

**John Weinzweig, Leftist Politics, and Radio Drama at the CBC
During the Second World War**

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Post-Doctoral Studies in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M.A. degree in Musicology

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Abstract:

Since its rise to prominence in the 1920s, Canadian radio drama has become a topic of growing interest among scholars in the fields of media studies, communications, and literature. During the Second World War, radio drama became an important medium of entertainment for home front civilians, and was utilized as propaganda by the CBC to garner support for the Canadian war effort. At this time, radio drama also became an important artistic outlet for wartime artists to express their political and social values and beliefs during the war.

While scholars have examined the art of radio drama in light of its artistic, dramatic and literary value, few have yet to examine the music composed for these dramas. This thesis draws on these scholars as well as archival materials from the John Weinzwieg fonds and the CBC Music Library fonds located at Library and Archives Canada, and the CBC radio drama script collection located at the Concordia Centre of Broadcasting and Journalism Studies to examine the incidental music written by John Weinzwieg for CBC wartime radio dramas. By considering how composing for this artistic medium impacted his musical language at this time, this thesis examines his scoring for the series *New Homes for Old*. Specifically, I problematize the modification and simplification of the serial technique in his incidental works, and consider the challenges that informed Weinzwieg's approach to radio drama composition.

I propose that Weinzwieg's simplification of his serial technique may be understood in relationship to the social and political climate of the 1930s and 1940s, and within the context of leftist socialist movements, notably the Popular Front. I argue that Weinzwieg's engagement with radical socialism during this period may have prompted him to adopt a simpler and more accessible musical language that reflected and embodied the cultural, political, and aesthetic ideals of the Popular Front.

Résumé:

Le théâtre radiophonique canadien est devenu un sujet très prisé parmi les chercheurs dans les domaines des médias, des communications, et de la littérature. Pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, le théâtre radiophonique est devenu une forme de divertissement populaire pour les Canadiens et était souvent utilisé comme un outil de propagande par la CBC. À cette même époque, le théâtre radiophonique est aussi devenu une forme d'expression pour les artistes du temps de guerre pour exprimer leurs valeurs sociales et politiques.

Bien que plusieurs chercheurs aient examiné l'art du théâtre radiophonique sous l'angle de sa valeur artistique, dramatique, et littéraire, peu ont examiné la musique qui a été composée pour ces drames. En se servant des matériaux d'archives trouvés dans les fonds "John Weinzwieg" et les fonds "CBC music library" situés à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada (BAC), ainsi que la collection "CBC Radio Dramas" située au Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies (CCJBS) à l'Université Concordia, cette thèse examine la musique de scène écrite par John Weinzwieg pour les émissions de théâtre radiophoniques présentées par la CBC pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. En considérant comment le genre radiophonique a influencé le langage musical de Weinzwieg, cette thèse examine ses oeuvres pour la série *New Homes for Old*. Plus précisément, cette thèse examine la modification et simplification de la technique sérielle utilisé par Weinzwieg dans ses oeuvres radiophoniques, et considère les défis qui ont influencé son approche compositionnelle.

Je suggère que la simplification de la technique sérielle utilisée par Weinzwieg peut être

étudiée en fonction des conditions politiques des années 1930 et 1940, et aussi en fonction des mouvements politiques de gauche et plus particulièrement du Front populaire. Je soutiens que l'engagement de Weinzweig avec les valeurs socialistes lui a permis d'adopter un langage accessible qui reflète les idéaux culturels, politiques, et esthétiques du Front populaire.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the help, advice, and support of many individuals. First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis advisor, Professor Christopher Moore. I am incredibly appreciative of all of the advice, insight, and support he has offered me over the past two years. His guidance has helped me hone my writing skills, and has ultimately helped me become a better researcher and scholar.

I would like to express my thanks to the members of my committee, Profs. Julie Pedneault-Deslauriers and Elaine Keillor, for taking the time to read and review my thesis, as well as their advice, insight, and support of this thesis. I am also thankful to Profs. Paul Merkley and Murray Dineen for their advice and continuous support and encouragement of my research endeavors.

I am thankful to the countless librarians and archivists from Library and Archives Canada, The CBC Music Library and Archives, as well as the Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies who have helped me find, consult, and use the archival materials which have informed this thesis. Specifically, I would like to thank Jean Matheson (LAC), Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor (LAC), Wayne Henning (CBC), Debbie Lindsey (CBC), Mircea Mandache (CCJBS), Andreea Mandache (CCBJS), and Mike Gasher (CCBJS).

I am also grateful to Daniel Weinzweig, who has granted me access and permission to consult and use the materials located in the John Weinzweig Fonds (LAC), for this thesis. I would also like to thank the CBC Music Library and Archives and the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies for granting me access and permission to consult and use the archival materials which informed this thesis.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents for all of the support, love, and patience they have given me over the years, for fostering my love of music and learning, and for their constant and unwavering encouragement. Thanks to my family, friends, and colleagues who have also supported and encouraged me throughout my studies.

This thesis was funded and financially supported by the University of Ottawa through admission scholarships and teaching assistantships.

“So do not fear, for I am with you; do not be dismayed, for I am your God. I will strengthen you and help you; I will hold you with my righteous right hand.”

-Isaiah 41:10.

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Introduction:

The period between 1930 and 1960 has been broadly recognized as the “Golden Age” of North American radio broadcasting.¹ It was during this prolific time in which the art of radio drama was born. A coalescence of the literary, dramatic, and musical arts, radio drama rapidly became the quintessential form of entertainment during the 1930s and 1940s.² In Canada, radio drama enjoyed increasing popularity among Canadian listeners at this time, and national broadcasters such as the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), and later Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), relied on this new medium not only as a means of entertaining Canadian audiences, but to inform and educate citizens in regards to questions of identity, gender roles, race, and socio-political ideals. During the Second World War, CBC radio dramas were also utilized as a tool of propaganda which shaped and informed public opinion in regards to Canada’s wartime activities and policies, and was utilized to inform, educate, and ultimately persuade listeners about the war effort.

While the increased production of Canadian radio drama during the interwar period and Second World War bore important social, cultural, and political ramifications, it also had an important impact on the development and promotion of Canadian artists at this time. Notably, radio drama became a new means through which Canadian artists could broadcast their works to a national, at times international, audience. As Canada’s largest employer of Canadian artists at the time, the CBC hired playwrights, voice actors, theatrical directors, musicians, and composers, to participate and contribute in the production of radio drama, including the Canadian composer

¹ Susan Siegel, *A Resource Guide to the Golden Age of Radio: Special Collections, Bibliography and the Internet* (Yorktown Heights, NY: Book Hunter Press, 2006): 3.

² Robert Gray, “French Radio Drama from the Interwar to the Postwar Period (1922-1973),” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin (May 2006): 6.

John Weinzweig. Hired in 1941, Weinzweig was the first composer commissioned to write original background music for CBC radio dramas and he composed the original incidental scores for several CBC original wartime dramas, including *New Homes for Old* (1941), *Brothers in Arms* (1941), *The British Empire Series* (1941), and *Comrade in Arms* (1942-1945).

Weinzweig's first radio drama assignment for the CBC was his work for *New Homes for Old*, an eleven-week series which depicted the "real" lives and experiences of immigrants who established themselves in Canada during the war. While an examination of his scoring for this series offers insight in regards to the practice and intricacies of writing for radio drama, it also signals a discrepancy in his compositional approach at this time, particularly his use of the serial technique. Despite the claims made by Elaine Keillor, Udo Kasemets, and Weinzweig himself, which assert his use of the technique in his incidental scoring for radio, a close examination of these works suggests otherwise. Specifically, while Weinzweig's scoring for *New Homes for Old* reveals his use of the twelve-tone row in his pre-compositional materials, there is no evidence of his use of the tone row or serial procedures in his completed scores for the series. Rather, Weinzweig utilizes a more tonal compositional language, or at best, a simplified or modified serial language in these works.

While there are several technological, institutional, and societal factors which may have encouraged Weinzweig to simplify his serial technique, it is also important to consider how the socio-political climate of the interwar and Second World War may have also impacted and influenced his compositional decisions at this time. Accordingly, this thesis seeks to examine and frame Weinzweig's work for the *New Homes for Old* series in light of the rise of leftist and socialist movements during the 1930s and 1940s, notably the Popular Front. This thesis proposes that Weinzweig's early and continued exposure to radical socialist ideals may have not only

prompted him to temper his serialist technique, but to also write works which embody the cultural, political, and aesthetic ideals of the Popular Front. In doing so, this thesis seeks to show how the progressive medium of radio broadcasting and the art of radio drama ultimately became an important outlet for Weinzwieg to express his engagement with leftist political beliefs and ideals.

Literature Review:

In recent years, the topic of radio drama has garnered increasing attention from scholars who specialize in the field of radio broadcasting, communication studies, and mass media. This thesis relies on these sources which discuss the rise of radio drama during the twentieth-century as a means of broadly contextualizing and historicizing the emergence of this art form, as well as to acquire a better understanding of the general production practices of radio drama. Of these sources, Tim Crook's *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice* is considered as one of the fundamental texts in the field of contemporary radio drama studies, and offers an exhaustive study of radio drama during the twentieth century, particularly North American practices.³ Other sources which explore the topic of twentieth-century radio drama include Richard J. Hand's and Mary Traynor's *The Radio Drama Handbook: Audio Drama in Context and Practice* and John Drakakis' *British Radio Drama*.⁴ Robert Gray's Ph.D dissertation "French Radio Drama from the Interwar to the Postwar Period (1922-1973)" is another source which situates the rise of radio drama within the broader context of France's interwar and Second World War period, and examines how radio drama reflected the socio-political climate of this time.⁵ These sources not

³ Tim Crook, *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999).

⁴ Richard J. Hand and Mary Traynor, *The Radio Drama Handbook: Audio Drama in Context and Practice* (A & C Black, 2011); John Drakakis, *British Radio Drama* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁵ Robert Gray, "French Radio Drama from the Interwar to the Postwar Period (1922-1973)," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin (May 2006).

only historicize and contextualize the rise of radio drama as an artistic genre in Europe and North-America during the twentieth century, but also situate the practice of radio drama in its broader artistic, technological, and socio-political contexts.

Sources which have helped contextualize the emergence and rise of radio drama in Canada include Howard Fink's *Canadian National Theatre on the Air, 1925-1961*, his book chapter "North American Radio Drama," and his article "The CBC Radio Drama Project and Its Background."⁶ These sources consider the growth and expansion of the radio genre in Canada since the 1920s, and traces its development at the CN Radio Department (1923-1932), the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (1932-1936), and the Canadian Broadcasting corporation (1936-) and its social and cultural ramifications in Canada. Another large scale and exhaustive study of radio drama in Canada is Roger Lee Jackson's Ph.D dissertation "An Historical and Analytical Study of the Origins, Development and Impact of the Dramatic Programs Produced for the English Language Networks of the CBC."⁷ In his dissertation, Jackson contextualizes and historicizes the rise of radio drama in Canada, and examines the development and production practices of CBC radio dramas by surveying a variety of popular and prominent radio dramas produced during the twentieth century. Other sources which discuss or touch upon radio drama production in Canada and at the CBC include articles written by Anne Nothof, Klara Kolinska, John D. Jackson, Paul Millen, and Greg Nielsen.⁸

⁶ Howard Fink, *Canadian National Theatre On the Air, 1925-1961: CBC-CRBC-CNR Radio Drama in English, A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto: 1983); Howard Fink, "The Sponsor's vs. The National's Choice: North American Radio Drama," in Peter Lewis, ed., *Radio Drama* (Toronto, ON: Academic Press, 1987)

⁷ Roger Lee Jackson, "An Historical and Analytical Study of the Origins, Development and Impact of the Dramatic Programs Produced for the English Language Networks of the CBC," Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1967.

⁸ Anne Nothof, "Canadian Radio Drama in English: Prick Up Your Ears," *Theatre Research in Canada/Recherches Théâtrales au Canada* Vol. 11, No.1 (Spring 1990): 59-70; Klara Kolinska, "Air Play: The Evolution of Canadian Drama for Radio," *Interactions* Vol. 20, No. 1-2 (Spring-Fall 2011): 92; John D. Jackson and Paul Millen, "English-Language Radio Drama: A Comparison of Central & Regional Production Units," *Canadian Journal of*

While the aforementioned sources offer important insight on the production of radio drama in Canada, few of them consider the production of wartime dramas at the CBC, particularly the radio drama series under consideration in this thesis, *New Homes for Old*. Sandy Stewart's *A Pictorial History of Radio* briefly examines and discusses some of the prominent wartime radio dramas produced by the CBC at this time, including *Carry on Canada*, *Fighting Navy*, *Comrade in Arms* and *New Homes for Old*. However, due to the lack of secondary resources which consider CBC's wartime radio dramas, this thesis ultimately relies on the information provided by primary source materials including CBC Program Schedules (1939-1945), CBC Annual Reports (1939-1945), and the CBC Times articles (1939-1945) to contextualize and historicize the series under study in this thesis.

Several radio drama handbooks published during the golden age of radio drama production have also informed this thesis by providing insight in regards to the general production process and practice of North American radio drama. These sources include Walter Kingson's *Radio Drama Production: A Handbook*, Earle McGill's *Radio Directing*, and Erik Barnouw's *Handbook of Radio Production: Studio Techniques and Procedures in the United States*.⁹ These sources have informed this thesis in regards to the process of radio drama production, including the roles played by important figures such as the producer-director, script writer, actors, and sound effects technicians, as well as information concerning radio drama terminology, the radio drama studio, rehearsals, and the broadcast of live radio drama during the early 1930s and 1940s.

Communication Vol. 15, No. 1 (1990): 1-17; Greg Nielsen and John Jackson, "Toward A Research Strategy for the Analysis of CBC English-Language Radio Drama and Canadian Social Structure," *Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de Sociologie* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984): 21-45.

⁹ Walter Kingson, *Radio Drama Production: A Handbook* (New York, NY: Rinehart, 1946); Earle McGill, *Radio Directing* (New York, NY: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940); Erik Barnouw, *Handbook of Radio Production: Studio Techniques and Procedures in the United States* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1949).

Despite the growing body of literature which examines the practice of radio drama and its value as both an important theatrical and literary art form during the twentieth-century, few scholars have yet situated the production of radio drama within its broader socio-political context. In particular, few have considered how radio drama became an important vehicle for disseminating propaganda during the Second World War for governmental institutions and artists alike. Accordingly, to better understand how the medium of radio drama was conducive to wartime propaganda during the Second World War, this thesis relies on these secondary sources which broadly consider the role of radio broadcasting as a vehicle for propaganda at this time. Sources examined include Susan Squiers *Communities of the Air*, Keith Sommerville's *Radio Propaganda and the Broadcasting of Hatred: Historical Development and Definitions*, Philo C. Wasburn's *Broadcasting Propaganda*, and Gerd Horten's *Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda During World War II*.

The study of John Weinzwieg and his career has been largely undertaken by his biographer, Elaine Keillor. In her book, *John Weinzwieg and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada*, Keillor chronologically examines the life and compositional style of Weinzwieg, and she briefly examines Weinzwieg's career at the CBC and his work for radio drama, including *New Homes for Old*, *Jalna*, *The British Empire Series*, *Our Canada*, and *The White Empire*.¹⁰ In her essay "Music for Radio and Film," Keillor further elaborates on Weinzwieg's work for radio drama, including *New Homes for Old*, by providing a brief analysis of his scoring for the series fifth program, "Poland (1)." While Keillor briefly discusses some of the techniques and approaches utilized by Weinzwieg in his radio drama works, she does not examine these works in light of the social and political contexts in which they were produced. Nevertheless, Keillor's

¹⁰ Elaine Keillor, *John Weinzwieg and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1994).

study of Weinzweig's career has greatly informed this thesis in regards to Weinzweig's musical career, his compositional style, and his work for radio drama. Another important resource which has informed this thesis in regards to Weinzweig's career, musical style, and personal life, is John Beckwith's and Brian Cherney's *Weinzweig: Essays On His Life and Music*.¹¹ A number of articles and book chapters have also been published which touch Weinzweig's compositional career and works, including articles written by Beckwith, Keillor and Peter Such.¹²

Despite being recognized as Canada's first serialist composer, few scholars have examined or considered Weinzweig's peculiar application of the serial technique, particularly in his radio drama scores. While Keillor does speak about Weinzweig's early encounter with and adoption of the technique, she does not consider how his application of the technique in his works for radio drama differ from his serious works. Other scholars who address Weinzweig's serial technique include Catherine Nolan, who discusses the evolution of his serial technique from the 1940s until the early 1970s.¹³ Other book length studies of Weinzweig's application of the serial technique include Douglas John Webb's Dissertation "Serial Techniques in John Weinzweig's Divertimentos and Concertos (1945-1968)."¹⁴ While Nolan and Webb offer important insight concerning Weinzweig's serial influences and his early application of the technique, neither discuss his idiosyncratic approach to serialism in his works for radio drama. Accordingly, while this thesis relies on these sources as a means of better understanding

¹¹ John Beckwith and Brian Cherney, eds., *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011.)

¹² John Beckwith, "Composers in Toronto and Montreal," *University of Toronto Quarterly* Vol. 26, No. 1 (1956): 47-69; Keillor, "Critical Reception, Performance, and Impact of Schoenberg's Music and Thought in Canada Prior to 1960," in *Schoenberg's Chamber Music, Schoenberg's World*, ed. By James K. Wright and Alan M. Gillmor, 207-236 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2009); Peter Such, *Soundprints: Contemporary Composers* (Toronto, ON: Clarke, Iwrin, 1972).

¹³ Catherine Nolan, "The First Canadian Serialist," in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music* edited by John Beckwith and Brian Cherney, 131-150 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press).

¹⁴ Douglas Webb, "Serial Techniques in John Weinzweig's Divertimentos and Concertos (1945-1968)." Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1977.

Weinzweig's serial technique, it also seeks to further elucidate Weinzweig's idiosyncratic application of the technique in his works for radio drama by considering the various sources of influences, factors, and socio-political circumstances which may have informed his decision to temper his serial technique at this time.

To better understand how Weinzweig's decision to simplify his serial technique was informed by his engagement with leftist ideals, this thesis relies on and draws upon Michael Denning's *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*.¹⁵ In his study of the Popular Front, Denning considers and examines the rise of a social movement led by leftist artists and intellectuals, which he describes as the "cultural front." In doing so, he considers how the works created by these artists and intellectuals express and embody the cultural politics and aesthetic ideologies of the Popular Front movement. While Denning's study does not consider how the Popular Front movement impacted the production of art music during the 1930s and 1940s, it has greatly informed this thesis in regards to the political ideals of the Popular Front movement, and has not only helped frame Weinzweig's works for radio drama within the cultural front, but has also helped this thesis examine how his incidental works draws upon and embodies similar aesthetics utilized by cultural front artists.

Scholars who consider the potential for art music to embrace and express Popular Front ideals in America include Elizabeth Crist and Gayle Murchison.¹⁶ Specifically, both scholars examine Aaron Copland's interwar works in light of the Popular Front movement, and consider how his simplified language reflects the ideals of the Front. While this thesis does not seek to

¹⁵ Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2010).

¹⁶ Elizabeth Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005); Elizabeth Crist, "Aaron Copland and the Popular Front," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol 56, No.2 (2003):409-465; Gayle Murchison, *The American Stravinsky: The Style and Aesthetics of Copland's New American Music, the Early Works, 1921-1938* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012).

compare the simplified aesthetic used by both composers, it does draw upon these sources as a means of better understanding how Weinzwieg's adoption of a simplified serial technique in his works may have been prompted by similar socio-political circumstances.

Methodology:

This thesis is based on both archival research and the analysis of various primary source materials including manuscript scores, scripts, and other materials including CBC program schedules and annual reports. The archival research for this thesis was undertaken at various locations, including Library and Archives Canada (LAC), the CBC Music Library and Archives, and the Concordia Center for Broadcasting and Journalism Archives. Specifically, by drawing upon relevant secondary sources, these materials were examined through a cultural-historical lens which situates them within the broader socio-political climate and historical context of the interwar and Second World War period in Canada. By also drawing upon Michael Denning's "The Cultural Front," this thesis examines these materials in light of the aesthetic ideology and cultural politics of the Popular Front movement, and how they speak to Weinzwieg's own involvement in prevailing socialist and leftist movements during the 1930s and 1940s.

Collections consulted at LAC include The John Weinzwieg Fonds and The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Music Library Fonds. These two collections have informed this thesis in regards to Weinzwieg's work for radio drama at the CBC during the 1940s. These fonds include correspondences, manuscript scores, sketchbooks, journals, concert programs, photographs, recordings, and other miscellaneous documents which speak to Weinzwieg's work for the CBC and his incidental scores for the CBC radio drama *New Homes for Old*. This thesis also draws upon materials located at the Concordia Center for Broadcasting and Journalism

Studies (CCBJS) archives and the CBC Music Library and Archives, including radio drama scripts, CBC annual reports, recordings, and other archival materials.

Chapter Outlines:

The first chapter of this thesis, “Sounds of Propaganda: Radio Drama, Music, and the Politics of Wartime Propaganda in Canada During the Second World War,” examines the rise of radio drama in Canada within the broader cultural-historical and socio-political context of the Second World War. By contextualizing the rise of mass media and radio broadcasting in Canada, this chapter demonstrates how the medium of radio drama was conducive to disseminating wartime propaganda, and how it also became an important expressive and political outlet for wartime artists to disseminate and voice their own political ideals at this time. Specifically, by considering the complex relationship between music, politics, and conflict, this chapter argues that the music utilized in radio drama not only supported and bolstered the political and propagandistic themes in these programs; rather, it seeks to show how radio drama ultimately became an important vehicle for composers to express and voice their socio-political beliefs to national audience during a time of social, political, and cultural unrest.

Chapter 2, “John Weinzweig, Serialism, and New Homes For Old,” critically examines and problematizes Weinzweig’s use of the serial technique in his scoring for the CBC original radio program *New Homes for Old*. By comparing his serial work Violin Sonata with his scoring for *New Homes for Old*, this chapter shines a light on the discrepant application and simplification of his serialist technique in his incidental scores. By contextualizing Weinzweig’s adoption of the serialist technique and his early serial influences, this chapter thus considers the various contextual and situational factors which may have prompted him to simplify or modify his serialist language in his radio drama scores.

Following the observations made in the previous chapter, Chapter 3, “Creating the Musical Front: Socialism, Populism, and International Solidarity in Weinzweig’s Work for Radio Drama,” considers how the socio-political climate of the interwar and Second World War may have encouraged Weinzweig to simplify his serial technique in his incidental scores. Specifically, by contextualizing his experience living in Toronto’s Jewish Left during the interwar period, this chapter considers how Weinzweig’s early and continued exposure to radical socialist ideals may have informed his political beliefs, and may have prompted him to simplify his serial technique. In doing so, this chapter examines how Weinzweig’s incidental scoring for *New Homes for Old* embodies some of the cultural, political, and aesthetic ideals of the Popular Front movement.

Chapter 1: “Sounds of Propaganda: Radio Drama, Music, and the Politics of Wartime Propaganda in Canada During the Second World War”

1.1 Rise of Radio Broadcasting and Radio Drama in Canada

During the twentieth century, the rise of radio broadcasting bore important global economical, social, and political impacts worldwide.¹ Due to its immediacy, its far reaching range, and its ability to disseminate news to millions of listeners simultaneously, the emergence of radio broadcasting had a significant impact on vast countries such as Canada which relied heavily upon mediums of mass communication as a means of bridging social, geographical, political, and cultural gaps.² From the 1920s onwards, radio became a cheap, efficient, reliable and popular means of mass entertainment for Canadians, and radio broadcasting became the preferred means of mass communication in Canada.³

At this time, radio broadcasting also became a powerful tool through which cultural, ideological, and political practices were established and ideals of regional and national identity were constructed.⁴ In Canada, the rise of public broadcasting and the establishment of the CRBC (1932) and later CBC (1936) played an important role in fostering the development of a sense of Canadian national identity.⁵ As Josephine Langham explains,

Through the years of the Great Depression [...] and then during World War II [...] many Canadians were informed, entertained, and diverted by the news, music, variety, comedy, and drama which poured into their homes through radio sets. Radio formed opinions,

¹ See Vaclav Smil, *Creating the Twentieth Century: Technical Innovations of 1867-1914 and Their Lasting Impact*.

² Philo C. Wasburn, *Broadcasting Propaganda: International Radio Broadcasting and the Construction of Political Reality*, xviii; Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 12; For more information concerning the rise of mass media and its impact on the development of the Canadian national identity, see Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*.

³ Vipond, 41.

⁴ Susan Merrill Squier, *Communities of the Air* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2003): 6.

⁵ Josephine Langham, “Tuning in: Canadian Radio Resources,” *Archivaria* Vol. 9 (1979-1980): 105.

interpreted the world, patronized the arts, modified social habits, and was the only real expression of a Canadian national theatre.⁶

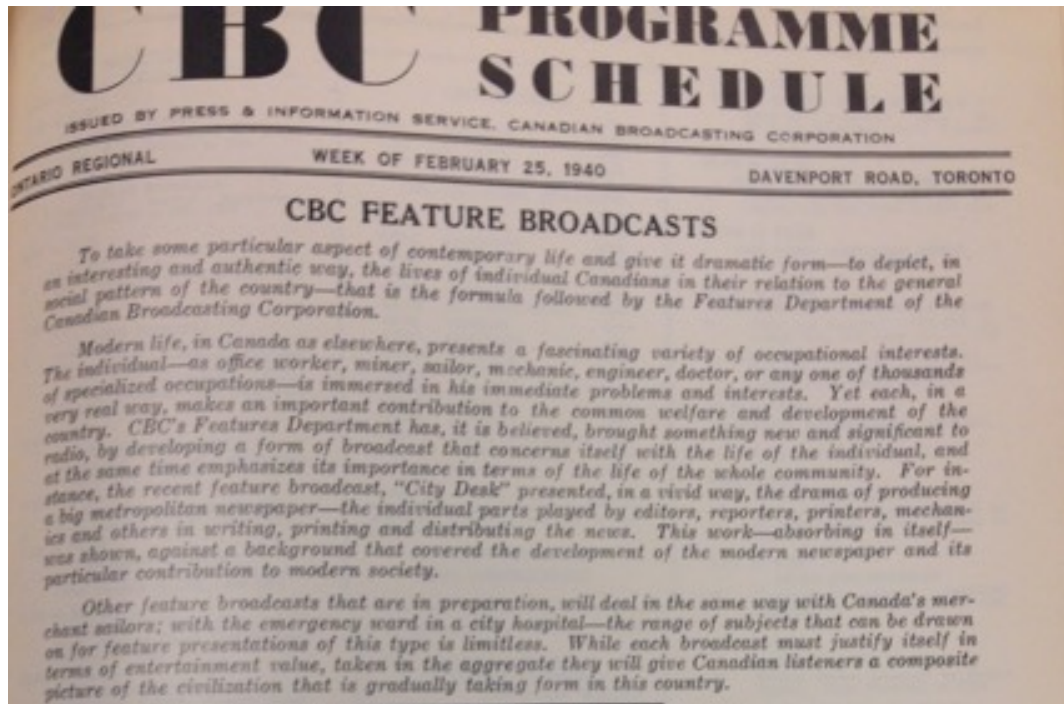
For these reasons, radio broadcasting became an important and influential tool which informed the status quo and shaped social and moral beliefs in regards to questions of race, gender, identity, and politics during the interwar and Second World War period.⁷ At the CBC, this was accomplished through programming which sought to entertain, educate and inform the masses through a variety of broadcast formats including farming broadcasts, women programs, children's programs, and educational programs. These served not only to shape public opinion, but ultimately instilled ideals and values which aimed to reflect the virtues of the Canadian national identity at this time, and sought to “take some particular aspect of contemporary and give it dramatic form—to depict, in an interesting and authentic way, the lives of individual Canadians in their relation to the general social pattern of the country [...]” (see figure 1).⁸

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Squier, 20-21.

⁸ Langham, 119.

Figure 1: CBC Programme Schedule, “CBC Feature Broadcasts,” 25 February 1940



Radio Broadcasting and Wartime Propaganda:

While radio had the ability to shape and promote certain cultural and social ideals, Keith Somerville warns that radio broadcasting also had the dangerous potential to “ridicule, demonize, dehumanize and incite hatred and violent action.”⁹ The beneficial, yet potentially crippling and destructive potential of radio broadcasting became especially prominent during the Second World War, during which domestic and international radio broadcasting was utilized as a means of consolidating and exerting power.¹⁰ Because radio broadcasting was economical, central, easy, and immediate, it became an important tool for disseminating wartime propaganda.¹¹ While there exists several definitions of wartime propaganda, the following thesis recognizes Kevin Vichales definition as being most relevant to the topic under study:

⁹ Keith Sommerville, *Radio Propaganda and the Broadcasting of Hatred: Historical Development and Definitions* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 1

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 24.

¹¹ Wasburn, 14-15.

Propaganda is any systematic attempt to influence opinion on a wide scale. It is a form of communication that seeks to promote or discourage attitudes as a means of advancing or injuring an organization, an individual, or a cause. Propaganda proceeds by deliberate plan for calculated effects. It usually addresses a mass audience through mass media or is targeted at special audiences and media that provide access to mass opinion.¹²

Sommerville further stresses that propaganda is essentially dependent upon its social, economic, cultural, and political contexts. Thus, in the context of the Second World War, wartime propaganda was a political, social, and cultural tool which sought to deliberately manage, control, and manipulate public opinion about the war.¹³ As Sommerville writes, wartime propaganda was also utilized to “form a critical mass of support for a particular program or set of ideas—ideally, for the propagandist, this will involve fervent commitment but at least must elicit passive acquiescence,” further noting that “what the propagandist wants is action, whether voting in a particular way in an election or taking up arms to fight or even exterminate a demonized enemy.”¹⁴

During the Second World War, the CBC utilized its programming as an outlet for wartime propaganda which sought to inform, educate, and ultimately indoctrinate Canadian civilians during the war. As Canada’s national and public broadcaster, the CBC directed all of its energy towards the Canadian war effort. In particular, the CBC produced a number of programs which were geared toward maintaining civilian morale, informing listeners at home and abroad about Canada’s wartime activities, and encouraging Canadians to support the war effort. As expressed in the CBC’s annual report,

The principal tasks of the Corporation during this period were to keep Canadians fully and accurately informed as to the progress of the war in all its phases, at home and abroad, and to do what it could to link the war effort more closely to the life of the

¹² Kevin Vichales, “Propaganda History,” in *International Encyclopedia of Propaganda*, ed. Robert Cole (Chicago, IL: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998): 606.

¹³ Sommerville, 4

¹⁴ Ibid. 5-6.

individual Canadian in order to inspire his confidence, to strengthen his daily effort, and to stimulate his growing desire to play the fullest possible part in his country's struggle.¹⁵

During the war, the production of programs, particularly informative and entertaining programming, became an essential component of the CBC's wartime propaganda. While the CBC produced these programs with the intent of informing and entertaining Canadians, it utilized its programming as a means of indoctrination, and as a means of disseminating government propaganda. As former CBC news anchor Knowlton Nash explains, the CBC ultimately became a propaganda tool for the Canadian government during the war: "Ottawa prized CBC programming and sought to manipulate it for its wartime needs and as a potent instrument of public persuasion."¹⁶

Thus, as a vehicle for government wartime propaganda, not only did the CBC gear its programming towards maintaining civilian morale, but it ultimately strived to rally civilians in support of the war, and to convince them to contribute to the war effort by working in ammunition industries, purchasing war bonds, and enlisting as soldiers or nurses. Similarly, the CBC also utilized its programming to shine a light on Canada's army, to glorify the Canadian war effort, and to praise Canada's military victories. In essence, the CBC's wartime programming became a means of disseminating highly politicized and propagandistic programs which sought to entice listeners to not only participate in the war effort, but to also convince them that it was their duty as Canadian citizens to support and win the war. This kind of wartime propaganda seeped through all facets of the CBC's wartime programming, including its informative, educational and entertainment programming.¹⁷

¹⁵ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Annual Report, 1940-1941, 5, CBC Music Library and Archives, Toronto ON.

¹⁶ Knowlton Nash, *Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayal at the CBC* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart, 1994): 186.

¹⁷ Christopher H. Sterling, *Encyclopedia of Radio* (New York, NK: Routledge, 2004): 435.

While the dissemination of political or government propaganda through radio broadcasting was at times overt and explicit, it was also implicit and less obviously perceived when masked as entertainment. As scholars Gern Horten and Richard Gray consider, radio propaganda was often disseminated through various forms of entertainment, including comedy, theatre, and music which “simultaneously informed and inspired their listeners through a steady stream of well-dosed and well-orchestrated government propaganda campaigns.”¹⁸ Under these circumstances, entertainment became a means through which governmental organizations and institutions were able to “promote political causes or to deliver state propaganda.”¹⁹ The conflation of entertainment and propaganda was not only limited to radio broadcasting, but wartime propaganda was also disseminated through film, theatre, literature, and the press, ultimately “couching entertainment in propaganda and propaganda in entertainment” during the Second World War.²⁰

Radio Drama as Entertainment, Radio Drama as Propaganda:

A similar means of disseminating wartime propaganda through entertainment was achieved by the CBC during the war through development, production, and broadcasting of wartime radio dramas:

[...] radio in general came into its own during the war (and not in Canada alone, one recalls), as the primary medium for propaganda, news and entertainment. Radio drama shared the spotlight; on some levels, especially on war themes of various kinds, the function of entertainment blended with those of news and propaganda, and CBC has always been strong on documentary techniques.²¹

¹⁸ Gern Horten, “Propaganda Must Be Painless: Radio Entertainment and Government Propaganda During World War II,” *Prospects*, Vol. 21 (1996): 374.

¹⁹ John Street, *Mass Media, Politics, and Democracy* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 93.

²⁰ Robert Gray, “French Radio Drama from the Interwar to the Postwar Period (1922-1973),” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin (May 2006): 103.

²¹ Howard Fink, “The CBC Radio Drama Project and Its Background,” *Oral History Forum/Forum d’Histoire Orale* Vol. 2 (1976-1977): 56.

Rising to prominence during the early 1920s, radio drama was a theatrical medium which combined the musical, theatrical, and literary arts and was purposefully created for the medium of radio broadcasting. Despite its similarities with staged theatrical genres, radio drama was an aural art form, and could not rely on staging, scenery, makeup, lighting, movements, or gestures to communicate the dramatic plot of the drama.²² As Howard Fink explains, radio drama was ultimately “a poor cousin of live stage, importing the techniques of the theater for use within the stringent limitations of a purely aural medium.”²³ While it utilized some of the basic dramatic techniques and aspects found in staged theatre, Fink stresses that the production of radio drama also spurred the creation of new dramatic techniques which “grew out of the aural form of radio.” These include:

The imaginative mimesis of reality through words and sound effects; the significant silence; the rapid cutting from scene to scene or the overlay or blending which bore some relation to current innovative cinematic techniques, but often with different goals, and with the greater freedom from visual reality of the sound medium which made these techniques radio’s alone.²⁴

Accordingly, to compensate for the lack of visual stimuli normally found in other staged or theatrical genres (such as film), radio drama producers relied on the manipulation of voice, sound effects, and music in order to create a soundscape and express aural imagery to its listeners.²⁵

Due to its lack of visual imagery, radio drama is largely considered a kind of “theatre of the mind.” However, some scholars also refer to radio drama as being a “blind” medium due to its reliance on purely aural elements such as voice actors, sound effects, and music. The term

²² Elissa S. Guralnick, “Radio Drama: The Stage of the Mind,” *The Virginian Quarterly Review* Vol. 61, No. 1 (Winter 1985): 81-82; Gray, 4.

²³ Fink, 54.

²⁴ Fink, 57.

²⁵ Gray, 42.

“blind medium” has been contested by notable scholars in the field of radio broadcasting studies, such as Tim Crook, who argues that radio drama is *not* a blind medium:

Notions of radio’s ‘blindness’ therefore need to be abandoned as a gesture of intellectual and philosophical insecurity. [...] By giving the listener the opportunity to create an individual filmic narrative and experience through the imaginative spectacle the listener becomes an active participant and ‘dramaturgist’ in the process of communication and listening. The participation is physical, intellectual and emotional.²⁶

The listener participation which Crook discusses allows for a better understanding of how radio drama not only entertained, but could also be used as a vehicle for shaping certain ideals, educating the masses, and as a tool for disseminating wartime propaganda. Furthermore, through the manipulation of dialogue, sound, and music, radio dramatists were able to not only evoke an emotional and physical response from listeners, but they were ultimately “constructing meaning through aural imagery,” allowing them to shape public opinion and incite public response and reaction.²⁷

Radio drama production in Canada increased significantly during the Second World War as the CBC began to produce a number of wartime radio dramas. Produced by the CBC’s Features Department under the supervision of Frank Willis, CBC wartime radio dramas vouched for and supported the Canadian war effort, and were produced in the hopes of maintaining civilian morale and rallying national support for the war. Many of the radio dramas produced by the CBC at this time carried strong nationalist, patriotic, and militaristic themes, and were produced as a means of informing and educating civilians about the ongoing war effort. Some wartime radio dramas produced by the CBC were didactic, in that they were used to “educate, warn, and improve society by combining information and entertainment.”²⁸ These include the

²⁶ Tim Crook, *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999): 66.

²⁷ Gray, 41.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 8.

CBC original series *Carry On, Canada*, which informed Canadians about wartime production, including armaments, munitions, food supplies, planes, ships, ultimately depicting Canada as an “arsenal of democracy.”²⁹ As publicized in the CBC program schedule, *Carry On, Canada* sought to ultimately depict Canada as “a nation of free individuals, uncoerced and without fanfare, determined to contribute without sting in man-power and materials to the furtherance of victory in a just cause” (see figure 2).³⁰ While some of these programs were produced in the hopes of informing civilians about Canada’s wartime preoccupations, others were produced to warn civilians about the dangers of fascism and the Nazi regime, including the radio drama *Nazi Eyes on Canada*, a five part series produced in 1942 which depicted Canada under Nazi rule.³¹ Other wartime radio dramas produced by the CBC were patriotic, which as Gray explains, were utilized during the war to promote and “illustrate the cultural identity of a nation.”³² These include the thirteen week series *Our Canada* (1942) which bolstered Canadian nationalism during the war, depicting “a story of the people who are Canada, of what they have done and are doing to make it a nation and a democracy” (see figure 3).³³

²⁹ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Annual Report 1941-1942, 11, CBC Music Library and Archives, Toronto ON.

³⁰ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC Programme Schedule, “CBC Presents “Carry ON!,” 18 February 1940, CBC Music Library and Archives, Toronto ON.

³¹ Gray, 13.

³² Gray, 7-8.

³³ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC Programme Schedule, “What Makes A Canadian?” 18 October 1942, CBC Music Library and Archives, Toronto ON.

Figure 2: CBC Programme Schedule, "CBC Presents "Carry On!," 18 February 1940

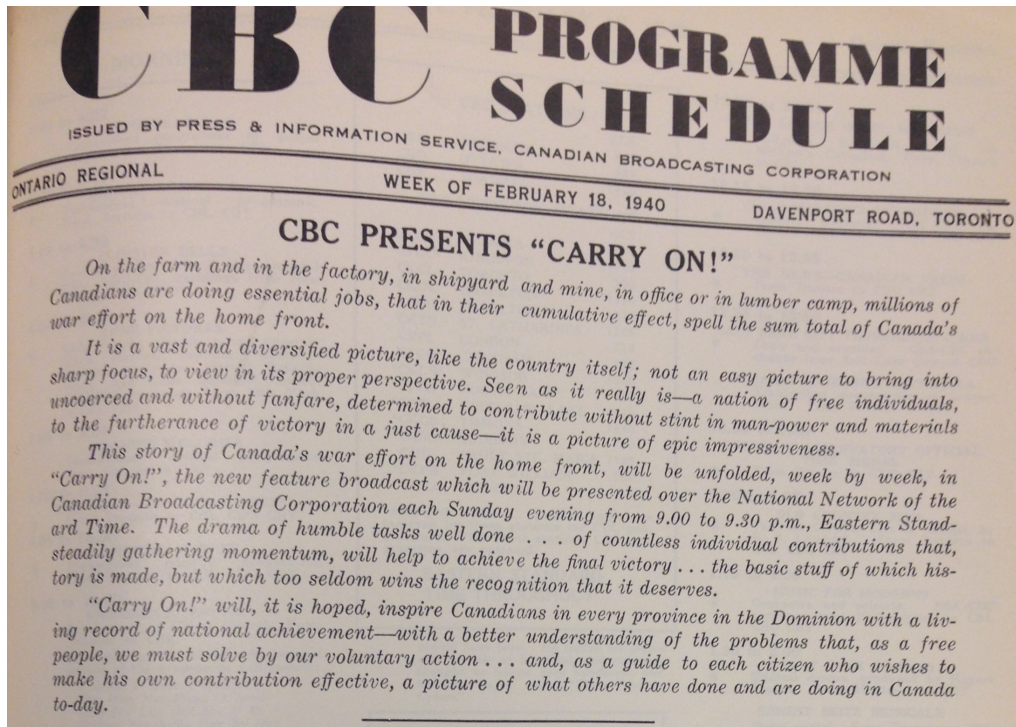
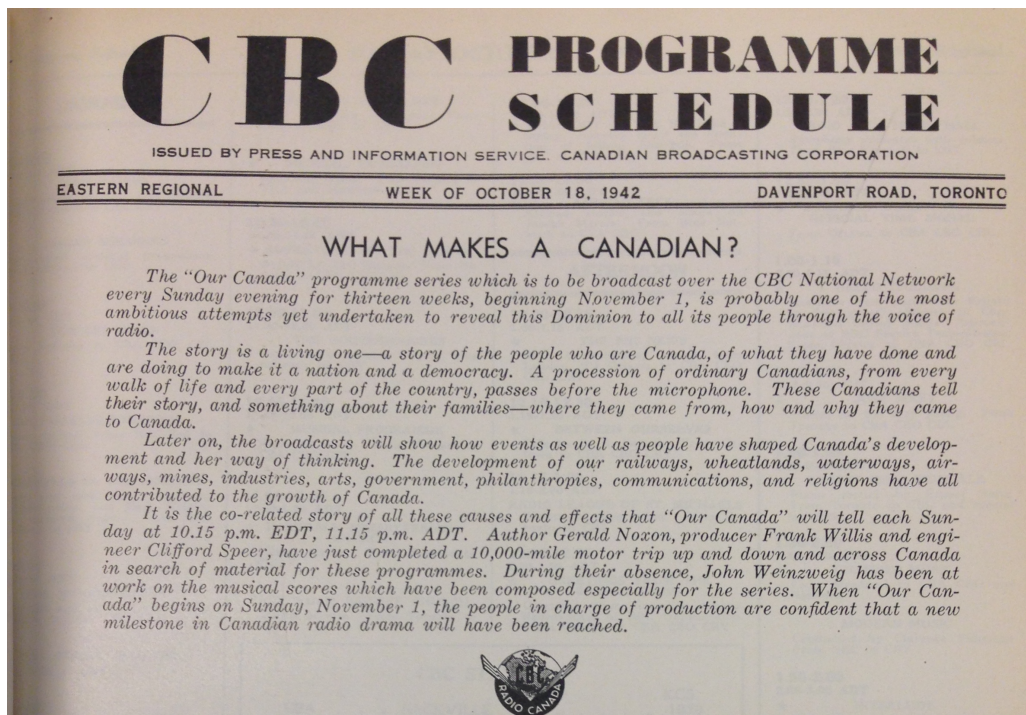


Figure 3: CBC Programme Schedule, "What Makes A Canadian?," 18 October 1942



By instilling patriotic and nationalist fervor in these radio dramas, the CBC hoped to stimulate Canada's war effort among civilians and encouraged them to raise money, gather supplies, and ultimately encouraged them to win the war from the home front.³⁴ Similarly, by producing dramas which depicted and praised Canada's military accomplishments, the CBC not only encouraged civilian participation in the war effort, but also fostered a strong sense of pride, unity and nationhood among Canadians during the war.³⁵ Thus, while radio drama was essentially a medium of entertainment, the CBC also utilized it as an important tool of propaganda to instil and indoctrinate specific values, morals, and beliefs, which reflected the Canadian government wartime policies.

Radio Drama as Artistic and Socio-Political Outlet for Wartime Artists:

Despite the research of Gray which briefly discusses the potential of radio drama as a vehicle for political and governmental propaganda, few have yet examined the art of radio drama as a potential artistic and political outlet for artists involved in the production of radio drama. As the leading employer of artistic talent in Canada, the CBC hired several young artists to participate in the production of radio drama. This opportunity was not only economically fruitful for these artists, but the production of radio drama also provided them with the necessary resources and facilities to broadcast and disseminate their artistic work. As Fink explains,

It is clear then that the CBC was simply the major and almost the only outlet for professional actors, playwrights and musicians in the late 'thirties and the 'forties, because it had a budget, an organization and facilities, and an audience of growing sophistication. [...] It was therefore a forcing-house for all the new young dramatic talents, including the playwrights, who had the opportunity to experiment and mature in the radio medium[...].³⁶

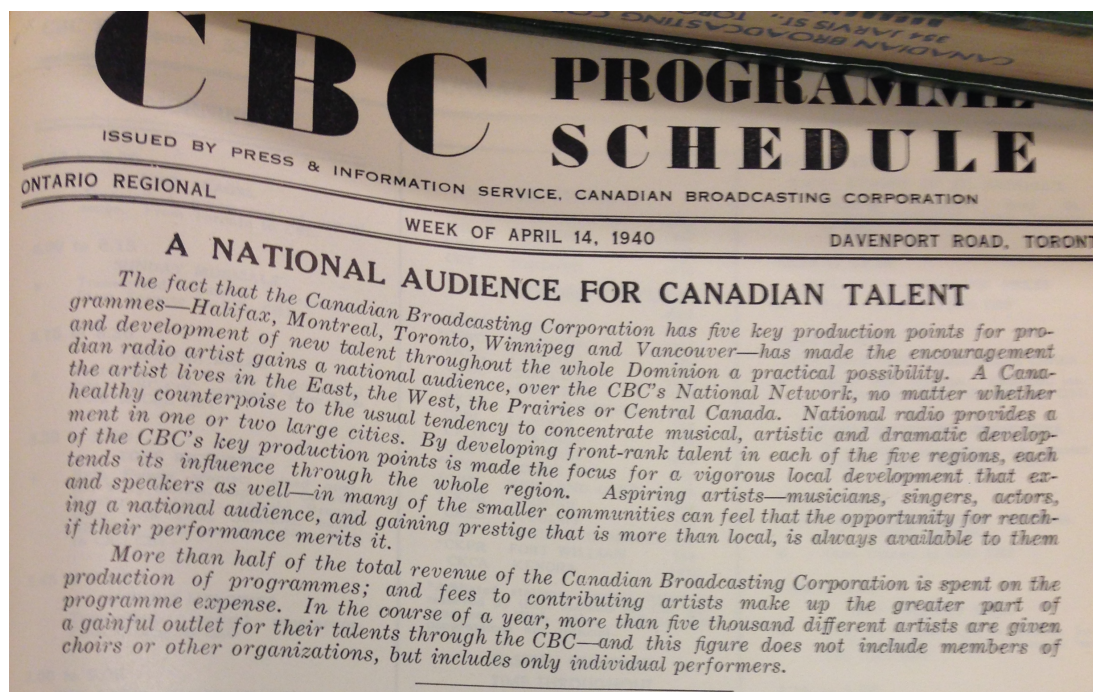
³⁴ Sandy Stewart, *A Pictorial History of Radio in Canada* (Toronto, ON: Gage Publishers, 1975): 73.

³⁵ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC Programme Schedule, "CBC Programme Stimulates War Effort At Home," July 21, 1940, CBC Music Library and Archives, Toronto ON.

³⁶ Fink, "CBC Radio Drama Project," 56.

While the CBC offered these artists economic security, it also gave them access to an established, loyal, and attentive audience base through which they could broadcast their artistic works. For this reason, it can also be argued that working for radio drama provided these artists with the necessary platform through which they could express, voice, and ultimately disseminate, their political and social beliefs to a national audience. As expressed in the CBC Program schedule, “Aspiring artists—musicians, singers, actors, and speakers as well—in many of the smaller communities can feel that the opportunity for reaching a national audience, and gaining prestige that is more than local, is always available to them [...]” (see figure 4).³⁷

Figure 4: CBC Programme Schedule, “A National Audience for Canadian Talent,” 14 April 1940



Scholars such as Todd Avery and Howard Blue have explored how radio drama in the U.K. and America became an especially important outlet for progressive playwrights and actors,

³⁷ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC Programme Schedule, “A National Audience for Canadian Talent,” 14 April 1940, CBC Music Library and Archives, Toronto ON.

who sought to use it as a vehicle to voice their own political, social, and cultural ideals to a broad audience. As Blue explains, American playwrights writing wartime radio dramas did so as a means of not only supporting the American war effort and the fight against fascism, but “many radio writers simultaneously advanced a progressive agenda to fight the enemy.”³⁸ Some playwrights such as Orson Welles utilized radio drama to incite public reaction, as seen in his radio drama “The War of the Worlds,” which depicts a Martian invasion on planet earth.³⁹ This particular drama caused a state of panic among listeners due to the socio-political climate of the time in which Americans were fearful of enemy invasion during the war.⁴⁰ Similarly, as Avery also explains,

[...] modernist writers early and sensitively registered radio as a social, aesthetic, and moral force—a force that altered the material context of communication and cultural transmission; that encouraged new forms of literary expression such as the radio drama , provided a novel outlet for publication, and offered writers the opportunity to address a vast body of existing and potential readers on contemporary literary and other issues; and that, owing to a combination of its moral agenda and great popularity, represented a formidable played in the contest to shape ethical beliefs through mass cultural means.⁴¹

Accordingly, while radio drama offered wartime artists economic security, patron support, and access to a large audience base, it also gave them the unique opportunity of writing and performing socially relevant dramas which not only spoke to the socio-political climate of the time, but also expressed their own ideological, political, and cultural ideals. Similarly, working for radio drama also gave artists the unique, and potentially dangerous, power to shape public opinion in regards to questions of morality and socio-political beliefs.

³⁸ Howard Blue, *Words at War: World War II Era Radio Drama and the Postwar Broadcasting Industry Blacklist*. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002): 3.

³⁹ First broadcast on 30 October, 1938 by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), “War of the Worlds” was featured on Orson Welle’s famous radio drama series *Mercury Theater on the Air*. This particular program was an adaption of H.G. Wells’s novel *The World of the Worlds* (1898), which depicts a Martian invasion of south-east England. See Richard J. Hand and Mary Trainor, *The Radio Drama Handbook: Audio Drama in Context and Practice* (A & C Black, 2011): 22-32.

⁴⁰ Blue, 8-9.

⁴¹ Todd Avery, *Radio Modernism: Literature, Ethics, and the BBC, 1922-1938* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006): 30.

While some scholars have considered how radio drama became an important artistic and socio-political outlet for writers and playwrights during the war, few have considered how the medium of radio and radio drama production also became an important outlet for composers who wrote incidental and background scores for radio drama. This lack of concern or examination of the other artists involved in the production of radio drama speaks to larger gap in literature concerning radio drama production. As best explained by Josephine Langham,

The emphasis of the research, however, has almost always been on the written rather than the sound version, yet there are large collections of recordings of radio drama available. While the study of scripts is valid it means that research writing about radio drama is mainly concerned with literary values. The men and women whose work was equally important in radio drama programming—the producers, actors, and musicians—are still being ignored.⁴²

Consequently, in the study of radio drama and radio broadcasting, the role of the musical director, conductor, and radio drama composer have been overlooked. Similarly, while the role of incidental music in radio drama has been briefly examined, it has not been considered in light of its potential to bolster, support, or even contradict the dramatic plot and themes found in radio drama, nor have scholars considered how the music used in radio drama can carry explicit political, social, and even propagandistic messages.

In addition to overlooking the important role played by musicians and by incidental music in radio drama production, scholars have yet to examine how writing for radio drama became an important expressive, artistic, and even political outlet for composers. As the following discussion will consider, not only did radio drama production offer composers the chance to broadcast their works on a weekly basis and acquire a broader audience for their work, it also gave them the unique opportunity of conveying their own socio-political ideals and beliefs to a national audience. Thus, to better understand how radio drama became a socio-political

⁴² Langham, 116.

outlet for composers, it is important to first consider the relationship between music and politics, and how music is conducive to carrying or expressing political and social ideals. Similarly, it is also important to consider how wartime musicians and composers have utilized music to express their support or dissent of wartime activities and policies.

1.2 Music as Socio-Political Outlet:

The topic of music and politics has attracted a number of scholars in the field of musicology and cultural history to consider how music, a product largely constructed by socio-political and socio-cultural ideals, was conducive to expressing, carrying, and disseminating political and social propaganda, particularly during the interwar and Second World War. These include stand alone works, works written in support of a specific political agenda, and works written for mass media and entertainment, such as film and radio. In addition, scholars have also shown a considerable amount of interest in regards to how the socio-political and ideological climate of the Second World War had an important impact on musicians and composers who were actively performing and writing at this time.⁴³

In particular, many scholars have considered how music (in its various manifestations) performed and composed during the interwar and Second World War was greatly impacted by the socio-political climate of the time. They examine how music was utilized as a political, social, and ideological tool during the war by government institutions and political factions, and how music also became an important outlet for wartime musicians and composers to express and voice their political ideals. More importantly, scholars such as Jane Fulcher, Leslie Sprout, and Annegret Fauser, also recognize the complex relationship shared between both music and

⁴³ Leslie Sprout. *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013); Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013).

politics, and how political ideals circulating at this time were deeply intertwined in the very fabric of composers' works at this time. By that same token, these scholars also understand how music masked as entertainment was used by government institutions and totalitarian regimes to shape ideals of culture and identity during the war, as Pauline Fairclough explains: "there is a complex relationship both between art music and politicized mass culture, and between entertainment and propaganda."⁴⁴

Scholars such as Jane Fulcher stress the importance of studying music within its broader socio-political context and argue that a special consideration of political phenomena is essential in order to better understand the broader socio-cultural ramifications of music, particularly in the context of war. As she explains, the study of music and politics "opens new perspectives on contemporary [...] values," further suggesting that "the meanings and priorities we have previously construed as "purely aesthetic," autonomous, or related to the inner dynamics of the art and the field were, rather, freighted with ideological significance."⁴⁵ Fulcher's understanding of music and its relationship to politics is both revealing and necessary to the topic under study, because it allows for a better understanding of how music utilized in various contexts and mediums, notably film and radio drama, can be examined for their political and ideological value and how the chosen musical language, style, and techniques utilized by composers working in these mediums may also reveal deeper socio-political meaning. Similarly, Leslie Sprout also argues for the various ways in which the historical context and political climate of the Second World War impacted the works of wartime composers at this time. Specifically, through her discussion and examination of wartime works composed by French composers such as Poulenc,

⁴⁴ Pauline Fairclough, *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publisher, 2013): 1.

⁴⁵ Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999): 3.

Honneger, Messiaen, Duruflé, and Auric, Sprout ultimately reveals how “political circumstances shape music compositional and music in turn shapes politics.”⁴⁶ In her study of American wartime music, Annagret Fauser also stresses that many musicians and composers utilized music as an outlet to express and voice their support for America’s war effort during the Second World War. She explains that many American wartime composers utilized their musical works not only as a means of contributing to the war effort, but as a vehicle to express their own political and social views.⁴⁷ As Fauser explains, “a composer’s artistic contribution carried the potential of inscribing into the sonic fabric of music itself his or her political and social response to the war.”⁴⁸

Thus, it is through this understanding of the relationship shared between music and politics in which this thesis seeks to examine the music composed for wartime radio drama. Specifically, it proposes that incidental music used in radio drama not only evoked the aural soundscape, supported the dramatic plot, and bolstered the underlining propagandistic themes of these dramas; rather, it seeks to show how these works also had the potential of carrying and expressing the socio-political ideals of the radio drama composer.

1.3 John Weinzweig and the CBC

While the CBC commissioned several Canadian composers to write the incidental scores for their wartime radio dramas, John Weinzweig was the first composer to be hired for the purpose of writing original incidental scores for radio drama.⁴⁹ Born in 1913, Weinzweig was a pivotal figure in the development of contemporary Canadian music, dedicating his entire musical

⁴⁶ Sprout, xxi.

⁴⁷ Fauser, 15.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 55.

⁴⁹ Other composers hired to write incidental scores for wartime radio dramas include: Godfrey Rideout (1918-1984), Russ Gerow, Bob Farnon (1917-2005), Ernest Dainty (1981-1947), Howard Cable (1920-2016), Louis Applebaum (1918-2000), Murray Ross (1910-2000), and Barbara Pentland (1912-2000).

career to the growth and expansion of modern music in Canada, and relentlessly promoting the works of young contemporary Canadian composers during the twentieth century. Notably, through his various activist and teaching endeavors, including the establishment of the Canadian League of Composers (CLC) and his teaching obligations at both the Toronto Conservatory of Music (now the Royal Conservatory of Music) and the University of Toronto, Weinzweig not only shaped the younger generation of composers in Canada, but he ultimately helped young contemporary Canadian composers have their works performed on the public stage. As Elaine Keillor explains, Weinzweig not only established the composing profession in Canada, he ultimately “provided a model for other aspiring composers and guided them both musically and professionally.”⁵⁰

As a teacher and mentor, Weinzweig guided several leading Canadian composers, including John Beckwith, Murray Adaskin, Harry Somers, Mavor Moore, Howard Cable, Harry Freedman, and R. Murray Schafer.⁵¹ His teaching approach and pedagogy was in part guided by his desire to remedy his early and “uninspiring musical training,” and he sought to encourage both “creativity thinking and “innate originality” in his students.⁵² By instilling these virtues in his teaching approach, Weinzweig also tried to encourage his students to write music which encapsulated some kind of meaning. As John Rea writes,

He [Weinzweig] intimates that his pedagogy, without naming it as such, involves a kind of therapeutic process designed to draw out sources of imaginative energy and talent in the student, sources eventually channeled into poetic discourse—the speech of twentieth-century “composers with something to say.”⁵³

⁵⁰ Elaine Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1994): 3.

⁵¹ John Rea, “The Teacher,” in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music*, ed. by John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011): 86.

⁵² *Ibid*, 82.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 80.

While Weinzweig sought to encourage the development of a new creative and modern musical discourse in Canada, he also strongly believed that music should be written for the people, that it should articulate some kind of social purpose and meaning.

In light of Weinzweig's significant contributions to the development and expansion of contemporary music in Canada, it is not surprising that he has garnered the attention of several scholars in the field of Canadian music.⁵⁴ However, despite the existing body of literature which examines Weinzweig's hallmark achievements, few scholars have yet to examine the formative years of his career. As Weinzweig reveals, the 1930s and 1940s marked the formative years of his career, and proved to be both a difficult yet fruitful time in his career:

The 30s and 40s were the longest decades of my life. A great deal happened at my life at that time. [...] some events which shaped my career in the early years when, as a self-ordained composer, my youthful integrity was confronted by a set of improbabilities which even the history books could not spare me. And the distance from dreams to credibility was not lined with cheering fans. Now, many years later I realize that these cells of memory contain bits and pieces of history that shaped my sound world.⁵⁵

Arguably, the 1930s and 1940s had the most significant impact on Weinzweig's career. It was the time when Weinzweig took his first tentative steps into the world of musical modernism and the decade in which he discovered the twelve-tone works of Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern. It was also the time in which Weinzweig began working for the CBC as a radio drama composer, an experience which bore a significant and lasting impact on his compositional style and language.

Aside from the study made by Keillor, there is no substantial body of literature which examines this important and prolific period of Weinzweig's career. However, as the following

⁵⁴ See John Beckwith and Brian Cherney's *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music*.

⁵⁵ John Weinzweig, "John Weinzweig," in *Canadian Music in the 1930s and 1940s: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Queen's University*, ed. Queen's University Dept. of Music (Kingston, ON: School of Music Queen's University, 1986): 41.

chapters of this thesis will show, the study of Weinzweig's radio drama works not only offers insight in regards to his compositional style at this time; it also offers a new lens through which we can better understand the formative years of his career, and how they were vital in shaping his identity as a composer, teacher, and activist. Similarly, as the following chapters also seek to show, a careful consideration of these materials in light of the socio-political climate of the 1930s and 1940s is essential in better understanding Weinzweig's characteristic and idiosyncratic compositional approach in his works for radio drama.

As Weinzweig recalls, the Second World War was a difficult time for Canadian composers who were trying to build and develop their career, as he writes "wartime was a very unusual time [...] it was the worst time to start being a composer."⁵⁶ However, despite the challenges faced by wartime composers, Weinzweig explains that the war also motivated institutions such as the CBC and the National Film Board (NFB) to hire Canadian artists and utilized their works as a means of reinforcing and perpetuating a strong sense of Canadian national identity during the war:

At the same time, because it was wartime the CBC and the National Film Board were compelled to draw on national resources—composers as well as visual artists as well as script writers. [...] There was quite a bit going on. You'd be surprised. [...] Yet, if you look at what was happening closely, it was quite amazing. The CBC was committed to not only the war effort. It was committed in the service of the war effort to utilize the talents across the country.⁵⁷

Accordingly, despite the hardships faced by composers during the war, they received a significant amount of support from national institutions such as the CBC and NBC. Due to their wartime responsibility to maintain civilian morale and foster a sense of national identity during

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

the war, the CBC and NBC ultimately offered composers such as Weinzweig the financial and artistic support they needed to create and disseminate their works.

While Weinzweig's position as a radio drama composer at the CBC earned him the necessary money he needed to support his family and to acquire visibility for his works, it also gave him direct access to a national audience. However, writing for a national audience required him to reassess and adjust his compositional approach for his works for radio in order to appeal to Canadian listeners at this time. Similarly, writing for radio drama required him to also take into consideration the technological constraints of the radio drama medium, and the network of producers, directors, and musicians with whom he worked with. It is also possible, however, that Weinzweig's works for radio drama were partly influenced and informed by the socio-political climate of the wartime environment in which Weinzweig was working. Similarly, it is also possible that writing for radio drama not only helped Weinzweig acquire a broader audience base for his works, but also provided Weinzweig with a powerful, influential, and immediate outlet to disseminate his own socio-political ideals to Canadian listeners at this time.

1.4 Concluding Remarks:

As this chapter has shown, radio drama production was an essential component of the CBC's wartime programming. In particular, radio drama was used as a means of fostering and maintaining civilian morale through the production of a variety of programs. Similarly, this chapter has also shown how radio drama was also an important vehicle for disseminating wartime propaganda to Canadian listeners during the war. By producing a number of programs which emphasized patriotism, militarism, and nationalism, the CBC shaped wartime civilian opinion, and encouraged them to actively participate in the Canadian war effort. Radio drama production also became an important outlet for wartime artists who were not only seeking

employment and visibility for their works; it became an important outlet through which they could voice and express their own social, political, and cultural ideals during the war. In doing so, this chapter proposed that the music composed for radio drama was also utilized to convey or carry politically and socially charged messages by wartime composers.

By drawing upon the materials, issues, and themes presented in this chapter, the following chapters will examine Weinzweig's incidental scores for the CBC radio drama series *New Homes For Old*. Specifically, the following chapters will first contemplate how writing for radio drama may have impacted his compositional language and his commitment to musical modernism. Similarly, the following chapters will also examine these works in light of the interwar period and the Second World War, and will consider how Weinzweig's incidental scores may have been informed or influenced by prevailing socio-political movements occurring at this time. In doing so, they will thus consider how radio drama not only became an important artistic outlet for Weinzweig, but also became an outlet through which he could musically voice and express his socio-political beliefs.

Chapter 2 – John Weinzweig, Serialism, and *New Homes For Old*

2.1 John Weinzweig: Radio Drama Music Pioneer

As mentioned in chapter 1, a significant turning point in Weinzweig’s compositional career occurred in 1941 when he began composing radio drama scores for the CBC.¹ Weinzweig was the first Canadian composer to be hired specifically for the purpose of composing original incidental music for the CBC, thus making him a pioneer of Canadian radio drama music.² Weinzweig was first invited to compose background music for the CBC in 1941 by its musical director, Samuel Hersenhoren. Hersenhoren was drawn to Weinzweig’s orchestral works because he “sensed the dramatic potential of Weinzweig’s music, despite its modern sound,” such as the orchestral piece *The Whirling Dwarf* (1937), which was chosen by Hersenhoren to be featured in the original radio drama series *Canadian Snapshots* earlier in 1939.³ As a radio drama composer, Weinzweig had the opportunity to write music for several original CBC wartime radio dramas including *New Homes for Old* (1941), *Brothers in Arms* (1941-1942), *Canada Marches* (1942), and *The British Empire Series* (1942).⁴

¹ In addition to composing radio drama scores for the CBC at this time, Weinzweig was also actively composing film scores for the National Film Board (NFB). In 1941, he was commissioned by the NFB to write the incidental music for the film *Northwest Frontier*. Weinzweig also wrote the incidental scores for the NFB films: *West Wind: The Story of Tom Thomson* (1942), *The Great Canadian Shield* (1945), *A Salute to Victory* (1945) and *Turner Valley* (1945). See Keillor, “Music for Radio and Film”; Keillor, *John Weinzweig and his Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada*.

² Keillor, “Music for Radio and Film,” 105.

³ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 23-24.

⁴ Ibid, 24. In *The Radical Romantic*, Keillor provides an exhaustive list of all of Weinzweig’s radio drama works in the appendix section of her book, detailing program titles, script authors, dates, and name of producer. These include: *Canadian Snapshots* (1941), *New Homes for Old* (1941), *Atlantic Battle* (1941), *Half Hour with Mr. Jones* (1941-1942), *The Terror That Walks Like a Man* (1941), *On Guard for Liberty* (1941), *Brothers in Arms* (1941-42), *Christmas Carol* (1941), *Jalna* (1942), *Dangerously They Live* (1942), *Dive Bombers* (1942), *St-George for England* (1942), *Canada Marches* (1942), *Alt For Norge* (1942), *British Empire Series* (1942), *The Treasure They Guard* (1942), *Comrade in Arms* (1942-1945), *Our Canada* (1942-43), *Lidice Lives Forever* (1943), *Somewhere Before the Dawn* (1943), *We See Thee Rise* (1943), *The Double Tenth* (1943), *We Here Highly Resolve (Tribute to Lincoln)* (1943), *Bethlehem* (1943), *The White Empire* (1945-46), *Music for Radio* (1946), *Where You Find It* (1946), *The Ivory Farm* (1946), *The Great Flood* (1948), *Riel* (1951).

Weinzweig's first radio drama assignment was for the original CBC radio drama series, *New Homes for Old* (1941). Written by CBC script writer Alistair Grosart and produced by Ian Smith, this series depicts the lives of European immigrants who fled to Canada during the Second World War. The series was first envisioned and created by Grosart while he was completing an assignment as a CBC war correspondent. As part of his assignment, Grosart travelled across Canada to acquire material for a talk series entitled *Working for Victory*, which "describes the work that is being done, and the people who keep the wheels turning."⁵ During his trip, he became interested in the life of "new Canadians," and was enticed to create a new dramatic series that explored the experiences, traditions, and aspirations of these new Canadians, which culminated in the creation of the series *New Homes for Old*:

This is the first programme in the new CBC presentation, "New Homes For Old"...in this series of programmes will be told the dramatic life stories of men and women of other lands who have fled persecution and oppression in their native lands to find in this Canada of ours a new citizenship, new hope, new opportunities, new freedom, and--- "New Homes For Old" [...].⁶

The series featured programs which recounted the stories of these "new Canadians" who immigrated from Czechoslovakia, Russia, Germany, Ukraine, Poland, Austria, Netherlands, Iceland, India, and Yugoslavia.⁷ In an article published in *Voice of Canadian Jews*, Weinzweig briefly reflects on his experience writing his first CBC radio drama scores for the series, as he explains:

I was given a script. And there would be a meeting to discuss the music cues marked in the script by the scriptwriter. Sometimes they were added by the director. The first one I did was called 'New Homes for Old.' Now that sounds like a real estate program. It was really about people who had fled persecution in their country and had come to Canada. At

⁵ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "New Homes for Old Authentic Stories of New Canadians," *CBC Programme Schedule* (Wednesday June 4 1941): 9

⁶ Alistair Grossart, script, John Weinzweig Fonds "New Home for Old: Czechoslovakia" 1, Library and Archives Canada.

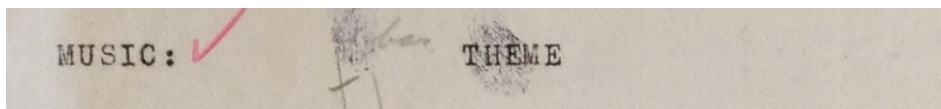
⁷ In *The Radical Romantic of Canada*, Keillor provides a detailed listing of the series, including broadcast dates and the location of the scores composed by John Weinzweig.

the end of the program they were on live and spoke briefly. To confirm the truth of the dramatic events. These stories were written by a scriptwriter. And they were true stories. Someone from Russia, from Czechoslovakia, from Belgium, from Germany, and so on.⁸

Weinzweig composed the scores for all eleven programs of the *New Homes for Old* (NHFO) Series.⁹

As a new career path, composing for radio drama required Weinzweig to re-adjust his compositional approach in order to keep up with the weekly demand and production of radio drama at the CBC. As Keillor explains, he would receive the script for each program at the beginning of the working week, and would have the score completed as early as Wednesday or Thursday. To prepare his compositions for each program, he would also meet with some of the production members (scriptwriter, director) to discuss the music for each program to ensure that his incidental music reflected the dramatic intent of the series and fulfilled the indicated music cues.¹⁰ As seen in figure 5, music cues were included in the script by the scriptwriter indicating the desired musical effects and entries, providing Weinzweig with some guidelines for his weekly compositions. Most cues indicated the need for generic themes or genres, such as waltzes, fanfares, and folk songs.

Figure 5: *New Homes for Old*, “Czechoslovakia,” music cues



⁸ Bryan M. Knight, and Rachel Alkallay, *Voices of Canadian Jews: Thirty-Six Accomplished Men and Women Speak Out On Politics, Patriotism, Religion and Sex* (Montreal, ON: Chessnut Press, 1988): 457.

⁹ The complete holding of manuscript scores and sketches written by Weinzweig for *New Homes for Old* are currently housed at Library and Archives Canada in the John Weinzweig Fonds. Some manuscript scores are incomplete, damaged, or are missing some pages. Parts of the collection also include the sheet music for these programs. The following original manuscript scores for the following NHFO programs are currently available for consultation at LAC: “Czechoslovakia,” “Russia,” “Germany,” “Ukraine,” “Poland (1),” “Austria and Netherlands,” “Iceland,” “Germany and Austria,” “India,” “Poland (2),” “Yugoslavia.” R14374, 1985-2.

¹⁰ Keillor, “Music for Radio,” 104.

MUSIC & SOUND: ✓ ^{final climax - finish - out} 4. THEME UP - FADING TO BARNYARD SOUNDS

MUSIC: ✓ ① VIENNA WALTZ (STRAUSS) OR "STUDENT-PRINCE" EXCERPTS

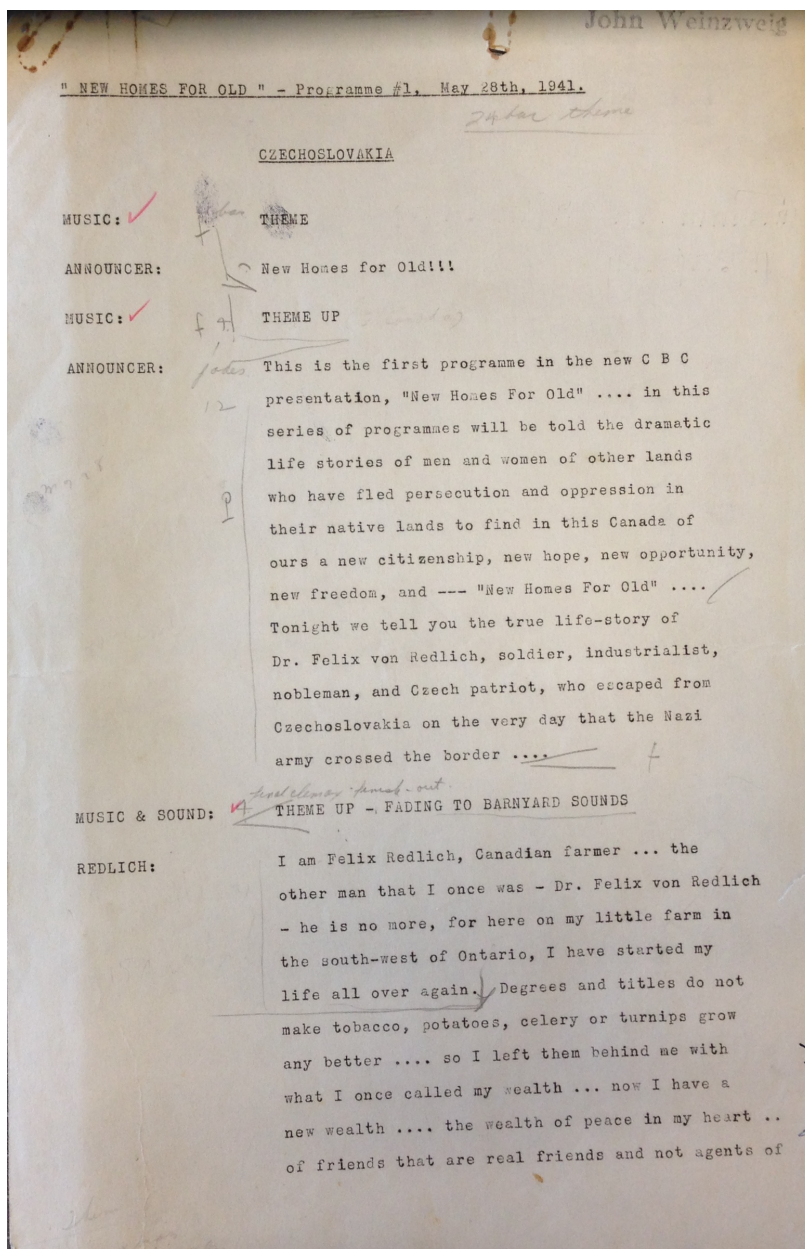
MUSIC: ✓ < UP THEN FADE TO: >

MUSIC: ③ VIOLIN PLAYING SERBIAN FOLK SONG

MUSIC: ✓ B5 FANFARE OF TRUMPETS

Weinzweig's personal copy of the program "Czechoslovakia" script sheds some light on the practice of radio drama composition, and speaks to the special organization utilized by radio drama composers to arrange and label the various musical cues in the script and how they correspond to the radio drama scores. The annotations inscribed by Weinzweig in his copy of the script also demonstrate how the incidental and background music coincided with the spoken dialogue of the radio drama (See figure 6).

Figure 6: *New Homes for Old*, "Czechoslovakia," annotated script



Once he completed the score for each individual program, Weinzweig rehearsed with the studio orchestra (approximately fifteen to twenty-five musicians), and conducted the studio orchestra prior to the live broadcasts of his compositions.¹¹ After a few rehearsals, Weinzweig

¹¹ Ibid.

had the unique opportunity of hearing his music broadcast live on the Saturday of that week and as Keillor explains, he was paid approximately fifty dollars per thirty-minute-long score.¹²

While Weinzweig earned a decent amount of money composing incidental scores for the CBC, Udo Kasemets explains that writing for radio drama became more than an occupation for the composer.¹³ Rather, Weinzweig believed writing incidental music offered him the unique opportunity of developing a new and emerging musical genre and art form. As Kasemets explains,

For Weinzweig radio music was not a commercial art, a job for a sound effects man, but a new art form with which to integrate speech and music. It also provided him with an opportunity to hear every note he wrote and thus critically to develop his art of orchestration and minutely timed concise expression.¹⁴

Thus, while composing for radio drama gave him the opportunity of shaping a new musical art form, it also required him to modify his compositional style and pioneer a new genre of incidental music which suited the aesthetic of radio drama and the complexities of live radio broadcasting.¹⁵ Similarly, it also gave him the rare opportunity of having his compositions performed and broadcast on a weekly basis, enabling him to widen his audience base and further broaden his artistic networks. As Weinzweig recalled during an interview with Roxanne Snider (1993), “my generation owe their composition careers to the CBC. In those days radio was more of a music medium, and serious music on radio was a high-profile event - it had all the dignity and prestige of a concert hall.”¹⁶

Scholars such as Kasemets and Keillor acknowledge the important influence writing for radio drama had on Weinzweig’s later works and compositional style. In particular, Keillor and

¹² Ibid, 105.

¹³ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 24.

¹⁴ “Udo Kasemets, “John Weinzweig,” *The Canadian Music Journal* Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer 1960): 12.

¹⁵ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 24.

¹⁶ Roxanne Snider, “Violet Archer and John Weinzweig,” *The Canadian Composer* Vol.4, No. 2 (Spring 1993): 12.

Kasemets briefly discuss Weinzweig's approach to writing incidental scores which suited the radio drama genre, drawing attention to his use of the twelve-tone technique in his incidental scores. According to Kasemets, Weinzweig utilized the twelve-tone technique in these works because he believed this technique was best suited to the medium of radio broadcasting, the overall aesthetic of radio drama, and the "descriptive needs of radio music."¹⁷ Similarly, Weinzweig reveals that he utilized the twelve-tone technique because he believed it was best suited to the dramatic content of these dramas as he writes, "these were stories that had to do with violence, terror and escape; their sound tracks required a high level musical tension," an effect he believed would be best achieved using the twelve-tone technique.¹⁸

In her book chapter on Weinzweig's work for radio and film, Keillor discusses Weinzweig's early incidental work for *New Homes for Old*, specifically the fifth program of the series "Poland (1)." She stresses that Weinzweig's sketches for this program series speak to his application of the serial technique in his radio drama works. She explains that Weinzweig's pre-compositional material for "Poland (1)" included an incomplete eleven tone series, organized as follows:

G – C – F# - F – A – D -G# - G – E – B – B flat - E flat.¹⁹

Although Weinzweig included this row in his pre-compositional material, Keillor explains that there is no complete statement of it during any of the cues for this program.²⁰ While she does recognize that Weinzweig's proposed row does not follow the strict rules and guidelines of the twelve-tone technique, and that the row is incomplete and includes a repetition of the G,

¹⁷ Kasemets, 12.

¹⁸ Keillor, "Music for Radio and Film," 108.

¹⁹ Ibid, 104.

²⁰ Ibid.

Keillor explains that Weinzweig would evoke parts of his row by emphasizing certain intervals throughout the program, particularly the F#-F dyad and the G# - G- E trichord.²¹

While Weinzweig's sketches for *New Homes for Old* reveal the importance of serially derived tone rows in his pre-compositional materials, the lack of a clearly stated prime row and its various transformations in his completed scores suggests that he did not directly apply the serial technique or utilize serial procedures in his completed radio drama scores. Rather, an examination of his completed scores for Poland (1) reveal that he only utilized the tone row as intervallic, melodic, and motivic inspiration for his scoring of the series, without presenting a complete materialization of the row and its various transformations. Some motifs derived from his pre-compositional tone row include a reoccurring tetrachord, B-B flat- A-E, which is first stated in measure one of title eight, Poland (1) (See example 2.1).

Example 2.1: John Weinzweig, *New Homes for Old*, "Poland (1)," Title 8, mm 1-3. Tetrachord motif.



Although Weinzweig does transpose the tetrachord motif throughout the various titles of his score for Poland (1), there is no evidence suggesting he utilized other serial procedures to transform the tetrachord motif, such as inversion, retrograde, or inverted-retrograde (see examples 2.2 and 2.3).

²¹ Ibid, 105.

Example 2.2: *New Homes for Old*, “Poland (1),” Title 9, mm 4-6, T-4 Inexact transposition of tetrachord motif.



Example 2.3: *New Homes for Old*, “Poland (1),” Title 9, mm. 14-15, T-7 Inexact transposition of tetrachord motif.



Similarly, while Weinzwieg may have utilized aspects of the twelve-tone technique in his scoring for NHFO, he also integrated tonal materials in his works such as hymns and anthems, which Keillor notes became important components in the completed scores. For example, in his score for “Poland (1),” Weinzwieg quotes the Polish hymn *Boze Cos Polske*, the Krakowiak (a Polish dance genre), as well as the Canadian national anthem.²²

Keillor further comments on Weinzwieg’s apparent use of the serialist technique in some of his other CBC radio dramas works including *The British Commonwealth Series* (1942), and *Our Canada* (1942-1943). Weinzwieg composed the incidental scores for these radio drama series following his assignment for NHFO, and most feature Weinzwieg’s idiosyncratic treatment of the serial technique. These include: failing to present a clear statement of the

²² Ibid.

twelve-tone series, or utilizing the row in a linear fashion. As also explained by Keillor, Weinzweig would often draw motifs from the basic series as a means of evoking the twelve-tone row throughout the score and as a means of creating greater unity throughout the score, as seen in his scoring for *The British Empire Series*.²³ Lastly, instead of creating one basic series for each individual program, Keillor notes that Weinzweig would sometimes choose one twelve-tone set for an entire radio drama series, and would then elaborate appropriate segments of the set to suit the dramatic and narrative plot of each program, including his work for the *Our Canada* series.²⁴

Despite the various instances in which Keillor claims that Weinzweig utilized or applied twelve-tone procedures in his radio drama scores, his use of this technique in his radio drama works is debatable. In particular, Weinzweig's opening theme for *New Homes for Old* problematizes his use of the serial technique. Notably, the theme lacks a clear statement of a complete tone row, nor is there evidence suggesting the use of serial procedures including inversion, retrograde, retrograde-inversion, or transposition. Rather, the opening theme features distinctly tonal materials in which Weinzweig quotes and integrates motifs from the Canadian national anthem in measures four through six, and later in measures twenty-one through twenty-three. (See example 2.4).

²³ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 127.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 134.

Example 2.4: *New Homes for Old*, opening theme. Integration of the Canadian national anthem in mm. 4-6 and mm. 22-23

Musical notation for measures 1-5. The score is in G minor (three flats) and 3/4 time. The right hand begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The left hand plays a steady bass line of quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4.

Musical notation for measures 6-10. Measure 6 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to F major (two flats). The right hand features a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) in measure 6, and another triplet in measure 8. The left hand continues with quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4.

Musical notation for measures 11-16. The right hand plays a series of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The left hand plays a series of quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4.

Musical notation for measures 17-21. The right hand has a half rest in measure 17, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The left hand has a triplet of eighth notes (G3, A3, B3) in measure 17, followed by quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4.

Musical notation for measures 22-23. The right hand has a half rest in measure 22, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The left hand has a triplet of eighth notes (G3, A3, B3) in measure 22, followed by quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4.

While it is possible that Weinzwieg's theme for *New Homes for Old* may derive or be inspired from a serially conceived tone row (as seen in his scoring for "Poland (1)"), there is not enough

evidence supporting his overall use of the twelve-tone technique in these radio drama works. Although Weinzweig's sketches do reveal his engagement with the serial technique in his pre-compositional materials for *New Homes for Old*, the lack of a clearly stated prime row, the lack of serial procedures, and the quotation and integration of tonal materials in his completed scores suggests that Weinzweig may have only utilized the twelve-tone row as the melodic and motivic basis for his compositions, but he did not intend to elaborate the row in these works. Similarly, despite the claims made by Keillor, Kasemets and Weinzweig, a comparison of Weinzweig's sketches and manuscript scores for *New Homes for Old* does not suggest that he was adhering to the serial technique or procedures in his completed works for the series.

In order to problematize Weinzweig's discrepant use of serial procedures (or lack thereof) in his completed radio drama works, a delineation of Weinzweig's early serial influences is necessary in order to better understand how Weinzweig adopted this technique, and how various sources of influences have impacted his understanding and application of this technique in both his early works and possibly his radio drama works. Accordingly, by considering these sources of influence and their impact on Weinzweig's early serial technique, the following discussion will shine a light on the disparity between Weinzweig's compositional approach and application of the serial method in both his personal works and his works for radio drama. By comparing and contrasting these works, this discussion will also consider possible reasons which may have prevented or deterred Weinzweig from fully engaging with serial procedures in his radio drama works, or may have urged him to simplify or modify his serial technique in these works.

2.2 Early Serialist Ventures

Early Serialist Catalyst: Alban Berg and Lyric Suite

Following his completion of a bachelor's degree in music at the University of Toronto, Weinzweig attended the Eastman School of Music for his graduate studies in composition from 1937 to 1938.²⁵ It was during his studies at Eastman that Weinzweig became increasingly interested in modernist idioms, particularly the twelve-tone technique and serial procedures. Although the study of serialism was not yet offered at Eastman at this time, Weinzweig was keen to learn about the twelve-tone technique, and he began to study it through independent research and analyses of serial works. While studying at Eastman, Weinzweig had access to plenty of musical resources, scores, recordings, articles, and books at the Sibley Music Library, including the twelve-tone works of Schoenberg and Berg.²⁶ As recalled by Weinzweig during an interview for the "Canadian Composers Portrait Series" with Eitan Cornfield,

I was at Eastman from 1937 to '38. That's when I came across the recording of Alban Berg's *Lyric String Quartet*. I listened to this work by Alban Berg which was written I think in the mid-twenties. I got hot and cold shivers from that piece, so I was determined to find out about the serial technique.²⁷

While studying composition under the supervision of Bernard Rogers, Weinzweig took the initiative to learn the serialist technique on his own by analyzing Berg's *Lyric Suite* and Schoenberg's piano pieces and quartets.²⁸

Many scholars note the formidable influence that Berg's *Lyric Suite* had on Weinzweig's early understanding of the serialist technique.²⁹ Completed in 1926, *Lyric Suite* is considered to

²⁵ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 16.

²⁶ Catherine Nolan, "The First Canadian Serialist," in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music*, ed. by John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011): 131.

²⁷ John Weinzweig "John Weinzweig Documentary," interview by Eitan Cornfield, *Canadian Composers Portrait Series* (1992):3.

²⁸ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 22.

²⁹ Nolan, 131.

be one of Berg's first extended twelve-tone works.³⁰ While the first, third, and last movements of the *Lyric Suite* employ the twelve-tone technique, Berg did not utilize the technique in the second and fourth movements.³¹ Although the piece evokes aspects of the Schoenbergian system, Ashby explains that the twelve-tone technique utilized by Berg in *Lyric Suite* does not adhere to the strict serial applications and procedures utilized by his mentor. Specifically, the piece not only speaks to Berg's desire to personalize the technique, but also reveals the hybrid nature of his application of the twelve-tone technique and the duality between free atonal procedures and strict serial procedures (see example 2.5).³²

Example 2.5: Alban Berg, *Lyric Suite*, Allegretto Gioviale, First Violin—First statement of complete prime row, mm. 1-4.

The image shows a musical score for the first violin part of 'Allegretto gioviale' from the Lyric Suite. The title 'Allegretto gioviale' is centered at the top. Below it, the tempo is marked '♩ = 100 (Tempo I)'. The score is written on a single staff in treble clef. It begins with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The first measure (m. 1) starts with a dynamic marking of *mf* and a 2.G.G. marking. The second measure (m. 2) has a dynamic marking of *p*. The third measure (m. 3) has a dynamic marking of *poco f*. The fourth measure (m. 4) has a dynamic marking of *f*. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings. A second staff for Violin (Vlc.) is partially visible at the top right, with dynamic markings of *pp* and *poco f*.

As explained by both Peter Such and Beckwith, *Lyric Suite* not only offered Weinzwieg his first introduction to the twelve-tone system, but it helped Weinzwieg acquire a basic understanding of the “melodic and harmonic potential of atonalism [...]”³³ Nolan further notes that Weinzwieg's annotated copy of the *Lyric Suite* also speaks to the influence of this piece on his understanding of serialism. As she explains, an examination of his annotated copy of the *Lyric Suite* reveals his interest in some of the serial procedures and techniques utilized by Berg in

³⁰ Arved Ashby, “The Lyric Suite and Berg's Twelve-Tone Duality,” *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 2008): 183.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 184.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Peter Such, *Soundprints: Contemporary Composers* (Toronto, ON: Clarke, Iwrin, 1972):15; John Beckwith, *Music Papers: Articles and Talks by a Canadian Composer, 1961-1994* (Ottawa, ON: Golden Dog Press, 1997): 183.

this piece. These include Berg’s alteration of the row pitch ordering and his interest in motivic relationships, two elements which Nolan stresses Weinzweig would also adopt in his own serial works.³⁴ Other annotations found in Weinzweig’s copy also reference some of the abstract features found in the piece’s tone row, including “its cyclical properties, its all-interval construction, and the symmetry of inversionally related intervals around the midpoint of the row.”³⁵

Weinzweig’s early analyses of the serial works of Berg and Schoenberg helped him acquire a preliminary understanding of the serial technique, and encouraged him to write his early serial work, *Suite for Piano No.1* (1939). Composed by Weinzweig in 1939 after graduating from Eastman, the *Suite for Piano No. 1* is considered to be the first serial work written by a Canadian composer.³⁶ While there is no evidence suggesting the presence of a twelve-tone row in the first movement of this suite, *Waltzling*, the second and third movements of the piece, *Themes with Variables* and *Dirgeling*, do feature distinct twelve-tone sets and also undergo serial procedures and transformations. In *Dirgeling*, the twelve-tone set appears in the left hand melody, F sharp-C-B-B flat-E flat-A-A flat- D- F- D flat - E-G (see example 2.6).³⁷

Example 2.6: John Weinzweig, *Dirgeling*, twelve tone row



In *Themes with Variables*, which is separated into three distinct sections, a presentation of the complete prime row appears in section one in octave unison in both hands, C - G flat - G - B - B

³⁴ Nolan, 131-132.

³⁵ Ibid, 132.

³⁶ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 120.

³⁷ John Weinzweig, *First Suite for Piano* (Toronto, ON: Plangere, 1939): 8.

flat - E flat - A flat - D - D flat - F- E – A (See example 2.7).³⁸ The second appearance of the twelve-tone set appears in section two as an inversion of the prime row. Finally, the third section of the movement features an eleven-tone row, E flat - B - G - G flat -E - C sharp - F - C -B flat - A - A flat (See example 2.8).³⁹

Example 2.7: John Weinzweig, *Themes with Variables*, Section One, prime row



Example 2.8: *Theme with Variations*, Section Three, third row



Despite using twelve-tone rows in this work, MacMillan and Beckwith argue that Weinzweig’s use of the serial technique in *Suite for Piano No.1* does not adhere to the strict serialist procedures utilized by Schoenberg and the Viennese school. As they explain, “Weinzweig’s row is primarily a source for melodic invention, which is applied in such a way that it more resembles the baroque technique of ‘Fortspinnung.’⁴⁰ Similarly, George Proctor suggests that Weinzweig’s application of the twelve-tone technique in this work diverges from that of Schoenberg, arguing that Weinzweig only utilized the tone row as motivic inspiration.⁴¹ He further argues that “the result is a work of wit and humour which sounds more like the neoclassicism of Stravinsky and Bartók than the dodecaphonism of Schönberg.”⁴² Keillor also

³⁸ Ibid, 2.

³⁹ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 122 & 248.

⁴⁰ Keith MacMillan and John Beckwith ed., *Contemporary Canadian Composers* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1975): 232.

⁴¹ George Proctor, *Canadian Music of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1980): 22.

⁴² Ibid.

notes that both *Dirgeling* and *Themes with Variables* exemplify Weinzweig's modified approach to the serial technique, in which he "forms a set to control the chromatic field, but uses it freely and in a linear fashion."⁴³

Early Serial Resources:

Although Weinzweig learned and adopted the serial technique primarily through his own analyses of Schoenberg and Berg's scores, he did have access to a limited amount of published texts and articles which discussed the twelve-tone system while he was studying at Eastman. Although few articles or texts pertaining to the twelve-tone technique and its application were published at this time, Richard Hill's article "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows and the Tonal System of the Future" discussed the application of twelve-tone technique.⁴⁴ In this article, Hill briefly traces the "natural" and "logical" development of the twelve-tone system, and explores Schoenberg's application of this technique and the concept of the tone row and its various transformations. Furthermore, Hill classifies the various possible row combinations and transformations into three distinct categories: contrapuntal, harmonic, and combinations of contrapuntal and harmonic.⁴⁵ Although it is not documented as to whether or not Weinzweig read Hill's discussion on the twelve-tone system, it is likely that he came across this article during his period of serial experimentation and exploration and this source may have offered Weinzweig some guidance in his early serial endeavors.

While studying at Eastman, Keillor explains that Weinzweig also had access to *Modern Music*, an academic journal published by the League of Composers.⁴⁶ Established in March of

⁴³ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 122.

⁴⁴ M.C., "Reviews of Books," *Music & Letters*, Vol. 22, No.1 (Jan. 1941): 84; Richard Hill, "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows and the Tonal System of the Future," *Musical Quarterly* Vol.22 (1936): 14.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 18.

1923, the League of Composers was an American music organization which endeavored to promote the creation and dissemination of modern music in the United States during the early-twentieth century.⁴⁷ In 1924, the League published the first volume of *Modern Music* which featured articles written by music critics and musicians which pertained to the works of prominent modern composers and discussed modern compositional techniques.⁴⁸ As Keillor explains, Weinzwieg read several articles in *Modern Music* which considered and discussed the twelve tone works of Schoenberg. While Keillor does not indicate which precise articles Weinzwieg may have read, it is likely that Weinzwieg came across the articles written by Lazarre Saminsky (1924), Paul Stefan (1925), Paul Pisk (1926), Adolph Weissmann (1926), and Erwin Stein (1926).⁴⁹

Although many of these articles were written by European scholars who were associated with Schoenberg (either as pupils or colleagues), the inclusion of these articles in *Modern Music* speaks to burgeoning interests among American composers, music scholars, and musicians at this time. In particular, many of the articles praise the revolutionary works of composers including Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Berg, Ravel, Prokofiev, Milhaud, Honegger, de Falla, and Hindemith.⁵⁰ Notably, some contributors stress the importance of the work of Schoenberg and

⁴⁷ David Metzger, "The League of Composers: The Initial Years," *American Music*, Vol. 15, No.1 (Spring 1997), 45. Founding members of the League of Composers include Claire Reis, Louis Gruenberg, Alma Wertheim, Lazare Saminsky, Leo Ornstein, Emerson Whithorne, Frederick Jacobi, Stephen Bourgeois, and Minna Lederman. Other American organizations and associations founded at this time include: The Guild, Pro-Musica (1920-1944), Henry Cowell's New Music Society (1925-1936), and The Pan American Association of Composers (1928-1934), *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ "League of Composers," *Modern Music* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Feb 1924):1.

⁴⁹ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 18. Several articles published in *Modern Music* during the period of 1924-1938 discuss or touch upon Schoenberg and the twelve-tone and serialist idioms of the Second Viennese School, including: Louis Gruenberg, "Modern Youth at Prague, 1935," *Modern Music* Vol. 13 No. 1 (Nov-Dec, 1935): 38-44; Moses Smith, "Alban Berg—Finale: A Requiem," *Modern Music* Vol. 13, No. 3 (March-April 1936): 29-34; H.H. Stuckenschmidt, "Vocal Style in the 20th Century," *Modern Music*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (March-April 1936): 3-14; Kurt List, "Lulu, After the Premiere," *Modern Music* 15, No.1 (Nov-Dec. 1937) 8:12; Hans Nathan, "The Viennese Lied, 1910-1937," *Modern Music* 14, No. 3 (March-April 1937) 136-42; Aaron Copland, "Scores and Records," *Modern Music* 14, No. 2 (Jan-Feb 1937); Roger Sessions, "The New Musical Horizon," *Modern Music* 14, No. 2 (Jan-Feb 1937):59-66.

⁵⁰ Boris de Schloezer, "An Age of Plenty," *Modern Music* Volume 5, No. 3 (March-April 1928): 21-25.

Stravinsky and view these composers as pivotal figures in the development and emergence of modernism in music, particularly their works *Pierrot Lunaire* and *Le Sacre du Printemps*.⁵¹ Thus, while Weinzwieg may have discovered the twelve-tone technique through his own independent research, it is evident that he was also aware of and participating in prominent modern trends occurring in the U.S. during the late 1930s.

American Serialist Influence

Nolan voices the previous statements made by MacMillan, Beckwith, and Proctor which argue that Weinzwieg's method and application of the twelve-tone technique is characteristically different from the approach utilized by Schoenberg. Rather, she stresses that Weinzwieg's serial works bear similar features to the works of many twentieth-century American serial composers, including the use of all twelve tones as a "referential harmonic unit" and utilizing the twelve tone row as motivic, melodic, and harmonic inspiration.⁵² The distinct American twelve tone features Nolan refer to are further elucidated by Joseph Straus.⁵³ As he explains, serialism became popular among American composers, notably ultramodern composers such as Henry Cowell, Adolph Weiss, Wallingford Riegger, Ruth Crawford, and Carl Ruggles. Many of these composers adopted the technique during the 1930s when several European twelve tone composers immigrated to the United-States, including Schoenberg, Krenek, Stefan Wolpe and Hanns Eisler.⁵⁴ The arrival of modern European émigrés composers during the 1930s thus encouraged the development of what Strauss defines as as "indigenous" American serialism, a movement largely led by Cowell and other ultra-modern composers.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Boris de Schloezer, "The Drift of the Century," *Modern Music* Vol. 6, No. 1 (Nov-Dec 1928): 5.

⁵² Nolan, 148.

⁵³ Joseph Straus, "A Revisionist History of Twelve-Tone Serialism in American Music," *Journal of the Society for American Music* Vol. 2, No. 3 (2008):

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 355.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

Although many ultramodern composers adopted the Schoenbergian twelve-tone technique because it suited their preoccupation with linearity, counterpoint, and dissonance, Straus explains that their application of the technique was highly individualized.⁵⁶ Straus also notes that, despite the variance in their application of this technique, their approaches did share some defining and distinguishing features. Specifically, Strauss explains that ultramodern serialists would utilize the twelve-tone technique in conjunction with or alongside other kinds of musical styles within one piece or movement. In particular, they shied away from composing purely serial and twelve-tone pieces, opting to juxtapose both serial and non-serial elements, often times incorporating atonal and tonal elements in their works. As Strauss explains:

In many cases [...], twelve-tone structures are used in conjunction with, or in expression of, traditional tonality or current popular music. In many cases [...], the aggregate is not a surface feature of the music but rather is part of its precompositional design: the music is full of doublings and emphases of all kinds, with direct statements of the complete aggregate a relative rarity. In every case, composers have created idiomatic and highly individual compositional designs—each has a distinctive way of composing serially.⁵⁷

Thus, by adopting and modifying the Schoenbergian twelve-tone technique, American ultramodern serial composers of this time created their own individual approach to the twelve tone system, and did not feel the need to adhere to the serial rules and principles which were characteristic of the Schoenbergian model. In spite of these deviations, some of the distinguishing features which characterize ultramodern serialism bear some similarities with the techniques utilized by Berg, notably his hybrid serial approach.

Although few scholars other than Nolan discuss the possible American influence in Weinzwieg's early serial works, it is evident that Weinzwieg's serial approach speaks to the individualized approach utilized by early ultra-modern American composers, particularly his

⁵⁶ Ibid, 358 and 356.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

deviance from the serial principles and his emphasis on the linear, contrapuntal, and motivic possibilities of the tone row. Likewise, Weinzwieg's early serial works (such as *Suite for Piano No. 1*) and even his early radio drama scores (particularly the opening theme for NHFO) bears some similarities to the compositional approaches utilized by American ultramoderns, notably the juxtaposition of tonal and atonal or extended tonal materials in one piece or movement. Thus, while Weinzwieg may have created his own modified serial technique to suit his own compositional endeavors and concerns, it is possible that he also found inspiration in the serial works of these ultramodern composers for both his works and his radio drama scores.

Ernst Krenek: Studies in Counterpoint

By 1940, another important and invaluable published resource became available which discussed the twelve-tone technique and its application: Ernst Krenek's *Studies in Counterpoint Based on the Twelve-Tone Technique*.⁵⁸ First published by Schirmer in 1940, Krenek's *Studies in Counterpoint* discusses the basic principles of the twelve tone technique as understood and applied by Krenek in his own works, and is considered to be one of the first legitimate textbook-style study of the twelve-tone technique.⁵⁹ According to Nolan, Krenek's study of the twelve-tone technique "provided Weinzwieg's first formal instruction in serialism," thus allowing him to further experiment and apply the technique in his works.⁶⁰

While Krenek discusses the fundamental principles of the twelve-tone technique and procedures as proposed by Schoenberg in his study, he also presents an alternative method of understanding and applying this technique based on the principles of counterpoint.⁶¹ In

⁵⁸ Ernst Krenek, *Studies in Counterpoint Based on the Twelve-tone Technique* (New York, NY: G. Schirmer, 1945).

⁵⁹ Arnold Whittall, *The Cambridge Introduction to Serialism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 120.

⁶⁰ Nolan, 133. It is important to also note that Krenek's *Study in Counterpoint* became an important resource for many American serialist composers as well. See Strauss' article for more details.

⁶¹ M.C. "Review of Books," *Music & Letters* Vol. 22, No.1 (Jan. 1941): 84.

particular, Krenek emphasizes both the motivic and melodic possibilities and functions of the twelve-tone system, emphasizing that a twelve-tone series serves as a “store of motifs [...] which all the individual elements of the composition are to be developed upon,” and that the series “assures the technical homogeneity of the work.”⁶² He further stresses that a twelve-tone series must present a highly articulated melodic line through the use of intervals, phrasing, accentuation, rhythm, and metre in order to compensate for the lack of a tonal center.⁶³ Similarly, he emphasizes the importance of rhythmic integrity in the twelve-tone series in order to avoid overall monotony in twelve-tone works. Lastly, Krenek’s study also delineates certain extensions to the rules and conventions of twelve-tone writing, notably the repetition of certain tones and the strict adherence to the ordering of the tone row. In regards to the repetition of tones within the row, he suggests that “repetition of tones is allowed before the following tone of the series is introduced, and within the same octave,” and that the repetition of a tone after the following tone of the series is permissible in trills, tremolos, tremolo-like formations, and as an auxiliary note.⁶⁴

The influence of Krenek’s serial technique and approach is evident in Weinzwieg’s early serial works, including his piece *Rhapsody* (1941) and his Violin Sonata (1941). Originally composed in 1940, *Rhapsody* was the final movement of Weinzwieg’s first symphonic piece, entitled *Symphony*. Despite an offer made by the American composer Henry Cowell to publish the work in its entirety, Weinzwieg decided otherwise and published only the final movement, which he later renamed *Rhapsody* in 1941.⁶⁵ Divided into seven sections according to contrasting tempos, *Rhapsody* features the distinct use of serial procedures, including retrograde, inversion,

⁶² Krenek, viii.

⁶³ Ibid, 4.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 3-4

⁶⁵ Alexa Woloshyn, “Rhapsody,” *John Weinzwieg*, Accessed June 21 2016, <http://www.johnweinzwieg.com/works/rhapsody/>

and retrograde inversion.⁶⁶ Weinzweig presents a complete statement of the prime row in the opening measures of the first violin theme, F-C-D flat- B flat- E- B – E flat- A-A Flat- G flat- D-G (See example 2.9).⁶⁷

Example 2.9: John Weinzweig, *Rhapsody*, Tone Row



According to Keillor, Weinzweig’s use of serialism “assures the unity of the *Rhapsody*,” by using all forms of the set and its various transformations (retrograde, inversion, and retrograde inversion).⁶⁸ She explains that *Rhapsody* embodies and adopts some of the serial techniques featured in Krenek’s *Studies in Counterpoint*. These include switching from one form of the row to another through the use of common tones without completing the prior row, which Keillor believes is an adaptation of Krenek’s principle that “insertion of another form is possible before completion.”⁶⁹

Weinzweig’s use of serially derived motives in *Rhapsody* also recalls Krenek’s conceptualization of the twelve-tone row as a “store of motifs.” As Krenek explains, the repetition of the series and the motifs drawn from the series ultimately “assures the technical homogeneity of the work, by permeating its whole structure, like a red thread which woven into a fabric, lends it a characteristic color shade, without ever becoming conspicuous as such.”⁷⁰ For example, the first four notes of *Rhapsody*’s prime row, F-C-D flat- B flat, reoccurs as a motif in

⁶⁶ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 128.

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Krenek, viii

this piece, and features some serial transformations, including transposition (See examples 2.10 and 2.11).

Example 2.10: *Rhapsody*, Violin I, mm.18-19.



Example 2.11: *Rhapsody*, Violin I, mm. 27.



As this discussion has shown, Berg, Krenek, and American ultramodern serialists had a recognizable influence on the development of Weinzwieg's early application of the serial technique, particularly in his early serial piece *Rhapsody*. Notably, Weinzwieg's preoccupation with linearity and the motivic and melodic potential of the twelve-tone row recalls the serial methods utilized by Berg in his *Lyric Suite* and the serial principles presented in Krenek's *Studies in Counterpoint*. Similarly, Weinzwieg's non-adherence to the strict Schoenbergian rules and constraints of the twelve-tone row not only recalls Berg's hybrid serial approach, but also speaks to the individualistic and free form serial approaches utilized by American ultramodern composers at this time, including Weiss, Ruggles, Riegger, and Crawford.

While it is evident that these composers had a strong influence on Weinzwieg's early application of the serial technique, it is possible that his idiosyncratic approach to the twelve-tone technique in his works for radio drama may have also been influenced and informed by these composers. Specifically, an examination of his scoring for NHFO suggests that he may have been inspired by the individualistic and unrestrained serial approach utilized by Krenek,

particularly the use of the twelve-tone row as motivic and melodic inspiration. While his scoring for NHFO lacks a clearly stated twelve-tone row and the use of serial procedures, they do reveal his use of specific groups of notes as motivic material. This speaks to Krenek’s concept of the twelve-tone row as a “store of motifs,” as seen in his scoring for “Czechoslovakia.” In this score, Weinzwieg utilizes a distinct set of tones as motivic, melodic, and thematic materials which he elaborates throughout his score. For example, Weinzwieg organizes the musical material of title “war #1” around the following collection of tones: D-G-A-B-B flat. From this set, Weinzwieg emphasizes the tetrachord D-G-A-B, which becomes a reoccurring motif throughout the various titles of “Czechoslovakia” and is subjected to serial treatments such as transposition (See examples 2.12, 2.13, and 2.14).”

Example 2.12: *New Homes for Old*, Program #1 “Czechoslovakia,” title “War #1,” mm 2-5.



Example 2.13: *New Homes for Old*, Program #1 “Czechoslovakia,” title “Scene Break 3,” mm 1-4.



Example 2.14: *New Homes for Old*, Program, #1 “Czechoslovakia,” title “Scene Break 3,” mm.20-21.



While there is no discernable twelve tone row in these excerpts, Weinweig's use of specific cells and motivic organization does bear similarities to some of the structural features found in American serialism, including the use of "the aggregate of all twelve tones as a referential harmonic unique."⁷¹ As Strauss explains, this particular approach to the serial technique divided the twelve-tone row into smaller pitch collections, including trichords, tetrachords, and hexachords.⁷² Douglas Webb distinguishes a similar kind of serial treatment in Weinweig's early serial works, in which he organized his piece around row-derived cells or motifs, further explaining that "the complete row form was used relatively infrequently for melody and counterpoint in favor of a heterogeneous assortment of row-derived cells and segments assembled in a sort of additive process."⁷³ Accordingly, Weinweig's scoring for "Czechoslovakia" not only reveals his preference for smaller pitch collections in his radio drama works, but may also be understood as an adaptation of the technique utilized by American serialists. Thus, while these observations do not validate Weinweig's use of the twelve-tone technique in his works for radio drama, they do suggest that he may have drawn upon aspects of serial procedures utilized by Krenek and American serialists to write motivically driven radio drama scores which suited the the overall dramatic content of the NHFO series.

A similar use of motivic cells and organization occurs in Weinweig's scoring for the second program of the NHFO series, "Russia." Specifically, the F-A-flat-B flat- C flat tetrachord emerges as an important and reoccurring motif throughout the various titles of this program (See example 2.15).

⁷¹ Strauss, 356.

⁷² Joseph Strauss, *Twelve-tone Music in America* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009): xviii.

⁷³ Douglas Webb, "Serial Techniques in John Weinweig's Divertimentos and Concertos (1945-1968)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1977): vii.

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system features a Solo Flute part in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The Solo Flute part begins with a series of chords in the right hand, followed by a melodic line. The piano accompaniment consists of a simple bass line. The second system features a Strings part in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The Strings part begins with a melodic line, followed by a series of chords. The piano accompaniment consists of a simple bass line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4.

Example 2.15: *New Homes for Old*, Program #2 “Russia”, Title 14

Unlike his sketches for the the NHFO program “Poland (1),” Weinzwieg’s pre-compositional materials for “Russia” do not reveal if the motivic material in this work derives from a twelve-tone row. While the tetrachord motif is transposed up the octave in measures eight and nine, and is later transposed up a major third in title 10, there is no evidence suggesting the presence of other serial procedures or treatments in this title (See example 2.16). While it is possible that Weinzwieg’s idiosyncratic application of the technique may have been influenced by Krenek and the American ultra-moderns, due to the lack of a distinct and complete twelve-tone row and the lack of other serial procedures in this work, his use of the twelve-tone technique in his scoring for NHFO is ultimately questionable.

Example 2.16: *New Homes for Old*, Program #2 “Russia,” Title 10

The image displays a single system of musical notation for piano accompaniment. The upper staff is in the treble clef and the lower staff is in the bass clef. The music consists of a series of chords and melodic lines. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4.

Weinzweig's Violin Sonata and "Russia"

An examination of Weinzweig's serial piece Violin Sonata further displays the disparity between his compositional approach for radio drama and his personal serial approach. Composed in 1941, the Violin Sonata is not only representative of Weinzweig's early application of the serial technique, but as Nolan suggests, also "sets out the fundamental techniques and point of departure for Weinzweig's serial practice."⁷⁴ Of particular importance to this discussion is the Violin Sonata's opening tetrachord which is inspired by Weinzweig's radio drama score "Russia." Specifically, Weinzweig re-utilizes "Russia's" prominent tetrachord F-A flat-B flat-C flat and integrates this motif in the Violin Sonata's twelve-tone row, F – A flat- B flat- C flat– F#- A – G –D – C# - E – C-E flat (P-5) (See example 2.17). The opening "Russia" tetrachord in Violin Sonata becomes an important motivic element in this piece, and permeates the various melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic structures of both the violin and piano parts (See example 2.18).⁷⁵ Nolan stresses that, unlike his scoring for "Russia," Weinzweig elaborates the serial materials in his Violin Sonata using serial procedures, including inversion, and retrograde-inversion (See examples 2.19 and 2.20).⁷⁶

Example 2.17: John Weinzweig, Violin Sonata, Prime row



⁷⁴ Nolan, 134.

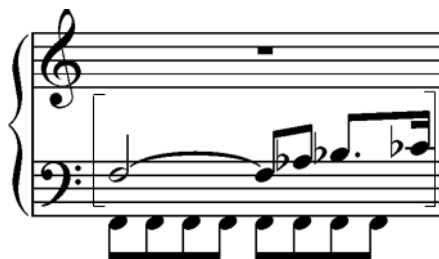
⁷⁵ Kasemets, 9.

⁷⁶ Nolan, 134.

Example 2.18: Violin Sonata, Piano Opening tetrachord, mm.1



Example 2.19: Violin Sonata: rhythmic, textural, and transposed transformation of opening tetrachord in piano accompaniment, mm. 29



Example 2.20: Violin Sonata: transposition and truncation of opening tetrachord in piano accompaniment, mm. 32



This brief discussion of Weinzwieg’s Violin Sonata and his integration of the “Russia” motif in this piece is important when taking into consideration the duality of Weinzwieg’s compositional approach at this time. In particular, not only does this piece reveal that Weinzwieg utilized the same compositional materials in both his radio drama works and his serious works, but it also shows how Weinzwieg elaborates these materials differently in both compositional

practices. As discussed, unlike his Violin Sonata, there is no evidence suggesting the use of the twelve-tone techniques in Weinzwieg's score for "Russia," nor does he elaborate the "Russia" tetrachord motif using serial procedures in this work.

In addition, this piece further suggests that Weinzwieg was utilizing two distinct compositional procedures at this time, one which utilized serial principles and procedures, another which may be understood as a simplification or modification of his modernist language and serial technique. In a retrospective statement made by Weinzwieg in regards to his work for NFHO and his Violin Sonata, he suggests that his work and approach for radio drama was essentially different from his personal serial works:

They are two different kinds of mental operations. I discovered that after completing my first radio series in 1941. I had an idea that I wanted to write a violin sonata. In fact the thematic idea came from the radio score. But I found that it took me four to five weeks of mental adjustment in order to shake off the psychological habits of the background music activity—to change over to a different kind of creative activity where you don't accept easy solutions. And you are not pressed for time. That's the difference. It's a different psychological process [...].⁷⁷

2.3 Writing for Radio Drama: Constraints and Challenges

As the previous discussion has shown, Weinzwieg's early serial approach was greatly influenced by important serial figures such as Berg and Krenek, while also recalling the developments and trends occurring among American serialist and ultramodern composers at this time. However, the previous discussion has also shown that despite his use of the twelve-tone techniques and serial procedures in his early personal works such as *Suite for Piano No. 1*, *Rhapsody*, and his *Violin Sonata*, Weinzwieg does not utilize the same procedures or serial approaches in his work for radio drama, notably NHFO. Although his radio drama scores for this

⁷⁷ Keillor, "Music for Radio and Film," 108.

series do evoke some of the serial elements utilized by Berg, Krenek and American serialists, these works are not visually nor audibly serial. In light of these observations, it is puzzling that Weinzweig would assert his use of the twelve-tone technique in these works, and further problematizes the disparity between his “usual” serial approach and his self-proclaimed serial approach in his radio drama scores.

Accordingly, while taking into consideration the claims made by Weinzweig, the following discussion will consider how the various challenges faced by Weinzweig during his career as a radio drama composer may have led him to modify or temper his serial language. Specifically, it will examine how the production of radio drama and the technological constraints of live radio broadcasting may have prevented Weinzweig from writing elaborate serial works. Similarly, it will also take into consideration the criticism received by Weinzweig from CBC producers, conductors, and musicians, and how they may have prompted him to simplify his serial technique. Lastly, this discussion will also consider audience reception at the time, and how Weinzweig may have tempered his serial and modernist language in order to appease Toronto’s conservative concert hall audience.

Medium of Radio Broadcasting and Technological Considerations:

Weinzweig explains that the medium of live radio broadcasting required him to modify how he approached writing for radio drama. In particular, he suggests that the time constraints of radio drama production limited his compositional scoring for radio drama.⁷⁸ Seeing as each program was broadcast weekly, Weinzweig was responsible for composing incidental scores on a regular basis and often, he would only have a few days to compose the music for each thirty-minute program. Thus, not only was Weinzweig required to write appropriate background and

⁷⁸ Ibid.

incidental music which suited the overarching narrative of each program, but he was also constrained by time which may have prevented him from writing works using serial techniques, resulting in a voluntary simplification and/or modification of his serial approach in these works.⁷⁹

Composing incidental music also required Weinzweig to take into consideration the practice, aesthetics, and the technologies involved in the production of radio drama. In particular, Weinzweig recognized the importance of writing incidental music which suited the technology of the microphone. As explained by Kasemets, Weinzweig favored two-part writing for his radio drama scores because he believed it produced a far richer and more sonorous sound as opposed to *tutti* passages which often became muddled when broadcast through the microphone.⁸⁰ In addition, Weinzweig also recognized the need to write incidental music that did not overpower the voice actors during live broadcasts. For this reason, he opted to score his works for small chamber ensembles and by composing thin background music which blended with the timbre of the actor's voice.⁸¹

Despite these constraints, this new craft helped Weinzweig further hone his skills and abilities as a composer. As Weinzweig recollects, working for the CBC taught him to “meet deadlines, sharpen [his] orchestral craft, respond to dramatic situations with brevity, to be prepared for those last-second cuts in the script, [...] to say good-bye to a great music cue, and [...] to stay clear of complex activity behind voices.”⁸² In addition, writing for radio drama helped him improve and further polish his art of orchestration, and his experience working under

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Kasemets, 12.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² John Weinzweig, “The Making of a Composer,” (paper presented at the Celebration of Canada’s Arts 1930-1970 conference, University of Victoria, February-March 1988):79.

time constraints prompted Weinzweig to compose pieces with precision and concision. Thus, by modifying his approach, it is possible Weinzweig developed a new compositional style which suited the multidisciplinary, dramatic and descriptive quality of the radio drama genre.⁸³

Criticism from CBC Producers, conductors, and musicians:

While Weinzweig may have altered or simplified his approach to suit the technological constraints of live radio broadcasting and radio drama production, it is also possible that he modified his compositional style due to certain pressures felt by Weinzweig from the CBC at this time to write appropriate and audibly pleasing background music for the series. In particular, he was often criticized by conductors and musicians alike for composing music which they considered as being displeasing and unplayable.⁸⁴ As recalled by Weinzweig, his piece *Spectre* (1938) was criticized by the radio conductor Alexander Chuhaldin for containing what he believed to be incorrect or false harmonies. Keillor also explains that while some conductors felt inclined to perform Weinzweig's works, they often felt a significant amount of resistance from the players and management that they could not perform his works.⁸⁵ Notably, Weinzweig's modernist compositional approach to radio drama scores caused some disdain among the radio drama musicians who were hired to play the background music for *New Homes for Old*:

Sammy Hersenhoren was fond of telling the story of our first rehearsal sessions. The players didn't quite believe what they heard and often interrupted valuable rehearsal time asking whether a certain note or chord had been copied incorrectly. I was called upon to testify that the notes actually represented my intention. Finally, to restrain the time-consuming questions, the conductor announced, "Listen, fellas, if it sounds wrong it's right!"⁸⁶

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Alan Gillmor, "In His Own Words," in *Weinzweig: Essay on His Life and Music*, ed. by John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011): 273.

⁸⁵ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 37.

⁸⁶Weinzweig, 79.

One of those musicians was violinist Eugene Kash, who also comments on Weinzweig's unconventional compositional approach:

Weinzweig is engaged to do this score. He's just back from Eastman School, and he has got a head full of Schoenberg and twelve tone system and everything, and I will never forget there's a scene we in the string section played tah-tooh-pooh-pah-that-pah-pooh-pp, and it's a complete twelve-tone row, and at the rehearsal, some of the string section or the orchestra snickered at the unusual harmony, and Sammy stopped the orchestra and said: 'None of that. They laughed at Beethoven, too.'⁸⁷

Accordingly, it is possible that Weinzweig felt compelled to modify his compositional method and simplify his serial technique to ensure playability and to appease the musicians who were playing his scores on a weekly basis as a means of preventing future backlash. It is also possible, however, that Weinzweig may have felt pressured to write music which not only pleased CBC producers, musical directors, and studio musicians of the time, but which also conformed to Toronto's conservative musical climate as a means of keeping his employment with the CBC.

Conservatism and the Concert Hall Audience

The simplification of Weinzweig's musical language in his radio drama works may also suggest that he was concerned with writing music which appealed to Canadian listeners who were not yet accustomed to the sounds of modernism.⁸⁸ As Helmut Kallman explains, Canadian audiences of the time were still very much a part of the older concert hall tradition, and had little exposure to contemporary or modern idioms.⁸⁹ He suggests that this was partly due to a lack of encouragement towards young composers, because it was strongly believed that "everything

⁸⁷ John Weinzweig, "John Weinzweig Documentary" interview by Eitan Cornfield, *Canadian Composers Portrait Series*, 1992: 5.

⁸⁸ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 125.

⁸⁹ Helmut Kallman, *Mapping Canada's Music: Selected Writings of Helmut Kallmann*, ed. by John Beckwith and Robin Elliott (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2013): 91.

worth saying in music had already been said.”⁹⁰ As Benita Wolters-Fredlund also explains, most established Canadian ensembles of the time performed high-brow masterworks and “famously ignored modern trends.”⁹¹

As a result of these circumstances, Canadian listeners were mostly familiar with canonic masterworks, and the CBC thus catered their musical programming to suit the tastes of Canada’s concert hall audience by producing and broadcasting a variety of musical programs, such as “Serenade for Strings” and the “CBC’s Symphonic Hour.” As explained by Brian Cherney, the CBC was essentially “tone washing the listeners with a repertoire of familiar tonal, European music.”⁹² The repertoire featured in these programs included the works of (but not limited to) Rachmaninoff, Tchaikovsky, Glazunov, Brahms, Strauss, Rossini, Verdi, Liszt, Bizet, Berlioz, Camille Saint-Saens, and Mendelssohn.⁹³ In a weekly article published in the CBC program schedule entitled “Along the Air Waves,” it is also noted that popular recordings of the time included Moussorgky’s *Pictures at an Exhibition* and Prokofieff’s *Peter and the Wolf*.⁹⁴ Consequently, Canadian audiences of the time were mostly unaware and unaccustomed to modern trends and idioms such as serialism, and as a result, many young Canadian composers struggled to have their works performed and broadcast.⁹⁵ Accordingly, to ensure that his works appealed to Canadian listeners of this time (while still maintaining his modernist compositional ideals), Weinzwieg may have modified and adjusted his serial technique to create a simplified and accessible serialism.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 92

⁹¹ Benita Wolters-Fredlund, ““We Shall Be Better Canadians by Being Consicous Jews”: Multiculturalism and the Construction of Canadian Identity in the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir,” *Intersections: Canadian Journal of Music* vol. 25, No. 1-2 (2005):197

⁹² Brian Cherney, “The Activist,” in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music* ed. by John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011): 66.

⁹³ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *CBC Programme Schedule, 1939-1942*.

⁹⁴ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *CBC Program Schedule, Week April 5 1942, 16*.

⁹⁵ Kallman, 91-92.

2.4 Concluding Remarks:

As this chapter has shown, Weinzweig's experience working for the CBC and composing for radio drama bore a significant and lasting impact on his career. Weinzweig's time at the CBC not only gave him the opportunity to hone his orchestration skills and further develop his musical language, but it also gave him access to a national audience base for his works. In essence, working at the CBC allowed Weinzweig to disseminate and promote modern music in Canada through the medium of radio broadcasting. However, as this chapter has also shown, an examination of Weinzweig's work for radio drama and his use of the serialist technique in these works reveal a discrepancy in his use and application of the technique at this time. A comparison between his serial works such as the Violin Sonata and his works for radio such as *New Homes For Old* further emphasizes the disparity in his use of the technique. Specifically, although Weinzweig applied serial principles and procedures in his Violin Sonata, he utilizes what may be described as a modified or simplified serial technique in his incidental scores for this series.

While a brief delineation of Weinzweig's serial influences and resources does shed some light on his idiosyncratic application of technique at this time, they do not justify or explain why he altered and modified his technique in his works for radio drama. In an attempt to understand the reasons which would have prompted the simplification of his technique in these works, this chapter thus considered the various factors and challenges faced by Weinzweig during his career as a radio drama composer. In doing so, it has shown how composing for radio drama not only posed certain technological challenges and limitations for Weinzweig, but it also required him to adjust his musical language and style in order to appease CBC producers, conductors, and

musicians. Similarly, it has also shown how Weinzweig likely simplified his serial technique in these works to appeal and suit the conservative and traditional radio listeners of the time.

Although these various contributing factors likely played a role in Weinzweig's decision to temper and simplify his modern language and serial technique in his works for radio drama, they do not entirely elucidate the underlining disparity in his application of the serial technique in his incidental works. While the observations and arguments made in this chapter do shed some light on the compositional, institutional, and societal limitations which may have encouraged Weinzweig to temper his serial technique, they do not consider how his decision may have also been prompted by the socio-political circumstances which framed the formative years of his career. Specifically, as chapter 3 will consider, an examination of these materials in light of the leftist political climate of the 1930s and 1940s reveals how Weinzweig's exposure to socialist ideals may have encouraged him to temper his serial technique in favor of a more accessible, simpler language which embodied leftist and socialist ideals.

Chapter 3: “Creating the Musical Front: Socialism, Populism, and International Solidarity in Weinzwieg’s Work for Radio Drama”

As we have seen in Chapter 2, in *New Homes for Old*, Weinzwieg’s use of serialism was mitigated by a number of factors stemming from the particular constraints and challenges he would have encountered working within the mass media genre of the radio drama at the CBC during the Second World War. Confronted with the somewhat irreconcilable exigencies of modernism and writing for a broad audience, Weinzwieg was compelled to temper his musical language due to a variety of technological, institutional, and social factors. Weinzwieg’s simplified approach, while certainly influenced by the forementioned factors, may also be profitably placed within the context of broader 1930s political and social movements, especially that of the Popular Front.

Several scholars such as Carol Oja, Melissa De Graaf, Elizabeth Crist, and Gayle Murchison have examined and considered how the rise of the Popular Front movement had a significant and important impact on the compositional language and styles of several American modern composers at this time.¹ An international socio-political movement which rose in response to the rise and threat of fascism during the 1930s, the Popular Front is understood as a product of Soviet foreign policy which sought to accommodate the ideals of American democratic culture in an attempt to “unite various political persuasions in an international fight against fascism.”² In essence, the Popular Front was ultimately a socio-political movement which

¹ Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York, NY: New York Oxford University Press, 2000); Melissa De Graaf, *The New York Composers’ Forum Concerts, 1935-1940* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013); Elizabeth B. Crist, “Aaron Copland and the Popular Front,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 56, No. 2 (2003): 409-465; Gayle Murchison, *The American Stravinsky: The Style and aesthetics of Copland’s New American Music, the Early Works, 1921-1938* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2012).

² Crist, 421.

united various groups and individuals, including unionists, socialists, communists, anti-fascists, émigrés, and activists, against the rise of fascism during the 1930s.³ Accordingly, the rise of the Popular Front movement during the 1930s and throughout the 1940s encouraged many American modern composers, notably Ruth Crawford (1901-1953), Charles Seeger (1886-1979), Hanns Eisler (1898-1962), Carl Ruggles (1876-1971), Norman Cazden (1914-1980), and Aaron Copland (1900-1990), to not only align themselves with the political left, but to also modify their highly experimental and modern language in favor of a simpler, more accessible language which reflected the Popular Front ideals of social relevancy and accessibility.⁴

Accordingly, by taking into consideration Weinzweig's experience growing up and living in Toronto's leftist Jewish Community and his early and continued exposure to radical socialism, this chapter seeks to show how the socio-political ideals of the Popular Front movement may have shaped Weinzweig's compositional aesthetic at this time. Specifically, it seeks to consider how these experiences may have encouraged him to write in a more accessible musical idiom which would appeal to Canadian audiences of the time, while not abandoning his interest in the techniques of musical modernism. Similarly, this chapter also seeks to consider how Weinzweig's work for radio drama may also be examined within the broader context of what Michael Denning characterizes as the "cultural front."⁵ As Denning proposes, the cultural front can be understood as a broad social movement which united groups of artists and intellectuals who ultimately contributed to the "extraordinary flowering of arts, entertainment, and thought," founded on the socialist ideas advocated by the Popular Front.⁶ In his study, Denning further

³ Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Verso, 2010): 4.

⁴ De Graaf, 78, 74.

⁵ Denning, xvi.

⁶ Denning, xvi.

considers how the cultural politics adopted by these artists and intellectuals (the political and ideological stance, allegiance, and affiliation) and the aesthetic ideologies (artistic forms, styles, genres, and conventions) they utilized to reflect or embody the ideals of the Popular Front ultimately informed the cultural front.⁷ Similarly, Denning contemplates how these artists and intellectuals contributed to the cultural industries and apparatuses which ultimately informed and shaped American culture during the 1930s, including journalism, film, and radio broadcasting. Thus, this chapter will examine how Weinzweig's work for radio drama speaks to the aesthetic ideologies and cultural politics of the Popular Front.

3.1 Growing Up Leftist: Weinzweig and Toronto's Leftist Jewish Community

Despite the research made by several scholars who have examined the formative years of Weinzweig's musical and compositional career, few have yet studied his life and career in light of the broader social, cultural, and political climate of the interwar and world war period, particularly the rise of socialist thought and ideology, and how it may have impacted, influenced, and informed his compositional decisions.⁸ Although the Popular Front movement occurred primarily in the United-States and in France during the 1930s, these ideals also reached and circulated among Canadian artists and intellectuals during the interwar period. In particular, Canadian writers, artists, and intellectuals began to create work which embodied and reflected similar ideals to those of the Popular Front, and during the 1930s, Canada saw an increase in leftist literary works, including poetry, plays, and novels, as well as the rise of English-speaking

⁷ Denning, xix-xx.

⁸ In his essay, "The Activist," Brian Cherney considers how Weinzweig's exposure to socialist ideals had an impact on his musical career, namely his endeavors to promote contemporary music in Canada. See Brian Cherney, "The Activist," in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music* ed. John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011): 47-73.

socialist theatre and leftist artwork.⁹ It is likely that similar leftist ideals and beliefs circulated among Canadian composers and musicians at this time including Weinzweig, encouraging them to also utilize their art as a means of expressing or voicing their support of leftist ideals.

While Weinzweig was likely impacted by the same ideals which prompted Canadian artists to create works which reflected the ideals of socialism and the Popular Front, it is also important to consider how Weinzweig's exposure to socialist ideas while living in Toronto's leftist Jewish community may have informed his political beliefs, and may have encouraged him to write music which reflected the ideals of leftist socialism. Scholars such as Brian Cherney, John Beckwith, and Keillor have acknowledged the importance of Weinzweig's experience living in Toronto's Jewish community and its impact on his compositional career and his musical activities during 1930s and beyond. Born in Toronto in 1913, Weinzweig grew up above his father's garment shop on College Street, which was located in Toronto's Jewish community.¹⁰ Having lived there for the greater part of his childhood and young adulthood, it is likely that the leftist socio-political climate of this community may have had a significant impact on Weinzweig's upbringing, and may have also informed and shaped his political views.

During the early twentieth century, Toronto became an important hub for Jewish immigrants, the majority of whom were forced to leave Eastern Europe due to anti-Semitism, oppression, and poverty.¹¹ Despite escaping Eastern Europe, many Jews still faced similar poor working conditions and racial discrimination in Toronto, prompting the rise of a socialist-labor

⁹ Candida Rifkin, "Modernism's Red Stage: Theatre and the Left in the 1930s," in *The Canadian Modernists Meet* ed. Dean Irvine (Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press, 2005):181-185.

¹⁰ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 6.

¹¹ Benita Wolters-Fredlund, "Leftist, Jewish, and Canadian Identities Voiced in the Repertoire of the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir, 1939-1959," *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* Vol. 29 (2002): 20.

movement in Toronto's Jewish community during the interwar period.¹² The growing labor movement ultimately led to the development of trade unions and several socialist Jewish fraternal organizations which promoted Yiddish culture and traditions. As Benita Wolters-Fredlund explains, "these Jewish-led unions and socialist fraternal organizations were a key component in the development of an activist, pro-labor, and socialist-oriented culture within Toronto's Jewish community."¹³ These socialist fraternities and organizations were established by different socialist oriented groups, including Labour Zionists, Bundists, and Jewish Communists, all of which supported a variety of socialist ideals.¹⁴

Early Education: Peretz School

One of the largest fraternal organizations established in Toronto at this time was the *Arbeiter Ring*, also known as the Workmen's Circle. Organizations such as the Workmen's Circle established Jewish children schools which offered "English classes, lectures on socialist topics, sports activities, instrumental ensembles and groups devoted to singing, theatre, and dance."¹⁵ Such institutions include the Workmen's Circle Peretz School, a school which Weinzwieg attended during the 1920s.¹⁶ Built by former members of the *Bund*, the Peretz School supported the ideals of the *Bund*, namely the "improvement in conditions for the working class and the perpetuation of Jewish history and culture."¹⁷ While attending Peretz, Weinzwieg not only acquired his first introduction to music, but he was also taught about his Yiddish and Jewish Heritage. Similarly, as his childhood piano teacher Gertude Anderson explains, it was while

¹² Wolters-Fredlund, "We Shall Go Forward With Our Songs Into the Fight For Better Life": Identity and Musical Meaning in the History of the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir, 1925-1959" (Ph.D. diss. University of Toronto, 2005): 6; Wolters-Fredlund, "Leftist, Jewish, and Canadian Identities," 20.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁴ Ruth A. Frager, *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1992):15

¹⁵ Wolters-Fredlund, "Leftist, Jewish, and Canadian Identities," 20.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Elaine Keillor, *Radical Romantic* 6?

¹⁷ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 6-7; Cherney, 51

attending Peretz in which Weinzweig “was taught to think clearly and independently along political and social lines and incidentally, he imbibed here certain socialist ideas.”¹⁸ Weinzweig recalls his experience at the Peretz school, stating that his time at this school had a memorable impact on him:

The Peretz school days were my happiest times. I went there three time a week, I think for two hours each day. [...] The experience at the Peretz school was good. I had very good friends. Of course the kids they were all a bunch of scholarship winners. I was not a brilliant student, believe me, I was not. But my friends were. They became doctors, dentists and lawyers. I’ll tell you frankly, I remember I had very good feelings about the teachers there. They were gifted teachers. And I remember one teacher who used to read us Sholom Aleichem and I listened.¹⁹

As Weinzweig’s reflection reveals, not only did he spend a considerable amount of time at the Peretz school, but he also established notable childhood friendships, and he recognized and appreciated the education he received from his teachers at this school. Similarly, Weinzweig’s appreciation of the writing of Soloman Alechem, a Yiddish writer, also suggests that Weinzweig not only developed an appreciation of his Jewish heritage and the Yiddish culture at this time, but he may have possibly fostered an interest in the ideals of leftist socialism as well.

Joseph Weinzweig and the Bund:

Although it is highly likely that Weinzweig was exposed to leftist-socialist ideals while attending Peretz, his first real introduction to radical socialism was likely given to him by his father, Joseph Weinzweig. A native from Kielce, Poland, Weinzweig’s father was affiliated with the *Bund*, also known as the General Jewish Workers Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia.²⁰ Established in 1807, the *Bund* was a Russian-Jewish socialist organization which broadly

¹⁸ Cherney, 51.

¹⁹ Bryan M. Knight and Rachel Alkallay, *Voices of Canadian Jews*, 466.

²⁰ Cherney, 50; For more information in regards to the Bund and the Jewish Socialist Movement, please see Joshua D. Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892-1914* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004)

endeavored to improve the working conditions and wages of the Jewish working class, and to preserve Yiddish culture and traditions.²¹ Joseph Weinzweig was incarcerated for his involvement in *Bund* activities, and after receiving amnesty, was able to emigrate to Canada in 1907.²² Despite having to leave Kielce, Cherney argues that Joseph Weinzweig would have carried his Bundist and leftist beliefs with him to Canada, and that he would have also been aware of the American counterpart, the Workmen's circle.²³ Given these circumstances, it is likely that Weinzweig learned about Bundist ideology and socialist ideals from his father from a young age. Cherney further explains that it was not uncommon for parents who carried socialist beliefs to bring their children to socialist meetings and demonstrations. Cherney cites Ros Usiskin who writes, "for many children of radical parents, this early introduction was to continue as their life-long guidepost."²⁴

The Toronto Jewish Folk Choir:

Despite having been exposed to radical socialist ideals during his early childhood, it is also important to consider how the presence of leftist, socialist, and even communist-oriented artistic organizations may have also informed Weinzweig's political and social ideals during his young adulthood. During the 1920s and 1930s, several members and factions branched off from the Workmen's Circle, leading to the establishment of another important socialist fraternity in Toronto: The Jewish Labour League (LL). A communist-oriented social and cultural organization, the LL participated in the Jewish labour movement and also endeavored to promote the growth of Yiddish culture and tradition by establishing schools and supporting cultural

²¹ Joshua D. Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892-1914* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004): 4. and Ezra Mendelsohn, *On Modern Jewish Politics* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993) 18; Cherney, 51.

²² Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 5.

²³ Cherney, 51,

²⁴ Cherney, 52; Roz Usiskin, "Winnipeg's Jewish Women: Radical and Traditional," *Outlook Canada's Progressive Jewish Magazine*, <http://www.vcn.bc.ca/outlook/library/articles/women/p05WinnipegJewishWomen.htm>

organizations and groups which promoted leftist ideals, including the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir.²⁵ Established in 1925, the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir (TJFC) consisted of working-class Jews who participated in the Jewish labour movement and was utilized as a “vehicle for highlighting labour issues” and “as a community group for Yiddish-speaking immigrants.”²⁶

In her study of the TJFC, Benita Wolters-Fredlund stresses that the choir ultimately became a voice for leftist ideals, and their choice of repertoire expressed these ideals. More importantly, she argues that the choir assumed an important political identity during the late 1930s and early 1940s: “this choir clearly saw their identity as political in a broad sense; they considered it their mission to use music as a means to highlight socio-political injustices, and even as weapon in the struggle against such injustices.”²⁷ Often, they performed works which supported socialist ideals relating to working class, equality, peace, and works depictive of “the people”.²⁸ In addition, due to their affiliation with the communist-oriented LL, the TJFC was also supportive of Soviet political policies, and as Wolters-Fredlund explains, they believed that “the Soviet Union was a leader in cultural activity and political thought.”²⁹ Accordingly, the choir’s repertoire during the 1940s was also reflective of their support for Soviet ideology, and they performed a variety of Russian works, both folk and concert works.³⁰ Lastly, the choir included folk songs in their repertoire and concert programs as a means of representing socialist ideals of “the people”, and to “express solidarity with all poor, persecuted, and exploited people.”³¹

²⁵ Frager, 54.

²⁶ Wolters-Fredlund. “Leftist, Jewish, and Canadian,” 19.

²⁷ Ibid, 21.

²⁸ Ibid, 22.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid, 23.

³¹ Ibid, 24.

Another important leftist belief shared by Toronto's leftist artists at this time was that of cultural progress and development, and these ideals are reflective in their promotion of modern and contemporary works.³² As Eleanor Stubley explains, "as a community, it has promoted modern music and encouraged wide participation in the performing arts through the premium value placed on an education rich in culture."³³ For these reasons, organizations such as the TJFC endeavored to perform contemporary and modern works which fostered the growth of culture and progress because it was "understood as a way to promote the progress of humankind."³⁴ Accordingly, they performed works composed by contemporary and modern Canadian composers, including Weinzweig, Barbara Pentland, Louis Applebaum, and also performed works which carried progressive and political themes.³⁵

Thus, in light of the prevailing socialist and leftist climate which permeated artistic and intellectual circles and musical organizations at this time, it is likely that Weinzweig was informed or exposed to similar ideals. As Beckwith argues, Weinzweig was ultimately influenced by leftist artists at this time, as he writes "a sympathizer, though not an activist, he [Weinzweig] was affected by the leftist politics of Toronto artists and writers in the between-war era—its atmosphere well evoked in Earle Birney's novel *Down the Long Table*."³⁶ Thus, while Weinzweig was introduced to socialist thought by his father and his time at the Peretz school during his childhood, it is also likely that Weinzweig also adopted similar socialist and possibly communist-oriented ideals which circulated Toronto's Jewish artistic and intellectual circles during his young adulthood.

³² Wolters-Fredlund, "We Shall Go Forward With Our Songs Into the Fight For Better Life," 39.

³³ Eleanor Stubley, "Ear-Dreaming," in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music*, ed. by John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011): 326.

³⁴ Wolters-Fredlund, "Leftists, Jewish, Canadians," 25.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ John Beckwith, *Music Papers*, 18.

Despite the biographical evidence which ties Weinzweig to radical socialism during the interwar period, scholars such as Cherney are not convinced that Weinzweig was a radical socialist. However, he acknowledges that Weinzweig would have appropriated radical socialist ideals during his childhood, and he believes that his exposure to these ideals may have informed his activism for modernism and Canadian music:

This is not to suggest that through either Joseph Weinzweig's influence or that of Peretz School, John Weinzweig was turned into a radical socialist. However, whatever "radical" ideas he was exposed to during his formative years would have contained at least some version of this message: (1) if one waits around for solutions to important problems to be provided by others, one will wait in vain, and (2) the most effective way to bring about change is to gather like-minded people and together find a way of achieving that change. It is likely that Bundist ideology also engendered a sense of community and a sense of responsibility to that community.³⁷

As Cherney suggests, it is likely that Weinzweig drew upon some of the ideals practiced or preached by the Bund, and these ideals provided Weinzweig with the necessary ideological tools to carry out his activism efforts and to gather like minded individuals in his effort to promote musical modernism and to promote the creation, performance, and dissemination of contemporary Canadian music.³⁸

³⁷ Cherney, 53.

³⁸ While this thesis acknowledges the importance of Weinzweig's role as promoter and activist of young Canadian composers and his role as founder and president of the Canadian League of Composers (CLC), it does not discuss these endeavors at length due to the topic at hand. Though (as Cherney has alluded to) it is likely that Weinzweig's exposure to socialist ideals may have impacted or informed his decisions in regards to creating the CLC, this thesis has limited its focus to the impacts of socialism and socialist ideals on Weinzweig's work for radio drama. Several scholars, including Keillor, Cherney, Kallmann, and Wolters-Fredlund, discuss the development of the CLC and its importance to Weinzweig's career and to the development and promotion of modern and contemporary music in Canada. See Elaine Keillor, *John Weinzweig and His Music: The Radical Romantic of Canada* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1994); Brian Cherney, "The Activist," in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music* ed. John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011): 47-73; Kallmann, Helmut "Canadian League of Composers in the 1950s: The Heroic Years," in *Mapping Canada's Music: Selected Writings of Helmut Kallmann* ed. John Beckwith and Robin Elliott (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2013): 87-102; Benita Wolters-Fredlund, "A "League Against Willan"? The Early Years of the Canadian League of Composers, 1951-1960," *Journal of the Society for American Music* Vol. 5, No.4 (2011): 445-480.

3.2 Weinzweig as “Radical Romantic:” A Commitment to Modernism, or A Commitment to Radical Socialism?

Although these observations demonstrate the biographical ties Weinzweig had with socialist ideals, they do not confirm whether or not Weinzweig was a socialist, or whether he was involved or participated in socialist activities. Similarly, as briefly discussed, scholars such as Cherney deny that Weinzweig was in fact a radical socialist; rather, he appropriated ideals of the socialist and Bundist ideology as a means of fueling his activist activities throughout his career. Despite the lack of biographical evidence, it is important to consider the critical and institutional perception surrounding Weinzweig and his work. In particular, Weinzweig was recognized and characterized as a “radical” figure and composer by his colleagues and critics since the beginning of his career. During an interview with Frank Rasky published in *The Graduate Journal* in 1981, Weinzweig characterized himself as a radical, a “Romantic Radical”:

I’m a radical romantic. Some of my colleagues think I’m mellowing with age. Nonsense! Sure, I love an old-fashioned folk tune and jazz that really swings. But I’ve always been a rebel, and I still am. Nothing I love better than a good fight.³⁹

While Weinzweig embraced this identity as a radical during his entire career, it is important to consider the reasons why he would have been recognized as a radical, and why Weinzweig himself would adopt this term to describe his identity as a composer.

Musical Radical:

Some scholars such as Beckwith and Cherney explain that Weinzweig was recognized as a radical during the 1940s and 1950s due to his use and promotion of modern idioms which, in Toronto’s highly conservative and traditional musical environment, “constituted a fundamental

³⁹ Frank Rasky, “Radical Romantic,” *The University of Toronto Graduate*, Vol. 9 (1981): 19.

departure from the prevailing romanticism.”⁴⁰ Similarly, not only was Weinzwieg described as a radical, many of his close colleagues were also labelled as radicals by the older generation composers, in which “the young modernists became known, not necessarily kindly, as ‘the Weinzwieg gang,’ and were even described as ultra radicals.”⁴¹ Although it is not explicitly stated, this particular depiction of Weinzwieg and his colleagues implies that anyone who worked with, or was allied to, Weinzwieg at this time were labeled and known as radical composers.

In of light Toronto’s musical conservatism, it is also likely that Weinzwieg’s appropriation of his radicalism was ultimately prompted by his desire to write and promote music which moved away from the romantic, traditional, and British styles which characterized the works of the older generation composers, notably Healey Willan, Leo Smith, Sir Ernest MacMillan, and Arnold Walter. Thus, the fight which Weinzwieg’s alludes to in the above statement is perhaps best understood within the context of his battle against musical conservatism and what he considered “stifling colonialism” during the 1940s.⁴² Wolters-Fredlund further stresses that the perception surrounding Weinzwieg and his colleagues was likely due to this conservative climate:

Their reputation as rebels has to be understood in the context of the conservative musical climate in the country at the time, and the fact that their approach to composition marked such a striking contrast with that of the previous generation of composers.⁴³

⁴⁰ Beckwith and Cherney, 4.

⁴¹ Wolters-Fredlund, “A “League Against Willan”? The Early Years of the Canadian League of Composers, 1951-1960,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* Vol. 5, No.4 (2011): 452.

⁴² Alan Gilmore, “In His Own Words,” in *Weinzwieg: Essays on His Life and Music*, ed. by John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011):270.

⁴³ Wolters-Fredlund, “A League Against Willan,” 464.

In light of these circumstances, it is possible that Weinzwieg's "radicalism" refers merely to his relentless opposition against the older generation composers and his constant fight to place modernism at the heart of Canadian musical production during the twentieth century.

Political Radical:

While these are all possible reasons for which Weinzwieg would have been considered a radical, it is also important to take into consideration the inherent political connotation of the term "radical," particularly in light of the socio-political climate of the interwar and Second World War period. Due to its various associations and meanings, the term "radical" is difficult to define. However, the use of the term "radical" is dependent upon the context in which it is being used, by whom, and when. Within the context of the mid-late nineteenth and early twentieth-century, Paul McLaughlin explains that radicalism has been mostly associated with a "fundamental political or social transformation [...] understood to be a of a democratic and/or socialist nature,"⁴⁴ and a radical, therefore, is a "supporter of 'radical' political and social reform."⁴⁵ As a political notion, radicalism can thus be understood as "the attempt to achieve fundamental change with respect to fundamental socio-political norms, practices, relations, and institutions." Thus, in light of the rise of socialist politically ideology in Canada during the 1930s and 1940s, it is likely that the term radical was possibly used to define or characterize a person who supported the political ideologies of socialism, and was involved or participated in the socialist movement.

By taking into consideration McLaughlin's definition of "radicalism," one can see why Weinzwieg was perceived as a "musical" radical among Toronto's musical elite. In essence, Weinzwieg was proposing a fundamental change in regards to the conservative norms, practices,

⁴⁴ Paul McLaughlin, *Radicalism* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012): 13

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

and ultimately traditions which informed and shaped Canadian music at this time towards a new repertoire of Canadian music built upon the ideals of musical modernism. However, it is also possible that Weinzweig's political decisions and affiliations during the 1930s and 1940s also garnered him the title of radical during at this time. The most obvious ties Weinzweig had with radicalism was through his father, Joseph Weinzweig, who was a supporter of radical socialist and Bundist ideals. Thus, it is possible that those who were aware of Weinzweig's father's political affiliations assumed that Weinzweig was also a sympathizer or supporter of radical socialism at this time.

Red Scare: Weinzweig's Brush with Soviet Communism during the 1940s

It is also possible that Weinzweig was recognized as a radical due to his affiliation with Soviet organizations during the 1940s. As Cherney explains, Weinzweig was possibly a member of the National Council for Canada-Soviet Friendship (NCC-SF) during the 1940s. In 1943, Weinzweig composed his piece *Fanfare* which was performed in concert by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, and was supported by the NCC-SF. In the program notes for this concert, a tribute was written in regards to Weinzweig's piece:

Fanfare: is a tribute to that kind of human fortitude that has withstood the worst of a mighty invader. It is a tribute to that courage which is typical of every Russian in each village and town. To the spirit of Leningrad and Stalingrad, to the present successes and ultimate victory of the people of the Soviet Republics is this work humbly dedicated.⁴⁶

In addition to his affiliation with the NCC-SF and his piece *Fanfare*, Weinzweig had also been later criticized for his ballet *Red Ear of Corn* during the 1950s because the title was believed to evoke communist undertones.⁴⁷ As cited by Keillor from a newspaper article published by the *Windsor Star*,

⁴⁶ Cherney, 59.

⁴⁷ Composed in 1949, *Red Ear of Corn* was a ballet written by Weinzweig inspired by French Canadian and Iroquois Amerindian folk tunes and musical materials.

But that “Red” is what caught the eye of the cloak and dagger crowd at Toronto’s U.S. consulate, which his parents visited during the most virulent period of McCarthyism, seeking a visa for an extended visit to the land of the free. “Is John Weinzweig your son?” a bureaucrat wanted to know. “Yes.” Is he a member of the Communist Party?” “Of course not!” “Well what about this thing called Red Ear of Corn? “It was the word ‘Red’ that got me into trouble, not ‘Corn,’” says Weinzweig adding that it also was inserted into the file because of some reviews in the left-wing press.⁴⁸

Although this statement disproves Weinzweig’s affiliation with the Communist party during the late 1940s, it is highly likely that the assumptions of his ballet *Red Ear of Corn* may have fuelled the perception of Weinzweig as a political radical during this time, and not just as a musical radical.

By couching the formative years of Weinzweig career within the context of interwar socialism and the rise of socialist movements such as the Popular Front, this discussion has shown how Weinzweig’s ties to radical socialism are grounded both in biographical evidence, and in the perception of his works and musical decision as being “radical.” In particular, it has shown how, through his childhood introduction to radical socialism and his experience living and working in Toronto during the interwar and Second World War, Weinzweig was continuously exposed to socialist ideals. Similarly, it has also shown how the perception Weinzweig’s radicalism may also be informed by his sympathetic ties towards the Soviet Union and Communist organizations during the early 1940s.

While this biographical and circumstantial evidence does demonstrate how Weinzweig was exposed to and likely appropriated radical socialist ideals circulating at this time, it does not elucidate or prove how his musical works were influenced by these ideals. Thus, in light of Crist’s belief that “concert music can also articulate the aesthetic and ideological positions of the Front,” the following discussion seeks to examine how the Popular Front ideal of populism may

⁴⁸ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 89.

have informed Weinzwieg's concern with audience accessibility, musical intelligibility, and social relevancy, and will show how his use of a simplified and accessible serial technique and his use of folk tunes in his incidental scores for *New Homes for Old* are also indicative of Popular Front ideals.

3.3: Writing for the “people”: Aesthetic Impacts of Socialism and the Popular Front on Weinzwieg's Work for Radio Drama

Throughout his entire career, Weinzwieg was an adamant supporter of musical modernism in Canada, and sought to promote the works of young contemporary composers by encouraging the creation, performance, and dissemination of these works. In particular, Weinzwieg showed an early and prominent interest with the place and role of the Canadian composer in society, and sought to encourage the growth of the profession:

Very early on, I discovered that politics has invaded all the arts, as well, and that I would have to deal with it, and that just to stay home and write music was not the answer to a life, at all, that I would have to immerse myself in the problems of trying to create a profession in a country where there would be a knowledge and respect for the artist, because that's the only way that we could have a living culture, and the obstacles were, you know they were great, because actually we had no publication in the industry. We had no recording industry, and the only industry was the composers writing music, and they needed help.⁴⁹

In order to achieve this level of appreciation and understanding from Canadian audiences and to acquire a broader audience base for modern music in Canada, Weinzwieg likely realized that he would have to change, and ultimately revolutionize, how musical modernism was perceived and received among Canadian audiences at this time. Weinzwieg thus had to create a new dialogue between composer and audience during the twentieth century, a “rapprochement” between

⁴⁹ John Weinzwieg “John Weinzwieg Documentary,” interview by Eitan Cornfield, *Canadian Composers Portrait Series* (1992): 8.

composer and audience, and he had to find a way of championing modern music in Canada while still maintaining a level of accessibility and intelligibility among his listeners. In essence, Weinzweig not only had to find an accessible means of disseminating modern and contemporary works, but he also had to create an appropriate and comprehensible modern language which would appeal to Canadian listeners at the time.

The predicament which Weinzweig faced during his early career in the late 1930s and early 1940s is not unlike the situation faced by other modern composers at this time, particularly American modern composers, who wanted to acquire a larger audience base for their contemporary works. In particular, they were concerned with creating an accessible musical language which would appeal to all American audiences of this time, without forsaking their previous commitment to modernism.⁵⁰ The preoccupation with accessibility which informed the works of American modern composers during the 1930s and 1940s, particularly those composed by Copland, has been examined in light of the Popular Front movement. In particular, scholars such as Elizabeth Crist, Michael Denning, and Gayle Murchison, have considered how the aesthetics, politics, and ideologies of the Popular Front encouraged modern artists and composers such as Copland to simplify their musical language in favor of a more accessible and socially-relevant style which was not limited to the enjoyment of the elite concert-hall audience, but was also of “interest to the general public,” and was ultimately aligned with the social realities and problems of the time.⁵¹ As Denning explains, many modern artists and composers who participated in the cultural front during the 1930s and 1940s ultimately “attempted to reconstruct

⁵⁰ De Graaf, 74.

⁵¹ Gayle Murchison, *The American Stravinsky: The Style and Aesthetics of Copland's New American Music, The Early Works, 1921-1938*, 150-151.

modernism, to tie their formal experimentation to a new social and historical vision, to invent a “social modernism,” a “revolutionary symbolism.”⁵²

In essence, the Popular Front movement encouraged artists and intellectuals to not only adopt a more accessible and comprehensible language, but prompted them to create art which was socially relevant and would appeal to the “people.” Part of a broader political and cultural shift which occurred during the 1930s, “populism” became one of the central ideals and tropes of leftist socialism at this time, particularly in the Popular Front:

Indeed, nothing seems more obvious than the “populism” of the Popular Front. Moreover, this turn to the “people” is generally understood to be a retreat from the radical “proletarianism” of the early 1930s, as a sentimental liberalism which dissolved a politic of class conflict, of workers mobilization and self-organization, and obscured the divisions of ethnicity, race, and gender in an imagined unity of the “people” and the “people’s culture.”⁵³

Thus, in light of the populist rhetoric which permeated the cultural and and political ideals of leftist socialism during the interwar and Second World War, it is possible that these ideals may have prompted Weinzwieg to momentarily shift his preoccupation with experimental modernist idioms and techniques such a serialism, towards a more accessible and intelligible modernist language which would appeal to and be understood by all Canadian audiences at this time, and not just the concert-hall elite.

Weinzwieg’s preoccupation with writing music which was not limited to the enjoyment of the elite is further expressed in his essay, “The New Music.” Published in 1942, this essay articulates Weinzwieg’s critique of the elitist belief that only music written in the past was of any value and worthy of performance:

The concert-hall has become a museum where the so-called “classics” are perpetuated to the exclusion of contemporary music by a dictatorial patronage that plays upon the economic instability of the symphony orchestra. [...] It is surely a sign of artistic

⁵² Denning, 59-60.

⁵³ Denning, 124.

decadence when the public and even many scholars and musicians regard music as one of the dead languages used for expressive purpose only by men of the past. [...] we have still to shake off a nineteenth century hangover that only tragic music is profound and great.⁵⁴

While this statement speaks to Weinzwieg's discontent concerning the state of music in Canada at this time, it may also be read in light of the socio-political climate of the 1940s as well.

Specifically, Weinzwieg's critique of the concert-hall tradition may be read as a plea to not venerate music of the past, but to create, perform, and respect contemporary works written in the present:

The music of our society is reflected in the new music of to-day. In all other aspects of human activity, including the visual and literary arts, we are very much concerned with the present. It is utterly illogical that in music we should dwell almost entirely in the past. Must contemporary music await the excavations of some future musical archeologist? The composer needs his public now:--sorry, he cannot wait.⁵⁵

Accordingly, it is possible to understand Weinzwieg's belief that music should be concerned with the present as a socialist and populist rhetoric. Music, in the context of the political and cultural ideals of leftist socialism and Popular Front populism, should be socially relevant; it should reflect the social realities of present-day society, not those of the past. More importantly, it should reflect and embrace the social, political, and cultural realities of the people who are actively listening to these works, whether at the concert hall, or at home. In essence, Weinzwieg seems to be articulating that music should in fact be written for present day audiences, for the Canadian people listening, performing, and consuming these works.

In another statement made by Weinzwieg during an interview with Peter Kambasis, he further alludes to the possible populist influence on his compositional approach. During the interview, he explains that he has always been conscientious of his audience, and believed that

⁵⁴ John Weinzwieg, "The New Music," *Canadian Review of Music and Art* Vol. 5, No.5 (June 1942): 16.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

music should be written for a specific audience, that it should serve a social purpose, and that it should carry some kind of message:

Of course you can write for yourself if you want to, you can make your own music for yourself, but it's perfectly natural to want to expose that music to others. Composing music has a social purpose. Composers use music as hand maiden to send a message. After all, Shostakovich was writing symphonies that reflected the wartime conditions in the Soviet Union in the Second Great War, during the Nazi invasion, and his music and his name had a strong hold on the people of the Soviet Union. So he was a composer of the people, and I would like to be a people composer.⁵⁶

As this statement also reveals, Weinzwieg wanted to be recognized as a “people” composer, as an artist who creates socially relevant works which reflect the social, political, cultural realities of the people for whom he is composing. While this statement was made retrospectively by Weinzwieg, it does allude to a strong populist influence, and suggests that the ideals of populism may have also informed how he approached his works, including his scoring for radio drama.

Depicting the Canadian “People”: CBC Wartime Radio Drama

In order to better understand how Weinzwieg's works for radio drama embraced the ideals of populism, it is important to also consider how the CBC dramas he was writing for carried inherently and overtly populist themes and concerns. During the Second World War, CBC radio dramas were geared towards home front listeners and audiences, and produced programs which would appeal and represent the Canadian people. These include women's programs, farming programs, children programs; programs which were relevant to the everyday lives of Canadians during the war. One popular wartime program entitled “The Craigs,” depicted

⁵⁶ “Around the Stage...(with John Weinzwieg),” interview by Peter Kambasis, *Vimeo*, video, 2002, <https://vimeo.com/33123909>.

the “daily problems and pleasures of a typical farm family.”⁵⁷ Other radio drama series produced at this time such as *Our Canada* also sought to depict the lives of Canadians across the nation:

To create in the minds of the listening public a more vital conception of Canada as a nation [...] a factual presentation of those factors, important in every social, civilized grouping of people, which are common to the people of Canada, wherever they may live and whatever their racial background may be.⁵⁸

This particular program is centered around the life of the series protagonist, Joe, who depicts the “average” young Canadian adult who’s preparing to serve in the Canadian air force. In this series, Joe visits Canadian citizens from coast to coast, in order to better understand who the “Canadian” people were, and what it meant to be “Canadian.” Similarly, series such as NFHO focus not only the “Canadian” people, but rather, the people who came to Canada during the Second World War. Specifically, NHFO was meant to depict “the true life stories of men of other lands who fled poverty, oppression or persecution in the Old World to find [...] new citizenship, new hope, new opportunity, new freedom.”⁵⁹ While this thesis will not explore the dramatic content of these series in detail, nor does it seek to argue that the CBC’s wartime radio dramas were leftist, or even socialist, it is evident that these radio drama scripts carried an obvious and strong concern for all Canadian people. Thus, while these radio dramas were not written by leftist playwrights, the strong populist rhetoric found in these scripts suggests that these dramas were very much a part of the larger leftist literary movement and tradition which occurred during the Popular Front movement.

⁵⁷ Roger Lee Jackson, “An Historical and Analytical Study of the Origins, Development and Impact of the Dramatic Programs Produced for the English Language Networks of the CBC” (Ph.D Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1967): 61.

⁵⁸ Gerald Noxon, Manuscript, CBC Radio Dramas, p. 1 “A Suggestion For A Series of Twelve Feature Broadcasts to be Given Under the Series Titles of “This Our Canada,” Concordia Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies, Montreal, QC.

⁵⁹ Alistair Grossart, Script, CBC Radio Dramas, p. 1 “New Homes for Old –Russia,” Concordia Centre for Broadcasting and Journalism Studies, Montreal, QC.

“The People’s Serialist Music”: Vernacular Idioms, Folk Tunes, and Popular Genres

Just as the CBC’s wartime radio dramas were written for and depicted the Canadian “people,” so too was Weinzweig’s incidental music: it was composed in light of and for the average Canadian listener. In particular, an examination of Weinzweig’s work for radio drama reveals his use of musical elements, techniques, and materials which speak to similar aesthetics utilized by leftist artists and intellectuals who were creating artistic works reflective of the “people” and for the “people.” As Denning explains, the populist rhetoric of “the people” dictated much of the artistic and cultural output of the 1930s:

[...] the novels, films, plays, and paintings of the “thirties” were dominated by representations of the “people”: a gallery of allegorical icons of victimization, innocence, and resilience, ranging from Franklin Roosevelt’s “forgotten man” to Steinback’s *Ma Joad*, from Dorothea Lange’s *Migrant Mother* to Frank Capra’s *Mr. Smith*.⁶⁰

Similarly, Popular Front composers also attempted to depict and embrace the prevailing populist rhetoric of the Popular Front, particularly those who were members of the New York City Composers’ Collective.⁶¹ During the Popular Front movement, these composers sought to develop “ideas about the role of the composer in society, music as a weapon in the class struggle, what style of music was suitable for the masses, and how to make *good* revolutionary music that was accessible.”⁶² Composers such as Seeger, Cowell, Schaefer, Crawford, Rieger, Cazden, and Copland, wanted to contribute to Popular Front movement, and ultimately “sought to create a new proletarian music—a modern music for the masses or workers, the nonelite.”⁶³ This led to the simplification of the modernist idiom and language used by these composers, particularly

⁶⁰ Denning, 126.

⁶¹ Founded in 1932 by Cowell and Seeger, the New York Composer’s Collective was a leftist group dedicated to writing politically and socially informed works, and sought to create proletarian music. For more information, please see Ruth Lee, *The Composers Collective of New York City and the Attempt to Articulate the Nature of Proletarian Music in the Writing of Charles Seeger, Marc Blitzstein and Elie Siegmeister in the 1930s* (University of Keele: 1992)

⁶² Murchison, 176.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Copland, who wanted to not only write works which appealed to the proletariat but ultimately “attempted to reach out and connect again with the audience in a musical language it could understand.”⁶⁴

Murchinson suggests that Copland’s shift towards a simpler and accessible modern language can be understood as a form of “populism.” She examines how Copland began to utilize a simpler musical language which incorporated accessible and recognizable idioms and genres as a means of connecting with the audience “in a musical language it could understand.”⁶⁵ These include reducing the density of the musical texture, tempering dissonant harmonies, and simplifying the rhythms in his pieces all while maintaining the integrity of his modernist approach.⁶⁶ While this thesis does not seek to compare Weinzweig’s simplified serial technique with Copland’s simplified aesthetic, it does propose that Weinzweig’s decision to temper his technique may have been influenced by similar populist ideals. Specifically, it is possible to understand Weinzweig’s use of a simplified and modified serial technique in his incidental works as an attempt to make what was once a highly inaccessible, elite, and bourgeois musical language accessible and intelligible to the average Canadian listener, to the everyday “people” and the non-elite.

While Copland’s “populist” style is characterized by its streamlined melodicism, tempered dissonances, and simplified rhythms, Murchinson argues that an important feature of this style was his use of vernacular idioms, particularly folk tunes. As she explains, Copland drew on “regional, national, and ethnic folk music” in his works as a means of making his musical language more accessible, relatable, and familiar for his audience.⁶⁷ During the Popular

⁶⁴ Ibid, 151.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 151.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Front, the use of folk inspired art and tunes was widely accepted as the aesthetic trope of the “people’s culture.”⁶⁸ This was part of a broader shift towards the use of folk materials, particularly songs and tunes, among leftist organizations at the time, as Richard and Joanne Reuss explain:

By the mid-1930s, [...], left-wing organizations, influenced by members or supporters of the Communist Party, discovered intrinsic working-class values in folk song and other folklore genres. Without question, this radical interest initially grew out of the discovery that in certain regions the folk song idiom was a convenient musical method for spreading and reinforcing revolutionary ideas.⁶⁹

While the use of folk art and music was partly used to instill working class values and to spread left-wing socialist ideals, it was also utilized to evoke a strong link between the Front and the people, to create a proletarian music.⁷⁰ Largely a product of the Soviet doctrine and aesthetic of “socialist realism,” art produced at this time was meant to be “socially useful, socially dynamic, and educational,” and that art should “seek to uplift the masses, affirm their aspirations, and guide their thoughts in class-conscious or “progressive” directions.”⁷¹ Similarly, the use of folk art and music was also prompted by an ideological shift during the Popular Front movement which no longer emphasized the struggles of the proletarian-working class in favor of populism and concern for “the people.”⁷²

For these reasons, many leftist-socialist artists and intellectuals were prompted to create art which was relatable and understandable to the “people.”⁷³ For composers, particularly

⁶⁸ Richard Reuss and Joanne Reuss, *American Folk Music and Left-Wing Politics, 1927-1957* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press):130.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 19.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 41.

⁷¹ Ibid, 60. For more information in regards to Soviet Social Realism and its ramification on art music, see Mikuláš Bek, Geoffrey Chew, and Petr Macek *Socialist Realism and Music* (Praha: Institute of Musicology, Masryk University, 2004); Marina Frolova-Walker and Jonathan Walker, *Music and Soviet Power 1917-1932* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press,, 2012).

⁷² Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 64; Denning, 124.

⁷³ Reuss, 60.

members of the Collective, this meant utilizing and incorporating musical idioms and genres that were familiar, intelligible, and ultimately accessible to all audiences. Accordingly, due to the Popular Front interest and shift towards American folk art and music, the Collective began to write pieces which utilize or integrated folk materials. As Murchison explains, “folk music began to occupy a larger position in both the style and the aesthetic of various members of the collective as they attempted to appropriate or assimilate this idiom.”⁷⁴

In light of this aesthetic shift towards folk tunes and popular genres during the Popular Front movement, Weinzwieg’s use and integration of vernacular materials, folk tunes, and hymns in his incidental scores for NHFO may be understood as a means of making his serial and modernist language more accessible. Specifically, Weinzwieg draws upon the traditional music and folk tunes of various nations in his scores, including Polish hymns and dances, Yugoslavian tunes, and Czechoslovakian melodies, to name a few (see examples 3.1 and 3.2). Similarly, Weinzwieg also utilizes and draws upon popular and recognizable genres in these scores, including dances, chants, fanfares, and marches (see example 3.3). In doing so, Weinzwieg not only simplifies his serial technique with vernacular materials, but he ultimately makes his musical language more appealing and relatable to the people listening to these programs

Example 3.1: NHFO, Program No.1, “Czechoslovakia,” Austro-Hungarian anthem, mm. 1-4.

Piano Reduction

The image shows a piano reduction of the first four measures of the Austro-Hungarian anthem for Czechoslovakia. The score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The right hand (treble clef) begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The left hand (bass clef) begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The melody continues in the right hand with quarter notes C5, D5, E5, and F#5, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes G2, A2, B2, and C3. The final measure of the excerpt shows a half note G4 in the right hand and a half note G2 in the left hand.

⁷⁴ Murchison, 183.

Example 3.2: NHFO, Program No. (?), “Poland (1)” Title 6, Krakowiak dance, Piano reduction mm. 1-7.



Example 3.3: NHFO, Program #2, “Russia” Title 6, Trumpet Solo Fanfare



As Keillor explains, the integration of these materials in these scores underscored the dramatic plot of the series and helped “evoke the flavor of the immigrant’s country.”⁷⁵ Although Weinzwieg did receive instruction from the script writers to quote these materials in his scores, he does integrate some of them into his overall scoring for the series. Similarly, Keillor also suggests that Weinzwieg drew these particular tunes from his own collection of folk materials, which she refers to as his “book of good tunes.”⁷⁶ In “Poland (1),” for example, Keillor explains that Weinzwieg utilizes and draws upon the Polish hymn tune *Boze Cos Polske* as a prominent thematic material in his scoring for this program (see example 3.4).

Example 3.4: NHFO, “Poland (1),” Title 1, *Boze Cos Polske*, piano reduction, mm. 1-4



⁷⁵ Keillor, “Music for Radio and Film,” 105.

⁷⁶ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 125.

As Keillor also explains, Weinzwieg was able to draw intervallic connections between his proposed twelve tone row (G-C-F#-C-A-D-G#-G-E-B-B flat-E flat) and the vernacular materials he quotes in his scoring for “Poland (1),” including *Boze Cos Polske* and the Krakowiak dance. In particular, due to the prominence of the perfect fourth intervals in his row and the presence of these intervals in both the Krakowiak and *Boze Cos Polske*, Weinzwieg was able to “make links through common intervallic patterns.”⁷⁷

Another vernacular idiom Weinzwieg utilizes in his scoring for NHFO is the national anthem. In particular, Weinzwieg directly quotes the national anthems of various countries in his incidental scores, including the Austro-Hungarian anthem, the Imperial Russian anthem, and the Canadian National anthem (see example 3.5, 3.6, 3.7).

Example 3.5: NHFO, “Czechoslovakia,” Austro-Hungarian anthem



Example 3.6: NHFO, “Russia,” Imperial Russian anthem



⁷⁷ Keillor, “Music for Radio and Film,” 105.

Example 3.7: NHFO, “Czechoslovakia,” Canadian national anthem



While he does utilize and quote various anthems in his scoring for the series, Weinzweig emphasizes and draws upon the Canadian anthem most frequently. In particular, the Canadian anthem becomes an important motivic and thematic element in his scores, and as Keillor explains, he would integrate and blend motifs from the national anthem into his twelve-tone technique, as seen in the opening theme for the series (see example 3.8).⁷⁸ It can be argued, however, that his use of the Canadian anthem in his scoring for NHFO further emphasizes the populist quality of his scoring for the series; not only was it highly familiar to Canadian listeners, but it was also musically representative of the Canadian people.

Example 3.8: NHFO opening theme, mm. 1-9.



⁷⁸ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 124-125.

The Musical Front: International Solidarity in NHFO

While Weinzwieg's use of vernacular idioms in NHFO made his incidental scores and serial technique more accessible, understandable, and relatable for the Canadian people, it is important to also consider how his use of national musical materials was also reflective of the Popular Front ideal of international solidarity. During the 1930s, the creation of the Popular Front was essentially instigated by an appeal made by the Soviet Communist International (Comintern) to "pursue a worldwide collective security" which led to the development of an international coalition against fascist rule and tyranny.⁷⁹ During the 1930s, Communist internationalism was believed to enable "the individual to transcend barriers of race and nation and discover a deep human connection," evoking a global consciousness founded on feelings of kinship, unity, and brotherhood.⁸⁰ As Christina Klein explains, the ideals of Communist internationalism allowed individuals, including the American writer Richard Wright, to "participate in a world wide moral struggle that bound him to millions of others despite differences of language, race, or geography."⁸¹

The Popular Front appeal to internationalism also had an important impact on artists and intellectuals of the time who began to question and ultimately reinvent cultural ideals surrounding questions of race, ethnic, and national identity. Notably, Klein singles out the work of the American actor, writer, and playwright Orson Welles, and his film *Macbeth* (1948), which "changed the way Americans imagined the world by telling international stories of antifascist and anti-imperial solidarity."⁸² Another important Popular Front work to emerge at this time was

⁷⁹ Reuss, 116.

⁸⁰ Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia In the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 30.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 31.

⁸² *Ibid*.

Earl Robinson's "Ballad for Americans," which re-imagined the concept of "Americanism" by "redefining it as a multiracial, multinational entity."⁸³ According to Denning, "Ballad for Americans" became the unofficial anthem of the Popular Front movement because it musically depicted the politics of "Americanism" and also embraced the Popular Front concern of "race, ethnicity, and region in the United States, and the relation between ethnic nationalism, Americanism, and internationalism."⁸⁴

During the Popular Front movement, the use of folk music became an important tool to reinforce ideals of international solidarity and global unity during the 1930s and 1940s. As Reuss explains:

Hence both international and national cultural unity could be demonstrated through folk art in the face of the spreading threat of fascism throughout the globe. In addition, although folklore was an expression of the collective cultural and aesthetic experiences of the people, it found artistic release through the words, music, and visual creativity of gifted individuals imbued with the spirit and understanding of the larger group's ways and worldview.⁸⁵

Thus, in light of Popular Front appeals to internationalism, Weinzwieg's quotation and use of the aforementioned folk tunes, hymns, and anthems from various countries can be understood as a means of creating or musically evoking ideals of unity, kinship, and international brotherhood. Similarly, Weinzwieg's quotation of vernacular materials which originate from countries who were directly impacted or occupied by Nazi Germany during the war, notably Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, Austria, and Ukraine, also speaks to Popular Front international solidarity against fascist rule. By also taking into consideration the juxtaposition of these musical materials with the Canadian national anthem, Weinzwieg's scoring for NHFO can be understood as evoking a kinship between Canada and these countries, further appealing to

⁸³ Ibid.

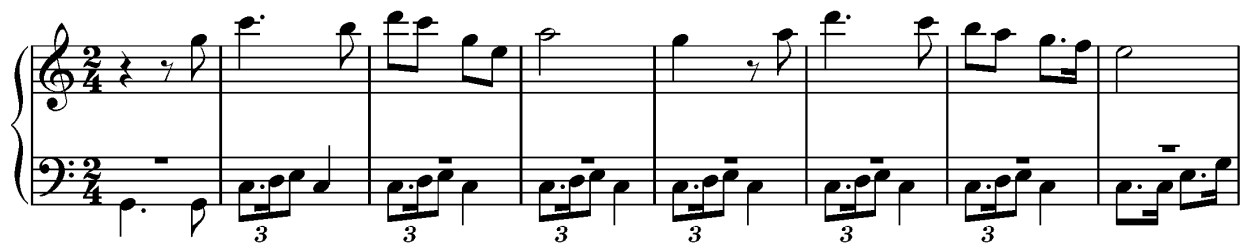
⁸⁴ Denning, 115, 129.

⁸⁵ Reuss, 61.

Popular Front internationalism. In essence, Weinzweig elicits a united musical front against fascist tyranny during the Second World War, and musically affirms ideals of brotherhood and solidarity.

A more pronounced appeal to Popular Front Communist internationalism is evoked by Weinzweig in his scoring for the second program of NHFO, “Russia.” For this series, Weinzweig quotes the left-wing anthem *L’Internationale* as a means of aurally evoking the program protagonist’s, Boris Orloff, “who had lived through the Russian czarist and revolution periods” (see example 9). Originally written in 1871 by Eugène Pottier and later set to music by Pierre De Geyter in 1888, *L’Internationale* became the anthem for the international socialist workers movement.⁸⁶ As explained by Eunice Rojas and Lindsay Michie, *L’Internationale* was “adopted by socialist, communist, and anarchist movements around the world, and the song’s chorus calls for all of humanity to gather together in a final struggle in order for the human race to become international.”⁸⁷

Example 3.9: NHFO, “Russia” Title 8, *L’Internationale*, mm 1-8.



While Weinzweig was instructed by the script writers to include this song in his scoring for “Russia,” Keillor notes that Weinzweig was particularly fond of *L’Internationale* as she writes, “back in 1941 he had quoted in a CBC radio theme the *Internationale*, which, along with

⁸⁶ Eunice Rojas and Lindsay Michie Eades, *Sounds of Resistance: The Role of Music in Multicultural Activism* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013): xii

⁸⁷ Ibid.

the *Marseillaise*, is in his opinion the best example of patriotic music ever composed.”⁸⁸ At this time, it was forbidden to play, perform, or broadcast *L’Internationale* on Canadian radio due to its association with communism.⁸⁹ Despite this policy, Weinzweig’s score was broadcast nationally, which caused some distress at the time. As Weinzweig recalls,

Following the broadcast in June 1941, a message came from CBC Ottawa asking, “Who was responsible for the music?” I was never certain whether the question was directed at my score or the “Internationale.” Later, I was told that all radio scripts were censored in Ottawa. I never heard of music censorship, but in view of the wartime underground status of the communist party in Canada and the United States, it was politically out of tune.⁹⁰

Thus, in light of the socio-political climate of the early 1940s in which Weinzweig’s work was written and broadcast, his inclusion of the socialist anthem may be also understood as a musical nod towards the Popular Front ideals of international solidarity. Furthermore, Weinzweig’s belief that *L’Internationale* and *La Marseillaise* were among the greatest patriotic songs also speaks to his possible internationalist beliefs and viewpoints.

3.4 Concluding Remarks:

As this chapter has discussed, Weinzweig’s adoption of a simplified serial technique in his incidental works for NHFO may be placed in the context of Popular Front movement during the 1930s and 1940s. Specifically, by first considering the biographical ties Weinzweig had with leftist socialism, this chapter has shown how he likely appropriated these ideals from a young age due to his father’s affiliation with the Bund and his experience living in Toronto’s Jewish left. Similarly, this chapter has also contemplated how Weinzweig may have been influenced by, or shared similar socialist ideals and values circulating among leftist artistic organizations at this time, such as the TJFC.

⁸⁸ Keillor, *Radical Romantic*, 89.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Weinzweig, “The Making of A Composer,” 79-80.

This chapter framed the formative years of his career within the broader socio-political context of the Popular Front movement, and considered how Weinzweig adopted similar aesthetic ideologies utilized by other cultural front composers (such as Copland) in his incidental works. Specifically, it considered how Weinzweig's voluntary simplification of his serial technique may be representative of the Popular Front ideal of populism, an ideal grounded in the belief that art should be socially relevant and accessible to the "people." Weinzweig's use of vernacular idioms and folk material in these works also speaks to the Popular Front ideals of Internationalism.

Conclusion:

On 8 November 1986, Weinzweig participated in a conference held at Queen's University. Entitled "Canadian Music in the 30s and 40s," this conference was dedicated to the "crucial transitional decades before 1951, years which span from "colonialism" and "modernism"," and featured a variety of notable Canadian composers and writers, including Jean Coulthard, Graham George, Keith MacMillan, and Weinzweig.¹ In his brief address, Weinzweig speaks about his experience composing and working during this pivotal period in the development of Canadian music:

I know that the subject was supposed to be the 30s and 40s. The 30s and 40s were the longest decades of my life. A great deal happened at my life at that time. [For this presentation] I wasn't quite sure whether I should stick to the composing scene, whether I should discuss the current repertoire at the time, or whether I should discuss the politics of music at that time (and politics are never absent from music), or whether I should get into the topic of the "Golden Age of Radio." I am a product of the Golden Age of Radio. That's where I got my education. I did not get it in the Conservatory; I did not get it in the Faculty of Music.²

In this statement, Weinzweig reveals how radio bore a significant impact on both his musical upbringing and his compositional career. More importantly, it demonstrates how working for the medium of radio broadcasting during the "Golden Age" of radio offered him an unprecedented occasion to learn the compositional craft through his experience writing for radio drama, and ultimately reinforced the value and worth of studying his radio drama works at this time.

As this thesis has demonstrated, writing for the art of radio drama had a considerable and lasting influence on Weinzweig's compositional style and language during the formative years of his career. In particular, I considered how radio drama became an important artistic, expressive, and political outlet for Weinzweig during the Second World War. As discussed in chapter 1, the

¹ Canadian Music in the 1930s and 1940s, 1.

² John Weinzweig, "John WEinzweig," in Canadian Music in the 1930s and 1940s, 41.

rise of the art of radio drama had considerable social, artistic, and political ramifications. Used as a popular means of entertainment during the Second World War, radio drama became an important vehicle for institutions such as the CBC to shape public opinion, raise morale, and encourage civilians to win the war. However, by conflating propaganda with entertainment, radio drama was also utilized by the CBC as a tool of propaganda to foster civilian support for Canada's wartime policies and activities. As chapter 1 also elucidates, radio drama became an important socio-political outlet for wartime artists to express their support of the war, and to voice their own political and social beliefs to a national audience, particularly wartime composers such as Weinzweig. Lastly, by briefly examining and considering the relationship between music and politics, this chapter ultimately considered the potential for radio drama music to carry politically and socially informed messages.

Drawing upon the materials, themes, and issues presented in chapter 1, chapter 2 examines Weinzweig's work for the radio drama series *New Homes for Old*. Specifically, it problematizes claims made by Keillor and Kasemets which argue for Weinzweig's use of the serial technique in these works. By comparing and contrasting Weinzweig's works for NHFO with his personal serial works, this chapter ultimately reveals his use of the twelve-tone row as the basis for his pre-compositional materials, but that he does not utilize the row or serial procedures in his completed scores. As a result, Weinzweig's incidental scores evoke a characteristically tonal and simplified language which differs from his serial works. Accordingly, chapter 2 considered the various challenges and constraints faced by Weinzweig while working at the CBC which may have prompted him to temper his serial technique at this time. These include the technological constraints of writing for the medium of live radio broadcasting, the

criticism received by Weinzweig from CBC producers, conductors and musicians, and lastly, the need to appeal to Canada's conservative broad national audience.

While these challenges likely played a role in the simplification of his serial technique, chapter 3 considers how Weinzweig's decision to simplify his modernist language in his works for radio drama may be examined within the context of the broader leftist social and political movement of the time, particularly the Popular Front. Specifically, it considered how Weinzweig's decision to reassess his commitment to modernism and to simplify his serial technique parallels the decisions taken by American modern composers who simplified their modernist language in favor of a more accessible and socially relevant language. By taking into consideration Weinzweig's early and continued exposure to radical socialist ideals and his experience living in Toronto's Leftist Jewish community, this chapter contemplates how the ideals of radical socialism may have informed his decision to simplify his serial technique in his works for radio drama. Furthermore, by drawing upon Denning's notion of the "cultural front," chapter 3 also considers how Weinzweig's incidental scoring for *New Homes for Old* utilizes similar aesthetics used by other cultural front composers, notably the use of vernacular materials, folk tunes, and anthems, to express the Popular Front ideals of populism and international solidarity.

Although this thesis only provides a glimpse into Weinzweig's work for wartime radio drama, it has ultimately shown how the study of these works are necessary in order to better understand the development of his career, his compositional style, and his musical language. It sheds a necessary light on one of the most prolific and fruitful periods of his career, and how working as a radio drama composer during the early 1940s fundamentally shaped his compositional approach and musical language throughout the remainder of his career. It has also

shown how working for the CBC helped him acquire a national audience for his works, but also provided him with an artistic outlet through which he could express and voice his political and social beliefs at this time. Lastly, and most importantly, this thesis shows how the study of Weinzweig's life and career through a cultural-historical and socio-political lens offers a new and enlightening perspective through which we can better understand his life, career, and works.

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