling of the national music project as envisioned by Barbeau and Gibbon. This is an exceedingly interesting chapter in the history of Canadian music in that it shows how we have, in the past, tried to find our own musical voice, much like the Group of Seven defined our visual iconography. So too do we begin to see how the interplay between folk and classical musics began to play out in the Canadian context. That Gibbon’s particular project foundered offers insight into the highly mixed musical communities we find in today’s Canada.

The Push for a “National Music” Persists

When the 1960s folk music revival arrived, many of the same arguments encountered by the young Gibbon and Barbeau were recapitulated. Along with this, some of the goals of the CPR festivals were reborn. Perhaps Gibbon’s Herculean efforts toward a Canadian music took hold, after all…

One place this can be seen is in the outlook that directed early versions of the Mariposa Folk Festival, one of the first to emerge during the folk music revival. As argued by Sija Tsai (2011), two values directed programming of the first Mariposas: Canadian-ness and an appreciation of musical diversity. Both of these values resonate strongly with Gibbon’s work in the late ’20s. I expect Gibbon would have waxed eloquent over these programmes, packed as they were with Canadian performers and a high saturation of what today we call “Canadian content”.

Whether or not Estelle Klein and her colleagues who worked on the early Mariposas were aware of Gibbon and his efforts is moot. It remains that these considerations were “in the ether” and seen as worthy of taking seriously in the early days of one of Canada’s premier music festivals.
Another place where the spirit of Gibbon’s work, if not its actual form, was revealed lies in the emergence of the singer-songwriter as a major performer type in Canadian music. Penning and singing their own songs, these modern-day troubadours have managed to find a place for a Canadian voice to be heard. Perhaps one of the most Canadian of songs to come out of this movement is Gordon Lightfoot’s Canadian Railroad Trilogy. His now-classic rendering of our national creation story tells of how the railway opened up our heartland and sang the song of our country’s future. It begins in the pre-railroad era:

There was a time in this fair land when the railroad did not run
When the wild majestic mountains
Stood alone against the sun
Long before the white man and long before the wheel
When the green dark forest was too silent to be real

Then Lightfoot turns to the promise and potential of the railway:

For they looked in the future and what did they see
They saw an iron road running from the sea to the sea
Bringing the goods to a young growing land
All up from the seaports and into their hands

The plight of the workers is celebrated:

We are the navvies who work upon the railway
Swinging our hammers in the bright blazing sun
Living on stew and drinking bad whiskey
Bending our backs til the long days are done

He concludes with how the railroad has opened this country up to the rest of the world:

Oh the song of the future has been sung
All the battles have been won
On the mountain tops we stand
All the world at our command

Can this be that far away from what Gibbon had in mind? Many other singer-songwriters have helped to develop this version of the Canadian musical voice, and many of these, such as Murray MacLaughlan, Fred Eaglesmith, James Keelaghan, and Stan Rogers, have contributed to a healthy canon of Canadian music. There is certainly no lack of Canadian music available; however, in typical Canadian fashion, we do seem a bit unwilling to promote and celebrate it.

Another noteworthy site where the Canadian musical voice is heard is through the music of Eldon Rathburn. A native New Brunswicker, Rathburn graduated from McGill University in 1937 with a degree in music. Ten years later, he joined the National Film Board as a staff composer, a position he held until 1976. During this time he composed 185 film scores, such as the 1965 silent feature “The Railrodder”, in which Buster Keaton travelled across Canada on a speeder. After leaving the NFB, Rathburn continued composing. His modernist and ethereal compositions are, in many ways, distinctly Canadian, showing again that the seeding efforts of Gibbon and his colleagues may have taken hold, despite the failure of his original project.

Perhaps, if Gibbon and Barbeau were alive today, they would smile to hear both Lightfoot’s and Rathburn’s work. I believe they would recognize that their search for a Canadian music has been realized, at least in small measure. While their original conception may not have succeeded, their goals have, in many ways, been realized.

Gibbon’s story of an unsuccessful attempt to prime a national music draws our attention to how, since the early 1900s, there have been concerted efforts to find a Canadian musical voice. We may differ in opinions about how successful this has been, or perhaps even on the importance of this quest, but nonetheless, many interesting people have been involved. Murray Gibbon stands out among these. Of particular note in this story is that the CPR was an important player. At the time of the Québec festivals, there was a sense that “what was good for the CPR was good for Canada”, and the railway took this responsibility seriously. This led to some very interesting developments in music that have their manifestations in some of the events that have become an integral part of our contemporary cultural landscape. I hope this paper has helped to deepen appreciation of some of the struggles and triumphs of our artistic communities as they dedicate their hearts and souls into giving voice to this wondrous country of ours.

References


Canadian Pacific Railway. 1928. In-house Bulletin, 232, Montréal, QC.


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Notes

1. The materials on Gibbon are drawn from several sources: McNaughton (1981, 1982), Henderson (2005), Kines (1988), as well as assorted CPR in-house publications kindly made available by the CPR Archives. At the time of writing, Lapointe (2009) was not available.

2. The material on Barbeau was drawn from a number of sources, including McNaughton (1982), and Jessup, Nurse and Smith (2008).

3. Materials based on a programme for the event provided by the CPR as well as detailed presentations in McNaughton (1982).

4. Materials on MacMillan, Willan, Lismer, Marchand and Gaultier were drawn from entries in the *Canadian Encyclopedia of Music*, McNaughton (1982), and an assortment of programmes and commentaries from CPR in-house publications.

5. *Canadian Encyclopedia of Music* as well as Canadian Pacific Railway (1927).

6. Materials on the festivals outside of Québec were drawn from McNaughton (1982), as well as assorted CPR house publications of the time.

7. Canadian Pacific Railway (1928), Item 71.

8. Hitchhiking from Montréal to attend the second Mariposa Folk Festival was, for me, a watershed moment. To that point, I had been serenaded by folk revival music from down south. At Mariposa, for the first time, I heard Canadian traditional and revival performers such as Finvola Redden and the Travellers, among others.