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Middle Power Music:

Modernism, Ideology, and Compromise in English Canadian Cold War Composition

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation argues that English Canadian composers of the Cold War period produced works that function as "middle power music." The concept of middlepowerhood, central to Canadian policy and foreign relations in this period, has been characterized by John W. Holmes as "a way of explaining to the world that Canadians were of greater consequence than the Panamanians but could not take on the obligations of the Americans, or even the French."[1] Political scientist Adam Chapnick has noted that it is paradoxically through acceptance of a second-tier position that Canadian political leaders sought increased international status and means of resistance to the interests of more powerful nations.[2] In cultural domains, likewise, English Canadian cultural nationalist artists frequently accepted (or even embraced) second-tier status, voicing ambivalence towards modernist notions of canonicity, progress, and prestige. Yet at the same time, these artists largely embraced a narrative of national modernization and decolonization, and sought to participate in international modernist or postmodernist movements.

English Canadian composers in this context would produce music that is stylistically, technically, and ideologically flexible—a kind of double-voiced discourse that imports or utters the sounds of the modernist metropolis, but inflects, unsettles, and strikes compromises with the ideologies and power structures that accompany those sounds.

[1] John W. Holmes, "Most Safely in the Middle," *International Journal* 39/2 (Spring 1984): 366-67.

[2] Adam Chapnick, "The Middle Power Myth," *International Journal* 55/2, (Spring 2000).

Thus serialism becomes neither a language of radical refusal (as Mark Carroll argues about Pierre Boulez), nor a technique of anti-Stalinist high culture (as Martin Brody argues of Milton Babbitt), nor a "polar opposite" of neoclassicism, but instead a compositional technique that can be deployed in the context of compositions that indeed *sound* neoclassical, or can be dissolved into minimalist processes. Neither is neoclassicism tarnished or marginalized by association with leftist politics, as Elizabeth Crist and Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett suggest of the United States in the 1950s.

Situating this project in the Cold War context clarifies George Grant's iconic assertion that Canada becomes, by the mid-1960s, "a branch-plant society of American capitalism," and opens up the narratives of Canadian modernization and decolonization in this period for refinement or recontextualization.[3] English Canadian composers in this period respond to British influence in a manner that can be characterized as colonial or post-colonial resistance. Their reactions to American culture, on the contrary, are shaped not by a colonial relationship to the United States, but rather by second-tier status in relation to the dominant western power. This dissertation thus recognizes Canadian composition and Canadian culture as meaningfully different from (and in some senses opposed to) U.S. culture, but qualifies claims to Canadian "colonial resistance" of the United States.

In addition to representative works by Barbara Pentland and R. Murray Schafer, this dissertation focuses on the serial techniques of John Weinzweig, Harry Somers, and Barbara Pentland, composers often identified in histories of Canadian music as "radical" or avant-garde. The final chapter explores the intersection of serialism, minimalism, and feminism in Ann Southam's *Rivers*.

[3] George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 40th Anniversary ed., Carleton Library (Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 40.

For A. & M., without whose love and support I could not have finished this project, and for my late grandmother Emily Kelloway Feltham.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNA Act	British North America Act
CanCon	"Canadian Content" (i.e. in media)
CLC	Canadian League of Composers
CMC	Canadian Music Centre
CSNY	Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young
DEW Line	Distant Early Warning Line
EMC	Encyclopedia of Music in Canada
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NORAD	North American Aerospace Defence Command (formerly North American Air Defense Command)
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RCM	Royal Conservatory of Music (formerly TCM)
SAC	Strategic Air Command
TCM	Toronto Conservatory of Music (later RCM)
TCE	The Canadian Encyclopedia
UBC	The University of British Columbia

PREFACE

I dreamed I saw the bombers
Riding shotgun in the sky
And they were turning into butterflies
Above our nation.
JONI MITCHELL, "WOODSTOCK"[1]

I'm not that familiar with Canada.
But when I was at York University a few years ago, I thought,
"Oh my god, they are so shallow. Such a backwater."
CAMILLE PAGLIA[2]

There is, cultural geographer R. Harris Cole contends, "no theoretical framework from which Canada can be deduced."[3] As a complex settler-invader colonial nation with a highly particular history of industrial capitalism, he writes, Canada must instead be studied *inductively*: "the conception of Canada must emerge in good part from within Canada itself," even if existing theoretical literature may provide guidance.[4] The model of "middle power music" that I present in this project, likewise, is not intended to be used deductively: rather, it provides a framework in which (some) English Canadian compositions of this period may be read or analyzed. In this sense, it may be less a 'model' than an 'approach'—or, put differently, it may outline a model of Canadian culture or

[1] From Joni Mitchell, *Ladies of the Canyon* (Reprise 6376,1970).

[2] Margaret Wente, "'A Landscape of Death in the Humanities' [Interview with Camille Paglia]," *The Globe and Mail*, 30 April 2010.

[3] R. Harris Cole, *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada Before Confederation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), xv.

[4] Ibid., xvii.

cultural nationalism that in turn suggests an approach to analysis of compositions produced in Canada (or produced by Canadians). I argue that the cultural significance of the expressive choices of the composers I study here can be illuminated by recognizing, with caution and precision, the various limits or pressures to which they were subject, and the various intersecting musical traditions or practices with which they engage. Although I will talk about particular technical features as significant, I do not mean to suggest that these technical features are somehow intrinsically Canadian; nor do I mean to suggest that they cannot appear, with different significance, in works by composers from other nations or regions.[5] This model is suggestive, rather than exhaustive, and I intend it to be applicable to works in multiple styles or genres.

Put more simply: I do not intend this model to mark off any definitive borders around Canadian music. There will be a natural temptation among readers whose expertise or familiarity lies primarily in other twentieth-century repertoires to point out that features I read as significant in particular Canadian compositions indeed appear in works by composers from other nations or regions—and of course this may be true. Such an observation may lead to the question of "isn't this just _________, and not in fact a feature of any actual significance?".[6] I recognize that the tendency to insist upon musical style or technique in abstract musical compositions as "inflected" or otherwise altered by national context or identity may naturally provoke a debunking impulse, either on the

[5] Or, indeed, from different time periods.

[6] I acknowledge my dissertation advisor, Ryan Minor, for proposing this question—not as an expression of his own skepticism, but as a way to anticipate critical reactions.

basis that the inflection or alteration is trivial, or on the basis that the style or technique being inflected is not in practice fixed or rigid, and therefore is always inflected in some manner.

I stipulate that, indeed, no musical style or technique is fixed or rigid in practice. Yet broadly speaking, the rich variety of compositional practice is the basis for a huge proportion of musicological study. If we reject the contention that musical conventions are, "on the one hand, patterns that operate beyond the petty concerns of cultural meaning and, on the other, clichés emptied of whatever communicative power they might once have possessed," we must thus be prepared to consider cultural meaning and communicative power in any number of apparently conventional features.[7] In this sense, "conventional features" could be understood to include not only elements of musical models or technique that have been firmly codified in music theory, but also inflections or alterations to those models that happen frequently enough to belong in some broad margin of error around the model. These inflections or alterations are not always significant, and when they are significant, their meaning may be profoundly difficult to identify. But to deny the possibility of significance is to insist upon musical form and convention as absolute (or worse, blank) in a way that no longer makes sense in a discipline that has long since admitted to the value of social and cultural analysis.

I would also emphasize that awareness (or presumption of awareness) of the identity of the source of any given utterance—in speech, in text, in music—will

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[7] Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001), 3.

necessarily shape our understanding of that utterance, as will the geographic, historical, or cultural context of the utterance.[8] Such awareness of the source of an utterance requires a degree of cultural acuity—and indeed cultural competence—that is *extremely difficult* to cultivate in relation to English Canadian music, or to English Canadian culture more broadly. As Jody Berland writes, "the truism north of the 49th [Parallel is that] Canadians live and write as though the border is everywhere, shadowing everything we contemplate and fear; Americans as if there is no border at all. To them the Other is either identical or invisible, or, in the Canadian case, an oscillating combination of the two."[9] In the age of globalization, Berland contends, "it is the 'other cultures' that are forced to pay attention, and America knows least of all. Less powerful nations are either dangerous enemies or… simply less successful, wannabe versions of themselves."[10] I certainly do not intend to indemnify my musical readings or analyses from criticism, but I would emphasize—with all due sympathy—that readers may need to interrogate their own sense of Canada as an "identical or invisible" Other, or indeed to interrogate their own cultural position more generally.

The value of this kind of interrogation might be particularly apparent (not to say more important) in popular music. I would offer as an example Camille Paglia's analysis of Joni Mitchell's "Woodstock," which Paglia characterizes as "an important modern

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[8] Nobody, to the best of my knowledge, has ever been beheaded for saying "let them eat cake" at a child's birthday party.

[9] Jody Berland, "Writing on the Border," in *Canadian Cultural Studies: A Reader*, ed. Sourayan Mookerjea, Imre Szeman, and Gail Faurschou (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 474.

[10] Ibid., 475.

poem—possibly the most popular and influential poem composed in English since Sylvia Plath's 'Daddy.'"[11] Joni Mitchell is by no means a noted Canadian cultural nationalist, but she is Canadian—the daughter, in fact, of a flight lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), as Paglia herself notes.[12] Such a fact might be relevant to the kind of close reading Paglia offers here—but, as the quotation at the beginning of this preface indicates, she is "not that familiar with Canada," and is content to dismiss the whole nation as a 'backwater' on the basis of her experience on one university campus.[13]

What does Paglia thus miss in her discussion of "Woodstock"? Much of her analysis is certainly convincing and compelling. Paglia reads Mitchell's song as "an elegy for an entire generation" that "shows the heady visions of the sixties counterculture already receding and evaporating."[14] This elegaic quality is clear not just in the text, but in Mitchell's performance—in "its slow, jazz-inflected pacing," and the coda's "crooning

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[11] Camille Paglia, *Break, Blow, Burn: Camille Paglia Reads Forty-Three of the World's Best Poems* Kindle ed. (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2005), 227.

"Woodstock," again, was first released on Joni Mitchell, *Ladies of the Canyon* (Reprise 6376,1970).

[12] Ibid.

[13] Paglia is, in fairness, a reckless contrarian. But in the same interview, she expresses concern that "postmodernism, poststructuralism, [and] multiculturalism" have destroyed the humanities, with the alarming result that "what we're getting now is people who never heard of Michelangelo or Leonardo because they are dead white males. They think it's better to read minor works by African-American or Caribbean writers than the great literature of the world." Setting aside the plausibility of the claim that Michelangelo and Leonardo have less name recognition than even 'non-minor' writers like Maya Angelou or Derek Walcott, it is clear that Paglia's dismissal of Canada is of a piece with her dismissal of margins and peripheries in general.

[14] Paglia, *Break, Blow, Burn: Camille Paglia Reads Forty-Three of the World's Best Poems* 227 and 32.

lullaby that turns into a warning wail."[15] In contrast, "[t]he grandeur of Mitchell's lyric, with its vast expanse of space and time, is somewhat obscured in [the song's] carefree performance by Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young [CSNY], who are true believers in the revolutionary promise of Woodstock nation."[16] In the process of crossing genres from folk to rock, CSNY turn the song into "a stomping hoedown" that "treats Mitchell's lyric uncritically as a rousing anthem for the hippie counterculture"; they "literally re-creat[e] the 'song and celebration,' [and thus] their bouncy, infectious rock rendition permits no alternative view of the festival."[17]

But what of Paglia's confident identification of the bombers that "[turn] into butterflies" in the narrator's dream as "the war machine then deployed in Vietnam"?[18] No doubt, in the context of the American countercultural movements of the late 1960s that produced Woodstock, this is the obvious interpretation: between the festival and the release of "Woodstock" on *Ladies of the Canyon*, indeed, many of the same young men who had been at Max Yasgur's farm would have come face-to-face with the draft lottery of the Selective Service System.[19] But by treating Mitchell's text as a commentary on

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 232. The CSNY recording of "Woodstock" appears on *Déjà Vu* (Atlantic Records SD 7200, 1970).

[17] Ibid., 227 and 32.

[18] Ibid., 227.

[19] The Woodstock Music and Art Fair took place 15-17 August 1969. The 'draft lottery' was instituted in December 1969. (Many of these young men also no doubt fled to Canada.) See John Whiteclay Chambers, "Conscription," in *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, ed. John Whiteclay Chambers (Oxford University Press / Oxford Reference Online, 2004).

specifically American counterculture—by assuming that "our nation" is the United States—Paglia isolates the threat of violence of the Cold War to the proxy conflict in the margin.[20] Mitchell's reference to bombers may be intended in part as a reference to Vietnam, but reads more plausibly as a reference to Soviet and American bombers. The "war machines then deployed in Vietnam" did not in fact fly over Canada or the United States: the bombers feared in North American airspace would have been those of the first strike or a massive retaliation in the opening salvos of World War III.[21] Mitchell's political vision is thus at a minimum different from what Paglia can grasp—if not indeed radically larger. Read as a commentary on Vietnam alone, Mitchell's concerns are those of the American counterculture—what Paglia calls "the white, middle-class children of an affluent, industrialized nation," a privileged group concerned with visible conflict and the looming prospect of the draft.[22] This group might be agonized by awareness of American violence, but they are themselves the product of American power. They might dream of

[20] Paglia is aware of Mitchell's Canadian roots, but the only reference to Canada in Paglia's reading is in a wild interpretive leap: "During her childhood, Joni Mitchell's father was a flight lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Air Force. Thus 'Woodstock' aligns the modern military with mythic father figures and sky gods" (230). Mitchell's connection to the RCAF gives my interpretation more credence. The daughter of an RCAF officer of her generation would quite certainly have been aware of NORAD (North American Air Defense Command) and the DEW (Defense Early Warning) Line.

[21] See Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-57* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 144-46. Whitaker and Marcuse point out that the emergence of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) eventually made the "early radar warning of manned bomber attacks… technologically superfluous" (145). By 1970, the risk of Soviet attack or American retaliation (or vice versa) by manned bombers was probably much less likely than the risk of exchange of ICBMs. That change does not, however, negate the image of manned bombers that would have been the backdrop of Mitchell's childhood.

[22] Paglia, *Break, Blow, Burn: Camille Paglia Reads Forty-Three of the World's Best Poems* 228-9.

American bombers leaving Southeast Asia—but such a dream is very different from a vision of the metamorphosis or collapse of the bigger power systems of the Cold War.

Paglia has no interest in the collapse of such power systems: her analysis in fact enshrines them. The transfiguration of the bombers into butterflies, she writes, "suggests an erasure of borders, restoring the continental expanse of pre-Columbian North America. It's as if mistrust and aggression could be wished away and nationalistic rivalries purged around the world. The impossibility of this lovely dream does not negate its value."[23] Mitchell does perhaps long for an erasure of borders, but Paglia, to echo Berland, already lives and writes as if there is no border at all. Paglia's "lovely dream" is one of American domination and international homogenization—a dream that does not take into account the desires of people outside of the United States to preserve distinct culture or national autonomy in the 'American century.'

Paglia's reading is also determined to preserve traditional forms of cultural hierarchy or canonicity. Paglia insists on Mitchell as a great artist: she identifies textual references or correspondences between Mitchell's lyric and works of Blake, Shelley, and Wordsworth, and casts Mitchell as a lone wanderer in the tradition of Kerouac and Whitman.[24] She contrasts Mitchell and CSNY: Mitchell is critical, reflective, visionary, while CSNY are simply "true believers in the revolutionary promise of Woodstock

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[23] Ibid., 231.

[24] Ibid. Jack Kerouac, as an aside, was born in the United States, but was of French-Canadian heritage.

nation."[25] Yet many of the features of Mitchell's lyrics and performance that Paglia takes as evidence of greatness might, more neutrally, be the product of Mitchell's Canadian origins. Northrop Frye writes that "historically, a Canadian is an American who rejects the revolution," and makes clear that this rejection is paired to a "point of view that is at once more conservative and more radical" than the American.[26] Mitchell's suspicion of revolution (or of counterrevolution) is thus perhaps a marker not of Great Artistry, but of alignment with a longer socio-cultural tradition. Likewise, her interrogation of the counterculture might connect to Marshall McLuhan's suggestion that Canada is a 'counter-environment' or 'anti-environment' to the United States, and that "anti-environments are indispensable for making an environment understandable."[27] As Robert Wright has written of Mitchell and her contemporary English Canadian folk musicians:

> For all that they disliked and feared in the United States of the turbulent 1960s, they recognized that there were many Americans—not all of them members of the Counterculture—who shared their estrangement. They also knew that Canada was no Utopia, that it was naive to look to life in Canada, or to any rural myth, as a panacea for the ills of the United States. These conflicting impulses produced a remarkable ambivalence in the

[25] Ibid.

[26] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Concord, Ontario: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1995; first published 1971), 14. *The Bush Garden* anthologizes Frye's own selection of his writings on Canadian literature, art, and culture. This quotation appeared initially in a 1952 "Letter to Canada" published in the *University of Toronto Quarterly.*

Specifically, Frye writes: "The Canadian point of view is at once more conservative and more radical than Whiggery, closer both to aristocracy and to democracy than to oligarchy" (14). In context, "Whiggery" is "the mercantilist Whiggery which won the Revolution and proceeded to squander the resources of a continent, being now engaged in squandering ours" (Ibid).

[27] Marshall McLuhan, "Canada as Counter-Environment," in *Canadian Cultural Studies: A Reader*, ed. Sourayan Mookerjea, Imre Szeman, and Gail Faurschou (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 74.

> protest music Canadians wrote: they were able to judge life in America from the vantage point of the outsider and the insider simultaneously, blending toughness and sympathy in a way that was unique to the American music scene.[28]

Surely Mitchell chooses to cultivate this perspective—she rarely highlights her Canadian origins in her work, but neither does she make them invisible in the pursuit of commercial appeal.[29] But if Mitchell is remarkable as an outsider among counterculturals, this status might not be the result so much of specifically individual genius as of her origin in a "counterenvironment," a place in which "the outsider and insider" do not exist in radically different spheres, but in overlapping circles.

My point here is not to debunk any claim to Mitchell's greatness.[30] It is to say, rather, that ignoring or simplifying the social, historical, and cultural context of her work makes it possible for Paglia to insist on a traditional Western hierarchy of artistic or musical value. Not only does Paglia miss or misread some of Mitchell's text; she misses an

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[28] Robert Wright, *Virtual Sovereignty: Nationalism, Culture and the Canadian Question* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press and Women's Press, 2004), 70-71.

[29] Elizabeth Jameson has written, tongue-in-cheek, that "Americans appear oblivious to the hidden menace of Canadian cultural imperialism, and ignore the insidious Canadianizing influence of Peter Jennings, Morley Safer, Dan Akroyd, Michael J. Fox, William Shatner, Shania [Twain], Neil Young, and Celine Dion." Certainly the "Canadianness" of some of the figures on this list is effectively invisible to Americans—and certainly in some cases that invisibility is strategic, a way to maximize popular appeal. Mitchell would seem to fall somewhere in the middle of the spectrum (as indeed Robert Wright's work suggests, in the passage I have quoted here). See Elizabeth Jameson, "Both Sides Now: "Parallel" Lines across Bi-National Pasts," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 42/4 (2012): 492.

[30] I am suspicious of designations of 'greatness' and 'genius' in general—and, as I will discuss, strive for a non-evaluative approach to criticism and evaluation. My uncritical 'civilian' perspective, however, is that Joni Mitchell is indeed a Great Artist.

opportunity to interrogate her own cultural values. Paglia likely sees no great loss in that missed opportunity—but I do.[31]

Of course, insofar as my reading hinges on the contrast between the recordings of "Woodstock" by Mitchell and CSNY, it might be entirely incorrect: I have neglected to mention that while David Crosby and Stephen Stills are American, Graham Nash is British, and Neil Young is Canadian. Shouldn't the presence of Neil Young have disrupted the "true revolutionary" spirit of the CSNY recording? I am tempted to sidestep this question by arguing that the CSNY recording of "Woodstock" primarily reflects the aesthetics of Crosby and Stills—but I won't.[32] Part of the challenge of dealing with Canadian music—and with Canada in general—is the awareness that Canada is in many respects not radically different from the United States or Britain: it is, as Frye suggests, the middle way between them—an "alternating current," not a defined path.[33] Or, as the poet George Elliott Clarke writes, "[t]he Canadian "difference" from the US is one of degree and sentiment, not a stark, merciless alterity."[34] Tracking this 'alternating current' is tricky business—and is a project that has often been abandoned in studies of Canadian cultural texts, in favor of pinning down the "distinctively Canadian" features of this text. This is, nonetheless, the project I undertake here.

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[31] See note 13, p. xiv.

[32] Informally, I *could* make this argument: "Woodstock" sounds much more like a Stephen Stills solo track than like a Graham Nash or Neil Young solo track.

[33] Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination*, 220.

[34] George Elliott Clarke, "What Was Canada?," in *Is Canada Postcolonial? Unsettling Canadian Literature* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003), 29.

Chapter One

"Imported English Organists" and Branch-Plant Anxieties:
Middlepowerhood, Postcoloniality, and Culture in Cold War Canada

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What else is "distinctively Canadian"?
Well, historically, a Canadian is an American who rejects the Revolution.
NORTHROP FRYE[1]

I wanted to attack all those who seek their personal salvation by taking the middle road.
For the middle road is the only one that does not lead to Rome.
But it is the one taken by those who nibble at dissonances, wanting to pass for modern, but who are too cautious to draw the consequences[.]
ARNOLD SCHOENBERG[2]

As Madeleine McCarthy, the young protagonist of Ann-Marie MacDonald's novel *The Way the Crow Flies*, travels with her family to RCAF Station Centralia in the summer of 1962, she encounters a distinctively Canadian landscape, with "fir trees [that] give way to the St. Lawrence Seaway, the narrow cultivated strips of old Québec all along the broad river, the blue shimmer of the worn Laurentian Mountains[.]"[3] The thematic criticism that dominated Canadian literary studies in the later twentieth century has trained English Canadian readers to understand this sort of landscape as a "map of a state of

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[1] Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination*, 14.

[2] Arnold Schoenberg, "Foreword to *Three Satires for Mixed Chorus*, Op. 29 (1925-1926)," in *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life*, ed. Joseph Auner (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), 186.

[3] Ann-Marie MacDonald, *The Way the Crow Flies* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2003), 6. Madeleine's father Jack is an officer in the RCAF (Royal Canadian Air Force), and had previously been assigned a post in Germany. RCAF Station Centralia was located near London, Ontario, close to the Canada / US border. *The Way the Crow Flies* opens shortly after Madeleine and her family return from an extended posting on a military base in West Germany.

mind" that encodes national identity and imagination—and to expect that this imagination will often be, as in the conception of Northrop Frye, "mentally garrisoned against a terrifying nature, frostbitten by colonial history."[4] MacDonald's novel initially invites this sort of reading—if in a manner more reflective of the "colonial" concerns of the 1960s than of the nineteenth century. This Canadian landscape may shimmer with the light and warmth of summer, but it is studded with billboards for Kodak and Dairy Queen, and navigated (infested, or occupied?) by imported American automobiles: "all you need is a car and the world is your oyster, your Edsel, your Chrysler, your Ford. *Trust Texaco*…There's a '53 Studebaker Coupe!—oh look, there's the new Thunderbird."[5] The

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[4] Linda Hutcheon, "Introduction," in *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Concord, Ontario: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1995), viii-ix.

Although this approach to criticism of Canadian literature was pioneered by Northrop Frye, it was certainly popularized by Margaret Atwood, in her (implausibly) bestselling 1972 work *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*. I echo here her contention that "landscapes in poems are often interior landscapes; they are maps of a state of mind" (45).

I also echo Imre Szeman's contention that nationalism in Canadian literature "emerg[ed] preeminently as a strategy of reading" in the years after 1945—rather than as a strategy of writing. I would counter that there is some degree of 'feedback' between popular critical models and nationalist fiction. There may be "*nowhere* in Canadian fiction after World War II a national literature that attempts to write the nation into existence" in traditional terms, but there is literature that deploys the tropes and symbols addressed in works of thematic criticism as a conscious declaration of Canadian identity. See Imre Szeman, *Zones of Instablity: Literature, Postcolonialism, and the Nation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 162-63.

See more comprehensive overviews of thematic criticism (and reactions against thematic criticism) in Russell Morton Brown, "The Practice and Theory of Canadian Thematic Criticism: A Reconsideration," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 70/2 (2001), and Tanis MacDonald, "Fracture Mechanics: Canadian Poetry since 1960," in *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Literature*, ed. Cynthia Conchita Sugars (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[5] MacDonald, *The Way the Crow Flies*, 3. The notion that "the world is your oyster" seems also to be a cultural import, suggestive more of the classically American attitude towards the frontier than of the Canadian "garrison mentality."

See also Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, Ltd, 2004), 26.: "Possibly the symbol for America is The Frontier, a flexible

old threats that preoccupied Canadian settlers (freezing to death, getting fatally lost in uncharted territory, being stricken by any number of poxes or privations) are absent, and as a child snuggling a plush Bugs Bunny doll in the backseat of the family Rambler station wagon, Madeleine herself has certainly no sense of anxiety about the encroachment of imports from the freshly-superpowered United States.[6] Insofar as it offers a metaphorical "map" of Canada, however, the novel's opening thematizes the commonplace anxiety voiced by Canadian cultural nationalists in the Cold War period, articulated most iconically in George Grant's lament that Canada had become "a branch-plant society of American capitalism," and that the nation could no longer hope to remain sovereign.[7]

But MacDonald's novel does not precisely echo those Cold-War-era cultural nationalist concerns, which were frequently framed as a matter of colonial or neo-colonial domination of Canada by the United States; nor can the novel be adequately

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idea that contains many elements dear to the American heart: it suggests a place that is new, where the old order can be discarded (as it was when America was instituted by a crop of disaffected Protestants, and later at the time of the Revolution); a line that is always expanding, taking in or "conquering" ever-fresh virgin territory (be it The West, the rest of the world, outer space, Poverty or The Regions of the Mind); it holds out a hope, never fulfilled but always promised, of Utopia, the perfect human society."

[6] Madeleine's father, an RCAF officer, *does* voice this kind of anxiety, scolding Madeleine's brother Mike for watching "American garbage" on television and insisting on the use of proper Canadian military terminology (in opposition to the US military terminology that Mike has presumably picked up from US media). When Mike enlists in the US Marine Corps, Jack is outraged: "'You've pledged allegiance to a foreign power!'" (590). Mike's preference for the "better everything" of the United States is ultimately fatal: as a US Marine, he is deployed to Vietnam and lost in action.

[7] George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 40th Anniversary ed., Carleton Library (Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 40.

As I will discuss, the 'threat to sovereignty' that Grant discusses is almost universally summarized as a result of 'colonization' of Canada by the United States.

understood in the sort of reading I have suggested here. Published in 2003, more than a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the novel is concerned less with the notion of Canada as a frostbitten colony than with Canada's position "in the middle" in the Cold War.[8] As the Cuban Missile Crisis approaches, during the autumn after the McCarthy family's arrival in Centralia, Madeleine's father Jack opines that Prime Minister John Diefenbaker is "trying to fight his way to the middle" of the nuclear debate, and is admonished by an RCAF colleague that there is "no such thing [as the middle] when it comes to nukes."[9] The geographic middle, however, was precisely where Canada found itself at the onset of the Cold War: with the most direct air routes from the USSR to the US taking fighter jets or missiles over the North Pole, Canada became vital strategic territory, and the Canadian north is even today dotted by the old NORAD stations of the DEW Line.[10]

Jack also encounters the perils of a more metaphorical middle when he is caught between British and American interests, in what might be read as a dramatization of

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[8] *The Way the Crow Flies*, in other words, shows awareness of thematic criticism, and engages with the tropes and conventions suggested by thematic readings of Canadian literature—but it is written with historical distance from the period in which thematic criticism emerged, and thus to some extent "writes back" against it.

[9] MacDonald, *The Way the Crow Flies*, 199.

[10] Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites, originally part of North American Aerospace Command (NORAD) are now mostly deactivated and disused, but many of the facilities remain—and continue to leech lead and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) into the high Arctic. See John S. Poland, Scott Mitchell, and Alison Rutter, "Remediation of Former Military Bases in the Canadian Arctic," *Cold Regions Science and Technology* 32 (2001).

For commentary on the cultural significance of the DEW Line, see also David Neufeld, "Commemorating the Cold War in Canada: Considering the Dew Line," *The Public Historian* 20/1 (1998).

George Grant's observation that "the existence of [Canada] has always been bound up with the interplay of various world empires."[11] For feebly-explained reasons of continental (rather than national) security, Jack is forced to conceal information that might prevent the tragic wrongful conviction of a Métis boy, Richard Froelich, for the murder of another child at the Centralia station.[12] When Jack argues his conscience to the British officer who has ordered his cooperation—a man who trained Jack in the days of the Second World War, and whom Madeleine calls "Uncle Simon"—he is told explicitly that "one day the shooting [of World War II] stopped and we called it victory… we called it peace. But it isn't quite. *And you're right in the middle of it.*'"[13] Jack is indeed "in the middle": crucially, I would emphasize, not "at the center," with the authority or autonomy that might suggest, but instead pulled or trapped between greater powers, facilitating or acquiescing to their interests at the expense of his own interests and values.[14]

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[11] George Grant, "Canadian Fate and Imperialism," *Canadian Dimension* 4 (1967): 21.

[12] The British are relocating a German scientist (whom Richard Froelich's adoptive father, a German Jewish immigrant, identifies as a war criminal) to the United States, a process that requires the scientist to be kept covertly in Canada until he can be moved across the border. This whole process might be read as an analogous to Canada's traditional role as the center point in the "Atlantic Triangle" of shipping and trade—though plainly updated for the Cold War context, and thereby made more sinister.

The moniker "Uncle Simon," of course, recalls "Uncle Sam," and seems to suggest a connection between British and American authority. It might also be an explicit reference to the discussion of Canadian foreign relations in John W. Holmes, *Life with Uncle: The Canadian-American Relationship*, The Bissell Lectures 1980-81 (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

[13] MacDonald, *The Way the Crow Flies*, 456.

[14] The McCarthy family is idyllically happy at the beginning of the novel, and Jack is cast as a warm father and honorable officer. He is, however, deeply tormented by guilt following the

Broadly speaking, to be in the middle in the Cold War was often perilous. In a conflict that depended not on open combat, but on tension between "polar opposites" or binaries, a territory that could not be neatly classified according to those binaries would become an ideological battleground—and in the West, that ideological battle would be shape artists' aesthetic, technical, and expressive choices.[15] Much has been written, for instance, about the American effort in the 1950s to secure France, thought to be susceptible to Stalin's influence, for the West through "cultural and ideological conditioning" of various forms.[16] Mark Carroll writes that the pressure exerted on France

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events I have referenced here. He becomes alienated from his wife (though they remain married), and dies in late middle age after a series of heart attacks (brought on, it is suggested, by the continuous strain of this guilt and alienation—"a bomb in his chest" (550)).

I do not mean to suggest that MacDonald's novel is a simple allegory, and should note that the popular response to this novel focused more on its fictionalization of the notorious Steven Truscott case, and on its (extremely sensitive and sympathetic) depiction of childhood sexual abuse. By making the Métis teenager Richard Froelich the ultimate victim of Jack's actions, however, I would argue that the novel clearly tries to problematize arguments—common to works of thematic criticism—that hold that white English Canadians are marginalized because of their colonial or postcolonial status. Those colonial or postcolonial ties are real in MacDonald's novel, and certainly "Uncle Simon" is a force for evil, but they are not the source of the most grievous violence or harm: that comes from white Canadians themselves (the teacher who molests his primary-school students; the girls who kill a classmate in a re-enactment of their own abuse; Jack McCarthy, who puts nebulous state interests ahead of justice for an indigenous boy, etc.).

See discussion of MacDonald's references to the Truscott case in James Adams, "Truscott's Acquittal a Great Relief to Author Inspired by His Case," *The Globe and Mail*, 30 August 2007.

[15] Leslie A. Sprout, "The 1945 Stravinsky Debates: Nigg, Messiaen, and the Early Cold War in France," *Journal of Musicology* 26/1 (2009): 88.

Sprout lists "polar opposites" of "U.S. / Soviet Union, modernism / socialist realism, serialism / neoclassicism" (88). Conventionally, of course, this list would also include "communism / capitalism" and "East / West."

[16] Mark Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, ed. Arnold Whittall, Music in the 20th Century (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 14.

Carroll focuses initially on the 1959 *L'Oeuvre du XXeme siècle* festival in Paris, sponsored by the CIA-funded Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture or Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF). The

to adopt "an 'Either-Or' (either the United States or the Soviet Union) stance" produced a "'Neither-Nor' sentiment, articulated politically… by the so-called 'Third Force,' which maintained that France should ignore the overtures of both East and West and pursue independent political and cultural agendas."[17] The putatively autonomous avant-garde serialism of Pierre Boulez, Carroll posits, was "a manifestation" of this sentiment, a refusal of both Soviet and American domination.[18]

With this insistence on cultural and political independence, the French "Third Force" would try to escape the middle by declaring itself the center. Such a declaration depends on a sense of cultural, historical, or political authority, and a commitment to nationalism by the ruling class or cultural élites. George Grant observed that Charles de Gaulle in this period was "able to preserve… the power and culture of France" despite American power and pressure "by gaining support for nationalism from the [nation's] most advanced technocrats."[19] Grant, however, held out no hope that Canada could engage a similar kind of resistance: "De Gaulle [was] able to count on a deeply felt nationalism[,] based on a tradition that pre-dates the age of progress and yet [was] held by men who [could] handle the modern world. But no such tradition existed among any

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CCF "believed that once favorable (that is, pro-NATO) conditions were established in Eastern Europe, freedom of expression would flourish" (16). The festival program included the première of Pierre Boulez's *Structures 1a*, and Carroll contends that the work was programmed (at least in part) because the CCF had recognized that "propaganda value could be garnered by championing the creative freedom and sense of renewal that underpinned serial technique" (4).

[17] Ibid., 3.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 65-66.

of the important decision-makers in Canada."[20] Whether those decision-makers were, as Grant contends, determined to sell Canada out to American capitalists in the name of 'progress' is a matter of some contention. What is certain is that they were reconciled to the role of middle power: in the years after World War II they sought, as diplomat and political scientist John W. Holmes has written, to "[explain] to the world that Canadians were of greater consequence than the Panamanians but could not take on the obligations of the Americans, or even the French."[21] Rather than declaring their nation to be an autonomous or authoritative centre, they accepted the middle, and compromised idealism and ambition with pragmatic resignation to second-tier status.

If the politics of Cold War France produce a Boulez, then, what music is produced by Cold War Canada? This dissertation argues that English Canadian composers of the Cold War period produced works that function as "middle power music." Canada accepts the role of middle power in the Cold War period, I argue, because the "middle" position and status reflect (or even formalize) the nation's historical and cultural position—to quote Grant once more, "bound up with the interplay of various world empires."[22] But rather than conceiving of second-tier status as a binding limitation, I ask how the status and role of middle power can be productive or constitutive of Canadian identity or Canadian art.[23] The notion that middle power diplomacy, "based on non-structural forms

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[20] Ibid., 47.

[21] John W. Holmes, "Most Safely in the Middle," *International Journal* 39/2 (1984): 367.

[22] Grant, "Canadian Fate and Imperialism," 21.

[23] My understanding of English Canadian music is informed by serious study of Canadian literature and, to a lesser extent, visual art and film. For consistency, I will refer to creative

of power and influence," entails the use of "the skills [not] of a giant but of a good dancer" is richly suggestive for cultural analysis, particularly in a field so much defined by an "economy of prestige" as art music composition in the Cold War period.[24]

I understand English Canadian composers in this period as desiring or pursuing modernism and modernity, but not aspiring to the top tier of canonic prestige. Measured against Western European or American standards of musical progress or complexity, these composers that I study in this dissertation are marginal—but they are also paradoxically liberated in terms of compositional practice. Their music is stylistically, technically, and ideologically flexible—a kind of double-voiced discourse that imports or utters the sounds of the modernist metropolis, but inflects, unsettles, and strikes compromises with the ideologies and power structures that accompany those sounds.[25]

For English Canadian composers, serialism thus becomes neither a language of radical refusal (as Carroll argues about Boulez), nor a technique of an anti-Stalinist American cultural élite (as Martin Brody argues of Milton Babbitt), nor a "polar

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works in general as "art," and specify "visual art" when I mean to indicate painting, sculpture, etc.

[24] Andrew Fenton Cooper, Richard A. Higgott, and Kim Richard Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), 23-24.

I also echo here "the economy of prestige," described in Susan McClary, "Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition," *Cultural Critique* 12 (1989). I address McClary's arguments about prestige at length in Chapter 2.

[25] The terms "metropolis" and "metropole" are used similarly in discussions of colonialism of the cultural politics of modernism or the avant-garde. For the sake of clarity, in this text I will use the term "metropole" consistently to refer to a *colonial* centre, and the term "metropolis" to refer more generally to an urban centre of cultural authority. In this usage, I would indicate that London has been both 'metropole' and 'metropolis' for Canada until relatively recently; Paris is a 'metropolis,' but has not been a formal 'metropole' of Canada since the eighteenth century.

opposite" of neoclassicism, but instead a compositional technique that can be deployed in the context of compositions that indeed *sound* neoclassical—or, later, as in the work of Ann Southam, can be dissolved into minimalist processes.[26] Neither is neoclassicism tarnished or marginalized by association with leftist politics, as Elizabeth Crist and Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett suggest of the United States in the 1950s.[27] Modernist musical styles and techniques do not become ideologically empty in Cold War English Canada; they retain some of their prestige value, and signify modernism or modernity much in the way they did in the interwar United States.[28] Their prestige value is, however, shifted in a way that reveals "the contingency of the Cold War's… musical canons."[29]

This introductory chapter provides cultural, historical, and critical context for this model of middle power music. The second chapter illustrates the implications of this

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[26] See Martin Brody, "'Music for the Masses': Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory," *The Musical Quarterly* 77/2 (1993).

[27] See Elizabeth Bergman Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). and Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition in the Early Cold War United States," *Journal of Musicological Research* 27/1 (2008).

Crist and DeLapp-Birkett both explain that Copland's turn to serialism were driven by a desire to escape associations of his populist American style with Soviet socialist populism. As DeLapp-Birkett writes, "the desire to dramatize his aesthetic independence from Soviet musical policy doubtless played a role in Copland's decision to explore twelve-tone techniques in 1950. Should anyone attempt to accuse Copland of stylistic sympathy with 'the mass-appeal music of a Shostakovich' rather than 'the musical radicalism of a Schoenberg,' the [1950] Piano Quartet's 'formalist' technique would provide concrete proof of the gap between official Soviet aesthetics and his own" (60).

See additional discussion beginning on p. 33.

[28] See Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s*, Kindle ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). I would certainly not argue that English Canadian music is merely re-enacting the musico-cultural development that Oja sees in the 1920s and 1930s New York, but there are broad similarities in the strategies of modernization that appear in these contexts.

[29] Gordon Johnston, "Revisiting the Cultural Cold War," *Social History* 35/3 (2010): 293.

model for musical analysis through a discussion of R. Murray Schafer's *Three Contemporaries* (1956), Barbara Pentland's *Fantasy for Piano* (1962), and Aaron Copland's *Piano Fantasy* (1957). The third chapter elaborates upon the notion of compromise—inseparable from the middle power identity—and connects this notion to critical examinations of modernist and avant-garde prestige. It explores John Weinzweig's Piano Sonata (1950) and Harry Somers's *12x12 Fugues* as examples of musical-modernist compromise. Works of these composers show a clear impulse to "modernization" of Canadian composition, as a reaction against the conservative style of "imported English organists" who dominated Canadian composition and musical institutions until the middle of the twentieth century.[30] Yet while these composers were regarded as "radical" or "avant-garde" in Canada, their works differ in crucial ways from contemporary "radical" or "avant-garde" compositions from cultural centers in the United States or Western Europe. Chapter Four, finally, focuses on the merger of minimalism and serialism in *Rivers* by composer Ann Southam (1937-2010). Minimalism in music is typically construed as a postmodern reaction to the élitist complexity of high modernism. The style's domination by male composers and its connections to American commercial or industrial values, however, have often gone unexamined. Southam's work dissolves the opposition between minimalism and high modernism, and imparts minimalist style with explicitly feminist content. The works that I select are not intended to be representative of the entire *oeuvre* of any of the composers I discuss; they do,

[30] This often-quoted phrase comes from Barbara Pentland, "Canadian Music 1950," *The Northern Review* 3 (1950): 43.

however, offer a fair representation of each composer's contemporary work in their genre. (More detailed discussion of my rationale for selection of pieces appears in subsequent chapters.)

This project specifically addresses English Canadian culture in the years 1945-84—from the end of the Second World War through the end of Pierre Elliott Trudeau's last term as Prime Minister. Although I will make occasional references to Québec, and to French Canadian culture more broadly, I recognize that the French Canadian culture is in many respects profoundly different from English Canadian culture. Crucially, while English Canadians in this period were anxious to differentiate their culture from that of the United States, French Canadians had a clearer and more confident sense of national identity. It is not incidental that the only references to Canada in the canonic texts about nationalism and national identity are to Québec: French Canadian nationalism follows the European model of "imagined community" based on shared language and ethnicity, whereas English Canadian nationalism does not precisely fit models of New World or postcolonial nationalism.[31] The "middle power" model that I propose has limited relevance to art music in Québec, where there are indeed multiple composers of note who

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[31] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2006); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Second ed., Canto Classics (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1991).

It is frequently noted that Hobsbawm's models, derived from examination of European nations, have limited relevance to New World and postcolonial nations. Anderson, however, provides models that are of terrific relevance to discussions of these nations. The absence of English Canada from consideration in his work is thus particularly significant.

use the modernist styles and techniques I discuss in a way that is not “compromised,” but rather reflective of more “central” modernist repertoires.[32]

Critical Paradigms and Cultural Context

Canada as Postcolonial and Postmodern

I situate this dissertation both in the fields of musicology and Canadian studies. From Canadian studies, I draw on literature that defines Canada as both postmodern and postcolonial, and that recognizes and theorizes the historical, political, and ideological issues that distinguish Canada from similarly privileged or ‘developed’ nations. Many articulate these issues, particularly as they interact with creative practices, in terms of paradox. As John Ralston Saul has argued, there is in Canadian history no instance of centralized political force that has “been seriously aimed at producing the standard monolithic mythology of other nation-states.”[33] While the lack of monolithic mythology is the basis for much anxiety about the weakness—or indeed failure—of the nation, Saul contends instead that “this failure to conform is in fact our greatest success. A proof of originality that we refuse to grasp as a positive.”[34] Robert Kroetsch argues a similar apparent paradox when he insists on Canada as an essentially postmodern nation, “all

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[32] For a representative discussion, see Lucien Poirier, "Style canadien de musique: mirage et réalité," *Les Cahiers de l'ARMuQ* 3 (1984). Poirier suggests that Québec has both a distinct cultural identity and distinct musical style, whereas English Canadians have neither.

Serge Garant and Claude Vivier, for instance, were composers who worked in 20th-century modernist styles, and—in contrast to the English Canadian composers I discuss here—could indeed have been assessed as “radical” or “avant-garde” by international standards.

[33] John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 1998), 8.

[34] Ibid.

periphery and margin, against the hole in the middle."[35] Kroetsch contends that "Canadians cannot agree what their meta-narrative is… [and] in some perverse way this very falling-apart of our story is what holds our story together."[36]

The middle power model that I propose, however, also attempts to refine the narratives of Canadian postcoloniality and postmodernism. At their most problematic, white English Canadian claims to postcolonial status show "little awareness of the colonialist's own colonization of indigenous peoples, virtually no guilt at rendering entire cultures invisible through the heroical act of naming a found land."[37] By focusing on cultural marginalization or subordination by Britain or the United States, English Canadians have tended to erase their own history as colonizers, and to deny or minimize their complicity in contemporary Western violence or domination.

I do not set out to deny, in turn, the cultural marginalization of Canadian culture or Canadian artists; I suggest, however, that understanding Canada as a settler-invader nation that *chooses* middle power status clarifies its cultural and political position. The strongest waves of Canadian cultural nationalism happened after 1945, and were frequently characterized in terms of "decolonization" or "colonial resistance." This "resistance," however, was very often directed more towards American than British domination—and this American domination manifested not in a legitimately colonialist

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[35] Robert Kroetsch, "Disunity as Unity: A Canadian Strategy," in *Unhomely States: Theorizing English-Canadian Postcolonialism*, ed. Cynthia Conchita Sugars (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004), 68.

[36] Ibid., 61.

[37] Donna Bennett, "English Canada's Postcolonial Complexities," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 51-52 (1993): 5.

power relationship, but in a complex and particular sort of cultural hegemony and economic control. As a nation emerging from a formal colonial relationship with Britain, Canada was no doubt particularly vulnerable to American domination in the Cold War period, and because of the nations' similarity and propinquity that domination was particularly difficult for Canadians to counter. But by no means is Canada's anxiety about American domination unique in the Cold War period—and, as I will show, in some respects, this anxiety was implicitly reflective of Canada's increasing alignment with American interests. By conceptualizing Canada as a middle power, I hope to begin to decouple colonial or neo-colonial power relationships from the "superpower" subordinations of the Cold War.

The concept of Canada as middle power also refines the notion of Canada as fundamentally postmodern. Robert Kroetsch has gone so far as to declare that there was no Canadian modernism:

> Canadian literature evolved directly from Victorian into Postmodern. Morley Callaghan went to Paris and met the Modern writers; he, for Canada, experienced the real and symbolic encounter; he, heroically and successfully, resisted. The country that invented Marshall McLuhan and Northrop Frye did so by not ever being Modern.[38]

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[38] Robert Kroetsch, "[Introduction]," *boundary 2* 3/1 (1974): 1.

Morley Callaghan (1903-1990) was a well-known Canadian writer—probably better known outside of Canada for beating Ernest Hemingway in a 1929 boxing match than for his fiction. See Hugo McPherson, "Morley Callaghan," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Foundation, 2015). and Norman Mailer, "Punching Papa," *New York Review of Books*, 01 February 1963.

Kroestch's claim about the non-existence of Canadian modernism has had wide circulation, even if it has never received universal acceptance. As Tony Tremblay writes, "There is no better measure of the ambiguity surrounding Canadian modernism than the fact that the only

Kroetsch's declaration authorizes a mainstream conception of modernism that, in the words of Raymond Williams, is "a highly selective version of the modern which then offers to appropriate the whole of modernity."[39] There may be little in the way of internationally-recognized Canadian modernism, but there have certainly been composers, writers, and visual artists who have identified or been identified as modernist (or even "avant-garde")—and their works frequently demand examination on the terms of modernism, rather than of postmodernism. My concept of middlepowerhood instead resonates with recent scholarship that suggests that "Canada's modernism is not tertiary or 'after' European and then American modernisms, but 'between' them."[40] It also incorporates the concept of the "off-modern," described by Svetlana Boym as a reflective form of modernism that appears in "traditions… considered marginal or peripheral in relation to the cultural mainstream."[41] As Boym writes, "[t]he adverb 'off' confuses our sense of direction; it makes us explore sideshows and back alleys rather than the straight

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uncontested understanding shared by critics on the matter is an almost universal familiarity with the post-modernism position that we *did not have any* modernism in Canada: that, according to Robert Kroetsch, our literature evolved from E.J. Pratt's late Victorian aesthetic to parodic postmodernism, and that, according to George Bowering, Canadian modernism began and ended with Sheila Watson's *The Double Hook*."

See Tony Tremblay, "'A Widening of the Northern Coterie': The Cross-Border Cultural Politics of Ezra Pound, Marshall Mcluhan, and Louis Dudek," in *The Canadian Modernists Meet*, ed. Dean Irvine, Reappraisals: Canadian Writers (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005), 153.

[39] Raymond Williams, *Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London and New York: Verso, 2007), 33.

Williams continues: "We have only to review the names in the real history to see the open ideologizing which permits the selection" (Ibid).

[40] Tim Conley, "Samizdat Odyssey: *Ulysses* above the 42nd Parallel," in *The Canadian Modernists Meet*, ed. Dean Irvine, Reappraisals: Canadian Writers (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005), 142.

[41] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), xvii.

road of progress; it allows us to take a detour from the deterministic narrative of twentieth-century history."[42] To insist on the existence of Canadian middle-power modernism is to unsettle the "appropriation of the whole of modernity" by canonic or central modernism, and to make clear that modernism, like postmodernism, encompasses a broad range of styles, techniques, and identities.

Northrop Frye: Thematic Criticism, Evaluation, and Canonicity

This project makes substantial use of the concepts and critical approaches articulated by George Grant and Northrop Frye, thinkers credited with "establish[ing] the broad intellectual framework within which the fate of the Canadian nation was analyzed and assessed in the decades following World War II."[43] From Frye, I take first a critical orientation that avoids evaluation—that is, the possibly-not-"real" question of whether a work reaches "classic proportions."[44] Applying this orientation to Canadian music responds to composer and musicologist John Beckwith's hope, expressed three decades ago:

> What Northrop Frye's *The Bush Garden* did for Canadian literature someone, let's hope, will someday do for Canadian musical composition: that is, instead of telling us whether it is "great" or "world class"—whatever those terms mean—telling us for once what it *is*, describing its features, its behavioral quirks, its reasons for existing.[45]

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[42] Ibid., xvi-xvii.

[43] Szeman, *Zones of Instablity: Literature, Postcolonialism, and the Nation*, 166.

[44] Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination*, 217.

[45] John Beckwith, "Notes on CanChorRep, or, 'Great Music It Isn't" (1985)," in *Music Papers: Articles and Talks by a Canadian Composer, 1961-1994* (Ottawa: Golden Dog Press, 1997), 59.

Beckwith observes that if one “[s]ubstitute[s] ‘Beethoven’ for ‘Shakespeare,” Frye’s comments about ‘greatness’ are “strikingly applicable to the situation of our [Canadian] music, whether old or new.”[46] An evaluative approach to musical analysis—one that declares works to be ‘great’ based on particular technical or aesthetic criteria—is now long out of favor in the discipline. Frye reminds us, however, that there is special urgency in suspending the impulse to evaluation when dealing with a marginal, peripheral, or developing body of work.[47] Marginal or peripheral works—perhaps more than plainly canonic “great” works—are profoundly revealing of their cultural context, for “[i]t is much easier to see what literature is trying to do when we are studying a literature that has not quite done it.”[48] This refusal of evaluation has been criticized on the basis that it may produce a “canon that, by unanimous if largely silent consent, contains not one great work,” or that it may serve as an implicit acknowledgement of the inferiority of the works one declines to evaluate.[49] I explicitly disavow that implicit acknowledgement of inferiority, and would emphasize that when I characterize English Canadian composition as “marginal” or “peripheral” I reference its cultural or canonic position, not its value or

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination*, 217.

[48] Ibid., 216.

[49] See Nick Mount, "In Praise of Talking Dogs: The Study and Teaching of Early Canada's Canonless Canon," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 63 (1998): 91.

Mount writes bluntly: “Simply, but inescapably, the net effect of the recent boom in early Canadian literary studies and its near abstinence from evaluation of its field has been to prove [John] Metcalf and Frye dead right by its very silence: we all agree, it would appear, that Canadian literature before Hugh Hood is ‘largely crappy,’ and that, as Frye said, to study Canadian literature up to his day we must outgrow evaluative criticism and become instead cultural historians” (78).

merit. I would add, as well, that a peripheral or marginal literature or repertoire must, effectively by definition, challenge notions of canonicity and "greatness," and that this challenge is a fundamentally important critical project.

Frye is recognized as a founder of thematic criticism, often simplified in practice into a basically hermeneutic approach to reading Canadian texts—'divining the spirit' of Canadian culture, so to speak, from references to landscape or a 'colonial mentality.'[50] As I have suggested in my reading of *The Way the Crow Flies*, thematic criticism risks simplifying or flattening Canadian literature, or indeed Canadian cultural texts in general.[51] In its least compelling applications, thematic criticism may impose a unitary or monolithic conception of "Canadianness" upon Canadian texts, celebrating particular tropes or narratives and ignoring (or even foreclosing) others. This fault is, however, more a result of popularized or simplified approaches to thematic criticism than of the actual claims made by Northrop Frye, whose assertions about the "Canadian

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[50] The expression "colonial mentality" is in broad circulation in English Canadian cultural nationalists texts by the late 1960s.

[51] I would point, as an example, to Sherrill Grace and Stefan Haag, "From Landscape to Soundscape: The Northern Arts of Canada," *Mosaic* 31/2 (1998). Grace and Haag attempt to bring thematic criticism to bear on a number of Canadian compositions that evoke northern landscapes or winter weather. Their discussion includes plainly non-specialist descriptions of musical material, and tends to affirm an imprecise, essentialized Canadian identity.

Particularly unsatisfying are their discussions of works by Harry Freedman and Alexina Louie. Freedman's *Images* (1958), they write, has a "final effect of majesty and power, and of a cold, mysterious realm that can evoke for the listener an imagined North." Louie's *Winter Music* (1989) features "high, thin, sustained notes on the violin followed by gentle glissandi, create a magical quality of icy, delicate beauty. Rapid bowing on the cello suggests falling snow, and a series of ascending chords in the strings suggests the accumulation of snow drifts." *Winter Music* thus "reminds us" of canvases by Lawren Harris, or of the vague idea that Canadians are "united" by the experience of winter.

imagination" were always sensitively qualified and highly particular.[52] As Imre Szeman has commented, there is a frank division between "Grant and Frye's common insistence on the impossibility of the Canadian nation versus the thematic critic's insistence on the necessity of a nationalist criticism. It is difficult to see how thematic criticism's faith in the possibility of a Canadian identity expressed through literature could have originated out of the work of these grim thinkers[.]"[53] Thematic criticism also has real historical importance "as part of Canada's postcolonial drive to construct an autonomous national identity by identifying a coherent culture that exists apart from (and…as a counter to) the imperial centre, a centre that, from the end of World War II until the end of the seventies, was progressively redefined as America rather than Britain."[54] The "identification of a coherent Canadian culture" may no longer be a valid critical goal—but the need to examine or understand Canadian culture as separate from or counter to the cultural centre, imperial or otherwise, persists.

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[52] As I have indicated, Frye is recognized as a "father" of thematic criticism, but the approach was popularized in Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*.

(By her own account, Atwood believed when writing *Survival* that she was writing an informal introduction to Canadian literature for a general audience; it is not reasonable to expect that she would have held the work to rigorous academic standards, and *is* reasonable to expect that her argument is more broad or speculative than it might have been if she had anticipated the enormous popular success of the work. Regardless, I will address *Survival* mainly as a source text for English Canadian attitudes of this period, rather than using it as a critical source. Atwood may not be a significant scholar, but she is an important thinker, and her more personalized or intuitive articulations of English Canadian attitudes are probably unparalleled.)

[53] Szeman, *Zones of Instablity: Literature, Postcolonialism, and the Nation*, 166.

[54] Bennett, "English Canada's Postcolonial Complexities," 189.

I would also argue that Frye's specific observations about Canadian culture are directly relevant to the concept of Canada as a middle power. As he notes, "it is often suggested that Canada's identity is to be found in some *via media*, or *via mediocris*, between [British and American cultures]."[55] For Frye, this "middle way" was reflected in Canadian literature as an "alternating current… between two moods, one romantic, traditional and idealistic, the other shrewd, observant and humorous."[56] It also reflected the historical reality that "a Canadian is an American who rejects the Revolution," and that "Canada, having a seat on the sidelines of the American Revolution, adheres more to the inductive and the expedient" than to the "deductive or *a priori* pattern [in United States] cultural life that tends to define an American way of life and mark it off from anti-American heresies."[57] Frye's artful semantic merger of the *via media* and *via mediocris* signals the general ambivalence about this concept of Canadian culture, which tends to resign Canada and Canadians to second-tier status, even as it insists on their identity and distinction—precisely the compromise implicit in middlepowerhood as a national strategy.

George Grant: A Corrective to the "Collective Victim" Narrative

George Grant is also often credited as a founder of thematic criticism even though, as a political philosopher, his discussions of the 'Canadian condition' were concerned far more with the material than with the literary. His seminal work *Lament for*

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[55] Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination*, 220.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 14 and 221.

a Nation was taken as a call to action by English Canadian cultural nationalists—apparently paradoxically, for it argued that "[o]nce it was decided that Canada was to be a branch-plant society of American capitalism, the issue of Canadian nationalism had been settled."[58] This argument is often paraphrased not in terms of capitalism or industrialism, but in terms of colonialism, even among critics who acknowledge the Cold War context of Grant's analysis.[59] Framing Grant's anxieties in terms of colonialism leads to works like Margaret Atwood's *Survival*, which espouses, not quite critically enough, the notion that Canadians "have been (and are) [inhabitants of] an exploited colony," and which popularized the idea of Canada as "collective victim."[60]

Grant's contention is emphatically not, however, that Canada is an exploited colony or 'collective victim.'[61] He laments the loss of Canada as the loss of the hope "that

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[58] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 40.

[59] Szeman, for instance, writes that "Grant was among the first to take seriously the idea that Canada had become in the postwar period, little more than a de facto colony of the United States" (166).

Dennis Lee—in an earlier response that does not (or cannot, because of its historical vantage point) acknowledge the Cold War context, discusses Grant's ideas almost exclusively as a meditation on colonialism. See Dennis Lee, "Cadence, Country, Silence: Writing in Colonial Space," *boundary 2* 3/1, A Canadian Issue (1974).

[60] Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*, 38 and 31.

Her brand of thematic criticism was, I would suggest, strongly influenced not only by Frye and Grant, but also by the arguments about economics put forth by Harold Innis. By declining to Grant and Innis directly, Atwood presents a political polemic about the status of Canadian culture that is drained of real critical fuel.

[61] The only passage in *Lament for a Nation* that comes close to characterizing Canada as an American colony is ambiguous at best: "an empire does not have to wield direct political control over colonial countries. Poland and Czechoslovakia are as much part of the Russian Empire as India was of the British, or Canada and Brazil of the American" (9).

Grant's phrasing *might* be read as characterizing Poland, Czechoslovakia, Indian, Canada, and Brazil all as 'colonial countries.' But it might also be read as indicating that an empire can exert

on the northern half of this continent we could build a community which had a stronger sense of the common good and of public order than was possible under the individualism of the American capitalist dream."[62] He expresses anxieties about "capitalism [as] the great solvent of tradition in the modern era," about the movement of people "ineluctably toward membership in the universal and homogeneous state," and about the modern "doctrine [of] the continuous revolution."[63] But he also makes it clear that "the vast majority of Canadians are a product of western civilization and live entirely within the forms and assumptions of that enterprise."[64] It does not follow that if, by the middle of the 1960s, "the enteprise of western civilization [found] its core and its spearhead in the American empire," any western country in a subordinate power relationship to the United States is an American colony—and this is not Grant's argument.[65] Rather, Grant writes that the Canadian "form of life depends on [its] membership in the western industrial empire which is centred in the U.S.A.," and Canadians are "second class members of that system": but in this sense, "'second class' [does] not imply a low status,

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power over another nation or territory without formally colonizing it. The inclusion of India/Britain in this list indeed seems to be an outlier, in that it is the only example that indicates a plainly colonial relationship. This is not to say that relationships between Russia and Poland or Czechoslovakia or between the US and Brazil or Canada have not involved material or cultural domination (or in the cases of Poland and Czechoslovakia, formal occupation and violence). These relationships or histories, however, would only be characterized as "colonial" in very particular analytic contexts.

The frequent summarization of Grant's work as suggesting that Canada has been "colonized" by the United States is, I would argue, a frank misreading of his work.

[62] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, xxiii.

[63] Ibid., 46, 53, and 60.

[64] "Canadian Fate and Imperialism," 21.

[65] Ibid.

because there are a large number of classes within [the system]."[66] Situating Grant's arguments about American capitalism or domination more clearly in the Cold War period invites more careful consideration of Grant's critiques of capitalism, modernity, and progress, and also problematizes the trope of Canada as colonial victim, demanding that Canada also acknowledge its complicity in the activities of western empires.[67]

Grant's arguments about the shifts in Canadian culture in the twentieth century, further, are more suggestive in a discussion of Canada as middle power than in a discussion of Canada as a colony. In contrast to many of the composers I will discuss in this project, Grant expresses little anxiety about Canada's connection to Britain,

[66] Ibid., 21-22. Grant continues: "It is much nicer to be a Canadian than a Brazilian or Venezuelan." I might clarify that it is "nicer," or a position of greater security and privilege, to be a white English Canadian in this system than to be an indigenous, non-white, and/or French Canadian.

[67] See for example Grant's declaration that Canada's "branch plant industry is making a packet out of the demolition of Viet Nam," and his observation that "many Canadians who are forced to admit the sheer evil of what is being done in Viet Nam say at the same time that we have no choice but to stand with the Americans as the pillar of strength of western civilization." The relationship being described here is not one of colonizer and colonized, but of two western nations with "common destiny," both working to maintain western hegemony and capitalist domination (Ibid., 21).

See also MacDonald, *The Way the Crow Flies*, 676. In a scene set explicitly in 1969, Madeleine McCarthy and a friend listen to *Ladies of the Canyon*—although the album was not released until 1970. This could be an error on MacDonald's part, might also be an intentional way to mark off the reference to the album as significant. Madeleine, having lived through the Cuban Missile Crisis at RCAF Centralia, would presumably hear the reference to the bomber jets much the way I described in the preface. By this point in the novel, Madeleine has become explicitly aware of the 'interplay of empires' I described in Chapter One: "Madeleine's sociology teacher sent her essay on Canada's war guilt in Vietnam to the newspaper. In it, she calls for a boycott of Canadian companies that supply the American military-industrial complex, manufacturing everything from bullets to green berets, Agent Orange to ration packs, and employ one hundred and forty thousand Canadians. She entitled it 'Workin' for the Yankee Dollar'" (675).

FIGURE 1.1: KEY DATES IN CANADIAN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 1867-1982

Event	Date
Confederation and the Passage of the Constitution Act First signatory provinces are Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Québec.	**July 1, 1867**
Manitoba and Northwest Territories Join Confederation	**July 15, 1870**
British Columbia Joins Confederation	**July 20, 1871**
Prince Edward Island Joins Confederation	**July 1, 1873**
Yukon Territory Joins Confederation	**June 13, 1898**
Saskatchewan and Alberta Join Confederation	**September 1, 1905**
Canada Enters World War I	**August 4, 1914**
Statute of Westminster Grants Canada new autonomy with is declaration that the Parliament of the United Kingdom would no longer have the authority "to legislate for [a] Dominion except by consent." Also grants to Dominions the authority to legislate extra-territorially.	**December 11, 1931**
Canada Enters World War II For the first time, the country enters a conflict following approval of Parliament, rather than automatically upon declaration of war by Britain.	**September 9, 1939**
The Canadian Citizenship Act Comes Into Effect Creates the status of Canadian citizen. Previously, Canadian nationals were officially British subjects. This Act also placed new restrictions on non-Canadian British subjects who sought status in Canada.	**January 1, 1947**
Newfoundland Joins Confederation	**April 1, 1949**
Appointment of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey Commission)	**April 8, 1949**
Privy Council Ceases to be Court of Final Appeal	**December 23, 1949**
Massey Report Released	**June 1, 1951**
Creation of the Canada Council for the Arts	**1957**
Canadian Flag Act	**February 15, 1965**
Parliament Approves *O Canada* as National Anthem	**March 15, 1967**
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Begins Operations	**April 1, 1978**
National Anthem Act Passes	**June 18, 1980**
Patriation of the Constitution	**April 17, 1982**

regarding it not as a colonial imposition but rather as a bulwark against American influence. This orientation places Grant in a long historical tradition. Recognizing that it could not have both independence from Britain and distinction from the United States,

Canada repeatedly—and affirmatively—chose to remain within the British Empire. As historian Frederick Vaughan contends, the Fathers of Confederation viewed "republican or popular government as morally inferior to monarchical government," and "were convinced that republican government pandered to popular excess and public intemperance and disrespect for authority, with self-serving individuals claiming priority over the community."[68] In framing the British North America (BNA) Act, they intended "to place Canadians permanently in the posture of defiant opposition to the 'vulgar' or popular American commercial republic," and to "[guarantee] to future generations of Canadians moderate and prudential government… responsive to the needs of a people deferential to duly constituted authority.[69] As late as the early twentieth century, Canadian participation in the First World War would broadly be construed as vital to national interest, on the basis that "[t]he United Kingdom was the sole external connection Canada had to place in the balance, moral if no longer military, against the

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[68] Frederick Vaughan, *The Canadian Federalist Experiment: From Defiant Monarchy to Reluctant Republic* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), x.

[69] Ibid., x-xi.

The BNA (British North America) Act effectively functioned as the Canadian constitution (and was at times informally referenced as the Canadian 'constitution') until the patriation and Constitution Act of 1982.

The Fathers of Confederation were also, Vaughan suggests, strongly motivated by the specter of the American Civil War; witnessing (temporary) collapse of the Republic to the south, and the tremendous human toll of that conflict, gave new urgency to the retention of a monarchical system and preservation of values such as deference, prudence, and moderation. Note that Confederation took place in 1867, only two years after the end of the American Civil War. (For additional detail, see Figure 1.1: Key Dates in Canadian National Development, 1867-1982.)

United States."[70] Even in the interwar period, George Wrong, as he made a case to London's Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1926 that Canada must be granted full national status within the British Empire, emphasized that there was "no desire in Canada to break with Great Britain."[71] He sought not independence, but *autonomy*—a formal redress to the concerns that "Canada's constitution is an act of the Parliament of Great Britain and can be changed only by the same authority" and that Canada was "bound by a declaration of war or a treaty of peace made by Great Britain."[72] He would frame this argument as a matter of "closer unity" between Canada and Britain: a nation with the level of wealth and education of Canada could only continue to be bound to the Empire if given full national status.

Even if the connection to Britain historically allowed English Canada to remain distinct from the United States, however, it also perhaps left Canada without "an

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[70] W.L. Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963; repr., 1977), 420. As a Dominion of the British Empire, Canada was of course automatically pressed into service when war was declared in London.

Such a belief is articulated even in literature for youth, as in L.M. Montgomery, *Rilla of Ingleside*, Anne of Green Gables (Toronto: McClelland-Bantam, Inc., 1989). This novel is a sequel to *Anne of Green Gables*, and a thorough account of rural women's life on the home front in World War I. Before he enlists (and is killed in France), Anne's son Walter declares: "'This isn't a paltry struggle in a Balkan corner…. It is a death struggle. Germany comes to conquer or die. And you know what happens if she conquers? Canada will be a German colony'" (34). Characters in the novel generally voice support for Britain, and seem to identify without conflict as Canadians within a British Empire.

[71] George M. Wrong, "Nationalism in Canada," *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* 5/4 (1926): 177. Wrong (1860-1948) was an ordained Anglican priest and historian who chaired the Department of History at the University of Toronto for over thirty years. He was among the first scholars who "promoted… Canadian history as a legitimate field of study." See M. Brook Taylor, "Wrong, George MacKinnon," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Foundation, 2015).

[72] Wrong, "Nationalism in Canada," 182.

indigenous point of national coalescence" or "a national centre of gravity[.]"[73] The challenges of this arrangement would become clear as the British Empire entered its terminal decline, and the United States began its definitive assent to superpower status. Grant argues that "[f]rom 1940 to 1957, the ruling class of Canada was radically reshaped. In 1939, the United Kingdom still seemed a powerful force, and the men who ruled Canada were a part of the old Atlantic Triangle. They turned almost as much to Great Britain as to the United States, economically, culturally, and politically. After 1940, the ruling class found its centre of gravity in the United States."[74] This shift, he suggested, was a result of policies taken by the Liberal government, who "did not risk using the government as a nationalist instrument," and determined instead that "the continental corporations were going to rule."[75] By accommodating and merging with American

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[73] Vaughan, *The Canadian Federalist Experiment: From Defiant Monarchy to Reluctant Republic*, 5. Vaughan continues: Did they [the Fathers of Confederation], with the best of intentions, err by not comprehending sufficiently that the attachment to the British Crown meant that the point of national coalescence resided externally to the nation's borders, across thousands of miles of ocean? In brief, did they fail from the very beginning to provide a cementing force for national unity? Why did they not see that the affectionate attachment to the British monarchy would become increasingly tenuous with time and hence was destined to disintegrate under the unrelenting hammer of American commercial republicanism?" (5). Vaughan's references to a "centre of gravity" and to "American commercial republicanism" appear to echo Grant's language.

[74] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 10.

[75] Ibid., 48. To clarify: "continental" refers to the North American continent. Grant's usage of the term typically suggests economic subordination of Canada to the United States, or absorption of Canada into the United States. This term also appears in discussions of Cold War era military policy that emphasize "continental," rather than "national," defence—discussions that typically refer to the inevitability of Canadian air space being used by Soviet bombers or missiles in the event of aerial attack. See for instance the discussion of the Cuban Missile Crisis in Reg Whitaker and Steve Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Ltd., 2003).

business interests, Grant suggests, these Liberals would relegate Canada to "branch plant" status, and would collapse any meaningful distinction between the two nations.

This change would be evident in the language used by Minister of Defence Brooke Claxton—one of these Liberals, and later a general manager of Metropolitan Life—when he addressed an American audience in 1949, seeking "greater unity" with the United States in terms that starkly contrasted those used by George Wrong in his London address of 1926.[76] Rather than speaking of "the compulsion of… brotherhood" as a basis for union,[77] he spoke of the need for "standardization of design" in North American manufacturing, a prerequisite to "tak[ing] full advantage of our partnership."[78] Claxton declared that "strategically and industrially the North American continent is one area, the rich resources of which can best be defended and used by the peoples of our two nations

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I would emphasize that the terms "liberal" and "conservative"—and indeed the policies of the Canadian Liberal and Conservative or Progressive-Conservative parties—do not map onto standard American usage. Grant identifies as a conservative, and argues that "Americans who call themselves 'Conservatives' have the right to the title only in a particular sense. In fact, they are old-fashioned liberals…. Their concentration on freedom from governmental interference has more to do with nineteenth-century liberalism than with traditional conservatism, which asserts the right of the community to restrain freedom in the name of the common good" (65). And, certainly, given that *Lament for a Nation* explicitly argues in favor of socialism as an alternative to both communism and (unrestrained) capitalism, and as a way to preserve Canadian interests, Grant must be strongly differentiated from contemporary American conservatives. I will, throughout, use proper nouns ("Liberal" or "Conservative") when referring to Canadian political parties. When referring to general political orientation or tradition, I will use common nouns ('liberal" or "conservative").

[76] See David J. Bercuson, "Claxton, Brian Brooke," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Foundation, 2015).

[77] Wrong, "Nationalism in Canada," 194.

[78] Brooke Claxton and Canada. Department of External Affairs., "Canada - United States: Good Neighbours but Are We Good Enough?," *Statements and Speeches* 49/18 (1949): 4.

if we work together."[79] He also emphasized the permeability and uncertainty of the border, "crossed… by more of almost everything than any border has ever been."[80] At times, he said, "we don't even know where the border is."[81] For Grant, this kind of continental homogenization was inevitable. In contrast to an historical great power like France—where, again, "De Gaulle [was] able to count on a deeply felt nationalism[,] based on a tradition that pre-dates the age of progress and yet [was] held by men who [could] handle the modern world"—Canada was itself a product of the age of progress, and had "attempted a ridiculous task in trying to build a conservative nation in the age of progress, on a continent [shared] with the most dynamic nation on earth."[82] To resist continentalization, further, by barring or severely restricting American investment, would have meant that "Canada would have developed more slowly and with a substantially lower standard of living than the United States. This would have been the quickest way to undermine the nation. The inevitability of [C.D.] Howe's [Liberal] policies is seen by the fact that the Conservatives could find no viable alternative."[83]

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[79] Ibid., 10. Note that, in contrast, Wrong made clear that Canada was indeed distinct from Britain: "Canada is an American and not a European State, and it would be folly for her to behave as a European Power" (181).

[80] Ibid., 1.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 47 and 67. Grant also notes, "Only in dominant nations is the loyalty of capitalists ensured. In such situations, their interests are tied to the strength and vigor of their empire" (68). A peripheral or second-tier nation such as Canada could count on no such loyalty.

[83] Ibid., 38. C.D. Howe was an industrialist and politician who—indeed more than Brooke Claxton—helped to institute the Liberal policies Grant references. His work was of particular importance during World War II: Granatstein reports that "the total of war production in Canada, supervised by C.D. Howe, was $10.9 billion by 1945, fourth among the Allies. See J.L.

What Grant describes as a 'radical reshaping' of the Canadian ruling class is nothing less than a shift in the national economic base—and a shift that Grant identifies explicitly in terms of western capitalism. Grant's work thus invites consideration of changes in Canadian culture in the years after 1945 as superstructural changes, determined by this shift in the base.[84] For Grant, this superstructural change would ultimately mean the loss of nation: "The society produced by such [Liberal] policies may reap enormous benefits, but it will not be a nation. Its culture will become the empire's to which it belongs. Branch-plant economies have branch-plant cultures."[85] It would also entail absorption into the "age of progress."

Following Raymond Williams's insistence that the determination of superstructure "is never only the setting of limits; it is also the exertion of pressures," I

Granatstein, "Canada," ed. I.C.B. Dear and M.R.D. Foot., *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Robert Bothwell, "C.D. Howe," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Foundation, 2015).

[84] I use these concepts in the manner suggested by Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Marxist Introductions (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). Williams's discussion is (of course) intended primarily as specific to literature, but frames and distills Marxist principles in a manner that is broadly relevant to criticism in the arts and humanities.

Williams initially characterizes the base as "determining" and the superstructure as "determined" (75). More specifically, he writes that there are "three senses of 'superstructure': (a) legal and political forms which express existing real relations of production; (b) forms of consciousness which express a particular class view of the world; (c) a process in which, over a whole range of activities, [people] become conscious of a fundamental economic conflict and fight it out. These three senses would direct our attention, respectively, to (a) institutions; (b) forms of consciousness; (c) political and cultural practices" (76-77).

Williams's formulation was notable for its emphasis on the dynamic nature of both base and superstructure: they are not "separable concrete entities," but rather "specific activities and products of real [people]" (80-81). The base, additionally, is not a static structure but "a dynamic and internally contradictory process" (82), which may be "determined" in various ways by the superstructure.

[85] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 41.

would extend Grant's discussion by asking what limits were set or pressures exerted upon Canadian artists by this new economic or political configuration.[86] The response of these artists was, in general, a conceptual and rhetorical rush to defend the border by defining a distinct national identity—a response identified, as I have indicated, as paradoxical, given Grant's apparent resignation to the loss of the nation.[87] But in another sense, this response could be precisely anticipated by Grant's conceptual framework. When the base shifts in a way that aligns it more closely with that the United States, "a society that is the heart of modernity," the superstructure likewise aligns with the 'heart of modernity."[88] And in the heart of modernity, a coherent and defined national identity is the norm: as Benedict Anderson writes, "in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has' a gender."[89] Therefore, I would suggest, the Canadian cultural nationalism of the Cold War period is not simply a matter of resistance to the domination of the United States or to the legacy of British colonialism. It is in fact *intrinsic to* Canada's alignment with the values of western 'great powers.'

Middlepowerhood

Middle power status corresponds in multiple ways to the concepts of Canada proposed by Grant and Frye. The term "middle power" has been applied to countries as apparently disparate as "Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, Argentina, Brazil… Mexico,

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[86] Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 87.

[87] See again Szeman, *Zones of Instablity: Literature, Postcolonialism, and the Nation*, 166.

[88] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 41.

[89] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 5.

Australia, and India," yet has special significance in the case of Canada, where it has variously been referenced as "religion" or "ideology."[90] The term is notoriously weakly defined, but in the Canadian context it is frequently conceptualized in terms of "mediation," or of international functions centred around peacekeeping, communication, coalition-building, and negotiation.[91] Political scientist Adam Chapnick contests the notion that "the meaning of middle power [is] self-evident," identifying instead "three distinct middle power models—the functional, behavioral and hierarchical."[92] The hierarchical model is based on empirical assessments of size, wealth, or power.[93] The

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[90] F.H. Soward, "On Becoming and Being a Middle Power: The Canadian Experience," *Pacific Historical Review* 32/2 (1963): 112. See also Don Munton and Tom Keating, "Internationalism and the Canadian Public," *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 34/3 (2001).

See further Conrad Black, "Canada Is More Than a Middle Power," *National Post*, 24 June 2006. Black writes: "almost everyone brought up in Canada has been conditioned to believe that it is… 'a middle power'."

[91] See Adam Chapnick, "The Middle Power," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 7/2 (1999): 15-16.)

[92] Ibid., 73. It should be noted that Chapnick rejects the term "middle power" in relation to Canada, while recognizing its long historical application in Canadian foreign policy; instead, he proposes the term "functional power," which recognizes that the nation's international position is to some degree inflated in relation to its economic/military might. Such a reconceptualization is no doubt of value in political science, but I would argue that the twentieth century perception or construction of Canada as a middle power loses none of its cultural or historical significance on the basis that the term might be technically inapt.

And, indeed: Chapnick's objection to the classification of Canada as a middle power according to the functional or behavioral models obtains from the "backwards" study, or description of diplomatic strategies used by countries already identified as middle powers. Such an objection—an insistence on deductive rather than inductive models—typically falls flat in Canadian studies.

See discussion of inductive versus deductive approaches to Canada in Cole, *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation*.

[93] Chapnick notes that these "empirical" assessments do not necessarily lead to clear hierarchical classifications. A wealthy country with a strong army and small population, for instance, might be read as hierarchically more powerful than a poorer country with a much

functional model identifies middle powers on a contingent basis, as "states which are capable of exerting influence in international affairs in specific instances, and differentiates them from all the rest."[94] The behavioral model, traditionally favored in discussions of Canadian policy, is characterized by "multilateralism, conflict management and moral power" and "an expressed desire for greater international status."[95] The role of the behavioral middle powers, as I indicated earlier, is "based on non-structural forms of power and influence," and entails the use of "the skills [not] of a giant but of a good dancer."[96] That is, by defining a role as mediator, intermediary, or 'helpful fixer,' the middle power may achieve greater recognition or exert more influence than its "hard" power might normally permit. Canada, specifically, "has used the middle power concept… to promote nationalism through an internationally recognized identity,"

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larger population—or indeed vice versa. Even when approached empirically, then, this category is fungible.

See Chapnick, "The Middle Power," 76-8.

[94] Ibid., 74. Chapnick continues: "Through this model, great powers can be understood as those states which exercise international influence regardless of circumstance. Small powers are those incapable of exercising real influence." Or, in other words, "[w]hereas the greatness of great powers persists, the influence of middle powers fluctuates constantly."

[95] Ibid. Chapnick indicates that the "best articulation" of this concept is in Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*, 19.

Cooper et al write: "[a]ccording to this model, middle powers are defined primarily by their tendency to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, their tendency to embrace compromise positions in international disputes, and their tendency to embrace notions of 'good international citizenship' to guide their diplomacy."

[96] Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*, 23-24.

I also echo here "the economy of prestige," described in McClary, "Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition." I address McClary's arguments about prestige at length in Chapter 2.

attempting to elevate Canada's international status and to resist the interests of more powerful nations.[97]

As much as conceptions of the functional or behavioral middle power emphasize this activism or status-seeking, however, in practice middle power nations may be led by "the pursuit of multilateralism… to be international 'joiners' rather than just 'coalition builders.'"[98] The 'joiner' may "actively 'join' others, stitching them together in a coherent coalition; but joiners can also take a more passive role, allowing themselves to be 'joined' to someone else's enterprise."[99] Middlepowerhood, in other words, may be strategy that sent blue-helmeted Canadian troops around the world as UN Peacekeepers, and positioned Lester Pearson to facilitate a diplomatic resolution to the Suez Crisis—but it also entrenched Canada as "the junior partner of the North American Air Defence Treaty" who made the Western "war machine possible by playing the role of uranium dealer to American atomic junkie."[100] The middle power may define or defend special projects or special interests, or may represent a moderate position between ideological extremes, but it cannot entirely remake or reconfigure the field.[101] This is a strategy that leaves the nation—much like the fictional Jack McCarthy—with no escape from its

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[97] Adam Chapnick, "The Canadian Middle Power Myth," *International Journal* 55/2 (2000): 188. See also "The Middle Power."

[98] Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*, 23-24.

[99] Ibid., 118.

[100] Whitaker and Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War*, 147 and 25.

[101] See discussion of extremes in Chapnick, "The Middle Power," 76.

complicity with the actions of greater powers.[102] Nor is it a strategy that *seeks* escape from this complicity: rather, it takes a moderate, expedient approach to clearing a space in a field dominated by greater powers. It is neither revolutionary nor evolutionary, but incremental and compromising, and in that sense, falls in precise homology to many other aspects of Canadian culture and history.[103]

Cold War Sovereignty

I do not mean to suggest this model of English Canadian nationalism as a wholesale alternative to the narrative of Canadian modernization and decolonization in the Cold War period; as I indicated earlier, this project is intended to refine, not to replace that narrative. My sense is that my reading of Grant accounts for the apparently paradoxical nationalist reaction to his work, and in conjunction with the more formal concept of middlepowerhood suggests a clear path away from characterization of the processes he describes as "colonial" or "neo-colonial." Yet although I would disagree vehemently with characterizations of the United States in this period as colonizing power

[102] In a 1986 documentary, journalist and military historian Gwynne Dyer advanced an argument that Canada *could* choose greater neutrality in the Cold War by adopting a policy closer to that of Finland (i.e. a formal separation of US and Canadian military services, with provisions for the US military to take action against foreign forces on Canadian soil if necessary for continental defence). See Tina Viljoen, "The Defence of Canada," (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board, 1986). See also Gwynne Dyer, *Canada in the Great Power Game, 1914-2014* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2014).

[103] I draw on the concept of homology articulated in Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 101-07. Williams emphasizes that homology is "a more rigorous concept" than analogy or correspondence (104). Specifically relevant here is his clarification that "'[h]omology' is correspondence in origin and development, 'analogy' in appearance and function" (105). Middlepowerhood corresponds in 'appearance and function' to any number of aspects of Canadian culture, but more importantly, emerges from many of the same historical and material conditions that produce the nation and national culture more broadly.

in relation to Canada, I do accept Grant's contention that the shift in the "centre of gravity" to the United States constituted a threat to Canadian sovereignty. This threat was not merely abstract or metaphorical, but the result of specific policies of continental defence in the early Cold War. Grant was aware of this connection: he indicated that "[o]f all the aspects of [Canadian] society, the military is the most directly an errand boy for the Americans."[104] Likewise, he characterized Diefenbaker's resistance to demands that American nuclear weapons be placed on Canadian soil in the early 1960s as a an insistence that "Canada's sovereignty entailed that our defence policy be determined in Ottawa," albeit a position that "could not be politically sustained in the climate of Diefenbaker's own country."[105]

American-led initiatives in continental defence had, however, already eroded Canadian sovereignty by the time Diefenbaker took office.[106] After Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1949, for instance, there was extensive negotiation surrounding the American base at Goose Bay, valued for its strategic position both in relation to Western Europe and the Soviet Union.[107] With the outbreak of the Korean

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[104] Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 9.

[105] Ibid., 32.

[106] Diefenbaker (1895-1979) was Prime Minister in the years 1957-63.

See Patricia Williams and Tabitha Marshall, "John Diefenbaker," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Foundation, 2015).

[107] David J. Bercuson, "Sac Vs Sovereignty: The Origins of the Goose Bay Lease, 1946-52," *Canadian Historical Review* 70/2 (1989).

As Bercuson outlines, before Newfoundland joined Confederation, the United States had "assumed responsibility for the island's defence" and established a number of bases on both the island and on mainland Labrador (208). As an independent Dominion, Newfoundland had negotiated long-term leases for these bases. Negotiations for the Goose Bay base centered on

War, the United States Air Force (USAF) requested permission from the RCAF (not External Affairs in Ottawa) to station a group of B-29 bombers at Goose Bay—and did not disclose that the group would be "bringing 'special weapons' with it, undoubtedly nuclear."[108] The North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) agreement placed "Canadian forces operating on Canadian territory… under the command of an American General at American headquarters," with the result "that Canadian forces could become involved in a shooting war before the Canadian government, let alone Parliament, could approve entry into hostilities."[109]And, perhaps more suggestive of Canada's subordination to American military interests, the construction of the DEW Line—the necessity of which was debated by Canadian officials—was ultimately approved on the basis that "Canada's public image as an autonomous country could not bear the inevitable American backlash that would come from continuing to oppose [it, thus] it was better to announce Canadian consent and thus give the impression that Canada was one of the authors of the project."[110] Such concessions, or instances of "joining to" the United States, might have been necessary to continental defence—it is not difficult to see that they might have been

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concerns about the length of the lease, issues of legal jurisdiction and taxation for personnel, import of goods such as alcohol and tobacco, and US army postal service on the base (209-10).

Newfoundland is the easternmost part of North America, and, as Bercuson reports, its defence was regarded as crucial to the defence of the eastern seaboard in general. With the beginning of the Cold War, Goose Bay became crucial as a gateway to the high north and thus the Soviet Union (209).

[108] Ibid., 211.

[109] Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-57*, 146.

[110] Ibid., 145.

valuable in the context of a "hot war" with the USSR—but nonetheless illustrate the fundamental erosion of Canadian independence.

The disparity in the power relationship between Canada and the United States, and the sense of Canada's cultural or economic subordination to the United States shaped the experiences and agendas of Canadian artists and cultural nationalists. I recognize within Canadian cultural nationalism many crucial forms of resistance to cultural domination or homogenization.[111] As Jody Berland points out, for Canadians in this period the border "was becoming the subject of that strong anxious attention which a less powerful partner always grants to the dominant," and "postwar art … was [thus] attached to the fate of collective sovereignty."[112]

Decolonization and Modernization

Further, although I contest the characterization of Canada as 'colonized' by the United States, I do not dispute that Canada was 'decolonizing' in this period, at least in relation to Britain. As with Canada's changing relationship to the United States in this period, this decolonization was predicated by shifts in the material or economic base. Canada "emerged from World War II as a major military power in its own right," and its

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[111] In other words: I reject claims that white English Canadians have been "colonized" by the United States on the basis that they exculpate Canada from its participation or complicity in the activities of greater powers (and, particularly, from their own colonization of Canada's indigenous peoples). I affirm, however that Canada has a history of colonial subordination by Britain, and that the cultural, economic, and political domination of Canada by the United States in this period constitutes a threat to sovereignty, in the ways suggested by Grant.

[112] Jody Berland, "Nationalism and the Modernist Legacy: Dialogues with Innis," in *Capital Culture : A Reader on Modernist Legacies, State Institutions, and the Value(s) of Art*, ed. Jody Berland and Shelley Hornstein (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 16 and 18.

military forces had shown "in qualitative terms… that they were the equal of anyone under arms."[113] The increased industrial and agricultural production demanded by the war effort "had raised living standards at home to peaks never before attained";[114] on the whole, "Canada's economy in the immediate postwar period was far richer, stronger, and more sophisticated than it had been in 1939."[115] The postwar decolonization of Canada is often framed as a result of national "maturity," or of a rush of patriotic sentiment earned by the Canadian contribution to the Allied effort—and this may to some extent be true. The fact of Canada's new prosperity and Britain's economic devastation after the war, however, must be taken into account in this narrative as well. The shift of the ruling class is not merely the result, in other words, of increasing American power, or increasing Canadian alignment with that power; it is also the result of British decline.

In many respects, the nation-building project of the postwar decades in Canada was analogous to similar projects in newly independent postcolonial nations in the Third World, particularly in its emphasis on establishment of national symbols and cultural institutions.[116] The Citizenship Act of 1947 made it so that persons born in Canada were legally Canadian citizens, rather than British subjects; the *Royal Commission on National*

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[113] Brian Buckley, *Canada's Early Nuclear Policy: Fate, Chance and Character* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 7.

Buckley reports that "almost 1.1 million Canadians had served in the three fighting services during the conflict," a substantial level of participation for a nation whose population was shy of 12 million in 1939.

[114] Granatstein, "Canada."

[115] Buckley, *Canada's Early Nuclear Policy: Fate, Chance and Character*, 8.

[116] See Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 115-45.

Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences (known as the Massey Report) of 1951 spurred on the establishment of institutions such as the National Library, National Arts Centre, and National Gallery;[117] the 1960s saw *O Canada* replace *God Save the Queen* as the national anthem, and the maple leaf flag replace the Red Ensign; and finally, in 1982, near the end of Pierre Elliott Trudeau's final term as Prime Minister, the newly patriated Canadian constitution supplanted the British North America Act as the nation's governing document.[118]

Changes in the Canadian economy of this period, additionally, were "decolonizing" changes in many respects. In the address that I quoted earlier, for instance, Brooke Claxton emphasized that Canada was ready to move beyond its "familiar… role as a primary producer," or "major supplier of a number of basic materials such as wheat, nickel, asbestos, uranium, newsprint" to an economic model based on secondary industrial production or export. As Harold Innis argued compellingly, Canada's historical role as a primary producer was central to its colonial status: "[t]he staple-producing areas [of North America] were closely dependent on industrial Europe, especially Great Britain," in that they were required to expend substantial energy on extracting these staples for export, rather than on developing local industrial

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[117] See Letters Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, and Sciences, "Report," (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951).

[118] Many of these development were possible only because of the passage of the Statute of Westminster (1931), which granted powers of extra-territorial legislation to Dominions of the British Empire.

capabilities.[119] Canada's relationship to the United States by the middle of the nineteenth century, Innis argues further, was as supplier of primary materials that "hastened [U.S.] industrial and capitalistic growth," and as "gateway of [the U.S.] to the markets of the British Empire."[120] The shift to secondary or tertiary industrial or economic activity desired by Claxton was—as Grant himself would concede—a sign of national progress or modernization, of moving beyond Canada's colonial economic role.[121]

Corollary: Decolonization and Modernization of Musical Institutions

I wish to turn briefly to the question of how this decolonization and modernization manifested in English Canada. This process, I would argue, connects to many of the shifts I have described in Canadian culture and society in this period. Specifically, it illustrates that English Canadian musicians in positions of institutional power frequently turned to American models as a way to modernize or decolonize in relation to Britain, even as they expressed profound anxiety about American cultural domination in general—and profound distress at their marginalization in that system.

The narrative of modernization and decolonization is perhaps especially clear in accounts of the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto, which was one of the first Canadian institutions to grant post-secondary degrees in music. As John Beckwith has

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[119] Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1956; repr., 1999), 392.

[120] Ibid., 385-86.

[121] Grant does not accept that "progress" is necessarily the "move[ment] forward to better things," but he concedes that for those who *do* value progress, "Canada's disappearance is not only necessary but good," for it opens the way to greater economic prosperity and industrial development (*Lament* 4 and 37).

recounted, Trinity College (which later merged with the University of Toronto), began offering the Mus.B. in the late nineteenth century, though these were "extramural degrees granted by examination only," and a formal Faculty of Music was not established at Toronto until 1918.[122] Beckwith argues that this faculty, at the time of its foundation, consisted "of a group of composer-organists of English outlook who were conservative but not entirely unaware of the wider musical world of their time."[123] Under the direction of Healey Willan, Leo Smith, and Sir Ernest MacMillan, the Faculty retained this character through the 1930s and 1940s: pedagogical texts in use were almost exclusively British at this point; examinations were strongly focused on choral writing and strict counterpoint; and British composers such as Holst, Vaughan Williams, Delius, and Walton were predominant among those whose works appeared on viva voce analysis exams.[124] As Beckwith puts it:

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[122] John Beckwith, *Music at Toronto: A Personal Account* (Toronto: by the author, at the University of Toronto Press, 1995), 4.

[123] Ibid., 8-9.

[124] Ibid.

It is worth noting that music departments were comparatively late to appear in the United States as well, and that music education was limited in the US in the early part of the twentieth century. This delay in developing educational infrastructure is a shared element of Canadian and American post-colonial development; the continuing British dominance in music schools through to the 1950s, however, is distinct to Canada.

The Toronto Conservatory of Music (renamed the Royal Conservatory of Music in 1947) was linked to the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto until 1991, and until at least the late 1950s appointment at either institution meant that one would teach effectively the same body of students. Willan was vice principal of the TCM from 1920-1936, and taught at the University of Toronto from 1937 to 1950. Smith joined the TCM staff in 1911, joined the University of Toronto faculty in 1937, and retired in 1950. MacMillan was Principal of the TCM from 1926, and retired from both the RCM at University of Toronto in 1952.

> Taking a bachelor's degree in music at Toronto in the 1930s and 1940s was as thoroughly English an experience as could be found anywhere in Canadian university life of the period. Thursdays you went in threes and fours to Healey Willan, who blew pipe smoke at you, told you 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." [125]

While this mode of training could generate composers with a solid grasp of musical craft, capable of producing functional church or civic music, it was not sufficient for the more modern compositional aspirations of the generation of Canadian composers who flourished around World War II. These composers—like Beckwith—frequently lamented at once the conservatism and the Britishness of the Canadian musical establishment at mid-century, and explicitly framed their efforts to cultivate a more modern style as both a project of nation building and of colonial resistance. John Weinzweig clearly spoke of his dissatisfaction with the training he received at the University of Toronto on those terms, saying, "[i]t was very English. It was very unmusical. It was very frustrating, and it was completely tied to the classical theories of music."[126] Beckwith describes the 'dissonance' between the strongly conservative training that he received at the University of Toronto and the 'new' musics that he encountered at the time. Writing in 1950, Barbara Pentland

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[4] ibid. "Classroom instruction" here refers literally to a change from a basically correspondence-based model (without regular lectures, and with degrees issued solely on the basis of passing a program of written examination) to a curriculum in which students attended regular courses of classroom study.

[125] Ibid., 19.

[126] Elaine Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada*, ed. John Beckwith, et al., Composers of North America (Metchuen, NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 1994), 14.

also decried the "neo-romantic" composers of the generation before hers, and famously claimed that Canadian musical culture had been left in the control of "imported British organists, who, though sound academically, had no creative contribution to make of any general value."[127]

It was only in the late 1940s with the introduction of degree programs in School Music (1946) that this orientation began to shift: Beckwith regards this change explictly as an "Americanziation" of the department, coming as it did with stronger vocational emphasis and more classroom instruction (in the style of the American, rather than the British-controlled colonial Canadian, university), as well as with the appointment of faculty who had formerly been on staff at the Eastman School of Music.[128] Such changes in a major university in the Dominion of Canada were not apolitical, as contemporary reactions indicate: British professor George Loughlin, for instance, abandoned his post in Toronto during the 1953-54 academic year, declaring derisively that "American methods

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[127] Pentland, "Canadian Music 1950," 43.

[128] Beckwith is not alone in identifying this change as a form of Americanization: see also Elaine Keillor, *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 206-09.

The situation at McGill University was somewhat different in the early twentieth century—but still bore the marks of Canada's colonial status, and of the gradual emergence of Canadian national identity. As Eleanor Stubley outlines, the department was founded after the efforts of Charles Harriss in 1904, and was explicitly allied with the Royal Schools of Music in London until 1909. At this time, she writes, "the language spoken [in the department was] largely that of the British Anglican cathedral tradition, a situation that ultimately serves to enflame the deep-seeded [sic] religious and linguistic tensions dividing the French and the English." This more acute tension meant that the British-colonial roots of the department were destabilized earlier than those at the University of Toronto, and supplanted by influences from France (in terms of repertoires studied and training or national origin of instructors).

See Eleanor Stubley, "Introduction," in *Compositional Crossroads: Music, McGill, Montréal*, ed. Eleanor Stubley (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 6-7.

and ideals were well on their way to supplanting the remnants of British colonialism."[129] Barbara Pentland famously resigned from the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 1963 after a disgreement with the American chair of the music department, Welton Marquis, a graduate of the University of Southern California. Pentland characterized the disgreement in similarly political terms:

> I resigned in protest, I should say. Again, the same situation that we used to meet, when I was growing up in Winnipeg: it was somebody who had come out from England to the colonies to teach the natives what it's all about. The same thing: have a head of music come in, who knows nothing of Canadian music—nothing whatsoever—to build up a music school.[130]

David Duke has indicated that the UBC music department had become at this point "a sort of fiefdom of the University of Southern California," presumably as a result of anxiety about Marquis's influence, giving credence to the suggestion that Pentland's dispute with the university was explicitly politicized in these terms.[131]

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[129] Quoted in Beckwith, *Music at Toronto: A Personal Account*, 26.

[130] Both quoted in *Canadian Composer Portraits: Barbara Pentland*, produced by Eitan Cornfield (Centrediscs / Centredisques CMCCD 9203, 2003.) Duke also points out that Pentland—who came from a wealthy, prominent family in Winnipeg, had recently received a (presumably) significant inheritance, and had married a well-regarded industrial psychologist—had by this point achieved a degree of financial stability "that allow one to have principles that are quite different from somebody who can only afford to pay for their expensive habit of writing music through a university professorship." Duke's suggestion is that Pentland resigned in large part because she could afford to. Mezzo-soprano Phyllis Mailing, in the same documentary, refutes Duke's contention, and insists that Pentland resigned because she was profoundly hurt by being undermined by Marquis. See a more substantial discussion of this hypothesis in David Gordon Duke, "Notes Towards a Portrait of Barbara Pentland: Issues of Gender, Class, and Colonialism in Canadian Music," *Musicworks: Explorations in Sound* 70 (1998).

[131] Quoted in *Canadian Composer Portraits: Barbara Pentland*, produced by Eitan Cornfield (Centrediscs / Centredisques CMCCD 9203, 2003.) Marquis completed his Ph.D. at the University of Southern California.

Yet Pentland's own communications with Marquis and other UBC administrators indicate a concern perhaps less about American influence than about a decline in educational standards. In a 1962 letter to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science, she noted that many of her orchestration students were "unable to apply correctly even the simplest harmonies of Beethoven in assignments[,]" and thus unable to complete course assignments to a reasonable standard.[132] Pentland offered her resignation on April 27, 1963, writing that she "[had] no wish to support artistic and administrative standards which [she could] not respect[,]"[133] and Marquis wrote back to accept her resignation on May 1, 1963, and indicated he "[held] her in high affection as a person and as a teacher of composition, and [believed] her to be one of the very few significant composers in this country" (see Figure 1.2: Letter from G. Welton Marquis to Barbara Pentland Regarding Resignation from UBC).[134] He also reminded her that her protégé, Peter Huse, as well as "the other four [students] who [were] entering graduate programs [that] year" were "a

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[132] Barbara Pentland, Letter to Dean S.N.F. Chant regarding UBC Department of Music, 11 June 1962 (Barbara Pentland Fonds, LAC, MUS 110 1991-22, Box 6). "Since Harmony [sic] and other prerequisites are being taught in the Department of Music," Pentland wrote further, "the inadequate level which many students demonstrated in my harmony class leads to one of two possible conclusions: a) students are passed in the preliminary courses and an inadequate level, or b) students were permitted to proceed to Orchestration despite totally inadequate preparation." Pentland also reports that Dr. Marquis responded to her concerns by indicating that the orchestration course would be replaced in the following year by a course in school band arranging—but Pentland "note[d] from the schedule of courses for 1962-63 that Orchestration would be given again but by another teacher."

[133] Barbara Pentland, Letter to G. Welton Marquis regarding resignation from UBC, 27 April 1963 (Barbara Pentland Fonds, LAC, MUS 110 1991-22, Box 6).

[134] G. Welton Marquis, Letter to Barbara Pentland regarding resignation from UBC, 01 May 1963 (Barbara Pentland Fonds, LAC, MUS 110 1991-22, Box 6).

product of our entire program."[135] Pentland pencilled in the margin: "So I spent all summer teaching him harmony and counterpoint to enable him to pass entrance exams at Princeton."[136] I do not doubt that the tension between Pentland and Marquis was heightened by the fact that Marquis was an American 'import'—and certainly she could not have been heartened by his suggestion that there were "very few significant composers" in Canada—but by no means was tension fuelled by simplistic anti-Americanism on Pentland's part. Rather, it seems to be the result of precisely the competing interests I have outlined here. The desire to decolonize and modernize pulls the English Canadian composer away from Britain and towards the culture and models of the United States—not without conflict.

For Canadian artists—perhaps especially Canadian composers, who depended more on formal training in cultural institutions than writers or visual artists—the new emphasis on Canadian cultural production would require (and constitute) a meaningful break from British cultural hegemony. But this break, for a country defined by the 'interplay between empires,' could not be simple or decisive. It would be marked by compromise, by a sense of belatedness and a need for remediation, by a desire for prestige and a simultaneous desire to contest the terms of prestige. English Canadian composers in this period, in other words, were pulled on (or by) two historical trajectories: they were shifting away from a conservative British tradition, but at the same time, as Grant and others suggest of Canada as a whole, they were being pulled into the American orbit.

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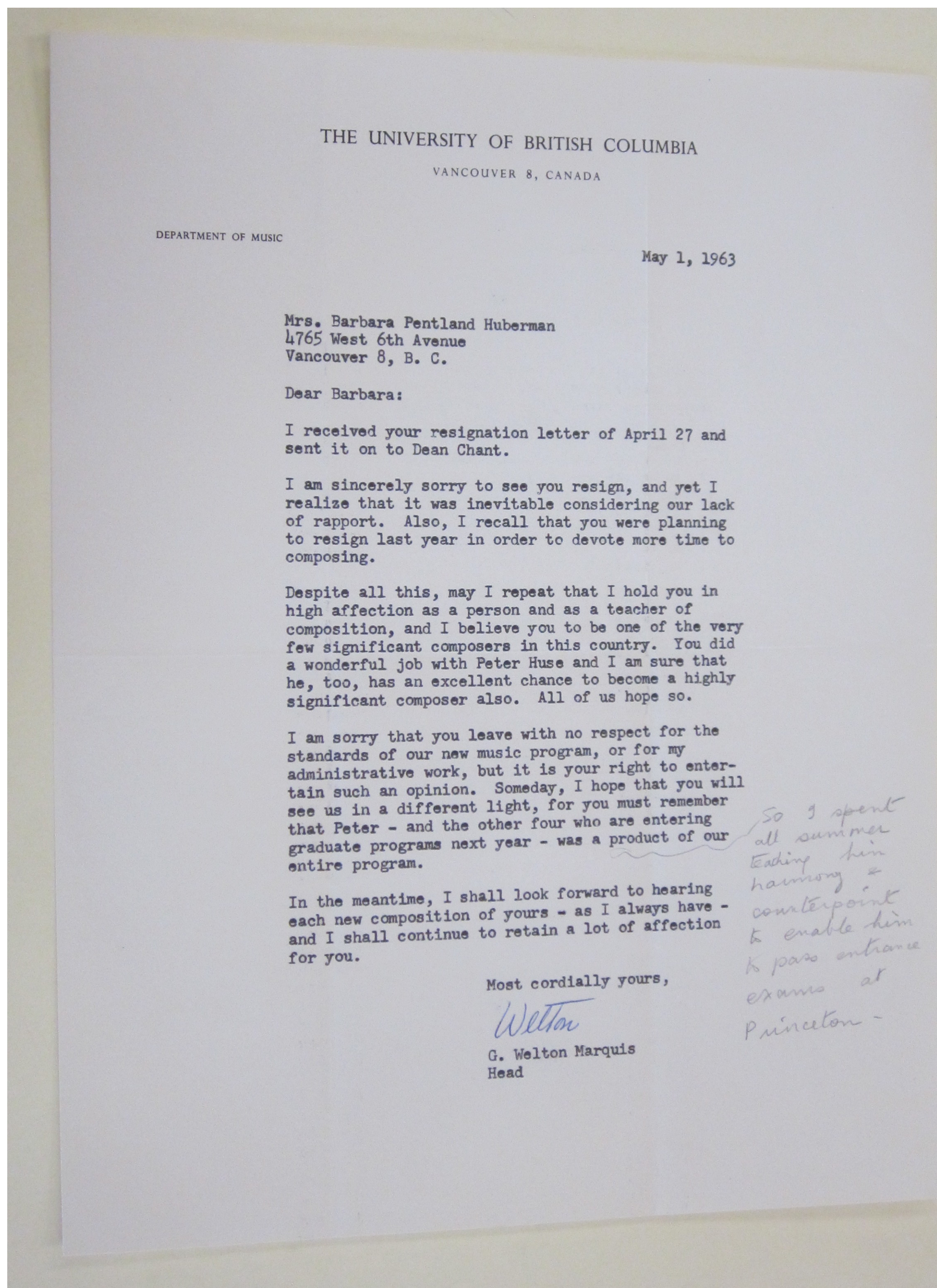
[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

FIGURE 1.2: LETTER FROM G. WELTON MARQUIS TO BARBARA PENTLAND REGARDING RESIGNATION FROM UBC, 01 MAY 1963 (BARBARA PENTLAND FONDS, LAC, MUS 110 1991-22, BOX 6).



THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER 8, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

May 1, 1963

Mrs. Barbara Pentland Huberman
4765 West 6th Avenue
Vancouver 8, B. C.

Dear Barbara:

I received your resignation letter of April 27 and sent it on to Dean Chant.

I am sincerely sorry to see you resign, and yet I realize that it was inevitable considering our lack of rapport. Also, I recall that you were planning to resign last year in order to devote more time to composing.

Despite all this, may I repeat that I hold you in high affection as a person and as a teacher of composition, and I believe you to be one of the very few significant composers in this country. You did a wonderful job with Peter Huse and I am sure that he, too, has an excellent chance to become a highly significant composer also. All of us hope so.

I am sorry that you leave with no respect for the standards of our new music program, or for my administrative work, but it is your right to entertain such an opinion. Someday, I hope that you will see us in a different light, for you must remember that Peter - and the other four who are entering graduate programs next year - was a product of our entire program.

So I spent all summer teaching him harmony & counterpoint to enable him to pass entrance exams at Princeton -

In the meantime, I shall look forward to hearing each new composition of yours - as I always have - and I shall continue to retain a lot of affection for you.

Most cordially yours,

Welton

G. Welton Marquis
Head

They were also plagued by a sense of invisibility or marginality, by the awareness that "with only a few exceptions, foreign writers, editors, and publishers are appallingly ignorant of Canada's musical attainments and prefer to remain so."[137] This awareness has shaped the dominant historical narratives of English Canadian composition in the twentieth century. Ethnomusicologist Beverley Diamond has written that "the need to create, for international consumption, an image of a group of Canadian composers who were at the forefront of compositional developments helped to shape the way our music history was written [in the years after 1960] and subsequently."[138] Diamond asks whether scholars and historians of Canadian music "still feel the need to describe history as a process of growth or, having perhaps seen the 'fruition' of composers with international status… do we now want to look at our history with a different lens?".[139] The 'different lens' that I would propose is one that acknowledges these multiples pressures or trajectories. Rather than understanding Canadian composers as 'heroic,' or attempting to validate or valorize their work in terms of postcolonial resistance, I will ask how these

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[137] Beckwith, "About Canadian Music: The P.R. Failure (1969, 1970)," 35-36.

[138] Beverley Diamond, "Narratives in Canadian Music History," in *Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, ed. Beverley Diamond and Robert Witmer (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, Ltd., 1994), 140.

[139] Ibid., 165. Although Diamond examines earlier scholarship from a critical, historiographic perspective, she is careful to acknowledge the important contributions of those such as John Beckwith and Helmut Kallmann, whom she praises for their "vigor and insight" (165). Beckwith and Kallmann (and others such as Timothy McGee, Clifford Ford, Elaine Keillor, and Carl Morey) frequently worked with a cultural nationalist agenda, aiming to correct the failure of "public relations" in Canadian music. As a musicologist, I have no interest in public relations; moreover, I regard it as incumbent upon contemporary musicologists to interrogate the ideologies of this kind of scholarship. Yet I would be remiss in failing to acknowledge that without the rigorous documentation and staunch advocacy of Canadian music by earlier scholars, my present project would be impossible. I am grateful for their work.

composers locate their "*via media* or *via mediocris*" between competing models or interests. In many respects—as Grant suggests—I will argue that they are complicit or concessionist in relation to greater powers.

Middle Power Music: Clearing Space and "Catch-Up"

This complicity or concession is central to my concept of middle power music, and can be clarified by reference to other critical models for examination of postcolonial or peripheral cultural contexts. I would argue that middlepowerhood is effectively a "space-clearing gesture" of the kind described by Kwame Anthony Appiah.[140] Appiah characterizes postcoloniality as "the condition of…a relatively small, Western-style, Western-trained group of writers and thinkers, who mediate the trade in cultural commodities of world capitalism at the periphery." [141] Both postmodernism and postcoloniality, Appiah suggests, are characterized by space-clearing gestures: "To sell oneself and one's products as art in the marketplace, one must, above all, clear a space in which one is distinguished from other producers and products-and one does this by the construction and the marking of differences."[142] The middle power strategy in foreign relations, as I have outlined, involves clearing a space in this sense: it defines a clear international role for Canada that, by many measures, has given it prominence out of proportion with its structural power.

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[140] Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?," *Critical Inquiry* 17/2 (1991): 348.

[141] Ibid. Appiah continues: "In the West they are known through the Africa they offer; their compatriots know them both through the West they present to Africa and through an Africa they have invented for the world, for each other, and for Africa."

[142] Ibid., 342.

Further, although there are plainly multiple distinctions to be drawn between English Canadian cultural nationalists and the African writers and thinkers Appiah describes here, his emphasis on their Western alignment, locally élite status, and position within world capitalism invites a connection to the Canadian cultural context. These "space-clearing gestures" are not, crucially, expressions of some 'authentic' cultural identity; rather, they are a way for artists or cultural producers to find a place in a world market. They may be acts of resistance against greater powers, but more often are demands for accommodation by greater powers. Thematic criticism, in many ways, is a space-clearing strategy, or a way to distinguish Canadian cultural products. A distinction might be made insofar as this space is cleared *locally,* perhaps more than in an international marketplace: as the Massey Report famously indicated in 1951, one of the "consequences to [Canadian] national life of Canadian geography" was the curious fact that "Canada . . . is the only country of any size in the world whose people read more foreign periodicals than they do periodicals published in their own land, local newspapers excluded.'"[143] The critical project of announcing Canada to be in peril, and of equating the reading of literature that could finally be recognized "as Canadian literature—not just

[143] Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, "Report," 63-64. This fact is regarded as a consequence of geography on the basis that the Canadian population is largely clustered around a long border with a larger, more powerful country that shares its language. Before the rise of broadcast media, it stands to reason that information (i.e. print media) could often pass from, say, Seattle to Vancouver or from Bismarck to Winnipeg more efficiently than it could from Vancouver to Winnipeg. Taking into account Benedict Anderson's arguments about the centrality of print media to the "imagined community," it is probably no surprise that the a new wave of cultural nationalism accompanied the rise of broadcast media—that is, of media that could be available for "almost precisely simultaneous consumption" across the nation. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 35.

literature that happened to be written in Canada" to defence of national sovereignty seems to be a precise example of this strategy.[144]

I would connect this space-clearing strategy to the cultural 'catch-up game' that sociologist Janet Burns identifies in peripheral New World contexts. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's work in *The Rules of Art*, Burns examines "the cultural field outside of the metropole, and [extends] the concept of habit [to include] not only class but nation," while retaining his suggestion that "artists outside of the [Western European bourgeois] center, either socially or geographically, [are] left to play a catch-up game" in terms of modernist fine arts. This "game" often consists of imitating or challenging dominant techniques of artists at the centre.[145] Imitation and challenge are not contradictory practices in this model: Burns makes clear that both reactions are part of the pursuit of symbolic capital by artists within an emerging post-colonial bourgeoisie that "sought political stability and economic prosperity through nationally structured cultural mechanisms."[146] Simultaneous imitation and challenge, further, allows composers (and other artists) positioned at a distance from the centre to reconfigure musical styles.

This "catch-up" is conceptualized not only as an attempt to bring cultural production in line with an international canon, but also as an attempt remediate the perceived asynchrony of colonial or peripheral culture with the modern centre—a

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[144] Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*, 6. This dissertation is itself, in some respects, also a space-clearing gesture.

[145] Janet M.C. Burns, "Artistic Modernism as Nationalism in the Periphery: Canada and Mexico," *International Review of Modern Sociology* 31/1 (2005): 82.

[146] Ibid., 94.

paradigm that similarly allows space for creative resistance. As sociologist Stephen Crocker has written:

> In the case of colonial modernization… the horizon of expectation is defined by a repetition of what is already real and being lived elsewhere. The political institutions, industries, and social and technical developments that reshaped colonial society after World War II were already recognizable features of the metropolis. The task of modernization was to transplant these developments to colonial soil. The future was not an unknown space of experience; it was visible elsewhere."[147]

Such modernization may involve changes to government, economy, or infrastructure designed to bring a colonial or postcolonial region into line with the structures and standards of the metropolis. In mid-twentieth-century Canada, modernization was typically focused on communications infrastructure, acquisition of national symbols, establishment of cultural institutions, and (often less formally) on production of national art, literature, and music. As the Massey Report argues, while Canada was by then clearly a 'first-world' nation in many senses, its "economic stature and political maturity [were] not [felt to be] in themselves enough… these must be matched by progress in another

[147] Stephen Crocker, "Hauled Kicking and Screaming into Modernity: Non-Synchronicity and Globalization in Post-War Newfoundland," in *Canadian Cultural Studies: A Reader*, ed. Sourayan Mookerjea, Imre Szeman, and Gail Faurschou (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 427. Crocker writes specifically in reference to the process of modernization in Newfoundland in this period. In this context, the discussion of "modernization" refers more explicitly to development of basic infrastructure than it would in most other parts of the country. (In the outport community where my great aunt and great-grandmother lived after post-Confederation resettlement, for instance, *nobody* had electricity until the early 1960s—and this about an hour by car from Gander International Airport, where the vast majority of transatlantic flights stopped to refuel until the 1980s. The future was visible, indeed.) The general phenomenon he observes, in short, is perhaps of limited relevance to industrial or technological development in areas outside of Newfoundland, but the processes he describes are relevant to Canadian *cultural* modernization more broadly.

[artistic or musical] field."[148] Yet as Crocker emphasizes, this sort of transplantation is not a passive process; while there are indeed "conservative forms of repetition" of the earlier developments of the centre or metropolis, colonials often engage in parodic or critical forms of repetition. Distinguishing between these two kinds of repetition allows us "to determine not only the new post-war forms of global inequality but also the new kinds of agency and resistance made possible by the peculiar non-synchronous heritage of colonialism."[149] I therefore argue that these composers—who imported and incorporated various styles and techniques of twentieth-century new music into their works, with a clear intent to 'modernize' Canadian music culture—did not merely imitate elements of hegemonic American or Western European culture. Instead, they balanced conservative and critical forms of stylistic or technical repetition or importation, they struck complex compromises between the individual and the international, between the local and the universal, between the moderate and the avant garde, and between the traditional and the progressive.

Complex Compromises vs. "Provocative Percolation"

In some senses, these complex compromises may bring to mind—as I suggested earlier—the modernist musical experimentation that Carol Oja describes in the interwar period in the United States. As she indicates, this period was "a time when the status of academic formalism, which reigned so securely in the decades immediately after World

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[148] "Report," 9.

[149] "Hauled Kicking and Screaming into Modernity: Non-Synchronicity and Globalization in Post-War Newfoundland," 427.

War II, was by no means firmly established, and when interactions between popular ular musics and the concert sphere—or 'lowbrow' and 'highbrow' as they were once called—percolated provocatively."[150] Certainly Oja describes the United States explicitly as "a postcolonial culture" in this period; one might therefore infer (at least partially correctly) that this ideological flexibility or stylistic plurality is simply the marker of a musical culture in the process of modernization.[151] But English Canadian composition of the Cold War period varies from the New York context that Oja describes in crucial ways. First, the provocative percolation of highbrow and lowbrow would have entirely different connotations for modernist composers in New York City: "lowbrow" commercial or populist styles would have been largely local products, rather than signifiers of cultural domination by a more powerful neighbor. If "making music modern" is also a project of making music *national*, in other words, there is little contradiction in American composers experimenting with American popular music—but such experimentation would risk directly contradicting the nationalist agendas of Canadian composers. Certainly English Canadian composers incorporate influences from jazz and other American styles—but in general, they avoid the explicitly commercial or lowbrow.[152] R. Murray Schafer, in a 1959 essay that laments the impossibility of Canadian nationalist

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[150] Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s*, 5.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Of the composers I address in this study, John Weinzweig probably incorporates the most obvious jazz influences. With some exceptions, however, jazz has since the middle of the twentieth century a less commercial—and less commercialized—category than other sorts of American-derived popular music. (By now, there is little question about the existence of "highbrow," modernist, or avant-garde jazz.)

music, indicates some of the basis for this anxiety when he declares that Canada will "never produce her Smetana," in part because Canadians in cities "have settled for the juke box," in place of a legitimate folk repertoire that might provide the raw material for nationalist composition.[153] The "juke box," in other words, is a threat to the development of national culture, not an element of culture or environment that might be explored by the composer.

Focusing on New York, further, Oja deals with an explicitly *central* culture: "Long past its early status as a colonial outpost, straining for credibility and currency, New York stood at the hub of the action[.]"[154] American composers, and indeed Americans in general, in the 1920s "suddenly realized that the world was paying serious attention to what they did. It was a time when any idea seemed realizable, when taking risks was the order of the day."[155] For English Canadian composers—in a context that was still decolonizing and modernizing in fundamental, material ways even three or four decades later—creative experimentation could not be authorized by such centrality, or by such a sense of being at the international leading edge.

This is not to say that English Canadian composers were necessarily constrained by marginal or peripheral status. To accept the margin could be a paradoxically liberating

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[153] R. Murray Schafer, "The Limits of Nationalism in Canadian Music," in *On Canadian Music* (Bancroft, Ontario: Arcana Editions, 1984), 9 and 11. Schafer is probably the most curmudgeonly—and most transparently elitist—of the composers I discuss here. His irritation with the jukebox, and the encroachment of American culture that it represents, is nonetheless reasonably characteristic of the concerns of his colleagues.

[154] Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s*, 3.

[155] Ibid.

epxerience. Margaret Atwood voices this sense of liberation through the protagonist and narrator of her novel *Cat's Eye*, a painter who watches skeptically as her (first) husband, a fellow painter, leaps with tremendous commitment from abstract expressionism to minimalism to pop art. She manages to "admire [his paintings] in monosyllables," but "secretly [she doesn't] like them very much."[156] He, in the meantime, is frankly dismissive of her work:

> He doesn't say what he thinks of my paintings, but I know anyway. He thinks they are irrelevant. In his mind, what I paint is lumped in with the women who paint flowers. Lumped is the word. The present tense is moving forward, discarding concept after concept, and I am off to the side somewhere, fiddling with egg tempera and flat surfaces, as if the twentieth century has never happened.
>
> There is freedom in this: because it doesn't matter what I do, I can do what I like.[157]

This liberation is the flip side of the "double bind" that Richard Taruskin has identified as afflicting composers outside of the French or German traditions: "without the native costume, a 'peripheral' composer would never achieve even secondary canonical rank, but with it he could never achieve more."[158] Working explicitly *outside* of the international canon, these composers were not restricted to a "native costume" (if, indeed, one existed

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[156] Margaret Atwood, *Cat's Eye*, Kindle ed. (New York: Anchor Books, 2011), 346.

[157] Ibid., 376. It is worth noting that the novel's protagonist achieves significant professional success, whereas her first husband ends up working as a special effects technician on American film productions—a sort of employee of the cultural 'branch-plant.' Trying to keep up with the international avant-garde is a lost cause, in other words, and leads inevitably to absorption by the empire. Choosing one's own creative path—accepting a position outside of what Benedict Anderson calls "the steady onward clocking of homogeneous, empty time" (32) —is the only hope for the Canadian artist.

[158] Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press).

for them to affect); instead, they chose among elements of international styles as they saw fit. Examination of these ‘imported styles” is deeply revealing about the cultural politics of Canada in this period, and additionally about the ideological or political content of these musical styles. Neither the contingency of musical meaning or musical value, nor the ideological and political basis of canon formation, should remain much in doubt in musicology at present; if such doubt remains, I argue that it may be erased by the study of a modern Western nation in which musical meaning, value, and canonicity are transparently skewed by politics, ideology, and cultural context.

Chapter Two

Three Contemporaries and Two Fantasies
Reading Canadian Composition as Middle Power Music

Question: What is the difference between a Canadian and an American?
Answer: The Canadian knows there is a difference.[1]

Guiding Considerations for Analysis

To begin from the premise that English Canadian composition of the Cold War period is middle power music—music that is the product of a culture that is modernizing and decolonizing, yet staunchly peripheral—is to attempt to clear space, much in the way that Appiah suggests, for understanding or hearing this music.[2] As I indicated earlier, I do not intend this model to be exhaustive, but rather suggestive, as an approach to English Canadian composition. Rather than outlining a precise method, therefore, I would suggest a number of questions that may be asked as a precursor or corollary to more traditional technical analysis. These questions help to situate Canadian music of the middle and late twentieth century in cultural and historical context—both domestically and internationally.

[1] Recounted in Jameson, "Both Sides Now: "Parallel" Lines across Bi-National Pasts," 489.

[2] See again Appiah, "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?." I do not wish to give the impression that I am appropriating a concept intended for an African postcolonial context, uncritically, for application to the Canadian context. As I have outlined, however, Appiah speaks of the postcoloniality of a Western-educated, Western-identified African élite; he does not talk about postcoloniality so much in terms of reclaiming 'authentic' or indigenous identities as in terms of creating postcolonial identities or cultural products for international consumption. I am generally cautious about discussions of Canada as postcolonial, but in this narrow, particular sense I would argue that the designation is valid.

1. Participation and Modernization

To what extent is the composition reflective of the desire to be modern or modernist, or of the desire to participate in international compositional trends?

There is no 'indigenous' Canadian compositional technique: twelve-tone serial composition has clear origins in Vienna and minimalist composition has clear origins in the United States, but no Canadian composer has yet originated such a codified method.[3] When composers engage with these techniques—or when they adopt or adapt other modern or modernist styles or techniques into their compositions, often 'importing' them to Canada after training or travel abroad—they are thus often engaging to some extent in a cultural "catch-up game."[4]

Although earlier English Canadian composers certainly studied abroad, John Weinzweig is perhaps the earliest relevant example of the process I describe here. The basic narrative of his encounter with twentieth century styles, related by Elaine Keillor, suggests that during his time as a student at the Eastman School of Music (1937-38), he encountered the works of Berg and Stravinsky for the first time.[5] Stravinsky would

[3] As I discuss at length elsewhere in this project, I recognize that serialism and minimalism are by no means monolithic, uniform practices. These are both styles or techniques, however, that have been originated by particular composers, that have been described in precise terms in writings of those composers and their affiliates or associates, and that are associated with specific technical features or processes. In these respects, there is plainly no analogy to these techniques or practices in Canadian composition.

[4] See Burns, "Artistic Modernism as Nationalism in the Periphery: Canada and Mexico."

[5] See Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada*, 15-20. Also recounted by Keillor in *Canadian Composer Portraits: John Weinzweig* (Centrediscs / Centredisques CMCCD 8002, 1992).

become a major influence on Weinzweig's rhythmic style, while Berg's work introduced Weinzweig to Schoenberg's twelve-tone system:

> On his own [Weinzweig] proceeded to try to find out all he could about the Second Viennese School and more specifically Schoenberg's serial technique. Weinzweig showed a piano piece written with a set to his teacher, Bernard Rogers, who quickly dismissed it and no other teacher would give him assistance. In 1939 back in Toronto Weinzweig wrote *Dirgeling* and from that point to use his own words, the system "became a way of life." After the first English language book on the technique, Krenek's *Studies in Counterpoint*, appeared in 1940 Weinzweig had some guidance, and wrote a symphony strictly using a set.[6]

Barbara Pentland reported a similar experience of attending a summer program at Darmstadt in 1955, and encountering the works of Anton Webern for the first time. In later years, she would refer to her "pre-Darmstadt and post-Darmstadt" periods, characterizing her pieces before Darmstadt as "another era."[7] Although Pentland had earlier encounters with serial technique in the works of Schoenberg (and a long friendship and correspondence with Dika Newlin), it was Webern whose style matched her creative sensibilities:

> But Schoenberg, himself, I didn't find his music interested me. It seemed to stem too much in the 19th century, and I had a horror of the 19th century. It seemed to hang so heavily over my head, but Webern was a kind of fresh way of looking at the relationship of

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[6] "John Weinzweig's *Wine of Peace*," in *Canadian Music of the 1950s*, Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario (London, Ontario: 1983), 83.

[7] *Canadian Composer Portraits: Barbara Pentland* (Centrediscs / Centredisques CMCCD 9203, 2003). Also described (at more length) in Pentland's interview by Norma Beecroft in *Barbara Pentland. Anthologie de la Musique Canadienne*, Volume 25 (Radio Canada International, ACM 25, 1986).

> tones, and the use of simple material in a more sophisticated and very strong way, and I began to think in that direction.[8]

For both composers, the engagement with serialism represented a path to modernization through modernism. The 'importation' of a technique from the United States or Europe—though plainly complicated in Weinzweig's case by the conservatism of the faculty at Eastman—allowed these composers to declare a connection with a broader, international group of musical modernists, and to counter what they both regarded as the stifling atmopshere of British-dominated Canadian institutions. It also offered a way to accrue prestige: Weinzweig's frequent identification as Canada's first serial composer has been central to his stature and legacy, and Pentland's insistence on identification with Darmstadt seems designed to declare her as not just part of an international group of music modernists, but indeed as part of an international avant-garde.[9]

For neither composer, I would suggest, were these declarations the primary impetus for adopting serial techniques. Although these narratives have been hardened in later accounts of their lives and careers, their accounts of the intial encounter with serialism suggests that they had found something that offered them a path to a new kind of musical expression—something that they had been actively seeking. The search for new sounds, in other words, is not simply driven by an impulse to modernization or decolonization, but also by highly individual aesthetic and expressive concerns.

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[8] *Canadian Composer Portraits: Barbara Pentland* (Centrediscs / Centredisques CMCCD 9203, 2003).

[9] See David Gordon Duke's comments on Pentland's division of her career into pre- and post-Darmstadt periods in *Canadian Composer Portraits: Barbara Pentland* (Centrediscs / Centredisques CMCCD 9203, 2003).

2. Inflection, Resistance, or Parody

Does this composition modify or inflect a recognizeable existing style? Does it engage in a form of "critical repetition" or "parodic repetition"?

The other side of the "catch-up game" is, as I have outlined, the impulse to modify or resist dominant cultural forms.[10] In the process of catching up to the centre, in other words, the periphery acknowledges its marginality or 'inferiority'; the 'catch-up' game is thus perhaps a process of remediation of the backwards or backwater. But it may also be a way of bringing the modern into a different context, and thus of envisioning the modern differently. Stephen Crocker indicates that "it matters how we think about that interval [between the centre and periphery], whether we see it, for example, as an obstacle between the present and an already determined future, or as the site of active creation of very different possible futures."[11] The colonial or peripheral context is not necessarily a site for passive repetition of dominant cultural forms; rather, it can be a site for the "active creation" of different versions of modernity—or indeed of modernism.

In reporting the 'importation' of serialism by Weinzweig and Pentland, I revealed only part of the narrative. Both composers, as I indicate, sought to become modern and to declare modernist alliances. But they did not do so passively. As Elaine Keillor writes of Weinzweig:

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[10] See Burns, "Artistic Modernism as Nationalism in the Periphery: Canada and Mexico." and Crocker, "Hauled Kicking and Screaming into Modernity: Non-Synchronicity and Globalization in Post-War Newfoundland.," and discussion beginning on p. 50.

[11] "Hauled Kicking and Screaming into Modernity: Non-Synchronicity and Globalization in Post-War Newfoundland," 426.

> Weinzweig… wrote a symphony strictly using a set. This did not satisfy him, and like Wallingford Riegger in the United States he tried to find his own way of using sets. Through the 1940s he used them as a melodic source and rarely, if ever, consciously drew upon them for vertical complexes. Usually the set was exposed gradually at the beginning of a composition and then complete or almost complete versions of it would reappear at important junctures in the whole composition.[12]

Pentland, similarly, indicated: "I rarely used [the twelve-tone system] very strictly, because I'm fairly intuitive in—in composing, and I—I couldn't put a straitjacket on things that wanted to emerge on their own, so to speak. So, I allowed it to free reign. I used it as a kind of governing principle, and I have very rarely written works that could be called, in any way, in a strict serial technique."[13] Timothy McGee has observed of Pentland's work that "[h]er earliest uses of the serial technique are so loose that it is extremely difficult to find the row by eye, and by ear the compositions sound no different from those that precede them that are not written with the serial technique. In fact, her first serial work, the *Octet for Winds*, can be analyzed more successfully according to Hindemith's technique than Schoenberg's."[14]

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[12] Keillor, "John Weinzweig's *Wine of Peace*," 83.

[13] *Canadian Composer Portraits: Barbara Pentland* (Centrediscs / Centredisques CMCCD 9203, 2003).

[14] Timothy J. McGee, "Barbara Pentland in the 1950s: String Quartet No. 2 and Symphony for Ten Parts," *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 9: 135. McGee references here some of Pentland's "pre-Darmstadt" compositions, but also comments that her later compositions differ in their treatment of the row only insofar as "the intervals and germ motives are derived from a row… their treat meant after initial statement does not usually depend on the row order except in a very general sense" (ibid).

I will discuss these particular implications of these uses of serial technique in the next chapter; because of the specific ideological attachments of serial composition in the Cold War period,

These flexible uses of twelve-tone technique may read, initially, as idiosyncratic, or as the result of some misunderstanding of the technique. And, of course, it is easy to counter that (as Keillor's reference to Riegger suggests), twelve-tone composition is not, in practice, nearly so rigid as various treatises and mainstream works would suggest.[15] But in the Canadian context—and in other peripheral contexts—the impulse to inflect or modify modernist forms that dominate at the centre is a way of asserting agency, even as one acknowledges peripherality. In some cases, this assertion may amount to active resistance of cultural domination.

Three Contemporaries

Of all the composers I will discuss in this project, R. Murray Schafer is probably the most plainly avant-garde in his values—and has probably received the most attention outside of Canada. By the early 1980s, his prose writings would show substantial awareness of the tropes I have described in English Canadian cultural nationalism, drawing on works of Grant, Frye, Innis, and Atwood to formulate an argument that framed Canada as a colonial victim, exploited and controlled by outside forces:

> A colonial regime strengthens itself by pushing out from centre to margin. It takes raw materials from the extremities and ejects finished products from the centre. It would be wrong to think that this is a balanced exchange, for as the economic historian Harold Innis showed, the central producer always attempts to maintain control over his suppliers by paying cheaply for raw goods, and in

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they have special significance. That significance does not, however, override their relevance to the question of critical or parodic repetition.

[15] Joseph Straus indicates that North American twelve-tone technique is, in fact, generally more flexibly than European twelve-tone technique. See Joseph Straus, *Twelve-Tone Music in America* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

> an exchange medium that will guarantee dependence. The same is true for culture. A colonial regime can never adjust its sights to recognize valuable cultural assets in the margins of the empire. Either the margin is a wasteland, or it is full of impediments that must be exterminated—as the Indians were exterminated in North America by the European colonialists. To the extent that culture in Canada is still colonial, we are concerned with the position of victim. To the extent that the victim is still alive, things can change.[16]

For audiences primarily familiar with Schafer's later writings and works, which are often explicitly nationalist, this attitude might be surprising. But Schafer's earlier writings indicate an intense frustration with Canadian culture—a frustration that bordered on contempt. He lamented in 1950 that the early settlers of Canada were "philistines" and

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[16] Schafer, "Canadian Culture: Colonial Culture," 76. I quote Schafer at such length here because this passage includes a number of unattributed echoes from other sources, particularly from Innis and Atwood, which will be familiar to readers of English Canadian nationalist texts. Innis, for instance, writes that "[t]he economic history of Canada has been dominated by the discrepancy between the centre and the margin of western civilization. Energy has been directed toward the exploitation of staple products and the tendency has been cumulative. The raw material supplied to the mother country stimulated manufactures of the finished product and also of the products which were in demand in the colony" (385). The reference to Canada as "victim" is of course a reference to the famous formulation in Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*.

I also wish to draw attention to his reference to the "extermination" of "Indians." Of course not all First Nations, Inuit, or other indigenous peoples were exterminated. It is not clear whether Schafer intends here to erase the contemporary, living indigenous peoples of Canada from his discussion, or whether he intends to identify with them as colonial victims. Either formulation is obviously tremendously problematic, particularly given his uses of aboriginal culture in works like *The Princess of the Stars* (1981), which is "based on a quasi-Indian legend fabricated by Schafer himself" (202), or *Patria*, which includes a wolf who "emerge[s] as a totemic figure in Schafer's personal version of native Indian legend" (205). Schafer's deployment of fabricated or rewritten aboriginal materials in works that express his "atavistic nostalgia for an unpeopled wilderness" is a manifestation of the most troubling sort of white English Canadian nationalism (205).

Parenthetical references indicate page numbers in Stephen J. Adams, "Murray Schafer's *Patria*: The Greatest Show on Earth?," *Review of Canadian Studies / Revue d'Etudes Canadiennes* 23/1 (1988).

"culturally bankrupt," and that the contemporary culture of Canada reflected their inadequacies; he quipped in 1963 that "Newfoundland and the music of Serge Garant go together like porridge and champange," and gloated that while in St. John's he surely had the only copies of Garant's scores east of Québec.[17] He writes in his autobiography of his pleasure at escaping Canadian culture while on a trip to Europe in 1957.[18] *Three Contemporaries* (1954-56) is a product of these attitudes. To audiences familiar primarily with Schafer's later compositions (particularly his explorations of soundscape and the collaborative project *And the Wolf Shall Inherit the Moon*), this work may appear to be an outlier among Schafer's work. The work is, however, reflects the conceptual concerns and in stylistic flexibility that characterize Schafer's (admittedly varied) output in the early part of his career.[19] Specifically, I would argue, the work reflects Schafer's ambivalence towards both center and periphery, his desire to escape or transcend his Canadian roots and his skepticism about the cultural authority of major American and Western European artists. It is not at all incidental that Schafer chooses European "contemporaries" as his subjects. But he does not choose these contemporaries

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[17] R. Murray Schafer, *On Canadian Music* (Bancroft, Ontario: Arcana Editions, 1984), 11-12 and 36. Schafer would have written his commentary on Garant while Artist-in-Residence at the Memorial University of Newfoundland. See *My Life on Earth and Elsewhere* (Erin, Ontario: The Porcupine's Quill, 2012), 82.

See also John Beckwith, "An Open Letter to R. Murray Schafer: One Titan of Canadian Music Evaluates Another," *Literary Review of Canada* (2003). Beckwith praises Schafer's erudition and insight, but also expresses some frustration at his Great Artist posturings.

[18] Schafer, *My Life on Earth and Elsewhere*, 56-57.

[19] I would point in particular to Schafer's vocal works from the 1950s and 1960s, including *Minnelieder* (1956) and *Requiems for the Party Girl* (1966). Although strongly contrasting in some senses, there is a continuity of expressive aesthetic between these works and *Three Contemporaries*.

FIGURE 2.1: R. MURRAY SCHAFER, TEXT OF *THREE CONTEMPORARIES*

Benjamin Britten / a distinguished composer

Benjamin Britten is a most distinguished composer
Born in nineteen thirteen in Lowestoft
he received a scholarship in composition at the Royal College of Music

Among his many works are the operas *Peter Grimes* and *Albert Herring*

Benjamin Britten is a most distinguished composer

Paul Klee / from the Diaries
(Note: the score includes text in both German and English.)

German:	*English*:
Kennen Sie den Maler Paul Klee? Er war ein Maler mit besonderen Klarheit der Kräfte, So wohl mit Worden als auch mit der Pinsel	Do you know the painter Paul Klee? He was a painter of unusual force and clearness as much with words as well as in painting
Daher wende ich mich den Tagebüchern zu, um seine Werke zu verstehen.	Therefore let us turn to his diaries to understand his work in painting.
Er bekennt seine literarische Natur: "Ich schreibe Worte auf die Stirn und um die Mundwinkel."	He confesses his literary nature: "I write words on the brow and in the mouth's corners."
Un ein andermal: "Nächstes un zugleich fernstes Ziel wird nun sein Architektonisches und Dichterisches in Einklang zu bringen. aber leider hat Dichterische in mir eine grosse Änderung erfahren aus zarter Lyrik ward bittere Satire."	And another time: "My next and also highest goal will now bring Architectonics in harmony with poetry. But alas!, for the poetry in me has undergone devastating changes from tender lyric comes bitter satire."
Aber er versteidigt die Satire folgendermassen: "Satire darf kein überflüssinger Unmut sein, sonder Unmut im Hinblick auf das Höhere lächerliche Mensch göttlicher Gott."	But he defends his Satire in the following way: "Satire need not be a superfluity of spleen, rather spleen in respect to a higher thing ridiculous man heavenly God."
Er erkärt die primitive Einfachkeit seines werkes: "Sie ist Sparsamkeit also letzte profezionelle Erkenntnis."	He explains the primitive simplicity of his work: "It is economy, therefore highest professional knowledge and insight."
Kennen Sie den Maler Paul Klee? Und haben Sie seinen Mikrokosmos verstanden?	Do you know the painter Paul Klee? and have you understood his microcosmos?

Ezra Pound / his pilgrimage

Ezra Pound
At the age of sixty one returned to America
to receive a generous scholarship from the United States Government

Once again he has become part of the great American Institution

He who once gave us the silver lyrics now receives American silver for his labour
and is able to conclude his "Cantos."

Now he's among others who also write songs;
some even sillier than these

Ezra Pound
Ezra Loomis Pound
Ezra Pou – [*disintegrating into high lunatic laughter*]

uncritically or apolitically.[20] His posture, as I will discuss, is ambiguous—possibly earnest (at least at times), possibly resentful, possibly parodic—but it is clearly charged.

The title of *Three Contemporaries* refers to the subjects of the three songs—Benjamin Britten, Paul Klee, and Ezra Pound—of whom Schafer indicates "the latter two… influenced me a great deal."[21] Pound, in particular, is strongly associated with Schafer: the two met in the 1960s, and by Schafer's account, he was entrusted to deliver Pound's final *Cantos* to T.S. Eliot.[22] Schafer would also later edit and provide commentary for a well-regarded collected volume of Pound's music criticism.[23] Schafer also indicates

[20] See "Program Notes," http://www.patria.org/arcana/Programnotes.pdf, 9. Schafer indicates that *Three Contemporaries* was completed in 1956, and premièred in Toronto in 1958. A portion of the work was composed during his time in Europe (as recounted in *My Life and Elsewhere*).

[21] Ibid.

[22] *My Life on Earth and Elsewhere*, 77-79.

[23] See Ezra Pound, *Ezra Pound and Music: The Complete Criticism*, edited by R. Murray Schafer (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1976).

that he sent a copy of the score of *Three Contemporaries* to Britten—a gesture that might suggest that Schafer anticipated that Britten would be flattered by the work.[24]

But *Three Contemporaries* does not *sound* like a coherent tribute—at least not in any traditional sense. Schafer might have used the score to seek or declare connection to the "three contemporaries" in question, but the textual and musical content of these songs suggests a complicated relationship to musical or cultural authority. The text of "Benjamin Britten" is prosaic to the point of parody (see Figure 2.1). The setting—with what Schafer calls "deadpan neoclassical accompaniment"—perhaps suggests less sincere admiration than tongue-in-cheek mimicry, particularly when placed next to the quasi-atonal accompaniment of "Paul Klee" (see Figure 2.2).[25] Yet, taken on its own, the accompaniment is also highly convincing and committed in its neoclassical style; the angular rhythms and contours are tightly controlled, and the harmonic palette and voice-leading are carefully contained without becoming bland. The vocal line, likewise, is agile and carefully contoured—even, in performance, softening those prosaic lines—"born in nineteen thirteen in Lowestoft / he received a scholarship in composition at the Royal College of Music"—into surprisingly tuneful melody. This is parody that takes the style

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[24] Schafer, "Program Notes." Schafer reports: "I sent a copy of it to Britten requesting a meeting. He wrote back, and eventually we did meet when I interviewed him for the book *British Composers in Interview*, [published by] Faber [in] 1963." The comparatively long interval between the composition of *Three Contemporaries* and publication date for the interview might suggest that Britten did not in fact extend an invitation upon receiving the score. (Understandably so.)

[25] Ibid. Schafer indicates of "Paul Klee" that the style is expressionistic, reminiscent of the young Schoenberg but much less dense."

See **Error! Reference source not found.**, beginning on p. 114.

and stature of the source seriously, even as it punctures the notion of the "distinguished composer."

"Paul Klee," likewise, is written with real commitment to its expressionistic style. The piano accompaniment includes tremendous variety in texture, shifting between broad, widely spaced sonorities (see Figure 2.3) and *agitato* rhythmic chromatic passages (see Figure 2.4). The figurations are matched plainly to the emotional content of the text (as, for example, with the shift to the *agitato* in Figure 2.3, accompanying "alas, for the poetry in me has undergone devastating changes"). Sonically, the effect is convincingly expressionistic. But again, the text is in jarring contrast. Schafer does not provide full source citations for the text—indicating only that it is taken from Klee's diaries—yet it appears to begin with editorial content from the diary (or perhaps with Schafer's own quasi-editorial content), rather than with Klee's own words (see again Figure 2.1). The effect is jarring, again: quotations from Klee are interpersed with prosaic introductions ("let us turn to his diaries to understand his work in painting").

The text of "Paul Klee" suggests, however, a connection to "Ezra Pound," in its reference to Klee's satire. Schafer indicates: "[t]he Pound text is my own and is a bitter satire on Pound's incarceration at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington after his famous trial for treason."[26] And satire, as the "Klee" text indicates, "need not be a superfluity of spleen, rather spleen in respect to a higher thing." What, then, is the "higher thing"

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[26] Ibid.

FIGURE 2.2: R. MURRAY SCHAFER'S "BENJAMIN BRITTEN," MM. 1-12

Gently moving

Ben-ja-min Brit-ten

is a most dis-tinguished com-pos-er Born in

nineteen thirteen in Low-e-stoft he re-ceived a scholar-ship

in com-po-si-tion at the Roy-al College of Mu-sic

respected in “Ezra Pound”? Schafer’s note suggests that it is a matter of justice; if Pound’s ‘incarceration’ was unjust, then to protest this incarceration in favour of defending basic human rights or artistic autonomy through satire is plainly a “higher thing.” The text of “Ezra Pound” extends the complicated relationship that Schafer expresses in relation to culture to a critque of governmental authority, framing Pound’s incarceration as a “generous scholarship” that makes him part of the American “institution.” We might therefore infer that the apparently satirical tone of the entire set of songs is “spleen in respect to a higher thing.” In this case, Schafer’s alignment is clear—or it should be. The sonic and performative effect of the end of the set, where the vocal line “disintegrat[es] into lunatic laughter” at a minimum complicates Schafer’s presumptive message (see Figure 2.5). It is presumably intended as “lunatic laughter” at the figures who persecuted (indeed prosecuted) and confined Pound, or as a jarring enactment of Pound’s putative madness. But it is a startling moment, out of line with the rest of the vocal performance—and, in a work that has depended so much already on dramatic shifts of musical style, is difficult to interpret. Indeed, without Schafer’s guidance, the “lunatic laughter” might read as an extension of the apparent parody of “Benjamin Britten,” or the prosaic academic gestures of “Paul Klee.” What, then, to make of the work as a whole? First, I read this work as an expression of Schafer’s attitude towards his “culturally backwards” Canadian audience. Framing the texts as instructional vignettes—asking, “have you heard of the painter Paul Klee?”—is perhaps tongue-in-cheek, but perhaps also overtly patronizing. In the same vein, by suggesting (and craving) alignment with these figures,

Schafer declares a status and refinement above that of his audience. Insofar as he declares this status by implicitly deriding his audience, and by affiliating himself to artists from centres of cultural authority, his attitude is, arguably, the one that poet Dennis Lee ascribes to many other Canadian artists of the 1950s and 1960s: "we were prepared to sell out, not for a cut of the action or a position of second-level power, but simply on condition that we not be humiliated by being treated like the rest of the natives."[27] This attitude, Lee suggests, is typical of "colonial" Canadian artists who have not come to consciousness of their 'oppression.' In less charged terms, I would suggest that it is characteristic of marginal or peripheral artists who have not yet interrogated the basic terms of marginality or peripherality. And, in another sense, it might be more broadly the attitude of "high-art" artists or composers in *many* contexts who find themselves at odds with the public. (Schafer's characterization of Canada as a land descended from "philistines" may have a particular political charge, but it is in other respects not so different from the laments of other twentieth-century artists in search of a broader audience.) The actual audience for the première of *Three Contemporaries* presumably included specialist listeners; Schafer's program note indicates that John Beckwith was in attendance, and wrote a favorable review of the work. I would suggest that this does not negate the possibility that Schafer intended the work in part as pedagogical "snark"; rather, it would function in that context to link together specialist listeners in opposition

[27] Lee, "Cadence, Country, Silence: Writing in Colonial Space," 157. A revised version of this essay appears as "Cadence, Country, Silence," in *Body Music* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1998). The updated version omits some of the more racially problematic language (i.e. "Toms and vendus," "the rest of the natives") of the original.

FIGURE 2.3: R. MURRAY SCHAFER'S "PAUL KLEE," MM. 1-12

Slowly and freely

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

lunga

GERMAN ORIGINAL

lunga

lunga

accel. . . . .

p

. . . . accel. . . . . a tempo

mp

lunga

mp

p

Do you know the pain - ter

p

Kennen Sie den Ma - ler

FIGURE 2.4: R. MURRAY SCHAFER'S "PAUL KLEE," MM. 48-53

with po - et - ry.

in Ein-klang zu bring - en

Briskly: lightly

but a - las! for the po - et - ry in me has un - der-gone

ab - er lei — der hat das Dichter - isch - e in mir ei - ne grosse

FIGURE 2.5: R. MURRAY SCHAFER'S "EZRA POUND," CONCLUSION

Broadly

19

E - zra Pound Ez - ra

Loo - mis Pound Ez - ra

Pou -

glissando

disintegrating into high lunatic laughter

sffz

subito

molto

ff

loco

Vienna 1956

to the "culturally bankrupt." The fact that "Benjamin Britten" is the most overtly parodic of the songs here makes a great deal of sense in this context: any allegiance declared by a Canadian composer to a British composer in this period would certainly have to be tempered in some way.

Three Contemporaries also clearly functions as a work of critical repetition. Read from this perspective, the at times pedantic texts voiced by the artist are satirical in the sense that they mock the (putative) outsider perception of Canadian culture as backwards. Schafer may be colonial, in other words, but *he* has still heard of Paul Klee, and is a bit offended that anybody might think otherwise. The piano accompaniment and vocal lines of these songs— with the exception of the laughter at the end of "Ezra Pound" — sound like earnest imitations of neoclassic or expressionist styles. The music is composed, in other words, in a way that seems intended to declare not only Schafer's affiliations, but also to underline his competency and fluency in multiple styles.[28] This declaration is of particular importance for a marginal or peripheral composer, whose competence and fluency might initally be in doubt in an international context. To layer these wry texts upon this earnest demonstration of musical skill, then, is to declare distaste at the necessity of demonstrating one's skill. It is, in a sense, a compromise

[28] I note, informally, that a number of phrases in "Paul Klee" offer 11 pitches of the aggregate. Given that Schafer specifies that the model is *early* Schoenberg, not twelve-tone Schoenberg, I am not sure that this would be intentional. As an analyst, in any case, tracking through the music to see if I could locate any evidence of serial 'behavior,' I had the distinct sense that Schafer was refusing to complete aggregates and rows as a gesture back against twelve-tone serialism.

between the desire to be taken seriously by the cultural centre and the resentment of the authority of that centre.

Taken together, the set recalls for me the trajectory of the painter character in Margaret Atwood's *Cat's Eye* who moves with great commitment between twentieth century styles—from abstract expressionism to cubism to pop art—explicitly as an attempt to keep up with American trends.[29] The crucial difference is that by containing these multiple styles in one work, Schafer cannot be read as "keeping up" with trends. If anything, this work suggests a higher level of awareness of the conflicted pressures exerted upon Canadian artists in this period. An artist who shifts from style to style over the course of multiple works may be at the mercy of changing trends; an artist who deploys multiple styles or techniques in a single work is (probably) one who is exploring the ideological or political content of those trends.

Two Fantasies

A crucial aspect of my concept of Canada as middle power is acknowledgement of its connections to greater powers. To quote again the poet George Elliott Clarke, "[t]he Canadian "difference" from the US is one of degree and sentiment, not a stark, merciless alterity."[30] Thus the exploration of middle power music must acknowledge *similarities* between Canadian and American (or indeed Canadian and British) musics. The acknowledgement of these similarities does not, however, necessarily entail the rejection of all difference. To that end, I would like to offer a discussion of Barbara Pentland's

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[29] Atwood, *Cat's Eye*. See also discussion on pp. 57-8.

[30] Clarke, "What Was Canada?," 29.

Fantasy for Piano (1962), in comparison to Aaron Copland's Piano Fantasy (1957). Although Copland's Fantasy is a significantly larger scale work (and arguably the work of a more mature or sophisticated composer), it shares many stylistic features with Pentland's Fantasy. Yet, I will argue, similarity is not identity. The examination of these works in context offers a path to understanding the ways in which Cold War era cultural politics exerted different pressures on Canadian and American composers.

Compromise

My interest in Copland's Piano Fantasy was piqued when, in the course of examining the ways in which "compromise" is referenced in discussions of twentieth-century music, I found the work referenced as "one of the most cogent of all essays in [musical] compromise."[31] Before I launch into my discussion of the Fantasies of Pentland and Copland, I wish to provide an overview of discussions of "compromise" in twentieth century music. The term appears most often in reference to serial practice in Europe and the United States, with tremendous diversity in its connotations. For some critics, "compromise" is a neutral term, used without significant ideological charge to describe compositional style or practice that synthesizes techniques of serialism in tonal or formally neoclassical works. For others, it is a term of praise, used to signal a sensibly moderate rejection of the ideological weight of serial, neoclassical, or indeterminate compositional practices. And for others, it is a strongly pejorative term, indicating contempt for the "impure" or uncommitted music of those moderate composers.

[31] Peter Evans, "Compromises with Serialism," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (1961-62): 9.

Unsurprisingly, in the context of Cold War musical ideology, this rhetoric shifts over time, and reveals a great deal about national interests and ideals.

Although undeniably a cultural center in most respects, Britain functions as what Fredric Jameson might term a “semi-peripheral” nation in terms of its musical culture.[32] Such semi-peripherality leaves British music critics and scholars outside of the strongest ideological struggles of Cold War musical culture, and engenders in them a degree of respect for the phenomenon of musical compromise. Writing in 1961, for instance, Peter Evans contended that in the years after World War II composers who had previously discounted the practice found that serialism was “a stimulant for atrophied thought processes that need not take toll of individuality. The serial idea, already written off by critics of the pre-war years, became again a subject for debate, so hot that it even penetrated faintly to the ears of some composers happily immured within petrified idioms.”[33] Yet for composers “reared in neo-classical or otherwise traditionally-orientated idioms,” Evans declared, “the decision to admit serial influences to their practice, however hesitantly, required the courageous adoption of an attitude to musical material

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[32] This designation appears in Frederic Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Age of Multinational Capitalism," *Social Text* 15 (1986).

Specifically, Jameson describes nineteenth-century Spain as a country not “peripheral” in the sense that it has Third World status, but as “certainly *semi-peripheral*… when contrasted with England or France” (78, emphasis original). In terms of hard power (or in terms of literary culture, the focus of Jameson’s essay), the designation of Britain as semi-peripheral would be frankly absurd. But when contrasted with Germany or France, for instance, in terms of musical culture, Britain is certainly semi-peripheral.

[33] Evans, "Compromises with Serialism," 3.

relevant perhaps to their problems, but not obviously compatible with any of their old solutions."[34]

Evans attends not to *ideological* compromise, but rather to what he calls "compromise techniques," or partial and selective applications of serial or (still classically Schoenbergian) twelve-tone techniques.[35] He finds in works of Walton, Bartók, and Copland a superficial use of twelve-tone rows as melody, deployed "without Schoenberg's dissolution [of the row] into the texture," or in a context that emphasizes conventional (or quasi-conventional) harmony.[36] In Britten, Evans finds a more thorough and more conceptually deep integration of twelve-tone techniques and tonal or neoclassic principles. In *The Turn of the Screw*, he writes, the "twelve-note formula" becomes "a ritornello that articulates the structure of the entire opera," and "[effects] a fusion of unifying and diversifying functions that is eminently Schoenbergian[,] both in its own shape and in these restatements at new transpositions and tensions the theme acts as a powerful symbol of the title."[37] In the second movement of the *Cantata Academica*, similarly, the "row is … a monumental upholder of a scheme of key relations such as Schoenberg thought to have abolished."[38] For Evans, the impulse to merger of these diverse techniques is both highly sympathetic and highly productive—and is a phenomenon that defines the work of composers on both sides of the Atlantic.

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[34] Ibid., 1.

[35] Ibid., 5.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., 6.

[38] Ibid.

Two years later, Wilfred Mellers wrote an essay laudatory of the impulse to compromise specifically in the American avant-garde. American composers, Mellers contends, whose display of a “faculty for compromise [which] may explain why, in culturally amorphous America, 'advanced' and 'orthodox' composers have found it less necessary to be at loggerheads than have their European complements.”[39] This “faculty” was evident to Mellers in works such as Earle Brown’s *Music for Cello and Piano*, which “combines Webernian serialism in line with an ambiguous time-notation, and an exploitation of ‘noise’ reminiscent of Varèse,” and in Lukas Foss’s *Time Cycle*, which “employed both post-Webernian serialism and improvised indeterminacy in conjunction with traditional techniques reminiscent of America's Copland and Europe's Mahler.”[40] Mellers ascribes this putative difference in musical style and practice to naturalized or essential national differences, arguing that “European composers, with so much past behind them,” are painfully limited by the weight of history.[41] American composers, conversely, could be more “empirically spontaneous” because “America had less consciousness of a past,”[12] and was blessed with a “polyglot culture [which], Janus-wise, faced East as well as West.”[42]

It is difficult to be sure if Mellers would have encountered works or writing of Milton Babbitt or John Cage—composers very much “at loggerheads” despite their New

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[39] Wilfred Mellers, "The Avant-Garde in America," ibid. (1963-64): 11.

[40] Ibid., 11-12.

[41] Ibid., 2.

[42] Ibid., 3.

World origins—when he wrote this essay. Many of Babbitt's key writings had appeared in the US press by this point, but Princetonian serialism had certainly not reached its peak. When Arnold Whittall addressed the issue of compromise in a 1970 essay, however, the ideological terrain of Western musical culture had plainly shifted. Whittall regarded with suspicion the emergence of "extremes of radicalism existing at present in America," specifically "the integral serialism of Milton Babbitt and the indeterminacy of John Cage," contended that it was indeed "[a] commonplace to point out that extremism is not natural to Europe: here we supposedly thrive on compromise and synthesis." [43] Calling musical extremism the "buried foundations of new puritanisms," Whittall ascribed the European tendency to compromise and synthesis to a naturalized, essentialized European identity:[44]

> We do not explore the future eagerly to compensate for our lack of a past. We create a possible future out of our past. More bluntly, we are too old for extremism and when, in the arts, we encounter American experimentation we treat it with caution. Contrary to popular belief copying is rare in Europe. We analyze, re-interpret, modify, transform. Such is our Hegelian destiny[.][45]

Whittall argued that the "exclusive use" of serialism by Babbitt and indeterminacy by Cage were "creat[ing a] climate in Europe which reject[ed] synthesis, or which [felt] that these pure extremes have so much to offer that we can at last abandon compromise without seeming absurd."[46] Yet such abandonment of compromise or synthesis was, for

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[43] Arnold Whittall, "A Transatlantic Future?," *Music & Letters* 51/3 (1970): 259.

[44] Ibid., 264.

[45] Ibid., 259.

[46] Ibid.

Whittall, limiting and unsatisfying. Rather than understanding Boulez's *Structures 1a* (1959) as a sign of musical progress, or of encroaching dominance of integral serialism in European musical culture, he argued that it was "typically European" to regard the work "as an extremist dead-end."[47]

Conversely, Whittall praised the "compromises" of Karlheinz Stockhausen. Between *Kontra-Punkte* and *Stimmung*, Whittall argued, Stockhausen had not "swung neatly across the spectrum, out of the Webernian frying-pan into the Cageian fire."[48] By embracing the "conflict" between serialism and indeterminacy, Stockhausen had instead engaged in a compromise, "which European instincts indicate must be creative," rather than a "conversion to extremism, to 'purity.'"[49] Stockhausen's "stylistic spectrum is his most impressive, and by no means his least European, feature," and works like *Hymnen* and *Telemusik* were "direct evidence of [his] historical consciousness."[50] Such historical consciousness—or indeed "historical obsessions"—also, Whittall contends, shape the distinctively European work of Peter Maxwell Davies.[51] Davies's work, however, is "less a compromise between these two 'moralities' [of Babbitt and Cage] than a bravura recreation of inter-war expressionism."[52] His use of serial techniques is not an ideologically or expressively 'pure' assimilation: rather, as Whittall writes, "to derive sets

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., 260.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., 261.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

from diatonic or modal material [as Davies does with his transformation sets] is to parody serialism itself, as well as that basic material."[53]

Such faith in the expressive possibility of compromise is in stark contrast to the reactions to "compromise music" by many critics outside of Britain. As Richard Taruksin writes about the case of René Leibowitz and Bartók:

> [Leibowitz] attacked Bartók in 1947 for having "compromised" himself during the war with stylistically accessible pieces like the popular *Concerto for Orchestra*. That was the undisguised language of political denunciation, a cruel insult to Bartók's principled antifascist commitment and the bitter sacrifices it had entailed.
> Bartók's alleged moral failure was held against him in exactly the way that "passive collaborators" with the Nazis were blamed in the wake of the so-called Nuremberg trials. "The very fact that our purity or compromise in matters of composition depend only on our choice implies that it is our duty to create the one and avoid the other," wrote Leibowitz. Bartók, looking for social approval rather than facing his lonely historical obligation, had not met this challenge, his stern posthumous accuser now asserted, very much in the spirit of the new existentialism.[54]

Taruskin reports that Copland—praised by Evans, Mellers, and Whittall—similarly "drew fire from the 'left' (that is, from Darmstadt) for representing 'compromise' with tradition, and with the nonprofessional audience" with his Piano Quartet.[55]

In the United States, Taruskin discusses Babbitt's Princetonian serialism as attaining prestige, in part, through its explicit rejection of compromise:

> It thrived on the idea of the cleanest possible break with the past. Princetonian serialism reflected American optimism. It rode the

[53] Ibid., 263.

[54] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century*, Kindle ed., The Oxford History of Western Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 19.

[55] Ibid., 111.

> crest of scientific prestige and remained committed to the idea of progress, which implied the very opposite attitude toward the past: namely a high sense of heritage and obligation. Where the two coincided was in the conviction that serious artists lived in only history, not in society, and that fulfilling history's mandate meant resisting the temptation of compromise with social pressures and rewards.[56]

It is not at all incidental that Bartók and Copland had a much stronger influence on Canadian composers than did Babbitt through the twentieth century. The kind of rigidly progressive and radical values associated with Babbitt and other figures of the historical European or American avant-garde are wholly incompatible with the playful fusions of musical styles and techniques that dominate twentieth-century Canadian music. (Likewise, they are incompatible with the peripheral "catch-up game" of Canadian cultural nationalism, which seeks not the leading edge of Western culture, but simply participation in the project of modernity, much the way that Canada's middle-power foreign policy sought not to unseat powers but rather to establish Canada's role, identity, and position among smaller nations.)

Copland's Piano Fantasy

Evans's contention that Copland's Piano Fantasy is "one of the most cogent of all essays in [musical] compromise" is a reference to an earlier article in which he discusses the work in significant detail.[57] Copland's adoption of serial techniques in the 1950s, Evans argued, made him "a composer not only of achievement, but of promise."[58]

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[56] Ibid., 135-36.

[57] Evans, "Compromises with Serialism," 9.

[58] "The Thematic Techniques of Copland's Recent Works," *Tempo* 51 (1959): 3.

Copland was "to be distinguished from those composers (not unknown in this country) who introduce 12-note themes into their essentially conservative work with no compulsion more vital than a gnawing suspicion that they may be missing something."[59]

Evans continues:

> Nor is he following Stravinsky's lead (even if the chronology were more convincing) for he finds far less fascination in the contrapuntal devices of true serialism. Like Stravinsky, he succeeds in writing music which remains uniquely personal, but this is not surprising in view of his method of handling his series; this is essentially thematic, and, even in the Piano Fantasy, does not consistently permeate the texture. Indeed, the harmony, far from being regulated according to dodecaphonic principles, has so frequent recourse to diatonic added-note chords that tonal centers, though fluid, are inescapable. And clearly Copland intends that this should be so when he rounds off his 11-note row with the initial note.[60]

In other words: Copland's engagement with serialism is meaningful, not perfunctory; it is not radical by the standards of 1950s serialism, and admits tonal elements, but it is nonetheless highly individual.

Copland's reasons for turning to serialism, however, may not have been so highly individual. After World War II, Elizabeth Crist reports, Aaron Copland's influence waned among a "younger generation of composers [who] had little use for [his] grandly accessible style and collectivist aesthetic."[61] He would in this period begin to

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[59] Ibid., 6.

[60] Ibid., 6-7.

[61] Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War*, 195.
Crist references Leonard Bernstein's observation that younger composers "stopped flocking to Aaron," which Copland experienced as "heartbreaking" (195).

"[emphasize] his involvement with the U.S. government and interest in serialism, thus aligning himself with examples of political involvement and aesthetic expression more acceptable to the postwar ethos."[62] Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett, similarly, would report that by 1949 "Copland knew of the dichotomy many perceived between 'accessible' socialist realism and more specialized, 'advanced' music of the 'free world,' of which twelve-tone composition was becoming an archetype."[63] Although she cautions that Copland's adoption of twelve-tone techniques was not a simple capitulation to political pressure, DeLapp-Birkett also contends that "in the period of about eighteen months before completing his first twelve-tone work, Copland realized that in the United States, the cultural meanings of crucial terms had shifted so far that he had to make a public about-face."[64] The pressures of the cultural Cold War, in other words, appear to have shifted both Copland's status and his compositional language.

Arnold Whittall has noted that many analyses of the Piano Fantasy "explore that particular form of stress, of tension between 'right' and 'left,' between tonal and serial, which concerned Copland at the time," with the goal of "demonstrat[ing] how the Fantasy unifies its diversities."[65] But, he suggests, in the work's form, "it becomes an open

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[62] Ibid.

[63] DeLapp-Birkett, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition in the Early Cold War United States," 32.

[64] Ibid., 60 and 33.

[65] Arnold Whittall, "Technique and Rhetoric in the *Piano Fantasy*," in *Copland Connotations: Studies and Interviews*, ed. Peter Dickinson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 137.

question whether diversity is fully absorbed into unity or not."[66] For Whittall, the work's "formal 'complexity' suggests a critique of established models as much as an adaptation of them," and ultimately its formal procedures "question traditional hierarchies."[67] The work is one of compromised or compromising serialism, in other words—but this compromise is not a total dissolution or integration of styles or techniques. Copland's musical language, Whittall indicates, "while accepting discord as the norm, never loses those deeper associations with consonance and dissonance."[68]

Pentland's Fantasy for Piano

Barbara Pentland studied briefly with Copland, and as Timothy McGee notes, his influence on her style was substantial:

> From Copland she learned to develop more sharply defined rhythms for her motives and melodies, and a more transparent texture. The result was a series of compositions through the 1940s that show the influence [Copland]… the texture and more sharply-defined rhythmic motives of Copland, combined into a style that was unique to Pentland.[69]

Pentland began to use serial techniques seriously in her compositions more than a decade after her work with Copland, and absorbed those techniques primarily (as I have discussed) through exposure to works by Webern and study at Darmstadt. Yet her "post-Darmstadt" compositional style sounds tremendously similar to Copland's style in Piano Fantasy. Many of Pentland's solo piano works, in particular, begin with the long,

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 137-46.

[68] Ibid., 145.

[69] McGee, "Barbara Pentland in the 1950s: String Quartet No. 2 and Symphony for Ten Parts," 133-34.

sustained, widely-spaced tones that resemble those at the beginning of Copland's Piano Fantasy.[70] The opening of Pentland's Fantasy is plainly less dramatically declamatory; the sonic or textural effect, however, is comparable. There is, however, a key difference between the two works. As I have noted, Copland's "compromise" serialism does not entail a total dissolution of twelve-tone and tonal or neoclassical elements. Note that, as Peter Evans's analysis shows, the dramatically declamatory opening of Copland's Piano Fantasy states the basic row form twice. This statement clearly has musically expressive effects, but I also read it, in the context outlined by Crist and DeLapp-Birkett, as a self-conscious declaration of serial allegiance. If the row will be "compromised" later in the work, it would be after he had signalled his "public about-face" from neoclassicism to serialism. Pentland, in contrast, uses the row much as McGee describes of even her early

FIGURE 2.6: BARBARA PENTLAND, FANTASY FOR PIANO, OPENING

[70] I would point to her *Suite Borealis* (1967) and *Ombres/Shadows* (1964) in particular.

FIGURE 2.7: AARON COPLAND, PIANO FANTASY, OPENING

FIGURE 2.8: PETER EVANS, DIAGRAM OF COPLAND *PIANO FANTASY* ROW FORM[71]

[71] From Evans, "The Thematic Techniques of Copland's Recent Works," 10.

FIGURE 2.9: BARBARA PENTLAND, FANTASY, "BASIC MATERIALS"[72]

[72]From Barbara Pentland Fonds, LAC, MUS 110 1991-22, Box 7, Folder 2.

Part II

Derivation of

[cf. bars 28-9]

work: although the Fantasy for Piano is a resolutely "post-Darmstadt" composition, the rows are indeed "so loose that it extremely difficult to find [them] by eye[.]"[73] Pentland's own diagrams and analytic notes for the composition make it clear that she is using rows as structuring devices and as sources for motivic material—but at no point does she lay the row out horizontally in the piece. Although Pentland does not entirely avoid tonal implications in this work, neither does the formal scheme of the work alternate plainly more-tonal sections with plainly twelve-tone sections, as does Copland's Fantasy.

The implications of these contrasts—however apparently slight—are, I would argue, significant. The similarity of these two works shows that Copland and Pentland were, in many respects, composers of similar aesthetic or artistic sensibility. Pentland's twelve-tone style is highly particular, yet in many respects similar to that of Copland. Further, the two composers arrive at similar styles at approximately the same time. This is not an example of Pentland adopting an earlier style as a form of "catch-up," or as part of a process of critical repetition. With Copland's influence entrenched in her works by the late 1940s, it should perhaps not be surprising that when Pentland and Copland turn, independently, to twelve-tone composition, the results are similar. Pentland, however, is working in an environment free of the kinds of political pressures that plagued Coplandin the early Cold War years. She needs to make no declaration of serial allegiance; the values ascribed to serial composition in 1950s USA are not ascribed to serial composition in Canada at this time. Further, although Canada was by no means fully immune to

[73] McGee, "Barbara Pentland in the 1950s: String Quartet No. 2 and Symphony for Ten Parts," 135.

anxieties about Stalin or communist allegiances, the climate was certainly more flexible and forgiving of leftist associations.[74] The margin may be a place of obscurity, but in that obscurity there is some measure of freedom.

[74] See for instance the episodes involving the National Film Board and the "Symphony Six" reported in Whitaker and Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War*. and Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-57*.

Chapter Three

Serialism and Politics in Cold War Canada

The British… never seem to have taken an agonizing decision to produce a [nuclear] bomb, because it was taken for granted that a country of Britain's assumed stature in the world would have one. The Canadian situation was the reverse. At no time was serious consideration given to producing Canada's own bomb… there is no evidence of Canadian anxiety to have a finger on the control of such a weapon. Canadians were beginning to refer to themselves as a middle power, but few had ambitions for the responsibilities of great-power status.

JOHN W. HOLMES[75]

In *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, Mark Carroll draws a broad parallel between Pierre Boulez's work *Structures 1a* and the nuclear arms race. *Structures 1a*, he points out, had its première on May 7, 1952—the same day as "the fifth in a series of nuclear tests carried out by the United States military in the spring of 1952… in the Nevada desert."[76] And, Carroll argues, "[i]t is more than a mere coincidence that *Structures 1a* was given its première at a festival," organized by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, "that was as much a product of the Cold War as were the American nuclear tests themselves."[77] Indeed, the integral serialism of *Structures 1a* might, Carroll suggests, be understood as an extension of the parallel suggested by "the vaunted synchronicity

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[75] John W. Holmes, *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-1957*, vol. 1 (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1979).

[76] Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, 1.

[77] Ibid.

between Arnold Schoenberg's first steps in the direction of atonality and the publication of Albert Einstein's Special Theory of Relativity (1905):"[78]

> The contiguity was further confirmed by Boulez, who noted that with the development and expansion of serial technique music had now moved "out of the world of Newton and into the world of Einstein," a view given added impetus (and its implications made more confronting) by the fact that *Structures 1a* was given its première on the same day that a nuclear device was detonated in the Nevada desert. The artifices created as a result of these pursuits were no longer 'prisoner to the imagination' because the research was initiated with no real sense of where it might lead, or what might be produced as a result. In this sense each event could well be regarded as the pursuit of innovations to ultimately untenable conclusions. In *Structures 1a* Boulez effected a realization of the ultimate potential of Schoenberg's emancipation of the dissonance; the atomic bomb was a practical consequence of Einstein's theories regarding the behavior of atoms.[79]

Further, Carroll contends, it might be understood that Boulez's "expanded serial technique manifested an increasingly scientific word view which when coupled with the ideological saber-rattling of the East and West brought about widespread social unease."[80]

Carroll does not offer this argument in order to denigrate Boulez, but rather to raise the possibility "that serial music represented unpalatable truths which the Cold War antagonists were instrumental in maintaining, but which neither… was prepared to countenance on a cultural level," and that a work like *Structures 1a* could "force [its] audience to confront 'the chaos and ugliness of the world'."[81] Such an argument is, if not

[78] Ibid., 142.

[79] Ibid., 142-43.

[80] Ibid., 142.

[81] Ibid.

precisely the sort of examination of Boulez for which Susan McClary called in her 1989 essay "Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition," certainly responds to her call to examine "how this music is meaningful in other than quasi-mathematical terms."[82] And, I would argue, the parallel that Carroll suggests can be extended to encompass the broader cultural competition of the Cold War when considered in terms of McClary's argument that the prestige of the musical avant-garde is *terminal*—both because it is secured "by claiming to renounce all possible social functions and values," thus dooming itself to irrelevance and obscurity, and because "[i]t is the last hurrah of a historical bloc that lost its hegemonic grip on culture at the turn of the century."[83] In the words of activist Dr. Helen Caldicott, nuclear proliferation has left us with "a terminally ill planet" on which we live with the threat that "civilization's past, [which] we've inherited from our ancestors, will be totally obliterated," and cautioned that nuclear war would not only result in destruction of life and property, but would "totally obliterate" culture: "All the architecture, the music—imagine a world without Handel and Beethoven and Brahms—the art, the literature, everything will be gone."[84]

[82] McClary, "Terminal Prestige: The Case of Avant-Garde Music Composition," 66.

[83] Ibid., 60 and 64.

[84] Terre Nash, "If You Love This Planet," (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada (NFB), 1982). The notion of "a world without Handel and Beethoven and Brahms" might not have been anathema to a young Boulez—given, for instance, his "infamous suggestion of the late 1960s that 'the most elegant solution to the problem of opera is to blow-up the opera houses'" (Parsons 161). I recognize that, later in his career, Boulez conducted works by these very composers—and as I write on the next page, I do not wish to suggest that his rhetoric was intended to support any actual violence. His rhetoric, however, helps to affirm the homology I suggest here.

The threat of the Cold War to survival might have at times been felt as abstract, but Caldicott's comments remind us that it was very real.

I begin by suggesting this admittedly provocative parallel because I believe it suggests a homology between nuclear weapons and avant-garde Cold War music.[85] This formulation may, on its face, appear to be designed to suggest that Cold War avant-gardists were somehow invested in literal violence or military power—and I do not believe that to be the case by any stretch. The avant-garde has always used *metaphors* of violence in its rhetoric—indeed the term is military in origin—but I am under no illusion that Pierre Boulez had any actual interest in bombing an opera house.[86] Exploring the correspondence between serialism and nuclear weapons, however, particularly as it pertains to issues of power and prestige, has helped me to settle any number of questions about Canada. In this chapter, I will provide an overview of these connections. I will then follow with an analysis of John Weinzweig's Piano Sonata (1950) and Harry Somers's *12x12 Fugues* (1959), two Canadian compositions that merge serial techniques with neoclassical styles or schemes.

[85] See discussion of "homology," as defined by Raymond Williams, in chapter 1.

[86] The origin of the term is outlined in Gregory Betts, *Avant-Garde Canadian Literature: The Early Manifestations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013): "The idea of an avant-garde was first coined in fifteenth-century France to describe the military unit at the fore of the army — the avant-garde was the group that defended the country and all it represented, and that, upon successful defence, pushed forth into new territory. The avant-garde used violence to protect and enlarge a nation's territorial holdings" (26).

The Prestige of the Bomb

Although nuclear proliferation has certainly been driven by real political conflict, and by the principles of deterrence or mutually assured destruction (perhaps themselves a "renunciation of social functions and values"), it has also been driven by the belief that the possession of nuclear weapons "bolster[s] a state's power and prestige."[87] Political scientist Barry O'Neill confirms this impression:

> To Charles de Gaulle a French nuclear weapon was not just a matter of military strategy, but "Will France remain France?" [.] Mao stated that China built its bomb in part for international status. Australia's little-known nuclear quest during the 1960s was motivated partly by worries about a Chinese weapon, but also by its military leaders' desire to stand equal with their colleagues in the United States and Britain. In 1974 India expected that testing a weapon would enhance its prestige just as that had done for China and France. According to Indian leaders their desire for prestige inside and outside the country prompted the 1998 tests, even though in the end India arguably became less secure.[88]

O'Neill argues that "[i]n the nuclear context, the qualities associated with prestige are usually modernity and independence, meaning the power and resolve to stand up to other states."[89] This modernity, in turn, "entitles nations to full-fledged membership in the world system."[90] The terms of this membership are unambiguous: to claim and demonstrate nuclear capability is to cross a "recognizable boundary separating its achievement from non-achievement," and to cross the boundary unambiguously, since

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[87] Buckley, *Canada's Early Nuclear Policy: Fate, Chance and Character*, 3.

[88] Barry O'Neill, "Nuclear Weapons and National Prestige," (Yale University: Cowles Foundation for Research in Economics, 2006), 4.

[89] Ibid., 1-2.

[90] Ibid., 10.

“for practical purposes there is no ‘semi-nuclear’ [explosion].”[91] There are certainly other ways for a nation to demonstrate its status or progress — through “improved social welfare, education or democratic governance,” or even the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes — but in the nuclear age, no other marker of national status, progress, or prestige has the symbolic and material potency of the bomb.[92]

This prestige value is no doubt enhanced by the legal distinctions defined by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) of 1970, divides the world into nuclear weapons states (NWS) and non-nuclear weapons states (NNWS).[93] The treaty’s five designated nuclear weapons states — specifically the United States, Russia, China, France, and Great Britain — are traditional great powers, nations whose possession of nuclear weapons befits, as John W. Holmes suggests, their “stature in the world,”[94] and are granted NWS status on the basis of nuclear armament prior to 1967. Thus nuclear status follows from “great power” status—which is then reinforced by the NPT. It is no coindence, in this context, that the first nations known to develop their nuclear weapons capabilities after the NPT are India and Pakistan, described by Meera

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[91] Ibid., 2. I should note that O’Neill attaches particular significance to the testing of nuclear weapons as a boundary-defining event: “a state that forgoes a public demonstration [of its nuclear capabilities] is not primarily seeking prestige,” but is instead likely motivated by security concerns (5). He suggests that prestige has been a strong motivator of the Indian, Pakistani, and North Korean nuclear programs, but that motivations have been different for Israel and “nuclear hedging” nations including “Egypt, Sweden, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea” (6).

[92] Ibid.

[93] See Claire Thomas, "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," in *The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, ed. Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan (Oxford University Press / Oxford Reference Online, 2009).

[94] Qtd in Buckley.

Nanda as "postcolonial nations that [have sought to] bolster their power and prestige with cutting edge technologies, including nuclear weapons."[95] The "modernity and independence" that O'Neill identifies as associated with nuclear armament are, in other words, qualities that are of particular value in the postcolonial context.[96]

Canada and Nuclear Armament

Although the years after 1945 are frequently talked about as a period of "decolonization" in Canada, the nation has never sought its own nuclear arsenal. As historian Brian Buckley points out, "[t]his is unusual behavior; a state faced with an apparent opportunity to increase its power and its prestige might be expected to exploit it."[97] Canada did indeed have the opportunity to develop its own nuclear weapons: as Buckley argues, "a careful observer would have been hard pressed *not* to describe Canada as a 'threshold nuclear state'" in the years after 1945.[98] Indeed, "[b]y the middle of the 1950s, Canada had accumulated enough plutonium to construct its own atomic weapon, and it still had an air force capable of delivering it."[99] To some extent, as Buckley outlines,

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[95] Meera Nanda, "Antiscience," in *The Oxford Companion to the History of Modern Science*, ed. J.L. Heilbron (Oxford University Press / Oxford Reference Online, 2003). Note that India and Pakistan, along with Cuba and Israel, have not signed the NPT. The Democratic People's Republic of North Korea withdrew from the treaty in 2003, and has since conducted nuclear weapons test. (Cuba is not known to have its own nuclear arsenal; Israel is believed to have nuclear weapons capabilities, but this status has not been confirmed.

For additional detail, see Thomas, "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty."

[96] O'Neill, "Nuclear Weapons and National Prestige," 1-2.

[97] Buckley, *Canada's Early Nuclear Policy: Fate, Chance and Character*, 10.

[98] Ibid., 9.

[99] Whitaker and Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War*, 124-25. Whitaker and Hewitt also make clear that the nuclear materials used for the first Indian atomic detonation in 1974 were almost

the decision not to develop nuclear weapons was the result of careful consideration of various issues of national policy or politics. But certainly part of the decision was based on the nation's sense of its own status. As military historian and journalist Gwynne Dyer has written, "[a]lthough Canada's relative economic and military power in the world was greater in 1945 than it ever had been (or ever would be again), the country still lacked the instincts of a great power."[100] And, as John Holmes has suggested, Canada simply lacked the ambition to the sort of power that developing nuclear weapons would entail.[101]

By no means does this decision mean that Canada was outside of the arms race, or of the power politics of the Cold War. As I indicated earlier, Canada supplied significant amounts of uranium to the United States and, at various times, had American nuclear weapons on its soil. Such an arrangement is, I would argue, precisely emblematic of the nation's middle power status. In this scenario Canada opts out of structural or military power, and adopts an identity that is qualitatively different from that of the United States or Britain, yet it depends on the protections of more powerful allies for its safety. It also supports the aims of these nations in various ways—some of which involve compromise, but others which simply involve *being compromised*.

Given the correspondence between nuclear weapons and serial music that I laid out at the beginning of this chapter, then, it cannot be coincidence that there is virtually no Canadian serialism of the sort practiced by Milton Babbitt and Pierre Boulez. My

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certainly sourced from a CANDU reactor, provided to India by Canada for peaceful purposes. Again, Canada finds itself implicated—even unwittingly—in the activities of greater powers.

[100] Dyer, *Canada in the Great Power Game, 1914-2014*, 256.

[101] Holmes, *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-1957*, 1.

discussion of the work of Barbara Pentland and John Weinzweig in the previous chapter emphasized that while both composers use serial techniques to varying degrees in their work, neither typically uses the row in a 'textbook' manner; it is not uncommon in works by either composer for the row to never appear as a linear unit. And, while there are certainly some exceptions—select works by Pentland or Weinzweig, Harry Freedman's *Tokkaido*—on the whole, they are isolated events. By far the majority of Canadian twelve-tone compositions are works that are useless on the terms of prestige defined in discourses about Babbitt or Boulez: they are compromised, compromising, flexible, resistant of revolution. But these characteristics are, quite precisely, Canadian values. I do not mean this observation to be laudatory—*compromise* is a positive, but certainly "being compromised" a weakness. I mean instead to explain that there is a basic similarity between the politics and attitudes that lead Canada to decline to become a NWS and the politics and attitudes that lead Canadian composers to produce 'compromised' music.

Canadian Serialism and Neoclassicism

As I suggested in my discussion of Copland's Piano Fantasy, neoclassicism was by the 1950s a low-prestige genre in American music—if not actively associated with leftist politics. The conventional wisdom is that serialism became the autonomous, politically 'safe,' and privileged technique of the time. This conventional wisdom has been criticized as a gross simplification of actual American twelve-tone compositional practice, notably by Joseph Straus.[102] But while Straus is absolutely correct about the plurality of actual

[102] See for instance Straus, *Twelve-Tone Music in America*.

practice, in terms of *prestige* these categories became quite rigid. As Anne Shreffler writes in a rebuttal to Straus:

> Disproving the existence of a "serial tyranny" may be satisfying and to a certain extent accurate, but it lets you downplay or even avoid recognizing the massive shift in ways if thinking about music that took place after 1945, a shift that took place in the other arts at around the same time and which itself paralleled fundamental societal changes. The shift can be characterized by the revival (and later institutionalization) of pre-war modernism and the rising acceptance of scientific language, methods, and metaphors for thinking about and creating art, accompanied by a corresponding loss of prestige for neoclassicism (in music) and realism (in art and literature). It happened both in North America and in Europe, although in different ways and for different reasons.[103]

The Canadian context was radically different. Serialism may have a slightly elevated prestige value—but in practice, both serial and neoclassic composers could be recognized (insofar as they were recognized as all) as "modern." Indeed, Canadian serial and neoclassic composers are often the same composers, at the same time.

Harry Somers, 12x12 Fugues (1959)

Harry Somers's *12x12 Fugues* (1959) is, as the title suggests, a set of twelve twelve-tone fugues. The basic scheme of the work is plainly borrowed from Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*: each fugue, and thus the prime row of each fugue, starts on a different

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[103] Anne C. Shreffler, "The Myth of Empirical Historiography: A Response to Joseph N. Straus," *The Musical Quarterly* 84/1 (2000): 30-31; written in response to in response to Joseph Straus, "The Myth of Serial 'Tyranny' in the 1950s and 1960s," *The Musical Quarterly* 83/3 (Autumn 1999). Shreffler writes later: "something did happen. No one style was in a position to exert any "tyranny" — there was no cabal, no conspiracy — but to call these decades a time of "fascinating ferment" and to claim that all style possibilities were equally available is also misleading, because it ignores clear social pressures and hierarchies that existed and were articulated in various ways. These emanated first from Europe (during the 1950s) and later developed in a specifically American manner (during the 1960s)" (37).

pitch of the chromatic scale (see Appendix One). Further, the set opens with a fugue that in its texture and structure is precisely modeled on many of those of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Harry Somers 12x12 Fugues, i: Opening

This reference to Bach might bring to mind immediately the scheme of Schoenberg's Op. 25 (1923), with its dance-suite model. But if anything the textures here are more conservative than those used by Schoenberg—even two and half decades later. This reference thus reads to me as a variant on the sort of critical repetition I discussed in Schafer's *Three Contemporaries*: an attempt to declare oneself to be modern and international, while complicating the term of that modernity or modernism. Later fugues in this set are certainly less clearly "Bachian"— textures become more flexible, figures and

figurations become less recognizably Baroque-inspired. But the initial fugue, with its close hew to the Baroque model (or perhaps more tellingly, to the British conservatory version of that mode), makes the declaration of both neoclassic and serial identity on distinctly ‘middle power’ terms.

John Weinzweig's Piano Sonata (1950)

In contrast to Somers's fugues, which largely deploy rows in a recognizeable linear form, Weinzweig's Piano Sonata (1950) buries the row in a harmonic language reminiscent of Hindemith, as this analysis will show. I have selected Weinzweig's Piano Sonata as a representative of his mid-century compositional style in terms of harmonic language, twelve-tone procedures, and rhythmic character. As a sonata—cast, as I will show, in a clear sonata-allegro form—its structure and harmonic relationships are perhaps more somewhat more traditional or conservative than those of some of his other works at this point. His choice of this form, however, is not isolated in his output.[104]

The Piano Sonata is cast in three movements. The first and second movements use single different sets, while the third movement uses two new sets (see Figure 3.2).[105] As Elaine Keillor points out, these sets are never stated in the piece in their entirety:

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[104] Weinzweig would, in 1971, write: "It's silly to think of writing a sonata today, not because sonatas are silly but because they originally grew out of very different needs than ours. I'm moving away now from abstract works and toward theatrical ones." Regardless of his later rejection of the sonata form model, he used it not only for the Piano Sonata (1950), but also a Sonata for Violin and Piano (1941), and a Cello Sonata (1949). Weinzweig's own comment would in fact seem to support my argument that his midcentury style was relatively conservative. See John Weinzweig, "Writings," Les Cahiers Canadiens de Musique / Canada Music Book, 6 (1973), 67; originally published in "Eight Composers Talk about their Works of the Future," *The Globe and Mail*, 1971.

[105] Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada*, 179.

> Without the composer's sketches it would be impossible to determine the original sets of the Piano Sonata. Extant sketches indicate that once Weinzweig had selected a set, he wrote out all forty-eight transpositions of the original, inversion, retrograde and retrograde inversion on staff paper. He then studied these profiles and selected portions that seemed particularly appropriate for the mood and medium of the work.[106]

Rather than deploying these rows in a linear manner, Weinzweig uses them primarily to control or limit the intervallic content of the work, and secondarily as a source of motivic material. The importance of this limiting or controlling function becomes readily apparent through trichordal analysis of the piano sonata. In the first movement, the set includes limited trichordal material: with rotation through the row, only <012>, <013>, <016> and <025> trichords are generated (see Figure 3.3). Although Weinzweig controls pitch material somewhat less rigidly as the piece progresses, the first two phrases almost exclusively include material that falls into these trichordal configurations (see Figure 3.4). The notable exceptions to the rule are the <027> and <015> trichords, but these can each be accounted for as modifications of trichords generated by the set.[107] When new material is introduced at m. 25, it is similarly controlled and limited by the content of the initial set. As shown by annotated excerpts in Appendix 2, this procedure—using the set as a source of motivic material, as well as a way of limiting intervallic material—is used

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[106] Ibid.

[107] <025> is a major second with a perfect fourth; <027> obtains from inverting the perfect fourth into a perfect fifth. Similarly, <016> includes a half step and a perfect fourth (between the second and third pitches in prime form); <015> simply shifts the direction of that half step. In other words, the interval vectors of each trichord are the same. Additionally, both the <027> and <015> trichords are found in sets used in later movements; it is possible that these can also be accounted for simply as "trickling back" in the structure.

FIGURE 3.2: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, PRIME ROWS

Movement One:	(5243689TE107)
Movement Two:	(30T1E9865742)
Movement Three:	(7043215689ET)
	(498316520ET7)

FIGURE 3.3: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA MVT. 1: TRICHORD CONTENT OF SET

Pitch Classes	Normal Form	Prime Form
524	542	013
243	234	012
436	346	013
368	863	025
689	986	013
89T	89T	012
9TE	9TE	012
TE1	TE1	012
E10	E10	012
107	017	016
075	570	025

FIGURE 3.4: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. I, MM. 1-6, TRICHORDAL CONTENT

FIGURE 3.5: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. I, MM. 25-30

consistently in all three movements of the work. Further, trichordal analysis shows that these pitch cells appear in numerous melodic and harmonic configurations, suggesting that Weinzweig uses them to control pitch material in a way that is separate from any obvious motivic function.

While these cells, however, are deployed in a way that allows Weinzweig to create a non-systematically chromatic musical language, they are not deployed in a way that truly avoids the creation of tonal centres. Indeed, in Weinzweig's Piano Sonata, these chromatic elements are very apparently secondary to the tonal structure of the work as a whole. In what follows, I will argue that the first movement of the sonata falls into a traditional sonata form, and that it maintains key relationships associated with that form (see Figure 3.6). Although it might be argued that tonality is an effect that must be distinguished from Weinzweig's twelve-tone technique, I would argue that the effect of

FIGURE 3.6: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. 1 FORM

Measures	Section	Tonal Features
1-24	Primary theme group	
1-3	Antecedent	Repose tonicizes C (closes on P4, C-F).
4-6	Consequent	Repose tonicizes C (closes on P4, G-C)
7-11	Elaboration	Repose tonicizes G
12-19	Fragmentation	
20-22	Restatement of antecedent	Repose tonicizes C
23-24	Transition	
25-34	Secondary theme group	
25-27	Antecedent	Tonicizes G
28-30	Consequent	Resolves on G
31-32	Fragmentation	G tonicized, but resolution avoided
33-34	Transition	Centered on D (as V/V)
35-62	Development	
45-59	Retransition	Largely centered on C
60-63	"Standing on the Dominant"	Centers on G
63-117	Recapitulation	
64-74	Primary theme material	
75-98	Transition	
99-107	Secondary theme (clear return)	
109-117	Coda	

tonality in this movement is such that it could only have been created intentionally. In that context, I will argue that individual sections include clearly defined tonal centres. This is not a work in which dissonance is traditionally controlled or resolved, or in which there is clearly functional triadic harmonic syntax; neither, however, is it an "anti-tonal" work that deploys a legitimately non-hierarchical chromatic field.

The sonata's first theme group is representative of these characteristics. Despite the use of chromatic pitch cells in its construction, this theme group is strongly centred on C. Further, its first two phrases have a clear and conservative antecedent-consequent structure. Points of repose for each phrase fall on C, a pitch that is emphasized both harmonically and melodically. Both phrases include lines that are strongly directed from G to C (shown in red in Figure 3.7). With C as the tonal centre, the P4 at m. 3 (C/F) is highly stable—but the P4 at m. 6 (G/C) is yet more stable, replicating the standard relationship between cadences in an antecedent/consequent pair.[108] Even without traditionally functional triadic harmony, the voice-leading of each phrase clearly establishes C as a tonal center. The B and G in the first measure (highlighted above) constitute an implied dominant, whose effect is clarified by the G-F-E (5-4-3) motion in the middle of the measure. The second measure settles on an A minor triad, which constitutes an implied predominant in this context; an implied flat VII on the last beat of m. 2 is directed (with a thus effectively dominant function) to the tonic in m. 3.

[108] In my analysis of phrase structures, I use models and terminology proposed by William Caplin, who indicates that an antecedent phrase must close with a "weaker cadence," and that a consequent phrase must close with a "stronger cadence," rather than requiring specifically a half-cadence/authentic cadence pairing.

FIGURE 3.7: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. 1, MM. 1-6: IMPLIED TONAL DIRECTION

FIGURE 3.8: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. I, STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY THEME

Harmonic direction in the consequent phrase comes primarily from the left hand line, which outlines passing tritones (C sharp – G and D – A flat) that come to rest on a perfect fifth (E flat – B flat), thus creating a strong sense of forward direction and then repose. A strong implied dominant sonority (D – B natural) follows this implied flat III, and leads into the final cadence. Although there are clear digressions from mm. 7-20, at mm. 21-22 the antecedent (opening) phrase is repeated directly, and the tonal centre is thus reaffirmed for this larger section.

The second theme group of the work (mm. 25-34) has equally strongly implied tonality. G (V of C) is consistently confirmed as a local tonal centre, both by harmonic and melodic direction. As with the first theme, the first six measure of this section might be read as a having an antecedent-consequent relationship (see Figure 3.8). The basic idea of each phrase is based on the repeated <027> trichord in the right hand (specifically G-A-D).[109] The contrasting idea of each phrase includes a brief melodic tag, played in parallel thirds between the hands. The first of these tags (m. 27) closes on an Ab/G sonority, while the second closes on B/G – creating, again, a relationship of paired weak/strong closure, along with (brief) resolution on G as a tonal centre. Fragmentation of this material follows in mm 31-32. G persists as a tonal centre through these measures, emphasized in part through the perceptible tension that results from avoiding resolution

[109] Out of context, it might be argued that this trichord could just as easily sound with D as its "root." As configured in the secondary theme, however, the perfect fifth between G and D stands firm in a way that, to me, strongly suggests a root function. If read as a quintal harmony, it is clear that the G is the root. Further, given that Weinzweig uses jazz idioms in other compositions (and had early training in jazz), it follows that this chord is intended in this voicing to sound as G^{sus2}.

on G in measure 32. Measures 33-34 do not provide resolution, but become transitional, preparing the beginning of the developmental section that begins at m. 35. In keeping with the traditional tonal relationships in the work, this transitional material becomes centered on D (i.e. V/V).

The development section is based almost exclusively on motivic material from the secondary theme. Tonally, this section moves through a number of regions, but notably through F and back to G. F is most clearly established as a local tonal center at mm. 43-45, where the <027> trichord appears as F-G-C. Sonorities rooted on G flat and E natural alternate with the F-G-C trichord; these upper and lower chromatic neighbors reinforce F as a centre (see Figure 2.18). With the retransition at m. 47, G is foregrounded; a G pedal at mm. 60-62 makes its pseudo-dominant function clear (see Figure 2.19).

The tonal relationships in the recapitulation seem designed not to enact the kind of rhetorical "victory of the tonic" expected in a common-practice sonata-form movement, but instead to emphasize the implied tonic-dominant relationship of the primary and secondary material. Material from the primary theme group is restated directly from the exposition in mm. 63-74. Although it seems initially that the material beginning at m. 80 is a tonally recentered statement of the secondary theme material, it quickly becomes apparent that this is not its function: it is a brief appearance of the central *motive* of the secondary theme group, but is immediately followed by a statement of fragmented material derived from the primary theme group. Indeed, it seems that the sonority at m. 80 (B/F#, with D# in the left hand) is *too* distant from the tonic to allow

FIGURE 3.9: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. I, MM. 43-45

FIGURE 3.10: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. I, MM. 58-63

FIGURE 3.11: JOHN WEINZWEIG, PIANO SONATA, MVT. I, 78-83

Figure 3.12: John Weinzweig, Piano Sonata, Mvt. I, mm. 94-96

Implied V/G

resolution: the G^7 chords implied in the material that follows are designed in part to remedy the disruption of the implied B major sonority (see Figure 3.11). The extended loose D major chord in these measures, however, also has the effect of suggesting G as a local tonal centre. G is not continuously established as a tonal centre from this point, but at m. 94, when material from the secondary theme returns as transition back into the full restatement of the second theme in G major, D major (V/G) is again clearly suggested (see Figure 3.12). Though of course in a tonal context, leaving the secondary theme in the secondary key on its return in the recapitulation would be significantly disruptive, here it is cast as a moment of stability and relief after the weakly-directed interplay of motives that precedes it. The work closes with a coda including material from both theme groups, with C reinforced as the tonal centre and final pitch.

Although this work seems indeed *not* to be a serial work in some respects, it can certainly be accommodated in broader scope of serial music that Straus describes. Straus contests the notions of “serial orthodoxy” and “serial purity”, arguing that it is not true in the US context that “there is a single normative way to compose serial music and that

everything else represents a deviation or a taking of a liberty",[110] and further that "from its beginnings and up to the present moment, American twelve-tone music has been a hybrid enterprise, a music in which serial and non-serial elements are juxtaposed with each other."[111] Likewise, he argues against the concept of serial music as "anti-tonal", writing:

> Tonal effects and references were part of the serial enterprise from the very beginning, and it would be more accurate to say that twelve-tone serialism, as practiced by Schoenberg and by many American twelve-tone composers, is a way of creating and shaping tonal references—it is frequently about evoking and channeling tonality, not about repressing it.[112]

In this sense, Weinzweig's sonata must be understood to fit in the broader North American context of twelve-tone serial practices. There are certainly points in this movement where tonal centres are impossible to identify: the fact that they are present primarily in places where they have the effect of articulating the work's sonata form on traditional terms suggests that Weinzweig is engaged in precisely the kind of "creat[ion] and shaping [of] tonal references" to which Straus refers. Further, the fact that these references are at times so apparently pointed suggests that Weinzweig conceives of his twelve-tone composition in this instance as a "hybrid enterprise." In some sense, he appears to be negotiating with a potentially rigid system, taking from it what he needs for the degree of "emancipated dissonance" that he wishes to incorporate into his work, but

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[110] Straus, "A Revisionist History of Twelve-Tone Serialism in American Music," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 2/3 (August 2008), 377.

[111] Ibid.: 381.

[112] Ibid.: 384.

avoiding the more rigid schemas taken up by (some) other composers. Yet Weinzweig is still consistently cast as "radical" composer in the Canadian context—suggesting the radically different politics of prestige in the Canadian context.

Chapter Four

Double-Voiced Discourse and Counter-Hegemony in Ann Southam's *Rivers*

A world invaded by the vast U.S.-controlled international communications network found itself "wanting" those cultural commodities. All corners of the "free world" had to have a Don Judd. A media-conscious form of art reproduces cultural hegemony, recreates the world in America's image.

KARL BEVERIDGE AND IAN BURN[1]

And as the values of American society spread, so did its musical embodiment. Minimalism has unquestionably been the most influential, worldwide, of any musical movement born since the Second World War. It is the first (and so far the only) literate musical style born in the New World to have exerted a decisive influence on the Old. It is the musical incarnation of "the American century." No wonder it has been controversial.

RICHARD TARUSKIN[2]

Of the musical styles and techniques that I discuss in this study, only minimalism originates in the New World. Indeed, minimalist music—like minimalist visual art—has been broadly, if imprecisely, read as a distinctly American phenomenon. Michael Nyman, for instance, characterizes minimalism as "a quintessentially American and seemingly anti-European music," which has "paradoxically… been largely supported and fostered by European musical institutions."[3] Nyman (along with Wim Mertens and others) seems to locate this "Americanness" in the practice's non-dialectical and non-teleological

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[1] Karl Beveridge and Ian Burn, "Don Judd," *The Fox* 2 (1975): 139; ibid.

[2] Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century*, 396.

[3] Michael Nyman, "Preface," in *American Minimal Music*, ed. Wim Mertens (London: Kahn & Averill, 1983), 8.

forms.[4] Echoing the strongest international criticisms leveled against minimalist visual art, Richard Taruskin posits musical minimalism in part as a sign of spreading American influence, exemplifying "the commodification, objectification, and exteriorization of the affluent postwar American consumer society, hailed by many as the economic salvation of the world and decried by just as many as the ultimate dehumanization of humanity."[5] And more recently, Robert Fink has argued convincingly that American minimal music derives from aesthetics and patterns of desire inculcated by American mass media and consumer society.[6]

If minimalism is, indeed, an iconically American musical practice, it follows that it might thus be the musical practice most accessible to Canadian composers. Canada, as Marshall McLuhan wrote, "shares so much of the American character and experience," albeit "without commitment to American goals or responsibilities."[7] Canada and America, in other words, have a shared genealogy, even if their histories and values have diverged. With this shared genealogy, character, and experience, it is no surprise that

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[4] See Wim Mertens, *American Minimal Music*, trans. J Hautekiet (London: Kahn & Averill, 1983). More detailed discussion of this work will appear later in this chapter.

[5] Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century*, 396.

[6] See Robert Fink, *Repeating Ourselves: American Minimal Music as Cultural Practice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, Ltd., 2005). Fink is cautious not to present his reading of minimalism as definitive: "I do not mean to contend in these pages that repetitive minimal music has one 'true meaning,' or that my text, musicologically unique, could stabilize that singular meaning for readers and listeners. But I will argue, passionately and at length, that minimalism in music has a meaning, has at least the theoretical possibility of meaning, and that careful exploration of its various cultural contexts in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s will begin to define the range of signifying practices within which the style can function." (xiii). I agree enthusiastically with Fink's rejection of minimalism's claims to meaninglessness, emptiness, or neutrality.

[7] McLuhan, "Canada as Counter-Environment," 74.

English Canadian artists and performers can, when they wish, masquerade as Americans, particularly in the (also iconically American) realms of Hollywood film and mainstream popular music.[8]

But for a Canadian cultural nationalist, this kind of masquerade is held in low esteem, regarded at best with suspicion ("what a sellout!") and at worst with outright vitriol.[9] Just as it follows that American-style minimalism may be the musical practice most accessible to Canadian composers, it also follows that it may be the practice presenting the greatest challenge to Canadian composers committed either to explicit cultural nationalism, or to more softly-defined expressions and explorations of Canadian subjectivity. To import a European compositional style or technique to the Canadian context would seem to be a gesture towards internationalism, but to import American minimal music (as it is often, indeed, called) presents a different range of challenges.

In this chapter, I focus on Canadian minimalist composer Ann Southam.[10] Far from being viewed with suspicion, Southam is among the most praised and most recorded of Canadian composers. I regard Southam's minimalism as a form of what literary scholar Elaine Showalter describes as "double-voiced discourse," in that it

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[8] There are, of course, numerous popular actors and musicians working in America, whose Canadian origins are invisible. Mary Pickford, the original "America's Sweetheart," was born in Toronto; etc.

[9] For a prime example of this vitriol, see Dennis Lee, "Cadence, Country, Silence: Writing in Colonial Space."

[10] Other Canadian minimalists include Jon Siddall, Andrew Timar, John Celona, and Gayle Young. For additional detail, see Udo Kasemets, John Beckwith, and Clark W. Ross, "Minimalism," ed. James H. Marsh, *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Historica Dominion Institute, 2012), http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/emc/minimalism.

"embodies the social, literary, and cultural heritages of both the muted and the dominant [groups]."[11] Although Showalter deals primarily with gender (in her study, the "muted and the dominant" are female and male), she makes clear that "a dominant structure may determine many muted structures," related to gender, race, or—I extrapolate—nationality. Southam's minimalist compositions import technical, stylistic, and aesthetic elements and models from a practice originated and dominated by white American men. Yet she also inflects that practice through her idiosyncratic handling of musical processes, her choice of harmonic and timbral palette, her use of extramusical references, and her own writings and statements about her work. This inflected practice exemplifies the processes of importation and compromise that are the focus of this dissertation. In this chapter, I will first discuss minimalism, both in art and in music, as a distinctly American and masculine practice, devoting special attention to Canadian artist Karl Beveridge's implicitly nationalistic condemnation of minimalist sculptor Donald Judd. After offering further clarification of Showalter's concept of double-voiced discourse, I will then present analyses of selected works from Southam's *Rivers* (1970-83), a set of minimalist compositions for solo piano.

[11] Elaine Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* 8/2 (1981): 201. Showalter's work has been problematized by later feminist critics, for reasons that I will address later.

Minimalism as American Practice: European Perspectives

As Keith Potter writes, "the broadbrush… notion of musical minimalism" is "to some, dismayingly value-free."[12] But if there is little that "sounds" American in minimalist music (whatever that might mean), its critical reception reveals that it is understood—implicitly or explicitly—to be a manifestation of American culture, aesthetics, and values. The origins of minimalist music in minimalist visual art provide the first basis for its status as "American." As James Meyer has shown, minimalist art has been strongly construed as a phenomenon not only arising in the United States, but also one expressing particularly American attitudes and realities. Examining reception of the Gemeenstemuseum's 1968 "Minimal Art" exhibition, featuring sculpture by artists including Donald Judd and Sol DeWitt, Meyer reports that curator Enno Develing praised minimalism's "non-hierarchical organization and its purportedly democratic world view" as a distinct counterpoint to the traditional values and rationalism of European art.[13] Develing's praise echoes idealistic European perspectives on the United States going back at least to de Tocqueville, who similarly lauded the "essential democracy" and "great equality" of the United States society.[14]

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[12]Keith Potter, "Minimalism," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40603.

[13] James Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 262.

[14] Alexis de Tocqueville, "Chapter 3: Social Conditions of the Anglo-Americans," *Democracy in America* 1 (2006), http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/815.

Other critics perceived the works on view in similarly national terms, though they were less laudatory in their response.[15] Jutta Held declared:

> The theorists of Minimalism have pitted their art against European tradition. "We are making it out of ourselves," Judd says, attempting to emancipate himself from this tradition. Adopting a competitive position toward European artists, the American artists have become totally affirmative of American industrial society. As the minimalists stress, their inspiration comes from the technologically organized world not European artistic traditions… This belief in science and technical rationality as the basis of a worthwhile existence and in the superiority of American civilization… is reflected in the theories of Minimal art and certainly in the forms of their products.[16]

Meyer argues that Held misunderstands "the critical nature of [Judd's] anti-humanist discourse," and because of limited familiarity with his writings is not aware that Judd indeed "held American popular culture and 'technical rationality' in contempt."[17] Yet Held's reaction seems not to be based only on this "anti-humanist discourse": she also objects to the "emancipation" from tradition suggested by Judd's declaration that minimalists wish to "make it out of [themselves]"—a declaration that emphasizes individualism and a (from some perspectives liberating) sense of America as, in Emerson's words, "a land without history."[18]

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[15] Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties*, 263.

[16] Ibid., 264.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals*, vol. III (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company and The Riverside Press, 1910), 207. In the same entry (an "improvisation" in verse, dated 1833), Emerson references many more of the same concepts of American culture and society that surface in Meyer's study, and others examined here. He characterizes the nation as egalitarian and democratic, "without nobility, or wigs, or debt / No castles, no cathedrals, and no kings." Yet he also acknowledges the stereotypical American preoccupation with money,

These underlying ideas about American culture inform Wim Mertens's *American Minimal Music*, broadly recognized as the first significant study of the works of La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich, and Philip Glass. Mertens contends that "the use of repetition is not new" in art music, but that in music of the European classical tradition, "repetition is used in a pre-eminently *narrative* and *teleological* frame." [19] Merten continues:

> The traditional work is teleological and end-orientated, because all musical events result in a directed end or synthesis. The composition appears as a musical product characterized by an organic totality. By the underlying dynamic, dramatising construction, a directionality is created that presumes a *linear* memory in the listener, that forces him or her to follow the linear musical evolution. Repetition in the traditional work appears as a reference to what has gone before, so that one has to remember what was forgotten. This demands a learned, serious and concentrated, memory-dominated approach to listening.[20]

In contrast, Mertens contends, "the music of the American composers of repetitive music can be described as *non-narrative* and *a-teleological*."[21] Mertens compares this repertoire to "traditional" European art music in terms of technical and structural elements that are so obvious that they hardly need to be addressed here. But the underlying values of Merten's criticism do bear closer scrutiny:

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and the stereotypical American ignorance of culture, writing: "if the ruddy Englishman speak true, / Of the vast Roman church, and underneath / The frescoed sky of its majestic dome, / The American will count the cost / And build the shrine with dollars in his head; / And all he asks, arrived in Italy,/ Has the star-bearing squadron left Leghorn?" (206-07).

[19] Mertens, *American Minimal Music*, 16.

[20] Ibid., 17.

[21] Ibid. Emphasis original.

> Their music discards the traditional harmonic functional schemes of tension and relaxation and (currently) disapproves of classical formal schemes and the musical narrative that goes with them (formalizing a tonal and/or thematic dialectic). Instead there appears non-directed evolution in which the listener is no longer submitted to the constraint of following the musical evolution.[22]

Merten's characterization of minimalism as "disapprov[ing] of classical formal schemes" and narrative echoes Held's characterization of American minimalists as "adopting a competitive position towards European artists." The notion of the "land without history" reappears by analogy in Merten's description of the different listening experiences invited by traditional versus repetitive music: "traditional" music requires the listener to remember what has come before within a given work, to remain oriented in a linear narrative, while minimalism liberates the listener (and perhaps the composer?) from "the constraint of following the musical evolution." In discarding the teleology and narrative nature of "traditional" European art music, the minimalist composer symbolically discards European history and culture, if not precisely "affirming American industrial society," then at least affirming the (implausibly disjunct) newness of the New World.

Yet while an American composer might indeed regard this affirmation as positive, it is not at all clear that Mertens intends to be laudatory in his discussion of minimalist music. The contrast between the "learned, serious and concentrated, memory-dominated approach to listening" demanded by the European tradition as he conceptualizes it and the more "free" approach allowed by minimalist music seems less to celebrate this freedom than it does to lament the "dumbing down" of American culture. And, of course,

[22] Ibid.

Mertens famously goes on to declare, with support from Adorno, Marcuse, and Freud, that "repetitive music can lead to psychological regression," and that "the so-called religious experience of repetitive music is in fact a camouflaged erotic experience" in which "the libido, freed from the external world, turns towards the ego to obtain imaginary satisfaction."[23] Not only can minimalism be understood, in other words, by a non-learned and non-serious listener, but it can actually offer that listener an "infantilizing" escape from reality. Indeed, Mertens seems to regard the experience of minimal music as dangerous and artificial—claiming that "the abandoning of dialectical time does not really happen but is only imaginary."[24] One might ask in response if the experience of *dialectical* time that might be generated by listening to a symphony of Beethoven or Mozart is real—and indeed, one would have to conclude that it, too, is both art and artifice. The perception of a putatively distinctly American exploration of time as regressive and artificial thus seems clearly rooted in broader suspicion of American cultural values, in relation to the better defined values and hierarchies of European high art.

"Semi-Peripheral" Reactions to Minimalism: Beveridge and Burn

In addition to objections to minimalism rooted in these European high-art values, however, I would like to refer to "Don Judd," a 1975 essay by Canadian artist Karl Beveridge and Australian artist Ian Burn. As James Meyer notes, the essay takes Judd as a representative of "all that is wrong with an American art system motivated by

[23] Ibid., 124.
[24] Ibid.

consumerist and imperialist values."[25] For Meyer, this essay "reflect[s] the generally anti-American slant of writings on minimalist art abroad during the sixties and seventies, a dislike shared by conservative and leftist critics alike."[26] Like Mertens, Beveridge and Burn frame their objections in Marxian terms. But their objection is not founded on a desire for a return to European high-art values: rather, it is a text that I read as robustly, if implicitly, informed by Canadian cultural nationalist objections to American cultural hegemony.[27]

I locate this Canadian objection most clearly in the essay's objections to declarations of minimalist art as "internationalist." Internationalism is, of course, a keyword of postwar Canadian politics, both foreign and domestic—and is a crucial element of middle power diplomacy. For Beveridge and Burn, minimalism is part of a broader phenomenon wherein the notion "that one didn't have ideology in America, that the American way of life was the 'natural' one" becomes the basis for exportation of American art and culture.[28] As they write:

> The image America has reproduced of itself is that of exporting technology, a technology which is democractic because it is good, neutral, and progressive, a technology which is equally available to everyone—the means for a better life, and free from ideological bias. The American artists of the sixties and seventies have reproduced this pattern, becoming the 'cultural engineers' of 'international art.' With this image of neutrality—selling art, not

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[25] Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties*, 264.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Again, I would contend that Australian nationalist objections would be similar: invested in New World values, but suspicious of American dominance.

[28] Beveridge and Burn, "Don Judd," 133.

> ideology… The impact of this is immeasurable, as a way of showing other artists the American way of doing things, of making art. This is the extent to which production itself during the sixties came to embrace and internalize the 'internationalist' ideology.[29]

Beveridge and Burn are utterly unconvinced by these claims to neutrality—arguing that "an 'end-of-ideology' is as overtly ideological as it pretends not to be."[30] More forcefully, they object to the forms of American internationalism, as espoused by Judd:

> Then there is an appalling remark you made suggesting that everything is "international art in America and the best thing that could happen would be equal international art elsewhere."[…] That remark blatantly reproduces the ambitions of U.S. hegemony and economic and cultural imperialism—where "international values" are dictated by the U.S.'s "national interests," or rather the U.S.'s national interests are imposed "in the self-interests" of other nations. Put bluntly, the internationalism you're talking about is unilateral, is something which is *exported*, not a state mutually achieved. This is the form of art you've presupposed, and *imperialism* is fundamental to its way of life.[31]

This critique is plainly of a different tone from the European critiques presented previously. Understood as an implicitly Canadian text, it signals not the anxiety that a great old tradition will be lost or compromised, but rather that a new hegemony will stomp its way across the globe, presumably before Canadian culture finds its feet at all.[32]

Moreover, its sense of indignation that Judd's internationalism is unidirectional—"something which is *exported*, not a state mutually achieved"—seems to signal frustration

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[29] Ibid., 138.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] The ideas of Beveridge and Burn have clear resonance with the concepts in work by George Grant that I discussed in Chapter 1.

with the unidirectionality of English North American culture more broadly. The ability to imagine one's national culture to be natural, free of ideology, and ultimately 'international' is a marker of tremendous privilege. As Jody Berland writes, thie privilege obtains from the power relationships of the age of globalization:

> The narrative of the border involves two protagonists, an attentive one and an inattentive one, which is not unusual in a close partnership between two unequal partners. "The beauty of being a ruler," Terry Eagleton comments, "is that one does not need to worry about who one is, since one deludedly believes that one already knows. It is other cultures which are different, while one's own form of life is the norm, and so scarcely a 'culture' at all."… But if globalization means anything, it is the reversal of this anthropological conceit. It is the "other cultures" that are forced to pay attention and America that knows least of all. Less powerful nations are either dangerous enemies or reiterations of impoverished groups in their own country: simply less successful, wannabe versions of themselves.[33]

In Canadian studies, the invisibility of Canadian culture in relation to the United States has been linked not only to these power dynamics, but also to concrete matters of media distribution and communications infrastructure: the "unidirectionality" of the distributions of cultural products was identified in the Massey Report, for instance, as a clear threat to the establishment of a Canadian national culture.[34]

If it is abundantly clear that minimalism is coded and received as an American form or practice, it is arguably less clear that it is also coded and received as a specifically masculine practice. Indeed, theoretical readings of the libidinal aspects of minimalism tend to examine the practice as falling in opposition to conventionally masculine or

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[33] Berland, "Writing on the Border," 475.

[34] See Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, "Report."

“phallic” aesthetics. As Robert Fink outlines, John Rockwell conceived of minimalist music as “anti-teleological and… thus akin to tantric (‘Oriental’) sex, where the ability to put the (male) body into orgasm-defying stasis even as it engages in what for most humans is the most goal-directed activity imaginable is the sign of profound yogic accomplishment.”[35] Fink identifies strong links between the erotics of disco and the erotics of minimalism:

> A consensus emerges: [John] Rockwell, [Susan] McClary, and [Richard] Dyer each identify the teleology of traditional mainstream music (Beethoven, "hard" rock) with straight white masculinity, a general (and oppressive) "cultural tendency to organize sexuality in terms of the phallus." Each sees minimalism/ disco as radically different - a music whose freedom from telos opens up a space where the (non-Western, woman-identified, gay-lesbian) sexual Other can dance in freedom, constructing dissident, subaltern pleasures that are, in Dyer's blunt formulation, "not defined in terms of cock."[36]

Despite the apparently queer feminist values ascribed to minimalist music, none of these critics—with the exception of Susan McClary, who examines the work of the otherwise little-known Janika Vandervelde—gives substantial attention to any woman composer of minimalist music.[37] This situation seems to recapitulate that of nineteenth-century Romanticism, where femininity was praised as a powerful characteristic of male composers, writers, and artists, but where little room was in fact made for the contributions of women. For all of the laudatory comment about the erotics of

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[35] Fink, *Repeating Ourselves: American Minimal Music as Cultural Practice*, 35.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Susan McClary, "Getting Down Off the Beanstalk: The Presence of a Woman's Voice in Janika Vandervelde's *Genesis Ii*," in *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

minimalism, it remains a practice whose production is indisputably dominated by white, heterosexual, American men.

It is also, I suggest, a practice whose *reception* is dominated by these men. As Beveridge and Burn writes of (or to) Donald Judd:

> Your writing does function differently to the writings of other artists… it operates almost like a Manual for the sculptures or objects you make. For a lot of artists… this became a model for "controlling" the public image of their work in the art magazines. Emphatically enough, you've insisted on the *terminology* you want your work *experienced* in relation to… [38]

Robert Fink posits his study of minimalism as a corrective to the sense of minimalist music as reflecting back a "void, [an] absence of cultural meaning."[39] This absence of meaning is, however, something insisted upon, at least to some extent, by the composers themselves. Steve Reich, for instance, writes:

> While performing and listening to gradual musical processes one can participate in a particular liberating and impersonal kind of ritual. Focusing in on the musical process makes possible that shift of attention away from *he* and *she* and *you* and *me* outwards towards *it*.[40]

This emphasis on "*it*," and the "impersonal ritual" in which Reich invites his listeners to participate, comport with the concept of minimalism as a reaction against the extreme

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[38] Beveridge and Burn, "Don Judd," 129.

[39] Fink, *Repeating Ourselves: American Minimal Music as Cultural Practice*, xii.

[40] Steve Reich, "Music as a Gradual Process," in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 1387.

emotionality and subjectivity of abstract expressionism.[41] Yet the claim to impersonality and neutrality is a distinct mark of the privilege of a dominant class: much as Judd can claim that American art is 'international' because of American cultural hegemony, Reich can claim neutrality because he belongs to dominant groups whose subjectivity is construed as neutral (or indeed natural).

Double-Voiced Discourse: Feminist Perspectives

I do not mean to reduce minimalism, uncritically, to a practice that simply expresses and reproduces the authority of American men: I do, despite the foregoing, regard the practice as progressive, and often experience minimalist music as aesthetically pleasurable. Yet to some extent, I regard it as a critical responsibility to bracket—if not separate—this aesthetic pleasure from the exploration of the broader context and significance of this music. (Likewise, I have lectured on the problematic elements of the Beatles' appropriation of Indian music, and still listen to *Rubber Soul* and *Revolver* with nearly unmitigated pleasure.) Pleasure and criticism, or pleasure and resistance, are not at all incompatible.

Elaine Showalter's 1981 essay "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness" seems dated now by any number of measures.[42] Its interest in locating "difference" in women's writing can be problematized, from the perspective of third-wave feminism, as essentialist or reductive. Likewise, her insistence on women's writing as a category is an artifact of an

[41] Likewise, Reich's emphasis on transparently audible processes comports with the concept of minimalism as a reaction against the élite intellectualism and ostentatious complexity of integral and academic serialism.

[42] Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness."

earlier feminist era: one in which issues of race and class, for instance, were troublingly effaced in the collapse of "women" into a single category, or in which a central academic or pedagogical struggle was to have works by women included as anything more than tokens in anthologies and syllabi. Used judiciously, however, I argue that Showalter's concept of double-voiced discourse remains relevant to feminist criticism—and that it has yet broader relevance to Canadian studies. The notion of "muted groups"—in the case of this study, women or Canadians—who are at once inside and outside of a dominant culture allows for profoundly productive discussion of the ways in which a peripheral subject may at once participate in the practices of that culture and resist those practices.

FIGURE 4.1: SHOWALTER, VICTORIAN SOCIAL SPHERES[43]

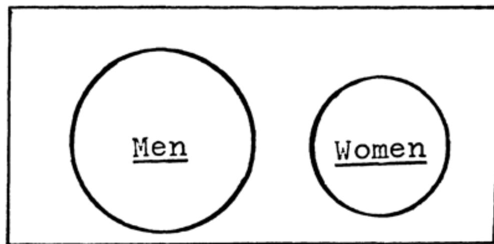
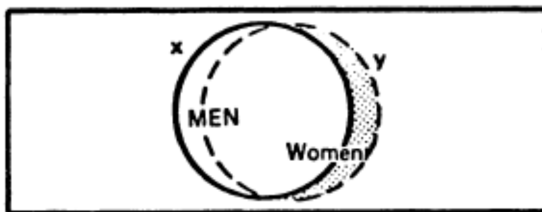


FIGURE 4.2: SHOWALTER, INTERSECTIONS OF DOMINANT AND MUTED SOCIAL GROUPS[44]



[43] Ibid., 198.

[44] Ibid., 200.

Showalter derives the concept of double-voiced discourse from the work of anthropologists Shirley and Edwin Ardener. In contrast to the Victorian conception of men and women functioning in discrete social spheres, the Ardeners conceive of the two spheres as intersecting. Women therefore do not have a culture separate from the dominant masculine culture, but rather they "constitute a muted group, the boundaries of whose culture and reality overlap, but are not wholly contained by, the dominant (male) group."[45] As Showalter outlines:

> By the term "muted," Ardener suggests problems both of language and of power. Both muted and dominant groups generate beliefs or ordering ideas of social reality at the unconscious level, but dominant groups control the forms or structures in which consciousness can be articulated. Thus muted groups must mediate their beliefs through the allowable forms of dominant structures. Another way of putting this would be to say that all language is the language of the dominant order, and women, if they speak at all, must speak through it.[46]

This formulation is, at first glance, profoundly pessimistic—and, from a contemporary feminist perspective, might be construed as limiting more radical strategies of feminist expression or activity.

With that caveat, however, I find this model to be tremendously suggestive. The argument that a women's culture can exist wholly outside of a dominant culture strikes me as naïve, and seems to nearly guarantee the production of criticism that celebrates a simplistic form of women's cultural independence without giving appropriate attention to very real structures and dynamics of power. Showalter's critique of the concept of the

[45] Ibid., 199.

[46] Ibid., 200.

“wild zone”—shaded in grey the diagram in Figure 4.2—thus strongly informs my work. As Showalter outlines:

> We can think of the "wild zone" of women's culture spatially, experientially, or metaphysically…if we think of the wild zone metaphysically, or in terms of consciousness, it has no corresponding male space since all of male consciousness is within the circle of the dominant structure and thus accessible to or structured by language. In this sense, the "wild" is always imaginary; from the male point of view, it may simply be the projection of the unconscious. In terms of cultural anthropology, women know what the male crescent is like, even if they have never seen it, because it becomes the subject of legend (like the wilderness). But men do not know what is in the wild.[47]

Showalter points out that the wild zone is the basis for French feminist criticism focused on *différence*: for these critics, “the wild zone becomes the place for the revolutionary women's language, the language of everything that is repressed, and for the revolutionary women's writing in ‘white ink.’”[48] Showalter rightly counters, however, that “[t]he concept of a woman's text in the wild zone is a playful abstraction: in the reality to which we must address ourselves as critics, women's writing is a ‘double-voiced discourse’ that always embodies the social, literary, and cultural heritages of both the muted and the dominant.”[49] The point, then, is not that the mute group seeks an independent space outside of the sphere of the dominant culture, but rather that it is “inside two traditions simultaneously, ‘undercurrents,’ in Ellen Moers' metaphor, of the mainstream.”[50]

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., 201.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., 202.

Showalter emphasizes that the concept of the "muted" group extends beyond gender to race and class.[51] I would extend this concept to include the nation as a potentially muted group. This extension is not unproblematic: within a nation, particularly a wealthy Western nation such as Canada, there are power structures that of course establish "Canadian"—or more typically, "white Canadian" or "English Canadian"—as a dominant group, where other groups (French Canadian, First Nations, minority immigrant populations) are muted. Yet the concept has particular relevance to a discussion of the relationship between English Canadian and American cultures. This relationship is frequently described as analogous to the relationship between women and men in Western culture. Linda Hutcheon writes:

> A number of critics… have noted the relationship between the national search for a cultural identity and the feminist seeking for a distinctive gender identity in terms of the paradoxical (and I would say, postmodern) recognition and combatting of 'colonial' positions toward the power of dominating cultures. They have pointed to shared themes of powerlessness, victimization, and alienation, as well as to a certain ambivalence or ambiguity that makes both Canadians and women open, tolerant, accepting, yet also at times angry and resentful.[52]

For Hutcheon, parody and irony are ways in which "ex-centrics, be they Canadians, women, or both, can subvert the authority of language."[53] (Parody by "ex-centrics" would seem to be a particularly formalized kind of double-voiced discourse.) More recently, Cinda Gault has argued that the "simultaneous occurrence [of second-wave feminism and

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Linda Hutcheon, *The Canadian Postmodern: A Study of Contemporary English-Canadian Fiction* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 6.

[53] Ibid., 7.

a major upswell in Canadian cultural nationalism] was unique to the Canadian experience and linked directly to reception of literature published during that time."[54]

I would extend this analogy to note that English Canadians are steeped in the culture of the United States, and utterly conversant with its "social, literary, and cultural heritages."[55] There is little way for an English Canadian artist to escape these American influences; likewise, though fluency with British culture may have diminished to some extent over the course of the twentieth century, there is little way for an English Canadian artist to escape the influence of its former colonial ruler. And yet, as I have suggested, Canadian culture and identity are muted—even invisible—within the United States and the United Kingdom. I do not wish to suggest that Canadian artists will inevitably engage in double-voiced discourse—as I pointed out earlier, Canadian identity is of little interest to many artists, and in particular those who seek careers in the United States may "speak the language of the dominant" uncritically and without inflection. Nonetheless, the strategy provides an avenue to hermeneutic understand of the work of many Canadian composers—including, I contend, Ann Southam.

Ann Southam: Inflecting American Minimalist Practice

Although Southam's early career was dominated by electronic music, often composed for use by various Canadian dance ensembles, her most notable output after about 1980 consists of minimalist compositions for solo piano. Southam's first exposure

[54] Cinda Gault, "Grooving the Nation: 1965-1980 as a Literary Era in Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2008): 363.

[55] Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," 201.

to minimalist music was in the form of Terry Riley's *Rainbow in Curved Air* (1967). Southam's first encounter with Riley's music is described in a profile by Toronto's *Globe and Mail*:

> A few years after her introduction to the dance, Southam encountered Terry Riley's *A Rainbow in Curved Air*, a pattern-shifting piece of music that satisfied in a new way the same kind of fascination with near-repetition she had experienced years before with [Ravel's] *Bolero*. But this was a recent piece, by a living person, who didn't seem to think that you had to give up on conventional tonality to be a serious composer.
> "So I thought that maybe it was okay to like tonal centres," she said. "And I do. I've always liked bagpipe music and drones. Whenever I hear bagpipes I have to go to where they are. I think it's a physiological reaction."[56]

Southam's account indicates, on one had, a personal and aesthetic affinity for elements of minimalist music (which she naturalizes as a "physiological reaction"). On the other hand, her reaction indicates an implicit acceptance of external (specifically American) cultural authority: despite that personal affinity for tonal centers, it was her encounter with the work of a "living" American male composer that reassured her that she could compose in this way without losing credibility.

Although Southam's minimalist compositions are audibly identifiable as compatible with the practice, her own comments about her works—which, as we have seen, function in minimalism as a kind of "manual" for reception—indicate goals and

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[56] Robert Everett-Green, "Ann Southam, a One-Woman Tone Poem," *The Globe and Mail*, 9 July 2009.

concerns that are dramatically different from those of her American counterparts.[57] As the same profile reports,

> Southam is proud to call her work women's music, or at least to point out that there's something in what she does that is deeply grounded in women's experience. "In the very workings of the music there's a reflection of the work that women traditionally do, like weaving and mending and washing dishes," she said, during an energetic conversation at her home in Toronto's Rosedale district. "The kind of work you have to do over and over again."[58]

In an interview with pianist and frequent collaborator Eve Egoyan, Southam expands her statement about the repetitive nature of women's traditional work, pointing out that "the work that women do by hand" connects closely, for her, to the handwork of playing the piano.[59] Additionally, she identifies a connection between "the nature of minimalist music and the nature of so much women's work," in that both are "repetitive, life sustaining,

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[57] For a succinct overview of the standard stylistic features of minimalist composition, see Timothy A. Johnson, "Minimalism: Aesthetic, Style, or Technique," *The Musical Quarterly* 78/4 (1994). As Johnson writes: "The form of pieces in the minimalist style is primarily continuous, often in the shape of an unbroken stream of rhythmic configurations flowing from the beginning of the piece until it ends… distinct disjunct sections are generally not characteristic of the minimalist style. The texture of the minimalist style… typically consists of interlocking rhythmic patterns and pulses continuing without interruption. In addition, the minimalist style generally sports bright tone colors and an energetic disposition. The most prominent characteristic of harmony in the minimalist style is its simplicity…. Uncomplicated harmonic sonorities (often familiar triads and seventh chords) [predominate]… harmonic materials [are limited] principally to diatonic collections, and… these harmonic sonorities [are presented] in an extremely slow harmonic rhythm… Extensive melodic lines are entirely absent. Melody is confined to scant patterns, while rhythm… takes center stage. The short, repetitive rhythmic patterns are ubiquitous, and their organization combination, and individual shapes provide the primary points of interest" (748).

[58] Everett-Green, "Ann Southam, a One-Woman Tone Poem."

[59] Eve Egoyan and Gail Young, "Composition as Enquiry: The Explorational Music of Ann Southam," *Musicworks: Explorations in Sound* 101, no. Summer (2008): 45.

[and] requiring patience… And there is the matter of touch."[60] Southam's explicit connection between women's experiences and minimalist music is in striking opposition to the insistence by Steve Reich, for instance, who as quoted earlier emphasizes the "impersonality" of minimalist music. Southam's extramusical associations to women's work are strongly in contrast, further, to the conception of minimalist music as neutral, with an "empty" concept of time.[61] The repetition of domestic work is of course present in Southam's compositions primarily by analogy or metaphor—but that metaphor is anything but abstract. Southam's insistence on analogy to mending or dishwashing is a strong counterpart to what Mertens identifies in the works of Reich and Glass as "negation of subjectivity" through the "non-historical character of repetitive music."[62] It also reforms the perception of "passing time simply as stasis" that Mertens identifies in Riley's process-based works.[63] It should be noted that both Southam and Riley, Reich, and Glass conceive of minimalism as stepping outside of a unitary conception of modern time: for Southam, however, this stepping outside is not an escape into an abstracted modernist notion of time, but rather an insistence on recognition of the domestic labour so often invisible in world-historical accounts.

Southam's emphasis on tactility—less clearly drawn, but referenced in her comments about hands and touch—also stands in apparent opposition to the more

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Mertens, *American Minimal Music*, 92.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., 91.

standard values of minimalist music. Robert Fink contends that minimalism (like disco) offers "pleasure that is radically Other, that is by definition linked to an uniquely female sexuality, and thus to patterns more diffuse, fluid, cyclic, and holistic than the straight-line teleology of the phallus."[64] Yet that concept of minimalist erotic pleasure—and by extension, of minimalist physicality—is frequently discussed in terms that are highly abstracted and theoretical. Southam's emphasis on tactility connects explicitly to the materials of her music, and constitutes a typically feminist reframing of an abstracted, universalized conception of physicality to, instead, conception that is personalized and concrete.

Southam's application of processes in the composition of her music additionally contrasts the classical American minimalist concept of musical process. As quoted earlier, Steve Reich (the first of the minimalist composers to identify this term/technique) declared musical processes to be neutral, impersonal, and objective. Reich's initial approach to process music was, in some senses, mechanistic and automated: "though I may have the pleasure of discovering musical processes and composing the musical material to run through them, once the process is set up and loaded it runs by itself."[65] Although Southam identifies her work as process-based, her concept of 'process' is more flexible, intuitive, and individualized:

> [I]n *Rivers*, I began experimenting with a twelve-tone row in a minimalist context. This was back in the early eighties and l have been using this device pretty well ever since. Why a twelve-tone

[64] Fink, *Repeating Ourselves: American Minimal Music as Cultural Practice*, 37.

[65] Reich, "Music as a Gradual Process," 1386.

> row? I don't really remember. I like the idea of taking this atonal sequence or thread of notes, intervals (I have always managed to work in a perfect fifth or two), and spinning it out, one additional note at a time, through a more or less consonant and repeating pattern of notes. So this is the process. Sometimes I use repetition as a form of enquiry, as in *Simple Lines of Enquiry*. I choose the row because in a sense it represents dissonance. It then has to be rationalized and integrated somehow, which I do by spinning it through repeating consonant patterns of notes. I think it is a great metaphor for the way life works.[66]

Southam's process arrives, broadly speaking, at series of compromises: between dissonance and consonance, between the very different ideological contents of serialism and of minimalism, and between precompositionally-determined process and intuitive explorations of sound.

Rivers

As Southam indicates, her minimalist compositional style first becomes apparent in *Rivers*, three sets of pieces for solo piano composed between 1979 and 1981. In the following section, I will focus on two selections from the second set (1979). These pieces each employ repeated patterns in the right hand, with phrases of varying lengths in the left hand structured through processes of addition and subtraction of pitches from particular sets. As I will show, though the general compositional strategy of these works is based in a precompositionally-determined process, that process is applied with great flexibility. I have chosen to focus on selections from *Rivers*, rather than Southam's other major pre-1984 minimalist work *Glass Houses* (1981) because of this highly individual handling of minimalist processes. *Glass Houses* is structurally and harmonicaly simpler

[66] Egoyan and Young, "Composition as Enquiry: The Explorational Music of Ann Southam," 41.

work, primarily structured in repeating rhythmic/melodic cells, and is less representative of the style that Southam uses in her minimalist piano composition more generally.

The second piece of *Rivers 2* opens with a right-hand pattern consisting of two alternating pitches (C#-G#; see Figure 4.3 and full score in Appendix Three). This pattern shifts slightly throughout the piece: an upper C# is introduced near the end of the first phrase (m. 8), and the G# is occasionally repeated (C#-G#-G#-C#-G# rather than C#-G#-C#-G#, for instance). The central processes of the piece unfold in the left hand. Initially, Southam presents a set of ten pitches in a clear additive process. The first phrase consists of five pitches, presented with repetition and some registral doubling; the second presents six pitches; and so forth (see Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4).[67] A new pitch set is introduced for phrases 7 through 13, and is introduced using the same additive technique (see Figure 4.5). The pitch structure is handled more flexibly in phrases 14-31, which all use the same basic set (see Figure 4.6). Initially, a basic additive technique is employed, but as the section progresses pitches are interpolated (i.e. added between pitches that have already been introduced) or subtracted.

The third piece of *Rivers 2* is structured in a similar way, with slight differences in handling of pitch material (see full score with numbered phrases in Appendix Four). In this piece, the right-hand repeated pattern remains unchanged throughout, consistently alternating between E natural and E flat (enharmonically, a major seventh). The first

[67] Phrases are numbered in red. Southam does not provide measure numbers, and for clarity in presenting my analysis, I have chosen to include phrase numbers rather than measure numbers.

FIGURE 4.3: ANN SOUTHAM, RIVERS 2-II, OPENING

FIGURE 4.4: ANN SOUTHAM, RIVERS 2-II, LEFT-HAND PITCH SETS, PHRASES 1-6

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FIGURE 4.5: ANN SOUTHAM, RIVERS 2-II, LEFT HAND PITCH SETS, PHRASES 7-13

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FIGURE 4.6: ANN SOUTHAM, RIVERS 2-II, LEFT HAND PITCH SETS, PHRASES 14-31

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FIGURE 4.7: ANN SOUTHAM, RIVERS 2-III, LEFT HAND PITCH SETS, PHRASES 1-11

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FIGURE 4.8: ANN SOUTHAM, RIVERS 2-III, LEFT HAND PITCH SETS, PHRASES 12-18

FIGURE 4.9: ANN SOUTHAM, RIVERS 2-III, LEFT HAND PITCH SETS, PHRASES 19-35

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section, comprising phrases 1 through five, presents a set of eight pitches using the same additive process that appeared in *Rivers* 2-ii (see Figure 4.7). From phrases 6-11, a similar pattern is used, with some subtraction of pitches in addition to the additive process. Phrase 12-18 are structured using a clear additive process: the pitches even remain registrally stable (see Figure 4.8). The final pitch set appears in phrases 19-35, with significant and at times seemingly arbitrary addition and subtraction of pitches (see Figure 4.9). At phrase 22, for instance, the first four pitches of the set are dropped, only to reappear in phrase 23. The additive and subtractive processes guide the form in this section, with phrase lengths getting generally longer until phrase 31, then rapidly getting shorter to signal the end of the piece.

Southam's handling of this pitch material is notable in several ways. First, Southam's processes are clear on the page, but are not 'transparently' audible. Although the additive processes, in particular, are generally handled in a formulaic way, that formula is softened by repetitions of pitches within a given phrase. This repetition also facilitates the creation of complex "ear lines," generated by the intersection of the left hand phrases with the right hand repeated patterns. In both of these pieces—as is characteristic of the pieces in the *Rivers* set—phrase endings are more clearly (or audibly) defined by the repeated lower-register sonorities that punctuate them than by the additive or subtractive processes.

Southam's choice of pitch material is also distinct from those of most minimalist composers. Although, as I indicated earlier, Southam strives for the creation of tonal

centers in her work, these centers are not defined by, for instance, clear linear motion towards a tonic, or through use of conventional triadic harmonies. My sense is, rather, that Southam creates lush sonorities, outside of the traditional tonal vocabulary, that frequently comprise some dissonance. The extensive repetition of these sonorities, however, leeches from them a strong sense of direction: a sonority that initially sounds dissonant in the sense that it pulls to resolution eventually dissipates, and becomes stable. Paradoxically, the more traditionally stable sonorities are frequently *destabilized* in this process, as they are integrated into the works' larger texture. The stability of the perfect fifth in the right hand in *Rivers* 2-ii, for instance, is challenged by the pitch sets in the left hand; conversely, the pull to resolution of the repeating diminished octave in the right hand of *Rivers* 2-iii is neutralized.

Conclusion

My discussion of minimalism as a practice imported to Canada is necessarily based on generalizations about the practice. "On the ground," so to speak, the practice is tremendously pluralistic, as many scholars note. Yet discourses about minimalism are, broadly speaking, unified in their sense of the practice as "quintessentially American." In Ann Southam's *Rivers*, and in her minimalist practice more broadly, I find a clear example of the processes of importation and compromise that form the basis for this dissertation. As an "ex-centric" composer, Southam reframes the ideologies of minimalism, adapting them to her more personal expressive goals. Although Southam discusses this adaptation primarily in terms of her feminist concerns, the strong

intersections between second-wave feminism and Canadian nationalism from the late 1960s through the middle 1980s make it in fact impossible to disentangle Canadian subjectivity from feminist subjectivity. In reframing the ideologies of minimalism on these terms, Southam compromises them—but in the process, creates something symbolically new, and, it might be argued, refuses to compromise herself.

CONCLUSION

Middlepowerhood Beyond the Cold War

This project, as I have indicated, is intended to be suggestive, rather than exhaustive. By choosing to focus on English Canadian composers—most of whom spent the majority of their careers in Toronto—I recognize that I have excluded a range of other Canadian composers, and indeed Canadian identities and experiences. Further, I recognize that I have not offered a long-range survey of the work of any of the composers I include here. The pieces that I have selected are snapshot representations of these composers' bodies of work, and I would suggest caution in extrapolating from the arguments I present here to works by these composers from decades earlier, or from decades later.[68]

Yet I would also suggest that the model of middle power music that I present here has wide-ranging implications for Canadian music, and for Canadian studies more broadly. As my introduction indicates, the pursuit of the question of distinct Canadian cultural identity has not only shaped Canadian studies and Canadian cultural criticism—it has indeed limited it. Further, the narratives of Canada as a "colonial victim" have allowed white English Canadians to avoid confronting their complicity in the activities of greater powers. The choice of a middle power model is thus a matter of conscience. It requires cultural critics to examine Canada not as a player on the margin—innocent

[68] That is to say, for instance, that Pentland's Fantasy (1962) is not really representative of her earlier "Pre-Darmstadt" compositions of the 1930s and 1940s—though as I have noted, it is absolutely representative of her other solo piano works from the later 1950s and 1960.

because it is inconsequential—but instead to acknowledge the nation's settler-invader history and its facilitation of imperial activities of the United States and Great Britain. This examination is not only vital to studies of Canadian arts and culture through the end of the Cold War, but to understanding of Canadian arts and culture—and indeed Canadian politics and society—in the present. Canadians have a habit of congratulating themselves for not being American, for living in a progressive nation that has long had universal health care, for having a citizenry that accepts gun control, for having a political culture that avoids some of the heat-and-blast of American rhetoric. If this self-congratulation is to have any meaning, however, it must be paired with acknowledgement of the nation's fraught political history and political entanglements, and of its persistent structural inequalities, and social injustices.

But this model is not *only* a matter of conscience: it is a model that opens up new questions about power and prestige in arts and culture, and raises a very different set of questions from those posed by the old thematic criticism. It also opens up avenues of exploration for more recents artists who are not aligned with the cultural nationalist discourses of the Cold War period. For the artists and thinkers I have explored here, the lack of a coherent national identity was often a matter of great consternation—not least because it seemed to make the undefended border dangerously porous. In the age of globalization, some of these concerns of course persist; but by and large, younger Canadian artists seem uninterested in the kind of cultural nationalist rhetoric of the Cold War period. The idea that Canadians might defend themselves against American

influence or cultural homogenization by publishing novels about lake-drownings or ominous blizzards holds little weight for most Canadian citizens of the new millenium. Conversely, the idea that Canada can be reshaped by considering its internal power structures, or considering its position in international power structures, seems to me to be of ever-increasing public interest. This interest is not unique to Canada—the reconfigurations that followed the financial crisis of 2008 brought such concerns to the renewed attention of citizens around the world. But, as in the Cold War period, Canada is in a highly particular position, both allied with and oblique to greater powers. Canadian artists, too, remain marginal or peripheral in ways that may be frustrating or limiting—but that may also open up new expressive possibilities. My expectation is that this situation will produce a generation of artists who, like the Cold War composers I study here, are in a unique position to articulate and reveal broader Western (or global) power dynamics in their work. I anticipate that these newer artist will, however, be more conscious of intersectional identities, or of issues of race, class, and gender. What this articulation will look like, precisely, remains to be seen; no doubt such work is already being produced, but as of yet we may lack the critical historical distance necessary to grasp its significance.

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DISCOGRAPHY

Although some of the works I discuss in this project have been released commercially, others are available only throught the Canadian Music Centre (CMC). I also list here som performances available through "CentreStreams" on the CMC website, which provide access to the CMC's Ann Southam Audio Archive.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One: Row Forms in Harry Somers's *12x12 Fugues*

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues, I*: Matrix

	I_{11}	I_9	I_0	I_2	I_4	I_5	I_{10}	I_6	I_3	I_7	I_8	I_1	
P_{11}	11	9	0	2	4	5	10	6	3	7	8	1	R_{11}
P_1	1	11	2	4	6	7	0	8	5	9	10	3	R_1
P_{10}	10	8	11	1	3	4	9	5	2	6	7	0	R_{10}
P_8	8	6	9	11	1	2	7	3	0	4	5	10	R_8
P_6	6	4	7	9	11	0	5	1	10	2	3	8	R_6
P_5	5	3	6	8	10	11	4	0	9	1	2	7	R_5
P_0	0	10	1	3	5	6	11	7	4	8	9	2	R_0
P_4	4	2	5	7	9	10	3	11	8	0	1	6	R_4
P_7	7	5	8	10	0	1	6	2	11	3	4	9	R_7
P_3	3	1	4	6	8	9	2	10	7	11	0	5	R_3
P_2	2	0	3	5	7	8	1	9	6	10	11	4	R_2
P_9	9	7	10	0	2	3	8	4	1	5	6	11	R_9
	RI_{11}	RI_9	RI_0	RI_2	RI_4	RI_5	RI_{10}	RI_6	RI_3	RI_7	RI_8	RI_1	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, II: Matrix

	I_0	I_8	I_3	I_5	I_6	I_1	I_9	I_2	I_7	I_4	I_{11}	I_{10}	
P_0	0	8	3	5	6	1	9	2	7	4	11	10	R_0
P_4	4	0	7	9	10	5	1	6	11	8	3	2	R_4
P_9	9	5	0	2	3	10	6	11	4	1	8	7	R_9
P_7	7	3	10	0	1	8	4	9	2	11	6	5	R_7
P_6	6	2	9	11	0	7	3	8	1	10	5	4	R_6
P_{11}	11	7	2	4	5	0	8	1	6	3	10	9	R_{11}
P_3	3	11	6	8	9	4	0	5	10	7	2	1	R_3
P_{10}	10	6	1	3	4	11	7	0	5	2	9	8	R_{10}
P_5	5	1	8	10	11	6	2	7	0	9	4	3	R_5
P_8	8	4	11	1	2	9	5	10	3	0	7	6	R_8
P_1	1	9	4	6	7	2	10	3	8	5	0	11	R_1
P_2	2	10	5	7	8	3	11	4	9	6	1	0	R_2
	RI_0	RI_8	RI_3	RI_5	RI_6	RI_1	RI_9	RI_2	RI_7	RI_4	RI_{11}	RI_{10}	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, III: Matrix

	I_1	I_3	I_{11}	I_9	I_2	I_7	I_6	I_0	I_4	I_5	I_{10}	I_8	
P_1	1	3	11	9	2	7	6	0	4	5	10	8	R_1
P_{11}	11	1	9	7	0	5	4	10	2	3	8	6	R_{11}
P_3	3	5	1	11	4	9	8	2	6	7	0	10	R_3
P_5	5	7	3	1	6	11	10	4	8	9	2	0	R_5
P_0	0	2	10	8	1	6	5	11	3	4	9	7	R_0
P_7	7	9	5	3	8	1	0	6	10	11	4	2	R_7
P_8	8	10	6	4	9	2	1	7	11	0	5	3	R_8
P_2	2	4	0	10	3	8	7	1	5	6	11	9	R_2
P_{10}	10	0	8	6	11	4	3	9	1	2	7	5	R_{10}
P_9	9	11	7	5	10	3	2	8	0	1	6	4	R_9
P_4	4	6	2	0	5	10	9	3	7	8	1	11	R_4
P_6	6	8	4	2	7	0	11	5	9	10	3	1	R_6
	RI_1	RI_3	RI_{11}	RI_9	RI_2	RI_7	RI_6	RI_0	RI_4	RI_5	RI_{10}	RI_8	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, IV: Matrix

	I_2	I_1	I_{10}	I_{11}	I_4	I_5	I_6	I_9	I_7	I_8	I_3	I_0	
P_2	2	1	10	11	4	5	6	9	7	8	3	0	R_2
P_3	3	2	11	0	5	6	7	10	8	9	4	1	R_3
P_6	6	5	2	3	8	9	10	1	11	0	7	4	R_6
P_5	5	4	1	2	7	8	9	0	10	11	6	3	R_5
P_0	0	11	8	9	2	3	4	7	5	6	1	10	R_0
P_{11}	11	10	7	8	1	2	3	6	4	5	0	9	R_{11}
P_{10}	10	9	6	7	0	1	2	5	3	4	11	8	R_{10}
P_7	7	6	3	4	9	10	11	2	0	1	8	5	R_7
P_9	9	8	5	6	11	0	1	4	2	3	10	7	R_9
P_8	8	7	4	5	10	11	0	3	1	2	9	6	R_8
P_1	1	0	9	10	3	4	5	8	6	7	2	11	R_1
P_4	4	3	0	1	6	7	8	11	9	10	5	2	R_4
	RI_2	RI_1	RI_{10}	RI_{11}	RI_4	RI_5	RI_6	RI_9	RI_7	RI_8	RI_3	RI_0	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, V: Matrix

	I_3	I_5	I_8	I_{10}	I_0	I_4	I_9	I_{11}	I_7	I_2	I_6	I_1	
P_3	3	5	8	10	0	4	9	11	7	2	6	1	R_3
P_1	1	3	6	8	10	2	7	9	5	0	4	11	R_1
P_{10}	10	0	3	5	7	11	4	6	2	9	1	8	R_{10}
P_8	8	10	1	3	5	9	2	4	0	7	11	6	R_8
P_6	6	8	11	1	3	7	0	2	10	5	9	4	R_6
P_2	2	4	7	9	11	3	8	10	6	1	5	0	R_2
P_9	9	11	2	4	6	10	3	5	1	8	0	7	R_9
P_7	7	9	0	2	4	8	1	3	11	6	10	5	R_7
P_{11}	11	1	4	6	8	0	5	7	3	10	2	9	R_{11}
P_4	4	6	9	11	1	5	10	0	8	3	7	2	R_4
P_0	0	2	5	7	9	1	6	8	4	11	3	10	R_0
P_5	5	7	10	0	2	6	11	1	9	4	8	3	R_5
	RI_3	RI_5	RI_8	RI_{10}	RI_0	RI_4	RI_9	RI_{11}	RI_7	RI_2	RI_6	RI_1	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, VI: Matrix

	I_4	I_3	I_{11}	I_7	I_6	I_9	I_{10}	I_5	I_8	I_0	I_2	I_1	
P_4	4	3	11	7	6	9	10	5	8	0	2	1	R_4
P_5	5	4	0	8	7	10	11	6	9	1	3	2	R_5
P_9	9	8	4	0	11	2	3	10	1	5	7	6	R_9
P_1	1	0	8	4	3	6	7	2	5	9	11	10	R_1
P_2	2	1	9	5	4	7	8	3	6	10	0	11	R_2
P_{11}	11	10	6	2	1	4	5	0	3	7	9	8	R_{11}
P_{10}	10	9	5	1	0	3	4	11	2	6	8	7	R_{10}
P_3	3	2	10	6	5	8	9	4	7	11	1	0	R_3
P_0	0	11	7	3	2	5	6	1	4	8	10	9	R_0
P_8	8	7	3	11	10	1	2	9	0	4	6	5	R_8
P_6	6	5	1	9	8	11	0	7	10	2	4	3	R_6
P_7	7	6	2	10	9	0	1	8	11	3	5	4	R_7
	RI_4	RI_3	RI_{11}	RI_7	RI_6	RI_9	RI_{10}	RI_5	RI_8	RI_0	RI_2	RI_1	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, VII: Matrix

	I_5	I_0	I_3	I_1	I_9	I_{10}	I_8	I_7	I_4	I_6	I_{11}	I_2	
P_5	5	0	3	1	9	10	8	7	4	6	11	2	R_5
P_{10}	10	5	8	6	2	3	1	0	9	11	4	7	R_{10}
P_7	7	2	5	3	11	0	10	9	6	8	1	4	R_7
P_9	9	4	7	5	1	2	0	11	8	10	3	6	R_9
P_1	1	8	11	9	5	6	4	3	0	2	7	10	R_1
P_0	0	7	10	8	4	5	3	2	11	1	6	9	R_0
P_2	2	9	0	10	6	7	5	4	1	3	8	11	R_2
P_3	3	10	1	11	7	8	6	5	2	4	9	0	R_3
P_6	6	1	4	2	10	11	9	8	5	7	0	3	R_6
P_4	4	11	2	0	8	9	7	6	3	5	10	1	R_4
P_{11}	11	6	9	7	3	4	2	1	10	0	5	8	R_{11}
P_8	8	3	6	4	0	1	11	10	7	9	2	5	R_8
	RI_5	RI_0	RI_3	RI_1	RI_9	RI_{10}	RI_8	RI_7	RI_4	RI_6	RI_{11}	RI_2	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, VIII: Matrix

	I_6	I_9	I_{10}	I_5	I_2	I_4	I_0	I_{11}	I_1	I_3	I_7	I_8	
P_6	6	9	10	5	2	4	0	11	1	3	7	8	R_6
P_3	3	6	7	2	11	1	9	8	10	0	4	5	R_3
P_2	2	5	6	1	10	0	8	7	9	11	3	4	R_2
P_7	7	10	11	6	3	5	1	0	2	4	8	9	R_7
P_{10}	10	1	2	9	6	8	4	3	5	7	11	0	R_{10}
P_8	8	11	0	7	4	6	2	1	3	5	9	10	R_8
P_0	0	3	4	11	8	10	6	5	7	9	1	2	R_0
P_1	1	4	5	0	9	11	7	6	8	10	2	3	R_1
P_{11}	11	2	3	10	7	9	5	4	6	8	0	1	R_{11}
P_9	9	0	1	8	5	7	3	2	4	6	10	11	R_9
P_5	5	8	9	4	1	3	11	10	0	2	6	7	R_5
P_4	4	7	8	3	0	2	10	9	11	1	5	6	R_4
	RI_6	RI_9	RI_{10}	RI_5	RI_2	RI_4	RI_0	RI_{11}	RI_1	RI_3	RI_7	RI_8	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, IX: Matrix													
	I_7	I_3	I_5	I_{10}	I_8	I_6	I_9	I_4	I_2	I_0	I_{11}	I_1	
P_7	7	3	5	10	8	6	9	4	2	0	11	1	R_7
P_{11}	11	7	9	2	0	10	1	8	6	4	3	5	R_{11}
P_9	9	5	7	0	10	8	11	6	4	2	1	3	R_9
P_4	4	0	2	7	5	3	6	1	11	9	8	10	R_4
P_6	6	2	4	9	7	5	8	3	1	11	10	0	R_6
P_8	8	4	6	11	9	7	10	5	3	1	0	2	R_8
P_5	5	1	3	8	6	4	7	2	0	10	9	11	R_5
P_{10}	10	6	8	1	11	9	0	7	5	3	2	4	R_{10}
P_0	0	8	10	3	1	11	2	9	7	5	4	6	R_0
P_2	2	10	0	5	3	1	4	11	9	7	6	8	R_2
P_3	3	11	1	6	4	2	5	0	10	8	7	9	R_3
P_1	1	9	11	4	2	0	3	10	8	6	5	7	R_1
	RI_7	RI_3	RI_5	RI_{10}	RI_8	RI_6	RI_9	RI_4	RI_2	RI_0	RI_{11}	RI_1	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, X: Matrix													
	I_8	I_{10}	I_0	I_2	I_5	I_9	I_7	I_6	I_{11}	I_1	I_3	I_4	
P_8	8	10	0	2	5	9	7	6	11	1	3	4	R_8
P_6	6	8	10	0	3	7	5	4	9	11	1	2	R_6
P_4	4	6	8	10	1	5	3	2	7	9	11	0	R_4
P_2	2	4	6	8	11	3	1	0	5	7	9	10	R_2
P_{11}	11	1	3	5	8	0	10	9	2	4	6	7	R_{11}
P_7	7	9	11	1	4	8	6	5	10	0	2	3	R_7
P_9	9	11	1	3	6	10	8	7	0	2	4	5	R_9
P_{10}	10	0	2	4	7	11	9	8	1	3	5	6	R_{10}
P_5	5	7	9	11	2	6	4	3	8	10	0	1	R_5
P_3	3	5	7	9	0	4	2	1	6	8	10	11	R_3
P_1	1	3	5	7	10	2	0	11	4	6	8	9	R_1
P_0	0	2	4	6	9	1	11	10	3	5	7	8	R_0
	RI_8	RI_{10}	RI_0	RI_2	RI_5	RI_9	RI_7	RI_6	RI_{11}	RI_1	RI_3	RI_4	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, XI: Matrix

	I_9	I_4	I_{10}	I_2	I_{11}	I_1	I_0	I_8	I_6	I_5	I_3	I_7	
P_9	9	4	10	2	11	1	0	8	6	5	3	7	R_9
P_2	2	9	3	7	4	6	5	1	11	10	8	0	R_2
P_8	8	3	9	1	10	0	11	7	5	4	2	6	R_8
P_4	4	11	5	9	6	8	7	3	1	0	10	2	R_4
P_7	7	2	8	0	9	11	10	6	4	3	1	5	R_7
P_5	5	0	6	10	7	9	8	4	2	1	11	3	R_5
P_6	6	1	7	11	8	10	9	5	3	2	0	4	R_6
P_{10}	10	5	11	3	0	2	1	9	7	6	4	8	R_{10}
P_0	0	7	1	5	2	4	3	11	9	8	6	10	R_0
P_1	1	8	2	6	3	5	4	0	10	9	7	11	R_1
P_3	3	10	4	8	5	7	6	2	0	11	9	1	R_3
P_{11}	11	6	0	4	1	3	2	10	8	7	5	9	R_{11}
	RI_9	RI_4	RI_{10}	RI_2	RI_{11}	RI_1	RI_0	RI_8	RI_6	RI_5	RI_3	RI_7	

Harry Somers, *12x12 Fugues*, XII: Matrix

	I_{10}	I_9	I_1	I_2	I_0	I_{11}	I_4	I_7	I_3	I_8	I_5	I_6	
P_{10}	10	9	1	2	0	11	4	7	3	8	5	6	R_{10}
P_{11}	11	10	2	3	1	0	5	8	4	9	6	7	R_{11}
P_7	7	6	10	11	9	8	1	4	0	5	2	3	R_7
P_6	6	5	9	10	8	7	0	3	11	4	1	2	R_6
P_8	8	7	11	0	10	9	2	5	1	6	3	4	R_8
P_9	9	8	0	1	11	10	3	6	2	7	4	5	R_9
P_4	4	3	7	8	6	5	10	1	9	2	11	0	R_4
P_1	1	0	4	5	3	2	7	10	6	11	8	9	R_1
P_5	5	4	8	9	7	6	11	2	10	3	0	1	R_5
P_0	0	11	3	4	2	1	6	9	5	10	7	8	R_0
P_3	3	2	6	7	5	4	9	0	8	1	10	11	R_3
P_2	2	1	5	6	4	3	8	11	7	0	9	10	R_2
	RI_{10}	RI_9	RI_1	RI_2	RI_0	RI_{11}	RI_4	RI_7	RI_3	RI_8	RI_5	RI_6	

Appendix Two: John Weinzweig's Piano Sonata, 1950

Figure A2.1: Weinzweig, Piano Sonata, Movement II: Trichord Content of the Set

Pitch Classes	Normal Form	Prime Form
30T	T03	025
0T1	10T	013
T1E	T1E	012
1E9	9E1	024
E98	89E	013
986	986	013
865	568	013
657	567	012
574	457	013
742	247	025
423	234	012

Figure A2.2: Weinzweig, Piano Sonata, Movement 2, mm. 1-10

Figure A2.3: Weinzweig, Piano Sonata, Movement III, trichord content of the sets

Pitch Classes	Normal Form	Prime Form
704	740	037
043	430	014
432	234	012
321	123	012
215	125	014
156	651	016
568	568	013
689	986	013
89E	89E	013
9ET	9TE	012
ET7	ET7	014

Pitch Classes	Normal Form	Prime Form
498	984	015
983	983	016
831	138	027
316	136	025
165	651	015
652	652	014
520	025	025
20E	E02	013
0ET	TE0	012
ET7	ET7	014
T74	47T	036

Figure A2.4: Weinzweig, Piano Sonata, Movement III, mm. 1-10

Appendix Three: Ann Southam, *Rivers* 2-II

II

♩= 72 approx. Quietly ecstatic

mp

* unless shown otherwise the pedal is changed at the end of each bar.

Dynamics are left up to the performer.

7.

12

13

14

15

8

etc

9.

21

22

23

24

25

26

* until shown otherwise, change pedal at the beginning of each bar   11.

27

28

29

30

31

poco rit

al niente

duration approx 5'30'

Appendix Four: Ann Southam, *Rivers* 2-III

III

♩=76 approx. Quietly ecstatic.

unless shown otherwise, the pedal is changed at the end of each bar | Dynamics are left up to the performer.

13.

7
8
9
10
11
12
13

19.

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

15.

21

22

23

24

etc.

25

26

K.

27

28

29

30

31

17.

32

33

34

35

7

al niente

duration approx 6'17"