John Weinzweig and the Canadian Mediascape, 1941-1948

by

Erin Elizabeth Scheffer

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Music
University of Toronto

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This dissertation explores John Weinzweig’s incidental music for radio and film and its context in Canadian cultural life. Between 1941 and 1948, Weinzweig composed music for nearly one hundred CBC radio docudrama episodes and for four National Film Board documentaries. Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB was his first large scale success as a working composer, following his graduate studies at the Eastman School of Music. Weinzweig’s incidental music was publicly broadcast across Canada, and can be interpreted in light of how it represents Canada during an anxious and difficult yet significant time in the nation’s history through the Second World War and the immediate post-war era. These works, featuring new music broadcast by organizations in their infancy, helped to shape audience perceptions of a rapidly changing country.

I begin by situating Weinzweig’s documentary music both temporally and philosophically. The opening chapter explores his biography, the musical context of the 1940s in Canada, and the creation of the CBC and NFB, and it closes by discussing significant themes in the works: indigeneity, northernness, dominion over the landscape, and nation and national affect. The subsequent three chapters divide Weinzweig’s docudramas and documentaries by topic: World War Two propaganda and postwar reconstruction, Canada’s north, and finally a discussion of Weinzweig’s only radio drama *The Great Flood*, which premiered on CBC’s
cultural program *Wednesday Night* in 1948. Throughout this dissertation two themes emerge: the shift from propaganda to arts programming at Canada’s two public broadcasters, and how the CBC and NFB attempted to cultivate nationalist affect (the embodied emotion of feeling Canadian). Weinzweig’s incidental music for the CBC and NFB not only provides insight into his early career, it also sheds light on how two public broadcasters in their nascent years attempted to imagine Canada and create nationalist sentiment in Canadians.
Acknowledgments

Early in my first year at the University of Western Ontario, I played the first movement from Weinzweig’s *Divertimento No. 1* for flute and orchestra in studio class. I was a transfer student from Alberta, overwhelmed by the bustle of a large music school and I hardly knew anything about Weinzweig beyond the fact that he was Canadian. At the time, I had no idea how entwined Weinzweig’s music would become with my own life in music but I am incredibly grateful to be here.

First, thank you to my dissertation advisor Dr. Robin Elliott, who not only helped make the field of Canadian music research, but has guided me through so many facets of this project. I am also so very grateful to him because, when my PhD overlapped with what was truly the most difficult time in my life, he was both incredibly empathetic and encouraged me to finish the dissertation. I am here, at this point in my PhD, largely because of his support. Thank you to my committee members for both their understanding and for all of their help improving my project. Dr. Ken McLeod thank you for pushing me to think through my project in new and critical ways, and Dr. Caryl Clark, thank you for your guidance in writing. Finally, thank you to Dr. Mary Ann Parker and Dr. James K. Wright for serving as examiners on my defense committee.

This project would be nothing without the archival materials. I would like to thank the John Weinzweig Estate and the Mavor Moore Estate for allowing me access to Weinzweig and Moore’s papers, and Weinzweig’s recorded music. I would also like to thank Elisha Denburg at the Canadian League of Composers and Andrea Ayotte at the Canadian Music Centre for giving me access to and assistance with the archival material at those two organizations.

I have had many wonderful colleagues, both at the University of Toronto and elsewhere, whose friendship and support has helped me through this process. In particular, thank you to Dr.
Melissa Wong, Dr. Vanessa Thacker, Dr. Edward Wright, Dr. Jeremy Strachan, Dr. Nadia Chana, Rebekah Lobosco Gilli, Nafisa Hasan, and Kyla Jemison. Thank you as well to Dr. Rosanne King who I’ve now worked for as a teaching assistant more times than I can count, but who has become a mentor and friend. Thank you to Kari North, for all of the mornings, afternoons, and evenings writing and working together at Kelly Library in our two-person writing group and for your friendship.

Finally, thank you to my family. To my parents Jacob and Laurie Scheffer, thank you for giving me a life filled with music and reading. Thank you for taking me to youth orchestra, flute lessons, band practices, and attending all of my concerts in frequently inclement Edmonton weather. Thank you for always playing the CBC in the car (I’m not sure if I’d be as fascinated with the CBC without that). Thank you for your support when my desire to study music took me far away while still very young and on this long road to a PhD. Most importantly, however, thank you for showing me both the value and reward of hard work and the importance of caring for others—two lessons I carry with me always as both a scholar and a teacher. Thank you to my brother Matt Scheffer for all of the ways you’ve supported me and all the ways you demonstrate perseverance and selflessness. Thank you to my uncle, John Scheffer, and my cousin, Cassidy Scheffer Kobewka, for being my family here in Toronto. I am so glad I ended up living here near both of you for so long and for all of our dinners, canoe trips, music making, and home improvement projects. Finally, thank you to my partner Dr. Dennis Özcelik, we have different first languages—German and English, music and biology—but you have always supported me and believed that I could finish this project, even in all of the moments when I did not.
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Introduction

In 1941, the Canadian composer John Weinzweig was hired by Samuel Hersenhoren, a staff conductor for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, to compose incidental music for radio docudramas. Weinzweig, only twenty-eight years old at the time, had just returned to Canada, following his graduate studies at the Eastman School of Music. In the decade which followed, Weinzweig composed scores for nearly one hundred CBC radio docudrama episodes and four National Film Board documentary films.¹ The broadcasts ranged in topic from accounts of soldiers on the western front, to programs telling the history of Canada’s north; there was also, in 1948, an hour-long radio drama. Weinzweig, who began experimenting with serialism during his studies at Eastman, continued these experiments at the CBC and NFB, where he had relative artistic freedom. As a result his incidental music scores for radio and film feature some of the first serial music compositions heard by a wider Canadian audience. Although he would leave the CBC in 1951, Weinzweig’s scoring of incidental music for early CBC radio docudramas left an indelible mark on Canadian musical life, while the nationalist subjects of the docudramas set the tone for the future of Canadian programming. In time, as Weinzweig became better known as an educator and an advocate for Canadian composers, his time working for the CBC and NFB became a small footnote in his biography.

These works are significant because they reveal how public broadcasting attempted to imagine Canada at a particularly critical time in the nation’s history. The 1931 Statute of Westminster gave Canada additional governmental independence and control over its foreign policy, and the Second World War reinforced Canada’s ties to Britain but also gave the country international recognition, independent of its British past. This thesis uses Weinzweig’s music for public broadcasting as a lens into this time period, as both his incidental music and the subjects of these documentaries and docudramas reveal how the government, through its media agencies, attempted to shape the felt nationalism among Canadians.²

The purpose of this project is to conduct the first in-depth study focused solely on Weinzweig’s repertoire for radio and film and to discuss these works by exploring themes of colonialism, indigenous representation, dominion over the landscape, patriotism, and industrialization. Many of these works are problematic by today’s standards, as they reinforce British colonial narratives, but they deserve to be discussed critically and rigorously because they reveal how Canada was imagined by its public broadcaster and by extension, the government during World War II and in the early postwar era. The term mediascape, used in the title, references the “imagined world” created and electronically disseminated by Canadian public

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² The CBC and NFB occupy different roles in Canadian government-funded media. The National Film Board of Canada is a federal cultural agency. A parliamentary mandate in 1939 created the National Film Commission, and the National Film Act of 1950 made the NFB a government agency within the Heritage portfolio. National Film Board of Canada, “National Film Board of Canada, Mission and Highlights” http://onf-nfb.gc.ca/en/about-the-nfb/organization/mandate/ (accessed January 10, 2017). The CBC, conversely, is a crown corporation, created by the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936. The governance structure of a Crown Corporation differs from that of an agency, meaning that while the CBC was funded by the federal government, it was (and is) controlled by an independent board. This means that programming produced by the CBC is independent and could potentially critique rather than promote government activities. See Marc Raboy, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada’s Broadcasting Policy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queens University Press, 1990), 48.
broadcasters and participated in by Weinzweig. As Arjun Appadurai notes, images of the world, or in this case Canada, “involve many complicated inflections depending on … the interests of those who own and control them.” Part of this project, involves contextualizing Weinzweig’s music for the CBC and NFB in questions of how Canada’s two public broadcasters who owned and controlled this particular view of Canada represented the nation.

Equally, Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB was significant for his own career, as the composer was allowed relative compositional freedom and was given the opportunity to write a lot of original music and hear it immediately in live performance. Throughout these works Weinzweig also draws on military, pastoral, and mechanical sounds, in order to evoke themes of landscape, military pride, and industrialization. In addition he drew on indigenous musical materials that he found in published collections by Diamond Jenness and Marius Barbeau.

With any exploration into attempts at identity creation by a national public broadcaster there is a risk of discussing national identity as if it is something tangible and universally held by all Canadians, regardless of geographic location, cultural or ethnic origin, or spoken language. However, there is abundant evidence that regional and cultural identity remained very significant to Canadians, influencing both the type of media with which they engaged and their individual values at this time. For this reason, rather than drawing on Benedict Anderson’s idea of imagined communities or other theories which discuss Canadian identity as if it were collectively held by

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all who reside in the nation, my work draws on the idea of nationalist affect or emotion. Both Sara Ahmed in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004) and Marusya Bociurkiw in *Feeling Canadian: Television, Nationalism, and Affect* (2011) use the idea of nationalist affect to explore the feeling of allegiance to a particular nation as it resides in individuals both consciously and bodily. Nationalist affect or emotion, as I use it in my work, articulates the distinction between living in Canada and *feeling Canadian*, as an emotion which is both articulated and lived, and this in turn allows for individual rather than homogenous experiences of nation and nationalism. Ahmed’s work in particular looks at how governments, political parties, and other institutions attempt to cultivate that feeling, through use of emotionally charged language, through defining a nation’s insiders from outsiders, and through expositions of shared national pride and shame.

Affect theory is valuable for studying Weinzeig’s music for radio and film because of the intimate nature of radio, the overwhelming experiential character of film, and the embodied experience of listening to music. Music lends itself to affective emotional expressions of nation and nationalism. At the same time, because nationalist affect theories examine how institutions aid in or facilitate the construction of nationalist emotion, focusing on nationalist affect moves the potentially revisionist critique away from Weinzeig’s musical representation of Canada and towards how governmental organizations, and agencies such as the CBC and NFB respectively, imagined Canada during World War II and in the postwar era. The CBC and NFB at the time of Weinzeig’s employment by the two organization articulated vestiges of British nationalism (despite Canada’s status as an independent nation) and celebrated industrialization, dominion or control over landscapes, colonization or government civilization of indigenous peoples, patriotism and allegiance to Britain during the war, Canadian tolerance, and the development of new infrastructure. This view of Canada is very specific and limited, and left little space for regional or cultural differences among 1940s Canadians.
Other than *The Great Flood*, none of the material from this period is published, however, a large body of the relevant material survives. This project uses extant recordings, sketchbooks, scripts, and scores of these CBC and NFB works. Most of this material is available in the John Weinzweig fonds at Library and Archives Canada, but some is preserved in the Mavor Moore fonds at the York University Library, and the Dora Mavor Moore papers at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book library in the University of Toronto. The musical materials exist primarily in sketches or rough rehearsal scores, and thus this project combines sketch studies and transcription with the theoretical approach and focus on national affect outlined above. The intention of this project is to expand on the work done by Elaine Keillor in documenting Weinzweig’s music for radio and film, and to provide both a more comprehensive examination of this period in his creative life and one which attempts to engage critically with ideas of nationalism, representations of environment and indigeneity, and the cultural history of Canada at this time.\(^5\)

Chapter One is a literature review that explores both Weinzweig’s life and the theoretical and historical underpinnings of this dissertation. While his earliest works for radio are important, they are but a small part of a vital legacy as a composer, teacher, and advocate for composers’ rights and the arts in Canada. I felt that it was crucial to situate Weinzweig as an important agent in Canadian musical life and perhaps more importantly, as the first English-Canadian modernist composer. In a time when musical modernism was still strange to the ears of Canadian radio listeners, Weinzweig’s music for radio introduced extended tonalities and modern compositional techniques. Equally important to the context of this dissertation is the history of Canada’s two

\(^5\) Elaine Keillor provides a complete list of Weinzweig’s music for radio and film as an appendix to her biography of the composer. Keillor, *John Weinzweig and his Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada*, 261-268.
governmental media institutions, which were both in their seminal years, and the influence of British nationalism at these institutions. The latter informs how the CBC and NFB attempted to cultivate nationalist emotion or affect during World War II and the postwar era. Finally, this chapter discusses Weinzweig’s borrowing of indigenous music and how this in turn aided in fostering nationalist emotion.

The second chapter focuses on Weinzweig’s music for radio docudrama during the start of the Second World War and explores the shift between programming that emphasized the nation’s ties to Britain and allegiance in the war, and programming that attempted to represent Canada as an independent nation. *New Homes for Old* (1941) celebrates the stories of recent immigrants to Canada, many of whom were displaced by the war and explores the desire held by these new citizens to serve both Canada and Britain. The contrast between war-era atrocity and Canadian tolerance is echoed in the program *Lidice Lives! (Forever)*, a 1943 dramatic program broadcast on the one year anniversary of the Nazi massacre of the Czech village of Lidice. Finally, *Canada Marches*, features interviews with the Canadian troops, expressions of their allegiance to the British Allied forces, all accompanied by a bright and somewhat cheerful march composed by Weinzweig.

Nevertheless, Canada was changing in this era: the Statute of Westminster of 1931 made Canada more independent from Britain, and this is reflected in the 1942 radio docudrama series, *Our Canada*. *Our Canada* was a fourteen-episode series that explored all facets of Canadian life:

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6 The reason for selecting these programs is in part due to their diversity but also because these are the radio programs for which the most musical materials (sketches and scores) are available from this time period. Even so, there are not sketches for every single program in these series. This is in sharp contrast to the programming later in the war and after which is much better preserved. This is very likely due to the expansion that the CBC underwent during the Second World War.
people, religion, landscape, industry, and arts. While there was still programming about the war after *Our Canada*, this series is the first of many in Weinzweig’s public broadcasting corpus to explore Canada’s environment and industry and celebrate its independence. *Our Canada* was also musically significant, as Weinweig’s incidental music for this series would become his first orchestral suite of radio music *Music for Radio No. 1*. In addition, a special fourteenth episode of *Our Canada* was broadcast on January 31, 1943, and included music by Godfrey Ridout, Howard Cable, Barbara Pentland, and Weinzweig.⁷

The third chapter explores the theme of Canada’s north that is present in two significant docudramas and documentaries in Weinzweig’s body of work. *The White Empire* (1945-46) is a thirteen-episode CBC radio docudrama that tells the tale of Canada’s north, beginning with the explorations of Frobisher, and ending with radium mining and air travel to the north in the present day. *North West Frontier* (1941) is a thirty-minute NFB documentary that explores government success in development of the north. This chapter uses Sherrill Grace’s discursive formations of north as a lens to explore how national affect is constructed using borders, landscape, and indigenous peoples. While *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier* represent very different genres, the two works have common themes: indigeneity, environment and exploration, and industrialization play significant roles in both of these northern narratives. These three themes are represented musically in Weinzweig’s scores. Weinzweig represents indigeneity by borrowing from Jenness and Robert’s *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, and using primitivist compositional techniques; he represents exploration and environment by musically evoking landscape using sublime and pastoral tropes; and represents industry by musically

imitating mechanization. The presence of not one, but two, northern stories in this group of early CBC and NFB broadcasts indicates the significance that the north held in government attempts at cultivating a sense of national identity and how imperative the north was in the imagination of Canada as a nation progressively more independent from its British past.

The final chapter examines another shift in programming at the CBC. In August of 1948, The Great Flood, a radio drama written by the noted Canadian playwright Mavor Moore, with a score by Weinzweig, was premiered on the CBC’s new arts program, Wednesday Night. The Great Flood was a quirky and humorous re-telling of an allegedly Huron legend – which is suspiciously similar to the biblical story of Noah’s Ark. The Great Flood is Weinzweig’s first marked departure from the documentary and docudrama genre in his time at the CBC and is much closer to a romantic indigenous melodrama in the vein of Hiawatha than works like North West Frontier and The White Empire that attempted to represent both past and present First Nations and Inuit figures accurately. Nevertheless, Weinzweig continues to use Jenness and Robert’s Songs of the Copper Eskimo as his musical primary source for indigenous melodies. The different genre of The Great Flood is not only relevant musically, but also reveals a cultural shift at the CBC. Wednesday Night was heralded as CBC’s new high-brow arts program and continued to run for many years. This chapter explores not only Weinzweig’s musical representations of indigeneity in this romanticized re-telling of a Huron legend, but the shift towards arts and culture programming at the CBC in the years leading up to the Massey Report.

Weinzweig is best known in Canada for his role as a music educator, advocate for art music, and for the establishment of serialism and modernist compositional techniques as the language for Canadian art music. His time at the CBC and NFB, though a small part of his biography, deserves a comprehensive exploration and study not only because his incidental
music for documentaries and docudramas marked the first time serialism by a Canadian composer was heard nationally, but also because the docudramas and documentaries themselves reveal how Canada was being re-imagined by national broadcasting agencies and by implication by the government at a particularly crucial time in Canadian history. The construction of national affect through public broadcasting is the subject of this thesis.
Chapter 1
Background and Context

1.1 Introduction

Weinzweig’s music was first heard on the CBC on October 21, 1939. His orchestral piece *The Whirling Dwarf* was played as part of the *Canadian Snapshots* program. This work captured the attention of Samuel Hersenhoren, which in turn led to Weinzweig being hired by the national broadcaster.\(^8\) While Weinzweig worked for a relatively short time at both the CBC and NFB, composing incidental music for radio docudramas and film documentaries only between the years of 1941 and 1948, these works exist in a complex time in Canadian history, as the nation transitioned from the concerns and fears of wartime, to postwar reconstruction and the development of the modern Canadian state. Equally these works reflect Canada’s changed relationship with Great Britain and the desire on the part of the CBC and NFB to cultivate a unique Canadian nationalist affect among its citizens.

The purpose of this chapter is to place Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB in context. The chapter begins with a discussion of the composer’s biography, focusing on his early career as well as his political ideology. The latter is significant because it informed his advocacy for composers’ and musicians’ rights, particularly in the years following his time at the CBC and NFB. It is also worth noting that his lack of a performing rights agreement with the CBC (Weinzweig did not receive any royalties for recorded programs that were rebroadcast) galvanized his advocacy on behalf of composers.\(^9\) The biography also reveals Weinzweig as part

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of the lineage of North American musical modernists who educated an entire generation of composers in Canada and introduced serialism to the nation, initially through his music for the CBC and NFB.

Weinzweig’s music for CBC and NFB programming exists in the context of both the history of public broadcasting in Canada and ideas of nation and nationalism. I explore the shift at the CBC and NFB from propaganda to social welfare and artistic programming and how remnants of British nationalism remained woven through the fabric of both organizations. This chapter also introduces theories of nationalism and national identity, and explains why I chose nationalist affect as the lens through which to examine these public broadcasting works. Finally, I examine two significant themes in Weinzweig’s music for CBC radio docudramas and NFB documentaries. Since indigeneity and Canada’s north reappear throughout his body of work, this chapter not only introduces the indigenous song collections used by Weinzweig, but also provides background and critique about his use of indigenous music. Canada’s north is another mythological core that underscores many of his works, and I attempt to provide a context to the north as it would have been imagined at the time of these documentaries and docudramas.

1.2 Biography

Weinzweig was born in Toronto on March 11, 1913 to Polish-Jewish immigrants. His early life was influenced by both the cultural and political leanings of his parents (Joseph and Rose Weinzweig) and the musical and cultural life of the city. Weinzweig attended the Workmen’s Circle Peretz School, a Jewish community school in North Toronto, three days per week. There, he learned to play mandolin in the mandolin choir. In his essay “The Activist,” Brian Cherney remarks that Weinzweig’s early education likely shaped his political ideologies as much as his musical education. Workmen’s schools grew out of the Jewish Socialist movement
in Eastern Europe, an ideology shared by Weinzweig’s parents along with many other Polish-Jewish families residing in Toronto at that time. The collectivist political approach found in Workmen’s schools arguably continued to influence Weinzweig for the remainder of his life, particularly in his role as an advocate for Canadian music and composers’ rights. Mandolin instruction, along with piano lessons from Toronto music teacher Gertrude Anderson constituted the sum total of his childhood musical education.

As an adolescent, Weinzweig attended Harbord Collegiate Institute where he began playing in the orchestra, initially performing the violin parts on mandolin; eventually he also learned the saxophone, tuba, and the double bass. Prior to beginning his studies at the University of Toronto in 1934 at the age of twenty-one he worked for a year as bookkeeper for his father in the fur store owned by the family, while completing the Toronto Conservatory of Music theory courses and finishing Ontario “fifth form” (now referred to as grade thirteen or OAC) in the evening. The nature of Weinzweig’s early childhood and adolescent education reveals a great deal about the socio-economic reality in which he was raised. Although his parents were shop owners, Weinzweig’s predominantly public musical education, the fact that he was required to finish school in the evening, and even his parent’s collectivist personal beliefs reveals that Weinzweig’s upbringing was decidedly lower middle class or even working class. This was consistent with the socio-economic reality of the Jewish Diaspora in Toronto at this time.


Robin Elliott explores these tensions in 1930s Toronto, noting that the city was “poised on the brink of modernity,” and in the process of changing into the multicultural metropolis that characterizes Toronto today. During his childhood, Weinzweig lived in three different addresses in a Polish-Jewish neighbourhood, located along College Street between Bathurst and Christie Streets. In each location, the Weinzweigs lived above their family-owned fur store. While Toronto was becoming increasingly diverse, Jewish families were subject to anti-Semitic prejudice, particularly when the composer was in his late adolescent years and early twenties, as the rise of Nazism in Europe in the 1930s led to an increasingly anti-Semitic climate. In Toronto, anti-Semitic ideology came to a boiling point in the August 16, 1933 Christie Pits riot. The riot centred on a baseball game between two rival teams: Harbord, representing a predominantly Jewish neighbourhood, and St. Peter’s, representing a neighbourhood populated primarily by white Protestants. In the final inning of the game, supporters of the St. Peter’s team and members of the Anti-Semitic Pit Gang displayed a banner with a Swastika, and the Harbord team and their supporters rushed to get the group to take down the banner. The result was six hours of violent fighting between the two groups. In her 2013 article, “Representing Anti-Semitism in a Canadian National Museum: The Riot at Christie Pits,” Christine S. Whitehouse suggests that while the Christie Pits riot is often viewed as the peak of anti-Semitism in pre-war Toronto, in actuality the “riot is important, largely because it was not a singular event, a blotch on what the general public often assumes to be Canada’s clean record of tolerance, which later led to the official policy of multiculturalism. Instead, the riot was preceded that summer by other, smaller anti-Semitic incidents,” such as the formation of a “Swastika club in the Beaches neighbourhood (to prevent

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Jewish families from swimming on the same beaches as other Anglo-Canadian families), and heckling by shouting *Heil Hitler* in public forums.“¹³ Weinzweig’s youth was shaped by, at the very least, an awareness of anti-Semitism in Toronto along with the concerns of a working-class family.

Although the Toronto of Weinzweig’s youth was one of complicated racial politics, it was also equally a place of technological change and growth, an increasingly vibrant cultural life, and new musical opportunities. British musical style, which sought to duplicate sonorities of the Anglican Church in particular, dominated Toronto’s musical life in the first half of the twentieth century. Despite British predominance, there were new and experimental music performances occasionally in Toronto: Schoenberg’s String Quartet No. 1 was premiered in the city by the Academy String Quartet in 1915 and performed again by the Hart House String Quartet in 1935. Stravinsky’s music was also performed in the city: *Petrushka* was premiered by the Cincinnati Orchestra in Toronto in 1926 and *Firebird* was performed in 1937.¹⁴ Although in interviews and autobiographical writings Weinzweig marks his own first exposure to serial music as his studies at Eastman, these early performances show that the musical life in Toronto was already beginning to move away from conservative British models.

John Weinzweig’s musical life was, at the same time, intrinsically tied to the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto. The University of Toronto was the first established music degree program in Canada, offering music education from 1918 onward with the founding the

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Faculty of Music that year. But while the Faculty of Music marked a significant cultural
development for Canada, British cultural influence prevailed. According to Elliott, “the music
scene in Toronto during much of the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by English
tastes, repertoire, and educational models.”\(^\text{15}\) Weinzweig attended the University of Toronto
between 1934 and 1937, earning a Bachelor of Music. There, he studied with Healey Willan (for
counterpoint), Leo Smith (harmony), and Sir Ernest MacMillan (orchestration).\(^\text{16}\) All three
instructors where educated abroad and fully immersed in British compositional idioms. Later,
when Weinzweig returned to the faculty in 1952 as a professor of composition, he helped
radically shift musical style towards extended tonalities and serialism, establishing serialism as
the compositional technique of choice for a generation of composers. Weinzweig contributed to
the culture of the University of Toronto Faculty of Music even in his early years as a student.
Between 1934 and 1937 he served as the founding conductor of the University of Toronto
Symphony Orchestra.\(^\text{17}\) Leaving the University of Toronto in 1937, Weinzweig began his
graduate studies at the Eastman School of Music under the composer Howard Hanson.

In the biography by Elaine Keillor, and also in numerous interviews, Weinzweig labels
his time at Eastman as his first exposure to Schoenberg’s serialism and modernist music.\(^\text{18}\) For


\(^{16}\) Richard Henniger, John Beckwith, and Krista L. Roberts, “John Weinzweig” The Canadian

\(^{17}\) Under the mentorship of Brian McCool, head of the music department at Harbord Collegiate,
Weinzweig started the University of Toronto Symphony Orchestra in 1934. The first concert took place on March 9,
1935 at the Hart House Theatre and the orchestra performed Schubert’s Unfinished Symphony, along with excerpts
from both Tannhäuser and Carmen. For the following two years, concerts were held annually in March at the Hart

\(^{18}\) Keillor, John Weinzweig and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada, 19.
Weinzweig, serialism, or at least a relaxed and liberal usage of the technique drawing also on jazz idioms and borrowed folk melodies, stayed his primary musical language for the remainder of his life. His first pieces using this compositional technique were *Spasmodia* (1938) and “Dirgeling” from his *Suite for Piano* (1939). Following the completion of his graduate studies at Eastman, Weinzweig attempted to have some of his early works performed on radio broadcasts in the United States and Canada. His attempts in the U.S.A. were particularly unsuccessful. Despite the premiere of *Spectre* for solo timpani and string orchestra on the CBC in 1938, Weinzweig received rejection letters for a proposed American radio premiere of the work from both the National Broadcasting Company in New York and the Radio Quality Group Service Inc. which created programming for WOR in Newark, New Jersey in 1941 and 1939 respectively. Weinzweig also received rejection letters directly from several American orchestras. A June 25, 1943 letter from Vladimir Golschmann, the director of the St. Louis Symphony, reads as follows:

I am returning to you your score which I have read with great interest. I am sorry to say that at the present time there is no possibility of my performing this work, but I will certainly remember it if I can find a place for it in the future.

Weinzweig did, however, find an audience for his art music, and even his early use of serialism in Canada, thanks to the rapidly expanding CBC. *The Whirling Dwarf*, Weinzweig’s

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20 The Weinzweig fonds in Library and Archives Canada contains numerous letters from the period 1940-45 that Weinzweig wrote attempting to have his works played on American radio or by American ensembles, and also letters from conductors and radio producers rejecting his works from the season’s programming. Various Letters to John Weinzweig 1940-45, Mus 153-1993-27 box 1 folder 3, John Weinzweig fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

1937 ballet, was premiered on the 1939 CBC broadcast, “Canadian Snapshots,” while Spectre (1938) was also premiered on the CBC.\textsuperscript{22} Weinzweig also found a home with the CBC as a composer for radio docudramas. This sustained the young composer financially for the greater part of the 1940s. Following his initial meeting with the CBC’s orchestral conductor Samuel Hersenhoren in 1941, Weinzweig composed incidental music for “at least ninety-eight radio drama programs” and for four films at the National Film Board of Canada.\textsuperscript{23} Both organizations were very much in their nascent years; the CBC was formed in 1932, after the 1929 Royal Commission on Canadian Broadcasting chaired by John Aird (commonly known as the Aird Commission) found that Canada was in need of a unified, national and publicly funded broadcaster. Likewise, the National Film Board of Canada was founded as the National Film Commission in May of 1939. Initially the National Film Board coordinated film making efforts for all government departments, and attempted to distribute films across Canada. When Canada went to war, joining the allied forces in the Second World War on September 10, 1939, both the CBC and NFB became much more significant organizations. The CBC expanded from being an hour or two of special programming purchased by the government to run on private radio networks, to a national network covering 84\% of Canadian homes by the end of the war.\textsuperscript{24} The CBC offered wartime news broadcasts, while the NFB became a maker and distributer of wartime propaganda films; it was invaluable to have news and entertainment programming that reinforced Canada’s allied position. Due to this growing need for programming, much of which


\textsuperscript{23} Keilor, “Music for Radio and Film,” 103.

\textsuperscript{24} Jonathan Vance, \textit{A History of Canadian Culture} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 357.
was accompanied by a live orchestral soundtrack, the CBC and NFB provided the ideal opportunity for the young John Weinzweig to establish himself and provide him with a steady income.

Weinzweig’s return to Toronto also signalled the beginning of his career as an educator. Although Weinzweig’s career is most associated with the University of Toronto, he began teaching at the Toronto Conservatory of Music in 1939 upon his return from Eastman. He remained on the teaching roster at the conservatory until 1961, taking between 1943 and 1945 off during the war. At the same time, Weinzweig’s work at the conservatory was poorly paid, John Rea notes that Weinzweig made $25 for a term of ten one-hour composition lessons, and he was the lowest paid composer on staff at the conservatory. This made his new work at the CBC and NFB particularly necessary for him and his new family.

Weinzweig spent the first half of the 1940s composing incidental music for the CBC and NFB while also a member of the Canadian military. From 1943 until the end of the Second World War, Weinzweig and his family lived in Ottawa where he worked for the Royal Canadian Air Force and served as an instructor of music theory for the RCAF band. During this period, he composed *Band Hut Sketches* for the RCAF band in Rockcliffe (Ottawa) and *Prelude to a New Day* for the CBC orchestra. Both works were eventually also broadcast on the CBC. The war provided Weinzweig with his first opportunity to work in an advocacy capacity: “during 1943-44 [Weinzweig served] on the executive board of the Writers’, Broadcasters’, and Artists’ War

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Council to coordinate artists in the war effort, particularly through CBC programs and the NFB.”

This was the first of many advocacy roles Weinzweig would take on throughout his life.

Weinzweig’s time in Ottawa was not only productive due to his employment but also because Ottawa was where he was first introduced to Inuit and First Nations musical material. Keillor notes that “during his sojourn in Ottawa, Weinzweig made contact with Canadian folklorist Marius Barbeau, who wanted him to work on transcribing his Amerindian sound recordings. Weinzweig refused that offer, but explored several collections that were available.”

One of the collections Weinzweig was introduced to during this time was *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, as collected and transcribed by Helen Roberts and the Canadian government anthropologist and advisor Diamond Jenness in 1913 during the Southern Party Expedition. *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* proved particularly significant to Weinzweig’s work as he used songs from this collection to represent both the Inuit in the CBC radio serial docudrama *The White Empire*, and the Huron in the single episode radio drama *The Great Flood*. During his time in Ottawa, Weinzweig also composed an a cappella choral work, *To the Lands Over Yonder*, using melodies from the Jenness and Roberts collection. Weinzweig’s interest in indigenous Canadian music continued, as he experimented with melodies from both *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* and *Three Songs of the West Coast*, a 1928 setting of three melodies collected by Barbeau, with English text by Duncan Campbell Scott and the music arranged by Ernest MacMillan.

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29 I have identified these as the two sources which Weinzweig quotes in his music for radio and film. This will be explored more fully later in this chapter. Until the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission...
Weinzweig’s contemporaries during his time at the CBC and NFB included the composers Lucio Agostini (1913-1996), Percy Faith (1908-1976), Eldon Rathburn (1916-2008), and Louis Applebaum (1918-2000), all of whom also worked composing music for broadcasting in the 1940s. Faith, like Weinzweig, was born in Toronto to Jewish parents, but he followed a path that was quite different from many of his Canadian contemporaries. His music for the CRBC (precursor to the CBC) was rebroadcast in the United States, and his program gained such popularity that he moved to Chicago in 1940 in order to work as the music director for *The Carnation Contented Hour* which ran from 1940 to 1947 on NBC.  

From there, Faith went on to work for Columbia Records, providing arrangements for a variety of well-known musicians. Rathburn began work for the NFB towards the end of Weinzweig’s time there, joining the organization as a staff composer in 1944 and staying until 1976. There he composed scores for over 300 films, including *Introducing Canada* (1952) and *The Railrodder* (1965). The career of both Agostini and Applebaum much more closely mirrored Weinzweig’s. Agostini began to work for the CRBC as a conductor in 1934. During the war he composed incidental music for over 150 NFB short films in the *Canada at War* and *The World in Action* series. In 1944, he began to compose incidental music for a variety of CBC dramatic programming, including the


Shakespeare productions on the CBC series *Wednesday Night*, the program which broadcast Weinzweig and Moore’s radio drama *The Great Flood*.\(^{32}\) Applebaum, much like Weinzweig, studied in the United States, taking composition lessons at Juilliard from 1940 to 1941.\(^{33}\) Upon his return to Canada, he met both Godfrey Ridout of the CBC, and a friend and eventual television producer, Sydney Newman, who offered to introduce him to John Grierson from the NFB.\(^{34}\) This introduction to Grierson resulted in Applebaum composing over 250 scores for the NFB.\(^{35}\) Faith, Rathburn, Agostini, and Applebaum all bear a similarity to Weinzweig in that they all worked in public broadcasting early in their careers, as some of their first professional employment as composers. At the same time, the careers of the four men diverged: Faith stayed in the United States for the remainder of his life, Rathburn remained a staff composer at the NFB and Agostino at the CBC, while Weinzweig and Applebaum pursued a career in art music, rather than incidental music, following their time at the Canadian public broadcasters.

Following his return to Toronto in 1945, Weinzweig continued to compose music for CBC radio docudramas as well as teach theory privately. In 1952, however, both John Weinzweig’s career and the trajectory of art music in Canada changed significantly when Weinzweig was hired as a professor of theory and composition at the University of Toronto.

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There, he would go on to teach generations of Canadian composers including John Beckwith, Murray Adaskin, R. Murray Schafer, Harry Somers, Harry Freedman, Brian Cherney, and Norma Beecroft among others. Weinzweig’s tenure at the University of Toronto shaped musical life in Canada in a number of different ways. Weinzweig’s presence at the University of Toronto helped codify serialism as a primary language of art music in Canada for the decades following. This was in opposition to the relatively conservative British compositional idiom that formed the basis for Weinzweig’s musical education during his undergraduate degree. Weinzweig’s instruction in more modernist compositional methods helped to establish an experimental music culture in Toronto and eventually the rest of Canada. With the aid of many of his former students who eventually became colleagues, Weinzweig advocated for both the importance of Canadian grown art music to a thriving Canadian cultural life, and the role of the composer as a serious profession. He did this through the formation of numerous composers’ advocacy organizations, presentations of concert series of Canadian music, and government lobbying efforts.

Weinzweig’s time at the University of Toronto leads more broadly into a discussion of his musical advocacy. Brian Cherney asserts that an incident in 1949 motivated Weinzweig’s views on the support and promotion of Canadian music. A CBC/RCA recording of Weinzweig’s *Interlude in an Artist’s Life* was broadcast in Denmark in 1946, and three years later the Collegium Musicum of Copenhagen wished to perform the work in concert. Correspondence from 1949 indicates that the ensemble also requested scores for *Divertimento No. 1* for flute and orchestra. These performances did not happen because the expense of sending the scores by mail to Copenhagen from Toronto was too prohibitive for Weinzweig, even though the initial
recording which generated Danish interest in his music was supported by the CBC.\textsuperscript{36} The CBC was, however, a significant vehicle for the transmission of Weinzweig’s music, and Cherney notes that “such substantial CBC backing [in the organization’s early years] provided Weinzweig with a model for subsequent lobbying of the CBC.”\textsuperscript{37} This notion is further reinforced in the 1951 Massey Report which states that “The International Service of the C.B.C. has done much to make Canadian music known abroad, not only by its broadcasts but by the production of recordings that, through the agency of Canadian diplomatic missions, are brought to the attention of music lovers in many countries.”\textsuperscript{38} Ultimately, this situation reveals that while Weinzweig was achieving both national and international acclaim due to his relationship with the CBC, he lacked the financial resources to pursue all available opportunities to promote his music and career. Nevertheless, the place of the Canadian art music composer as a serious contributor to Canada’s budding cultural life had not yet been established. This would soon change as a result of the lobbying done by Weinzweig, his colleagues, and his former students.

The Massey Commission (the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences) was formed in April of 1949 by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. Vincent Massey chaired the commission and submitted a report with recommendations for funding for the arts, sciences, broadcasting, and other aspects of cultural life in Canada on June 1, 1951. Earlier in 1951, Weinzweig, along with his composition students Harry Somers and Samuel Dolin, had formed the Canadian League of Composers, and he served as president of the league.

\textsuperscript{36} Cherney, “The Activist,” 54.

\textsuperscript{37} Cherney, “The Activist,” 54.

from 1951-7 and from 1959-63. This organization advocated for composers’ rights to receive royalties, helped mount public performances, and eventually provided scholarships for young or emerging composers. In 1959, the Canadian Music Council established the Canadian Music Centre, a non-profit music library that helped promote Canadian music by publishing and storing scores and recordings of Canadian works. Here, Weinzweig was also involved in the running of and advocacy for this new publisher and library. The Canadian Music Centre met a need noted in the Massey Report:

Canadian music cannot very well be promoted unless the works are available for distribution. For this reason the Canadian Music Council has set itself the task of establishing a library of carefully selected Canadian compositions from which any of the listed works can be supplied to interested orchestral organizations or performers. This library is to include published material if it is available, and efforts will be made to persuade music publishers to add to the list of existing publications.  

From the 1950s to the present day these organizations have advocated for composers. Although at the time of the Massey Commission, a “Canadian composer of serious music [was] faced with serious handicaps,” composition of serious art music subsequently became a viable career in Canada. Weinzweig continued to advocate for Canadian art music for the remainder of his life. While he taught at the University of Toronto and composed works for the CBC, he served on performers’ rights boards and constantly lobbied for better funding for new music in Canada. His work is one of the reasons that a career in composition is possible in this country, and his life forever changed the landscape of Canadian art.

40 Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, 187.
Weinzweig’s advocacy for composers’ rights was likely motivated by his personal secular socialist ideology that grew out of his Polish-Jewish heritage. Cherney notes that Weinzweig’s father was involved in the Bund, a socialist and Jewish movement; persecution of Jewish socialists led ultimately to Joseph Weinzweig’s immigration to Canada in the early twentieth century. The Workman’s Peretz School, where Weinzweig spent his elementary years, was a Bundist organization. According to Cherney, the school had “virtually the same goals as the Workman’s Circle [the political organization after which the school was named]: improvement in conditions for the working class and the perpetuation of Jewish history and culture through Yiddish but with a secularist approach to Jewish identity.” This type of secular socialism was common in working class new comers to Canada in the early to mid-twentieth century. Nelson Wiseman notes that even in the official Communist Party in early twentieth century Canada, “many Ukrainians, Finns, and Jews … entwined their ethnic identity with socialism; socialism was, among other things, their way of being Ukrainian, Finnish, and Jewish.” Socialism, for Weinzweig, was not fully radical and was intrinsically tied to his ethnic identity, and he was influenced by his parents’ approach to collectivism as a means to solve problems. This is illustrated not only in his communist beliefs but also in the idea that organizations like the Canadian League of Composers and the Canadian Music Centre could

advocate for composers’ rights and performance of Canadian music through collective rather than individual action.

Although anti-communist sentiments existed in Canada, particularly in the wake of the Gouzenko affair when the Canadian government invoked the War Measures Act and arrested thirteen suspected Soviet spies in February of 1946, nevertheless the paranoia of the McCarthy era remained a uniquely American phenomenon. Socialism continued to be much more acceptable in Canadian life throughout the Cold War, possibly because socialist political parties—such as the Socialist Labour Party and the United Farmers of Alberta and Ontario—held significant places in Canadian politics dating back to the nineteenth century. This relative freedom to express socialist values and political affiliation is illustrated by Weinzweig’s involvement in writing a letter to the *Toronto Daily Star* in 1947, where he criticized the anti-Soviet film *The Iron Curtain* that was being filmed in Ottawa at that time by 20th Century Fox. Weinzweig coauthored this letter along with other prominent Canadian composers Barbara Pentland, Harry Somers, Murray Adaskin, and Godfrey Ridout. The letter reads as follows:

> In reference to *The Iron Curtain* now being filmed in Ottawa we the undersigned group of Toronto composers wish to express our complete disapproval of this latest Hollywood action to foster anti-Soviet feelings and in using Canada as a means for that propaganda. We as creative artists have endeavoured through our music to reach out the hand of friendship to other peoples of the world and through cultural exchange awaken a sympathetic interest in our nation. Since the audience potential of Twentieth Century-Fox is far greater than any that Canadian music could hope to command, our efforts would be entirely defeated by the showing of this film.⁴⁵

Keillor frames Weinzweig’s possibly socialist reasons for speaking out against *The Iron Curtain* as an involvement in advocacy for performers and composers’ rights. She notes that,

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“after the war, he persuaded Barbara Pentland, Harry Somers, Murray Adaskin and Godfrey Ridout to co-sign letters in support of the Soviet composers Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian and Miaskovsky. Their music was used for the motion picture *The Iron Curtain* (1948) … The film company had neither requested permission from nor paid royalties to the composers for the use of their music.”

Keillor does not, however, explore the fact that Weinzweig and his colleagues also objected strongly to the content of the film, as they felt that it jeopardized Soviet relations. Nor does she note that Weinzweig co-authored this letter with relative impunity. This situation speaks to the difference in domestic policy between the United States and Canada and their differing approaches to socialism.

Aside from Weinzweig’s opposition to *The Iron Curtain*, there were two specific incidents that attest to Weinzweig’s political ideology. The first concerns his theme for the radio series *New Homes for Old. The Internationale*, the nineteenth-century socialist anthem used in the Russian revolution, was censored in Canada at this time. Keillor notes, however, that “no one thought about the need to censor the music scores of *New Homes for Old.*”

In both her master’s thesis and her 2018 article titled “Writing for CBC Wartime Drama: John Weinzweig, Socialism and the Twelve Tone Dilemma,” Carolyne Sumner expands on Keillor’s discussion of the work, asserting that Weinzweig’s socialism motivated not only his quotation of *The Internationale* but also his more tonal approach to the music for the radio series. Sumner notes that the theme for the series, “lacks a clear statement of a complete tone row,” in addition to evidence of serial...

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compositional processes and instead Weinzweig gives musical primacy to quotations from both the socialist anthem and the Canadian national anthem throughout the theme.\textsuperscript{49} The tie between socialism and a more relaxed approach to serial compositional techniques Sumner makes is striking, particularly because this is not echoed in the American ultramodernists who professed socialist ideology in the same period.

Weinzweig’s 1949 ballet, \textit{Red Ear of Corn} also caused him some political difficulty. In \textit{Music Makers: The Lives of Harry Freedman and Mary Morrison}, Walter Pitman states that “as Senator McCarthy struck out at academics, writers, artists, and particularly those associated with film in the United States, John Weinzweig was targeted as the radical left-wing composer of a work called \textit{The Red Ear of Corn}. He had composed the piece at a time when the adjective “red” had political connotations that had nothing to do with the work itself.”\textsuperscript{50} Weinzweig explains this situation more fully himself in an essay titled “The Making of a Composer”:

A few years later, during Senator McCarthy’s un-American heydays, my father went to the American consulate for a visa, which in those times, was required for an extended visit to the USA. During his interview, he was asked about our relationship, whether I was a member of the communist party, and what is this \textit{Red Ear of Corn}? Then the consulate officer pulled out a file with assorted press clippings. The visa was finally approved when my father explained that \textit{The Red Ear of Corn} was a musical composition and not a communist tract. And so, it wasn’t corn that came back to haunt me but red.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{49} Sumner, “Writing for CBC Wartime Drama,” 80.

\textsuperscript{50} Walter Pitman, \textit{Music Makers: the Lives of Harry Freedman and Mary Morrison} (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 78

Weinzweig’s interaction with anti-communism was mild when compared to the experience of American musical modernists with McCarthyism. Weinzweig’s particular brand of socialism (growing out of his childhood cultural ideals and articulated through the desire for collective composer’s rights) did not ultimately lead to the same level of persecution or career damage as that experienced by Copland and other composers in the U.S.A. At the same time, Canadians did, on occasion, face severe consequences on account of their political ideology. John Grierson’s communist troubles arose not only from his personal politics, but also because of his secretary at the National Film Board through the 1940s, Freda Linton, who was a Soviet spy named in the Gouzenko affair. Ultimately this led to Grierson’s resignation from the NFB in 1945; after which he attempted to reestablish his career in New York. There, he was immediately labelled as communist by J. Edgar Hoover. What the situation with Grierson perhaps reveals is that anti-communism was part of Canadian political life through the 1940s and reached a flashpoint around the Gouzenko affair, roughly coinciding with Weinzweig’s time writing music for radio and film at the CBC and NFB. Though his experiences with anti-communism were almost ultimately inconsequential to his career, in this period Weinzweig did very much live in the tension between state employ and personal political and cultural otherness.

In Weinzweig’s biography there is a tension between his cultivation of a public image as a composer of serious art music and his employment by the CBC and NFB. Of particular interest is Weinzweig’s seemingly deliberate erasure of his time employed by these organizations from his autobiographical materials, to such an extent that his time at the CBC and NFB remains only an insignificant part of most biographical accounts of his life. In a 1975 interview for Canadian

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Composer magazine, Weinzweig confessed to the fact that his time at the CBC and NFB ended because “I got to be uneasy because I had to write sound effects rather than music. I could find the easy solution, write it fast, but I had no intention of living a life of the easy solution. That was my problem. I began selecting assignments, and they dropped me.”53 While this quotation explains Weinzweig’s departure from the CBC and NFB, it also reveals how Weinzweig perhaps mythologized himself as a composer of serious music. At this time, Canadian Composer was a periodical published by CAPAC (Composers’, Authors’, and Publishers’ Association of Canada), an organization that collected royalties for composers. Much of Weinzweig’s life’s work from lobbying the government for Canadian content laws, and lobbying for composers and musicians to be paid royalties, to teaching generations of Canadian composers at the University of Toronto, to founding the Canadian League of Composers, was founded on the idea that a composer of art music could be a viable career in Canada and a significant contributor to Canadian cultural life. For Weinzweig and many of his contemporaries, functional incidental music for a national broadcaster fell outside of the realm of serious art music. It is perhaps for this reason that Weinzweig minimized the significance of this music for the CBC and NFB to the early part of his career and why this repertoire has remained marginal in most biographical accounts.

Weinzweig’s music for CBC radio docudramas and National Film Board of Canada documentaries is significant despite the erasure of these works from his autobiography. During Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB, Canada changed drastically and the programs and documentaries for which he composed music reflected changes not only in public broadcasting

but also the type of national identity or affect that the government attempted to cultivate at this time. This is particularly evident when the shift in CBC radio serials is examined. During the Second World War, Weinzweig was commissioned to write music for multi-episode docudramas such as *Brothers in Arms, Dangerously they Live* (both referring to the allied nations and soldiers in the war) and *New Homes for Old* (about refugees and other immigrants to Canada during the war). However, as the war progressed, and in the years between the end of the Second World War and Weinzweig’s departure from the CBC in 1951, the programming shifted towards a focus on Canada’s developing culture and society rather than programs that emphasized the country’s ties to Britain. In these programs, Weinzweig’s music represented industry, landscape, and indigenous life, and explored the new Canada, independent and defined by immigration, dominion over the landscape, and the indigenous roots of the country. Although Weinzweig is primarily known as an educator, pedagogue, and advocate for Canadian art music and composers’ rights, and also as the first composer to employ serial techniques in musically conservative Canada, his music for these docudramas is significant because it reveals how he contributed to the mission of the CBC and NFB during the earliest days of these institutions. Weinzweig’s work in this era reveals how the CBC and NFB wished for Canadians to imagine their country sonically.

1.3 The Creation of Canadian Public Broadcasting

Weinzweig’s corpus of works for radio docudrama and film documentary also exists in the context of the nascent years of the CBC and NFB and the development of uniquely Canadian and independent public broadcasting organizations. In 1929 John Aird, chair of The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, noted that in discussing the future of radio broadcasting in Canada, “there has, however, been unanimity on one fundamental question – Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting,” something that was in jeopardy as American
programming had begun to infiltrate the Canadian market.\textsuperscript{54} The commission also recommended that the broadcasting be public, rather than private, and not dominated by a need for commercial revenue.\textsuperscript{55} Unfortunately, the establishment of a national broadcasting company was put on hold as the start of the Great Depression made it financially untenable for the government. But, in 1932, under Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, the \textit{Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act} passed, forming the CRBC (Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation). The CRBC began broadcasting programming on Canadian National Railway radio stations established in an experimental program between the CNR and the BBC during the decade prior. Four years later, in 1936, the CRBC was renamed the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and began offering programs in English and French. At this time, however, the CBC did not own its own radio frequencies. Rather, the programming was only a few hours per week in duration, paid for by the government but hosted on private stations.

The Second World War drastically changed the course for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In his 1990 book, \textit{Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada’s Broadcasting Policy}, Mark Raboy notes that during the Second World War a national broadcast system was required in order to develop nationalist sentiment and to provide a means for communication in case of emergency; the CBC grew dramatically in response, moving from buying time on private radio stations to operating its own network, which reached approximately 84 per cent of Canadian listeners.\textsuperscript{56} Radio programming emphasizing the country’s ties to Britain as allies


\textsuperscript{56} Vance, \textit{A History of Canadian Culture}, 357.
became popular alongside radio docudramas about the Canadian landscape and its people. At the same time, the earliest days of the CBC were rife with complications that resulted from the organization’s roots in British public broadcasting. Even programming not specifically about the war emphasized the country’s ties with Britain. *The British Empire Series* (1942), describes the countries still in the British Empire: Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the West Indies, Newfoundland, and India. The term “British Empire” was used because the former British colonies only became a commonwealth following the London Declaration of 1949.

Two situations further illustrate the vestiges of British nationalism at the organization. As early as 1932, problems arose with French language programming. At the beginning of 1933, Arthur Dupont was assigned the position of organizer of French programming, which occurred for an hour each day, and was broadcast across the country. Anti-Catholic organizations such as the Orange Order immediately began to lobby the government for the abolition of the CRBC. At the same time, Raboy suggests that “the radio experience irritated sentiments in Quebec,” as the French-Canadian population, which already was frustrated with the Bennett government, now faced a preponderance of English programming on its airwaves. 57 The result was eventually the division of French and English radio services, a model perpetuated by the CBC and SRC (Société Radio-Canada, the French language branch of the CBC).

Issues of British nationalism and regional representation were paralleled in a similar situation in Alberta. In 1937 at the Inter-American Radio Conference in Havana, Cuba, Canada was assigned six high powered channels with increased range and clarity, two of which were

owned by private businesses. The decision in favour of these two privately owned channels resulted in a dispute that put the difference between private interest and public legislation into sharp relief and called into question whether the CBC was effectively meeting regional needs outside of Ontario. Of the two channels that were privately owned, the CFCN Calgary radio station was particularly problematic. CFCN provided regional-specific programming such as agricultural reports and farm weather. A legal battle ensued over which station could better represent regional interests, but ultimately the CBC won the right to the higher powered channels. The CBC stations, now broadcasting at a superior frequency, largely contained programming from eastern Canada, which did not necessarily represent the interests of the population of Ukrainian, German, Irish, and Métis farmers populating the western province. Raboy asserts that the situation with CFCN and regional representation in Alberta suggests that again the CBC “had its own agenda and it was not necessarily concordant with public concerns.”

Both the CFCN situation in Alberta in the 1940s and the issue of French language programming the previous decade illustrate that the Canada being presented and disseminated by the CBC was one which represented only a small number of Canadians – those living in eastern Canada with British heritage. This explains the type of nationalist programming or the type of nationalism disseminated by the CBC during the Second World War. Programming emphasizing Canada’s ties to Britain was a priority at this time. In later years, arts programming that prioritized eurocentrism and culture from central Canada again dominated the arts and culture programming at the CBC.

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While the CBC was an invaluable tool for nationalist propaganda and mass communication during the war, by the mid-1940s the CBC was once again attempting to reinvent itself beyond being a mere propaganda machine intended to boost nationalist sentiment and emphasize the country’s ties with Britain. 59 In *The Muses, The Masses and the Massey Commission*, Paul Litt discusses both the role of the CBC amidst postwar utopianism and increased independence in addition to the changing role of the organization under the terms of the Massey Report. By the end of the decade, the CBC was required to redefine itself, as by 1948, the CBC was losing money every year and “the CBC’s ability to make long-term plans was undermined because it was never assured of enough money to implement them.” 60 At the same time, private broadcasters that were supervised by the CBC and broadcasting CBC programming were also unhappy with the organization, as the CBC programming failed to represent regional interests sufficiently, a constant theme in the early days of the organization. At this same time, the CBC and many cultural industries in Canada became concerned with a whole new population: Canadians who valued literature, art music, and theatre. After the Second World War Brooke Claxton, the newly appointed (and first) Minister of National Health and Welfare, became particularly interested in cultural affairs, and in his proposal for an expansion of arts and cultural funding, he identified a new group of Canadians interested in highbrow arts and culture.

59 Propaganda is used throughout this dissertation to refer to works which benefitted the war effort directly and reinforced Canada’s ties to Great Britain. This is a limited definition, because technically every single work in this dissertation could be read as propaganda. But, for the sake of clarity and a more nuanced discussion of all of the works in Weinzweig’s corpus from this era, my use of the term refers to documentaries about allied troops, WWII, and Canada’s role in the British Empire.

and reading. This interest, Claxton asserted, was regardless of geographical location or whether people lived in rural areas or urban centres. Litt notes that “here was a portentous moment in the history of the nation: ‘people who read books’ had been singled out as a significant political constituency.”

This changed view of the Canadian populace led to new programming at the CBC, leading up to the 1951 Massey Report. One significant program that catered to this new-found Canadian population was the arts program Wednesday Night. Beginning in December of 1947, a weekly arts program ran on the CBC for nearly thirty years, occasionally changing names (to Sunday Night in 1963 and Tuesday Night from 1965-69). The program was targeted at “the discriminating listener” and broadcast a variety of arts programming, covering everything from a whirlwind trip through music history to productions of Shakespeare and George Bernard Shaw plays, presented in programs that spanned anywhere from one to three hours. This development at the CBC is significant to this study because Weinzweig’s radio drama, The Great Flood was broadcast on the program in 1948. As the only Canadian work featured on Wednesday Night that year, it occupied a special place. But it is also more broadly significant because the increased focus on arts programming at the CBC at this time is indicative of larger trends for the broadcaster, which went on to commission and premiere new music compositions, fund orchestras, and broadcast new works written by Canadian authors.

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The increased focus on “high(er) brow” arts programming by the national broadcaster also reveals how this programming can be used to construct notions of class, particularly fantasies of middle and upper middle class and upward mobility. Matthew Karush’s study on radio programming in the interwar period in Argentina, *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina 1920-1946* discusses how the adoption of an aesthetic that rivalled Hollywood productions in Argentina ultimately lead to notions of distinct socio-economic classes and the possibility of upward mobility despite the country’s socialist politics. According to Karush, “films, music, and radio programs produced in Argentina during the 1920s and 1930s trafficked in conformism, escapism, and the fantasy of upward mobility. But they also disseminated versions of national identity that reproduced and intensified class divisions.”

While Argentina has an incredibly different political history than Canada, the use of “highbrow” music, plays, and other cultural artifacts by broadcasters in both countries is comparable. If, in Argentina, radio was used to contribute to class stratification and illusions of the possibility of upward mobility in a time when socialist and later fascist governments ran the country, then it is also possible that as Canada underwent a political shift, arts and culture programming was used to construct a sense of upward mobility and social well-being in the postwar period.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Annual Report for the fiscal year of 1948 notes that “it has long been felt that a considerable number of listeners would welcome a more advanced and challenging type of broadcasting; and that it would be a general advantage of broadcasting and the public if an effort were made to show the wider possibilities of radio as a

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force in the cultural life of Canada.” 65 The report goes on to describe the nature of the programming and to argue that there are enough “discriminating listeners” in Canada (and who lie within signal range in the USA) to warrant this type of programming. Wednesday Night illustrates the re-imagination of the CBC in the postwar era as a purveyor of culture rather than propaganda. This new view of the broadcaster would remain for many decades following the war and the Massey Report. At the same time, the presence of arts programming like Wednesday Night illustrates that in postwar Canada, while the construction of class stratification was evidently not as marked as in Argentina (according to Karush’s study), ideas of upward mobility and middle-class Canadian life became important to the public as they entered the 1950s, a prosperous decade that included a significant baby boom. Access to “highbrow” culture was a significant part of this new socio-economic Canadian reality. Historian Paul Rutherford argues that the development of cultural programming at the CBC was both the result of an attempt to avoid sentimental and sensationalized American culture and due to a sustained interest in Britain. Many Canadians saw postwar Britain as “an imagined land of Shakespeare and Shaw, the Tate, Sadler’s Wells (the precursor of the Royal Ballet), and the BBC. This idealized vision of the imperial metropolis as a centre of creativity and performance was commonplace among Canada’s intelligentsia.” 66 This view of British culture led to the creation of programs like Wednesday Night (incidentally conceived by the recent British immigrant, Richard Lambert) and also to the founding of the Stratford Shakespeare festival in 1953. 67 The CBC had become a


producer of culture, rather than just a purveyor of wartime propaganda, but the culture produced by the CBC in the late 1940s still prioritized British, or, at the very least, European cultural products.

The National Film Board of Canada has a very different history from the CBC, both in its inception and in the types of programming created by the organization. The NFB was founded in 1939 by the National Film Act, but this was not the beginning of Canadian government filmmaking. The Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau made films for the government throughout the 1920s and 1930s, including iconic works, such as the motion picture *Heritage* (1939) about farming in the Great Depression. At the same time, the origins of the organization and the style of the films discussed in this project are also rooted in British Social Realism and the British documentary movement, through the career of John Grierson.

Grierson, while never directing a film for the NFB, oversaw the production of documentaries from the creation of the organization in 1939 until the termination of his employment with the NFB in 1945 due to the Gouzenko Affair. Grierson’s aesthetic grew out of both his time as a film maker for the Empire Marketing Board in Britain and his studies at the University of Chicago. Founded in 1926, the Empire Marketing Board was created to foster trade and create a sense of universal British identity throughout the various colonies in the British Empire. Films exploring different colonies and industries in the British Empire soon became part of the EMB’s strategy. According to Zoë Druick, “film it was believed, could aid in ‘positive

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incitement’ to empire identity and consumption, based not on coercion but on patriotic choice.”

In order to do this, Grierson cultivated an entirely new film genre and movement.

Documentary film is both the genre of film made in the early years of the NFB, and an aesthetic and practical approach to filmmaking cultivated by Grierson. In his 1926 New York Sun review of Robert J. Flaherty’s film Moana, Grierson noted that “Moana, being a visual account of events in the daily life of a Polynesian youth, has documentary value,” but, while this was the first time a film was referred to as a documentary, Grierson went on to note that the primary value of Moana was its visual beauty and artful depiction of people and landscapes rather than its depiction of reality. Although he created the idea of this new genre in his review, Grierson’s idea of what was entailed in making a documentary was markedly different from the idyllic beauty of Moana or even the EMB’s efforts at propaganda. Rather, Grierson’s films had marked differences in tone, aesthetic stance, and subject matter, focusing on a realistic representation of the film’s subjects and bringing audiences the reality of working-class life in a style similar to Soviet propaganda films of the same era. His 1929 film Drifters about British herring fisherman is the first example of this type of work, which Grierson named as part of the British Documentary Movement: a gritty and realistic set of films focused on the daily lives of citizens. Richard Meran Barsam notes in Nonfiction Film: A Critical History that Grierson’s goal was to

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69 Zoë Druick, Projecting Canada: Government Policy and Documentary Film at the National Film Board (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 33.

“make film a great social force,” and the Empire Marketing Board provided an ideal site for exploration and cultivation of a new genre of film.\textsuperscript{71}

Grierson’s time studying at the University of Chicago in the 1920s, a time in which structuralism, social sciences, and human ecology were prioritized in anthropological research, further contributed to the aesthetic and ethical principles of the British Documentary Movement.\textsuperscript{72} The social realism found in the EMB documentaries of the 1930s and the NFB documentaries after Grierson was appointed as the head of the newly-formed NFB in 1939 reflect this: the value of documenting and classifying in a realistic manner, real citizens, landscapes, and professions. Druick notes that this is reflected in the writings of researchers who Grierson studied with at the University of Chicago: Robert Park, a prominent human ecologist, and Charles E. Merriam, a social scientist who was an advocate of social hygiene.\textsuperscript{73}

The early days of the NFB also coincided with the development of the welfare state: “in Canada, Britain, and the United States alike, governments began to take over social functions that had formerly been provided by family, church, and community.”\textsuperscript{74} In response to the abject poverty of the 1930s and the use of civilians in the Second World War as both workers and soldiers, the government began to develop social programming (in Canada universal healthcare was implemented in 1946 beginning in Saskatchewan, with attempts by British Columbia and

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\textsuperscript{72} Druick, \textit{Projecting Canada}, 51.
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\textsuperscript{74} Druick, \textit{Projecting Canada} ,47.
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Alberta in 1949) and take a vested interest in its citizens. As a result, many documentaries in the early years of the NFB were both realistic representations of the daily lives of citizens and represented the successes of government programming, illustrating the government’s role in cultivating social hygiene and exploring human ecology.

*North West Frontier* (explored more thoroughly in Chapter Three), provides an excellent example of the NFB’s emphasis on these values during Grierson’s time at the organization. The film explores northern life in Canada and includes sections devoted to the federally-funded Eldorado Radium Mine and the public school for the children of miners in the Northwest Territories, as well as air transport to the north, efforts at Christianization and residential schools for aboriginal children, and the distribution of the annual stipend for aboriginal families by Canadian government officials. It documents both the “success” of government programming – schooling, the Indian Act, the construction of the mine – and attempts to realistically depict the lives of Canadians living in the north. Further reinforcing this notion of realism, Weinzweig’s score for the work uses melodies from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* to accompany footage of indigenous people. Although Weinzweig’s score primarily employs twelve-tone compositional techniques, his borrowing of these melodies collected by an anthropologist from the region again emphasizes an increased focus on the real. The other NFB documentaries Weinzweig composed music for focus equally on the real: *West Wind: The Story of Tom Thompson* (1942), *The Great Canadian Shield* (1945), *A Salute to Victory* (1945), and *Turner Valley* (1945) tell the stories of the painter Tom Thompson, mining in Ontario, allied victory in the Second World War, and oil drilling in the Alberta foothills respectively.\(^{75}\) Weinzweig represents the mechanization of

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\(^{75}\) *Turner Valley* is also documented in the National Film Board archives under the title *Treasure of the Foothills* (1945). It is also referred to in the shotlog for the film in Weinzweig’s papers as *Western Oil*. This is because titles of these NFB documentaries often shifted between the script, score, and production. Library and
mining in *North West Frontier, Turner Valley*, and *The Great Canadian Shield* using driving accented eight notes in the strings and brass. The veneration of mining and industry in these early documentaries also falls into line with Grierson’s idea of social welfare and the documentation of improved lives of Canadians through government dominion over landscape and industrial development.

Looking at the programming at the CBC and NFB in the 1940s it becomes clear that there is a marked difference in the roles the organizations played in Canadian life as the decade progressed. CBC programming began with wartime docudramas that were both educational and propaganda for the Allies and the British Empire. By the second half of the decade, however, the CBC was a purveyor of culture rather than ideology, broadcasting arts programming to the far reaches of the country. This is consistent with the role the organization attempts to play, even in present day, as a beacon of Canadian culture. The NFB, by contrast, remained focused on the realist and social sciences model, continuing to create documentaries until the organization’s first feature length drama *Drylanders* in 1962. But *Drylanders* also retells a very Canadian story: the economic destitution and drought in western Canada created by The Great Depression. As a result, this film can also be seen as growing out of modernism, the social science model, and Grierson’s legacy. Both the CBC and NFB reflect attempts on the part of the state to achieve a sense of nationhood, or national affect where previously there was none. Grierson notes this in his 1942 essay “The Documentary Idea:”

> The need to achieve unity in a country of many geographical and psychological distances is one of [the goals of documentary] and not the most important. More vital, I think, is the fact that Canada is waking up to her place in the world and is

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Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Shotlog for *Turner Valley*” Mus 154 1984-3 box 14 folder 11.
conscious, as few English-speaking countries seem to be, that it is a new sort of place in the world.\footnote{John Grierson, “The Documentary Idea: 1942,” in \textit{Grierson on Documentary} Forsyth Hardy, ed. (Los Angeles and Berkley: University of California Press, 1966), 248.}

This attempt at nationalism through public broadcasting, idealistically described by Grierson in this passage, was labelled “technological nationalism” by Maurice Charland in his 1986 essay.\footnote{Maurice Charland, “Technological Nationalism,” \textit{Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory} X, No. 1-2 (1986): 196-220.} Charland describes how the Canadian Pacific Railway not only linked the country geographically, but also allowed Ottawa to assert a military presence into otherwise restless territories, quelling uprisings such as the 1869 Red River Rebellion. But more importantly, according to Charland, “the CPR offered the possibility of developing a mythic rhetoric of national origin.”\footnote{Charland, “Technological Nationalism,” 200.} Technology and nationalism interact further in public broadcasting. Charland points out that the first radio station in Canada was a Canadian National Railway creation, tying together the technology of the railway and the radio. Charland ultimately, however, argues that public broadcasting is necessary in order to unify the nation, bemoaning the lack of Canadian created dramatic programming on CBC television at the time of his essay and lamenting the number of households which subscribe to American cable and satellite television services. He asserts that

The official Canadian mind conceives of Canada as a nation which must come to be in spite of space. Thus, even though the Aird Commission did not seek to establish a repressive single Canadian discourse … it sought to create an extended community in which common Canadian interests would be articulated and a shared national identity could emerge. The popular mind, like the land must be occupied.\footnote{Charland, “Technological Nationalism,” 206.}
Charland’s ideas are not wholly different than Benedict Anderson’s idea of the nation as an “imagined community” and the consumption of nationally available media as part of a “mass ceremony” that unifies a nation.\textsuperscript{80}

At the same time, due to the fractured history of radio in Canada, the theoretical idea of a technology, a broadcaster, or a government-funded film agency cultivating one unified national identity or community is revealed to be problematic. And even the idea of a universally imagined national community is complicated in a country with a large and diverse geographic space and populated by numerous cultural groups. Brian Currid’s study of media and culture in the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany, titled \textit{A National Acoustics: Music and Mass Publicity in Weimar and Nazi Germany} further reinforces this; Currid discusses the idea that an experience of mass culture, particularly a government sanctioned one (even within a fascist state), is by no means a unified or unilateral experience:

It is however, one thing to recognize the Nazi attempt to produce and control the ideological, material conditions of the sonic experience of national belonging, or the acoustics of a nationalized publicity. It is quite another to believe the Nazis’ own claims about the total success of their acoustic engineering.\textsuperscript{81}

If government mass culture was not successful in winning over every heart and mind in Nazi Germany, then it becomes clear that creating nationalism or a nationalist affect is something a government can only attempt to do; the CBC or NFB can only strive to create media that inspires nationalist emotion. Accordingly, this project is not a study of how music for radio and film cultivate a unified Canadian national identity (national identity is an idea that is


\textsuperscript{81} Brian Currid, \textit{A National Acoustics: Music and Mass Publicity in Weimar and Nazi Germany} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 27.
ephemeral and complex on its own at best, and nonexistent at worst), but rather, an examination of how a very specific view of Canada as a nation – one heavily influenced by the nation’s colonial past – was disseminated using governmental and para-governmental media and broadcasting organizations. The view of Canada presented by the CBC and NFB and echoed in Weinzweig’s scores for radio and film prioritized the representation of Canada’s ties to Britain, the domination of government funded industry over the wilderness, government programs that improve the lives of citizens and control indigenous populations. Later in the 1940s the two organizations represented Canada as a producer of its own art and culture. This thesis will seek to explore how this new media, sanctioned by the Canadian government, sought to represent the nation at a time of fundamental changes to both the country’s political structure and social values.

1.4 Exploring Ideas of Nation and Nationalism

While it is a complex topic, no exploration of Canadian public broadcasting could be complete without a discussion of theoretical approaches to the discussion of nationalism. In his iconic and also heavily critiqued book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson describes a nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign,” with even the smallest or most geographically dispersed nations imagined through the construction of boundaries and borders. 82 Despite the size of a nation or its disparate geography, nations contain a “deep horizontal comradeship” between their citizens. 83 Much of this imagination of nation occurs,

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according to Anderson, through national media. He describes the reading of the morning and evening editions of newspapers as part of the participation in a “mass ritual,” this, in particular, can be viewed as relevant to national public broadcasting – as radio docudramas in the 1940s were broadcast at the same time depending on the region, in a similar manner to how the CBC’s national broadcasting operates currently.\(^\text{84}\) Anderson’s work on nationalism is also pertinent to this study because this dissertation strives to explore Weinzweig’s incidental music for radio and film as an art form worthy of serious musicological study, fitting into Anderson’s paradigm of the artistic nationalist product. He notes that “cultural products of nationalism – poetry, prose fiction, music, plastic arts – show this love [of the nation] very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles.”\(^\text{85}\) While Anderson’s ideas are significant to any scholarly discussion of nation building, his ideas often fall short. The discussion that follows will attempt to both engage in critiques of the idea of a “nation as imagined community” and propose other theories of nation and identity perhaps more relevant to the modernist era and to the way in which both art and government broadcasting are used to construct nation at the CBC and NFB.

Difficulties with Anderson’s view of nationalism arise when one considers the possibility that many nations contain diverse groups of citizens, not bound by a universal lived experience. Rather, citizens within a nation, particularly a nation like Canada that is both geographically dispersed and built on the foundation of immigration, can be economically, socially, ethnically, or regionally stratified. To further complicate Anderson’s view of the nation as imagined community, within this stratification exists the possibility of cultural exchange and hybridity.

\(^{84}\) Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35.

\(^{85}\) Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 141.
Due to geographic dispersion, Canadians often have vastly different experiences with Canada’s geography and the economic production that either results from or is hindered by the landscape. Difficulties in cultivating a national identity can be seen in the two specific cases, explored in greater detail earlier in this chapter, which clearly illustrate the nature of the diverse regional identities in Canada. In both situations, Canadians from certain regions very clearly did not wish to consume the same media as the rest of the nation: one detailed the Alberta radio station CFCN’s fight with the government for long distance radio signals, while the other discussed a lack of French-language programming and the formation of the SRC. In both instances Canadians clearly articulated a desire to prioritize regional and/or ethnic distinctions over a broader and more hegemonic form of Canadian identity.

Anderson optimistically notes both that art and other nationalist products are created out of a love for the country and “how truly rare it is to find analogous nationalist [artistic] products expressing fear and loathing” of a nation.86 While it is tempting to view this statement as merely naïve, tracing the reception of Anderson’s statement reveals more about issues of regionality and national allegiance within Anderson’s idea of nationalism. In her review of the 2006 reprint of *Imagined Communities*, Radhika Desai notes that Anderson’s comments about a love of a nation, and artistic products resulting from this emotional attachment are problematic because nation is not the only thing an individual can be attached to, or even the thing they are most attached to, as “people have fought and died for a variety of things other than nations – from crassly material things like land and resources to elevated ideals such as democracy, rights and socialism. The

86 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 142.
nation is hardly the only form of community to elicit the ultimate sacrifice."87 Desai’s criticisms of Anderson are particularly relevant in Canada, where a regional, provincial, or ethnically motivated identity is often more significant than a national Canadian identity. Canadian identity, if it even exists, if identity and nationalism can even be codified into one set of ideas, resists reification because of the deep-seated regionalism of the nation, its geographic dispersion, and the role of immigration. Canada as an imagined community, if it can be imagined at all, cannot be imagined universally.

But, if CBC and NFB programming are not contributing to Canada as a universally imagined community, and the construction of Canadian identity is multifaceted, then how does one discuss the ideology behind the early CBC and NFB programming and the shift between programming that reinforced the country’s ties to Britain to programming about Canada as a nation? One way of approaching national identity and nationalism that takes into consideration both the ephemeral nature of national identity and its non-universality is the idea of national affect. National affect explains and explores the role that individual lived emotions have in the construction of a sense of national belonging. Sara Ahmed, in her 2004 book The Cultural Politics of Emotion discusses the emotional shift from “having to being” in citizens of a nation; the difference, for instance, between being from Canada and being and feeling Canadian.88 But what makes affect a possible way to talk about nation allowing for individual subjectivity of the experience of nation is the theory’s focus on individual bodily emotions. Marusya Bociurkiw in her study on Canadian media notes that affect is “the study of feeling rather than emotion” and


that feelings both live in the body and are pre-discursive. This is further reinforced by Ahmed’s description of national affect as a bodily phenomenon: she notes that “emotion is the feeling of bodily change. The immediacy of the ‘is’ suggests that emotions do not involve processes of thought, attribution or evaluation: we feel fear, for example because our heart is racing, our skin is sweating.” This also holds true for emotions connected to nation and nationalism: the swell of pride in the chest upon hearing the national anthem for example, is also immediate, resists discourse, and is wholly embodied.

But while emotion or affect assumes a discussion of individual experience or interiority, Ahmed argues that “emotions should not be regarded as psychological states but as social and cultural practices.” She explains that by viewing emotions as coming from outside stimulation into the body, it is possible to see affect as experienced by a group of people rather than only individually. At the same time, by talking about nationalist emotions as if they only come from the outside and go into the person, the crowd or the collective just becomes another stand in for the individual. Rather, Ahmed states that emotions live in liminal spaces between individual and collective: “emotions are not either individual or social, but produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they are objects.” For the purposes of this study, Ahmed’s idea of national affect and the possibility of national emotion being cultivated both in a larger group but also experienced individually creates space

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for there to be both national experiences, held collectively, and also different ideas and experiences of what it means to be Canadian.

Bociurkiw’s work reveals how affect theory is particularly applicable to media: She describes the use of a national affect theory in media studies as possible antithesis to having a universal spectator or reader. Bociurkiw focuses on national television programs, the broadcast of the Trudeau funeral, and history documentaries like *Canada: A People’s History* (CBC, 2000), but her statements about nation and affect are equally applicable for a study of a medium like radio which enters the homes of listeners in a similarly intimate manner. “Television’s role is neither one of simple mimicry or of cause and effect but rather … nationalism emerges out of a complex series of relationships: of the body to disciplinary power, of television to the body, of pleasure to television, of citizenship to pleasure, of citizenship to shame,” and these emotions circulate, forming fragments of national experience. Ideas of power, discipline (in the Foucauldian sense), and later shame over the exertion of power, nation, landscape, and dominion all circulate in the construction of the idealized image of Canada as a nation being represented in the corpus of 1940s CBC radio and NFB film documentaries and docudramas for which Weinzweig composed music.

Ahmed’s idea of national affect is relevant to this study not only because it holds the dialectic of individual and collective emotional experiences of nation, but also because she examines the construction of such ideas through documents produced by governments and political parties. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* explores a few broad emotional themes – hate,

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shame, and love – and questions how those emotions are articulated by and through government mechanisms. Ahmed opens with a discussion of the British National Front’s critique of immigration policy and their description of Britain as an increasingly “soft touch” nation, and questions how nations can be imbued with emotional characteristics. She continues by discussing shame, pain, and how those emotions are articulated by governments in an examination of the 1997 Australian government report on the stolen generation of aboriginal children titled Bringing Them Home: The ‘Stolen Children’ Report. Ahmed also explores the dissemination of hate focusing on former leader of the UK Conservative Party, William Hague, and his speeches about immigration, the role of shame and disgust both in government-issued apologies and in government rhetoric about events like September 11, and finally closes the book with an exploration of national love. Her 2000 book, Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality provides an examination of the construction of national affect through government documents explaining UK immigration policy and opposition party documents critiquing that policy.

While Ahmed’s focus is on current documents and events, the idea that national affect can be cultivated through governmental documents is significant to this project, as it is very possible to view public broadcasting as simply another type of government document. But labelling CBC or NFB programs as government documents is complicated; both bodies are government-funded but independently operated, making discussing CBC and NFB programs as

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95 The stolen generation is a term used to describe Australian aboriginal children who were taken by the government and adopted to white families or raised in church-mission schools in the period of 1900-about 1970.

direct Canadian government products difficult. Bociurkiw notes, however, that the CBC (the focus of her research) “offers a discursive site rich with nationalist speech-acts and identity claims,” and both Ahmed and Bociurkiw focus on a wide variety of government reports, public broadcasts, and opposition pamphlets suggesting that the definition of what comprises a government document or product should be defined flexibly and expanded. This opens up the possibility of considering how the documentaries produced during Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB contributed to the construction of a national affect.97 With the above as a governing principle, works that represent indigenous people such as North West Frontier, The White Empire, and The Great Flood invoke national affect from the perspective of hate and fear as indigenous peoples are portrayed as cultural others to fear and detest. Likewise, documentaries emphasizing allegiances in the Second World War, industrialization, and environment cultivate an embodied sense of national love. The use of affect theory to discuss public broadcasting moves the focus away from a universally felt Canadian identity (an impossibility due to many factors) and towards an examination of the government’s attempt to disseminate programming that represented a very specific view of Canada and attempted to evoke specific feelings about being Canadian.

1.5 Indigeneity, Environment, and Nordicity

While Weinzweig’s incidental music for radio and film exists in the context of Canadian media history, Canadian cultural history, and the cultivation of nationalist affect, it is important to consider the content of the documentaries and docudramas critically in order to understand what type of Canada is being portrayed by the CBC and NFB and how national affect is

97 Bociurkiw, Feeling Canadian, 36.
cultivated through these government programs. Wilderness, northernness, indigenous peoples, and Canadian government dominion over all of those things were the focus of many of these works, particularly as the CBC and NFB attempted to move beyond programming that emphasized the country’s ties to Britain and encouraged loyalty to Allied causes during the war.

The film documentary *North West Frontier* (1941 NFB), the multi-episode radio docudrama *The White Empire* (1945 CBC), and the radio play *The Great Flood* (1948 CBC) all contain different representations of indigeneity. *North West Frontier* documents the changes to the lives of First Nations Canadians under “civilizing measures” such as the Indian Act, Christianization, and the residential school system. The *White Empire* tracks the exploration, documentation, and development of the north beginning with Franklin and Frobisher’s explorations and ending with a discussion of radium mining and air travel to the north – with the First Nations and Inuit serving as fearsome characters encountered by early explorers. And finally, *The Great Flood* presents a wholly different representation of indigeneity, offering a

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98 Interestingly, the Inuit are portrayed in a wholly different manner than other First Nations peoples in this documentary. This is likely directly related to the relationship that the Inuit had to federal government policy: the 1951 revision of the Indian Act actually contained a clause which excluded the Inuit from the Indian Act, and while they were administered federally, receiving some government aid, they were allowed to continue to live independently. From 1941 onward, Inuit people were assigned E-number disks, in place of surnames for the purpose of government record keeping. In the mid-1950s, the Inuit were encouraged to move into government built housing settlements in part to facilitate government mining projects in the North and military projects. Also in 1955, the administration of schooling for Inuit children changed from the Anglican and Catholic Churches to the federal government. The relationship between the Canadian federal government and the Inuit was a wholly paternalistic one, and ultimately the fate of the Inuit under this policy was not that different from their southern counterparts, but initially, from the early 1940s until the mid-1950s, the relationship between the government and the Inuit was quite different than its relationship with the indigenous Canadians who lived under the Indian Act. There are two possible reasons for this: the first is the complications in government control of a vast and remote landscape (significantly, the federal government became involved in the administration of the Inuit at the start of the Cold War, when northern sovereignty became imperative), the second is the romanticized representations of the Inuit such as Stefansson’s writing about the arctic and Robert J. Flaherty’s 1922 film *Nanook of the North*. For more information on the relationship between the federal government and the Inuit see: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada’s Relationship with the Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development*, by Sarah Bonesteel. Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Metis and Non-Status Indians (Ottawa, 2008). https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/inuit-book_1100100016901_eng.pdf (accessed: March 14, 2016).
romantic and melodramatic retelling of an allegedly Huron story, which parallels the biblical
drama of Noah’s Ark. Together, these works all enforce colonial notions of indigeneity:
indigenous peoples are depicted in these CBC and NFB works as simultaneously uncivilized and
fearsome beings who require government control and regulation in order to become members of
civilized – and by implication – white society.

First Nations author Thomas King notes, “Native people have always been an exotic,
erotic, terrifying presence. Much like the vast tracts of wilderness that early explorers and settlers
faced.”\footnote{99 Thomas King, \textit{The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative} (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2003), 79.} While both \textit{The White Empire} and \textit{North West Frontier} contain what is perhaps the
most extreme iteration of this representation and grow out of the very modernist desire for
documentation, \textit{The Great Flood} belongs to a tradition of melodramas about indigeneity, which
disseminate a romanticized representation of first peoples as noble savages. Indianist
melodramas such as \textit{The Great Flood} assume the correctness of this representation because they
hinge on the inherent assumption of the success of the colonial project and the disappearance of
indigenous people to the civilizing measures of residential schools and religious conversion, and
that the romanticized interpretations of indigenous life needed to be preserved. King describes
both this construction of the noble savage in nineteenth and early twentieth century melodramas
and literature as part of the construction of “a literary shroud in which to wrap the Indian. And
bury him.”\footnote{100 King, \textit{The Truth About Stories}, 33.} Indigenous peoples as represented by CBC and NFB programming from this era
are a dying race, fated because of the civilizing measures of colonialism to leave behind only
romanticized imaginings of noble savages in their place. This sentiment is echoed by Mary Jane
Miller in her 2008 book *Outside Looking In: Viewing First Nations Peoples in Canadian Dramatic Television Series*. She notes that public broadcasting often reduces indigenous peoples to “wall plaques, dolls, toy canoes, saltshakers or camp songs,”¹⁰¹ caricatures in the absence of actual indigenous people.

There are two ways in which music and indigeneity interact in Weinzweig’s scores for CBC and NFB docudramas and documentaries: Weinzweig’s scores for these works can be seen as part of the canon of western art music that attempts to represent indigenous people, beginning perhaps with Jean-Phillipe Rameau’s *Les Indes Galants* and continuing to present day musical collaborations between art music composers and indigenous peoples; and, due to Weinzweig’s quotation of early Canadian ethnomusicological collections of Inuit and First Nations music, fitting into the history of Canadian anthropology and ethnomusicology.¹⁰² In *Imagining Native America in Music*, Michael Pisani explores the representation of indigenous peoples in art music beginning with Lully’s ballets for Louis XIV and continuing to the 1970s western. Pisani focuses particularly on Edward MacDowell’s *Indian Suite*, Orchestral Suite No. 2, Opus 48 (1892) and Dvořák’s explorations of indigenous music during his time in America, discussing his string quartet and quintet composed during his visit, and his purchase of Alice Fletcher’s *A Study of*

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Omaha Indian Music at the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893. According to Pisani, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, composers began to believe that “Indian musics could or should contribute to the formation of an American national style.” Tara Browner suggests that this use of indigenous music by nineteenth century composers resulted from the desire for a geographically based nationalism rather than an ethnic one:

Indianist music illustrates a distinct kind of nationalistic cross-cultural appropriation that is different from the more common practice of composers taking folk tunes from their own ethnic heritage and using them to represent musically nationalistic impulses. Although generally considered a product of American nationalism, Indianist musics are nationalist by geography rather than ethnicity.

In Canada, the desire to cultivate nationalist affect has, at times, haunted Canadian composers. And the use of indigenous musics in order to define Canada geographically rather than ethnically, as Browner describes, has occurred numerous times in the Canadian art music repertoire. Weinzweig’s explorations in indigenous music exist not only in the context of American composers like Edward McDowell and Charles Wakefield Cadman, but also Harry Somers’ Louis Riel, and numerous works by R. Murray Schafer (both Somers and Schafer studied composition with Weinzweig). For Schafer, indigeneity and environment provided a possible means to cultivate a uniquely Canadian artistic style, as he explains this in On Canadian Music:

There is a beautiful Indian legend which tells of sending young braves into the wilderness to learn to cope with the environment alone and in its own terms. When


104 Pisani, Imagining Native America in Music, 184.

this is done, and the boy has mastered his fear, an animal will approach him and teach him a song, which from that time on will be his song for life, to be sung by him at all future festivals and ceremonies. The Canadian song is still there in those mountains and forests and plains, and it is being heard by those who have achieved maturity.\footnote{R. Murray Schafer, \textit{On Canadian Music} (Bancroft: Arcana Editions, 1984), x.}

Schafer articulates a possible answer to the anxiety that has plagued generations of Canadian artists and composers – that Canada define itself musically using both indigenous music and music that attempts to represent the Canadian environment. But, much like his predecessors, Schafer’s desire for a geographically defined Canadian music ignores the social life and context of indigenous music, instead treating indigenous repertoire like a raw musical material from which to borrow. Weinzweig’s music for radio and film represents one of the first attempts at cultivating nationalist sentiment in Canada in this manner.

Weinzweig’s use of indigenous musics was confined to borrowing from two collections, the 1925 collection of Inuit music \textit{Eskimo Songs: Songs of the Copper Eskimo}, from the Report on the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–1918, vol. 14, collected by government anthropologist Diamond Jenness and transcribed by Helen Roberts, and a piano and vocal score of three songs collected by Marius Barbeau in 1927 the Nass River region and subsequently arranged by Ernest MacMillan, and poetically translated by Duncan Campbell Scott, titled \textit{Three Songs of the West Coast: Recorded From Singers of the Nass River Tribes} (1928). Although these two collections are from geographically disparate groups of people with different musical traditions and the music in these two collections was used in different social functions (the Jenness/Roberts collection contains only Inuit dance transcriptions while Barbeau’s three songs contain lullabies and hunting songs) Weinzweig used this music to represent indigenous people generally,
regardless of the region or the people that were the topic of the radio program or film. Browner notes that there are two contexts for the borrowing of indigenous music in art music: she makes a distinction between “music as raw materials versus music as culture.” Weinzweig’s use of indigenous music falls into the first category, the melodies transcribed in *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* and set for voice and piano in *Three Songs of the West Coast* are used by Weinzweig in his otherwise serial scores for radio and film as musical resources that reference indigeneity with only coincidental accuracy. In *The White Empire*, for example, Weinzweig uses melodies from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* when Inuit characters are present, but he also uses musical quotations from this same collection for *The Great Flood* (1948), an alleged retelling of a Huron legend. Despite this, CBC promotional material from this era, along with reviews of the radio and film programs, often emphasized the authenticity of Weinzweig’s use of indigenous music as well as noting the possibility that Weinzweig’s use of the music aided in musically defining Canada as an independent nation.  

Although Weinzweig’s borrowing of indigenous music is part of a lineage of art music works that attempt to represent indigeneity, his borrowings are also equally entrenched in the history of Canadian anthropology. Helen H. Roberts, Diamond Jenness, and Marius Barbeau, whose collections of music provided the raw materials for Weinzweig’s representations of musical indigeneity, were all part of different aspects of the machinations of Canadian government supported anthropology. Marius Barbeau was a Canadian anthropologist,

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107 Browner, “‘Breathing the Indian Spirit,’” 267.

108 Promotional material for both *The White Empire* and *The Great Flood* emphasized the use of indigenous music in Weinzweig’s scores. For example, the July 25-31, 1948 edition of *The CBC Times* notes that the music is in *The Great Flood* is “based on Indian rhythm and lines.” “Huron Indian Legend is Wednesday Night Feature: Mavor Moore Recreates Story of The Great Flood,” *CBC Times* Eastern Region Schedule July 25-31 (Jul 25, 1948): 3.
ethnologist, and folklorist. His early career was spent researching folk songs in Quebec, which resulted in a large body of publications of transcribed and translated music. But Barbeau’s corpus most relevant to this study is the music that he collected during his trips along the Nass and Skeena rivers in British Columbia. In 1923, Barbeau documented the music of the Tsimshian along the Skeena and Nass rivers, returning to the area in 1927 and 1929. Barbeau’s time in the Nass region produced the song collection The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music (1951) transcribed by Viola Edmundson Garfield. But in her obituary of Barbeau for The Journal of American Folklore, Edith Fowke notes that “far from an ivory tower scholar, [Barbeau] spared no effort to preserve and promote folklore in as many ways as he could. In addition to his scientific works he wrote a number of books designed for the general public.” Three Songs of the West Coast is an excellent example of Barbeau’s publicly available folklore.

An Oxford-educated anthropologist, Jenness joined the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913–1918 led by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Although Jenness had conducted his previous fieldwork in New Guinea his career was shaped by his participation in the expedition and his intense study of, what Stefansson termed, the Copper Eskimo, known today as the Copper Inuit.

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112 In literature about this expedition it is also referred to as the Northern/Southern Party Expedition or the Stefansson expedition. The expedition was incredibly significant as it represented the Canadian government’s first attempt to map, document wildlife (both flora and fauna), and study the indigenous peoples in the northern region. The team included anthropologists, biologists, geologists, and geographers to study the northern landscape. To this date, it remains the only comprehensive study of Canada’s far north. For more information: Stuart E. Jenness, Stefansson, Dr. Anderson and the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918: A Story of Exploration, Science and Sovereignty (Ottawa: Mercury Series Published by the Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2011).
or the Kitlimermiut.113 His time with the expedition produced the indigenous song collection most often used by Weinzweig in his music for radio and film, *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, a collection of Inuit drum dancing songs called *antons* and *pisiks* transcribed and translated from field recordings, printed and made available to the public. Helen H. Roberts transcribed the music at the request of Edward Sapir who was the head of the anthropology division of the Canadian Geological Survey at the time.114 For Roberts this transcription marked the start of a career studying indigenous North American music, which she continued in the years following in the anthropology department at Yale.115

Jenness’s participation in the Canadian Arctic Expedition was also the beginning of a career spent both documenting First Nations and Inuit culture and engaging in indigenous Canadian issues. He published numerous volumes based on research during his time in the arctic, including *The Life of the Copper Eskimo* (1922), *People of the Twilight* (1928), and *The Indians of Canada* (1932). In 1926, he succeeded Edward Sapir as the chief anthropologist of the National Museum of Canada.116 In the years following the Canadian Arctic Expedition, Jenness became the authority on aboriginal life in Canada. This was reflected in his appointment to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider the Indian Act in 1947. From this special committee, Jenness created the document for


115 Frisbie, “Helen Heffron Roberts,” 100.

which he is perhaps best known (or most notorious), *A Plan for Liquidating Canada’s Indian Problem Within 25 Years*. The plan was to “abolish, gradually but rapidly, the separate political and social status of the Indians (and Eskimos)” through the restriction of cultural practice, education of indigenous children in provincial rather than separate schools, and the training of adults in semi-skilled labour jobs needed for Canada’s growing industrial economy.\(^{117}\) In 1951, Jenness worked as a consultant for the revision of the Indian Act. The 1951 revision lifted many cultural restrictions on ceremonies and other practices but took away the rights of women to retain their aboriginal status if they married outside of their band, creating generations of lost families.\(^{118}\) Renée Hulan asserts that changes to the status of women in the 1951 revision were in part due to Jenness’ consultation and his own views about gender roles. She notes that his views on the status of aboriginal women are particularly apparent in his 1928 book *People of the Twilight* where he repeatedly represents women’s work (for preparation for the hunt, for example) as “in the subordinate position of useful tasks.”\(^ {119}\)

Jenness’ career, and to a lesser degree the careers of Barbeau and Roberts, are examples of the interrelationship between the collection of indigenous music for the purpose of research and public education, and Canada’s complicated colonial past. Jenness’s consultation for the Indian Act and his role on the special parliamentary committee both served to drastically reshape


aboriginal life in Canada. Although Jenness is perhaps a more overt example of the colonizing relationship between music collection and government policy, it is important to understand that the impulse to collect and document indigenous song is on its own inherently colonial. Michael F. Brown notes in *Who Owns Native Culture?* that the anthropologists who collected indigenous music “assumed that Indian cultures would die and Indian peoples be assimilated into the general population.” Policies such as the 1951 revision of the Indian Act made assimilation more of a possibility, but the impulse to collect and preserve indigenous cultural artifacts in museums, and to publish indigenous songs, all rested on the notion that, (referencing Jenness), “the Indian problem” would be taken care of in twenty five years, the indigenous way of life was near its end and as many indigenous cultural (and musical) artifacts as possible should be preserved for future generations. In his essay in *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth Century Cultures*, Gordon E. Smith argues that this theme of salvage was even present in Barbeau’s educational materials, noting that “one of the pivotal points in *Nass River Indians* [the film] is a scene showing [Ernest] MacMillan and Barbeau seated at a table recording and transcribing songs sung by Frank Bolton and interpreted by William Beynon. The intertitle for this shot reads, “Mr. Barbeau and Dr. MacMillan record the songs and chants fading away with the advance of the white man.” The reflexive presence of Barbeau and MacMillan, in Barbeau’s own film, succeeds in representing indigenous peoples as a people approaching extinction and anthropologists as heroes who preserve music and culture for future generations. Aaron Fox refers to this legacy of ethnomusicology and impulse to collect music as if it were sea

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shells on a beach vacation as “hoarding and exploiting.”

While this is a colonial idea, it is also a fundamentally modernist one, and relates to the modernist impulse to “classify” in the Foucauldian sense, to document, and collect for public and educational consumption. It is only logical then, that these collected songs would be used in documentaries and docudramas, as both are works that grew out of the same classifying and modernist impulse. Weinzweig’s scores for *The Great Flood, White Empire,* and *North West Frontier* are not only modernist in the compositional sense (employing serial compositional techniques) but are also inextricably tied to both the impulse to document, classify, and contain indigenous culture and to Canada’s broader colonial legacy.

While the representation of indigeneity in early CBC and NFB documentaries is tied to Canada’s colonial history and the modernist documentary project, the use of indigenous musics and representation of indigeneity is equally about attempting to define Canada as a nation. Government attempts to cultivate a national affect should also be understood as a fundamentally colonizing act. Sara Ahmed reminds us that cultural others are necessary to define the borders of a nation, even if they are others within a nation. Indigenous Canadians were simultaneously used to define Canada as separate and unique from Europe, providing a rich cultural history to compete with architectural and artistic wonders, and separated from Canadian class and social structures. In the late 1940s, Indigenous Canadians were only beginning to receive the vote, they lived confined to reservations and residential schools, and their cultural practices were restricted

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123 Sara Ahmed discusses affective economies and “the rippling effect of emotions” which move through the body and are associated with signs or representations of others and other bodies. Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* 45.
by the Indian Act. The promotional material for Weinzweig’s radio and film repeatedly referred to his representation of indigenous music as authentic, when in actuality his music was the only representation of aboriginal music available to the public. This representation was in turn used by organizations such as the CBC and NFB to help cultivate nationalist emotion. Ahmed asserts that this type of appropriative representation of indigenous music grows out of colonialism:

Colonialism as an encounter involves, not only the territorial domination of one culture by another, but also forms of discursive appropriation: other cultures become appropriated into the imaginary globality of the colonizing nation.\(^{124}\)

In the case of CBC radio docudramas and NFB documentaries and Weinzweig’s scores for them, colonialism is articulated not only in the connection between the history of anthropology in Canada and the music borrowed by Weinzweig, but in the representation of indigenous music to Canadians and the co-option of discourse about indigenous people. Indigenous music in CBC and NFB docudramas and documentaries becomes a way in which to cultivate Canadian nationalist emotion and develop the idea that Canada had a unique cultural history. This appropriation of music in order to create national affect is as fundamentally colonial as Barbeau’s enshrinement of indigenous culture within the museum or Jenness’s contributions to the civilizing measures of the Indian Act (1951).

Weinzweig used indigenous music quoted from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* in *The White Empire*, *The Great Flood*, and *North West Frontier*, his 1946 choral work *To the Lands Over Yonder* and the orchestral suite resulting from *The White Empire*, titled *Edge of the World* (1946). Thus it is possible to see that Weinzweig had a genuine interest in exploring this music of indigenous Canadians, rather than a desire to represent indigenous culture in a manner that

was colonial or appropriative. Still, the early radio and film documentaries and docudramas exist in the broader context of both the colonial history of Canada and in government attempts to cultivate nationalist affect by simultaneously representing indigenous culture as a hallmark of Canadianness and indigenous peoples as cultural outsiders, against which to define the nation.

Although indigeneity is one facet of the early CBC and NFB documentaries, representations of environment and nordicity are also significant to these works. The White Empire and North West Frontier both focus on the gradual process of exerting dominion over a wild and unpredictable landscape in the country’s north, while the radio documentary, Our Canada (1941) represents both the landscape of the nation and control over the land with farming and the railway. These works reveal the relevance of the idea of north and the imagination of environment as a means to construct and cultivate Canadian national affect.

The thirteen episode radio program, The White Empire, explores the history of the north from Franklin to radium mining and air transport to the north. Throughout the series, the north is described as fearsome, frigid, dangerous, but ultimately worthy of exploration and conquest. This is echoed in North West Frontier (1941), which documents government success at controlling the northern environment and civilizing the north. The film explores both government control over First Nations peoples under The Indian Act and environmental control, focusing on the then flourishing Eldorado Radium Mine. Sherill Grace reminds us that the imagination of north as a distinct formation, both fearsome and conquerable, is a distinctly Canadian phenomenon:

North is not natural, real, a geological or meteorological matter of tree lines, eskers, permafrost, snow and temperatures that can dip as low as -81°C….North, while it

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125 James Beveridge, North West Frontier, DVD, National Film Board of Canada, edited by James Beveridge and Stanley Hawes (Ottawa: Northern Electric Recording, 1942).
has certainly been naturalized as essential to Canada, is a human construct, like Canada itself.\footnote{126}

Grace goes on to explain that the imagination of north is essential to the imagination of Canada by its citizens. Referencing Anderson’s imagined communities, Grace argues that circulating discursive formations (borrowing from Foucault’s idea of discourse) of north are imperative to the cultivation of Canadian identity and the imagination of Canadian community.\footnote{127} While Anderson’s idea of a nation as an imagined community is fraught with problems because it advocates for a view of Canada that is simultaneously homogenous and hegemonic, Grace’s argument that Canada can be imagined through a geographic feature that is more fanciful than physical (after all, what is the north, really?) works in concert with Sara Ahmed’s emotional nationalism, or national affect. Ahmed argue throughout her work that borders and boundaries of nation exist and are defined and felt within the individual bodies of citizens.\footnote{128} If borders, an imagined geographical phenomenon, cultivate a felt nationalism, then it is possible that the imagination, discussion, or discourse circulating around Canada’s north could also generate national affect. Part of the interest in Canada’s north, both in the 1940s and presently, is an interest cultivated out of a desire for sovereignty and a clearer definition of borders. Although much of Ahmed’s writing about borders concerns those erected between outsiders/others and citizens, in Canada sovereignty and separation from outsiders is generated


\footnote{128}Ahmed explores how fear is used to develop a sense of border. She looks at George Bush II’s State of the Union address which encouraged citizens to monitor their neighbours for terrorist actions following September 11. By doing so, Ahmed asserts that Bush helped create a sense of border or boundary within cities and neighbourhoods. This points to the createdness of borders and boundaries and that borders are often much more fanciful than physical. If something fanciful or imaginary can define a nation, then why can’t a specific landscape also define a nation? Ahmed, \textit{The Cultural Politics of Emotion}, 78.
through the dominion and control over massive and wild landscapes, through a cultivated sense of geographic isolation. As a result, the manner in which the idea of north, northernness, or Canada as a northern nation circulates in the early CBC and NFB programming can and should be viewed as an attempt at the cultivation of national affect through government documents, with the CBC docudramas and NFB documentaries as those documents. If affect can be built through the imagination of others and outsiders, and the imagination of borders, then it can equally be cultivated through the imagination of geography and environment. The discourse about the north in the early CBC and NFB documentaries as simultaneously terrifying, wild, conquerable, and Canadian can be seen as an attempt to cultivate national emotion and pride over a territory that was unfamiliar and unknown to most Canadians at the time.

Grace’s discussion of discursive formations of north and their role in the construction of Canadian identity opens the dialogue to the larger context of the role of imagination of wilderness and environment in nation building. Landscape, both its wildness and eventual conquest, plays a significant role in the early CBC and NFB documentaries and docudramas. Using wilderness or landscape to define a nation is not an idea restricted to the CBC, NFB, or the Canadian government. Rather, the history of landscape and government attempts to cultivate nationalism extends across North America. In *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Roderick Fraser Nash asserts that much of the wilderness preservation movement in the United States was driven by an anxiety about cultural identity and value compared to European countries. Nash notes that as early as the mid-nineteenth century “intellectual patriots were seizing on America’s very lack of history – its wilderness condition – as an answer to Europe’s claims and their own
doubts.” Wilderness, not architecture and art, came to define the United States, an idea supported through government policy, in the formation of a robust national parks system. The early CBC and NFB documentaries and docudramas serve a similar function, emphasizing nature, wilderness, and landscape as an equivalent to or in opposition to culture.

But the idea of wilderness and nature is as ephemeral and resistive of definition as Canada’s north. Alison Byerly asserts that “what we call nature or wilderness is a fiction, a cultural myth.” Much like the north, wilderness and nature exist in the collective imagination as products of discursive formations found in everything from nature writing such as Thoreau’s Walden, to musical works that attempt to capture landscape, to government policy that attempts to preserve land. According to Byerly, wilderness and nature are imagined as sublime or picturesque respectively, and are products of cultural mythology of place rather than actual places accessible to most individuals. This critique of nature is echoed in William Cronon’s essay “The Trouble with Wilderness or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature.” Cronon argues that the idea of empty wilderness is a wholly masculine and sublime concept, and one that came on the heels of colonial policy intended to remove indigenous people from their land. “The removal of Indians to create an ‘uninhabited wilderness’ – uninhabited as never before in the human history of the place – reminds us just how invented, just how constructed the American


131 Byerly discusses at length how the Parks System is a way of allowing people to see wilderness even if they cannot truly access it. Arguably, documentary films do the same thing, allowing Canadians, wherever they live, to experience the nation’s landscapes regardless of whether or not they are capable of travelling to these locations. Byerly, “The Uses of Landscape,” 55.
Cronon and Byerly’s critiques of the idea of a vast and uninhabited wilderness and its role in defining North American culture reveal the extent to which nature and wilderness are both cultural constructions and resistant to definition, ephemeral rather than concrete. In his discussion of wilderness in the making of America, Nash illustrates how significant this intangible idea is to the understanding of nation in the United States.

While ecocriticism, the discipline with which Nash, Byerly, and Cronon are all most closely associated, is historically American, focusing at first on Thoreau’s nature writing, the idea of wilderness and nature as fictional constructions is relevant to the works addressed in this project: a body of public broadcasting programs that characterize the Canadian landscape as wild and unpredictable but conquerable with sufficient government intervention and control.

Landscape is represented in the early CBC and NFB documentaries and docudramas as sublime (and fearsome in *The White Empire*), picturesque and bucolic (when tamed by farming and the railway in *Our Canada*), controllable by mining (in *North West Frontier*), and accessible by travel (by air in *The White Empire* and train in *Our Canada*). These representations of Canada with a landscape simultaneously wild and romantic, hemmed in by industry and progress, and devoid of all but the most controlled indigenous populations, were the only access to these landscapes available to 1940s viewers of NFB documentaries and listeners of the CBC. It is possible then, to see how this very specific representation of place was used by government (or para-government, in the case of the CBC) organizations to produce a sense of belonging or affect within the Canadian nation. This environmental affect is uniquely cultivated in Canada because

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Canadian public broadcasting attempts to represent landscape, and place – even the most remote and inaccessible places – to all Canadians.

Although indigenous peoples, the north, and landscape are all topics of the early CBC and NFB documentaries and docudramas, they are also ways in which the CBC and NFB aid in the cultivation of nationalist emotion or effect. The works that portray indigenous peoples – as romantic figures sealed in the past who can only be brought into Canadian society with the civilizing measures imposed by the government and church – cultivate affect by providing what Ahmed terms an “outsider inside,” an exotic figure for Canadian citizens to define themselves against. 133 The focus on indigenous peoples in these early works also serves to document the success of Canada’s colonial project, and consequently affect is also cultivated because the documentaries equally celebrate the control of these outsiders, indigenous peoples, under the Indian Act. Affect is also cultivated through the early documentaries’ focus on northernness and landscape. The north and landscape are possible sites for the cultivation of affect due to the relationship between landscape and northernness and borders and sovereignty. Indigeneity, northernness, and landscape are not only topics for these documentaries, but are ways in which the CBC and NFB attempted to cultivate national emotion or affect and redefine Canada, during a time in Canadian history when the country was becoming increasingly independent from its British history.

1.6 Conclusion

The above discussion situates Weinzweig’s music for radio and film in a wider context, both temporally and philosophically. Weinzweig’s music for radio docudramas and film

133 Ahmed, Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality, 3.
documentaries has been discussed in the context of his biography, the history of public broadcasting in Canada, and Canadian cultural life. Theories of nation and nationalist affect, indigeneity and northern environment have also been considered for the light they can shed on Weinzweig’s creative activities. These themes underscore this dissertation and provide a basis for examining the scripts, scores, recordings, and films that form the corpus of Weinzweig’s compositions for radio and film. They also provide a lens through which we can more clearly see and understand the zeitgeist of Canadian political, social and cultural life at this time, and how two national broadcasting organizations attempted to engender nationalist affect, that is a feeling of being Canadian, in Canadian citizens.
Chapter 2
Propaganda, Nationalism, and Postwar Reconstruction in Weinzweig’s War-Era CBC Docudramas

Weinzweig’s early career at the newly expanded CBC is inextricably tied to the Second World War. Its newly enlarged mandate embraced mobile war reporting, news, and entertainment programming. For this reason, while documentaries and docudramas about Canada’s landscape or industry came to characterize Weinzweig’s work towards the midpoint of the decade, much of Weinzweig’s body of work for the CBC consists of documentaries that could be classified as propaganda, or government efforts at promoting the cause of the war, the allied forces, and Canada’s ties to Great Britain. Programs like *Brothers in Arms* (November 1941-April 1942), *Dangerously They Live* (1942), *Canada Marches* (May-August 1942), *British Empire Series* (May-June 1942), *The Treasure They Guard* (July 1942) and others discussed Canada’s role in the war, provided accounts from men stationed overseas, and emphasized the importance of Canada to the war as well as the significance of Canada’s allies. At the same time, in the early 1940s, some CBC programming attempted to imagine what Canada could be, both during and after the war. *New Homes for Old* (May-August 1941), the first series for which Weinzweig was commissioned to compose incidental music at the CBC, discussed the stories of recent immigrants to Canada, focusing on a specific European country or British colony each week. *Our Canada* (November 1942-May 1943) was a thirteen episode radio series that, rather than discussing the war, explored Canadian history in the opening episodes, and then rapidly shifted to a discussion of the future of the nation, including industry, mining, air travel, arts, communication, and most significantly, the role of the government in the social welfare of the
nation. Together, these wartime broadcasts, and Weinzweig’s music for them, provide an important window into the shifting emphases at the CBC between propaganda on the one hand and postwar social welfare programming on the other. They reveal how nationalist affect was constructed by the CBC and other government institutions during the Second World War.

These early works have much less extant material than later works in Weinzweig’s corpus of radio and film documentaries. There are few complete scripts, scores, and recordings, although there are ample sketches and some scripts have Weinzweig’s markings. Recordings of a few episodes are held at Library and Archives Canada in the John Weinzweig fonds, but many of the recordings from this period are damaged. Additional scripts for *New Homes for Old* and *Canada Marches* survive in the Dora Mavor Moore fonds (the mother of the playwright Mavor Moore, with whom Weinzweig later collaborated on *The Great Flood*) at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto. Due to the lack of extant sources, this chapter will focus on a small sample of the very large volume of Weinzweig’s World War II era works; indeed, the early 1940s is perhaps the time that he was most prolific in his composition duties for CBC and NFB documentaries and docudramas. This chapter will look at these compositions for CBC wartime documentaries, discussing *New Homes for Old, Canada Marches* (Weinzweig composed the score for the first episode of this series),\(^{135}\) the half hour docudrama about the massacre of the Czech village of Lidice, titled *Lidice Lives! (Forever)*, and will conclude with a discussion of *Our Canada* and the radio suite from the program, titled *Music for Radio No. 1 Our Canada*. Together, these four works address some common themes in Weinzweig’s music for war era radio documentaries. The documentaries and docudramas in Weinzweig’s corpus

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\(^{134}\) Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 261-268.  
\(^{135}\) Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 263.
vary in how they address themes in war era propaganda. *Canada Marches, Brothers in Arms, Dangerously They Live,* and *The British Empire Series* emphasize Canada’s ties to Britain and Canada’s military might. There are also docudramas that discuss Canadian tolerance in the face of enemy atrocities. *New Homes for Old* tells the stories of immigrants who found a new life in Canada, while *Lidice Lives! (Forever)* dramatizes the Nazi massacre of Lidice and compares this with values of tolerance and peace. Finally, *Our Canada* discusses Canadian industry and landscape at length, as part of Canada’s postwar reconstruction and the development of the welfare state. Together, these docudramas provide a picture of the shift in how Canada was imagined by the CBC during the Second World War and the differing ways in which CBC programming cultivated national affect in wartime Canada.

2.1 War-Era Canada: From Propaganda to Reconstruction, British Nationalism to National Affect

Weinzweig spent the duration of the war not in Toronto, the city most associated with his early life, compositions, and musical advocacy, but rather stationed at RCAF Station Rockcliffe, a Royal Canadian Air Force base on the eastern edge of Ottawa, Ontario. Elaine Keillor notes that while Weinzweig had wished to be in the Navy, anti-Semitism prevented him from being a welcome member of a submarine crew.\(^{136}\) Instead, Weinzweig served as a music instructor for the RCAF band, and “one of his duties was to take a small band to the railway station to greet the returning servicemen.”\(^{137}\) While in Ottawa, Weinzweig composed *Band-Hut Sketches* for the RCAF concert band along with the majority of his works for the CBC and NFB. Weinzweig’s wartime works also marked his first advocacy for royalties as a composer. In 1943 he joined the


Canadian Performing Rights Society. Part of his application included scores of works for which he had not yet received royalties, so that their value could be assessed. A September 8, 1943 letter from the assistant secretary of the Canadian Performing Right Society, reads as follows:

…in order to allot the correct performing right [sic] value, it is necessary to determine to what extent such arrangements contain original work, and to what extent they are merely transcriptions.

The letter went on to request copies of Weinzweig’s scores for “Norway” from Brothers in Arms, Enchanted Hill, “The Land” from Our Canada, and “Newfoundland” and “South Africa” from The British Empire Series. Other than Weinzweig’s letters to various American orchestras and radio stations following the conclusion of his studies at Eastman School of Music, this is his first documented advocacy for his rights as a composer and composers’ rights more generally. Weinzweig went on to advocate for both himself and other composers in various forms throughout his career. This particular letter illustrates that these wartime works were not only significant to the CBC’s imagination of Canada, but also to Weinzweig’s career, as his works for radio were the first for which he requested royalties.

Initially, CBC programming discussed the war, the lives of soldiers, and Canada’s ties to Britain. Gradually, however, programming changed to imagine a life in Canada following wartime, as well as the types of industry and social welfare programs available for this new type of Canadian in a new peaceful era. While documentaries from the early part of the war read at first as war-era propaganda, they equally grow out of vestiges of British nationalism present in Canada during this period. Canada was very much in its nascent stages of independence from Britain. The Balfour Declaration, which made Canada an autonomous dominion within the

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138 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Performing Right Society, Letter to John Weinzweig, September 8, 1943” Mus 154 1993-26 box 1 folder 5
British Empire, was signed at the 1926 Imperial Conference, and the Statute of Westminster, signed in 1931, gave Canada full control over foreign policy. In addition, the two world wars brought the nation both the expansion of natural resource harvesting and production industries, and a sense of military accomplishment on the world stage. By the time the CBC and NFB were founded, Canada was a fully independent nation, lacking only its own constitution. But, while the early part of the twentieth century saw policy that made Canada an increasingly sovereign nation legally, the country was far less independent culturally. This is reflected in the CBC where the organization consistently drew on previous BBC staff for key administrative roles. In this section I examine some possible cultural reasons for the shift in how nationalist affect was cultivated in the CBC during the war years, looking at the changes from propaganda to reconstruction, and from British colonialism to Canadian nationalism. This will provide a context for Weinzweig’s music for radio programs in this era.

Early in the war, CBC radio docudramas emphasized Canada’s bonds with Britain in order to aid in feelings of allegiance with the war effort and camaraderie with other allied forces. The CBC held a central role in the promotion of the war and the cultivation of an “empire” as opposed to nationalist sentiment, with programming emphasizing Canada’s ties to Britain along with other nations in the British Empire – Australia, New Zealand, South Africa – and the nation’s role in the Allied forces. Jonathan Vance discusses two programs that reveal this phenomenon in particular: “We Have Been There broadcast first-hand stories from Canadians in Britain, and was such a success that the CBC sold more than 25,000 printed copies of the text by the spring of 1942. Just as popular was Old Country Mail [1939], excerpts from letters written by
people across England.”\textsuperscript{139} Weinzweig composed incidental music for similar programs including \textit{Brothers in Arms}, a 1941-42 weekly program that discussed an allied nation and \textit{Dangerously They Live}, a 1942 broadcast that provided accounts from the war front. Programs in Weinzweig’s corpus from early in the war equally emphasized Canada’s ties to Britain and Canadian values of tolerance. This shifted towards an imagination of postwar reconstruction as early as 1943 in CBC radio programs. Finally, late in the decade, the CBC became a producer of arts and culture programming for a new postwar audience rather than propaganda, but even in newly created Canadian cultural programs like \textit{Wednesday Night} the focus remained on Britain as a primary source for civilizing cultural products, despite the reality of social unrest and financial upheaval in postwar Britain. Throughout all of these different stages of wartime and postwar radio programming remnants of British imperialism were articulated in different ways, but these vestiges of British nationalism were ever present in this early CBC programming.

The influence of British imperialism was equally evident in education throughout the 1940s, as both grade school curricula and education through public broadcasting emphasized Canada’s ties to Great Britain. In his 2012 book, \textit{Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and Two World Wars}, Jonathan Vance notes that “from their earliest days in the classroom, children received an education that was still strongly British and imperial in tone. Their textbooks described the reshaping of the Empire that gave the Dominions greater freedom from Britain but insisted that those changes did not alter the general orientation of Canada.”\textsuperscript{140} In addition, textbooks from this era often referred to Britain and Canada’s relationship as one between a

\textsuperscript{139} Vance, \textit{A History of Canadian Culture}, 155

\textsuperscript{140} Jonathan F. Vance, \textit{Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and Two World Wars} (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012), 141.
parent and child, and Empire Day remained a significant holiday celebrated in schools.\textsuperscript{141} The British influence over education was not limited to the classroom, of course, but also included the retelling of public history. A particularly significant figure was Richard S. Lambert. Lambert, a prolific author and noted broadcaster, moved to the CBC in 1939 from the BBC. He became the educational advisor for the CBC and helped establish school music broadcasts to teach young Canadians about British and Canadian folk music. He also oversaw a large amount of war era educational programming that emphasized Canada’s ties to Britain.\textsuperscript{142} It is likely, though not documented in any of Weinzweig’s papers, that Lambert oversaw the wartime programming including the docudramas in Weinzweig’s corpus. In addition, Lambert was the author of a number of children’s educational novels, including \textit{Franklin of the Arctic} that celebrated the doomed British explorer’s search for the Northwest Passage. Figures such as Lambert telling public history through novels and radio programs ensured that British culture remained present in Canadian lives for new generations. While Lambert is associated with educational programming, the very idea of educational programming at the CBC during the war is a slippery one, as the programs for which Weinzweig composed were often labelled as educational by the broadcaster. L.B. Kuffert in his 2003 book, \textit{A Great Duty: Canadian Responses to Modern Life and Mass Culture, 1939-1967}, notes that products like wartime CBC broadcasts that emphasized the role of Britain and other Canadian allies were promoted as educational materials rather than propaganda as both an expression of Britishness and an expression of Canadian tolerance.

“Identifying with the British tradition [in Canada] meant affecting a degree of detachment from

\textsuperscript{141} Jonathan F. Vance, \textit{Maple Leaf Empire}, 141.

enemy style propaganda and from mass methods of maintaining popular solidarity.”

Even after the war, education remained a place for the expression of ties to Britain. Richardson relates this to Vincent Massey’s call to create good English-Canadian citizens. “Caught in the dilemma between the lack of national identity … yet still charged with the modernist task of manufacturing the ‘good Canadian,’ English-Canadian schools responded by continuing to emphasize the fundamentally British character of Canada and the sustaining force of the imperial connection.” Richardson examines the 1945 provincial curricula of Alberta and Ontario, and finds that both provinces continued to have an intense focus on British and European history and a study of Canada’s role within the British Commonwealth, particularly in secondary school. There were also classes on Canadian citizenship that stressed Canadians’ roles as citizens within a larger Commonwealth. Emphasizing Britain in social sciences and history curriculum helped cultivate a sense of lineage, destiny, and order in Canada’s path from colony to dominion. Furthermore, this focus on the history of Britain and Canada’s roles within the commonwealth at a secondary school level would have influence over students as they entered adulthood and began to make choices about what kind of citizens they were and how to live their lives as new Canadians. Equally, Richardson’s study reveals that while there is a shift towards social welfare and imagination of Canada after the war, the construction of Canada as an independent nation is not necessarily clearly delineated by the war, as vestiges of British


nationalism remained a core part of Canadian life. This is despite the political reality that Canada was fully independent from Britain by the start of the Second World War.

While education is a significant factor in understanding the complex role of Britain in the imagination of war-era programming, British nationalism was also articulated in the war years and after through cultural programming. Maria Tippett notes that in the first half of the twentieth century, despite attempts to cultivate an independent Canadian cultural and high art life through arts and cultural organizations and clubs, the “most favoured of all were institutions and organizations with a measure of British content.”

In music, this can be seen at the University of Toronto, where professors of composition in the early part of the century included Healey Willan and Sir Ernest MacMillan, both of whom received their musical education in Britain and promoted a conservative and British musical style. At the same time, Vance postulates that the focus on British art in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, was possibly due to ambivalence rather than malice or attempts at cultural suppression. A lack of government funding for Canadian-made artistic projects during the interwar era and Second World War, coupled with British influence, led to the over emphasis on British cultural products well into the 1940s despite Canada’s increased independence of governance and control over foreign policy.

The lack of government resources for the arts in Canada became particularly apparent during the Second World War. At this time a number of larger arts organizations faced reduced funding (both from donors and the government), loss of buildings, and in some cases financial

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146 Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 68.

collapse. “The lesson was clear: many people, both inside and outside the arts community, viewed culture as a non-essential commodity in a time of war.”¹⁴⁸ This parallels Weinzweig’s pursuit of royalties through the Canadian Performing Rights Society for his music played and rebroadcast on the CBC. At the same time, while the Second World War saw a rapid decrease in arts funding because arts were no longer a priority, one program that was uniquely Canadian was the war artist program spearheaded by Vincent Massey and Colonel A.F. Duguid. Although it remained mostly unofficial until 1943, with enlisted painters diverted from their normal duties to provide documentary evidence of the war, the war artist program produced over 5000 small paintings and sketches.¹⁴⁹ Vance notes that the function of the war artists program was twofold, serving both to record events and to create culture since “aside from providing a record of events, culture could also be seen as a bulwark against the enemy.”¹⁵⁰

Despite the cultural and educational nostalgia for Britain, the World War II era saw drastic changes for Canada. L.B. Kuffert notes that “the Second World War burst in on a nation already in transition. Canada was not yet free of the disappointments plaguing it during the 1930s and the war took Canadians still further from Stephen Leacock’s Mariposa towards a society in which everything seemed to move and change more quickly.”¹⁵¹ The war era pushed Canada directly from the economic difficulties of the depression to an age of increased technological and social development, which included changes in gender roles and family structures. It also highlighted the need not only for communication and education through a public broadcaster, but

¹⁴⁸ Vance, A History of Canadian Culture, 309.
¹⁴⁹ Vance, A History of Canadian Culture, 310.
¹⁵⁰ Vance, A History of Canadian Culture, 311.
¹⁵¹ Kuffert, A Great Duty, 33.
also social programs to aid Canadians, all while Canada had barely recovered from the Great Depression. Due to Canada’s relative geographic isolation from the battlefields of the war, discussions about social programs and development after the war began partway through the war; as Kuffert notes, “talk of the opportunities that Canada and its citizens would have in a world at peace arose early and surfaced consistently during the Second World War.”

On the CBC this happened in programs specifically devoted to postwar reconstruction. In 1942, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the CBC collaborated to create a radio series discussing ideas about the shape of postwar Canadian society called Citizen’s Forum. National Farm Forum, conceived in 1939 and intended to represent the underserved rural listeners of the CBC, ran between 1941 and 1965 focusing on achieving “a new deal” for rural Canadians.

Initially the National Farm Forum covered topics such as rationing during the war, government programs intended to improve Canadian agriculture, and whether or not women should continue to work outside of the home in postwar Canada.

But radio programming that discussed postwar social programs and reconstruction is not the only way in which the CBC attempted to disseminate a specific idea of Canada after wartime. In 1943, the CBC published a collection of transcribed scripts titled “Of Things to Come”: Inquiry on the Post-War World Heard on the CBC National Network, from a program of the same name. The inquiry committee heard in these radio broadcasts consisted of a group of men from a diverse set of professions, including Dr. Robert Newton, President of the University of Alberta, R.E.G. Davis of the National Council for the YMCA and Canadian Youth Commission,

152 Kuffert, A Great Duty, 68.

C.F. Fraser, editor of the *Halifax Chronicle*, as well as judges, clergy members, Toronto novelist Morley Callaghan, and representatives of twenty nine national organizations. The forward to the published transcripts describes the objectives of the radio transcriptions and the published transcripts:

*Of Things to Come* is an excellent example of the kind of service the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation can give to the listening public. These broadcast programs deal with the subject of reconstruction, a topic that inevitably suggest [sic] itself to a national radio system professing to meet serious-minded people on the level of current concern. Almost by its very character, radio lives in the atmosphere of immediate interest.

The forward to the transcript collection reveals the priority of depicting a new, unified Canada in an era of postwar reconstruction, and the value of radio to that image. This is further reinforced in the February 28th broadcast; titled *The Last Peace and the Next One* which outlines the objectives of the broadcast series, and plans to discuss Canada in a time of peace rather than war. Despite the decidedly upper-class panelists for this series in the first episode of *Of Things to Come*, Dr. Robert Newton insists that “we intend to invite Canadians from every walk of life to come here and tell us what they hope for; tell us their solutions to our problems.” What follows is a collection of fifteen episode transcriptions on topics ranging from employment, immigration, housing, a national health plan, nutrition, and welfare, to the Marsh Report on social security, the future of agriculture, and Canada and the Atlantic Charter. The program occasionally brought on consultants, such as the national director of the United Steelworkers Union, C.H. Millard, the president of Canadian National Railways, and Henri Vautelet, Vice-
chairman of the Quebec Bureau d’Assistance Sociale aux Families. The tone of the document is both optimistic and decidedly left-leaning, as it advocates the need for increased and improved social services in Canada, ushering in the Canadian era of social welfare. Optimism almost to the point of Utopianism is a central characteristic of much of the CBC programming that sought to imagine the shape postwar Canada would take and is paralleled in the 1943 thirteen-episode series in Weinzweig’s corpus titled *Our Canada*, which discusses Canadian industry, landscape, the arts, and the integration of immigrants. It is not insignificant that all four programs – *Our Canada*, *Of Things to Come*, *Citizens Forum*, and *The National Farm Forum* – all either ran or began their broadcasts in late 1942 or early 1943, two and half years before VE Day, and really before an Allied forces victory was at all clear. The liberty and luxury of being able to imagine a postwar Canada and the types of social programs available for Canadians on a national public broadcaster, indicates the geographic isolation of Canada from the realities of the war.

The presence of reconstruction-focused radio programming as early as 1942-43 reveals a shift from British propaganda earlier in the war to Canadian social welfare programming, but the reality is much more temporally complicated. While there were increasing numbers of reconstructionist programs through the second half of the war, and a definite shift towards programming focused on Canadian social welfare, it is not a clearly delineated epoch. Rather, some programs that discussed the war, Britain’s role, Canadian tolerance, and the horrors of the Nazi regime remained. This is true in Weinzweig’s corpus of wartime works, where *Lidice Lives! (Forever)* ran on June 4, 1943 the one-year anniversary of the Nazi massacre of the Czech village of Lidice, which took place on June 10, 1942.\footnote{Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation script for *Lidice Lives Forever*” Mus 154 1993-26, box 1 folder 1.} This is almost concurrent with the
comparatively re-constructionist radio series *Our Canada*. It is perhaps most valuable then, to look at Weinzweig’s body of wartime CBC radio documentaries as having the potential to construct national emotion or affect in different manners. In her 2011 book, *Cruel Optimism*, Lauren Berlant discusses the germination of optimism and neoliberalism as governing ideologies in postwar America and asserts that in wartime uncertainty leads to a desire for emotional authenticity, to turn to feeling rather than logic or speech.\(^\text{158}\) According to Berlant, “the public’s binding to the political is best achieved neither by policy nor ideology, but the *affect of feeling political together,*” through the development of shared feeling above all else.\(^\text{159}\) Weinzweig’s wartime radio documentaries attempt to accomplish exactly that. Radio is an intimate medium, and the CBC was in the majority of Canadian homes for the first time during the war. Combining drama and fact, the wartime programs in Weinzweig’s corpus straddled the boundaries between information and entertainment as much as radio itself broke the boundaries between public and private. The boundary-breaking aspects of these programs made it possible for Canadians to feel political together, united in their homes across the nation. Through the war this feeling shifted from allegiance to Britain, to horror at the atrocities of war, to pride in Canadian tolerance, and hope and optimism for the future of Canada and the welfare state. Many of these emotions and ideas happened simultaneously on CBC programming. But considered together, wartime radio and Weinzweig’s music for it shows a clear governmental attempt to “speak above the filter” to a new more intimate form of communication, depicting a new image of Canada … a Canada surviving and ultimately forever changed by the war.\(^\text{160}\)


\(^{159}\) Italics are in the original book. Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 224.

\(^{160}\) Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 223.
2.2 *New Homes for Old*: Imagining Immigration in Weinzweig’s First CBC Docudrama Series

On May 28, 1941, the CBC broadcast the first episode of a show that marked a new type of work in Weinzweig’s corpus. Weinzweig’s music had previously appeared on the CBC in the 1939-1941 program *Canadian Snapshots* where his piece *Whirling Dwarf* was presented, but *New Homes for Old* was Weinzweig’s first composition of a complete score for a multi-episode documentary series. Allister Grosart wrote the script for the *New Homes for Old* series which described the experiences of a variety of Canadian immigrants who travelled different paths to ultimately find refuge in Canada. Over the course of eleven, thirty-minute scripted episodes, accompanied by Weinzweig’s music, newcomers to Canada from Czechoslovakia, Russia, Germany, Ukraine, Poland, Austria, the Netherlands, Iceland, India, and Yugoslavia told stories of about their lives in their country of origin and their often perilous travels to Canada where they found richer, fuller life in their new home country. *New Homes for Old* appears initially to be an uplifting story of immigration to Canada, and the stories of people establishing a life in a safer country of economic opportunity. The documentary series seems to be in a different category than contemporary propaganda documentaries in Weinzweig’s body of works for radio, such as *Brothers in Arms* and *Dangerously They Live*, which are clearly linked to the war effort in title, substance, and musical material. But, as a discussion of two episodes of the series will reveal, the series reinforced narratives key to propaganda in the war by emphasizing German savagery in comparison to Canadian tolerance and allegiance to the British crown. Weinzweig’s score for *New Homes for Old* further aided in the cultivation of this narrative by quoting from musical material from the countries discussed in each episode, portraying Germany as ominous and chaotic rhythmically and tonally, and inserting British popular songs into his scores. This chapter section explores the musical and textual material in two drastically different episodes of
New Homes for Old: episode one: “Czechoslovakia: Dr. Felix G. von Redlich” from May 28, 1941 and episode 9: “India: Kapoor Singh” from July 30, 1941, in order to discuss how this CBC documentary series and Weinzweig’s music attempted to cultivate both nationalist emotion and a very particular view of Canadian tolerance, British benevolence, and Axis cruelty.

The May 28 episode of New Homes for Old, “Czechoslovakia,” opens with a discussion of Dr. Felix von Redlich’s life and career in his native country. Very quickly, however, the episode descends into the chaos of the First World War, when von Redlich is greeted by his friend Anton Filter who informs him that Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated that morning by a Yugoslav secret society. The episode documents German brutality towards the Czech and Slovak people, as von Redlich experiences the war in various ways, from doctor to conscripted German soldier. According to von Redlich, Yugoslavian involvement in the assassination was used by the Germans to justify excessive brutality towards the Balkan people, including preventing aid and rations from reaching the starving Bulgarians. Von Redlich describes the German brutality as follows: “I learned things about the Germans in those days – things that everybody in Europe has known for years.” His statement, is clearly not only about German behaviour during the First World War, but also a foreshadowing of the German treatment of the Czech people in the Second World War. And so, very early in the first episode of a series ostensibly about immigration to Canada and the adaptation of newcomers to Canada to Canadian life, there is a profound statement about the brutality of Germany during wartime. This is echoed in Weinzweig’s score which accompanies Redlich’s description of the treatment


of eastern Europeans by the invading Germans. In Weinzweig’s sketchbook for *New Homes for Old* this section is marked “D—War” which corresponds to the numbering system Weinzweig made in his personal copy of the script to mark where he would add incidental music.

Weinzweig was fairly fastidious in his organization of both his sketches and his personal copies of the scripts for CBC radio plays and NFB films, labelling the location of his incidental music in his scripts, and documenting his twelve-tone rows and borrowed melodies at the start of the sketchbook.

Weinzweig accompanies von Redlich’s pronouncement about the Germans with music that experiments with post-tonality without being fully serial. The piano sketch opens with a soaring melody in the brass with a rapid chordal accompaniment in the lower strings. While there is no clear tonal centre in this section, the 6th interval between B flat and G (occasionally moving up an augmented second from B flat to C sharp and a major second from G to A) in the lower strings is prominent throughout, giving the listener a sense of tonality despite an absence of tonal progression. At the same time, Weinzweig adds chromaticism with stacked second intervals on top of the repeating sixths. The driving chords in the lower voices serve to add a sense of foreboding and menace, echoing Dr. von Redlich’s foreshadowing statement about German behavior during the Second World War.
This sense of threat is realized in Weinzweig’s score in a section labelled with the letter [J]. At this point in the episode, it is 1938, and Czechoslovakia has been an independent country since 1919, following the end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire. Redlich and his friends are skiing in Switzerland when they are harassed by and
ultimately brawl with Nazi soldiers. The soldiers threaten to invade Czechoslovakia and Switzerland, saying “ever heard of the Sudetenland?” Weinzweig’s score for this section is a chromatic and chaotic vivace, in keeping with his label of the section as “Pandemonium.” In the top voices there are rapid descending chromatic sixteenth notes, accompanied by ascending chromatic quarter and eighth note chords. Much like von Redlich’s first description of the Germans, the tonal centre is ambiguous, however, this section is also not strictly serial, despite this being Weinzweig’s primary musical language at the time. The anxiety of the scene is further enhanced by the rapid and driving rhythm. In her 2016 Master’s thesis titled John Weinzweig, Leftist Politics, and Radio Drama at the CBC During the Second World War, Carolyne Sumner explores Weinzweig’s more liberal use of serialism in comparison to his temporal and stylistic contemporaries, and equates this with his socialist ideology. She states that Weinzweig believed that “music, in the context of the political and cultural ideals of leftist socialism and Popular Front populism, should be socially relevant …[and] more importantly, it should reflect and embrace the social, political, and cultural realities of the people who are actively listening to these works.” According to Sumner, Weinzweig’s less strict adherence to serialism grew out of his personal and political ideology. Keillor further explains that in New Homes for Old, Weinzweig placed melodic primacy on maintaining the folk influences from the various cultures


165 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “John Weinzweig, sketchbook for New Homes for Old” Mus 154 1984-3 box 8 folder 3.


167 Sumner, “John Weinzweig, Leftist Politics,” 89.
represented in the radio series; she states that “for authentic musical background Weinzweig
drew on his notebook of ‘good tunes’ from various ethnic origins.”

Throughout his career, Weinzweig adhered primarily to a liberal version of serialism that often prioritized melodies
from external sources. This can be seen in his use of indigenous music collected by Barbeau and Jenness in his documentaries about Canada’s north, and in his use of jazz idioms in his

*Woodwind Quintet* (1964). Regardless of the explanation for Weinzweig’s allusion to tonality in the first episode of *New Homes for Old*, Weinzweig cultivates a link between the German Nazi figures and chromaticism. Weinzweig musically represents Nazis, and Germans as a whole, as dangerous and musically chaotic through harmonic instability.

Weinzweig’s musical treatment of the Germans contrasts with an instance that occurs later in the episode. Von Redlich has been conscripted to evacuate Czechs from the Polish border, when he meets a young Czech girl reading *Jalna*, the 1927 novel by Mazo de la Roche about a British family who immigrates to Canada. This, von Redlich claims, is the first time he heard of the nation. Weinzweig accompanies this scene of dialogue between the young Czech girl and Redlich with a direct quotation of *O Canada*. Von Redlich, having witnessed German brutality first hand, realizes that things in occupied Czechoslovakia are likely to get much worse before they get better, and he states:

The days that followed were bitter ones … I saw our people broken and disillusioned. I saw my country torn asunder by the rough hands of greedy neighbours … I looked into the future and could see nothing but on-coming hordes of Germans. They would not, I knew, be content for long with the Munich concessions … Soon – in a few weeks perhaps – they would over-run all of Czechoslovakia.169


Von Redlich is able to flee the German occupied country. He closes his narrative that stretches from the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand to his escape from Nazi occupied Czechoslovakia during the Second World War, by stating how grateful he is to his new home country, that “[his] heart is full too, of gratitude, appreciation, and loyalty to Canada.”

New Homes for Old is not a propaganda documentary series in the same sense as some of Weinzweig’s other wartime works for the CBC. The series does not discuss Canada’s military might, nor the young men sacrificing their lives for the freedom of Western Europe and Canada, or even Canada’s relationship to its military allies – all topics of later radio series for which Weinzweig was commissioned to compose scores. Rather, New Homes for Old cultivates nationalist affect by emphasizing Canadian tolerance in contrast to Nazi brutality. Von Redlich describes the German cruelty towards the Czechs at length and all this is reinforced by Weinzweig’s atonal writing, while Canada is shown both textually and, later in the series, sonically as a comparative safe haven. The reference to the escapist and romantic novel Jalna as a work representative of the peace of Canada further reinforces this dichotomy. Moreover, Von Redlich’s indictment of the Germans can also be seen as “speaking above the filter,” moving past a simple declaration of fact and almost as an aside, a candid emotional utterance, a site where nationalist affect is easily created. Von Redlich’s speaking above the filter is particularly apparent when he states that he “learned things about the Germans in those days – things that everybody in Europe has known for years” referring to all German citizens, not just Nazi

171 Berlant, Cruel Optimism, 223.
soldiers. Berlant reminds us that this sort of speech act is characteristic of wartime. But its appearance on a national public broadcaster, in a documentary about immigration that does not fall strictly into the category of propaganda, suggests that any wartime docudrama on the CBC could be used for the purposes of developing both nationalist affect and ultimately propaganda.

In contrast, the ninth episode, “India” features the story of Sikh sojourner turned Canadian immigrant and forestry businessman, Kapoor Singh, and reveals Canada to be a welcoming nation that accepts people from around the world, and inspires allegiance and loyalty. The opening narration for episode nine describes Kapoor Singh’s journey and the position of the Sikh community in the British Empire as follows:

Tonight it is our great privilege to pay a Canadian tribute to those gallant soldiers of British India who are fighting side by side with the imperial forces in the Middle East. On the eve of this programme comes the announcement of the posthumous award of the Victoria Cross to a Sikh Subadar for great gallantry in Africa, and to his honour – and the honour of all the men of that great Sikh race – we tell the story of a member of that race who has lived for many years in Vancouver, and who is making a unique contribution to the Empire’s fight for freedom. 173

Singh, like many men who ultimately settled in the Sikh diaspora in British Columbia, initially came to Canada after a time spent in the United States working as a laborer. New Homes for Old documents his arrival in the United States, where he began his work in North America at a mine, his rise to the status of community leader among his fellow sojourners, his travel to Canada to begin work in the lumber industry, and his decision to stay in Canada and build his own lumber mill. Absent from the documentary is any description of the difficulties the actual Kapoor Singh faced with immigration to Canada. Hugh J.M. Johnston, in Jewels of the Qila: The Remarkable Story of an Indo-Canadian Family, notes that Singh was one of many Sikh migrants

who attempted to arrive in Canada on the ship the Komagata Maru, the ship of Sikh migrants, sailing from Hong Kong, who were turned back at the port in Vancouver’s Burrard Inlet in May 1914.\textsuperscript{174} The Sikhs on the Komagata Maru made the voyage in part as a form of protest against Canada’s restrictive immigration policy, which required people to travel directly from their country of origin with tickets purchased there, a rule that made it significantly more difficult for Asians and East Asians to immigrate to Canada. The voyage of the Komagata Maru was both illustrative of Canada’s incredibly restrictive immigration policy and ultimately caused many of the Sikh men on board to be killed by government officials when the boat returned to Punjab.\textsuperscript{175} This part of the story of Singh’s immigration to Canada is erased from the episode: the only mention of government measures to discourage Sikhs from entering the country being Kapoor Singh’s time spent originally in the United States occurs when he gives a monologue describing his arrival in Canada. “There was some feeling against us at first. Orientals were coming to British Columbia in great numbers – and somehow the Sikhs got classed with them.”\textsuperscript{176} In the documentary, Singh lands in Canada in 1912, rather than 1914, the year that the actual Singh immigrated to Canada.\textsuperscript{177} In addition, due to restrictive immigration policy that was intended to prevent Sikhs and other South Asians from settling in Canada permanently, Sikhs were not allowed to bring their families to reside in Canada with them. Instead they were to remain migrant workers. Kapoor Singh was not able to bring his wife to Canada until 1923, after the law


\textsuperscript{175} “The Incident” \textit{Komagata Maru: Continuing the Journey} http://komagatamarujourney.ca/incident (accessed: November 10, 2017.)

\textsuperscript{176} Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation script for \textit{New Homes for Old} episode 1: ‘India’” Mus 154 1993-26, box 1 folder 1.

\textsuperscript{177} Johnston, \textit{Jewels of the Qila}, 2
changed in 1919.\textsuperscript{178} All of this is absent from the documentary episode.

Instead, the focus of the episode is on the role that the Sikhs played in World War One, and Kapoor Singh’s role in the war effort during World War II. After revealing in his monologue that Sikhs were discriminated against, along with other Asian migrant workers in British Columbia, Singh notes that “people did not know then the record that our Sikh regiments were to make on the Empire’s battlefields.”\textsuperscript{179} Sikhs served for Britain throughout history, but of particular note, ten Sikh men fought for the Canadian army during the First World War.\textsuperscript{180} Equally, Singh’s own mill became an important part of the war effort, as the lumber from his mill was shipped to Britain to help rebuild after German aerial bombings. In the documentary Singh describes his role in helping rebuild Britain as follows:

> When the call went out we were ready, almost miraculously so. We had the plant, the men, the experience, the raw timber … The Kapoor Mills at Barnet began to ship at once two million feet of lumber per month to rebuild the little homes of England. Yes, I believe in fate … the Fate that, after all these years has found an opportunity for the Sikhs of Canada to serve their Empire, just as greatly, I think as our fathers and grandfathers served the Empire on the battlefields of India.\textsuperscript{181}

This fraught moment in Singh’s monologue is bookended by one of the most fascinating musical moments in Weinzweig’s score for the episode. Throughout his score for ‘India,’ Weinzweig labelled various musical interludes in his personal copy of the script as “Indian

\begin{itemize}
  \item Johnston, Jewels of the Qila, 8
  \item Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation script for New Homes for Old episode 1: “India” Mus 154 1993-26, box 1 folder 1.
  \item Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation script for New Homes for Old episode 9: “India” Mus 154 1993-26, box 1 folder 1.
\end{itemize}
melody.” In his sketchbook for the episode, only the melody that immediately preceded his declaration of loyalty to the British Empire is labelled in this manner. Weinzweig labels the melody that precedes Singh’s monologue about the mill’s role in rebuilding British homes “Indian Fanfare” and “Raga Kalingara.” This Raga contains all of the notes in Weinzweig’s “Indian Fanfare” C, B, A flat, G, E flat, and D. His melody is heard over a held G natural, evoking, and perhaps even appropriating, Indian classical music including a drone. While Keillor has discussed Weinzweig’s use of folk music in the series, as mentioned above, it is particularly significant that Weinzweig’s quotation of a raga, his attempt at emulating authentic Indian Classical music, comes immediately after Singh has declared his role in helping the British war effort.

Figure 3 Transcribed Sketch Labelled “Indian Fanfare” and “Raga Kalingara” from Weinzweig’s Sketchbook for New Homes for Old

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183 Likely the Raga is mislabelled by Weinzweig, and should be titled “Raga Kalingada” which contains the same pitches as the Raga. Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “John Weinzweig, Sketchbook for New Homes for Old,” Mus 154 1984-3 box 8 folder 3.

Following Singh’s monologue about the mill, there is a cue in the script for “LIGHTS OF LONDON.” Here Weinzweig provides an orchestral setting of the wartime era song “Till the Lights of London Shine Again” written by Edward Pola and Tommie Connor (originally recorded by numerous different groups in 1939 including Vera Lynn with the Rae Jenkins Quartet, Lew Stone, and Joe Loss). While Weinzweig’s version of the song does not have lyrics, is in a different metre (6/8 rather than 3/4), and is more of a stylized orchestral piece than a jazz standard, the piece would have been recognizable to audiences of the program, because the song – in which a young soldier going off to war tells his sweetheart he will return to her when “the lights of London shine again,” or when the nationwide blackout is lifted because the war has ended – was one of a group of popular songs that used nostalgia to inspire listeners to hold hope for the future and the end of the war. Many other songs fit into this category such as Vera Lyn’s 1942 recording of “The White Cliffs of Dover,” and the popular British song, “Things are Getting Better All the Time.” Because “Till the Lights of London Shine Again” is heard immediately after Weinzweig’s interpretation of raga and Singh’s monologue about helping the

British Empire survive and thrive, much like his forefathers, the end of the “India” episode for *New Homes for Old* creates an interesting affective moment, revealing much about Canadian imagination of immigration, settlement, and loyalty to the British crown. Singh goes from Sikh sojourner to established business owner who happily aids the reconstruction of Britain in wartime. The episode celebrates this transition and suggests that it is possible for immigrants to become loyal Canadian and British subjects. While there are other melodies labelled as “Indian” in Weinzweig’s sketches, melody thirteen proceeding Singh’s monologue is the only time Weinzweig indicates he is quoting a *raga* directly. It is as if Singh’s discussion of his allegiance to the British crown and the role that Sikh men who fought for the British prompts Weinzweig’s attempt to represent Singh musically. This makes the transition to a jazz standard that is equally romantic and pro-Allied propaganda quite jarring to listeners. But it also reveals the possibility of Singh’s acceptance into Canadian and British Empire life. His story is musically assimilated into the story of the Canadian war effort.

This is a particularly fraught moment, in part because after establishing his mill, Kapoor Singh’s life was vastly different than many of his fellow Sikh immigrants in British Columbia. Johnston notes that the wealth from the mill, which was at its height of production in the decades surrounding the Second World War, would have given Singh “access to the Canadian mainstream.”¹¹⁸⁶ Likely this included his story of immigration to Canada being celebrated on a CBC radio documentary in addition to the upward class mobility achieved by his family. Singh’s story is also atypical because he chose to remain in Canada, bringing his family to join him, and ultimately settling in British Columbia permanently. Johnston notes that “Kapoor had remained

in North America when a majority of his compatriots had returned to India. There were about seventy-five hundred on the Pacific Coast of Canada and the US in 1910, and less than three thousand ten years later.**187 In the face of restrictive immigration laws and racist social practices, most Sikhs remained labourers before eventually returning to the Punjab province of India where their families still resided. For this reason, Sikh migrants to Canada and the United States are often referred to as sojourners rather than immigrants.188 Singh’s experience represents an idealized trajectory for an immigrant to Canada: establishment of a successful business, the arrival of one’s family, upward class mobility, and assimilation into Canadian life. This is echoed musically in Weinzweig’s score, as Singh’s narrative about helping the British Empire rebuild is accompanied first by Weinzweig’s interpretation of a raga that shifts into an orchestral rendition of a popular song used in the war effort. Combined with the fact that the documentary fails to mention Singh’s arrival in Canada on the Komagatu Maru, this musical assimilation reveals that New Homes for Old very much attempted to present an idealized rather than accurate portrayal of the Sikh Canadian experience, one that emphasizes the possibility of upward mobility and constructs Canada as a tolerant homeland, not a temporary place of employment with a political climate that was actually highly intolerant to immigrants from Asia.

Through the retelling of Von Redlich’s and Singh’s immigration experiences, New Homes for Old cultivates the ideas of German brutality and Canadian acceptance and tolerance following assimilation. These are not mere ideas, but deeply felt affective concepts that lie at both the core of the government attempt to construct Canadian identity at this time, and ensure

187 Johnston, Jewels of Qila, 2

citizen involvement in the war effort. *New Homes for Old* lionized Canadian immigrant experiences in a time when Canadian immigration policy was particularly restrictive. In *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948* (2012 revision) Irving Abella and Harold Troper described 1940s Canadian immigration policy as being “as ethnically selective as it was economically self-serving.” During the war, this was revealed particularly in the treatment of Jewish refugees: due to the low numbers of refugees received before and during the war, Canada’s “record is arguably the worst of all possible refugee-receiving states.” There is a certain horrific irony in the fact that a docudrama that celebrates immigration and Canada as a safe homeland that had a score composed by Weinzweig who, if his family had emigrated two or three decades later, never would have been allowed into Canada. But the true reality of Canadian immigration policy and its restrictiveness is ignored in order to create a docudrama series that casts Canada as an accepting homeland where its citizens can establish their businesses and live freely, and where they will of course be given the opportunity to still serve the British Crown. This propagandized representation of Canada as a safe haven lies in direct opposition to the brutality under which inhabitants of Nazi occupied countries are represented and these ideas are cultivated not only in the texts of the scripts for the works, but are echoed in Weinzweig’s score. *New Homes for Old* may initially appear as an optimistic and cheery representation of immigrant life, but in reality the docudrama series makes profound assertions about the type of Canada that is being fought for in the war, and the horrors that are being fought against. And the Canada being fought for is an idealized and emotionally loaded version of the nation. The feeling of

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190 Abella and Troper, xx.
Canada as safe and welcoming, cultivated in *New Homes for Old* musically and textually is prioritized over any accurate representation of immigrant life.

### 2.3 A Nation at War: Military Documentaries and Wartime Tragedy

While *New Homes for Old* was Weinzeig’s first docudrama series for the CBC, the majority of his compositions in the early 1940s were for docudramas that could be classified as patriotic propaganda. Similar in musical style to his military compositions, works like *Brothers in Arms, Dangerously They Live, Alt for Norge, The British Empire Series*, and *Canada Marches* all fall into this category of propaganda documentaries, emphasizing Canada’s ties to Britain and empire, they discuss the nation’s military might, and tell stories of successful missions by Allied forces. Also found in Weinzeig’s corpus are works that memorialized wartime tragedy. Together, these two types of propaganda documentaries attempt to cultivate the affects of national pride and sorrow in the listeners of CBC programs. Unfortunately, there are few surviving sketchbooks in Weinzeig’s papers for the documentaries from this time period, and fewer surviving scripts and recordings. As a result, two representative examples will be discussed in greater depth — *Canada Marches* and *Lidice Lives! (Forever)*. Both works illustrate the height of pro-military propaganda, and the representation of the worst of German brutality as memorialized on the CBC.

Both the early history of radio and the history of public broadcasting are tied to World War II, propaganda, and the war effort. The CBC expanded rapidly during the war, as did radio usage in Europe and the United States. With the exception of German-occupied Poland and

the Netherlands, the number of radio sets owned by individuals and households increased dramatically in European countries during the war, regardless of the political allegiance of the country, making radio a ubiquitous form of communication and entertainment.\(^{192}\) Radio was not only ubiquitous; it was a constant background to everyday life. Neil Verma asserts that in comparison to war era news reels, prepared by the U.S. government and played at local movie theatres, radio was a much more effective tool for reaching citizens, noting that “most Americans went to the movies two or three times a month, but they listened to the radio for four or five hours per day.”\(^{193}\) In response to this expanding role of radio as a tool for communication, education, and entertainment, in Britain the BBC increased its staff to over 7000 in the early days of the war, and up to 11,000 by the end of the war.\(^{194}\) During the war, radio became the source for news, entertainment, communications from the government, culture and comfort, in the majority of homes. This made it a powerful tool for cultivating nationalist affect, allegiance, and desire to participate in the war effort.

All of this was equally true in Canada, where programming at the CBC most closely mirrored that of the BBC, as the intertwined history of the two institutions and nations dictated choices made at the CBC. Briggs suggests that the BBC attempted to maintain the quality of its cultural and educational programming, noting that serious art music was still viewed as a priority by the institution.\(^{195}\) At the CBC, this emphasis on maintaining arts and cultural products can be

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\(^{193}\) Verma, \textit{Theater of the Mind}, 95.

\(^{194}\) Briggs, \textit{The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom Vol. 3}, 318 and 663.

\(^{195}\) Briggs, \textit{The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom Vol. 3}, 102.
seen in having a live orchestra and newly composed scores by Weinzweig. Another commonality between BBC and CBC propaganda programming were programs that emphasized ties with Allied nations and ties to the British Empire overall. On the BBC, programs about the British Empire in the 1941-1942 season included *Dominion Commentary, Palm and Pine,* and even a quiz show about other countries under British dominion titled *Brush Up on Your Empire.*  

Thomas Hajkowski discusses the scope of the programming about the British Empire on the BBC and notes that it frequently contained the narrative of British aid and intervention, building railways and roads, and settling nations, “Britons bestow the fruits of modern science to grateful natives living in ‘frustration’ and ‘hopelessness’; road and railway builders, quite literally Empire builders, are ‘heroic.’ British imperialism is presented as benefiting the colonized and providing the colonizer with a great task and a world role.” On the CBC, *The British Empire Series* (1942) consisted of six weekly episodes featuring a nation in the British Empire: Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the West Indies, Newfoundland, and India, each with a score composed by Weinzweig. There is no extant script for this series, but while Canada was, by the start of the war, a fully independent nation, it is revelatory of both Canada’s emotional relationship with Britain and the cross pollination between the BBC and CBC that a program emphasizing the nation’s role in the British Empire and ties to Britain was broadcast on the CBC. Canada was not only politically situated as an ally to Britain but affectively situated as part of the British Empire, even if this was no longer legally accurate.

While programming that emphasized Canada’s ties to Britain was one characteristic of


197 Hajkowski, “The BBC, the Empire, and the Second World War,” 139.
the CBC propaganda programming in Weinzweig’s corpus, more common was pro-military programming. This ranged from news (the BBC was broadcast on both English and French language CBC stations at 6:54pm each night), to broadcasts from the front by CBC’s new mobile unit founded in 1939, to dramatic programming that discussed allies, military accomplishments, and the daily lives of soldiers abroad. The latter were the docudramas for which Weinzweig was commissioned to contribute musical scores; *Atlantic Battle* (1941), *Brothers in Arms* (1941-42), *Dangerously They Live* (1942), *Dive Bombers* (1942), *Comrades in Arms* (1942-45), *Canada Marches* (1942), *Somewhere Before the Dawn* (1943), *We See Thee Rise* (1943), and *The Double Tenth* (1943), all fall into this broad category. *Canada Marches*, which is the focus of this discussion, consisted of a series of thirty-minute programs intended to introduce Canadians to troops from various battalions across the country as they prepared to go off to war. The first episode features the Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry from Western Canada, and it is also the episode that features Weinzweig’s music. The script, written by King Whyte, opens with a theme by Weinzweig, and the sound of marching feet. The announcer states that:

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200 Most of this information is derived from Keillor’s descriptions of the programs. Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 261-267.

201 Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Dora Mavor Moore fonds, Script for *Canada Marches*, McCOLL 207 Box 131 folder 33

202 Keillor notes that most of music is credited to Robert Farnon. However, Weinzweig wrote the theme music for the first episode. This is echoed in what I have found in Weinzweig’s sketches. A short piece for wind band, in a sketchbook labelled *Canada Marches*. Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 264.

203 Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Dora Mavor Moore fonds, Script for *Canada Marches*, McCOLL 207 Box 131 folder 33
From every part of Canada – from every walk of life – the men of the Dominion have heard and answered the call to Colors and to arms. The land of the Maple leaf is prepared and ready for the future! CANADA MARCHES!!

Weinzweig’s theme music for the episode is a simple wind band march, which begins with a tune in the piccolo accompanied by snare, typical of military band music. Interjections by the band alternate with this piccolo theme throughout. The piece is in B-flat major with a minor mode inflection, a departure from Weinzweig’s more post-tonal compositions. The use of the piccolo and snare hearkens back to fife and drum corps. While this is not perhaps the most tonally progressive, or musically interesting work in Weinzweig’s corpus of music for radio docudrama and film documentary, it is significant because pro-military docudramas were a large part of his repertoire at this time, and this is the best extant example of Weinzweig’s composition for this genre. Aside from this, the documentary reveals how the Canadian military was imagined by the CBC and represented to Canadians. The docudrama focuses on the capability of the soldiers, the successful campaigns from the First World War, and humanizes the men by including their voices. The docudrama also features interviews with a military pipe band leader and the Commanding Officer of the Light Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Colquhon. Weinzweig’s music, a departure from his post-tonal explorations, is typical of military marches. The march, like many military marches, has the affective function of attempting to aid in the development of national pride.

204 Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Dora Mavor Moore fonds, Script for Canada Marches, Mc COLL 207 Box 131 folder 33

205 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, Sketchbook for Canada Marches, MUS 154 1984-3 box 15 folder 2

206 Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Dora Mavor Moore fonds, Script for Canada Marches, Mc COLL 207 Box 131 folder 33
While the CBC attempted to cultivate national affect in pro-military and pro-Britain documentaries, works that memorialized the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis during the war serve the affective function of evoking both mourning and anger. *Lidice Lives! (Forever)* is a clear example of an atrocity memorialized and dramatized for radio. The massacre at the Czech village of Lidice occurred on June 10, 1942. In retribution for a growing anti-fascist Czech underground movement and the assassination of SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich, Hitler ordered that a number of villages be raided, and because the small village of Lidice was allegedly implicated in the assassination plot, Lidice was to be flattened, its men shot, the children who appeared Aryan moved to German homes, and the women and remaining children sent to concentration camps. This particularly horrific part of World War II history was memorialized in a poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay entitled “The Murder of Lidice” first published in the October 17, 1942 edition of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, an American

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Perhaps due to the large Czechoslovakian diaspora in Canada at the time (there were over 40,000 Czechoslovak people residing in Canada in 1941), or perhaps because the massacre at Lidice was a particularly horrifying exemplar of Nazi behaviour before and during the war, the massacre at Lidice was the subject of numerous radio programs. This included a reading of Edna St. Vincent Millay’s poem, produced by NBC in the United States, and rebroadcast on the CBC as a National School Broadcast, part of CBC’s educational programs for children.

*Lidice Lives! (Forever)* is a thirty-minute dramatization of the events leading up to and following the massacre of Lidice, and attempts to recognize how the village of Lidice lives on through the memories of the few women who survived the massacre and escaped, and in memories. German Colonel Von Spee is driving to Lidice a year after the massacre when his car is attacked by a grenade wielded by Francesca and Maria, two women who escaped the massacre. Von Spee is concussed and dreams of a woman named Margaret leading him around the village as it existed before the massacre, and urging him to never kill again. The radio drama tries to acknowledge the horrors of this atrocity, portray the Nazis as evil, and to bring

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210 *Lidice Lives! (Forever)* was the only radio program with music but there were other documentary programs including “Murder of Lidice” and programs which featured readings of St. Vincent Millay’s poem. “Murder of Lidice: Incomplete” Library and Archives Canada: Film Video, and Sound Archive http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/films-videos-sound-recordings/film-video-sound-database/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=85513 (accessed: November 28, 2017).

hope or closure to a horrific event. This feels quite unconvincing and somewhat fantastical, given the situation, but the program also functioned as a way of providing acknowledgment of this tragedy, offering a form of closure to Canada’s sizable Czech diaspora. The documentary begins as follows:

Announcer: On June 10, 1942 a blood stained [sic] finger wrote on the pages of history “Lidice is Dead”. Heydrich the Hangman had paid an earthly penalty for his crimes… it was ordered that Lidice must die… that Lidice, the slumbering, peaceful, Bohemian village must be wiped off the face of the earth… that men, not one, not ten, but all men of this innocent, little village must die… that all women must be enslaved… that this….

Lidice must be erased in one, fell, bloody stroke… never to live again.

Germanic Voice: Lidice is dead! Lidice is dead Lidice is dead!

Voices answer: No! No! Lidice lives! Lidice Lives! The hangman is dead! Lidice… Lidice will live forever.212

Weinzweig’s accompanying score for the program varies between atonality and a compositional style influenced by nineteenth-century musical romanticism. This section is accompanied by an atonal orchestral interlude, which features piccolo, flute, and B-flat clarinet predominantly. As in his score for the “Czechoslovakia” episode of New Homes for Old, Weinzweig again uses forward moving rhythmic figures, and a lack of tonal centre to create a sense of uncertainty and foreboding. In Weinzweig’s music there is a clear association in his war era works between enemy characters and tonal instability. In particular, this is apparent in Figure 2, when Von Redlich encounters Nazi soldiers. In the opening theme for Lidice Lives! (Forever) Weinzweig creates tonal instability and apprehension through repeated major sevenths alternating with diminished and augmented octaves between the upper voice (trumpet) and the lowest voice in the excerpt. The varying rhythmic figures in the upper voice (between eighths,

sixteenths, triplet sixteenths, and thirty second notes) further add to the sense of tension.

Figure 6 Transcription of the Opening Orchestral Interlude from Weinzweig’s Sketchbook for *Lidice Lives! (Forever)*

This is further reinforced later in the docudrama, when a soaring melody accompanies both Margaret admonishing Von Spee to never kill again, and transitions to a cherry orchard scene, where two young lovers, Karl and Byeta promise their enduring love to each other. Again, this melody is tonally unstable, suggesting an underlying foreboding, as Von Spee and Margaret are seeing mere shadows of the past, or memories of Lidice, as Karl and Byeta were killed in the massacre along with the other villagers. This is echoed in Weinzweig’s ascending whole-tone septuplet which moves into a chord progression where the upper two voices move between a diminished fourth, minor third, major second, perfect fourth, diminished fourth, and minor second. Following this, another whole tone scale leads into a slowly descending chordal motif which highlights sixth intervals. There is an implied B-flat major tonality in the excerpt and a sense progress within this melody, but the excerpt never quite arrives at a resolution. This is despite the bucolic orchard scene Weinzweig’s score accompanies, and perhaps alludes to the untimely end the two characters in the orchard scene eventually meet.
The radio drama moves onward, and Von Spee and Margaret visit a family as well as several other places in the village. At times throughout the radio drama, Von Spee confuses the young Czech children for his own, suggesting that the lives of children and the experience of raising them is a shared universal, despite Von Spee’s cruelty. Eventually he ends up near the churchyard, where a statue of St. Margaret, sainted not just for her charity and piety but for her suffering through exile, still stands. The story is interrupted by a second explosion, which brings the listener back to reality, and assures us that Von Spee is no more, as the two women of the Czech underground, Maria and Francesca, steal the radio from his car to monitor whether the German army is aware of his death and explosion, and disappear into the night. This sudden and surprising ending is presented as almost an afterthought to the audience, assuring the listener that the Nazis are dead, but leaving the focus of the drama on memorializing Lidice.

It is difficult to know how a work like this radio drama would have been received by audiences on the one-year anniversary of the massacre, when this program was broadcast on the CBC. By contemporary standards, telling what is effectively a ghost story does not seem like a proper or effective way to publicly remember a tragedy, but it is possible that in the climate of
the war this drama would have been seen as thoughtful. But, within this work, there are fascinating emotional moments. Von Spee’s anger and desire for vengeance and Weinzweig’s atonal music which accompanies his declaration that Lidice is dead, provides a locus for shared national anger or outrage by Canadian listeners, and perhaps Czech-Canadian listeners specifically. At the same time, the pastoral scene with the two lovers accompanied by a soaring melody in the winds, and later when Von Spee encounters a couple singing the Brahms lullaby to their children, provides a moment of shared sorrow or mourning and this musical quotation causes the audience to grieve the loss of the life of the child and the character of Von Spee to realize the universality of child birth and childrearing among all people. This radio drama discusses a particularly painful and difficult event, and in doing so, it does affective work, attempting to elicit emotional responses by citizens of the Canadian nation to the events of the war.

Lidice remained an important cultural and political touchstone in Europe and Canada following the end of the war. In the postwar era the massacre of Lidice, and its cinematic documentation by the Nazis became key components of both shared national grieving during the Czech reconstruction, and evidence in war criminal trials for Karel Pečený and K.H. Frank.²¹³ In postwar Czechoslovakia, “the events of Lidice ranked among key national traumas and were considered evidence of war cruelty in the protectorate.”²¹⁴ Meanwhile, in Canada, Lidice remained important to Czech Canadians, and part of the Canadian cultural imagination. This is illustrated in Josef Skvorecky’s 1977 novel The Engineer of Human Souls, where the sole

²¹³ Lucie Česálková, “Film Documentation of the Destruction of Lidice: Political and Ethical Dimensions of the Use of War Footage” in The Moving Image 15 No. 2, 34.

²¹⁴ Lucie Česálková, “Film Documentation of the Destruction of Lidice,” 38.
 surviving male from the town of Lidice (who happened to be in jail in Prague during the massacre) returns to his village on Christmas Eve to find it entirely eradicated.\footnote{Josef Skvorecky, \textit{The Engineer of Human Souls} (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1984), 468-471 and Fiona Allon, “Nostalgia Unbound: Illegibility and the Synthetic Excess of Place” \textit{Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies} 14 No. 3 (2000), 278.} The presence of this short story in a book that eventually won the Governor General’s Literary Award in its English translation, reveals the significance of the massacre of Lidice to Czech Canadians. Skvorecky’s work frequently meditates on the suffering of the Czech people as they attempt to build new lives in their new Canadian home. That the massacre at Lidice is memorialized by Skvorecky along with communist atrocities towards the Czech people confirms its significance.

\textit{Canada Marches} and \textit{Lidice Lives! (Forever)} are both propaganda documentaries, but their affective function is very different. \textit{Canada Marches}, and more specifically Weinzweig’s military march that accompanies the opening scene of the first episode, evokes the sound of fife and drum corps, while Canadians hear about the successes of the Princess Patricia’s Light Infantry, creating the possibility of a shared national emotion of pride. Fife and drum is both distinctly a military musical genre, and linked to the country’s British military past. Conversely, \textit{Lidice Lives! (Forever)}, cultivates nationally shared feelings of anger and disgust, at the actions of the Nazis towards the Czech people, and nationally shared mourning. \textit{Lidice Lives! (Forever)} and Weinzweig’s accompanying score, along with other radio programs that memorialized the massacre at Lidice shows that shared sadness and rage are also potent collective emotions for a nation to experience.
2.4 Our Canada is a Canada Reconstructed: The Reconstruction Documentary in World War II

In the January 16, 1943 edition of *Saturday Night* magazine, Frank Chamberlin described the radio documentary series *Our Canada* as one of the “most ambitious efforts of the CBC in the dramatic field.” Our Canada, a thirteen-episode series running weekly for a half hour from November 1, 1942 to January 31, 1943, dramatized various aspects of Canadian history and present-day life. Mavor Moore and Frank Willis produced the series, while the script was written by Gerald Noxon, and the score composed by John Weinzweig. The series covers a wide range of topics from historical explorer narratives to discussions of landscape, to the role of religion in Canadian life, to farming, the railway, sea and air travel, mining, governance, communication and the arts. Chamberlin reviews “The Arts Grow Up,” the tenth episode in the series and describes how the program mixes interviews with artists with descriptions of new art works in Canada:

> The voices [of the artists] came from every province of Canada (some of them on records) … For the first time on the air could be heard the voices of Canadian artists in a variety of fields. Some of them were young and inexperienced, like Bob Farnon. Others like Sir Ernest MacMillan shared the program. In a way seldom achieved by the CBC the 3000 miles between the eastern coast and the Pacific seemed to be just a little span, and the people in it a happy family of creative artists. The CBC should do more things like this. Teachers, editors, reporters, civic officials in widespread areas might be brought together by the magic of radio, so that Canadians must learn more about the “whole” of Canada and less about its separate parts. In such broadcasts will the people of Canada find pride of country. That feeling of inferiority many of us suffer will drop away.

With its focus on arts, industrialization, and the development of infrastructure, *Our Canada* is a very different docudrama series than other contemporary war era works discussed.

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earlier in this chapter. At the same time, content directly referencing the Second World War is scattered throughout the episodes. But, with the focus in *Our Canada* being Canadian history and the growth of Canadian infrastructure and culture, it is perhaps best to understand the work as a reconstructionist docudrama series. Reconstruction, or a rebuilding of everything from homes and roads to social welfare systems, is generally a label affixed to the post-World War II era. But Canada’s relative geographical isolation from the war, and the lack of an attack on its territory (such as Pearl Harbor) allowed the CBC and its listeners to think ahead to infrastructure and society in peacetime. This section explores how *Our Canada* attempts to cultivate national affect by looking both backwards at Canadian history and forwards towards postwar Canada and how the series exists in the liminal space between wartime and postwar reconstruction.\(^{218}\) There is a lack of extant sources available for this series, particularly recordings and scripts. I will discuss the first episode of the series “The People” which has a script published in a collected edition and Weinzweig’s suite, based on his incidental music for *Our Canada, Music for Radio No. 1*.

“The People” begins on a roadside in an unknown country location. Joe, the son of a farmer, about to go off to join the Royal Canadian Air Force, hitchhikes to return to his family farm, and ends up riding with a neighbour, Mr. Stevens. Joe expresses doubts about serving his country to Mr. Stevens, who notes that he had similar sentiments at the start of the First World

\(^{218}\) As was discussed at length earlier in the chapter, radio programming which imagined Canada in the postwar era began to appear on the CBC in 1942, with the *Citizen’s Forum, National Farm Forum* which began broadcasting in 1939 also began to discuss the postwar Canadian welfare state by the beginning of the 1940s. This shift is echoed in government documents from this period, which refer to the plans for after the war as reconstruction, despite the lack of a homeland attack in Canada. Included in this envisioning of Canada was the arts. A special committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment met on June 21, 1944, and included representatives of various artistic organizations and guilds. Recommendations in this report include a National Orchestra Training Centre, a National Library, Archives, and a National Gallery. *Government of Canada, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, Wednesday, June 21, 1944 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1944), 340.
War. Joe asks “What does it all add up to? Canada. What does it stand for? And how do those words ‘Democracy’ and ‘Freedom’ tie into it? Maybe I’m crazy but it seems a man should know that sort of thing when he goes out to fight.” They arrive at the farm, and Mr. Stevens wishes Joe well in the air force. This brief scene ends, and the first narrator states “A fellow should know about that sort of thing. Whether he goes out to fight, or stands all day at a lathe, or bends his back in the fields, he should know. Everyone should know about that sort of thing. Every man, every woman, and every child.” The two narrators continue, proclaiming “a nation is made of many things, but above all it is made of men and women and children. A nation is made of people … Of people who live and of people who have died,” after which they describe the immigrant roots of the nation, listing regions in England, France, Scotland, and Wales, and then encourage Joe to look at a distant star, to travel back in time and see the stories of the people of Canada. What follows is a journey through Canadian exploration history, beginning with Samuel de Champlain, moving to the British settlement of Halifax in 1749, describing these regions and settlements as “cornerstones of Canada.” The docudrama episode ends by mentioning the recent immigrants to Canada, and with the narrators encouraging Joe to remember both his neighbour and the history of the country as he goes off to fight.

The opening theme for “The People” appears in Weinzweig’s sketchbook for the radio series. Weinzweig’s music for the radio series can be described as broadly freely atonal with the

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220 Noxon, Our Canada, episode 1, 61.

221 Noxon, Our Canada, episode 1, 62.

222 Noxon, Our Canada, episode 1, 62-63.

223 Noxon, Our Canada, episode 1, 70.
lack of a clear sense of tonal centre. He employs twelve-tone theory as an organizing structure, but the music would be heard as tonal by a radio listener. This is possibly because Weinzweig was attempting not to alienate his listeners, or because the work largely deals with themes of landscape and environment, music most often associated with a tonal rather than serial musical idiom. The opening theme sounds as if it is governed by a B-flat tonality with open intervals in the strings. Looking at this theme and considering it in the context of his suite based on the incidental music from three of the episodes, *Music for Radio No. 1*, the best extant source for his music for the series, it is more possible to read much of Weinzweig's opening theme for *The People* as an invocation of a pastoral aesthetic, in keeping with the rest of the episodes.\(^{224}\) This theme features open intervals in the strings, evoking the vastness of the Canadian landscape.

![Figure 8 Transcription of the opening theme for “The People” from Weinzweig’s Sketchbook for *Our Canada*](image)

“*The People*” does not musically represent the war, unlike the other wartime works discussed in this chapter—where Weinzweig explored expanded tonality, driving rhythms, and

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\(^{224}\) While defining the pastoral aesthetic is complex, looking back to the century prior it is characterized by large intervallic leaps, tonality and whole-tone scales, and rapid ascending passages. Composers frequently label their own work as pastoral and in this case it is of not that Weinzweig did not. Geoffrey Chew and Owen Jander. 2001 “Pastoral,” *Grove Music Online*. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovmusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040091(Accessed: November 3, 2018).
dense textures to portray the chaos of invasion. Nor is there any quotation of song associated with the war effort, like “Till the Lights of London Shine Again.” Rather, by using pastoral musical idioms and almost tonal theme music, Weinzweig represents a picturesque Canada, an imagination of what Canada has been by looking back through history, and what Canada will be as a peaceful and tolerant nation of immigrants following the end of the war. As in *New Homes for Old*, Canadian tolerance is emphasized throughout “The People” and Weinzweig aids in cultivating this, affectively, with his music.

Although “The People” has the most complete extant sources – both sketched by Weinzweig and in printed scripts – the remainder of the series looks both backward and forward, discussing Canada’s settlement, social and religious history, but also the newly developed infrastructure and modes of transportation. In some ways, *Our Canada* is similar to war-era and postwar National Film Board of Canada documentaries in that the docudrama series discusses Canada’s social welfare programs, and newly built infrastructure, much like the Grierson-era social welfare documentaries at the NFB. This makes *Our Canada* a reconstructionist work, similar to contemporary CBC radio programs like *Citizen’s Forum* (that began running in 1942), *We Discuss Canada*, *Farm Form*, and the *CBC Discussion Club*. This new type of program attempted to parse out Canadian values (much like the character Joe in “The People”) and define Canada’s historical past while looking ahead to Canadian life in the future.

Weinzweig’s *Music for Radio No. 1* is an orchestral suite consisting of thematic material from episode two “The Land” broadcast on November 8, 1942, episode four “The Bread” broadcast on November 22, 1942, and episode five “Bonds of Steel” broadcast on November 29, 1942. The suite was first broadcast on an extra edition of *Our Canada* titled “Music for Radio: A
Salute to the Composers of Canada” which ran on January 31, 1943. Works by Barbara Pentland, Howard Cable, and Godfrey Ridout were also included on this broadcast. In the first movement, “Wheat” a soaring melodic figure is passed between flute, oboe, strings, and horn, instruments associated with pastoral musical idioms. The second movement, “Bonds of Steel” is incredibly evocative of the sounds of a train; there are rapid, driving sixteenth notes in the strings, punctuated by sustained interjections in the winds, standing in for the train whistle. The final movement, “The Land” contains a soaring string and flute melody. In all three movements, Weinzweig uses serialism as the governing structure, but does so in a way that sounds very close to tonality for the listener and his music in the suite draws on pastoral conventions and sonic evocations of trains to such an extent that it is almost visual. He evokes the Canadian landscape in his flute theme. But more than that, the train, wheat, and land, are all ways by which Canada is identified or imagined. All three of these movements represent Canada’s mythical and historical past, and all would be as important in the imagination of Canada’s postwar future.

Figure 9 The flute theme in “Wheat” from Music for Radio No. 1: Our Canada

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225 Keillor, John Weinzweig and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada, 266.

226 John Weinzweig, Our Canada Music for Radio No. 1, (Toronto: Canadian Music Centre).
Our Canada is a unique work, because it manages to look both back, to the nation’s past, however mythologized or romanticized, and forward, celebrating Canadian infrastructure and how it will aid in the social welfare of the nation’s citizens in postwar Canada. At the same time, Our Canada acknowledges the war, through the character Joe, without being fully about the war. Weinzweig’s score assists in this imagination of Canada’s past and future (while ignoring the present) by musically evoking pastoral tropes through the open intervals of this soaring flute
melody. The Canada represented in *Our Canada* is an idealized one, which looks towards the future, which perhaps merely serves the affective function of cultivating a national emotion of hope, in a time when hope was in short supply, and a sense of social and cultural independence when the nation was still intrinsically tied to Great Britain.

### 2.5 Conclusion

The World War II era radio docudramas in Weinzweig’s corpus are varied in content, but they fulfill a shared role as works that can broadly be classified as wartime propaganda for the Canadian audience. Radio as a relatively new technology heard in people’s homes for hours a day was an ideal tool not only for entertainment but also for sharing a message of hope, mourning, national pride, and disgust towards the enemy. *New Homes for Old* and *Our Canada* present an idealized version of the nation, worthy of deeply felt pride over values of tolerance, cultural diversity, and morality. The representation of Canada as a tolerant and safe homeland was, however, different from the reality faced by many newcomers to the nation. This idealized Canada is brought into further relief by the horrific actions of the German army, explored in *New Homes for Old* and *Lidice Lives! (Forever)* which attempt to impart shared mourning and rage. In turn, this horror is answered by the military might of the Canadian Light Infantry, in *Canada Marches*. Together, these works, and Weinzweig’s music for them, cultivate nationally shared emotions that had the potential to galvanize a Canadian public in the uncertainty of wartime, all while looking ahead to a future postwar era with better infrastructure, more technology, and increased social welfare.
Chapter 3
Imagining the North in Weinzweig’s Scores for Radio and Film

“The North: bleak, but rich, a constant challenge to man’s imagination and hardihood.”

This is how the Northwest Territories of Canada were described by Terence O’Dell, narrator of the 1941 National Film Board of Canada documentary North West Frontier. Initially titled The Mackenzie River, North West Frontier was both the first documentary film for which John Weinzweig composed incidental music and the first in a body of northern themed musical works Weinzweig composed during his decade at the CBC and NFB. Four years later, near the end of the Second World War, Weinzweig composed incidental music for a much larger northern-focused project. The White Empire was a thirteen-episode radio docudrama series that ran on the CBC between November 1945 and February 1946. Using themes from the series, Weinzweig composed Music for Radio No. 2: The Edge of the World (premiered on the CBC on February 13, 1946). While Weinzweig left the north as a source of musical inspiration when he ceased to compose incidental music for the CBC and NFB, during the 1940s, Canada’s north was an important inspiration for his musical career.

Weinzweig’s scores for both North West Frontier and The White Empire reinforce the narrative of a north made Canadian through government intervention, industrial development, and technology. In both works, Weinzweig uses quotations from Songs of the Copper Eskimo, a collection of Inuit song by Diamond Jenness and Helen Roberts — discussed throughout this

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227 This is a transcription because there is no extant script for this documentary film. Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, North West Frontier, DVD, produced by James Beveridge (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada and Northern Electric Recording, 1941).
dissertation — to represent indigenous people. Musically, Weinzweig evokes the narratives of social welfare and hygiene made northern that were central to public broadcasting of this era. He treats indigenous people (both Inuit and First Nations, though they are represented quite differently from each other in the two works, mirroring their different treatment under federal government policy) as subjects whose way of life was fading and whose history needed to be preserved, by representing them with songs collected by a government anthropologist while the two documentaries and docudramas reveal that their way of life must change in the newly developed north. The contrast between a wild north and an industrialized one; a wild people whose way of life is not understood (but should be remembered) and indigenous peoples made Canadian under civilizing governments, is apparent in both documentary works.

The chapter begins with an exploration of theoretical formations of the north considering the two works in the light of Ahmed’s affect theory and Sherill Grace’s discursive formations of north; it then moves to a synopsis of the two works and a discussion of their form and content. Following this, the chapter explores three different possible sites for the creation of discursive formations of north and the cultivation of affect in the two documentaries: indigeneity and government civilizing measures under *The Indian Act*; exploration of the north and the vestiges of British nationalism found in Canada; and finally, industrial growth as evidenced in the Eldorado Radium Mine. The two works are discussed with a focus on Weinzweig’s musical representation of these different facets of northernness. Because there are so many overlapping themes in the two works, this chapter is organized thematically rather than discussing the two works individually. The north is bleak but rich, and it is also a place where what it means to feel Canadian and the cultivation of that feeling through public broadcasting can be explored and interrogated.
3.1 Formations of North

The prevalence of northern documentaries during Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB reflects the growing significance of the north to many aspects of Canadian life. During this early era of public broadcasting, images and imaginations of north became a means for the government to construct national affect or emotion. This was accomplished in *North West Frontier* and *The White Empire*, through the presentation of idyllic depictions of landscape and the Inuit people, simultaneously with images of both environmental conquest through mining, resource harvesting, and transportation, and the control and subjugation of the north’s First Nations inhabitants under *The Indian Act*. These two documentaries, and Weinzweig’s music for them both, celebrate the Canadian north’s idealized past and reveal the north as a significant site of Canadian development of a future that included advancements in mining, technology, transportation, and an indigenous population controlled through government interventions.

But the government’s turn towards the north was not merely a matter of national pride in the early days of the CBC and NFB. The war era and postwar focus on the north in public broadcasting parallels a time when Canadian arctic sovereignty was increasingly contested. Equally, *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier* and Weinzweig’s music for the two programs are part of the lineage of Canadian artistic and public broadcasting products that attempt to grapple, identify with, and explore the idea of Canadian north. In her 2001 book...

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*Canada and the Idea of North*, Sherrill Grace recalls Foucault’s and Bakhtin’s ideas of discourse to explain the role of multiple ideas of north in the imagination of Canada. She describes these artistic, social, geographic, and governmental representations of north as “discursive formations of north.” She argues that “in the concept of discursive formation we can see the crucial constitutive activity of discourse at work, and thus the power it has to construct identities of nation, class, gender, race, etc.” Grace makes the distinction between micro and macro levels of discursive formation. For Grace, the idea of archeology (construction of an archive of all statements about the north) forms the macro-level of discourse. The programs that are the focus of this chapter, along with works like Glenn Gould’s *The Idea of North* (1967) and painter Lawren Harris’ meditations on northern icebergs, constitute the macro-level of discourse because the works contain a number of images, ideas and statements about the north. They act as archives of conceptions of the Canadian north. Similarly, statements about the north found in the documentaries can be broken down into smaller “discursive units,” until the micro-level of discourse is reached (which would be a statement like that which opens *North West Frontier*: “the north: bleak but rich…”). Grace notes that through these levels of discourse the idea of north circulates, but it is altered by the passage of time.

But how does the discursive formation of north relate to the construction of national identity? Or, rather, relate to the government cultivation of nationalist affect through public broadcasting? Using Grace’s model, CBC radio docudramas and NFB film documentaries act as archives of statements about the north, containing within them a number of smaller discursive

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units (discursive units are anything from Weinzweig’s scores for the works, to images of mines, to pronouncements of northern explorers). While the public broadcasting documentaries of the 1940s and Weinzweig’s music for them exist on a macro level as archives filled with discursive statements or formations of north, they exist equally as documents that help cultivate affect. Ahmed’s work in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* is a study of documents, statements, and “texts that circulate in the public domain, which work by aligning subjects with collectives by attributing ‘the others’ as the ‘source’ of our feelings.”232 The distinction she makes in her work between texts and statements bears a similarity to Grace’s use of archives and discursive units. Much of Ahmed’s work focuses on the way in which others are used by governments to define a nation emotionally, and Weinzweig’s northern works cast both the landscape as much as its inhabitants as other. *North West Frontier* is particularly rich with language that describes the foreignness of the northern landscape but the documentary film shifts to a narrative of conquest and control over the land. While the documentary opens with the phrase “the north, bleak but rich,” it closes with a discussion of how the construction of the north’s first nonsectarian school is a sign that Canada is “moving north into its own broad living room, laying real claim to the vast spaces on the map, linking them to the life of the Canadian nation.”233 These two statements represent two unique discursive formations of north and work to cultivate national affect. The viewer begins the documentary feeling the acute otherness of the northern landscape; the north and its inhabitants are strangers against which Canadians can define themselves. At the close of the documentary, however, the north has become part of the nation’s home, connected to the rest


of Canada. The north in these early CBC and NFB works is simultaneously set up as an uncivilized other to have a visceral, bodily, and emotional reaction against. And yet paradoxically the north is increasingly represented as part of Canada, a source of heart-swelling national pride, a place that reveals the ingenuity and hardiness of Canadians.

The cultivation of national affect by bringing an othered landscape and people into Canada’s living room and defining, as Grace states, “Canada as North,” erases the heterogeneous nature of the nation discourse. Renée Hulan notes that “the focus on the nordicity of national identity is part of a broader tendency in Canadian cultural history that seeks to unify and shape collective experience, and, in so doing, to smooth over differences.” Defining Canada as north risks the over simplification, marginalization, and erasure of the lives of northern inhabitants and environments; the distillation of a full and rich northern life into a digestible and uncomplicated idea of north that can be used to foster a sense of national emotion. Consequently, Grace’s question of “whose north?” (as in, whose north is defined and is defining Canada?) is imperative when examining *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier*. Grace’s “discursive formations of north” and Ahmed’s nationalist affect provide the tools for parsing out how the north is imagined and defined as a source of bodily and lived Canadian pride as well as a construct used by government public broadcasting to cultivate nationalist sentiment.

Finally, the north imagined in the two public broadcasting works which are the focus of this chapter is a wild north transformed into a civilized and important part of Canada with the aid

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235 Renée Hulan, *Northern Experience: And the Myths of Canadian Culture*, 4-5.
of government intervention. This follows the ideas of social welfare and hygiene found in Grierson’s NFB documentaries of this same era.\textsuperscript{237} Zöe Druick notes that NFB films from the early 1940s contained “representation[s] of the process of urbanization, industrialization, and the establishment of the welfare state. Even the anthropological films of this period were made to produce a record of practices that would inevitably disappear in the wake of urban life.”\textsuperscript{238} Druick’s assessment of early 1940s NFB films holds true for both works discussed in this chapter. \textit{North West Frontier} and \textit{The White Empire} contain anthropological documentation of indigenous peoples, and celebrations of new technology and industry in Canada’s north. The tone in both works is one of progress, optimism for a new north included in Canada, and the desire to document a group of people who could disappear under these changes to the nation.

3.2 Synopses of the Two Documentaries

While both \textit{North West Frontier} and \textit{The White Empire} share the north as their subject, the topic of the two works is where the similarities between the thirty-minute NFB documentary and the weekly, hour-long CBC radio docudrama serial end. Both works contain discursive formations of north but they tell a very different story of the north to Canadians, and cultivate national affect in two distinct manners. \textit{North West Frontier} is a half hour, three reel NFB documentary. It opens with a map of the Northwest Territories in the title sequence, and then segues into a brief section on Inuit life. The remainder of the documentary, however, only discusses the other indigenous people who inhabit the Northwest Territories, documenting their lives under government intervention, reflecting government policy at this time. Reel one includes

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{237} Druick, \textit{Projecting Canada}, 23.
\item \textsuperscript{238} Druick, \textit{Projecting Canada}, 23.
\end{itemize}
a dance scene, a church service at a First Nations mission, and trading for furs. Reel two includes scenes which further celebrate government and religious intervention in the lives of First Nations peoples in Canada’s north. In particular, there is a long sequence that celebrates a mission hospital and a government-run residential school for First Nations children. This is because *North West Frontier* is a documentary from the height of the social welfare era at the National Film Board of Canada.

The celebration of social welfare, infrastructure, and industry in documentary film is further evidenced in the focus on mining and development in *North West Frontier*. Reel one concludes with scenes of oil wells in production and prospectors looking for gold and oil by canoe and airplane. Reel two continues by focusing on the Eldorado Radium mine, mining camps, oil barges, and gold refinement. Reel three does not present mining explicitly, but rather implies its presence through both transportation of resources from the north to the rest of Canada, and a scene featuring the first nonsectarian school in Yellowknife, which was primarily for the miners’ children.

The tone of *North West Frontier* is both optimistic about the development in the north (ranging from mining to hospitals to “civilizing measures” from the Indian Act, such as residential schools) and grave when discussing the state of the First Nation’s Peoples and their need for government intervention. Even though *North West Frontier* takes as its topic the north, a landscape remote to most Canadians then as now, the overwhelming emphasis is on the civilization of the north. This occurs in the documentary through the establishment of

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239 A transcription of this is available in appendix 1. Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Footages Sequences Mackenzie River,” Mus 154 1984-3 box 14 folder 6.
infrastructure which makes it possible to live in the increasingly economically significant north and the development of resources and mining that aid the country. Equally development of the north is demonstrated in both the government civilizing measures for indigenous peoples through the Indian Act and the documentation of their way of life which is presented throughout the film as fading. Weinzweig reinforces these themes of social welfare and industrialization through his score, which contains optimistic and cheerful music that attempts to represent the mechanization of mining, and ominous cues which reveal the grave situation of indigenous peoples. In keeping with many of his other works with indigenous themes, he also borrows heavily from Songs of the Copper Eskimo, as well as making use of newly composed primitivist music for the dance and gambling scenes.

Finally, North West Frontier and the other NFB documentaries for which Weinzweig composed incidental music — West Wind: The Story of Tom Thompson (1942), The Great Canadian Shield (1945), A Salute to Victory (1945), and Turner Valley (1945) — do not just grow out of the British documentary style, but also bear a marked similarity to the 1936 U.S. Resettlement Administration documentary The Plow that Broke the Plains, directed by Pare Lorentz with an original score composed by the American modernist composer, Virgil Thompson. This film documents the consequences of unregulated farming in the U.S. Great Plains region, leading to the dust bowl of 1935, and discusses the need for government regulation in farming in order to solve this issue. The role of government intervention as a means to solve problems, the style of filming of live subjects and landscape, and the use of a newly

240 Blaine Allan, “Canada’s Heritage (1939) and America’s The Plow that Broke the Plains (1935)” The Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television 19. Issue 4 (October 1999), 444.
composed modernist score to accompany the film reveal further likenesses between the films in Weinzweig’s corpus and *The Plow that Broke the Plains*. At the same time, *The Plow That Broke the Plains* remained one of the only works of this type in American cinema, revealing, as Blaine Allen asserts, that “[the film] demonstrated the problems in state-sponsored film-making in a country that also houses Hollywood.” Due to the relatively early date of *The Plow that Broke the Plains*, and its aesthetic similarity to later NFB works, it is possible that the American documentary had a role in inspiring NFB documentaries a decade later.

*The White Empire* appeared on CBC radio as a weekly evening program between November 1945 and February 1946. These evening programs ran for thirty minutes, usually around 9:00 pm Eastern Standard Time. Unlike *North West Frontier*, which explored government intervention, industry, and infrastructure in the north, *The White Empire* documented the history of Canada’s north chronologically beginning with the explorations of Frobisher in the Elizabethan era and ending with the development of radium mining and the use of that radium in the Manhattan project. The series ran for thirteen episodes in total, with each topic assigned one episode, with the exception of Frobisher and Hudson, whose voyages were portrayed over two episodes. The episodes are as follows:

1. “Martin Frobisher” November 14, 1945
2. “Martin Frobisher II” November 21, 1945
3. “John Davis” November 28, 1945

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4. “Henry Hudson” December 5, 1945
5. “Henry Hudson II” December 12, 1945
6. Radisson, Sieur des Groseilliers and the Hudson’s Bay Company” December 19, 1945
12. “Mining for Radium” January 30, 1946
13. “Summary” February 6, 1946

The radio programs are comprised of longer narrative sections in which the narrator explains the significance of certain events and their impact on northern history, and sections where voice actors re-enact significant historical moments. Music plays a significant role in these works; it is often used during scene changes, to evoke moods, and in the background behind longer narrative sections. While most of the music is non-diegetic, there are occasional moments of diegetic sound and music, which includes not only singing by the characters but also Weinzweig’s use of the orchestra.

While the extant sources for North West Frontier include a shot log, a full orchestral score, some parts, and the full video recording, the surviving material for The White Empire is not nearly as complete. The musical source for this is four sketchbooks that Weinzweig used to work out which melodies from Songs of the Copper Eskimo he was planning on using in The

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244 Keillor, John Weinzweig and His Music, 267-68.
White Empire and to explore the permutations of some of the twelve tone rows he included in his score, and finally to write a fairly meticulously numbered piano score for The White Empire that corresponds to a numbering system he employs in his copies for the scripts.\textsuperscript{245} This, coupled with recordings, forms a fairly complete picture of some of the episodes in this series. Although there is a lack of extant material for The White Empire, the type of material available for the series provides a window into Weinzweig’s compositional process and the influence of the song collection Songs of the Copper Eskimo on his compositions.

Due to the limitations of the surviving material, this discussion will focus primarily on “Frobisher” and “Frobisher II,” and “Mining for Radium,” and will briefly touch on other episodes. “Frobisher” and “Frobisher II” document the ultimately unsuccessful voyages of the Elizabethan explorer Martin Frobisher. Frobisher travelled to northern Canada three times in search of the Northwest Passage. Although he was unsuccessful (not just at finding the Northwest Passage, but in many other ways as well; he returned to Britain from his third voyage after a failed attempt at settlement with boats laden with pyrite, which was incorrectly believed to be gold ore), his presence in this documentary series reveals the interest in exploration and the focus on finding the Northwest Passage which would dominate northern exploration for centuries. The penultimate episode of The White Empire tells the story of the LaBine brothers’ discovery of radium and the construction of the Eldorado Radium Mine. The fact that the Eldorado Radium Mine was included in both North West Frontier and The White Empire reveals its significance to the Canadian economy, and Canadian political life at the time. Weinzweig

\textsuperscript{245} A good example of this type of numbering system is in Weinzweig’s scripts for The White Empire. Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Scripts for The White Empire,” Mus 154 1993-26, box 1 folder 1 and 2.
experiments with tonality in this episode, evoking perhaps the mystical and wondrous properties of the element.

Overall, *The White Empire* does not have the same focus on social welfare or infrastructure as *North West Frontier*; rather, it attempts to tell a story of Canada’s north, beginning with exploration and leading to contemporary issues facing the north. As later sections of this chapter will reveal, this was in keeping the CBC’s focus on educational programming at the time. What is significant in both *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier* is the focus on the north. The north stands alone in Weinzweig’s corpus of incidental music for radio and film as the only region represented by both a film documentary and a radio series. This is indicative of the significance of representations of the north in cultivating nationalist emotion in postwar Canada.

### 3.3 The Indigenous North

Both *North West Frontier* and *The White Empire* explore Canada’s indigenous north. On November 14, 1945, *The CBC Times* introduced a new documentary airing at 9:00 pm on Thursday evening. *The White Empire* presented the tale of northern exploration, from “England’s Elizabeth and her captains to present day industrial wealth…” with “a score of original Eskimo music composed by John Weinzweig.”

246 The 1945 *CBC Times* article and its focus on Weinzweig’s “original Eskimo music” reveals the significance of indigeneity to these early northern works, both musically and textually. This chapter section will explore how indigenous

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peoples are represented in *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier*. While the two works share Weinzweig’s musical and stylistic representation of indigenous peoples, through use of syncopation, experiments with tonality, orientalist musical tropes, and quotation of *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, the role of indigenous peoples in the docudrama series and the documentary film is drastically different. In *The White Empire* the Inuit and First Nations peoples are present only to augment the narrative of exploration and development in the north. Frobisher captures an Inuit man in the first episode of the series, and the RCMP help provide Canadian law and order in a complicated domestic situation in the episode on “The Royal Northwest Mounted Police.” The story of indigeneity is secondary to tales of Canadian expansion into the farthest reaches of the northern territory. Conversely, in *North West Frontier*, control of the indigenous population through the Indian Act is a core part of the development of the north as documented in the film. Further, *North West Frontier* attempts to depict the lives of indigenous people accurately, recording their traditions and the changes to their way of life under the Indian Act, while *The White Empire* presents a more nebulous version of indigenous life influenced, at times, by the more fanciful nature of the docudrama genre. This section will explore the influence of the Jenness and Roberts collection on Weinzweig’s indigenous music, the differing representations of the Inuit in the two documentary works, and the musical tension between “civilization” under the Indian Act and indigenous life as it is depicted in *North West Frontier*.

The influence of *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, a collection of transcribed Inuit folk songs from the Southern Party Expedition of 1913-1918, published by government of Canada anthropologist Diamond Jenness and music consultant Helen Roberts, is apparent on the opening pages of the first sketchbook for *The White Empire*. There, Weinzweig works out which melodies he plans to quote in *The White Empire*, referring to “Copper Eskimos” and “Mackenzie River songs”. In addition, throughout his sketches for the series, he frequently includes melody
numbers (the songs collected and transcribed by Jenness and Roberts are all numbered in the collection). This is particularly true for the early parts of the sketchbook. Later, he seems to have developed a degree of comfort with the melodies, and his sketches look more like a piano score with specific pitches labeled for their intended instruments. Elaine Keillor mentions that Weinzweig described this collection as a source for his indigenous music in an interview that she did with Weinzweig when writing her biography.

Although Elaine Keillor does not discuss *The White Empire* radio series, she does analyze *Music for Radio No. 2: Edge of the World*, the suite Weinzweig composed using excerpts from his various scores for the series. Keillor suggests in her analysis that despite the use of serial compositional techniques in *The Edge of the World*, “Weinzweig allowed melodic directionality to take precedence over set order.” The prominence of melodic directionality in Weinzweig’s works can be clearly heard in *The White Empire*, but is also a standard compositional characteristic of many of his works, as he let the borrowed melodies predominate over twelve tone compositional practice. The sketches of the first two episodes show a ubiquity of repeated pitches in order to facilitate the incorporation of the Inuit melodies. When Weinzweig uses a borrowed melody, he places primacy on the modal structure of Jenness’ transcribed melodies.

Weinzweig borrows Inuit music in three different ways in the opening two episodes of the series. First, he directly borrows smaller one to two bar long melodies and inserts them into

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247 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for *The White Empire*, Mus 154 1984-3 Box 9.

248 Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 140.

249 Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 140.
the incidental music, with little transposition or adherence to a serial row. Weinzweig commonly marked these sections as “Esk” or “Eskimo” in his sketches and on occasion wrote the number of the melody borrowed from the Jenness collection. At times he adheres closely to the Jenness transcriptions while at other times he alters the melody slightly to fit the rhythmic structure of the work. Weinzweig also creates “Inuit inspired” thematic material, which is more governed by the row than the directly inserted smaller melodic fragments. The directly quoted material relates to specific instances in the script, while the altered material recurs as thematic material for the entirety of the episode. Linking the part of the score or sketch that matches any given section of the plot is facilitated by the way in which Weinzweig methodically numbered his incidental music for the radio series. Weinzweig assigned numbers to each section of the script of an episode that required music and in his sketches, he labelled these musical interludes using the same numbering system.

The first use of indigenous music from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* documented in Weinzweig’s sketchbooks for *The White Empire* occurs in the episode “Frobisher.” Frobisher, having failed in many ways during his first expedition, with only his ship, *The Gabriel*, returning, decides that he will bring back an Inuit man as a gift for Queen Elizabeth.²⁵⁰ Frobisher, unimpressed with the ore with which the ship is already laden (ultimately this was found to be pyrite), sees an Inuit man in a kayak and excitedly says “but one of these savages, now — that would be a prize.”²⁵¹ What follows is one of the more suspenseful scenes of the series as Frobisher and his crew attempt to capture the Inuit man using bells as bait. The script

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reveals that the bells were already used by the crew for the purposes of trading and gifts to the Inuit, and that the bells were “new to these savages — mysterious, godlike, perhaps.”

Frobisher rings two bells and drops them into the water progressively closer to the boat, attracting the Inuit man and causing him to row closer to *The Gabriel*, and then Frobisher heaves the Inuit man and his kayak aboard the boat. This scene is grounded in real circumstances in Frobisher’s first voyage; Ann Savours notes that “lured by a bell, one of the Inuit, kayak and all, was said to have been hoisted from the sea aboard *The Gabriel* by Frobisher”; this was in the hope that the man could be traded for the five members of the ship, *The Michael*, who had supposedly been taken captive by the Inuit. Following his capture, the Inuit man was taken to London, where he survived for approximately one month. The practice of Frobisher’s crew giving bells to the Inuit was also accurate to historical events. In his 2009 article, “Brief Encounter: Reciprocity Between Inuit Hunters and Martin Frobisher,” Jerome Rousseau notes that the practice of trading bells and other trinkets with the Inuit was a documented practice on this expedition, and a deliberate one: “Frobisher’s gifts are the result of forethought: given the limited amount of storage on his ships, he brought ‘trifling things’ [Ellis 1599:155] for the express purpose of giving them away if he met strangers.”

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The scene concludes with a small orchestral interlude, in which Weinzweig musically evokes the captive Inuit character using a piccolo melody. While the piccolo melody is not borrowed directly from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, it is a composite of two songs from the section of the book entitled “Point Hope, Alaska,” which Weinzweig listed in the first three pages of his first sketchbook for the series.257 Melodies 130 and 135 are both dance songs, although they are notated in 2/4 rather than the irregular metre of 5/4 chosen by Weinzweig. Both contain the dotted quarter-eighth pattern and the dotted-eighth sixteenth pattern in this small piccolo excerpt. In their commentary on Dance Song No. 130, Jenness and Roberts comment that the dotted rhythms “keep it from becoming heavy.”258 The tonality of the Inuit-inspired piccolo excerpt does not adhere to the atonality of the rest of this episode. Rather, Weinzweig appears to borrow from the scale of the “Eskimos of Point Hope Alaska.” Scale number 136 in the Jenness collection is clearly the scale Weinzweig uses in this excerpt. The scale labelled as 136 contains both E and E flat and marks D as a reciting tone, which fits with the prominence of D in the excerpt. The B flat is absent from all but scale 135, which also contains a G flat and appears to be centered upon C. The prominence of D in Weinzweig’s piccolo excerpt makes a convincing case for Point Hope Alaska scale number 136 as a possible source for the tonality of the excerpt.

257 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for *The White Empire*, Mus 154 1984-3 Box 9.

Overall, the excerpt is not particularly reminiscent of the musical characteristics of the *pisik* and *aton* (the traditional drum dance of the Inuit people) aside from the slight upwards melodic motion characteristic of the genre. The excerpt is equally problematic in its use of tonality. Rather than the poly or micro-tonal characteristics of Inuit singing often heard in recordings, the “Inuit music” in *The White Empire* is largely governed by either diatonic structures, like the piccolo excerpt above, or altered to fit into Weinzweig’s atonal art music idiom. The diatonic, rather than polytonal or microtonal, understanding of the tonality of Inuit music is not an invention of Weinzweig, rather, it is a product of Roberts and Jenness’ transcriptions of Inuit songs. When discussing the tonality of their transcribed Inuit music, the two anthropologists discuss the scales used at length. Comparing music from the Mackenzie River region, the Coppermine River, Prince Albert Sound, and Point Hope Alaska, Jenness and Roberts state that “after a study of the little scales it will be apparent that all of the tones of the
diatonic major scale are known and used with frequency.”259 Despite Jenness and Robert’s
assertion that the melodies they transcribed are largely diatonic they state that “the feeling for the
tonic does not appear to be as well established in Eskimo music as in some other primitive
peoples.”260 They then go on to emphasize the role of the third and fifth in the scale. Although
they label the Inuit melodies as diatonic, Jenness and Roberts seem almost to hint at an
underlying modality for the melodies and scales. Weinzweig’s extant sketchbooks in
combination with Songs of the Copper Eskimo provide a glimpse into the compositional
relationship Weinzweig had with indigenous music and show how he attempted musical
borrowing from Songs of the Copper Eskimo.

In her 1982 dissertation titled Music of the Netsilik Eskimo: A Study of Stability and
Change, Beverly Diamond accounts for some of the history of Jenness and Roberts’ collection of
Inuit songs. She asserts that Jenness mislabelled Copper songs as either anton or pisiq and that
the accuracy of many accounts of Inuit music by not just Jenness and Roberts but other explorers
(Knud Rasmussen, Roald Amundsen) was often lacking.261 Diamond notes that “there are many
gaps and inconsistencies in this picture of music prior to 1930, since each explorer recorded
different sorts of detail and was certainly influenced by his own personal prejudices.”262 This is
consistent with published collections of indigenous song from the late nineteenth and early

259 Jenness and Roberts, Songs of the Copper Eskimos, 392.
260 Jenness and Roberts, Songs of the Copper Eskimos, 394.
261 Beverley Cavanagh (Diamond), Music of the Netsilik Eskimo: A Study of Stability and Change Vol. 1
262 Cavanagh (Diamond), Music of the Netsilik Eskimo, 33.
twentieth century, and it is likely that such bias and prejudice extended to imposing a tonal
framework on this repertoire.

Throughout this scene, the Inuit are represented as savage and wild through the
connection between the Inuit man and his boat. George Best notes that the Inuit “are akin to their
boats as a rider to his horse. I could well believe they are indeed half boat, like centaurs of the
sea.”

This echoes an idea of the Inuit that is articulated earlier in the episode, when Frobisher
first lands and questions whether he had indeed found the Northwest Passage: “Where was he?
Had he found the great passage and the soil of Asia? Who were these strange beings, half men
and half beast, it seemed?”

The depiction of the Inuit in the radio series reveals the shift in
policy towards the Inuit in the latter half of the 1940s. In 1945, the Inuit, and the administration
of their welfare, was appointed to the Department of National Health and Welfare, and they
began to receive family allowances and other government interventions, although the Inuit
through the 1950s were not included under the Indian Act and were granted the right to vote a
full decade prior to other indigenous groups.

The White Empire depicts the Inuit to be both
wild savages (in the two Frobisher episodes and detailed in the description of the scene above)
and in need of government law and intervention (“The Royal Northwest Mounted Police”
episode repeatedly refers to the need for law enforcement in the north to resolve conflicts over

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263 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting

264 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting

265 Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Canada’s Relationship with the Inuit: A History of Policy and
Program Development. By Sarah Bonesteel. Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal
domestic situations, and to prevent the Inuit from getting access to illegal alcohol from the whalers).

_North West Frontier_ does not represent the Inuit in a way that is remotely similar to _The White Empire_ and this reflects the government policy towards the Inuit in the early 1940s. At this time, the Inuit were not viewed by the government as in need of social welfare, government intervention, or infrastructure and this is shown in their musical and textual representation in this film. The Inuit only appear very briefly at the beginning of _North West Frontier_, in scenes that are presented as cheerfully as and with a similar aesthetic to Robert J. Flaherty’s 1922 film _Nanook of the North_, fishing, dancing and building igloos. The documentary points out that despite the harsh conditions in which the Inuit live, “they are sturdy and cheerful these squat aboriginees with deep reserves of vigor and intelligence to keep them alive in the arctic.”266 This positive representation of the Inuit likely grew out of popular anthropological understanding of the Inuit created by Vilhjalmur Stefansson whose 1922 book, _The Friendly Arctic_, gave an account of his years spent living and conducting anthropological research among the Inuit. In her book, _Canada and the Idea of North_, Grace describes the multivalent role of _The Friendly Arctic_. She asserts that Stefansson’s _Friendly Arctic_ contributes to discourse on a number of levels; the title “is a descriptive statement: the north is [capable] of being friendly.”267 But the title is only the beginning of this process. Grace argues that Stefansson makes a number of statements about the arctic, in writing, in maps, and in photographs. “They circulate and contribute to, are part of,

266 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, _North West Frontier_, DVD, produced by James Beveridge (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada and Northern Electric Recording, 1941).

a very large collection of relations” about north. Stefansson also contributes to a new concept of the Canadian north, through carefully crafted language about the possible political and social advantages of the north. Grace suggests that Stefansson does this by actively discrediting myths of the north, of the Inuit as savage, of the ice as eternal, and of the location as deadly. At the same time, however, Grace acknowledges that Stefansson leaves elements of the expedition out of his narrative, omitting dangerous aspects of arctic life. For example, of the fifteen-member Southern Party Expedition, eight members died during the five year period, something is conspicuously absent from Stefansson’s accounts. The Southern Party Expedition, led by Stefansson was also the occasion on which the music in Songs of the Copper Eskimo, the source of the majority of Weinzweig’s indigenous music, was recorded by Diamond Jenness.

Musically, the Inuit are accompanied by Weinzweig’s opening theme for the film, which he titles “the River” in his score. A map then reveals where the Inuit live, along with the other First Nations groups, the latter accompanied by a grim, chromatic oboe solo, outlining a repeated tritone, as narrator relates the view that “inland are the nine Indian tribes, a changing, scattered people less than four thousand strong whose nomad camps cluster around the banks of the Mackenzie.” This plaintive descending oboe line introduces what will be one of the central themes of the documentary: the First Nations People’s need to adopt new (white, Canadian) ways of life, and their inability to do so without federally created and funded social welfare

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269 Grace, Canada and the Idea of North, 8


271 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, North West Frontier, DVD, produced by James Beveridge (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada and Northern Electric Recording, 1941).
interventions. The oboe theme returns anytime there are discussions of the First Nations peoples and their fate. The fur trading scene ends with an embellished version of this melody, and in the Eldorado Radium Mine scene the oboe figure returns, accompanying Terrence O’Dell’s statement that “the old ways were gone, the future was confused and dark.” In this last instance, the oboe theme acts as a bridge between the mine, and a reindeer herd brought from Alaska for First Nations Peoples to hunt.

Figure 14 Oboe theme from North West Frontier rehearsal score

Following this introduction with the descending oboe figure, the documentary proceeds to represent First Nations Peoples in two opposing ways: as wild and uncivilized, through the cinematic and musical representation of ritual and dance, and as docile and civilized, in scenes depicting government and religious intervention in the north. The documentary argues that these changes have vastly improved the lives of First Nations Peoples residing in the north, moving them away from a hunter-gatherer culture into educated Canadians. The film lionizes and celebrates the success of the Canadian government’s colonial project: the Indian Act.

The first site of intervention and change for First Nations peoples documented in North West Frontier is religion. The film depicts the change of faith in two contrasting scenes. The first, labelled “Indian Dance” in the official footages document for the film, is exactly that. O’Dell notes that despite the scattered and changing nature of First Nations life, “still the Indians

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272 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, North West Frontier.
live by hunting and fishing and still they keep the old games and dances handed down through their mysterious history.” The documentary then goes on to show First Nations people participating in a round dance. Weinzweig’s accompanying score for this scene reinforces the film’s idea that the dance is inherently primitive or mysterious. Here, Weinzweig accompanies the dancers with a rapid syncopated and percussive figure in the strings and timpani centering upon a seventh chord built on C with an added eleventh degree (F), or two superimposed second intervals, one major and one minor. The syncopation combined with the unusual timbre of the chord reinforces the idea that the dance is somehow inherently primitive. The rapid syncopation also serves another purpose however: along with the fast dance footage, it succeeds in portraying the First Nations people of the north as frantic and chaotic, infantilizing a whole group of people. In fact, anytime the First Nations people represented in the film are documented as participating in an activity viewed as typical of them or from their past, Weinzweig’s accompanying score has a similar sense of agitation. The score for the Hudson’s Bay scene (which documents indigenous people bringing their furs to the trading post and also features sped-up footage), the scene where young boys play boisterously on the gymnastics equipment at the residential school, and the lahal or gambling game scene have similarly rapid passages and employ syncopation.

Musical primitivism, seen here in Weinzweig’s score of North West Frontier is often thought of as a late nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century melodramatic or neoclassical impulse. This is something Michael Pisani explores in depth. But there were other articulations of musical primitivism by modernist composers, particularly in the United States.

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273 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, North West Frontier.
274 Michael V. Pisani, Imagining Native America in Music, 182-187.
Works like Elliott Carter’s 1939 ballet *Pocahontas*, Charles Ives’ *The Indians*, the slow first movement from his Set No. 2 for Chamber Orchestra (1912), and (according to flutist Nina Perlove) Copland’s *Duo for Flute and Piano* (1971), are all examples of musical modernism which attempted to represent indigeneity using primitivism.\(^{275}\) But unlike many American modernist composers, whose exploration of primitivism grew out of an interest in a fanciful and unknown indigeneity, rather than a desire for modernist accuracy (Ives wrote *The Indians* after reading a 1912 newspaper article about indigenous Americans titled ‘Indians much in the News Nowadays’ about indigenous peoples living in Oklahoma, distant from Ives’ home in New York), Weinzweig’s representation of indigeneity lives in a liminal space between primitivism and the modernist impulse to classify.\(^{276}\) Weinzweig’s musical primitivism employed existing indigenous melodies collected by anthropologists, in addition to primitivist musical tropes such as syncopation, repeated fifths, and driving rhythms. His work is like American modernists who explored musical primitivism in the context of free atonality, but unique in that it grows out of the very modernist act of government-funded anthropologists collecting indigenous song.


\(^{276}\) Denise Von Glahn, “Charles Ives, Cowboys, and Indians: Aspects of the ‘Other side of Pioneering’,” *American Music* 19 No. 3 (Fall 2001), 293.
The musical agitation of the dance scene contrasts with the docility and reverence of the church scene that follows. The scene opens with a group of indigenous people walking towards their church to attend a Sunday service. An air of reverence and calm pervades the film as it documents Anglican and Catholic priests censing their congregation, giving a homily or sermon, and praying over the host all while the indigenous congregation sits with rapt attention. Children smile, babies crawl on the church floor, and women pray. O’Dell notes that all First Nations people in the northwest are members of either the Anglican or Catholic Church. The scene is accompanied by a slow-moving fugue in the strings, which emphasizes fourths and fifths throughout. Because the church scene follows the jarring syncopations and frantic nature of the dance scene, the viewer is left with the sense that aboriginal life has been improved, controlled,
and contained, both musically and spiritually. This scene echoes what Howard Le Couteur describes as the goal of the Anglican church in the British Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, “to convert and civilize” indigenous peoples. Conversion happened in the church, Le Couteur notes, while civilization happened in industrial and residential schools, which were run jointly by the Anglican or Catholic church (depending on the region) and the Canadian government. In this scene the spiritual assimilation of indigenous Canadians is depicted as innately positive, as an improvement to indigenous life, and a move away from the frantic pace of ritual and dance towards a more refined life.

While the church scene documents the conversion of indigenous peoples in northwest Canada, the school house scene illustrates their civilization. The schoolroom and school gymnasium scenes take place in almost exactly the midpoint of the film on reel two. The two residential school house scenes follow a long discussion of mining and industry including planes and air transport in the north, oil wells in northern Alberta (that at this point fail due to the expense of extraction and transportation), and the Eldorado Radium mine in the Northwest
Territories. The scene directly before the residential school scene documents the establishment of hospitals and medical clinics in the north, with doctors and nurses sent from southern Canada to care for indigenous patients. The schoolhouse scene opens with an indigenous boy playing with the propeller of a toy plane but quickly goes through all aspects of classroom life. The narration over the scene reveals a profound amount about the prevailing thoughts on residential school programs at the time and the role of the government in civilizing aboriginal children: “the mission schools had a big job to do, to train the minds and bodies of native children, to teach them health and hygiene and useful sciences. Bright eyed and cheerful [the indigenous children] take quickly to new methods.” The scene moves from a classroom, to children’s drawings, to girls using sewing machines. This covers many of the aspects of the church-run residential schools. Again, Weinzweig’s score reinforces the notion of “civilization,” with a simple orchestral texture emphasizing a repeated ascending figure of C sharp, F sharp, G sharp, C sharp in the viola and cello, which accompanies the majority of the schoolroom scene. His use of slow-moving string orchestration in what is heard as a major tonality for both the schoolroom and church scenes ties this orchestral texture to the civilizing influences of the Indian Act in the documentary.

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278 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, North West Frontier.
Figure 17 “Hospital and Schoolroom Scene” transcribed excerpt from North West Frontier rehearsal score

The musical texture becomes increasingly dense and complicated as the scene in the school room ends and the gymnasium and dorm room scenes begin. The music reaches peak density and activity when the school boys are climbing on the gymnastics equipment at school which dovetails into a scene where the boys are bouncing on their beds while preparing for sleep. While this part of the score does not have the same percussive syncopation of the other scenes representing First Nations dance or cultural activities, it is a far cry from the docile string texture heard in the opening of the school room scene. Both the school and church scene represent two significant facets of government policy and church mission values: Christianization and assimilation through education lay at the core of the government project to transform indigenous peoples into “good Canadians.” Neither the cheery picture of a school room, nor the inspiring image of indigenous Christian conversion painted in the film are consistent with the reality of the lived experiences of many of the indigenous children and their families who survived this time in
Canadian history. This has been explored at length in the presentations to the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which documented statements from 6000 survivors of residential schools to preserve this history and provided ninety-four calls to action for all levels of government.\(^{279}\) According to the executive summary of the final report of the commission, “Canada’s residential school system for aboriginal children was an educational system in name only for much of its existence. These residential schools were created for the purpose of separating aboriginal children from their families in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages.”\(^{280}\) The summary also notes that unlike how \textit{North West Frontier} depicts the children, as learning trades to help build a new future, “for the students, educational and technical training too often gave way to the drudgery of doing the chores necessary to make the schools self-sustaining,” making the schools a site of abuse, coercion, and cultural conversion rather than education.\(^{281}\) At the same time, the central place of the school room scenes in \textit{North West Frontier} mirrors other NFB films from this period that depict schools and children. Schoolrooms were both a site of government intervention and a source of hope brought forth by a new generation of young people, and at times, the hopes of a progressive society — a core idea of the NFB during Grierson’s time at the organization.\(^{282}\) The schoolchildren in NFB films were


presented participating in activities that were consistent with the issues in their time period — children during the Second World War were seen receiving vaccinations, getting cadet stripes, drinking water from wells, listening to government radio broadcasts, all things that were core aspects of government social welfare efforts and also everyday life in this time period.\textsuperscript{283} Children, prior to the rise of “mental hygiene” in the 1950s, were often shown in highly ordered scenes in which adults were in clear authority, for example, desks in rows facing a teacher, writing in a classroom.\textsuperscript{284} While children in the “first non-sectarian school in the north” are shown in this manner later in the film, it is striking that indigenous children are not depicted in this way, but rather as playful and exuberant, differing from the trend of showing children in calm, orderly activities. This, coupled with Weinzweig’s cheery and optimistic musical accompaniment for this section of the film, reveals another possible site of commentary on the necessity of civilizing measures and government intervention.

Finally, the film documents the distribution of treaty money and then a game of \textit{lahal} under the watchful eyes of government officials. The distribution of the treaty money and airing of grievances is not set to music, but once again contains statements about the changed lives of First Nations Peoples, and their inability to survive without Canadian government intervention. The idea that what \textit{North West Frontier} is documenting is “the whole story of change, forced by natural laws on an ancient, primitive people” is once again articulated as First Nations People are shown complaining to government officials about the lack of places to hunt, and lack of available

\textsuperscript{283} Brian J. Low, \textit{NFB Kids}, 5.

\textsuperscript{284} Brian J Low, “‘The New Generation’: Mental Hygiene and the Portrayals of Children by the National Film Board of Canada, 1946-1967” \textit{History of Education Quarterly} 43 No. 4 (Winter 2003), 546.
The distribution of treaty money leads into a government supervised game of *lahal*, Weinzweig accompanies the *lahal* game with a driving string and timpani figure occasionally interrupted with snare. *Lahal* is a gambling game that involves two teams each passing a stick among the group and then guessing which person in each team is holding onto the stick. The narrator, O’Dell, notes that “in the old days the primitive frenzy of the *lahal* game ended in sky high wages. Guns and canoes were won and lost. Today the game is more restrained, played in canvas tent with white men looking on, and the stakes may be only matches.” While Weinzweig’s score is once again primitivist, employing ambiguous tonality, a dotted eighth-sixteenth figure and percussion and evoking the unrefined indigeneity found in the dance scene at the start of the film, the *lahal* game documented in *North West Frontier* is unmistakably changed under government control. The banning or altering of significant cultural games, customs, and rituals was a large part of Canadian government policy towards indigenous people. The most notable of these was the Canadian government’s ban on the Potlach ceremony (a gifting feast held by indigenous groups on the northwest coast) between 1884 and 1951. As with the residential schools and church congregation scenes, the film attempts to cultivate the idea that the paternalistic control over indigenous cultural practice protects aboriginal Canadians. At the same time, Weinzweig’s score for this scene still portrays the indigenous participants in the game as inherently unrefined.

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285 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, *North West Frontier*.

286 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, *North West Frontier*.

Figure 18 “Gambling Scene” transcribed excerpt from North West Frontier rehearsal score

The musical and textual treatment of indigenous people in *North West Frontier* reveals much about the social welfare documentary genre popular at the NFB in the 1940s when the organization was led by film commissioner John Grierson. But while *North West Frontier* celebrates government intervention in the lives of indigenous peoples and the creation of a welfare state through this, it also equally is (perhaps by accident) celebrating the colonizing and paternalistic measures of the Indian Act. The documentation of the “civilization” and
Christianization of indigenous Canadians by government-funded public broadcasters reveals a profound truth about the deliberate cultivation of Canadian nationalist sentiment during the war era. The First Nations documented in *North West Frontier* are presented as strangers both in appearance and in their cultural praxis as the film encapsulates “the whole story of change forced by natural laws on an ancient, primitive people.” Although the First Nations people in *North West Frontier* are strangers (to white Canadians) they are strangers who can change and become similar to Canadians with enough government intervention — through the success of the welfare state. Sarah Ahmed explores the idea of the stranger and suggests that strangers are crucial for defining a nation’s borders, but when there are strangers within a nation, it becomes more complicated. According to Ahmed, “to be an alien in a particular nation, is to hesitate at a different border … as an outsider inside, the alien takes on a spatial function, establishing relations of proximity and distance within the home land.” Indigenous proximity and distance are emphasized throughout *North West Frontier* as the documentary establishes the possibility of similarity through the assimilatory practices of Christianization and education, while emphasizing differences of cultural practice with scenes like the dance scene and *lahal* game. Weinzweig reinforces difference in his score, setting scenes where indigenous peoples engage in physical or culturally traditional activities with primitivist and somewhat agitated music, and thus creating a musical juxtaposition between frantic indigenous activity and the tranquil sonorities that accompany civilized and refined activities. Primitivism and difference in the representation of indigenous groups can also be viewed as a form of preservation; throughout the

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288 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, *North West Frontier*.

film the narrator reminds the viewers that the non-Inuit indigenous people do not have a sustainable way of life in Canada’s new north and must change. Thus, the dance scene and the *lahal* scene can be seen as a type of preservation (for future generations to see indigenous culture) or patrimonialization. This term, from Walter Benjamin describes “the constitutive gesture which transforms the works of the past into cultural heritage, that is, into spoils watched over by rulers of the moment and exploited, when it suits them, so as to consolidate their cultural and ideological domination.”

North West Frontier, and the musical and cinematic representation of indigenous cultural practices, serves to document what was perceived to be a dying group of people, whose culture, life, and livelihood would be changed in the new generation.

In *The White Empire*, the representation of indigeneity is similar to *North West Frontier* in that indigenous characters are depicted as wild, savage, and in need of intervention by the government. At the same time, the radio docudrama differs from the film, in that the presence of indigenous characters is secondary to the narrative of exploration and expansion into Canada’s north. Due to both government policy towards the indigenous people in the mid-1940s and the geography, which is the focus of the radio series, the characters in *The White Empire* are Inuit rather than First Nations. Weinzweig’s score for the work does not contain the same primitivist musical characteristics as he does in some of the scenes in *North West Frontier*, but his focus (as indicated in Weinzweig’s notes in his sketchbook and in the promotional material for *The White Empire*) remains on “authentic” representation of Inuit music, as problematic and incorrect as

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290 Marion Froger, “Patrimonialization and Filiation at the National Film Board of Canada: Cinema as a Heritage,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 43 No. 2 (2013), 254.
this might be. The Inuit, in *The White Empire* are, however, still “strangers” who hesitate at a border inside Canada, and Weinzweig’s use of *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* and the focus on the use of “original Eskimo music” in *The CBC Times* serves the function of reinforcing the difference of the Inuit from the white Canadian CBC audience.

In both works, the cultivation of nationalist affect lies at the juncture between the indigenous peoples’ role as strangers — aided by a primitivist musical score borrowing from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* and an unflattering and visual representation of indigenous cultural practice — and their role in becoming more “civilized” Canadians through the interventions of the RCMP and the colonizing measures of the Indian Act. Indigenous peoples are simultaneously others in these works against whom Canadians can define themselves, and also signs of Canadian government progress, success, and the intervention of the welfare state. Similarly the indigenous characters in *North West Frontier* and *The White Empire* have a dual role in the discursive formation of Canada’s north. In *North West Frontier*, the Inuit embody Stefansson’s idea of *The Friendly Arctic*, while the intervention of the Indian Act promises to make the otherwise savage First Nations people friendlier. In *The White Empire*, the Inuit man captured by Frobisher is a sign of a wild and untamed north, only tamed by law enforcement and mining in much later episodes. Thus, indigenous peoples, as represented in these works, both musically and textually, become caricatures and tools for constructing ideas of nation, nationalism, and the role Canada’s northern geography plays in “feeling Canadian.”

3.4 Exploration and Remnants of British Nationalism

The story of the north as told in *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier* is equally a story of exploration. In *The White Empire*, the first five episodes of the radio serial focus on different explorers who came to the Canadian north in search of the Northwest Passage, or to map the region. The first two episodes discuss Frobisher and his three exhibitions during the Elizabethan era, episode three discusses the expeditions of John Davis, episodes four and five, Henry Hudson, and episode six Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers. The stories of these explorers and their travels in and documentation of Canada help create a very specific discursive formation of north, one which is a wild and untamed nature, occupied by equally wild humans, weather, and animals. Further, this north was penetrable largely by British explorers, reinforcing the notion articulated by Grace, that Canada was constructed as “Britain’s North” during the colonial period. This chapter section will explore how the roots of this narrative, of the north as a wild and untamed place and Canada’s north as a British “colonial hinterland,” are found in *The White Empire* and the role that this plays in the CBC’s attempts to develop nationalist emotion among the program’s listeners.

In her 2009 book, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture 1818-1860*, Janice Cavell writes that “in the case of Canadian writings about British

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292 An important note: I have chosen to use the phrases “explorers” and “explorer narratives” to describe the British travellers to the north Frobisher, Franklin, Davis, Hudson etc. This is not intended to erase the reality of these narratives as settler-colonial stories or the consequences of the travels to and documentation of the north on the lives of indigenous peoples. Rather, I have chosen to use this language because it was what was used in CBC promotional material and scripts for *The White Empire*. And that in itself reveals the colonial remnants that lived in many CBC programs of this era.

293 *Keillor, John Weinzweig and His Music*, 267.

294 *Grace, Canada and the Idea of North*, 58.
Arctic exploration the British shaping factor has been unusually strong.” The White Empire radio series was written and produced at a time when the north was beginning to be constructed as an element of Canadian cultural nationalism, but Britain spent much of the nineteenth century preoccupied with the idea of Canada as Britain’s north and due to the remnants of British culture in early twentieth century Canada, the British construction of north influenced the Canadian understanding of the region. This view of north as intrinsically tied to Britain was reinforced by the presence of staff at the CBC who further perpetuated the narrative. Richard S. Lambert worked at the BBC as the head of adult educational programming through the 1930s, but resigned from that position in 1939 to begin work at the CBC where he was named educational adviser in 1940. Lambert would have overseen the production of The White Empire during his time at the CBC, as the series was categorized as an educational broadcast along with a number of other programs for which Weinzweig was commissioned to compose music during the same era. Lambert was also an important figure in Canadian literature and education, writing educational novels for both children and adults, such as Home Front (1940). Lambert’s 1949 book Franklin of the Arctic was highly influential and successful, winning the Governor General’s Award for Children’s Fiction in the same year. Through Lambert’s presence at the CBC it is possible to see how remnants of British nationalism, and characterizations of Canada as Britain’s north, influence the story of northern exploration told in CBC programming such as The White Empire.

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295 Janice Cavell, Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture 1818-1860 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 5-6


In *The White Empire*, the two episode story of Martin Frobisher’s expedition to the north reveals the influence of the British discursive formation of north as wild and dangerous, and the construction of explorers as brave heroes. In both Frobisher episodes, terror is expressed in connection with the weather at sea. In the second episode, a storm destroys part of the rudder of one of Frobisher’s ships but he cautions his men not to rush overboard to fix it since “we’ve not yet known [the storm’s] full fury.” But storms at sea were far from the only perils faced by Frobisher and his sailors that are discussed in *The White Empire*. Rather, a specifically northern threat is also identified in the second episode. As the men set out on their third voyage, the sound effect instruction in the script is as follows:

*We need here the sound of great icebergs groaning against each other and of the ship as she is buffeted by them. The Wind [sic] at this moment is negligible.*

This sound accompanies an episode in which Frobisher and his fourteen ships barely avoid disaster during their passage to Frobisher Strait. While the third Frobisher expedition faced disaster in the form of icebergs and near mutiny due to a navigational error, the radio series leaves the listener with a distinct understanding of the Canadian north as inherently perilous. The danger of the northern landscape (and its inhabitants, as explored later in this chapter) acts as a foil to emphasize Frobisher’s bravery. In the second episode of the series, Frobisher is also lauded for his heroic actions. It opens with the narrator describing Frobisher’s second journey to northern Canada “through dangers of storms, fog and ice … [landing] ashore on the cold, barren

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While Frobisher’s bravery is emphasized in the script of the two episodes both at sea and in dealing with threats from indigenous Canadians (Frobisher did, after all, capture a young Inuit man and take him back to England), Frobisher’s failings are glossed over. The episodes only briefly mention that Frobisher returned from his expeditions with pyrite rather than gold, and spend much more time exalting the explorer for his bravery. Only the very final moments of the second episode reveal Frobisher’s demise; bankruptcy and poverty upon the return from his third voyage after he failed both to find gold and to establish a northern colony. Frobisher is only presented as inadequate in comparison to the other northern explorers, particularly Henry Hudson and John Davis. Episode three, on John Davis, opens with the narrator saying “now from that story of strife and bickering, we turn to a quiet tale of study and good seamanship.”

Weinzweig’s sketches for the Frobisher episodes echo some of this characterization of both the explorers (as brave, British heroes) and the northern landscape. Frobisher, Hudson, and Davis are often accompanied by incidental music that sounds tonal, regal, and optimistic (while atonality, extended tonality, or modality is reserved for dangerous situations and indigenous characters). At the end of the first episode, as Frobisher’s three ships set sail for their second expedition the narrator states “out again for the northwest — Where his cry of “Discovery Exploration!” had almost failed, the rising shout of ‘Gold!’ had brought forth the needed backing for this expedition. And so, once more, three ships set out across the Atlantic— three tiny ships,

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bound — for what?” and the narration is accompanied by regal and tonal brass chords; a somewhat foreboding string theme intrudes yet still resolves. Elsewhere in his northern incidental music, Weinzweig represents indigenous people using modal tonalities, borrowed melodies, and primitivist musical tropes, and industry and mining in ways which evoke industry musically.

Figure 19 “End Title Theme” from “Frobisher Part 1” from Weinzweig’s sketchbook for The White Empire. The sustained chords are played by the brass. The treble atonal melody is played by the violins.

The discursive formation of north presented in the exploration narratives of The White Empire is of a dangerous and wild north, only penetrable by a few brave British men. This construction of north and nation cultivates a nationalist affect which is influenced by vestiges of British cultural nationalism. The north in the earliest episodes of The White Empire is not a north that can be safely inhabited — it is wild, savage, and amoral. This north is only redeemed gradually, in the radio series, through the establishment of the R.C.M.P (who teach law to indigenous peoples and whalers), through the aerial survey and more detailed mapping of the
north, and through the gradual cultivation of the north as a place of mining and financial resources through gold and radium. The presence of the explorer narratives (and the uncritical veneration of these often poorly thought out expeditions) further reinforces the need for the civilizing, conquering, and colonizing measures towards both indigenous peoples and land depicted in both *North West Frontier* and *The White Empire*.

### 3.5 Mining for Radium

Last year, over the islands of Japan, the answer came. And with it, the eyes of man blinked uncomprehendingly at the transcendent glare of a promised new era. And as man’s shocked brain groped freely toward comprehension, the sons of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and the others turned their thoughts to the north. Now the last fabulous treasure had been wrested from the Arctic’s frozen grasp, they knew that the treasure itself, with its undying energy, would be the life-blood of the great White Empire — an empire conceived over three hundred years ago and born into the sunlight of the new age.\(^{302}\)

This was how the penultimate episode of *The White Empire* described the August 1945 bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Although radium mining in Canada’s north had a relatively short history — shorter than was estimated at the end of the radio series — it was a history which had a major impact on world events as well as the lives of Canada’s northern inhabitants, and issues of Canadian sovereignty. The story of the Eldorado Radium Mine features prominently in both *North West Frontier* and *The White Empire*. In both the radio series and the film, the mine is key to the narrative of industrial progress and development in northern Canada. The presence of the radium mine, and other mining operations (for gold and oil) represent the successful domination and control over the landscape, and provide hope for a new Canada dependent increasingly on industrialization. Weinzweig represents mining and industry frequently in his

music for radio and film. His score reflects the mystery and the optimism surrounding this new natural resource, bringing with it great hope for northern development, by using optimistic ascending melodic lines in scenes featuring the mine in *North West Frontier* and experiments in tonality to represent the element of radium in both the documentary film and the radio drama.

The radium at Great Bear Lake, Northwest Territories, the site of the Eldorado Radium Mine, was discovered by Gilbert LaBine in 1931. Historian Robert Bothwell notes that at this time, “the great attraction of radium was its high price, $70,000 or so per gram on the world market.” In the 1930s, nuclear war was not yet on the horizon and so the radium was to be used for cancer treatment, and the high price for it was due to a relatively small supply, mostly held by the Belgian government and located in the Congo (by the Union Minière du Haut Katanga). The high price of radium did not last through the 1930s, as the radium from the Eldorado mine flooded the radium market and drove the price of radium down to $25,000 per gram in 1937. The mine shut down shortly after this price drop, but the Second World War led to the reopening of the mine and the use of the Eldorado radium in the Manhattan project.

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303 A large section of “Mining for Radium” deals with Gilbert Labine’s search for his next claim. Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzeig fonds, Music Collection, “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Script, The White Empire, Episode 12 “Mining for Radium” page 24” Mus 154 1993-26, box 1 folder 2.


305 Bothewell, *Eldorado*, 68.

306 In 1942 the United States government ordered 60 tons of uranium from the Eldorado Mining Company, and American soldiers were sent to oversee work on rebuilding the mine (due to the mine’s proximity to the lake its tunnels had flooded during the years it was closed). In mid-1944, Boris Pregel negotiated a contract for 350 tons of uranium black oxide with the United States government — this would completely monopolize the radium supply that the Eldorado mine was able to provide, preventing other interested parties (namely, Britain) from purchasing radium to use in nuclear weapons research. Bothwell notes that “in the earliest stages of the Manhattan Project, down to December 1942, Eldorado ores and (ultimately) oxide played a key role. The atomic pile in Chicago was fed with Great Bear Lake Products, partly because LaBine had initial stocks available, and partly because the U.S. authorities had no idea that there was any other ready source.” Bothwell, *Eldorado*, 103-111.
But while the radium at the Eldorado was a valuable source for the United States nuclear program, it also was a site in which issues of Canadian sovereignty played out. In 1942, the British atomic project purchased shares of the Eldorado Mining Company, however, due to the economic situation in Britain, C.D. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply at the time, opted to have the Canadian government pay for the British share. Eventually Howe decided to have the Canadian government buy the majority of shares of the Eldorado Mining Company, making it a crown corporation by the end of 1944.\textsuperscript{307} Despite Canadian (and British) ownership of majority shares, however, American radium orders took priority over British ones. Shelagh D. Grants notes that because of this, by “February 1943, Anglo-American relations were in a state of near crisis as a result of the United States Army’s refusal to share scientific knowledge or release uranium supplies to the U.K. atomic research program as earlier promised.”\textsuperscript{308} This situation can be read as an assertion of Canadian sovereignty and independence from Britain (at this point in the war, due to the majority share ownership, and the state of the British economy, Canada would have been effectively giving Britain the radium) and a moment in which the United States took over Britain’s role in influencing—and at times compromising—Canadian sovereignty.

The issues around sovereignty and technological development are why the Eldorado radium mine is featured so prominently in both documentaries. The presence of radium in Canada’s north was, at this time, a point of pride and excitement. Pride in technological

\textsuperscript{307} Bothwell, Eldorado, 125.

dominion over the environment can be seen as an articulation of “northern nationalism” — a term Grant uses to describe Brooke Claxton, Arnold Heeney, W.W. Foster, and other government officials who held the conviction that the future of Canada “lay in the responsible development of the northern frontier.” Documentaries like The White Empire and North West Frontier, which expound upon discovery of resources in the north, but also mining and the infrastructure surrounding mining, can be seen as reinforcing this northern nationalist narrative. In turn, the northern nationalist narrative present in these works is a possible site for the cultivation of nationalist emotion or deeply felt national pride over Canadian ingenuity.

The Eldorado Radium Mine is featured in North West Frontier briefly, but prominently, as part of a tableau about mining approximately ten minutes into the work. The documentary notes how Gilbert LaBine (and other prospectors like him) were “big time prospects with big investments in grub stakes and chartered planes.” And “when [the prospector] landed on some unnamed lake … rowing off in his light canoe [he] was the vanguard of big money, big interest moving north.” Prospectors are shown (presumably) flying in a plane and then leaving shore in a canoe. Following this, there are scenes of the Eldorado mine, showing workers mining pitchblende ore, processing, and finally cloth bags of the pitchblende being loaded into barges and transported to Port Hope, Ontario, where there was a large processing facility.

309 Grant, 47

310 Terence O’Dell, narrator, North West Frontier, DVD, produced by James Beveridge (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada and Northern Electric Recording, 1941).

311 Terence O’Dell, narrator, North West Frontier, DVD, produced by James Beveridge (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada and Northern Electric Recording, 1941).

312 The radium processing facility at Port Hope contaminated the soil around the town, and continues to have environmental and health consequences for present day inhabitants.
Weinzweig’s score for this scene contains chromatic ascending figures, which lead into sustained chords that begin with a simple F major tonality but become progressively less tonal.\textsuperscript{313} Weinzweig also uses atonality to represent radium in \textit{The White Empire}, sketching a chord he labels as the “radium chord” in his sketchbook for the work.\textsuperscript{314} Despite the hint towards atonality, Weinzweig’s incidental music accompanying the Eldorado mine scene almost is in the nature of a celebratory fanfare. This contrasts with the more mechanical sounding score which accompanies the scenes in \textit{North West Frontier} about oil or gold mining, when Weinzweig, in scenes of oil pumps, or prospectors hitting rocks with pick axes, evokes those sounds musically. While the radium mine is significant to \textit{North West Frontier}, and the building of the first non-sectarian school in the north is in part due to the children of radium miners, the Eldorado mine is not even given the most screen time in the film. This is likely because the mine was closed, and then rebuilding between 1937 and 1940, when the majority of the footage for the documentary was captured. It is also significant to note that while radium mining is explored in \textit{North West Frontier}, the use of the pitchblende ore is not explained. The wartime reality of the use of the material is erased and sanitized.

\textsuperscript{313} Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, “Rehearsal Score for Mackenzie River, (Later renamed North West Frontier)” Mus 154 1984-3 box 14 folder 6

\textsuperscript{314} Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for The White Empire, Mus 154 1984-3 Box 9
The White Empire provides a much more dramatic retelling of the story of the Eldorado radium mine. The episode begins with three men trespassing onto a gold claim at shortly before midnight in order to stake them once they lapse. Following this, the documentary discusses the new role of the prospector in the north, and how money is required for more remote prospecting,
as the claims that were easier to travel to on foot ran out. This, of course, sets up Gilbert LaBine’s discovery of pitchblende ore in the remote location of Great Bear Lake. At the time of Gilbert LaBine’s discovery, the documentary makes it clear that all mining done by Eldorado Gold Mines Ltd was on hiatus, due to the gold veins in the company’s claims being mined out. After many months of prospecting, Gilbert LaBine discovers pitchblende ore, with the help of his assistant and a trapper. LaBine explains the significance of the pitchblende ore, as follows:

“radium is an element — it gives off rays. It’s a sort of magic metal. In the whole world there are only a few hundred grams of it — and one gram costs $70,000.” As the men converse about the significance of the discovery of radium, Weinzweig’s incidental music is a short string interlude with tremolos where he once again experiments with tonality. In his sketchbook for the radio series, Weinzweig labels a ninth chord (G flat, B flat, D, and A) as the “radium chord”.

Figure 21 Transcribed numbered sketches for the “Mining for Radium” episode of The White Empire

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The final extant sketch for the radium episode of *The White Empire*, marked “16” by Weinzweig, pertains to a particularly optimistic conversation between Gilbert LaBine and the reporters who eagerly want to document the possibility for radium mining in Canada. One of the reporters asks LaBine whether his discovery of radium is more important than the gold that the Eldorado Mining company had mined previously. LaBine replies that the radium “is one of the most important discoveries ever made in Canada. It puts the Arctic region in an entirely new light.”

Four atonal chords then accompany the narrator who mentions that while the radium discovery was great, running the mine would actually be quite expensive and for this reason, Charles LaBine and Gilbert LaBine needed to find financial support outside of Canada.

The documentary continues to portray Gilbert LaBine’s trip to Baltimore to find financial backing for the mine. There, according to the radio drama, he is implored by Dr. Howard R. Kelly, a cancer specialist in Baltimore, to find a way to mine and sell the radium, because it is the only known cure for cancer, and due to the only supply being held by the Belgian government, prohibitively expensive. The medicinal and therapeutic properties of radium are emphasized in this documentary; the other, more nefarious use for the element is only briefly explored at the very end of the episode, and only in the quotation at the start of this section. Throughout the episode, radium is heralded as a source of wealth and economic hope for Canada, raising the profile of both the country and the Arctic region; the radium deposit at Great


Bear Lake holds “untold wealth waiting for the pick and the drill.” This representation of radium as a source of wealth and applications in medicine in *The White Empire* differs from the reality of the impact on Canadian and northern life. Not only was the Great Bear Lake radium refined into uranium and used in the Manhattan Project, but the lack of safety equipment or procedures in the mining processes (this is apparent in the footage of the Eldorado Mine in *North West Frontier*) meant that the miners and their children were exposed continuously to radiation. Increasingly through the 1950s, the miners were from the Délı́nę First Nation. Sherrill Grace describes the effect of the mine on the community, noting that “when Dene were hired to work for the mine, they moved their entire families to the mine site and lived in tents at Port Radium. The fine powder from the ore blew everywhere — into children’s sandboxes, across the vegetation eaten by the migrating caribou herds, and into the food being prepared by Dene women … in short, radium contamination permeated everything in the environment.” Grace’s assertion is echoed in a publication from the Délı́nę about the mine, which includes first person testimonies from miners and their children. A Dene miner, Peter Baton states that “at the time we didn’t know anything about radium and never realized how dangerous it was. We carried it on our shoulders and transported it on to barges. That was 1951 or 1952.” Numerous studies were authored in the 1970s through 1990s that explored the effect of radium exposure on

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320 Radium is an unstable element and thus sublimates directly into air resulting in lung tissue death.

321 Sherrill Grace, “‘We Stand on Guard’: The ‘True North Strong and Free’ War, the Arts, and the Canadian North,” in *The Arctic Contested*, Keith Battarbee and John Erik Fossum eds, (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2014), 275.

322 Délı́nę First Nation, *If Only We Had Known: The History of Port Radium as told by the Sahtuot’ine*, (Deline First Nation: Dene Nation, 2005), 47.
miners and plant workers at the Eldorado mine site as well as at Port Hope, Ontario.

The story of the Eldorado Mining Company radium mine at Great Bear Lake is much more complex than the portrait of industrial development and northern resource wealth that is depicted in the two documentaries. However, the presence of the radium story, with the financial complications, the health effects, and the Manhattan Project either removed or only briefly mentioned, in both of these works reveals a possible discursive formation of north: as an environment conquered by technology, money, and development and as a new hope for Canada, both financially and politically. The north in the story of the Eldorado mine, as told by the two documentaries, is a source of power. Weinzweig’s post tonal incidental music that accompanies the story of radium underscores the newness of this discovery (accompanied by a method of composition new to Canadian listeners) and provides a sense of mystery, wonder, and ambiguity. The celebration of the mine, despite its complex history, in these two government-funded documentaries can also be seen as an attempt to construct nationalist emotion. The mine is a site for hopes of a new north, one which provides financial stability, medicine, and eventually (at the end of The White Empire episode), the end to war. The Canada evoked in the mining episodes, is a country led by technological progress and resources in the north. The true cost of northern radium mining, in the lives of the indigenous inhabitants of the area, as well as the miners and their families, and in the nuclear armament of world superpowers is both naively unknown at the time of these works, and erased as a possibility.

3.6 Conclusions

The February 3, 1946 CBC Program Schedule describes the final, summarizing episode of The White Empire as follows: “Past, present and future, in the historic story of man and his fortune in Canada’s great northern territories, are blended into a poetic summing-up for the
thirteenth and final broadcast.”

Weinzweig’s northern music from *The White Empire* was heard an additional time on the CBC, however, in an hour long program titled *Music for Radio* on February 13, 1946. This program featured Weinzweig’s choral work *To the Lands Over Yonder*, which drew on *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, as well as a new suite of orchestral music arranged from the incidental music for *The White Empire*, titled *Music for Radio No. 2: Edge of the World*. Unlike the incidental music for *The White Empire*, *Edge of the World* is a symphonic poem for full orchestra as opposed to one or two instruments per part, as documented in the sketches for the radio drama. The orchestral suite fully borrows thematic material from the radio drama as well, likely in part due to the short period of time that Weinzweig had to compose the piece. One of the clearest examples of this borrowing occurs fairly early in the work, at bar 21, where there is a rapid descending and ascending, chromatic 32\textsuperscript{nd} note figure in the flute, piccolo, clarinets, and oboe. This figure that repeats at bar 33, is borrowed directly from the episode “The Royal Northwest Mounted Police” of January 2, 1946 and is used when the police are travelling to remote whaling towns. The relationship between *The White Empire* and *Edge of the World* is one of very clear musical and thematic borrowing.


\[\text{324 Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 268.}\]

\[\text{325 On the opening pages of this sketchbook, Weinzweig wrote out the ensemble size along with the names of some musicians. Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for The White Empire, Mus 154 1984-3 Box 9.}\]

\[\text{326 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, Music Collection, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for The White Empire, Mus 154 1984-3 Box 9.}\]
While *North West Frontier* and *The White Empire* conclude by showing how the north can be brought into “Canada’s own broad living room,” domesticated and made palatable for Canadian viewers and listeners, the documentary and docudrama contain multiple discursive formations of north.327 *The White Empire* opens narratives of explorers significant to the discovery and mapping of Canada’s north while representing Canada as Britain’s north, and the north of Canada as a wild and untamed place, penetrable only by a few brave men. The savage or untamed nature of the north is further reinforced in the representation of indigenous peoples in both the film and radio series, and this is echoed in Weinzweig’s primitivist music which borrows frequently from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*. The positive influence of government intervention in the lives of indigenous people is reinforced musically in Weinzweig’s score through his use of slower moving, tonal string lines in scenes depicting residential schools and mission church services. Finally, the north is conquered further — both its people and landscape — through the introduction of law enforcement, mining, planes (that do aerial mapping and also transport goods to the north), and the building of the first secular and non-residential school. The north is presented as wild and unfriendly, barring a brief encounter with the Inuit at the beginning of *North West Frontier*, but by the end of the two works, it is portrayed as a civilized hope for the economic future of Canada.

Discursive formations of north and the north as a site of possible construction of national affect in these works exist in two opposing ways. The north is simultaneously presented as wild and dangerous, yet controllable with enough government infrastructure and intervention. At the same time, as a place to understand the construction of national affect, the north is both a source of fear and misunderstanding for Canadians, and a site of national pride and economic hope.

327 Terence O’Dell, narrator, in James Beveridge, *North West Frontier*. 
(however misplaced this economic hope ended up being). Weinzweig’s score helps reinforce this dual narrative of wild and civilized, fearful and proud through music that portrays indigenous peoples as untamed yet tameable by contrasting musical primitivism with slow moving string textures, and the landscape as mysterious in moments like the use of the tonally ambiguous radium chord and a source of pride through musically represented mechanization. Together, these two works attempt to cultivate a national affect of deep pride over the north and its possibilities while retaining a sense of fear and wonder. But this narrative of north erases not only multiplicity of experiences of Canadians in favour of a homogenous identity, but also the lived reality of indigenous people under Canadian government measures, the environmental, political, and bodily consequences of mining for radioactive materials, and the effects of colonial exploration.
Chapter 4
A Shift Towards Culture: Weinzweig’s *The Great Flood*

On July 28, 1948, *The Great Flood* premiered on the CBC as part of the weekly radio show *Wednesday Night*. The hour-long drama with a script by the Canadian dramatist Mavor Moore, and a score by John Weinzweig, tells the story of Kopi, “the chief of his mighty tribe and a man of direct action,” and his quest to find his younger brother Glooskap, the dreamer who has gone missing while following a vision of the White Doe. While the program is “based on the Huron Indian legend of the great flood and the subsequent recreation of the world,” and accompanied by arrangements of indigenous music, much like the 1945 series *The White Empire*, Mavor Moore suggests that “all sorts of allegories can be read into the story… it is not an attempt to recreate things from those early days but have as much fun with them as possible.” Kopi’s search for his brother introduces him to newsmen, priests, and various other characters and the young and practical chief eventually finds his idealistic brother, who has been captured by giant sea lions. While the story was originally a Huron legend, under Moore’s authorship *The Great Flood* became a comedic satire accompanied by a pastiche of indigenous music arranged and reinterpreted by Weinzweig.

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329 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Huron Indian Legend is Wednesday Feature.”

330 “Huron” was the popular terminology for describing the Wendat or Wyandot people in 1940s Canada. The word Huron, first coined by French settlers, was a derogatory description of the hairstyle favored by Wendat men. For the purposes of this chapter, “Huron” will be used because while it is not the correct term, it is the historically accurate one. As I discuss later in this chapter, nothing about the *The Great Flood* is specifically
Both the allegorical, satirical story and Weinzweig’s music for the radio drama deviate from the composer’s previous work for CBC and NFB docudramas and documentaries. These radio series and films often told factual stories about Canada, its inhabitants, industry, history, and landscape. While Weinzweig’s score for *The Great Flood* is “based on Indian rhythms and lines,” it does not aim to accurately reflect any particular indigenous musical culture.\(^{331}\) This is illustrated by the composer’s use of a variety of indigenous songs recorded for the Canadian government by anthropologists Marius Barbeau and Diamond Jenness.\(^{332}\) Barbeau’s transcriptions from this time period were primarily from the Tsimshian people, whom he studied extensively through the 1920s in the Nass River region of British Columbia.\(^{333}\) Weinzweig also references the *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* in the opening pages of his sketchbook for *The Great Flood* and some of the melodies used in the broadcast bear a similarity in contour to these Inuit melodies collected by Diamond Jenness and Helen Roberts.

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\(^{331}\) Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Huron Indian Legend is Wednesday Feature.”

\(^{332}\) Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for *The Great Flood*, 1948, MUS 154 1990-12 box 1 folder 2.

\(^{333}\) While Barbeau had studied other indigenous groups in New York State, Oklahoma, and Quebec, his research was primarily focused on linguistic studies and the collection of Quebecois melodies prior to his trips to the Nass River region in 1923-24 and 1927-29. His trips to the Nass region were the first time Barbeau completed a study of all facets of cultural life. Israel J. Katz’s 1970 bio-bibliography of Barbeau’s ethnomusicological work further reinforces this point and reveals that Barbeau’s published musical material in the early part of his career was solely French-Canadian melodies. In 1933, following two field studies of the Tsimshian people of the Nass River region, Barbeau published the article “Songs of the Northwest” in a 1933 edition of *The Musical Quarterly*. This was his first published collection of indigenous melodies. Prior to this, Barbeau’s most well-known research on indigenous life was his 1915 study *Classification of Iroquoian Radicals with Subjective Pronominal Prefixes*. Marius Barbeau, “Songs of the Northwest,” *The Musical Quarterly* 19/1 (January 1933): 101-111, and Israel J. Katz, “Marius Barbeau 1883-1969,” *Ethnomusicology* 14/1 (January 1970), 129-142, and Lawrence Nowry, *Man of Mana: Marius Barbeau* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1995), 106-258.
As neither of these anthropological collections documented Huron music, Weinzweig’s music for this show de-emphasizes the modernist accuracy that shaped other CBC and NFB docudramas about indigenous people from this time. By contrast, in *The Great Flood*, Weinzweig’s music conveys a pan-indigenous identity in which any vaguely “Indian rhythms and lines” may be substituted for one another, whether the source is Canadian government collections of songs gathered in northern British Columbia or Northern Canada.³³⁴ Mavor Moore’s script acts in concert with this pan-indigenous musical idea. The play references totem poles, despite being a retelling of a Huron-Wendat legend. Weinzweig’s music, coupled with Moore’s story and his portrayals of both indigenous characters and cultural iconography, reveal that this episode is much more in keeping with the type of pastiche-filled pan-indigenous representation found in Canadian and American melodramas of the 1800s, leaning towards cultural appropriation and misrepresentation, rather than the modernist attempts at accurate classification of Canadian indigenous peoples which often characterized works of this era. Much like the musical dramas of the early twentieth century, such as Frederick Burton’s *Hiawatha* (1899), Theodore Bendix’s *The Squaw Man* (1905), and Rollin Bond’s *Sacajawea: Indian Intermezzo* (1910), the *Great Flood* depends on musical exoticism to represent indigenous music. Both the score and script for the radio drama act as a musical and textual symbol for an idealized depiction of indigeneity.

At the same time, *The Great Flood* is also a unique work in Weinzweig’s corpus not only because it represents his own shift from documentary to dramatic programming, or the tension between modernism and melodramatic pastiche, but also because *The Great Flood* premiered on

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³³⁴ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Huron Indian Legend is Wednesday Feature.”
CBC’s *Wednesday Night*, which was CBC’s first program solely devoted to arts and culture. It marks a shift in Weinzweig’s career away from propaganda and towards artistic programming. The presence of *Wednesday Night* in CBC’s programming roster marked a reconsideration of who radio was for and what radio could be. Rather than a means to disseminate propaganda or other information relevant to the war, or a tool to educate Canadians about history, industry, or landscape, *Wednesday Night* was a new type of program for a new type of postwar audience: Canadians who valued and celebrated arts and culture. But while *The Great Flood* and the program on which it was premiered at first do not seem like a possible site for the cultivation of national affect in the same way as World War II era propaganda, there is still that possibility in arts and culture programming. *The Great Flood* is a marked departure from other CBC and NFB programs that celebrate government intervention, victory in the war, and the creation of the Canadian welfare state, but as the remainder of the chapter will demonstrate, the governmental effort at creating a national cultural life is also a means for constructing shared emotional nationalism.

*The Great Flood* is a complex work that lies at the juncture between a melodramatic and a modernist representation of indigeneity, between propaganda and arts and culture programming, and between the war and postwar era means of creating national emotion. In order to discuss these issues, this chapter explores the circumstances of the creation of Moore’s script and how his characterization relates to stereotypical and melodramatic representations of indigeneity, the characteristics of Weinzweig’s score and his use of transcribed indigenous melodies and attempts to portray a romantic indigeneity, and finally the controversy surrounding the *Wednesday Night Series* and the performance of *The Great Flood*. Despite its rootedness in the traditions of romantic melodramas about native North Americans rather than factual documentaries and its unique position in Weinzweig’s corpus, *The Great Flood* and the context
of its first performance are, much like early CBC and NFB docudramas, surrounded by questions of Canada’s budding cultural life, and issues of race, representation, and how strangers living within a nation are constructed and understood.

4.1 Indigenous Characterization and Melodrama: Moore’s Script for The Great Flood

*The Great Flood* tells of the experiences of a pair of Huron brothers, Glooskap and Kopi, as they embark on an adventure that ends with the flooding and remaking of the world; the story is similar to Noah’s Ark, the Epic of Gilgamesh, and other flood myths. Glooskap is a fool and a romantic who often wanders and at times leads his people astray, attempting to get them to move from their homes. This absent-minded dreamer lacks any type of life or narrative purpose until he sees the White Doe, the allegorical figure for happiness, singing. Immediately, Glooskap is infatuated and begins his quest to find the doe who scampers into the forest and out of sight the moment she finishes her first song. The doe cannot be caught, just as people cannot find happiness when they are actively looking and waiting for it. But before that moral is taught, Glooskap is captured by evil giant sea lions who secretly rule the world. Kopi searches for his brother, meeting various human and animal characters on his search, eventually discovering that Glooskap has been captured by the sea lions. Kopi, disguised in the skin of a frog, the sea lion King’s former doctor, kills the sea lion king. In anger, the sea lions flood the world, and the world is reborn. The opening chorus for *The Great Flood* summarizes the drama before it unfolds:

Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo
Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo

From the leaf rustle
Will come a breeze:
From the eddy of the paddle
There will rise
A great sea-dwelling:
Over the flat land
Many mighty dwellings
Interrupt the wind.

Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo
Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo

Out of the Soft earth
Will come plenty,
Roots and flowers both
Increasing gently.
Out of the hard earth
Will come riches,
Out of the cold north
Where night watches.

Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo
Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo

Let the anti-shadows of light
Ring out across the land,
And illustrate the dark
Geology of the mind.
Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo
Ah-Ay-Oh-Oo

Moore’s retelling of the flood narrative hinges on the contrast between the two main characters: Kopi and Glooskap. The two men are, respectively, a common indigenous archetype found in literature and art, and a well-known mythological figure whose character bears similarity in name only. Kopi, as a “man of direct action” who bravely rescues his brother is clearly a noble “Indian,” a character first imagined in late 1800s American literature such as James Fenimore Cooper’s *Leatherstocking* series and known for being spiritual, yet practical, brave, yet wise. Moore establishes Kopi as a “noble Indian” before the true action of the drama begins. Following the opening chorus, which summarizes a large part of the dramatic action of the radio play, Kopi recites what at first appears to be a powerful and almost egotistical soliloquy:

I am Kopi the chief, descended from the Eagle.
I am your chief.
I am your chief wherever you are,
Here in the camp or flying about all over the country.
I am too great for you to escape.
I am too great for anyone ever to vanquish me.
I am too great to be bitten by those little mosquitos that are flying about:
I am too great to be bitten by those little black flies that are flying about:
And if they should bite me,

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I am too great to feel the bite of a little mosquito or a little black fly.\textsuperscript{337}

Kopi, “descended from the Eagle” is clearly tied to the land, but at the same time also clearly holds dominion over it, unable to even feel the bite of a mosquito or black fly. Kopi’s recitation, prefacing the main dramatic action of the story, foreshadows the brave actions he undertakes (such as his long and perilous journey, disguising himself to fool the evil sea lions, and rescuing his brother), and also establishes him as a distinctly noble character.

In his 2003 book, \textit{The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative}, Thomas King traces the history of the representation of indigenous North Americans, both past and present. King discusses the idea of indigeneity in the context of colonialism and suggests that following the assimilation and mass-deaths of many indigenous North Americans, the dominant culture in both Canada and the United States was required to re-imagine and re-create indigenous people in the absence of actual indigenous people. According to King, the re-imagined “Indian” was a “wild, free, powerful, noble, handsome, philosophical, eloquent, solitary, Indian – pardon me, solitary male Indian … a cultural treasure, a piece of North American antiquity. A mythic figure who could reflect the strength and freedom of an emerging continent. A national Indian.”\textsuperscript{338} The character of Kopi, along with \textit{The Great Flood} as a whole, falls clearly into the lineage of this idealized re-imagining of a national indigeneity. Kopi is discerning and brave, frequently acting in the best interest of the people he leads. He is deeply spiritual, praying to the Sky God following the slaying of a frog whose skin he uses as a disguise. He rescues his brother from the sea lions, and he helps rebuild the earth following a great flood. King relates the construction of


\textsuperscript{338} Thomas King, \textit{The Truth About Stories}, 79.
the “national Indian” to the nineteenth century literary convention of the noble/savage dichotomy and discusses early-nineteenth century American author James Fenimore Cooper’s treatment of that literary trope. King asserts that in Cooper’s romantic frontier novels such as the

*Leatherstocking Tales*, a series which included *Last of the Mohicans*, he creates a dichotomy between indigenous characters. According to King, Cooper’s indigenous men are either noble or savage: “noble Indians helped Whites and died for their trouble [and] savage Indians hindered Whites and died for their trouble.”

While *The Great Flood* is not a typical frontier narrative with conflict between white settlers and “savage Indians,” without a doubt, Kopi’s role as the hero of his brother’s rescue along with his spiritual nature makes him a clear example of Cooper’s archetype of the noble Indian. Whether a noble or national Indian, Moore’s characterization of Kopi is deeply entrenched in an idealized vision of what it means to indigenous.

But while it appears that the character of Kopi is fully constructed out of this imagined national, noble, male Indian, Moore occasionally problematizes the idea of Kopi as wholly pure or noble. He does this in two main ways. First, immediately following Kopi’s soliloquy, the young chief expresses deep embarrassment, and it becomes clear that the soliloquy is something that he is required to recite by the religious leaders of his tribe and not something he says voluntarily. Following his incantation, Kopi states “There! I’m thankful that’s over with. Every time I stand up and repeat that nonsense, I feel like a Coyote, the liar. Is that really necessary Nanibajai?”

Nanibajai, the priest, insists that the recitation is absolutely necessary and that in

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reciting Kopi is promising his people all that they desire. Kopi’s protests against the required recitation reveals, rather comically, that while Kopi may at first appear to be a wholly “noble Indian,” he himself strongly opposes this image. While on the basis of his deeds and leadership Kopi falls into this romantic character archetype, Moore complicates the characterization slightly.

Moore further breaks apart Kopi’s characterization as a wholly “noble Indian” by having the entirety of Glooskap’s rescue hinge upon Kopi’s ability to act unethically, killing the medicine man, who is a frog, and dressing in the frog’s skin to disguise himself to rescue his brother. The frog informs Kopi that one of the sea lions is ill, and he (the frog) is a medicine man en-route to visit the old sea lion and heal him as the “men of medicine aren’t concerned with bad deeds.” Kopi is not at all happy with this, as the sea lions have captured Glooskap and have plans for the dreamer’s demise. After taking the frog’s life, Kopi sings a song of homage to the sky god, thanking him for the frog’s life. The text for the song is as follows:

Oh Sky forgive,
Borrowing the cover of my brother for
Good use only
Would I do it
For sacred use my knife goes thru it
Hear me oh sky
I take life only to live

Hear me oh sky and forgive

The text for the song points to an often mythologized and appropriated aspect of indigenous culture: the relationship between animal slaughter and spirituality. In his song, Kopi both thanks the sky god and begs forgiveness for the use of the frog’s flesh. This scene serves a couple of purposes; first it brings the story away from its largely satirical nature. There are many ridiculous moments in the story, from the characters bemoaning their quality of life in a comical manner at the opening when one of the elders suggests that “Glooskap, who started all this talk about moving … it’s time we tied him up and threw him into the lake to learn some sense,” to the entire premise of the story: that a young dreamer gets captured by the earth’s evil ruling sea lions while looking for happiness. Kopi’s song represents a rare moment of seriousness in a story where animals talk, and an annoying younger brother gets lost chasing a white doe.

Secondly, this scene encapsulates an important rhetorical underpinning to the indigenous imaginary. The idea of a spiritual practice that thanks a god for the sacrifice of an animal’s life would have been both foreign and profane for the 1940s listeners of The Great Flood. Kopi’s thanking of the sky god in song serves as a hallmark of otherness, an expression of a raw spirituality that exemplifies how closely tied indigenous Canadians were to the land, and how inherently different their spiritual praxis was from the largely white consumers of CBC programming. Yet so much of The Great Flood also attempts to reinforce sameness, with Moore pointing out the similarities between the drama and Noah’s ark, stating in the introduction to the

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drama that the story was “an Indian version of the great flood, which is also told of in the Bible – though very differently.”

“Oh Sky Forgive Me,” then, can be seen as turning The Great Flood away from comparisons with the story of Noah’s ark and towards what Daniel Francis describes as the “images of painted, tomahawk-wielding warriors in feather head-dresses mounted on horseback.” The scene serves to point out exactly how culturally, socially, and spiritually ‘other’ the indigenous people portrayed in The Great Flood are, despite the strong similarities between the flood myth portrayed in the drama and the flood myth found in the Bible.

Kopi’s moral rectitude is further complicated when he is required to swear allegiance to the sea lions, Earth’s cruel overlords, to gain access to the king. Kopi is required to swear that he “believe[s] in the almighty sea lions and the sea lion way of life [and that] they are destined to lead the world, while all others are destined to follow.” Following his oath to the sea lions, Kopi enters the king’s chamber dressed as a frog and promptly kills the ailing sea lion king. While the sea lions are cruel creatures who control the earth, in part, by imprisoning the White Doe, Kopi is required to murder, lie, and falsely pledge allegiance to vanquish the sea lion king in order to rescue Glooskap. Kopi is therefore a far more complex “Noble Indian” than any found in James Fenimore Cooper’s Leatherstocking Tales, and is required to act in ways which, at times, violate his noble nature in order to rescue his brother.

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Moore expresses a similar duality in the character of Glooskap. While Glooskap is labelled as a dreamer he is also an incredibly silly and foolish cultural Other. Glooskap’s foolish nature is discussed before he even appears in the drama, Nanibajai, the high priest, describes Glooskap as “a bad and dangerous influence on our young men. He won’t hunt, he won’t fight, he spends his time lolling about talking to the animals.” Glooskap’s status as a dreamer seems at first to bring him more harm than anything else. His discussions with the animals prompt him to leave his people and search for the White Doe, to be captured by the evil sea lions, and, eventually, to witness the flooding of the world. While Glooskap’s absentminded nature almost leads to his demise, Moore also characterizes Glooskap as absent minded and foolish. When talking to the owl about where to find the White Doe, Glooskap mournfully says “I’m sure your wife doesn’t rant you out of home just because you happen to hang the baby upside down,” revealing that he is occasionally a foolhardy and clumsy character. There is very little redemption for Glooskap. Even at the end of the story, long after it has been established that the White Doe is a ruse used by the sea lions to distract everyone who hunts for her from the power the ocean animals hold over the earth, Glooskap is determined to rescue her from the flood waters. This leads Kopi to exclaim to his brother, “Confound your White Doe!” Moore characterizes Glooskap in this matter either in spite of, or perhaps in order to satirize, the actual


nature of the Huron-Wendat mythological figure of Glooskap/Kluscap who is noble and godlike, and has the ability to commune with animals through song.

In Mi’kmaw culture, however, Glooskap or Kluskap, is a significant mythological figure, described in the first edition of *The American Journal of Folklore* as “a spiritual knight-errant.” In a more recent oral history project by The Canadian Museum of History, a Mi’kmaw elder describes Glooskap as a benevolent creator. As in *The Great Flood*, Glooskap has a twin brother, Malsm rather than Kopi, and they travel to earth in a giant canoe and create animals. Unlike noble Kopi, Malsm is evil and creates the badger and other malicious figures; in response to this, Glooskap eventually kills Malsm and creates humans. The most significant similarity in the characterization of Glooskap is in Glooskap’s ability to communicate with animals via music. In her 2012 article, “Sound and Music, Movement and Dance: Exploring the Relationship Between Mi’kmaw Expressive Culture and the Environment,” Janice Tulk notes that “Kluskap [Glooskap], a cultural hero featured in many narratives, is able to communicate with other creatures [through music],” and cites an instance where Glooskap summons a whale to shore using song. In *The Great Flood* Glooskap bears similarity to the indigenous legend only in being a twin and his musical relationship with animals. At the same time, his characterization in the play, as foolish and thoughtless, as a comedic figure who is captured by

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giant sea lions, is a misappropriation of the legend. Thus, due to this representation of Glooskap, the play oscillates between a melodramatic representation of indigeneity and an outright misrepresentation of a known Mi’Maw legend. Moore’s use of Glooskap’s name, and status as a twin for a character who is presented as a fool, grasps at authenticity while utterly misrepresenting and misappropriating an indigenous story.

Moore’s characterization of both Kopi and Glooskap fall into line with how indigenous men were generally represented in melodrama. It is also important to note that throughout the drama, the two main characters do not change drastically in their actions. Kopi is always a noble character who is slightly unwilling to embrace his role while Glooskap too remains the same. This lack of change or development is consistent with the construction of indigenous characters throughout CBC and NFB documentaries and docudramas of this era, as unchanging and static in history. This lack of development is certainly consistent with Thomas King’s assessment of indigenous characters in non-indigenous literature, that whether noble or savage, indigenous characters exist to either die or be defeated by white characters, they have no other purpose. Kopi and Glooskap complete an expedition that involves the overthrow of the evil sea lion and the remaking of the world, but they then continue on ambiguously into the future unchanged by what has happened. They are locked in a mythological and temporally ambiguous past, like many indigenous characters in the melodrama genre, rather than existing in the present or having any kind of future.

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354 King, The Truth About Stories, 103.
4.2 Anthropology and Melodrama: The Score for *The Great Flood*

John Weinzweig’s score for *The Great Flood* stands out as the only Canadian music broadcast in the first year of CBC’s *Wednesday Night*. The hour-long drama was accompanied by an a cappella choir and occasionally featured piccolo and percussion (timpani, tom-toms, snare drum, and suspended cymbal) interjecting and commenting on the drama as it unfolded. The score deviated from Weinzweig’s other work for the CBC in the 1940s, which was orchestral incidental music for serial docudramas. This was not, however, the only way in which the score for *The Great Flood* was unique. While Weinzweig’s other works for the CBC and NFB focused on representing landscape and indigenous cultures with some degree of authenticity, with *The White Empire* using “original eskimo [sic] music” to imagine the north and the score for *Our Canada* sonically representing Canadian landscape and industry, Weinzweig’s musical representation of indigenous peoples in *The Great Flood* worked in concert with Moore’s script to depict indigenous Canadians in a non-specific musical/satirical pastiche.\(^{355}\) Weinzweig accomplished this by orchestrating the score for an *a cappella* choir with occasional percussion, using vocables and wilderness-themed text, and finally, by drawing on a variety of existing collections of indigenous music compiled by Marius Barbeau and Diamond Jenness. This section will discuss how Weinzweig’s music works to reinforce the indigenous melodramatic narratives present in the play and how these representations of wilderness and indigenous peoples reinforce issues of representation and power.

In the opening chorus for the drama, Weinzweig evokes a setting inhabited by imagined natives. The alto, tenor, and baritone chorus begins with the sung vocables in the alto line singing “Ah Ay Oh Oo” repeated over the first four measures. In measure five, the tenor and baritone join the alto to end the phrase. This solo alto introduction later becomes the chorus for the opening song of *The Great Flood*. Michael Pisani cites the use of vocables, and words like totem poles, tomahawks, moccasins, wampum beads, and hatchet, as indigenous imagery that would be “already familiar from dime Western culture.”\(^{356}\) Weinzweig’s use of vocables in the opening chorus immediately brings to mind a world of imagined natives, without the culturally specific or accurate representation of any one indigenous culture.

Following the vocable-filled introduction, the choir enters with the first verse that both takes the environment as its topic and foreshadows the plot of the work. The first verse “From the leaf rustle/ will come a breeze:/ from the eddy of the paddle/ there will rise/ a great sea dwelling:/ over the flat land/many mighty dwellings/interrupt the wind,” not only serves to ground the story in a mythic conception of the wilderness but also serves to reveal how the story will unfold: Kopi will find his brother held captive by giant sea lions and in his attempt to rescue his brother the sea lions will cause a great flood, encompassing the world.\(^{357}\) The next verse jumps to an unrelated environmental topic and describes plant growth with the phrase “out of the soft earth/ will come plenty roots and flowers/both increasing gently.”\(^{358}\) These opening verses reveal the importance of wilderness in this work. The emphasis on landscape and wilderness

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\(^{356}\) Michael V. Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music*, 288.

\(^{357}\) John Weinzweig, *The Great Flood* (an Allegory for A Cappella Chorus, Piccolo, Percussion), text by Mavor Moore (Toronto: Canadian Music Centre, 1948), 1.

found in *The Great Flood* speaks to the topophilia, an interest in a landscape not ravaged by war, of war-era music and art.\textsuperscript{359}

While use of vocables and environmental text for the opening chorus of *The Great Flood* signal to the listener the primacy of wilderness in the drama, Weinzeig also evokes wilderness and imagined indigeneity in his scoring. A cappella voices singing vocables and percussion were the sole media for indigenous song with which Weinzeig would have been familiar. Due to the constraints on book distribution in Canada at this time, the only collections of indigenous music available to Weinzeig for use in the *The Great Flood* were Diamond Jenness and Helen Roberts’ *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* and *Three Songs of the West Coast*, an arrangement of transcriptions by Marius Barbeau. The latter collection consisted of the three songs “Outsiders, Behold Geedaranits,” “Na Du- Na Du,” and “Stop all this Idle Chatter: Aghuhlen HagWEEYAH,” and was arranged by Ernest MacMillan and published under the title *Three Songs of the West Coast: Recorded from Singers of Nass River Tribes Canada* in 1928.\textsuperscript{360}

Barbeau’s “Tsimshian Songs” in Viola Edmund Garfield’s 1951 volume *The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music* was not yet published at this time. It is possible that Weinzeig had access to the collections by the American anthropologist Francis Densmore but there is no indication of this in

\textsuperscript{359} Kitty Hauser explores the pastoral as a means to escape war in her 2007 book *Shadow Sites: Photography, Archaeology, and the British Landscape 1927-1955*, referring to this phenomenon as topophilia. According to Hauser, this infatuation with the countryside “involved the trawling of the British landscape for traces of a history that could be sensed even if it could not directly be seen.” Imaging perfect and bucolic landscapes allowed for distraction from the horrors of war and postwar life. Kitty Hauser, *Shadow Sites: Photography, Archaeology, and the British Landscape 1927-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 2.

\textsuperscript{360} Marius Barbeau, *Three Songs of the West Coast* (Recorded from Singers of Nass River Tribes Canada), arranged by Ernest MacMillan, translated by Duncan Campbell Scott (London and Toronto: The Frederick Harris Company, 1928).
the first few pages of the sketchbook for the radio drama.\textsuperscript{361} As a result of all of this, the use of
solo voices with percussion was the only musical representation of indigeneity known to the
composer at this time.

Weinzweig further reinforces his musical representation of melodramatic indigeneity
with the harmonic and textural profile of the opening chorus. Despite the fact that Weinzweig
was becoming well-established as the foremost composer of serial art music in Canada, the
opening chorus for \textit{The Great Flood} is simply in G minor. Likewise, while the solo alto voice
opens with the vocables “AH- Ay Oh oo,” when she is joined by the baritone and tenor, the
harmony stays in unison doubled at the octave. Weinzweig explores counterpoint in some of the
sections of the chorus, setting both the end of the first stanza of text: the phrase “many mighty
dwellings” and the beginning of the second verse “out of the soft earth/will come plenty/roots
and flowers” contrapuntally. The texture of the chorus is primarily monophonic and doubled at
the octave. When there is harmonization between the three lines, it is often at the fifth or fourth.
Weinzweig uses this relatively simple texture and harmonization to evoke a primitive musical
past. The opening chorus is in the G natural minor tonality rather than the pentatonic tonality that
often carries with it implications of primitivism or folk music. The natural minor has also
historically been used to represent indigeneity. Pisani notes that in the Irving Berlin musical
\textit{Annie Get Your Gun} (1946), both the ceremonial chant and Annie’s song “But I’m an Indian

\textsuperscript{361} Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for \textit{The Great
Flood}, 1948, MUS 154 1990-12 box 1 folder 2.
Too” are in the natural minor. In addition to this, Weinzweig uses simplistic musical texture, harmony, and a minor tonality to evoke his imagined musical indigeneity.

While we now understand much indigenous Canadian music to be heterophonic with microtonal harmonies, this was not true of the transcriptions of indigenous song that Weinzweig would have been able to access. Songs of the Copper Eskimo assigns key signatures and meters to monophonic transcriptions of Inuit song, and Ernest MacMillan’s arrangement of three songs collected by Barbeau in the Nass River region set a solo and tonal vocal line with piano accompaniment. In addition, the issues inherent in the harmonization and texture of the opening chorus for The Great Flood point to a semiotic entanglement that lies at the heart of much of 1940s CBC programming which sought to musically represent indigenous Canadians. CBC listeners of the 1940s would likely not have had much exposure to indigenous music, at least in the form that it is understood today. Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye’s singing of Barbeau’s collected Nass River songs was heard in concert along Totem Land (1927), Barbeau’s second ethnographic film when it premiered in both Montreal and Toronto. But beyond this film, and because of the restriction of indigenous cultural practices brought about by the Indian Act, Weinzweig’s interpretation of indigenous music as heard in his CBC broadcasts could be understood by listeners as an authentic representation of First Nations music and cultural life. The use of ambiguous and exoticized representations of indigenous music as a symbol for First Nations culture is one of central problems with the CBC programming from this era.

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362 Pisani, Imagining Native America in Music, 289-290.

Although the score for the opening chorus of *The Great Flood* illustrates how Weinzweig represented indigenous music using an a cappella choir, homophony, and unison textures, the use of the “reed flute” or piccolo further anchors the indigenous music in *The Great Flood* in an ambiguous musical exoticism. The piccolo is first introduced as a solo instrument in an instrumental figure before “Song of the White Doe,” when Glooskap, the dreamer and fool, first sees the White Doe. Glooskap has left his village, in part, because he doesn’t belong. He dreams rather than works, and often faces the wrath of his wife, Skookum, and his community for his behavior.\(^{364}\) While Glooskap consults with an owl at a nearby lake about his troubles, the owl suggests that his problem is that Glooskap has not seen happiness and contentment; he has never

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\(^{364}\) Aside from the White Doe, Skookum is the only other female character in the radio drama and she is characterized, problematically, as an angry, bitter, and nagging woman. The history of the name Skookum is also very complex. While Skookum translates into strong, in Chinook Wawa, a pidgin language which combines French, English, and the lower Chinook language, Skookum is also the name of a female indigenous doll sold as a collectible item from about 1920 onwards in Canada and the United States. The doll, made with an apple head which wrinkles as the apple dries over time is both a kitschy and derogatory representation of indigenous women. Whether Moore knew this history is uncertain, but that the only human female character is characterized this way and assigned this name speaks to the complex history of representation of indigenous women. Sam Sullivan and Jay Powell, “Chinook Wawa,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/chinook-jargon/ (accessed February 14, 2018).

seen the White Doe. Suddenly, music that is described in Moore’s script as “a strange reed figure” interrupts Glooskap’s conversation with the owl as the White Doe comes to the lake to bathe.365 As the Doe sings by the lake, Glooskap and the owl look on admiring her beauty. As the Doe’s song ends and she leaves the lake, the music of the reed figure returns and fades into the distance, and Glooskap, entranced by her beauty and the possibility of happiness and contentment, begins a chase to find the White Doe—an adventure that will take him far from home.

Because Moore refers to the piccolo as a “strange reed” in the script and because the instrument acts as a sonic representation of a cloven-hoofed deer, it is possible that Moore and Weinzweig are evoking the legend of Pan and all the attendant associations with nature, beauty, and the pastoral. Pan, a mixture of goat and human, is a god of shepherds and flocks who, after being rejected by the Syrinx, fashions a flute out of reeds. He is often used in literature and music to represent an idealized version of the natural.366 To further reinforce this relationship, Weinzweig’s meandering piccolo melody in “The Song of the Doe,” quotes in measure three, Debussy’s solo flute work Syrinx (1913), a work which musically tells the story of Pan’s love and eventual murder of the nymph, Echo. Weinzweig further references Syrinx through the use of a wandering and, at times, chromatic melody, accented by grace notes.

While Weinzweig situates the music of The Great Flood in an imagination of both indigeneity and the natural through orientalizing harmonic and orchestration choices and an


366 “Pan” in William F. Hanson, The Handbook of Classical Mythology, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 254,257.
allusion to Pan, “Song of the White Doe” is also a clear example of how Weinzweig borrowed from collections of indigenous song. Weinzweig’s borrowing of the Inuit music collected by Jenness and Roberts is particularly apparent in his reference to “song of the white doe” on the third page of the sketchbook.  

Weinzweig refers to the song along with a page number. Because Weinzweig wrote the reference to “song of [the white] doe” on the same page as other transcribed melodic excerpts from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, it is likely that the phrase “Song of the White Doe P 84” refers to a melody from *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* which Weinzweig wished to reference in the song.

![Figure 23 Weinzweig’s reference to p 84 next to his reference to “Song of the White Doe”](image)

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367 Library and Archives Canada, John Weinzweig fonds, John Weinzweig Sketchbook for *The Great Flood*, 1948, MUS 154 1990-12 box 1 folder 2.
Figure 24 “Song of the White Doe”

Figure 25 Melody 15 from Songs of the Copper Eskimo
Figure 26 Melody 18 from Songs of the Copper Eskimo

Melody 15 on page 84 of Songs of the Copper Eskimo is referenced towards the end of the “Song of the White Doe.” The first four measures alternate between syncopated and eighth and quarter triplet figures leaping either a third or a fourth. Weinzweig echoes the melodic and rhythmic figures found in the melody no. 15 in the final measures of the song, when the doe sings the phrase “when I bathe, I bathe alone, and the waters are joyful.” Melody no. 15 is referenced in the final parts of the song along with melody 18, on page 94, which is transcribed directly below Weinzweig’s text referencing “Song of [the White] Doe P. 84” is also used. Like melody 15, melody 18 is also syncopated and involves a leap of a third, this time descending from B to G. The reference to melody 18 can be seen in the 7/8 measures of “Song of the White Doe.” The use of melodies from Songs of the Copper Eskimo illustrates how little musical authenticity and accuracy mattered in this production. Rather than attempting to represent Huron music, matching the legend being retold to the score of the work, the music of The Great Flood conveys indigenous Canadian music in a way that distills a multiplicity of indigenous musics into a lone “Indian” identity. This distillation was not atypical of Indianist melodrama from the century prior but is significant because of the frequency with which Weinzweig’s music was portrayed and promoted as authentic.

But while an idealized and melodramatic construction of indigeneity is apparent in the score for The Great Flood through the use of vocables, romantic indigenous tropes, and the borrowing of music from both Barbeau and Roberts/Jenness, the work also constructs indigeneity with a musical and textual reference to Weinzweig and Moore’s interpretation of
indigenous spirituality. This is particularly apparent in the baritone solo labelled in the score as “ritual song.”

Figure 27 “Oh Sky Forgive Me!”

The spiritual otherness displayed in Kopi’s song of thanks is echoed in Weinzweig’s score. He labels this section of the score as “ritual song,” a reference to the musical and cultural difference of Kopi and compatriots. Tonally, the “ritual song” switches between G major and e minor sonorities; descending minor thirds between g and e and octave leaps are heard throughout. The piece ends with an octave leap on g, followed by a descending chromatic line to the fifth, d. Overall, the emphasis on the sixth degree of the scale gives the ritual song a modal sound, which helps emphasize the musical and cultural otherness established by both the act of sacrificing the frog’s life and thanking an animistic god for the gift. In contrast to the hints at modality, the ritual song is written in a declamatory style, which resembles recitative. This helps to advance the plot quickly and reveals Kopi’s spirituality. Overall, the ritual song, “Oh Sky Forgive Me” serves to further anchor the representation of indigeneity in *The Great Flood* in nineteenth century musical and artistic conventions. Not only is “Oh Sky Forgive Me” a powerful evocation of indigenous otherness, but it is also deeply tied to musical notions of indigeneity growing out of the melodrama genre.
This section highlights the significant characteristics of Weinzweig’s score for *The Great Flood*. Weinzweig’s music often depicts indigenous Canadians in a romantic and nostalgic manner not at all reflective of the present reality in 1948, despite his attempts at modernist musical accuracy through the quotation of song collections. The result of Weinzweig’s music combined with Moore’s script is the understanding of indigenous people as so firmly rooted in the past that their lives cannot continue. Weinzweig’s use of both Inuit music collected and transcribed by Jenness and Roberts and Tsimshian music collected by Barbeau and arranged by Ernest MacMillan to accompany what Mavor Moore labelled as “Huron legend,” coupled with his use of modal references and vocables reflects a representation of indigenous Canadians more focused on a melodramatic and pan-indigenous idea of indigeneity than a presentation of indigenous people that was consistent with the anthropological work conducted in this era.\(^{368}\)

While the promotional material for *The Great Flood* does not label the drama as a documentary, Moore’s assertion that the play is a legend that Weinzweig and Moore attempted to have “as much fun as possible” with creates the possibility that the musical representation of indigenous peoples in this work is authentic, even if the story is not.\(^{369}\)

In her essay “Native Songs, Indianist Styles, and the Processes of Music Idealization,” Tara Browner explores the proliferation of Alice Fletcher and John Comfort Filmore’s transcriptions, *A Study of Omaha Indian Music*, into a variety of musical genres. She argues that while *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* was only a single group of pieces, Fillmore and Fletcher’s...
work led to the construction of “two primary Indian musical stereotypes: Those of *all* men singing in a high, often falsetto range, and a stressed downbeat, signifying a kind of musical marching in place that gives the music a static effect, both of which entered the larger American musical vocabulary as an ‘Indian sound’ through film score.” 370 Likewise, Weinzweig’s score for *The Great Flood* relies both on existing indigenous musical stereotypes such as vocables, vocal music accompanied only by percussion, modal tonality, and large intervallic leaps. These stereotypical “calling cards” of musical indigeneity, combined with Weinzweig’s use of both Inuit and Tsimshian music, creates a musical pastiche that represents a non-culturally specific idiom of indigenous music that could be remapped onto any representation of indigenous culture.

While the score for *The Great Flood* employs a stereotypical ideal of indigeneity, it also alludes to American Indian melodramas, bearing a similarity to plays such as George Scarborough’s *Heart of Wetona* (1916) and William DeMille’s *Strong Heart* (1905), both of which use representations of indigenous culture and song to tell romantic and moral tales of love and loss, battles and bravery. 371 From the nineteenth century onward, the lives of indigenous peoples were increasingly under government control: people were moved to reservations and children to government schools where their cultural practices were restricted. Pisani notes that “in popular American culture these spaces served as a fixed locus of idyllic romance,” a romantic fantasy stands in for the lived and often oppressive reality. 372 Weinzweig’s score for *The Great


371 Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music*, 247-249.

372 Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music*, 245.
Flood occupies this same imaginary space, where indigeneity is presented as a past reality that exists in a world where animals talk, and deer guide people to find true happiness.\textsuperscript{373}

At the same time, the very presence of borrowed melodies collected by Diamond Jenness, Helen Roberts, and Marius Barbeau in Weinzweig’s score for The Great Flood underscore the tensions between Moore’s romantic imagined indigenous past and the present reality of indigenous peoples in Canada. Jenness’ work for the Southern Party Expedition and after had lasting impact on the Inuit, as both their increased contact with Canadians and the collapse of the fur trade in the 1930s led to the Inuit becoming, at first, wards of the provincial and territorial governments in which they resided, and then in 1939, included in the federal government Indian Act following the Re Eskimo Supreme Court decision.\textsuperscript{374} Inuit children at this time were sent initially to residential schools administered by the Anglican and Catholic churches and later, following the Second World War, to schools administered by the Canadian federal government.\textsuperscript{375} Barbeau’s transcriptions of Tsimshian songs are also deeply entrenched in the history of state-run anthropology, as the anthropologist worked for decades for the Museum Branch of the Geological Survey of Canada (later the National Museum, then the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and now the Canadian Museum of History) and collected songs, photos, and ethnographic data about indigenous peoples in British Columbia, Alberta, and the Maritimes.

\textsuperscript{373} This refers to the scene prior to “The Song of the White Doe” in which Glooskap consults with an owl who reveals that true happiness and contentment are only found through the White Doe. York University Archives, Mavor Moore fonds, “Mavor Moore, Script for The Great Flood,” 1948, 1976-001-006 folder 10d, 1-2.


\textsuperscript{375} Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Canada’s Relationship with the Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development.
Weinzweig’s borrowing of melodies collected by Jenness, Roberts, and Barbeau reveals the difference between the romanticized ideal of indigenous life presented in *The Great Flood* and the present reality in the late 1940s and early 1950s, which found indigenous Canadians on government allotted reservations with their children educated in English and French, rather than their mother tongue, in federal or religious residential schools. The time when indigenous people moved freely in Canada on hunting expeditions or spiritual quests (as Glooskap does in *The Great Flood*) had been replaced by anthropological documentation and government restriction of movement and cultural practices.

Both Weinzweig’s quotation of indigenous music and his use of melodramatic musical conventions, reveal that *The Great Flood* constructs musical indigeneity in a complex and at times, exoticized fashion that relies on stereotypical ideas of what it means to be indigenous. This idyllic view of indigenous peoples fit into the type of music and literature programmed on the CBC *Wednesday Night* show, as most works performed on the broadcast reflected the musical and literary canon which privileged “great works” from nineteenth century Europe to teach Canadians about culture and cater to middle class and educated radio audiences. The next section will discuss the role of *The Great Flood* on this program and how a uniquely Canadian episode on a cultural program could be the site of construction of nationalist affect or emotion.

### 4.3 The Great Flood and CBC’s Wednesday Night: Context and Affect

While *The Great Flood* stands alone as a dramatic work, it was also part of the series *Wednesday Night*, a program that ran, in various forms, from 1947 to 1979, becoming an institution in the cultural life of Canada. The one to three hour series, which featured a
combination of drama and music, began in December of 1947.376 Both the CBC program listing, an internal document used for record keeping, and the publicly distributed CBC Times and weekly program schedules reveal that the series content varied from performances of plays, to broadcasts of instrumental music and opera, to dramatic readings of literature.377 In 1948, the October 6 and October 13 episodes were devoted to “A Layman’s History of Music” which traced music history from medieval times to the present. The October 6, 1948 episode began with “the music of primitive man … unwittingly [discovering] the basics of music melody and rhythm,” continuing with Gregorian chant and Sumer is Icumen in and ending with music of the Baroque.378 The October 13, 1948 episode began with Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony and toured through the romantic composers, ending with works by Stravinsky and Britten. Len Kuffert notes that the program “was intended to appeal to the active listener for whom music had been a closed book.”379 Both the variety of dramatic and musical programming found on Wednesday Night and the educational nature of episodes such as “A Layman’s History of Music” reveal that Wednesday Night was a program that strove to build a cultural life in Canada,

376 The program remained as Wednesday Night until 1963, changing both name and time to CBC Sunday Night from 1963 to 1965, and to Tuesday Night from 1965 to 1979. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Library, CBC Radio Dramas Listings of Program 1944-71, 1971, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Papers, R470 CBC /CC.

377 Other dramas produced for Wednesday Night in 1948 included A Fantasy on Arabian Nights, Shakespeare’s Richard II and Hamlet, and Hawthorne’s The Scarlet Letter. Music featured in the series included a rendition of Mozart’s opera The Impresario, concerts of the works of Scarlatti, and other major orchestral and solo works. This document lists the dramas and readings that were part of the CBC Wednesday Night program by episode. It also includes the names of the producers for each program and the names of the authors who adapted the works performed into radio dramas. CBC Radio Dramas Listings of Program 1944-71, ibid.


educating the public about great works of music, drama, and literature, particularly because during the war, as Kuffert notes, art music works had been “cordoned off as objects of veneration.”380 This was in response to what was thought of at the time as a new group of Canadians who held an interest in arts, culture, literature, and music that transcended class or geography. Brooke Claxton, then Minister of Health and Education, described this group as “people who read books” and advocated for programming of all kinds for this new segment of Canadians in the time leading up to the Massey Commission.381 Aside from this, European art music and literary works presented a safe choice for the CBC in programming. Kuffert notes that “these forms of music were for the most part safely distant from what commercial stations viewed as their bread and butter, so the CBC could explore them without fear of duplicating service nationally.”382 The CBC was uniquely situated to program cultural works both philosophically—as a means of public education, and practically—due to the unique position occupied by the broadcaster.

In the first year of the production, the CBC celebrated the program’s success at meeting both its educative and cultural goals. In the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Annual Report: A Record of National Radio in Canada 1947-48, several pages are devoted to a discussion of the success of Wednesday Night, marking the first time in the history of the organization that the annual report documented the CBC’s dramatic programming, as previous annual reports were significantly less comprehensive. From 1932 until 1946, the annual reports simply recorded

380 Kuffert, Canada Before Television, 180.
382 Kuffert, Canada Before Television, 186.
demographic information, finances, and discussed the broadcaster’s role in the war effort. Conversely, the 1947-48 annual report featured discussions of new and successful programs and reveals that *Wednesday Night* was aimed at “the discriminating listener,” as “it [had] long been felt that a considerable number of listeners would welcome a whole evening devoted to a more advanced and challenging type of broadcasting and it would be to the general advantage of broadcasting and the public if an effort were made to show the wider possibilities of radio as a force in the cultural life of Canada.”

The report discusses opera performances, plays, and readings of T.S. Eliot’s poetry, and highlights the March 24th performance of Bach’s *Saint Matthew Passion*. *Wednesday Night* clearly reflects how, as Maria Tippett writes, the “interest in fostering cultural life [became] a principal objective of cultural producers, politicians, and bureaucrats” following the end of the Second World War.

Similarly, in a 1950 article titled “Domestic Broadcasting in Canada,” Walter Kingson and Rome Cowgill note that “the CBC has been gratified at the success of *Wednesday Night*, and it points out that the series is proof that the corporation has fulfilled … its obligations,” fostering the development of Canadian artists.

The documents surrounding the early broadcasts of *Wednesday Night*, including reports, criticism, and promotional materials, emphasizes the importance of the CBC in assisting in the development of Canadian cultural life.

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At the same time, the cultural life fostered by *Wednesday Night* was both highbrow and Eurocentric. According to the CBC program listing, Weinzeig and Moore’s show provided the only original Canadian content in the 1948 season. Stephen Leacock’s play, *The Great Election*, was adapted and performed on the March 9, 1949 episode. The lack of Canadian works, particularly in a program that attempted to develop cultural life in the late 1940s, is not altogether shocking. *Wednesday Night* became an established CBC program four years before the 1951 Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, which produced a document informally known as the Massey Report that called for increased funding for Canadian artistic and scientific projects. Also in 1951, Weinzeig, along with Harry Somers, founded the Canadian League of Composers. Thus, the programming of largely European works in the early years of *Wednesday Night* reflects the pre-Massey Report understanding of cultural life as inherently valuable only if it is firmly rooted in the weight of Europe’s history; advocacy for Canadian works was still in its nascent years. At the same time, Karush points at the way that cultural programming can be used for the construction of nationhood, or nationalist affect, even if that cultural programming is European. Karush asserts that “consumption was a key site for this process of national identity formation. In consuming European imports, Latin Americans were engaged in an effort to create local versions of modernity which they understood to be centered in Europe.” Even if it is strongly European, merely the act of developing a cultural life (or in the case of CBC’s *Wednesday Night*, a crown corporation developing that cultural life), can be a process which assists in the cultivation of nationalist affect among listeners. At the

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386 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Library, CBC Radio Dramas Listings of Program 1944-71, 1971, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Papers, R470 CBC /CC.

same time, a program like *Wednesday Night*, with its focus on European art music, perhaps set the tone for this type of cultural programming for decades to come on the CBC—one steeped in the Western classical tradition and Canadian versions of Western art music.

How then, does *The Great Flood*, a play written by a young, and, at the time, not particularly well known Canadian playwright, Mavor Moore, accompanied by a score composed by a young composer, John Weinzweig whose compositional output at the CBC had thus far been for propaganda-heavy radio docudramas and military band music, fit into the idea of elite programming meant to develop Canada’s culture? The program guide *CBC Times*, for the week of July 25-31, provides a possible explanation: the culture that the July 28th broadcast of *Wednesday Night* shared with educated Canadian listeners was the country’s indigenous culture. Aside from the performance of *The Great Flood*, the radio program also featured “the fine Iroquois choir of St. Francis Xavier Mission, located on the Caughnawaga Indian Reserve near Montreal.”

The choir, directed by the parish priest, Alfred Bernier, had been established as a touring performing group since the beginning of the decade and sang mainly hymns translated into the local dialect. Weinzweig’s and Moore’s *The Great Flood* fit into the larger narrative of the July 28th *Wednesday Night* episode, which sought to educate Canadian listeners about indigenous culture. Weinzweig had already established himself as an expert on setting Canadian indigenous music, with his score for the 1945 wartime series about the north, *The White Empire*,

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as well as the vocal composition from the same year, *To the Lands Over Yonder*, while *The Great Flood* helped Moore establish a decade-long career at the CBC, before moving on to both writing and directing in Canada and abroad.\(^{390}\)

The presence of the Saint Francis Xavier Mission choir fits into a trend of 1940s government funded programming that documents the successes of the Indian Act and reinforces the narrative of the necessity of colonization and civilization of First Nations peoples. Likewise, while *The Great Flood* represented Weinzweig’s first and only foray into solely dramatic programming, melodramas that tell an indigenous story can be traced from *Tecumseh* to the 1990s CBC production *North of 60* and beyond.\(^{391}\) The combination of *The Great Flood* with the performance of a reserve mission choir, makes the July 28th, 1948 broadcast of *Wednesday Night* a possible locus for institutional power and a clear example of the role of indigenous cultural life in the creation of Canadian national affect. While the broadcast aimed to share indigenous culture with Canadian audiences, it also retold an allegedly indigenous story and provided documentary evidence (in the St. Xavier Mission choir) of the virtues of the Indian Act. Thus, the July 28th episode represents indigenous Canadians as historical objects firmly rooted in

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\(^{391}\) Since Europeans first landed in North America, people have attempted to retell aboriginal stories in a way which fits into Western and Euro-centric musical, literary and cultural structures. Michael Pisani traces this history, documenting the representation of indigenous peoples from the seventeenth century French court to twentieth century Western films in his 2005 book *Imagining Native America in Music*. Likewise, Mary Jane Miller explores the role of indigenous Canadians in Canadian dramatic television shows in her 2008 book, *Outside Looking In*. The romanticized representation of aboriginal people reached its greatest height during the nineteenth and early twentieth century when art of all forms (paintings, music, writing) about aboriginal people become popular as a means to cultivate a separate identity from North America’s European past. Dramatic reinterpretations of Longfellow’s *Song of Hiawatha* and Charles Mair’s long poem *Tecumseh* were particularly significant during this time they became vehicles for ideas of love, battle, and heroism so important during this era. *The Great Flood* very much grows out of, and is a part of the history of the creation of a melodramatic story of indigeneity by colonizing forces.
the past by retelling not only a romanticized legend from long ago, but also by documenting the Canadian government’s colonial success at fundamentally altering their culture. At the same time, the fact that The Great Flood and the performance of the reserve mission choir were the only Canadian programming on the first season of Wednesday Night suggests that indigenous culture was appropriated as the most exotic and exciting aspect of Canadian culture. Dylan Robinson calls the phenomenon of using indigenous culture to represent Canada as part of the marketing of a “unique (as a modality for the exotic) national identity.” Canadian cultural programming at the end of the 1940s was characterized by both an excess of European art and music, and representations of indigenous culture as a stand in for Canadian culture. This is not isolated to the inclusion of The Great Flood on Wednesday Night, as indicated by the fact that The Red Ear of Corn, Weinzweig’s score for Volkoff’s French-Canadian and indigenous ballet, was premiered on the program in 1949.

It is important to note, however, that at the time the reception of The Great Flood was, in general, glowingly positive. In the sole extant published review, John Watson discusses the play in the August 28, 1948 Saturday Night magazine, a Toronto-based periodical which reviewed cultural events, covered political issues, and discussed women’s issues in a section featuring fashions and recipes. Watson, overall, approved of the drama, stating:

Surely there is no other phenomenon in this Dominion which appears quite so ludicrous as that of the present-day city bred Canadian trying to emulate the ways of his red-skinned brethren: let a Canadian loose among the customs and ceremonies of


393 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Library, CBC Radio Dramas Listings of Program 1944-71, 1971, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Papers,R470 CBC /CC.
the North American Indian and he is almost sure to make an ass of himself … [The Great Flood] is almost the first adaptation of Indian lore … which doesn’t make the Indians look rather silly and ourselves even sillier … In The Great Flood [Moore] has produced a Canadian work without a trace of “Canadianism” about it. He has managed to retain the simplicity and the rather lovely fantasy of the Indian legend and at the same time to use it as the basis for an immensely witty satire on some of the more iniquitous elements of modern society. 394

Watson’s ideas about the drama point to prevalent thoughts on both the quality of Canadian artistry and indigenous peoples in the postwar era. And his discussion of problematic “Canadianisms” certainly illustrates the anxiety felt over Canada’s developing culture in comparison to the country’s colonial past. While the review does not go as far as to compare Canada’s nascent culture with Great Britain, Watson does express anxiety over the potential for Canadian dramas to tend towards campiness in their portrayal of both indigenous people and Canadian national thought. As even the programming for the 1948 season of Wednesday Night illustrates, despite the efforts to cultivate a Canadian cultural life post-World War II, the “most favoured of all were institutions and organizations with a measure of British [or European] content.” 395 At the same time, Watson lauds Moore’s drama for focusing on the simplicity of “the rather lovely fantasy” which was the Huron legend and praises his skills at satire. 396 In this Watson suggests that the simple indigenous legend on its own has almost more value than other “Canadianisms” found in drama. In a time where indigenous peoples generally were placed on reserves or reeducated by the government in an effort at assimilation, this is a particularly fraught idea. Watson’s glowing review of The Great Flood as simple indigenous legend, devoid of tacky Canadian ideas, smacks of blind idealism about the present life of indigenous Canadians and a


395 Tippett, Making Culture, 68.

misunderstanding of indigenous history as so rooted in the past that it can only exist as fictional fantasy. The reality of indigenous life under the Indian Act is erased in favour of imagined history.

Despite his glowing review of Moore’s script, Watson was not nearly as appreciative of Weinzweig’s music for program, stating that “the incidental music by John Weinzweig included a few songs and some odds-and-ends of Indian rhythms … it was undeniably clever but certainly not Mr. Weinzweig at his brilliant best.” Watson’s opinion clearly differed from Weinzweig’s own thoughts on his work. As Elaine Keillor notes, The Great Flood was the only radio or film score that Weinzweig had printed and distributed by the Canadian Music Centre and states that “this suggests that it had particular significance for him.” The Great Flood was not only recognized in John Watson’s Saturday Night review but according to Moore, it was also nominated for the first annual Canadian Radio Awards. The nomination of The Great Flood for a Canadian Radio Award coupled with Watson’s positive review of the drama indicates the success of this production even though it deviated from the typical Eurocentric programming found on CBC’s Wednesday Night.


399 Moore, Re-inventing Myself, 138. It did not win, however, and Mavor Moore in his autobiography provides a possible explanation: “one of the three drama judges - a priest - found it far too blasphemous for the top prize proposed by the other two, so it was listed as “runner up” and the compromise winner was Ibsen’s old shocker Ghosts, adapted by Lister Sinclair.” The work was perhaps found to be blasphemous because one of the characters who advises Kopi on his search for his brother is a priest. Moore goes on to note that this situation made him realize that notoriety and success could only be generated in artistically conservative 1940s Canada by adapting existing dramas from radio and his next radio drama was an adaption of William Tell.
Both the 1948 performance of *The Great Flood* and the program *Wednesday Night* are embedded in the context of Canada’s growing cultural life, Eurocentrism, and patterns in the representation of indigenous culture, and the role of these three themes in the cultivation of nationalist affect. While *Wednesday Night* was largely devoted to disseminating European culture and art in Canada in order to enhance the country’s cultural and intellectual life, *The Great Flood* was part of a program that sought to represent indigenous Canadians. Moore’s altering of the Huron legend of *The Great Flood* into a satirical drama, and Weinzweig’s use of various indigenous musics, reflect an attempt at creating an idealized and melodramatic picture of indigenous life rooted in fantasy and in the past rather than the present. The juxtaposition of the wild and savage “Indian” and the more modern and “civilized” indigenous is wholly explored in this episode. Finally, the July 28 *Wednesday Night* broadcast attempted to demonstrate that indigenous culture was part of Canada’s budding cultural life. As the lack of other Canadian music and literature represented in the first years of *Wednesday Night*, John Watson’s discussion of “Canadianisms” and the play’s status as “runner up” at the Canadian Radio Awards remind us, however, the European (and particularly British) arts were still prioritized at the expense of Canadian programming. But, the development of cultural programming is a site for the creation of a new type of nationalist emotion, for the allegedly “new” audience of Canadians who appreciate arts, culture, and literature.

4.4 Conclusions

On first hearing, *The Great Flood* seems to be only an entertaining drama telling a comical story about the quest for happiness, the over-throw of evil world rulers, the love between two brothers, and the flooding and subsequent recreation of the world. In actuality, *The Great Flood* reveals much about the history of state-run anthropology and the documentation of music, the representation of indigenous Canadians, and the influence of musical exoticism and indigenous
melodrama on Canada’s budding cultural life. Tension exists in this work between exoticism and classification; between musical and literary representations of indigeneity which draw upon topophillic sensibilities and Canada’s colonial history represented in Weinzweig’s borrowing of transcribed indigenous melodies.

_The Great Flood_ was first broadcast on a program devoted to the performance of great works by great artists to develop Canadian cultural life. The drama was heard alongside plays by George Bernard Shaw, Mozart operas, and Beethoven’s symphonies and thus equated with the societal sensibilities that valued high-brow artistic life. _Wednesday Night_ overall demonstrates the shift from propaganda and education to arts programming, setting the template for much of CBC radio programming following the Massey Report. _The Great Flood_’s ties to melodrama and use of cultural pastiche are also apparent in Weinzweig’s score for the work and Moore’s script. Weinzweig employs occasional romantic musical idioms such as his evocation of Pan in the piccolo or “strange reed” solo before the “Song of the White Doe,” and in his musical representation of indigenous song by using vocables and language closely associated with landscape. In like manner, Moore draws upon literary ideas of indigenous men from Indianist melodrama such as the “noble Indian” or the fool in order to create the two main characters of the drama, Glooskap and Kopi, as well as names pulled from various indigenous cultures and representations of indigenous culture. On first glance, neither _The Great Flood_ nor _Wednesday Night_ seem like they are possible sites for the construction of national affect or emotion in the same way as the educational or propaganda documentaries and docudramas from Weinzweig’s corpus earlier in the decade. But, the construction of Canada as a nation of people who value art
and culture, and the upward mobility promoted in a program like *Wednesday Night* is another means of imagining nation.\(^{400}\)

At the same time, while the score, script, and performance context for *The Great Flood* are anchored in idyllic sensibilities, Weinzweig’s borrowing of Inuit and First Nations melodies also recalls Canada’s colonial past. Throughout the drama, Weinzweig uses motives from borrowed melodies recorded by Canadian government. Weinzweig’s use of these melodies is significant in two ways. First, the use of these melodies lacks any kind of cultural specificity or accuracy, supporting a melodramatic and pan-indigenous representation of indigenous culture, a musical and cultural pastiche. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, these melodies are deeply tied to colonial control of indigenous peoples.

The complications and tensions in *The Great Flood* between Indianist melodrama and Canada’s colonial history bring to light larger questions about nationalism and how strangers are perceived. One of the ways of discussing the imagination of nation is through the emotions generated about borders and people in and outside of a nation: the use of boundaries to construct national affect. Sara Ahmed suggests that “to be an alien in a particular nation, is to hesitate at a different border … as an outsider inside, the alien takes on a spatial function, establishing relations of proximity and distance within the home land.”\(^{401}\) So much of the context and content of *The Great Flood* works to establish this proximity and distance. The melodramatic influences

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\(^{400}\) Karush discusses at length the way arts programming created a national desire for upward mobility, and contributed to class stratification. According to Karush, this was through state-run radio, commercial radio, and eventually film. But, this new prioritization of arts programming was also a site of nation building. Karush, *Culture of Class*, 134-142.

of the work translate (another important act in dealing with aliens, according to Ahmed) indigenous culture into something palatable for the audiences of CBC’s Wednesday Night. At the same time, the use of indigenous melodies recorded by government anthropologists along with other features of the plot such as Kopi’s sacrifice of the frog act as hallmarks for distance.

But while the content of The Great Flood is significant to the idea of strangers within the nation space, so is the context of the original performance. The presence of the Iroquois parish choir on the same broadcast of Wednesday Night, a document of the Christianization and ultimate “civilization” of indigenous Canadians, performing alongside a romantic reinterpretation of what is supposed to be a Huron legend, juxtaposes the close and distant alien and perhaps argues for how the distant alien can be brought closer. If The Great Flood was intended to represent the Canadian indigenous past for Wednesday Night listeners, then the presence of the parish choir reveals the indigenous present, the success of the colonial project, and the knowing of the stranger. In these ways, The Great Flood, despite its fictional and comic underpinnings, is like much of the CBC and National Film Board’s programming from this era which seeks to document indigenous Canadian life. The drama, like many of the radio docudramas and films discussed in this study, exists in this tension between dramatizing and knowing, between controlling or “civilizing” and imagining.
Conclusion

On July 28, 1948, CBC Radio broadcast *The Great Flood*, the final work in Weinzweig’s repertoire of incidental music for radio. In 1988, giving a paper at the University of Victoria titled “The Making of a Composer” Weinzweig remembered his time at the CBC fondly as it “taught [him] to meet deadlines, sharpen [his] orchestral craft, and respond to dramatic situations with brevity.”402 Although Weinzweig would continue to do commissions for the CBC for the remainder of his career his shift away from incidental music paralleled his new career as a professor of music at the University of Toronto, which began in 1952, and an intensified focus on advocacy for performers and musicians rights. Equally, the end of Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB signalled a shift in Canadian governmental arts and culture programming. The 1951 Massey Commission brought about increased funding for a greater focus on Canadian artistic products. This dissertation documents not only Weinzweig’s music for radio and film, but the shift from war propaganda documentaries to cultural programming at the CBC and NFB. In the decade following the Massey Report, the CBC focused increasingly on arts and culture, and while a period of documentary films at the NFB focused on Canadian social welfare through the 1950s and 1960s, the organization’s films later included both documentary and dramatic works. *The Great Flood*, Weinzweig’s final radio drama or docudrama score for the CBC, reflects that change from wartime works that reinforced Canada’s ties to Britain, celebrated industrialization, extolled control over landscape and the nation’s indigenous inhabitants, and explored Canada’s north, to a type of dramatic programming that imagined Canada as a creator of cultural products.

The CBC was the disseminator of this new programming. This change in the type of programming offered by Canadian public broadcasting organizations reflects how these organizations imagined, constructed, and propagated Canadian nationalist affect. Post-Massey Report CBC and NFB programs represented Canada as culturally unique and valuable because of that culture.

Weinzweig’s first programs for the CBC all fell loosely into the category of wartime propaganda, emphasizing themes of Canadian tolerance, military might, and finally imagining and celebrating a postwar future. New Homes for Old (1941), initially appears to be a fairly innocuous documentary series that celebrates immigration over the course of thirteen episodes by featuring scripted interviews, with actors playing the roles of prominent Canadian newcomers. In actuality, the series emphasizes Canada’s allegiance to Britain, the values of Canadian tolerance, and the brutality of Nazi Germany. My research focuses on the cultivation of these nationalist feelings in two episodes of the series: episode 1 “Czechoslovakia: Dr. Felix G. von Redlich” (May 28, 1941), and episode 9 “India: Kapoor Singh” (July 30, 1941). In the first episode, Weinzweig reinforces narratives of Nazi brutality, by portraying German characters as tonally chaotic. In episode nine, during Kapoor Singh’s discussion of his journey to Canada, Weinzweig includes an interpretation of a raga which transitions into an orchestral setting of the popular song “Till the Lights of London Shine Again,” accompanying Singh describing the use of the wood from his mill to rebuild homes in Great Britain. This idealized representation of Canada as a tolerant safe haven ignores the reality of Canadian immigration policy at this time.

The casting of Canada as a safe haven in contrast to German cruelty is further reinforced in Lidice Lives (Forever)! broadcast on June 10, 1943, commemorating the one-year anniversary of the Nazi massacre of the Czech town of Lidice. The radio program strays from Weinzweig’s
repertoire for radio and film thus far, as it is a wholly fantastical radio drama, rather than a
documentary, in which an unconscious Nazi officer visiting the town site on the first anniversary
of the massacre dreams of the people of Lidice. Weinzweig’s accompanying score is both lush
and tonal when recalling the past of the Czech town, and heavily chromatic when German
characters are present, further bringing Nazi violence into relief. While Weinzweig composed
music for CBC documentaries addressing themes of brutality and tolerance, many works in his
corpus of wartime compositions celebrated Canadian allegiance to Britain and Canadian military
might. This includes *Brothers in Arms* (1941-42), *Dangerously they Live* (1942), *British Empire
Series* (1942), and *Canada Marches* (1942). Extent sources for these works are scarce, and so my
discussion focused on *Canada Marches*, which included interviews from military personnel
across the country stating how prepared they were for the upcoming conflict, accompanied by a
wind band march written by Weinzweig.

Finally, CBC radio programming began to imagine postwar reconstruction and society
even while the war was still under way. This idealization of Canada after the war found in CBC
programs was only possible because of Canada’s relative geographic distance from the conflict.
*Our Canada* (1942-1943) celebrates Canadian people, landscape, history and industry,
recognizing Canada’s past and looking ahead to the future. Weinzweig’s music for this series is
both pastoral and optimistic, allowing Canadians to dream of a future in peacetime. *Our Canada*
also included an imagination of the future of the arts. An extra episode in the series, titled “The
Arts Grow Up” was appended to the series and included music from Howard Cable, Barbara
Pentland, and Godfrey Ridout in addition to Weinzweig’s incidental music for the series.
orchestrated as a suite, *Music for Radio No. 1: Our Canada*. This final episode of the series shows that prior to the Massey Commission, the CBC had begun to prioritize its role as a cultural institution, and affectively construct Canadians as consumers who valued that culture.

While Weinzweig’s early years at the CBC were almost wholly focused on documentaries with wartime themes, programs centered on Canada’s north became significant later in the decade. At the same time, his work for the NFB was solely films that celebrated remote and unknown Canadian regions, landscapes, and the lives of their inhabitants. Both the half hour NFB documentary *North West Frontier* (1941) and the thirteen episode CBC radio series *The White Empire* (1945-1946) are works in Weinzweig’s corpus of incidental music for radio and film that take the north as their subject. While both *North West Frontier* and *The White Empire* address a number of themes and changes in Canada’s north, they both imagine Canada’s north through its indigenous inhabitants, northern exploration, and the process of industrialization and mining.

*North West Frontier* celebrates the “civilization” of indigenous people under the *Indian Act* by documenting the effect of various government, educational, and religious interventions. Weinzweig’s score further reinforces this civilization narrative through the use of optimistic, ascending string lines during scenes featuring indigenous children in a residential school, and indigenous families attending a church service. Equally, his score reinforces the idea that indigenous people are inherently wild without government involvement, through the invocation of musical primitivism when accompanying a *lahal* game. Weinzweig further cultivates this

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403 Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music*, 266.
notion of indigenous wildness in his score for *The White Empire*, even borrowing melodies from Diamond Jenness’ collection of Inuit music, *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*. Documenting and imagining indigeneity in these works (and the civilization of indigenous peoples under government measures) was core to portraying the north as both inherently wild but also conquerable under proper governance.

The dialectic between wild and controlled is also shown in the film and radio series discussion of both the history of exploration to the north and in the focus on radium mining. *The White Empire* details the journeys of a number of explorers who were significant to the documentation of Canada’s north, but focuses mainly on British exploration in the region, emphasizing how the brave British men conquered a vast and unknown landscape. Failed expeditions, such as Franklin’s search for the Northwest Passage, are conspicuously absent from these explorer narratives. Radium mining is significant in both *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier* and its presence reflects not only the desire to conquer landscape but also the significance of the Eldorado Radium Mine to the war. Weinzweig emphasizes the mysterious quality of radium in *The White Empire* with an atonal chord that he labels “radium chord.” He also suggests the significance of the industry surrounding radium in *North West Frontier* by musically evoking the mechanized sounds of mining.

The north imagined in *The White Empire* and *North West Frontier* is a wild and rugged landscape, but one which can be conquered with proper government and industrial intervention. The indigenous inhabitants are characterized much like the landscape in these works, and also require civilizing government, educational, and religious influence to become Canadians. The celebration of exploration, industry, and the Indian Act found in these two works and reinforced in Weinzweig’s music for them is distinctly colonial (and this perhaps reflects British influence
in the CBC and NFB) and ignores the reality of the lived experiences of indigenous peoples surviving the trauma of these alleged “civilizing measures” and both the environmental degradation and physical danger associated with radium mining and other industrial development. The north is affectively portrayed as simultaneously a place for Canadians to feel wonder and fear as well as deep national pride.

Differing dramatically from Weinzweig’s other works for radio and film, *The Great Flood* is a radio drama, a modern, comedic retelling of a Huron-Wendat legend (bearing a striking similarity to the Judeo-Christian story of Noah’s Ark) with a script written by Canadian dramatist Mavor Moore. The radio drama was heard in July 1948, the summer of the first year of production of CBCs new arts and culture program, *Wednesday Night* – a series intended to educate Canadians through great works of art, written and composed by great artists primarily of European origin. In that first year of production, *The Great Flood* was the only Canadian work featured, and the performance of the radio drama was preceded by a musical performance by an Iroquois parish choir.

For his score for *The Great Flood* Weinzweig borrows indigenous melodies, again from Jenness and Robert’s Inuit song collection, *Songs of the Copper Eskimo*, despite the fact that this is allegedly a Huron-Wendat legend. In doing this, Weinzweig creates a pan-indigenous musical pastiche with little regard for musical or cultural accuracy. Moore echoes this pastiche in his text for the work, as he draws on a number of archetypes of indigenous legends, and character names (some incredibly derogatory). While *The Great Flood* is a very problematic work in how it represents indigenous people, its presence on the CBC’s premiere cultural program reveals the possibility of a recognition of indigenous culture as the valuable or interesting part of Canadian culture, and a desire to make the unfamiliar known to Canadian listeners. Ahmed asserts that
nations are defined by who is a stranger and who is not, and by who lives inside and outside of borders. And so, perhaps the only function of the prominent feature of indigenous culture is for Canadian listeners to further define and understand themselves by defining who is Canadian and who is not based on cultural practice.

John Weinzweig’s time at the CBC and NFB is concurrent with a shift from wartime news and propaganda organizations to cultural institutions attempting to cultivate interest in Canadian arts. Equally, Weinzweig’s repertoire for radio and film is concurrent with a shift in how Canada was imagined by its public broadcasting organizations. Wartime saw the cultivation of national and military pride, pride over Canadian tolerance in the face of clear Nazi brutality, and finally an imagination of Canada’s postwar reconstruction future. The CBC and NFB’s representation of north was one which lay in the balance between familiarity and difference, civilization and wildness, wilderness and industrialization. Finally, *Wednesday Night* reflects a shift towards not only culture but the reimagining of Canadians as citizens who were in want of cultural experiences and able to appreciate high art.

My work in this thesis combines archival and sketch studies with philosophical theories of nationalist affect and affective economies. At first this may seem like an odd pairing: musicological positivism and theory, particularly because the majority of research on nationalist affect (Ahmed, Berlant, Bociurciw) focuses on the cultivation of national emotions in the 1990s and later, discussing heavily emotional times such as the months leading up to the Iraq War, increased anti-immigration sentiment in 1990s Great Britain, and how television commercials cultivate Canadian national feeling. But, wartime, even if it is in an era more often thought of as

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governed by rational modernism, is an inherently emotional time. The CBC radio programs and NFB films discussed in my work are government attempts at shaping that emotion into loyalty to and celebration of Canada. Radio as an intimate medium, heard in people’s homes as the background sound to their lives, and music as a malleable art onto which meaning can be read and placed are sites where nationalist feeling can easily be constructed. And so, affect theory becomes a way to discuss music from a nation at war that contains more nuances and complications than nationalist music.

When we look at Weinzweig’s work from this time, we are not seeing his own views of patriotism, Canadian landscape, industry, and indigeneity. Rather, what makes these works so unique in Weinzweig’s corpus is how they illustrate governmental attempts at creating and disseminating a very specific imagination of Canada to its English-speaking citizens. This view of Canada both grew out of British colonialism and imagined the nation’s future as independent and industrialized, celebrated alleged Canadian tolerance and the Indian Act almost simultaneously, and lionized dominion over the landscape above all. Looking at these early works it is possible to see Weinzweig not only as an educator and advocate but as a musical cog in governmental machinations of evoking nationalist and nationally held emotions. This is particularly significant in our current political climate where we often “feel [our] way” in the voting booth, in the media we engage in, and in the political organizations we endorse.\footnote{Ahmed uses the phrase “feel your way” to describe how people arrive at significant political decisions. Ahmed, The Cultural Politics of Emotion, 1.} The combination of affect theory with the study of the music of public broadcasting provides a
window into how governments and institutions tried (and arguably still try) to elicit emotion from citizens.

Weinzweig’s composition of incidental music ended with the decade of the 1940s as his career shifted to that of a composer of art music, a teacher of an entire generation of Canadian art music composers, and an advocate for the viability of a career as an art music composer in Canada. It is perhaps for all of these reasons that his time at the CBC and NFB remained only a small part of his biography. But these works are important because they reveal Weinzweig’s contributing role in how Canada was imagined by the CBC and NFB. They are also equally part of his long and varied career, one he lived with tenacity and conviction.
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Appendices

A. 1 Mus 154 1984-3 Box 14 folder 6- Exact Transcription of the Footages Document for North West Frontier

Footages Mackenzie River

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Footage</th>
<th>Time in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reel 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Titles and Map</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Arctic Spaces and Eskimos</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Map (Indian tribes)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Indian camp and daily life</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Indian Dance</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) River, shore, settlements, steamer</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Church service</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Old priest in mission garden</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) HBC fur trading post and trading sequence</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) prospector in canoe and on shore, staking claim</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oilwell in production</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planes in the north, exploration, and prospect in plane (cold)</td>
<td>204 total</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Reel 2</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1) Planes take off from lake, air shots, and pan of mining camp on lakeshore</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Radium mine, interiors and sacking ore, sacks and barge at wharf</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) abandoned oil well dissolves to row of new oil tanks, and sequence of wells in full production and loading barges</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) oil barge churning upstream, river rapids, barge comes to shore and oil pipeline is set up, truck carries gasoline over mountain road, pan shot of mining camp and wharf</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) air shot of gold country and exteriors of men trenching in goldfields</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) air shot and long shots of big mines</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) mining interiors (machinery) and miners coming off shift (in this sequence the gold brick is dropped into the bucket and sputters violently at----90 ft from start.</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Indian family, hungry dogs, shot of camp game preserve and reindeer herd</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>(reel 2 cont’d) page 2</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>First cow at Aklavik and onlookers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) long shot hospital and medical treatment sequence</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Reel 1</td>
<td>Reel 2</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) Native kids in schoolroom</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Gymnasium and Indian boys on parallel bars, Dining room at school, dormitories, kids jumping into bed (this would start boisterous over gymnasium shots for)</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reel 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Indian fears—rather grim to cheerful and whimsical. Over little kids dipping into stew kettles for next-</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Payment of treaty</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Gambling game:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First part gambling and drumming</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short pause</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second part, game and drumming</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumming over, ending</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Unloading freight from plane—oil, passengers, mail, lumber</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Building at Yellowknife and shots in Yellowknife town</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schoolhouse, children in class</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>long distance telephone sequence</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>summing up: general shots of different types of people and activity, quick tempo, broadening out into big general shots for ending</td>
<td>90</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*End title*