Does folk music programming on Canadian radio reflect Canadian identities, national, regional, and ethnic? To the extent that it does, how accurately does it do so? This chapter seeks to explore the extent to which traditional folk-song is broadcast on Canadian radio, and whether it still functions as a means of communicating identifiably Canadian cultural traditions, history, and values. I also examine the validity of the historical and cultural images projected through folk music by a cross-section of Canadian broadcasters. Such images may be reasonable facsimiles of the lived reality of particular Canadian communities located in geographically diverse parts of the country, or they may be misleading stereotypes that nonetheless find appreciative (or occasionally critical) audiences.

VERNACULAR FOLK SONG ON CANADIAN RADIO

Recovered, Constructed, and Suppressed Identities

E. David Gregory
In approaching this subject, the first thing we need to do is to recognize a potentially misleading imbalance in the existing scholarly literature on the subject. Much although admittedly not all academic writing in the field of communication studies is done from an urban perspective that celebrates, at least implicitly, the latest technological developments in the various communications media and assumes that older media are doomed to extinction and must be regarded as “residues” from a form of society that is rapidly becoming history. In the process, the fact that most of the world, and indeed most of Canada (geographically if not demographically), is still rural is forgotten or brushed aside. Audiences are assumed to have access to all forms of broadcasting, and the analogue form of radio that we have known in the past is often seen as an outdated medium, fated to disappear in the brave new world of the twenty-first century. This is the message that is often subtly—or not so subtly—projected by American textbooks on popular culture and the media. An example is Richard Campbell’s *Media and Culture: An Introduction to Mass Communication*, which suggests that radio in the twenty-first century will likely consist mainly of talk shows, although it does also anticipate roles for programming to minority cultural groups, non-profit broadcasting, and Internet music programming.\(^1\) The problem with this approach is that it seriously underestimates the ability of the medium to survive in the digital age, in part, because radio still fulfills audience needs in a convenient form and in part because it can adapt to digital modes of transmission, especially via the Internet.

Similarly, a substantial proportion of academic work although, again, not all writing in the field of cultural studies nowadays seems to regard older cultural forms and traditions as *inevitable* victims of globalization. The assumption seems to be that popular music worldwide is becoming increasingly homogenous and “techno” because of the twin trends of Americanization and computerization. Older styles of music are then regarded as *passé*, to be studied, if at all, as historical phenomena that will inevitably fade away in time. Folk music is often characterized this way, viewed as a style associated with the 1950s and 60s. It is sometimes thought of as an “exhausted commodity,”\(^2\) one that has passed its shelf life, and then placed in a mental bin labelled “nostalgia.” This is the underlying thesis in Robert Cantwell’s rather superficial overview of the postwar American folksong revival, *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival*. In contrast, a better and more detailed history, Ronald Cohen’s *Rainbow Quest: The Folk...*
Music Revival and American Society, 1940–1970, demonstrates a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between folksong and politics in the American context. Both books, incidentally, are exclusively concerned with the United States, and neglect the roots of the Canadian postwar folksong revival in the earlier Late Victorian/Edwardian folksong revival in the U.K. and in the pre-war collecting of such Canadian folklorists as Roy Mackenzie, Helen Creighton, and Newfoundland Gerald Doyle.

The underlying problem with the “exhausted commodities” approach is that it embraces too willingly and wholeheartedly the ideology of globalization. Globalization is undoubtedly a hugely important phenomenon in the field of culture, as in that of political economy, but has also provoked widespread resistance. Such resistance is often cultural, expressed in a defence of traditional values, ideas, and cultural forms. The resurgence of traditional music is just one of many expressions of this resistance to external factors perceived as alien and unwanted. Folk music, of course, is normally seen as comprising the work of both traditional artists and today’s singer-songwriters, but both forms of folksong—traditional and contemporary—can and do give artistic expression to movements resisting the dominance of world capitalism. A significant proportion of contemporary folksong, following in the steps of Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, and Phil Ochs (to name just a few of the best-known older artists) is political in nature, and there are many folksongs, old and new, that embrace the cause of environmentalism. A few examples will illustrate the point. Maria Dunn’s compositions often have a sharp political edge, and Garnet Rogers’ recent work has included songs about George Bush and about Canadian involvement in the Afghan war. Bruce Cockburn is well known for controversial musical-political statements (“If I Had a Rocket Launcher”) and for his environmental songs (“If a Tree Falls in the Forest”). Folk music can therefore be understood as part of the worldwide movement of resistance to war, environmental degradation, and globalization, and, as such, is by no means an “exhausted commodity.” Rather it is a cultural form that has found a new raison d’être, one with evident continuity with the political role played in both the 1930s (as a response to the Great Depression) and in the 1960s and early 1970s (as part of the anti-war movement).

Both these conventional wisdoms (“radio is on the way out” and “folk music is merely a form of nostalgia”), if left unqualified, therefore, tell us more about the ideological blinkers worn by their proponents than about the realities of either
radio or folk music today. I will show, *pari passu*, in this article, that both radio and folk music are alive and well in Canada in the early twenty-first century. But it is critical to recognize that they are also changing. Critics who view them as “residual” have simply missed, or misunderstood, the transformation that has been occurring in each case. The issue is also bedevilled by problems of terminology. Our second task, therefore, is to interrogate these two key concepts, “radio” and “folk music,” concepts that have now become thoroughly ambiguous. Discussion of the term “folksong” also raises the concept of “vernacular song” and the question of the intersection between these two. Only by working our way through these thorny terminological matters can we identify more precisely those aspects of the Canadian folk scene that are keeping alive a spirit of Canadian nationalism and/or providing a voice of resistance to the impact of global capitalism on the environment and on the quality of everyday life.

**Radio**

Until recently, radio was a straightforward term. It denoted programming transmitted through the air on the medium of electronic waves from a broadcasting station to a wireless receiver. For half a century, from the early 1920s to the early 1960s, it was perhaps the leading mass entertainment and news medium. Television was expected to kill it, and did indeed reduce its audience and importance, but perhaps surprisingly, radio has not only survived but seems to be experiencing something of a renaissance. At present—although perhaps not for long—its core mode remains the same: analogue broadcasts on short, medium, or long wave, using both AM and FM wavebands. These are still received at no cost by the listener, and can be accessed easily in home or vehicle, using simple, cheap equipment. Radio’s functionality too has remained, at least in part, the same. It has survived primarily because of its flexibility: it accommodates the multitasking that is so much a part of contemporary lifestyles. One can listen while driving, knitting, reading, or doing the dishes.

Yet in the last two decades, radio has metamorphosed. While its core—analogue broadcasting—remains, radio has also adapted to newer, digital, media. There are three main forms of digital broadcasting, each employing a different technological solution. One method is to use a satellite as the means of distributing the broadcast signal. In North America, this approach has been adopted by,
among others, the Sirius radio network. It has, however, certain drawbacks that have yet to be overcome. At present, the listener is required to purchase a new listening device that receives only Sirius signals. While it is cheap and effective for city dwellers and can be fitted into vehicles, it often works poorly or even not at all in some of the rural locations that comprise, geographically, the major part of Canada. More elaborate (and more expensive) receivers can be placed on rooftops, but householders who already have satellite dishes or cable service are apparently, and not unreasonably, reluctant to go to the trouble of installing such an additional device. Sirius and its competitors, it seems, will have either to content themselves with an urban audience or make better provision for their programming to be received as TV satellite and cable channels.

A second form of digital programming is found mainly on cable TV. This might be called “blank screen” TV: when tuned to the correct channel, one hears music coming from one’s TV set but sees no images, although usually the song titles, artists and record companies are indicated. This service is offered by some, but by no means all, cable operators: it is rarely available in rural locations. Where it is found, it seems to be regarded as a dispensable frill, available in those cities where competition for cable subscribers is fierce but not provided where a cable company has a monopoly, as in most small town markets.

The third, most important, and potentially revolutionary, form of digital broadcasting employs the Internet as its distribution medium. Internet broadcasting has provided the means of overcoming the limitations of signal strength and geography. It takes two main forms. Many conventional radio stations now broadcast their normal programming simultaneously as analogue FM signals (over the airwaves) and as digital signals (over the Internet), the latter form of transmission seen as an inexpensive way of reaching more listeners. This is usually called webcasting, and in Canada, the procedure is legitimized (and regulated) by the station’s CRTC broadcast license. Here, too, there is still an irritating technical glitch: since the digital and analogue signals are not “in sync,” one cannot listen simultaneously on radio and computer but is forced to choose between them.

A second form of Internet broadcasting, usually called streaming or podcasting, is more radical, in the sense of abandoning a traditional broadcast schedule. With podcasting, the individual programs may initially be broadcast on a published schedule, but they are subsequently archived and made available to the listener at any time he or she chooses to click on the appropriate file. In this way, not
only geography but also the limitations of calendar and time zones are overcome. Podcasting provides the listener with the utmost in flexibility and choice. According to Ian Harvey, there are already more than 10,000 radio stations in North America broadcasting over the Internet, although the proportion of these that are podcasting is apparently unknown. Nonetheless, there are at present with this form of radio two rather obvious disadvantages for the average listener. One is that the archived files are usually removed after a few weeks or months. This regrettable procedure seems to be motivated by two concerns: lack of server space, and fear of being sued by record companies. The other disadvantage for the listener is that he or she is tied to a computer. To overcome this liability, media adapters—small devices that connect a home stereo system to a PC—have been invented, but so far, they are quite expensive (between $150 and $300) and hardly user-friendly. Both hardware and software evidently still have plenty of room for improvement, but it is not difficult to envisage a future in which cheap and tiny wireless devices perform this function. So although we are not quite there yet—at least in Canada—one might reasonably hazard a guess that podcasting is where the future of radio lies.

There is one other important distinction that needs to be made in discussing the nature of radio—the difference between active and passive programming. In the golden age of postwar radio during the 1950s and 60s, the DJ was king. His aim was to win a faithful audience with a distinctive mix of music that reflected his own personality and tastes. And, as payola demonstrated, successful DJs had considerable power and influence over their devoted listeners. By plugging a particular disc, they might make it a hit, and by ignoring an artist, they might close the door to a successful career in the music business. Corrupt and flamboyant they may have been, but their programming was a form of active communication with fans and record-buyers. They talked about the discs they spun, discussing the vocalists, instrumentalists, bandleaders, and songwriters who created the music, the singing styles, and the lyrics of the songs. In the wake of the payola scandal, when managers of commercial radio stations had realized that their businesses could cash in on their power to influence their audiences’ buying patterns, the role of many DJs declined to that of promoting a limited playlist of items chosen by advertisers and record companies. They had lost control of their programming, the creative spark that had made the job enjoyable was missing, and communication had been replaced by a more passive form of canned entertainment. By now,
the DJs were dispensable; they could be, and often were, replaced by technicians who simply spun the discs in the prescribed rotation, without even introducing them. In turn, the technicians were replaced by automated systems that did the same job, and the move to passive programming was complete. The music had been reduced to the status of aural wallpaper.

There are, of course, still many radio stations—usually small independent ones, although to some degree CBC still falls into this category—that are committed to the concept of active programming. Since this inquiry targets folk music on radio as a form of communication, active programming is of most relevance and interest to us. While the two other forms of digital radio have employed primarily passive programming, the growth of Internet radio has witnessed the simultaneous revival of active programming as something approaching an art form. This is an important development, one significant way in which radio is reinventing itself and at the same time reclaiming its glorious past.

Much Internet radio is aimed at small specialist audiences: the kind of people who happen to like the peculiar mix of music and other material chosen by that particular station’s artistic manager and small group of DJs. In such cases, the broadcasters and their audience form a community not unlike an extended family. The communities, of course, may be large or small, and they may, or may not, exhibit discernible identities of a local, regional or ethnic character. The type of folk music and the contents of the song lyrics included in such active programming may provide an important clue to a given radio community’s sense of self-identity and to the kind of communication that is taking place between programmers and listeners.

Folk Music

If the concept of “radio” has recently become more ambiguous, the term “folk music” is notoriously difficult to define. Most people seem to agree that it comes in two forms: traditional and contemporary. ‘Traditional song’ means the entire corpus of popular balladry and shorter lyrics that have accumulated since the late Middle Ages, as well as the creations of musicians consciously working within that “folk” tradition. This includes many, although by no means all, contemporary performers at the large urban folk festivals and artists whose CDs are categorized as “folk” or “world music” by record stores. Folk music, then, includes both the
non-art music of the past and the music of people nowadays who value that older musical form and who seek to continue to work within it. Conventionally, however, it also embraces the work of performers and composers with less evident connections to traditional music, provided only that they avoid heavy reliance on electronic technology and reject classification as rock, pop, or jazz musicians. They are seen as exponents of a form of ‘contemporary folk music,’ which may be loosely defined as the work of those of today’s crop of singer-songwriters who prefer to accompany themselves on acoustic instruments, whatever their principal musical influences happen to be. Their songs are often about personal relationships—“love” in its various guises is clearly the most popular theme by a wide margin—but more than occasionally also interrogate social and political issues.

On this much there is close to a consensus, even among academics. Nonetheless, there is no widespread agreement on how the terms “folk music” and “folksong” should be defined. In fact, there is a variety of different usages in existence, most of which are legitimate within their own terms but which are nonetheless incompatible. I have discussed this problem elsewhere, for example in my book Victorian Songhunters, but because of the confusion and prejudice that surrounds the concept, it seems necessary to lay out some of the parameters again.5

Nowadays many people tend to employ the term “folksong” in a rather wide and vague manner. This was not always the case. The term was invented in the early 1870s6 and it initially had a fairly precise meaning. Late Victorian and Edwardian usage was in fact quite narrow, a subset of later usage. Even then, there was disagreement about a precise definition. In English Folk Song: Some Conclusions, Cecil Sharp provided a coherent viewpoint and some rules for using the word, emphasizing anonymity and oral tradition.7 Yet even at the time, not everyone was happy with his rather doctrinaire approach and the (English) Folk Song Society was reluctant to adopt his definition. In modified form the Sharpean perspective did subsequently win many supporters, including the International Folk Music Council at the 1954 São Paulo conference,8 and even became something approaching the conventional wisdom on the subject, but it never won total acceptance. During the postwar folk music revival, the argument about how to define folksong or folk music went on, and on, and it continues today.

In my view, this debate will never be resolved, because folksong is not a concept susceptible of definition in terms of necessary and sufficient criteria. It is a bundle of different usages, a little group of language games, to use Ludwig
Wittgenstein’s terminology.9 As such, it is best understood as akin to a photograph of an extended family at a reunion party. One can see family resemblance among all the faces in the photograph, but not every family member has the same nose, the same eyes, or the same cheekbones. I therefore cannot provide a cut and dried definition of a folksong that will obtain unanimous support. All that can be done is to clarify the different linguistic options (and the values implicit in them), or, in other words, make more explicit the alternative language games that were, and still are, played with the term *folksong*. After that, you pay your money and you take your choice. Let us then make a brief classification of some of the alternatives available to us. These rival definitions suggest some of the different ways one can, quite legitimately, employ the term, provided only that one is clear about what one is doing and does not try to impose one’s choice upon others who may have good reasons for adopting a different usage.

I will begin with a definition found, implicitly or explicitly, in the writings and/or practices of most first revival collectors. It reflects the original meaning of the term:

1. A folksong is a communal product of the *rural lower classes* and the tune must derive from oral tradition even if the words happen to be preserved in print.

This perspective substituted a more realistic and inclusive concept for that initially favoured by Cecil Sharp (which anachronistically restricted folksong to the oral traditions of the peasantry alone), and it was the definition that Frank Kidson, Lucy Broadwood, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and many other early collectors (even Sharp) employed *in practice*, since they did not in fact restrict their collecting to the peasantry properly so called and they often resorted to filling out their texts from broadsides. As mentioned, it was also, in essence, the definition proposed by the International Folk Music Council after World War II. Note that the definition assumes that folksong is entirely *rural* in nature. I find it unsatisfactory for that very reason, as did such second revival collector/singers as Bert Lloyd and Ewan MacColl. The following alternatives assume that folksongs can be of industrial and/or urban origin also. The second definition is implicit in the work of many folklorists and ethnomusicologists, although they usually avoid the academically unfashionable word *folksong* and tend to use the term *traditional song* instead:
2. A folksong is *any song collected from a member of the lower classes, irrespective of who composed the tune or words.* It may have been composed [words and/or tune] by an individual from an urban background or from a higher social class; that does not matter provided a lower-class singer has adopted it and thereby taken it into oral tradition. It is the social status of the *performer* not that of the *songwriter* that matters.

However, in my experience this definition is not widely accepted within the Canadian folk music community (i.e., among performers and fans), since it is usually regarded as unreasonably exclusive in its focus on membership of a lower social class. The emphasis on performance is also often questioned. Something like the following alternative is often suggested, and it was the definition adopted *in practice* by various leading figures in the postwar folksong revival, including Pete Seeger, so it has considerable prestige:

3. A folksong is any song composed *in the spirit of* a lower-class musical tradition, irrespective of the social background or geographical location of the actual composer or of the singer performing it. It doesn’t matter that tune and/or words may be newly composed by a known individual from a higher social class or an urban background, provided only that the songwriter intended to create a new song within a lower class musical tradition that he/she feels part of and regards as folk music. Nor does it matter who sings the song since the social class and/or geographical background of the *performer* is irrelevant. What does matter is the *intent* of the songwriter. A folksong is thus an old song created by a member of the lower classes or a more recent song that is intended to be folksong.

All three of the above definitions assume that folksong is traditionally a form of lower-class music, i.e., that it is in some sense a music of ordinary people and *not* that of professional musicians, the highly educated, or wealthy members of the middle or upper classes. Historically this was certainly the case for five centuries, although it has been less so during the last fifty years. If this assumption is challenged and discarded, an even more catholic definition is required, such as the following:

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4. A folksong is any old song that has become part of oral tradition or any more recent song deliberately composed as a folksong. *Class is irrelevant, since we are all “folk.”*

Louis Armstrong was among the many who have expressed this sentiment. Note that this definition includes all vernacular songs (songs that have become part of oral tradition) as folksongs, even when they began life as pop songs, jazz, or rock music. It also recognizes the existence of a contemporary genre of popular music conventionally called *folk* that is frequently performed by educated or middle-class musicians who may compose some or even their entire repertoire, albeit in a somewhat traditional style. There is indeed much to be said for this eclectic and inclusive definition, although it is not true that we are all “folk.” I wouldn’t call an investment banker part of the folk, nor would I count as folk musicians rock stars or any professional musician with a lucrative recording contract from the music industry. On the other hand, I am quite willing to call Stan Rogers, Martin Simpson, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, and the young Bob Dylan contemporary folk singers. Indeed, there seems to be no other suitable term. We merely need to continue to make that other distinction between traditional folksong and contemporary folksong.

Of course, there are other, even more permissive, usages of *folksong* out there. It is common to find the more recent compositions of such singer-songwriters as Paul Simon, Joni Mitchell, Bob Dylan, or Leonard Cohen (to mention just a few of the biggest names) still classified as folk music, even though as performers they have long since embraced other musical genres. Even broader is the usage implied by the title of the Edmonton Folk Music Festival (held annually in Alberta) or that of the Cambridge Folk Festival in the United Kingdom, both of which include rock bands in their lineups. Historically speaking, these other, even looser, language games are later developments, and, arguably, the broader they get the more they tend to deprive the concept of content and meaning. Yet it is no use denying that they exist nowadays and that for some (perhaps very many) people they have legitimacy. Anyway, the above list is not exhaustive, but you get the idea. One man’s meat is another man’s poison, and one man’s folksong is another man’s “fakesong.” Usages vary from restrictive to catholic, and one could make a case for whichever language game one chooses to play.
For the purpose of this essay, we clearly need to go beyond Cecil Sharp’s classic definition of folksong. On the other hand, there is no point in adopting a usage that is so catholic that the term becomes meaningless and the music it supposedly designates becomes indistinguishable from other genres of popular music. Personally speaking, I find definition #3 the most satisfactory, although some would view it as too catholic, and the element of intention makes it somewhat subjective. In practice I find that it reflects the language game that I play most of the time, especially when I am wearing my historian’s hat and am therefore most conscious of the lower-class roots of folksong. Usage #4 is ecumenical and attractive, but I am uneasy with the way that it equates folksong with all vernacular song, although I recognize that some songs from other musical genres eventually become accepted as folksongs. The concept of vernacular song is a tricky one, although it is very useful, and I will discuss it in more detail later.

To summarize my view of folksong: I would argue that folk music (instrumental as well as song) is, in some sense, a music of the people, a form of popular or vernacular culture, as opposed both to Western art music, which was and is created for a social elite, and to the products of the commercial music industry, which are manufactured and marketed with the aim of maximizing profits. Folk music, of course, includes unaccompanied song (usually traditional balladry), instrumental pieces, and a variety of song-types in which words are accompanied instrumentally. While folksong includes the kind of songs and dances collected by Sharp in both England and the Appalachian mountains, it also comprises a variety of “composed” material that Sharp rejected, including at least some of the so-called “national” songs recovered by William Kitchiner and William Chappell. By extension, the compositions of more recent singer-songwriters working within the same musical tradition are also counted as part of the genre. This more catholic understanding of folksong was embraced by at least one late-Victorian collector, Frank Kidson. It therefore has a respectable pedigree, and, as suggested above, it has become a common usage, perhaps even the dominant usage, in folk music circles today.

A significant virtue of this perspective is that it recognizes that traditional music changes over time, that it has become urban as well as rural, and that it has incorporated the work of many composer-performers who have written new songs—or invented new tunes—in the spirit of their particular regional, ethnic, or national tradition. It means we can count as “traditional” the work of (say) O. J.
Abbott, Fred Redden, Anita Best, Joe Cormier, and Kelly Russell, and even many of the contributions of Wade Hemsworth, Stan Rogers, Eileen McGann, Finest Kind, The Rankin Family, Tanglefoot, and Rawlins Cross. At the same time, this definition, by recognizing that the music evolves, transcends class and incorporates elements from other musical traditions, permits the inclusion of the work of such contemporary singer-songwriters (among many others) as Bill Bourne, Susan Crowe, Heather Dale, Maria Dunn, Ron Hynes, James Keelaghan, Loreena McKennitt, Garnett Rogers, and John Spearn, as well as such older figures as Bob Bossin, Bruce Cockburn, Gordon Lightfoot, Murray McLauchlan, and Sylvia Tyson. And, of course, it has the virtue of still allowing us to distinguish between folk music and other popular genres such as jazz and rock music.

Vernacular Song

Notwithstanding my spending all this time discussing definitions of folk music, it must be recognized that there is an increasing tendency among academics (that is, folklorists, ethnomusicologists, and practitioners of one form or another of cultural studies) to abandon the very concept. It has been suggested, for example by Archie Green and also by Peter Narváez, that one way around the dilemma of the ambiguity and ideological baggage associated with the word “folksong” is to dump it in favour of an alternative term, “vernacular song.” This label, they suggest, is less encompassing than the very broad term “popular music” but more flexible than that of folksong, which (in their view) is sometimes construed too narrowly. Green and Narváez actually advocate the abandonment of the term folksong rather than a redefinition of folksong as vernacular song, but their proposal essentially amounts to a brief for usage #4 (above). The idea seems attractive at first, but there is a significant problem with this putative solution. It is that, intuitively, vernacular song refers to any kind of popular song that is, to quote the Oxford English Dictionary, “of one’s native country, native, indigenous, not of foreign origin or of learned formation.” Any style of popular music can therefore spin off vernacular songs. To be vernacular, to be sure, a given song has to be created in the home country and not by an art music composer; moreover, it has to be taken up by ordinary people and sung by them, thereby becoming in some sense native or indigenous in provenance as well as origin. But that could be true of, say, a theatre song, a vaudeville song, a music hall song, a jazz song, a rock
song, or even a pop song. “My Old Man’s a Dustman” and “I’m Henry the Eighth I Am” are classic English vernacular songs, and so, I would argue, are “Yellow Submarine,” “With A Little Help From My Friends,” and even “Waterloo Sunset,” “Space Oddity,” and the Sex Pistols’ “God Save the Queen.” Yet most people would be reluctant to call them folksongs.

In earlier centuries, such compositions as “Auld Lang Syne,” “Cupid’s Garden,” “Drink To Me Only,” “Golden Slumbers,” “Green Grow the Rashes O,” “Greensleeves,” “Heart[s] of Oak,” “Home, Sweet Home,” “John Peel,” “The Lass of Richmond Hill,” “Lilliburlero,” “Little Brown Jug,” “Sally in Our Alley,” and “Walsingham,” to choose a few more examples at random, were vernacular songs. Indeed, most of them still are. Although they certainly possess “vital melodies” (Frank Kidson’s invaluable criterion), and they have passed into oral tradition, I still feel some hesitancy in calling all of them folksongs. Some (e.g. “Cupid’s Garden” and “Greensleeves”) seem more acceptable than others (e.g. “Heart[s] of Oak” and “Home, Sweet Home”). Perhaps this is because the latter two (and their ilk) are obviously the creations of well-educated writers (most of whose names we know) and/or products of the commercial music industry of their time. Their language tends to be more formal or consciously poetic, and some of them clearly reflect the ideas and values of the middle or upper classes. Whatever the reason, one has the sense that ordinary, working-class people did not produce these songs, even if they found an audience among them. Intuitively, then, there is a difference between folksongs and these other vernacular songs, and we therefore still need terms to denote and differentiate them. It goes without saying that both kinds of vernacular song are valuable and interesting and that the history of the urban vernacular song is just as important as that of rural folksong. But the traditions are somewhat different, and I am reluctant to embrace a usage that blurs or eliminates this.

Admittedly, we are dealing with a borderline area here. My reader may be inclined to suggest that such highly popular and enduring vernacular songs have (or will) become, by osmosis and in the course of time, folksongs, even if we know their middle-class composers by name and even if they were originally intended for a different genre of popular music. That may eventually become true also of such modern songs as (say) “Summertime,” “Stormy Weather,” “My Way,” “Blue Suede Shoes,” “Peggy Sue,” “Sitting on the Dock of the Bay,” “Satisfaction,” “Ziggy Stardust,” “Born to Run,” “Beat It,” and “Smells Like Teen Spirit.” But
only time will tell which of these may eventually become incorporated into vernacular tradition. In any case, the suggestion that they have become folksongs will be accepted only by someone who also embraces a broad usage of the term. And no one can make him or her do so. So there is little point in trying to force the matter, and we might as well accept that intuitive distinction between folksongs and other kinds of vernacular song. In any case, the point is that we need—and we already have—a useful term (vernacular song) for all those songs, whatever their style or origin, that did once become (or currently are) genuinely and enduringly popular, songs with vital melodies and lyrics to match. It seems a better term than the older one (national song), if only because there was considerable confusion over the usage of the latter.\textsuperscript{19}

At least as I use it, then, vernacular song is a broader concept than that of folk-song. It comfortably includes national songs and other composed songs that many generations of ordinary people have made their own. It includes all broadside ballads that caught on with their audience. It includes minstrel creations that became popular ballads, whether or not those ballads happened to be preserved by way of manuscripts, printed broadsheets, or oral tradition. It includes some music hall, drawing room, and jazz songs, those that are sung and whistled in the streets or in the bathtub. It even includes a few songs, such as “Yellow Submarine,” that have become known throughout much of the world. In short, the category of vernacular song comprises all kinds of popular song that have \textit{endured} and become part of a country’s \textit{actively sung} song heritage. Incidentally, during the past fifty years vernacular song has found expression not only in the postwar folksong revival but also in the skiffle movement, folk-rock, punk rock, garage bands, rap music, and, above all, in the work of thousands of contemporary singer-songwriters. A few more examples of recent vernacular songs are “Blowin’ in the Wind,” “When I’m Sixty-Four,” “Imagine,” “Hallelujah,” and one that reappears during every \textit{NHL} play-off series, “Na Na Hey Hey Kiss Him Goodbye.”

To summarize: by \textit{vernacular songs} are meant any songs that have lived and often still live in oral tradition, songs that have become part of our collective memory. This collective memory goes back at least as far as the late Middle Ages, so we are talking about a cultural tradition that has flourished for over six centuries. Vernacular song, in short, is a fundamental form of human expression and communication, and it seems very unlikely that it will suddenly die out because of certain recent technological innovations. Our vernacular song traditions will no
doubt adapt and evolve, but they will survive as long as there are ordinary people who feel a need to make their own do-it-yourself music.

**Canadian Vernacular Folksong**

Notwithstanding the views of Green and Narváez, I would submit that the concepts of folksong and vernacular song are not mutually exclusive alternatives. They can and do in fact intersect. Not all vernacular songs are folksongs and not all folksongs are vernacular songs. Vernacular folksong is thus a sub-category of folksong, just as folksong is a sub-category of vernacular song. I have listed above a few of the many vernacular songs that have been created in the genres of musical theatre, jazz, pop, and rock music. Each year singer-songwriters use the folk music idiom to produce hundreds, even thousands, of new songs at least 95 percent of which will never “catch on” with their audiences sufficiently to become even possible candidates for vernacular song status. Most folksongs, in fact, have not become or are unlikely to become vernacular songs. But some already have, and others will in the future. We can therefore adopt the term **vernacular folksong** to specify those folksongs, traditional and contemporary, that have been embraced so enthusiastically and widely by ordinary people as to become part of our collective cultural memory. Three Canadian examples, by way of immediate illustration, would be “Farewell to Nova Scotia,” “Canadian Railroad Trilogy,” and “Northwest Passage.” But let us explore in a little more detail what we mean by Canadian vernacular folksong.

In the Canadian context, the vast heritage of vernacular folksong includes songs that have become part of either our national culture or the culture of a specific region, such as the Prairies or Newfoundland. They come in many different languages: native languages, French, Gaelic, Ukrainian, Polish, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and so on. But English is still the common language of most of Canada, geographically and numerically, and there is an abundance of song in the English language. So I will focus on the wealth of English Canadian vernacular song, without meaning to imply that there are not equivalent songs in other languages spoken in Canada.

Anglo-Canadian vernacular folksong includes many traditional lyrics and ballads that have survived in oral tradition or been preserved in print and have been taken up again by modern singers. It also—and here we again go beyond Sharp—
includes songs by known authors and even those by recent or contemporary singer-songwriters that have become part of oral culture. A few more examples may help to illustrate what I mean. Let’s start with traditional song. The large heritage of anonymous folk music collected in Atlantic Canada includes such well-known and well-loved songs as “I’se the B’y,” “Lukey’s Boat,” “The Ryans and the Pitmans,” “She’s Like the Swallow,” and “Farewell to Nova Scotia.” Upper Canada contributed such widely sung lumbering songs as “The Jam on Gerry’s Rock,” “Les Raftsmen,” and “Lost Jimmy Whelan,” not to mention “The Poor Little Girls of Ontario” and “The Young Man from Canada.” The Prairies produced “Red River Valley,” “The Alberta Homesteader,” and “A Life in a Prairie Shack,” while the traditional songs of British Columbia include “The Grand Hotel,” “Far From Home,” “Haywire Outfit,” and “Know Ye the Land.” Both Atlantic and Pacific coasts have left us a rich legacy of sea-songs, including, among many others, “The Greenland Whale Fishery,” “The Banks of Newfoundland,” “John Kanaka,” and “A Hundred Years Ago.” The names of the men and women who created these songs are lost, as are the authors of broadside ballads such as “The Bold Northwestman” and “Bold Wolfe.” But for most songs written more recently, we do know the authors. For example, one of the better-known Newfoundland folk-songs, “The Squid-Jiggin’ Ground,” was actually written by Arthur Scammell, and Otto Kelland penned “Let Me Fish Off Cape St. Mary’s,” while “The Maple Leaf Forever,” composed in 1867, was the work of Alexander Muir.

The history of Canadian folksong has been poorly served by academics, whether they are cultural historians, folklorists, musicologists, or ethnomusicologists. Essentially, it has yet to be written, notwithstanding the useful, if brief and spotty, sections on folk music found in Elaine Keillor’s *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity*, and the rather controversial outline account of the Canadian postwar folksong revival provided by Gillian Mitchell in *The North American Folk Music Revival: Nation and Identity in the United States and Canada, 1945–1980*. The oldest Canadian songs date from the pre-colonial and early colonial eras, but it was during the eighteenth and early nineteen centuries that a large body of English-language vernacular songs first accumulated, in Newfoundland, the Maritimes, Upper Canada, and, to a lesser extent, the Pacific Coast. During the later nineteenth century, we begin to find more songs from the Prairies and the interior of British Columbia, as well as political songs about Canada–U.S. relations and Confederation. These have survived in a combination
of print and oral tradition, and many have been published, for example by Edith Fowke in such books as *Folk Songs of Canada, Volumes 1 and 2, Canada’s Story in Song, The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs, Traditional Singers and Songs from Ontario*, and *Lumbering Songs from the Northern Woods*.22

Canada shared in the postwar Anglo-American folksong revival, and a fair number of the songs in the first four of these publications were performed—and sometimes recorded—by such revival singers as Alan Mills, Tom Kines, Wade Hemsworth, Derek Lamb, Stan Triggs, and Karen James. The majority of the recordings were made by a small American record label, Folkways, although usually supervised by a Canadian employee, Sam Gesser. Although gradually forgotten as the folk revival waned in the late 1970s and 80s, substantial selections from these performances were issued on two multiple CD sets in the 1990s by the Mercury label.23 Sadly, these boxed sets are now unavailable, but the Smithsonian Folkways project has made most of this material accessible again, albeit in a rather expensive format.24

A large number of the best-known Canadian vernacular songs date from the postwar folk music revival. Conventionally these are classified as contemporary folk music, because they were written during the last half-century by composers whose names we know. Some date from the 1950s. Wade Hemsworth, perhaps the best Canadian singer-songwriter in the early years of the postwar folk music revival, was the author of “The Black-Fly Song,” “The Log Driver’s Waltz,” “Shining Birch Tree,” and the beautiful “The Wild Goose.” Many more Canadian vernacular songs date from the 1960s and early 70s. Gordon Lightfoot’s output included such classics as “Steel Rail Blues,” “Alberta Bound,” “The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald,” and the iconic “Canadian Railroad Trilogy.” “Four Strong Winds” was written by Ian Tyson, Neil Young wrote “Helpless,” and Joni Mitchell contributed “River” and “A Case of You.” Stompin’ Tom Connors’ long career began in the mid-1960s and he may well have written more songs about Canadian people, places, and history than any other songwriter. The earlier ones included “Wop’ May,” “Tribute to Wilf Carter,” and “How the Mountain Came Down.” By the mid-1970s he had added “Fire in the Mine,” “The Don Messer Story,” and “Big Joe Mufferaw,” but he is probably best known for such classics as “A Real Canadian Girl,” “Football Song,” “Hockey Song” and “Canada Day, Up Canada Way.” The late 1970s and early 80s were the decade of Stan Rogers, among whose creations that have entered oral tradition may be counted “Make

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and Break Harbour,” “The Mary Ellen Carter,” “Barrett’s Privateers,” and “Northwest Passage.” It takes time, of course, for a song to become established in oral tradition, so only a handful of items from the post-Rogers era are obviously vernacular songs, but the Arrogant Worms’ “Proud to be Canadian” and “Last Saskatchewan Pirate” look to be good candidates, as do James Keelaghan’s “Hillcrest Mine” and David Francey’s “Skating Rink.” Other examples that come to mind include Richard Harrow’s “Jerry Potts” and Bill Gallaher’s “The Last Battle.”

Of the songwriters mentioned it is probably true to say that just three of them, Wade Hemsworth, Tom Connors, and Stan Rogers set out deliberately to write songs that express a Canadian identity, although the Arrogant Worms’ popularity stems at least in part from the pan-Canadian nature of much of their satirical material. There are also performers of traditional folksong who are consciously promoting a Canadian—as opposed to a regional, provincial, or ethnic—cultural identity. A good example is the duo Jon Bartlett and Rika Ruebsaat, whose three CDs are titled *Come to Me in Canada*, *The Young Man from Canada*, and *The Green Fields of Canada*. They have also released a CD-ROM of sixteen radio programs titled *Songs and Stories of Canada*. Probably the most interesting contemporary singer-songwriter with an overtly nationalist agenda is John Spearn. Spearn is working on what he describes as his “Canada songs project,” which has so far borne fruit in three CDs, *Northern Sightlines*, *Canada Songs*, and *Lonely Heroes*. Two of his songs in particular, “Edith Cavell” and “Dieppe,” seem to be striking chords in the hearts of folk festival audiences.

This very cursory discussion has, I trust, established two things. There is a wealth of homegrown Canadian traditional and contemporary folksong in addition to the vast treasury of English-language traditional song brought to this country by immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, the U.S., and elsewhere. There is also a tradition of Canadian singer-songwriting that seeks to capture and express a uniquely Canadian identity. There is no reason to believe that this tradition of Canadian vernacular song is dying out. On the contrary, new singer-songwriters whose compositions express a Canadian identity appear almost daily. Unfortunately, we lack a term that conveniently differentiates these consciously Canadian composer-musicians from those whose recorded work does not specifically reflect their home and native land. What we can say with assurance is that there exists a generation of younger musicians working in
the folk music idiom whose creations are potentially Canadian national vernacular folksongs.

On the other hand, it is evident that several regions of Canada possess strong musical traditions that they feel to be their own (rather than pan-Canadian), and that local singer-songwriters have consciously built on these traditions to foster regional identities rather than a pan-Canadian one. Leaving aside Quebec and Nunavut, where in each case a perceived threat to both language and culture provides strong motivation for cultural nationalism, this is most clearly the case in Newfoundland. One leading traditional singer in Newfoundland, Anita Best, has emphasized that she sings Newfoundland versions of ballads, not Canadian versions. Singer-songwriter Ron Hynes has written a number of songs that express his views and feelings as a Newfoundlander, including his famous “Sonny’s Dream” and the poignant “The Final Breath,” both of which can be found on his CD Face to the Gale, which also includes “St. John’s Waltz” and “Gone to Canada.” Perhaps the most overt expression of Newfoundland nationalism through the medium of folksong is found on the compilation CD We Will Remain: Patriotic Songs of Newfoundland, which includes three anti-Confederation songs, a “Republican Song,” “Flag of Newfoundland,” and the Newfoundland national anthem, “Ode to Newfoundland,” as well as Hynes’ “The Final Breath” and Jim Payne’s equally separatist “Whispering Wave.” There are several Newfoundland folk-rock bands whose music is based firmly on the island’s traditional song, the best known being Great Big Sea, The Irish Descendants, and Rawlins Cross. Space limitations preclude a parallel survey of the living folk music of the Maritimes, but perhaps mention of Lenny Gallant, Mary Jane Lamond, Rita McNeil, Garnet Rogers, and the Rankin Family will quickly make the point. And if it is objected that this musical language no longer speaks to young people, perhaps the names Natalie McMaster, Ashley MacIsaac, and Aselin Debison will suffice to dispel that claim.29

So, we do have a heritage of homegrown, traditional vernacular song that captures in music the history and soul of the land from coast to coast to coast. We have a tradition of Canadian songwriting that seeks to build on this heritage and to express in simple, accessible music a love for the country and its unique places and peoples. And we have musical traditions that foster a strong sense of regional culture, in which the identity felt and expressed is regional or local rather than pan-Canadian. In some instances—Quebec, Newfoundland, and Nunavut—this sense of cultural identity is so strong that the region rather than Canada as a whole
is often viewed as the real nation. This situation is paralleled, of course, with one in which various First Nations and ethnic groups feel an allegiance primarily to their communities rather than to the nation-state to which they also belong.

Vernacular Folk Music on Canadian Radio

How does this rather complex pattern of national, regional, and ethnic identities play out with regard to the broadcasting of Canadian vernacular music? Radio in Canada is a rather diverse and complicated affair, so we have to make some distinctions. One obvious distinction is between analogue and digital radio. First let us take analogue radio, the kind that is broadcast over the airwaves, using either AM or FM transmitters. There is a national network, CBC, that transmits on two analogue channels but only CBC 1 (providing mainly news and talk programming), is on AM and is Canada-wide. Part of this programming, however, is given over to local CBC stations that create morning and evening talk shows aimed at commuters in their own cities. CBC 1 is, of course, also available on FM in much of urban Canada. CBC 2, however, broadcasts only on FM and is therefore accessible only in communities (mainly big cities) with FM transmitters. It is much more music oriented, although its programming is curiously selective.

Parallel to the CBC network we find four types of radio stations. There are commercial networks, often devoted mainly to talk shows and sports programming. CHED is an example in Alberta. There are independent commercial stations, such as CFCW in Alberta, that include a lot of music programming but usually stick to oldies, contemporary pop music, or country & western music. Both the networks and the independents are, of course, beholden to their shareholders and advertisers, and so their programming is designed to appeal to as large an audience as possible. There are a few independent stations, such as CKUA, that consciously see themselves as alternatives to the commercial mainstream, and employ a mixture of advertising revenue and community-based funding drives to stay afloat financially. And finally, there are non-profit cooperatives and student radio stations, normally run mainly by unpaid volunteers.

When we ask the question, “How much Canadian vernacular folk music can the listener find on these various kinds of Canadian radio stations?” what answers do we find? In particular, do we find anywhere the conscious promotion of a Canadian national identity? Do we find the deliberate fostering of regional or
local identities rather than a national one? Or do we find Canadian song lost in a wash of American programming in which Canadian artists are musically indistinguishable from their U.S. counterparts? My answers are the result of an extensive survey of Canadian radio that I conducted in the summer of 2007, supplemented by renewed listening the following year. This involved driving across Canada, from the east to the west coast, listening to stations broadcasting in all provinces from Newfoundland to British Columbia, as well as seeking out folk music programs transmitted digitally on the Internet. To some degree, my results are impressionistic and provisional, since it was impossible for a single person who lacked research funding to carry out a fully comprehensive survey of all Canadian radio stations’ folk music programming. Nonetheless, this was a quite elaborate empirical survey, and, as far as I am aware, the only one of its kind. We are, admittedly, dealing with a snapshot in time (the years 2007–2008), and since then podcasting has increased greatly in scope and quantity. But with that one qualification, I believe the following observations are factually based and valid.

The place to start is with CBC 1. Despite its many hours of talk shows, CBC 1 also does some music programming. We find programs devoted to classical music (Symphony Hall and OnStage), rock (Vinyl Tap), pop (Definitely Not the Opera, or DNTO), jazz (Tonic), world beat (Roots and Wings), and even a specialist blues program (Saturday Night Blues). There are also several eclectic music programs, including DiscDrive, Fuse, and Vinyl Café. But there is no regular folk music programming, let alone a program intended specifically to explore the wealth of Canadian traditional vernacular music and the work of singer-songwriters who write about Canadian history, people, and places. It is as if Canfolk does not exist. In theory one might expect to find, in a world beat show such as “Roots and Wings,” an interest in the sources (“roots”) of Canadian musical traditions other than those to be found in the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia, but this is very rarely the case. In DNTO, the world of commercial pop holds sway, albeit with an occasional nod back to Joni Mitchell and Neil Young. Canadian artists such as Avril Lavigne, Alanis Morisette, and Arcade Fire will get a hearing, but not the likes of John Spearn or even James Keelaghan. Even such big names as Gordon Lightfoot and Stan Rogers struggle to find a place on CBC 1, although an occasional track may turn up as nostalgia on one of the eclectic programs.

But wait; is this because the jobs of covering the Canadian folk music scene and promoting Canadian identity through music have been assigned to CBC 2?
The answer unfortunately seems to be no. Surprisingly, perhaps, there is no regularly broadcast program on CBC 2 devoted to vernacular music, either to Canadian folk music or to the broader Anglo-Celtic folk tradition. Although it changes from time to time, the CBC 2 music programming mix is on the whole remarkably similar to that on CBC 1. In some ways, it is even more restricted, with greater emphasis on classical music programs (Music and Company, Here’s to You and Sound Advice) and less pop, rock, and blues. Admittedly, there are a few exceptions to this conservatism. For example, Live By the Drum is a world beat program, but unfortunately it is even less interested in Canadian roots music than Roots and Wings. Similarly, the country & western program Twang does not stray into folk music territory unless you count the occasional Ian Tyson track. So again, it is only once in a long while on eclectic programs such as I Hear Music, Nightstream, and Weekender that one comes across a folk musician, and then it tends to be a Bruce Cockburn or Joni Mitchell. One finds periodic multicultural nods to the music heritage of Indo-Canadians and Chinese-Canadians, even, although infrequently, to the music of central and Eastern Europe, but evidently neither English or Scottish count as distinct ethnic groups with musical heritages worth protecting under the rubric of multiculturalism. Revenge against the former colonial oppressors, no doubt! To be sure, there are a few one-off programs that showcase individual Canadian folk artists, although Aselin Debison and Great Big Sea seem swamped among Paul Anka, Randy Bachman, Burton Cummings, Diana Krall, Avril Lavigne, and Anne Murray, to mention only a few of the CBC programmers’ favourites. There are some indications that CBC 2 is slowly becoming more adventurous in its music programming (especially late at night), but there is rarely any focus on material that specifically reflects Canada as a national entity. In this respect, CBC 2 is very similar to CBC 1. After all, as the Arrogant Worms point out, we don’t need to promote Canada: it is Big, and that’s enough. Anyway, one could hardly accuse the CBC of encouraging Canadian unity through its broadcasting of Canadian folk music.

CBC regional programming tells a different story, although in a sense it is the same story but with an ironic twist. Most CBC regional stations have been permitted to develop at least one program of their own featuring local artists and local music. Thus Newfoundland & Labrador has Performance Hour, the Maritimes collectively have Atlantic Airwaves and All the Best, Cape Breton has its own Island Echoes, and PEI has Mainstreet. Quebec has À propos and Routes Montréal, Ontario
has Bandwidth, Toronto its own Fresh Air, the northern Prairies have Keewatin Country, Saskatchewan has Sound Xchange, Alberta Key of A, the Northwest Territories Northern Air, the Yukon Nantaii, and British Columbia North By Northwest. I haven’t had the opportunity to sample all of these regional programs but I have listened to three of them. Performance Hour features concerts by Newfoundland folksingers and folk groups, including, of course, Great Big Sea, Jim Payne, and Ron Hynes. Key of A features a variety of Alberta artists of various musical stripes but they include such folksingers as Maria Dunn, Bill Bourne, and Jim Keelaghan. North By Northwest is the most interesting of all: it includes occasional performances by Jon Bartlett and Rika Ruebsaat. Significantly, though, they usually sing their British Columbia material—much of it from the Phil Thomas collection of B.C. vernacular songs—rather than songs from other regions of Canada. The Thomas collection includes a considerable number of logging, mining, and transportation songs, and Thomas’ printed selection from the songs in the B.C. archives, Songs of the Pacific Northwest, provides a social history of the province through its vernacular culture. Here, then, we have the recovery of British Columbia’s historical and cultural identity through the medium of song—a very significant and worthwhile achievement. CBC provincial programming requires a more thorough examination than I have space for here, but it is evident from my three samples that it does sometimes promote regional culture and regional identity. However—and this is perhaps hardly surprising, given its specific and limited mandate—it does little to promote Canadian identity or Canadian unity. It is essentially centrifugal in nature, underlining regional differences rather than national bonds.

Moving into the wasteland of commercial radio in Canada, I will pause briefly to mention a typical Alberta station. Unlike commercial network stations that are usually restricted to playlists, CFCW seems to have full rein to program what it likes within its chosen musical field, country & western. The recordings of well-known Canadian country artists such as Hank Snow, Shania Twain, Ian Tyson, and Adam Gregory are interspersed with the expected outpourings from Nashville. But curiously, the songs chosen rarely have any Canadian content. For example, you’ll hear Tyson’s “Navaho Rug” (it was a big hit on the country charts) but not “Alberta’s Child,” “Old Alberta Moon,” or even “Four Strong Winds.” And despite the fact that his singing style and backings reflect the influences of Wilf Carter and Johnny Cash, Stompin’ Tom is conspicuous by his absence from
the CFCW airwaves. Too Canadian and too far from the Nashville mainstream, no doubt! Clearly commercial stations such as am or their equivalents programming rock, pop, or oldies are not the place to find Canadian vernacular song.

But not so fast… that generalization may be a little too hasty. Canada is very diverse, and what is true for Alberta may not be true for Newfoundland. On the Rock, we find CJYQ, a commercial station called “Radio Newfoundland,” which prides itself on playing “our music.” By this phrase, it means not only music produced by artists from Newfoundland & Labrador but also Irish folk music. Here then, for the first time in our search, we find plenty of traditional music as well as music by contemporary singer-songwriters working in the folk style. The catch, though, is that Canadian artists from every other province are largely excluded, and there is no recognition of Newfoundland music as part of a broader Canadian musical tradition. Moreover, although the roots of Newfoundland folk music in Irish traditional music are recognized fully by the large number of Irish recordings in the programming mix, its roots in English folksong are denied. You will hear Mary Black and Sean Keane but not Martin Carthy and Kate Rusby. English folksong is simply not played on Radio Newfoundland, despite its huge legacy to Newfoundland musical culture. In reality, immigration to Newfoundland was largely from two areas: the English-speaking southeast coast of Ireland around Wexford and Cork, and the English counties of Dorset and Devon. The English immigrants slightly outnumbered their Irish counterparts, and, of course, they brought their traditional ballads and folk lyrics with them, just as the Irish did. Not that there was any great difference musically between the two traditions, because the Newfoundland Irish were not carriers of Gaelic song but rather of a common British song-culture that included eastern Ireland as well as lowland Scotland, much of Wales, and the whole of England except the Celtic part of Cornwall. But why this deliberate blindness to Newfoundland’s musical heritage from England? While it could be a matter of ignorance about the roots of Newfoundland music on the part of Radio Newfoundland programmers, it is more likely to have been a conscious management decision to reinforce the picture presented by Tourism Newfoundland of a friendly island populated by jolly lobster-eating and fiddle-playing exiles from the green land of Erin. The net result is a radio station that communicates an invented culture while promoting an extreme form of regional nationalism. In this part of Canada, opposition to Confederation has never entirely died out, and CJYQ is playing its part in a
resurgent Newfoundland nationalism that incorporates a strong separatist wing. Evidently, an invented culture can have a political function in addition to promoting tourism.

CJYQ’s programming may be unique, but it is still strictly speaking a commercial radio station, sustained by its advertising revenue. Back in Alberta, we find an unorthodox station of a different kind, one that used to be publicly owned and is now semi-commercial, funded by a mix of advertising and fundraising drives that encourage its regular listeners to become members of a virtual community. CKUA’s programming policy is governed by the basic concept of providing an alternative to mainstream media: it includes specialist classical music, jazz, blues, country & western, and folk shows, in addition to several eclectic programs that rely substantially on the recordings of singer-songwriters and indie bands but also include folk, blues, and jazz in lesser quantities.

Of particular interest, from our point of view, are the two specialist folk music programs: Folk Roots and The Celtic Show. The latter is built around Scottish and Irish music but includes a good component of Canadian acoustic music with a similar sound, including, of course, plenty of recordings from the Maritimes and Newfoundland. However, singer-songwriters from Stan Rogers to James Keelaghan and David Francey are frequently included in the mix, and I have even heard songs by John Spearn. There is no attempt to promote either a Canadian or a regional identity through the music, but the regular listener will obtain, over time, a fair acquaintance with a broad range of contemporary Canadian vernacular music. What is missing, however, is any interest in older Canadian traditions: one never hears excerpts from Helen Creighton’s or Kenneth Peacock’s field recordings, nor have I ever heard The Celtic Show play a single track by Jon Bartlett and Rika Ruebsaat. Folk Roots comes closer to the kind of program one expects to find on CBC but looks for in vain. Although the host, Tom Coxworth, also plays music from Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere, he showcases Canadian folk music from all regions of the country, and includes songs by Canadian artists writing about the people, places, and history of their native land. As with The Celtic Show, one would like to see more frequent recognition of the older traditions of Canadian vernacular music—more traditional folksong as opposed to recordings by contemporary singer-songwriters—but on Folk Roots one does occasionally hear field recordings taken from the Canadian component of the Smithsonian collection. CKUA has even made a special series devoted to Smithsonian Folkways,
so Sam Gesser’s solo effort to include Canada in Moe Asch’s great project has not
been completely forgotten in Alberta, although this does seem the case in the rest
of the country.

While I have focused on Newfoundland and Alberta, I must emphasize that
examples of commercial or semi-commercial radio stations that include folk
music in their programming may be found in central Canada. For example,
CKLN (broadcasting from Toronto) has a Sunday evening show hosted by Joel
Wortzman called *Acoustic Roots*, which concentrates on showcasing the work of
contemporary singer/songwriters. More oriented towards traditional folk music is
Allistair Brown’s *A Sign of the Times*, which may be found on Sunday mornings on

My last category of Canadian radio is the non-profit, volunteer-run station,
operating on a shoestring budget. These are usually associated with universities,
such as CKIT in Toronto (University of Toronto), CKUT in Montreal (McGill
University), CFRC in Kingston, Ontario (Queen’s University), or CJSR in
Edmonton (University of Alberta). Not all volunteer radio stations are student-
rung. Some are community cooperatives, examples being CKCU in Ottawa
(although this is also associated with Carleton University) and CJLY in Nelson,
British Columbia.

CJLY bills itself as “Kootenay Co-op Radio.” It plays a lot of indie rock—a
reflection no doubt of the predominantly young programmers’ personal tastes—
but there is the expected mix of older-style rock ‘n’ roll, jazz, contemporary
singer-songwriter material, reggae, and bluegrass. One folk music program (*Folks’
Music*) is in evidence, and it sometimes has a refreshingly Canada-wide perspec-
tive: on one occasion when I listened, the host set herself the task of playing a song
about every Canadian city from Victoria to St. John’s. But there is little traditional
music to be found on this show. Curiously, I have never heard a single song from
the Phil Thomas collection of B.C. vernacular music played on CJLY. CJSR, the
University of Alberta station, also broadcasts much indie rock but it does include
such programs as *The Sound of Folkways*, *Prairie Pickin’*, and *Sounds Ukrainian*
as well as several more eclectic acoustic music shows. Surprisingly, given that the univer-
sity has a Department of Ethnomusicology, there is no program that investi-
gates the older traditions of Canadian vernacular music or even covers the full
spectrum of contemporary Canadian folk music. CKCU (Ottawa) has an inter-
esting variety of programming, some of which caters explicitly to Aboriginal,
Indian, African, Asian, Caribbean, and Scottish audiences. Folk music of a more
general nature is found on such shows as *Roots & Rhythms* and *Canadian Spaces*,
the latter devoted entirely to Canadian music. Perhaps it is because the nation’s
capital has a pan-Canadian sensibility lacking elsewhere that we find this uniquely
nationalist programming only on CKCU.

In the main, it seems reasonable to conclude that, despite some lacunae, these
volunteer, campus-oriented stations are doing a better job of promoting Canadian
vernacular music, culture, and identity than either Canadian commercial radio or
the CBC. Unfortunately, their broadcast range and audience figures tend to be
rather small, so their programming is reaching only a limited niche market.

**Some Conclusions**

So what conclusions can we draw from this examination of folk music pro-
gramming on Canadian radio? How should we answer the questions posed ear-
lier? To do so we need to distinguish between the two kinds of radio: broadcast
and digital.

To begin with, how much Canadian vernacular folk music is broadcast using
the older analogue medium? Unfortunately, much less than might have been
expected. CBC appears to have singled out folk as the one popular music genre to
which it refuses to devote a specialist program on its regular channels. Aficionados
of classical, jazz, blues, rock, pop, and even country music can usually find at least
an hour or two a week featuring their favourite music, although they may be
annoyed to find that a particular program (and hence the style of music that it fea-
tured) has suddenly vanished for a season or more. Not so for those interested in
Canadian vernacular music or the Anglo-Celtic source traditions of English-lan-
guage Canadian song and instrumental music. They are permanently out of luck.

The same is true of most analogue commercial radio, whether AM or FM: play-
ing folk music must not be a suitable way of selling the advertisers’ wares.
Canadian songs are heard only occasionally and Canada is lost in the torrent of
American-dominated programming in which Canadian artists are usually indistin-
guishable from their U.S. counterparts, whatever the style of music. One
exception is Newfoundland, where one commercial station, CJYQ “Radio
Newfoundland,” plays almost entirely folk music, albeit only Newfoundland and
Irish music.

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To find a broader spectrum of Canadian folk music on the radio we must go to CKLN in Toronto, CIXX-fm in London, Ontario, or the semi-commercial CKUA in Alberta, which is in part community-funded and so, one presumes, somewhat responsive to listeners’ preferences. The other place to look is to volunteer-run co-operative or student stations such as CIUT, CKUT, CFRC, CKCU, and CJLY. These, indeed, are the best places to find specialist music aimed at ethnic minorities or folk music *aficionados*. They are also, incidentally, the best places to find indie rock, one of the most creative music genres in present-day Canada.

Can we find anywhere the conscious promotion of a Canadian national identity through music programming? Were not CRTC rules on Canadian content once intended, at least in part, to do just this? Since only the *CBC* has a national purview and a Canada-wide network of transmitters one might expect its mandate to include the promotion of Canadian unity. But at least as regards music this does not seem to be the case. Choosing Canadian artists to play Bach or to sing Puccini does little for Canadian consciousness although it satisfies Canadian content regulations, and much the same is true for shows that feature Canadian jazz or blues musicians. It is the songs that matter, and they are conspicuous by their absence. So in ignoring Canadian vernacular folk music in its cross-country programming, *CBC* appears to be neglecting a real opportunity to promote Canadian culture to new immigrants and ethnic minorities not familiar with older Canadian traditions. It is also missing the chance to increase knowledge and awareness of regional cultures in other parts of Canada. Moreover, *CBC*’s regional programming, which is rarely broadcast Canada-wide, actually reinforces regional identities and regional separatism, rather than helping different parts of the country know each other better. It is centrifugal rather than centripetal in its effect. However, at least in the case of the B.C.’s *North by Northwest*, this programming serves to inform listeners about local culture, history, and vernacular music. A lost cultural identity is being gradually recovered, a significant achievement.

The regional programming of commercial and semi-commercial radio stations varies widely from province to province. Most purely commercial stations have no interest in Canadian vernacular music and are contributing only to the Americanization of Canada. However, in Newfoundland, with CJYQ, we find something quite different: a clear-cut case of the deliberate promotion of an invented cultural history at odds with the province’s actual history. The motives for this appear to be two-fold: to support Newfoundland nationalism and to
develop the tourism industry. Only on a semi-commercial station in Alberta (CKUA), a non-commercial co-op station (CJLY in Nelson, B.C.), and various campus stations (most notably CKCU in Ottawa) could I find folk music programming that was consciously pan-Canadian in scope. Sadly, these appear to be the only partial exceptions to what is, in the main, a dismal story.

My overall conclusion has to be that Canadian radio (the analogue, broadcast variety, that is), including the CBC, devotes little time to the country’s heritage of traditional song and instrumental music. Even contemporary folk music is short-changed relative to other musical genres. Moreover, Canadian vernacular folk music is rarely used, as it could be, to promote a sense of national identity and unity. More frequently, folk music is used to promote a regional identity, which can be either constructed or authentic in nature.

When we examine folk music programming on digital radio, the overall picture is somewhat different. Most analogue transmissions are also found in digital form, so the conclusions stated above also apply here. Mainstream CBC is something of a mixed bag, but, taken overall, rather disappointing in its failure to embrace a national mission. Commercial radio is just as indifferent to Canadian cultural nationalism and vernacular music in digital as in analogue form. CJYQ in Newfoundland is promoting a constructed identity that involves a serious distortion of Newfoundland cultural history whether its broadcasts are received by radio receiver or by computer. However, my qualified praise of CKUA in Alberta, CJLY in Nelson, CKCU in Ottawa, and CIXX in London (among others) applies just as much to their digital transmissions as their analogue ones.

One finds a similar phenomenon on what I characterized earlier as “blank TV screen” broadcasting. This is similar to webcasting, except that the receiver is a television set rather than a computer. Here the folk music programming tends to be less specialized and more eclectic in nature. There is a heavy reliance on old favourites from the 1960s onwards, usually mixed in with folk-rock items by Bob Dylan, the Byrds, The Loving Spoonful, Buffalo Springfield, The Mamas and the Papas, and Crosby, Stills & Nash, et al. If one is patient enough, one is usually rewarded with recurrent doses of Leonard Cohen, Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, Gordon Lightfoot, Ian Tyson, and even, once in a long while, Stan Rogers and Natalie MacMaster. What you will not find in this medium is much in the way of traditional Canadian folksong, except occasionally as interpreted by a “big name” group such as Great Big Sea.

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The principal difference between digital and analogue radio lies in a dimension that does not exist in the analogue medium, namely podcasting. As we have seen earlier, digital radio can be podcast as well as—or instead of—webcast. One of many folk music shows that are podcast in MP3 format as well as webcast is *Folk Directions*, hosted by Gerry Goodfriend on CKUT. CBC 3, on the other hand, consists entirely of podcasts, most of them musical. However, there are also archived versions of programs previously broadcast on CBC 1 or CBC 2, which tend not to include the specialized regional programming where most Canadian vernacular music is to be found. In contrast, the various podcasts that have been specially created for CBC 3 cannot be heard elsewhere. Among them is at least one regular podcast devoted entirely to folk music selected by Mary Jane Lamond, the leading performer of Cape Breton Gaelic song. Regrettably, Ms. Lamond’s own voice is absent; she does not function as a DJ, introducing and commenting upon the discs she plays, so there is little communication between broadcaster and listener. One can obtain basic information about song titles and performers, but these entirely lack context. The music is reduced to entertainment at best, aural wallpaper at worst. Nonetheless, here is an excellent place to find contemporary, and some traditional, Canadian folk music. For the curious, and especially for the knowledgeable listener, Lamond’s podcast can be a gold mine. It is a good example of effective specialized programming to a minority audience. CBC 3 is gradually expanding the number of podcasts that it hosts and so there is hope for more folk music programming of this type, including shows that feature Canadian vernacular song. The downside, however, is that these CBC 3 podcasts are minimally promoted, rather difficult to find on the CBC website, and separated from the mainstream of CBC programming. Only highly motivated listeners will ever find them. They may cater better to particular niche markets than CBC has ever done in the past, but they are unlikely to broaden those minority audiences.

It is with the newest category of digital broadcaster, the small independent podcaster on the Internet, that the future of folk music on Canadian radio may lie. There appear to be hundreds of such freelance narrowcasters in the U.S. The podcasting movement—because that is what it is in the U.S., a new cultural movement—is only just getting started in Canada, not only because of the smaller population but because of perceived legal restrictions and/or CRTC regulations. It may be premature to place too much weight on this phenomenon, yet two conclusions already seem obvious. First, stations such as CIUT,
CKUT, CKCU, CKUA, CJRC, CFRC, CJLY, and even CJYQ will almost certainly find their digital listenership growing while their analogue audience gradually declines. Yet their audiences will increasingly be specialist ones, comprising those who choose their URLs precisely because of their idiosyncratic mix of programming—including a goodly dose of folk music. Second, notwithstanding the practice seemingly adopted by CBC 3, the critical importance of this targeted digital programming is that it can preserve the original function of radio as communication. DJs usually discuss the music as well as play it, and the songs are presented within a cultural context that enhances their meaning rather than reducing them to aural wallpaper. There is a potential here for the celebration through music of national Canadian as well as regional and ethnic cultures. The downside of digital radio on the Internet is that we will almost certainly see a proliferation of niche marketing and the creation of multiple auditory silos. The consumer needs of folk music devotees will be taken care of but at the same time the music—and hence the cultural heritage associated with it—will be marginalized. It will be the preserve of a minority, not the daily fare of the masses. The same marginalization will be true, of course, for lovers of East Indian music, early classical music, indie rock, Baroque opera, or any other musical taste perceived not to be part of the mainstream.

For all its promise, digital broadcasting therefore seems likely to bring about a fragmentation of both highbrow and popular culture, a trend to which folk music will not be immune. It is perhaps fortunate that Canadian vernacular music is also communicated in other ways: through kitchen parties, ceilidhs, house concerts, pub evenings, folk clubs, small-scale local folk festivals such as the Princeton Traditional Music Festival in B.C., and even, although it is increasingly marginalized here too, in the big cities’ so-called folk music festivals. Narrowcast digital broadcasting will likely fit well with this grassroots form of cultural distribution. However, the negative result may be an increased ghettoizing of vernacular folksong. While an increasing quantity of Canadian folksong may become available through the medium of webcasts and, in particular, podcasts, the audience for this music will likely be restricted to aficionados sufficiently committed to seek it out in the special places where it can be found. Niche marketing in digital radio will therefore probably contribute to a further fragmentation of Canadian cultural activity by cutting off vernacular folk music from the mainstream of (commercial) Canadian popular music.
To return, once more, to the question posed at the outset of this chapter, does folk music programming on Canadian radio accurately reflect Canadian identities, national, regional, and ethnic? The short answer seems to be that music reflecting or promoting a Canadian national identity is found only rarely on Canadian radio. One might have expected to find such programming on at least one of the three CBC channels, but there appears to be not a single radio show with active programming devoted exclusively to Canadian vernacular folk music. The closest one comes is with a folk music podcast on CBC 3, but this takes the form of passive rather than active programming. Some independent stations, such as CKUA, CKUT, CKCU, and CJLY, have good folk music programs, but these do not usually focus on Canadian music per se, although they include Canadian artists in their mix. The shining exception that demonstrates what might be done is CKCU’s Canadian Spaces. There is, on the other hand, a wide range of local programming that promotes regional identities. Sometimes this programming explores provincial or local culture in an accurate and sensitive manner, as with CBC’s regional program in B.C., North by Northwest. On other occasions, for commercial or tourism reasons, such regional programming promotes a misleading image of the province’s cultural heritage, as with CJYQ in Newfoundland.

In sum, it is evident that Canadian radio, which is highly diverse and fragmented in nature, reflects and reinforces a range of local and regional identities, some recovered and others constructed. My most disturbing finding, however, is that the medium, by suppressing the sense of a Canadian national identity and promoting instead regional identities, is aiding the cultural fragmentation of Canada. It is one of the many forces currently contributing to the dissolution of Canada as a national entity.

Discography

All the Best: Folk Music of St. John’s, Newfoundland. Pigeon Inlet PIPCD-7322.
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*Classic Canadian Songs*. Smithsonian Folkways SFCD 40539.

*Coal Dust Grins: A Musical Portrait*. Cambria [no number].

Cockburn, Bruce. *Stealing Fire*. True North CTND 57; *Waiting for a Miracle*. True North TNMD 0070.


Connors, Stompin' Tom. *Sings Canadian History*. EMI72435 34271 2 2; *Sound Tracks Canada*. EMI 7243 8 37242 2 2.


*Fire in the Kitchen*. Unisphere BG2 63133.


Great Big Sea. *Up*. WEA W2 12277.


*Rock Within the Sea: Folksongs of Newfoundland*. Furliant FMDC 4000-2.

Rankin Family. *The Rankin Family*. Capitol C2 07777 9995 2 1; *Fare Thee Well Love*. Capitol C2 99996.

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Rogers, Stan. *Fogarty’s Cove.* Fogarty’s Cove FCM-1001D; *Northwest Passage.*
Fogarty’s Cove FCM 004D; *Home in Halifax.* Fogarty’s Cove FCM 010D.
Singalongs and Shanties. Avalon 02 50855.
Spearn, John. *Northern Sightlines.* Reidmore NS-0699; *Canada Songs.* Spearn JS-1202; *Lonely Heroes.* Canada Songs III.
Thomas, Phil. *Where the Fraser River Flows and Other Songs of the Pacific Northwest.* Cariboo Road Music SR 7001; *Phil Thomas and Friends Live at Folklife Expo 86.* Cariboo Road Music 200.
*We Will Remain: Patriotic Songs of Newfoundland.* Singsong SS 9803.
Young, Neil. *Decade.* Reprise W2 2257.

Notes


12. The term “national song” was intended by its originators to refer not to patriotic songs *per se* but to all songs that in some sense expressed the spirit a country’s (national) culture and became widely popular as a result.


19. As used by William Chappell in *Popular Music of the Olden Times* “national song” meant essentially the same as the later term “vernacular song.” However, Carl Engel, in his influential *Introduction to the Study of National Music*, muddied the waters by using the identical term as a translation for *Volklied* (folksong). From 1904 onward Cecil Sharp drew a hard and fast distinction between genuine folksongs and national songs (in the earlier, broader sense of the term), but the value of this distinction was disputed by his opponents, including Stanford and Somervell.


25. See the discography at the end of this chapter for the CDs on which these various songs may be found.


28. Maria Dunn, David Francey, Bill Gallaher, Richard Harrow, James Keelaghan, and John Spearn (among others) are carrying on where Wade Hemsworth, Gordon Lightfoot, Stan Rogers, and Stompin’ Tom Connors left off.

29. For some of their CDs, see the discography at the end of this chapter.

30. CBC 3 is not available on analogue radio. It broadcasts only in the form of digital podcasts.