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**Circumstances Beyond Our Control:
Canadian Radio Program Schedule Evolution During the 1930s**

Anne Frances MacLennan

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of History**

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

March 2001

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ABSTRACT

Circumstances Beyond Our Control: Canadian Radio Program Schedule Evolution During the 1930s

Anne Frances MacLennan, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 2001

Despite the best efforts of many Canadian nationalists and government agencies to control and develop radio broadcasting in the 1930s such factors as the abilities, strengths and weaknesses of the private broadcasters as well as the availability of various types and forms of programming governed the direction and development of the program schedule offered to listeners during the decade. A simple random sample of radio program schedules has been selected from *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Montreal Gazette* and *The Halifax Herald* employing three weeks from each year of the decade for all three cities. A content analysis of the sample was conducted to assess trends and the development of Canadian radio programming in the 1930s. This analysis has allowed for the re-creation of the broadcasting environments of Vancouver, Halifax and Montreal and permitted the development of a typology that describes the stages of the evolution of Canadian radio stations from novice to mature. Studying the similarities of programming strategies as these radio stations moved from through common stages of development isolates and amplifies the impact of local and national circumstances. Canadian radio stations operated within a fixed framework determined by their geographical location, local population distribution, language and wavelength restrictions. Successful survival depended upon their objectives, financing and to a significant extent, the manipulation of their program schedules. Most

importantly, these stations existed within the context of a broader North American radio industry characterized by the domination of networks. In the United States during the 1930s, NBC, CBS and Mutual modelled the development of diversified program genres. In Canada, the creation of a public broadcasting body, first the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) and then the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), was the most significant innovation in Canadian broadcasting history. Through the analysis of program schedules, this thesis explores and explains how Canadian radio stations survived the Depression decade by diversifying their offerings through the use of a combination of local and network, Canadian and American programming.

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Chapter 1
“Signing On”:
Introduction

The title of this study, "Circumstances Beyond Our Control: Canadian Radio Program Schedule Evolution during the 1930s," implies that forces were at work directing the course of the development of Canadian radio beyond the control of the public broadcasting networks and legislators, despite the best efforts of both to exert dominance over broadcasting. The federal government's interest in radio was manifested in the two successive efforts to establish a national network and frequent reevaluation of radio broadcasting throughout the decade. Assumptions about the threat of Americanization, the power of broadcasters and the greed of advertisers figured in discussions of this new medium, without any evidence of their links to potential listeners through program selection. Despite the best efforts of many Canadian nationalists and government agencies to control radio programming or to bring it up to an imagined standard, other factors such as the abilities, strengths and weaknesses of the local independent private broadcasters as well as the availability of various types and forms of programming governed the direction and development of the program schedule during the 1930s. During this formative decade American and Canadian network broadcasting, time zones, scheduling and local programming had a greater influence on Canadian radio, and on what listeners actually heard, than did the government's will.

At the onset of the 1930s Graham Spry, one of Canada's foremost lobbyists for a national public broadcasting system, had already sounded the alarm: Canada's cultural integrity was threatened by American domination of radio broadcasting. A plan for Canadian broadcasting was sought. Spry pronounced in 1931, "Here is a majestic instrument of national unity and national culture. [Radio's] potentialities are too great, its influence and significance are too vast, to be left to the petty purposes of selling cakes of

soap."¹ Whether Spry and his fellow travellers were alarmist, visionary or merely stating the obvious, the actual growth, real changes and verifiable trends that prevailed in Canadian radio broadcasting during the 1930s remain largely a mystery. American domination of the airwaves was not a *fait accompli*, by any means, when this alarm rang out. But certainly there was a trend toward greater and greater levels of American programming, not only accessible on American stations but also on Canadian ones, throughout the 1930s. The challenge of maintaining a high level of Canadian content within a Canadian broadcasting environment was exacerbated by the increased pressure of accessible American network stations as well, ironically, as the creation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and its successor the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Sales of radio and radio equipment soared in the 1930s despite the overwhelming economic depression of the decade.² By that decade, radio had already ceased to be merely a fad or an obsession of ham operators, but was part of the daily home entertainment of a growing number of Canadians. Radio had already made serious inroads into Canadian households particularly in the cities in the 1920s, but the Depression decade was a period of sustained listener growth, when many Canadians acquired their first radio. It is important to note that the purchase of a radio was still a luxury. Average unit prices of radio receiving sets were marked by rapid increases and decreases

¹ Graham Spry, "A Case for Nationalized Broadcasting," *Queen's Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1931): 169.

² The number of receiving set licence holders in Canada soared from 424,146 in 1930 to 1,223,502 in 1939. "Part VII. Radio Communications," Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada, *The Canada Year Book 1940* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), xx-xxi, 721-722; Department of Marine and Fisheries, *Annual Report, 1922-23*, as cited in Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 22. This issue is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2 "Right on Cue: The Historical Background".

between 1925 and 1939.³ In 1925 the average unit price was \$46.95.⁴ As interest in radio rose the sets became larger and more like a piece of furniture and were more frequently found in wealthy homes. The average unit price in 1930 reflected its size and style at \$112.87.⁵ In 1931 mantel sets were introduced, production was increased and the average unit price fell to \$63.61.⁶ By 1939 the average unit price had fallen further still to \$24.90.⁷ In 1931, however, a man's yearly earnings were \$927 and a woman's were \$559.⁸ Average wages remained fairly stable for the decade at \$993 for a man in 1941 and \$490 for a woman.⁹ Despite the immediate decrease in price with the introduction of table top and mantel sets, in 1931 an average radio represented almost three weeks' earnings for the average Canadian man, and slightly over a week's salary in 1941, which still amounted to a substantial sacrifice. Radio was not yet as omnipresent as it was to become in later decades in cars, transistor radios, on every floor of the house, in walkmans and broadcast over the internet. However, the programs broadcast over the radio in the 1930s did a great deal to bring a larger Canadian or American culture into individual Canadian homes.

No serious investigation of Canadian radio schedules of the 1930s has been conducted to date, which is regrettable. The re-creation and analysis of a

³ Canada. Department of Trade and Commerce. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Mining, Metallurgical and Chemical Branch. *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1930-1932* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934), 62; *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1935 and 1936* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939), Table 111, 79; *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1937 and 1938* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), Table 105, 81. *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1939-1943* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1946), Table 82, 99.

⁴ *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1935 and 1936*, Table 111, 79.

⁵ *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1930-1932*, 62.

⁶ *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1930-1932*, 62.

⁷ *Manufactures of the Non-Ferrous Metals in Canada 1939-1943*, Table 82, 99.

⁸ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada Volume V* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935), 2-3.

⁹ *Eighth Census of Canada Volume 6* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1945), 4-5.

reliable sample of the contemporary broadcast schedule, albeit of vast potential benefit to all researchers of the period and of media studies, is a protracted, painstaking, tedious task that has understandably not been undertaken. Any kind of local, national or even continental wave of change that might be indicated by the character of the radio schedules has been thus far overlooked. Despite the applications of such research to other studies and the need to fill the gap in media history between the study of the print media and of television, radio programming has been invariably ignored.

One crucial point that cannot be overemphasized about the study of radio schedules of the 1930s is that not only does such a study make it possible to fashion a portrait of what was readily available to a local audience, but also to delineate what might have been the fascination of the audience with the promise of radio. Even if radio of the 1930s has not captured the imagination of historians, it certainly captivated an audience at the time. The variety and breadth of stations that were regularly listed in the local newspapers in Canadian cities at that time was a barometer of change and indicator of expectations, hopes and desires on the part of the audience.

An intriguing aspect of early radio revealed by a study of the schedules is the routine of the broadcast day. Although a standard broadcast day was brought into being during the first era of radio broadcasting in the 1920s, the changes to this established form in the 1930s indicate that radio was still in its formative stage. Each type of program gained its own particular niche in the schedule. The routine was one that was in a continual state of evolution throughout the 1930s. Each station had its own reasons for broadcasting and access to differing resources to fill its broadcast day. The routinization of radio broadcasting was not only a slow process, but an uneven one, influenced not only by local inequalities, but by overall trends in the radio industry in the

United States and the piecemeal evolution of Canada's national radio structure.

Canadian radio has always operated within a continental environment. From its earliest days in the 1920s the programs offered by Canadian radio stations were never judged in isolation, but in comparison with the easily available and more highly developed offerings of the American radio industry. This became even more the case in the 1930s, as the American networks reached near complete domination of radio in that country. Many Canadians listened to American network programs directly on powerful border stations, and four Canadian stations in Montreal and Toronto became American network affiliates. Two characteristics of American network broadcasting in the 1930s are particularly relevant here: the increasing diversification of the programming schedules, and the branching out into several new and influential genres of programming, including adventure, crime, mystery, comedy, drama, serial drama and variety.

The evolution of Canadian radio program schedules was also affected in the 1930s by the arrival of the public broadcasting networks, first the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) and then its successor the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). As in the United States, the Canadian networks offered local stations the possibility of increasing their programming, and increasing its diversity, by affiliation. For those stations without affiliation, again as was the case with the American networks, the CRBC and CBC provided both comparison and competition. The fact that the CBC also picked up some of the most popular American network programs only exacerbated the competitive and diversified environment within which independent local Canadian stations struggled to survive.

Within this context, and although there was of course variation from

city to city and station to station as this study's detailed portraits of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax will show, the growth and evolution of the local independent stations was marked by a distinctive pattern. The examination of the radio program schedules captured by the sample for this study has allowed for the development of a typology that describes the stages of the evolution of Canadian radio stations from novice to mature. Studying the similarities in the programming strategies employed by these stations as they moved through common stages of development isolates and amplifies the impact of local and national circumstances.

Typically, at the beginning of the 1930s the stations were in a primary or novice stage in which they broadcast only limited hours per week (usually as a result of regulatory restrictions on wavelength usage). This stage was characterized by a lack of diversification in the radio program schedule. Radio programming in this novice stage depended excessively on music, especially recordings, supplemented by local news reports. The return to the novice stage by a developed station signalled its decline or a major change in its circumstance.

Next, the typical independent Canadian station moved, as soon as allowed to do so, to expand its broadcasting hours in order to establish its market presence and credibility. Usually extension of the station's program schedule was accomplished very rapidly by temporarily employing even greater quantities of music. However, the successful stations then progressed to a quest for more diverse programming, especially that which could be developed locally and inexpensively. To put it another way, the types of programs used most often at this stage were of those genres generally neglected or left over by the networks, such as talk, religious, news, sports, women's and children's programming. The greatest distinguishing

characteristic of these stations was their use of local resources to maintain an essential link with their local communities.

In a final stage, many local stations in the latter half of the 1930s began to pick up network programming, whether Canadian or American. The use of a combination of local and network programming permitted the local independent stations to fully diversify their schedules, diversity being the indicator of maturity and survival. This pattern of scheduling choices sustained the Canadian local independent stations and brought them - or most of them - to maturity by the end of the 1930s.

If diversity equaled maturity, that was primarily because diversification was the model provided by the more established American networks. Most importantly, the American networks' diversification into light, cheerful, entertaining and absorbing programs like variety, comedy and serial dramas attracted not only audiences but advertisers. The same imperative existed for the independent Canadian stations - they must attract listeners in order to garner sufficient advertising revenues to survive. Unfortunately we do not have the financial records of privately-owned Canadian stations from the 1930s. We can only logically deduce that their programming strategies were designed with financial profitability in mind. The independent local stations in Canada clearly imitated and adapted the principal programming practice of their main competitors, the American networks, namely diversification, in order to generate the advertising revenues necessary to endure. But their diversification was of a very different type, based initially on the resources of and links to their local communities and only later supplementing that service with selected network programs.

Canadian radio stations operated within a fixed framework determined by their geographical location, local population distribution, language and

wavelength restrictions. Successfully overcoming the obstacles to their survival and growth depended upon their objectives, financing and largely the manipulation of their program schedules, within the context of an expanding North American radio industry financially grounded in a network system. Much of this framework of operation was consistent with the deterministic context in which Harold Innis theorized Canada's existence and development.¹⁰ In his last works Innis described communications as key to the understanding and organization of civilization. In a vein similar to his analysis of economic staples, he viewed the medium of communications as central to institutional, cultural and social formation.¹¹ Alarmed at the cultural dependency of Canada on the United States, Innis hoped that Canada could find the 'limits' of economic and technological factors, to seek out 'margins of manoeuvre'.¹² Locked into a predetermined framework, Canadian radio stations found their own means to manoeuvre as best they could to ensure their survival by developing diversified programming to link themselves to local communities in the face of the major challenges presented by network broadcasting.

In the course of the last century and a half, the world has been exposed to one new medium of communications after another. Radio was the first broadcast medium, full of possibility, choice and options, just as is today's World Wide Web. The attempt to harness Canadian broadcasting through the creation of a national broadcasting network in the 1930s may have permanently altered the direction of Canadian broadcasting; however the development of the vast majority of Canadian stations, those most Canadian

¹⁰ Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1989), 128-132; Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900* Second edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 98-103.

¹¹ Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 129; Harold A. Innis, *Empire & Communications* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

¹² Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 130-131.

listened to, was influenced by circumstances and choices beyond control of either legislation or policy.

Chapter 2
"Right on Cue":
The Historical Background

In Canadian radio's formative period, the 1920s and 1930s, changes in listening habits, ownership and the formation of networks created the context in which radio could advance and prosper. The 1920s were marked by the rapid growth of private broadcasting in both Canada and the United States. By 1930 radio was largely transformed from its earlier incarnation as a hobby for a few to an entertainment medium for the larger public. While American commercial networks had become entrenched in the United States, Canadian networks had not developed to the same extent. The 1930s, however, would become the decade when the Canadian federal government would make two separate successive efforts to establish its own national network. These new Canadian national networks, however, did not supplant private independent broadcasting, but supplemented it.

Initially radio tended to be solely the domain of the hobbyist, whose numbers multiplied rapidly after the First World War. Radio was originally relegated to barns, garages and attics and was largely regarded as a hobby or amusement for boys and young men.¹ While radio's early isolation from the household was a function of the messiness associated with leaking tubes, this did not interfere with the solitary pursuit of reception in its early stages. An essential part of the popular pastime was DXing, which was the search of the airwaves for distant stations. When faraway stations were picked up, the hobbyists would contact the station and in return receive a postcard confirming the radio operator's coup. Although the first primitive receivers, crystal sets, were cheaper and easier to assemble, the physical constraints of

¹ Although the popular perception is that the hobby was the domain solely of boys and young men, Michele Hilmes uses an extensive list of articles from *QST*, the journal of the American Radio Relay League, to demonstrate that women were also active in amateur radio for many of the same reasons as their male counterparts, and Hilmes suggests that the "ability to escape the determinations of gender" may have added to radio's appeal. Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 132-136.

earphones ensured that radio listening continued to be a solitary pleasure, impossible for a group to partake of together. In an effort to make radio a larger communal experience table top radios and radios in cabinets were available fully assembled by the early 1920s, catering to a wider audience of listeners.

Additionally the dream, for some, of listening in to a far off station grew dimmer as the decade progressed. Poor atmospheric conditions in the winter of 1925-26 made DXing frustrating; subsequently city listeners turned increasingly to local stations.² With each year, radio had a broader appeal, as it moved out of the attics into the living rooms; the feat of picking up a distant station was subordinated to both listening ease and the enjoyment of programming.

Although Department of Marine and Fisheries documentation pegged the daytime range of 5 kilowatt stations at 125 miles and 50 kilowatt stations at 170 miles in 1930, a greater range of reception was not unheard of, particularly in the 1920s.³ Ground conductivity, interference and features of physical geography could promote or hinder reception. Once CFCN Calgary and CHNS Halifax were reported to have broadcast programs to each other. The sky waves accounted for the frequent reception of CNRV Vancouver in New Zealand.⁴ Similar ranges of reception were common in the United States; KSD St. Louis could be heard in forty-one states in the winter of 1922, just as WJZ Newark reached nearly all the states east of the Mississippi River.⁵

² Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 84.

³ National Archives of Canada. RG 42, v. 1075, Department of Marine and Fisheries. Radio Service. "Memorandum on the Practical Technical Aspects of the Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting," March 21, 1930, 6, Appendix "D", and handwritten addition.

⁴ E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), 19, n. 1.

⁵ Gleason L. Archer, *Big Business and Radio* (New York: American Historical Company, 1939), 293 as cited in Weir, 19, n. 1.

Although distant American stations were regularly available to Canadian listeners in the evenings, their reception was plagued by the difficulties of static and fading, which made them less attractive options.⁶ The search for adequate programming was quickly remedied by the rapid growth of Canadian and American commercial radio stations during the 1920s.⁷ The possibility of reception over great distances was real, but as the average listener's objective became the clear reception of the program rather than the distance, more local stations filled the dial to meet this need.

In the years leading up to the 1930s the interests operating radio stations became more varied, ranging from universities to breweries as shown in Table 2.1 below. These Canadian radio stations quickly acquired a growing base of listeners; in June 1922 2,588 radio receivers were licensed for reception and by the end of March 1923 that number multiplied to 9,954.⁸ The accessibility of radio to large portions of the population made it a desirable acquisition for special interest groups who had a message to communicate, such as educational and religious organizations. Initially concentrated in the hands of newspapers and those involved in the sale and manufacture of radios, radio licences became more widely allocated to many groups, the largest of which perceived broadcasting as an end in itself.

⁶ Evening broadcasts, dependent upon sky waves rather than daytime ground waves, would have had a wider field of reception. During the day the D layers of the ionosphere absorbed the sky waves. At night, however, sky waves were reflected by particles in the E and F layers that were not blocked by the D layer, which did not absorb light at night. Thus, radio signals would easily extend much further than was the case during the day.

⁷ Radio broadcasting stations made a start in the United States numbering 30 in December 1921 and rising to 400 in eight months. In April 1922 there 21 stations in 7 Canadian cities, expanding to 77 by 1932. Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1990), 86; *Wireless and Aviation News* (April 1922): 23 as cited in Vipond, 21; "List of Broadcasting Stations in Canada," Canada. House of Commons. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* Appendix No. 2 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1932), 26-28.

⁸ Department of the Naval Service, *Annual Report, 1921-22*; Department of Marine and Fisheries, *Annual Report, 1922-23*, as cited in Vipond, 22.

Table 2.1 Broadcasting license holders, 1922 and 1932

Owner	1922		1932	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Newspapers	8	38	10	13
Radio manufacturers & sales	7	33	10	13
Telephone Companies	1	5	2	3
Railways	n/a	n/a	14	18
Broadcasting companies	n/a	n/a	13	17
Broadcasting associations	n/a	n/a	3	4
Religious interests	n/a	n/a	3	4
Grain companies	n/a	n/a	3	4
Educational interests	n/a	n/a	3	4
Other	5	24	16	21
TOTAL:	21	100	77	101

Source: *Wireless and Aviation News* (April 1922): 23 as cited in Vipond, 21; "List of Broadcasting Stations in Canada," 26-28.

Certainly cost efficiency and the desires of the radio-buying public would be foremost in the minds of at least some of these broadcasters, who used broadcasting as a promotional vehicle for their own products. The newspaper industry, which figured prominently among such broadcasters, took an early interest in radio broadcasting which was sustained beyond the 1930s. *The Calgary Herald, The Toronto Star, The Hamilton Spectator, The Edmonton Journal, The Albertan Publishing Company Limited, London Free Press, La Presse, Vancouver Daily Province, Le Soleil* and the *Regina Leader-Post* numbered among the radio station owners in 1932. However, as station ownership ceased to be novel and also proved expensive, some of the first owners abandoned their early enthusiasm for broadcasting. Most of the newspapers that maintained an interest in or acquired a station in the 1930s were engaged in a struggle to promote themselves, to control the news and to

protect their advertising revenues.

Special interest broadcasters, largely religious and educational groups, sought to disseminate their messages to a wider audience through radio. Scattered across the country, Acadia University in Nova Scotia, Queen's University in Ontario and the University of Alberta operated their own radio stations by 1932.⁹ Educational programming, however, was not restricted to these stations, but became part of the regular offerings of a variety of stations across the country early in the decade. Manitoba Agricultural College, for example, was among the institutions that readily participated in radio broadcasting, producing its own programs and offering a variety of faculty talks broadcast by CKY.¹⁰ *Cours de Vulgarisation de l'Université de Montréal* and *Ecole des Sciences Sociales et Populaires* were built into the CKAC schedule in Montreal, while CHNS featured *Dalhousie University Broadcast* and *Department of Education School Broadcast*.¹¹ These sustaining programs, provided free of charge without the benefit of sponsorship, were equally welcomed by non-university radio stations endeavoring to fill the schedule between sponsored programs.

Similarly religious programming was produced with altruistic and missionary objectives. The Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto, the United Church of Canada in Vancouver and the Christian and Missionary Alliance of Edmonton all owned radio stations, but again this did not mean that

⁹ "List of Broadcasting Stations in Canada," 26-28.

¹⁰ "CKY Programmes," *Manitoba Free Press*, 67 (January-December 1931). Later in the decade university lecture series were also made available on CKY. "Program listings," *The Winnipeg Free Press* 64 (January 1-7, 1938).

¹¹ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 161 (October 2-8, November 6-12 and December 18-24, 1932); "The Broadcasting Station C.H.N.S. of *The Halifax Herald*," *The Halifax Herald* (January 22, January 24 and October 10, 1930): 1.

religious broadcasting was restricted to these specific stations.¹² Radio stations across the country took advantage of the eagerness of the churches in their cities to deliver their messages to a broader community. Church services constituted a dominant daytime element of Sunday broadcasts. Using local churches, Sunday services were set up as "remotes" taking advantage of the immediacy of the medium. However, although religious and educational programs represented regular supplements and alternatives to the standard fare, these genres never became an essential core of Canadian broadcasting.

The diverse origins of radio station ownership constituted but one indication that the owners of Canadian radio stations perceived their roles and structured their schedules differently. Grain companies broadcast grain market reports. Gooderham & Worts, a Toronto distillery, was interested in radio as a public relations vehicle and became a very commercialized station. The unusual case of another communications medium asserting control over radio, and indirect public ownership through the provincial government, presented itself when both Manitoba radio stations were acquired by a public utility, the Manitoba Telephone Company. These divergent examples are representative of the different owners' expectations of the position radio would assume within communities across Canada.

The regulation of wireless communications in Canada began with the Wireless Telegraphy Act in 1905 designating the Department of Marine and Fisheries the licensing body; the operations pertaining to wireless communications were handled by its Radio Branch. The Act was superseded by the Radiotelegraph Act of 1913, which granted the federal government control over all aspects of radio, including broadcasting. The Radio Branch

¹² Russell Johnston asserts that prohibitive costs and the inability of many churches to work co-operatively to run a station kept most of the less actively proselytizing churches off the air. Russell Johnston, "The Early Trials of Protestant Radio, 1922-38," *Canadian Historical Review* 75 (September 1994): 376-402.

continued its work under the Department of Naval Service from 1913 until 1922, when the department was abolished, and it was then returned to the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Prior to 1922 broadcasting was conducted by holders of experimental licences, but in that year two new categories were created: private-commercial broadcasting licences and receiving licences. All Canadians possessing radio receiving sets were required to pay an annual licence fee of one dollar until 1932 when it was raised to two dollars. The broadcasting licence cost fifty dollars annually. The Radio Branch concerned itself with the licensing, inspection and assignment of frequencies and power levels. With regard to content it focused on obscene or offensive language, recordings and the wording of advertisements.¹³ Mary Vipond asserts that the Radio Branch was "a regulatory authority without a clearly defined mandate...[However] [t]wo main principles underlay [its] actions...throughout: maintaining maximum flexibility and serving the listeners."¹⁴ This arrangement constituted the state of regulation of Canadian radio until the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932.

The Radio Branch generally acquiesced to the desires of the Canadian listeners over the interests of broadcasters, usually a fairly benign practice. Pursuant to the Gentleman's Agreement of 1924 with the United States the Radio Branch undertook a reallocation of frequencies that took effect February 20, 1925. With the exception of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, cities with two widely separated wavelengths, all the stations in each Canadian city operated on one wavelength. This decision effectively banned simultaneous broadcasting (two stations at once) in Canada.¹⁵ Licences were liberally granted, but on the condition that the radio stations share time.

¹³ The operations of the Radio Branch in this period are covered in great detail in Vipond, 107-192.

¹⁴ Vipond, 188.

¹⁵ Vipond, 174-175.

Although this policy assisted the listeners who had difficulties with reception due to their unsophisticated receiving sets, the overall effect of the Radio Branch's policy with regard to shared frequencies was to slow the growth of the industry.¹⁶ The assigned time slot, restricted use of the frequency and the additional caveat that no investment on improvements to transmitters or any other equipment would be recoverable in the event of nationalization of the broadcasting system made financial success and investment plans for future growth inconceivable for the privately owned stations. In the United States, early broadcasting was financed mainly by large electrical manufacturers, supplemented by advertising revenues from the growing corporate sector. The lack of capital investment in Canada meant less advertising revenue. More importantly, except for Marconi, there were no large electrical manufacturers willing to invest large sums in establishing powerful stations. The practice of assigning shared frequencies diminished slowly on a case-by-case basis, starting with Montreal in 1928. The legacy of the restrictive policy, however, extended well into the 1930s, placing many Canadian stations at a disadvantage.

In 1912 the licensing of American radio communication and the distribution of wavelengths was placed under the domain of the Department of Commerce and Labor as a first step toward regulation of radio broadcasting. As Secretary of Commerce from 1921 to 1929, Herbert Hoover grappled with the difficulties of a self-regulating industry until finally establishing the Radio Act of 1927. The act set up a Federal Radio Commission to classify stations, assign frequencies, determine power and location, prevent interference and implement regulations regarding chain broadcasting, but the Commission lacked the power to censor the content of broadcasts. The Act was broadened

¹⁶ Vipond, 178-183.

in the Communication Act of 1934 which created the Federal Communications Commission, which would also administer interstate telephone and telegraph communications. Although the new Commission also lacked authority to censor, it was nevertheless able to determine if programming was in the public's interest.

Despite the early growth of independent radio stations, a network-dominated, advertising supported system was firmly entrenched by the end of the 1920s in the United States.¹⁷ The cost efficiencies of program production for network broadcasting ensured the proliferation of networks in a profit-driven environment. In September 1926 Radio Corporation of America for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) began network programming. In January 1927 NBC launched its second network. These NBC Red and Blue networks were followed up in April 1927 by a Pacific Coast network for NBC which lasted only until late 1928. After a lengthier process of development, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) came into being in 1927. The Mutual Broadcasting System evolved from a cooperative venture, initially connecting four major eastern and mid-western stations to become a network in 1934. The financial pressures of the Great Depression weakened the ability of independent radio stations to remain self-reliant. While many independent stations struggled along, advertiser-supported network broadcasting dominated.¹⁸ Thus the American radio system began a process of homogenization under the aegis of the four major networks.

Unlike the high density American radio environment, the development of

¹⁷ Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). The manifestation of the network system will be discussed at greater length in a later chapter "The American Backdrop: American Network Radio in the Program Schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax 1930 to 1939".

¹⁸ Sterling and Kittross, 112; D.J.Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 61; McChesney, 86, 101.

Canadian national networks was stalled by the prohibitive costs of wiring over largely unpopulated areas. Canada's first nation-wide hook up occurred on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee celebration of 1927. *Ad hoc* chains were also set up for special broadcasts or specifically agreed upon programming.

Canadian National Railways (CNR), whose network commenced in 1924, was the single largest licence holder in 1932, operating 18 per cent of the stations in existence. Eleven of its fourteen stations, however, were phantom stations in major cities across Canada; its only fully independent stations were located in Ottawa, Moncton and Vancouver. Phantom stations were a common feature of Canadian broadcasting until the Radio Branch ceased to license them in 1933. They operated as separate stations with their own call letters and program schedules, but used the transmitting facilities of other stations. The CNR's attempt at linking Canada by radio paralleled the link that the railway itself provided. The visionary leadership of Sir Henry Thornton inspired the development of Canada's first ongoing attempt at network broadcasting. Canadian National Railways produced its own programs to air on both its own and the phantom stations. These programs thus helped fill the broadcast hours of small radio stations without adding to their costs. The quality of the programs enhanced the reputation of the radio stations with which the network stations shared frequencies. Austin Weir, head of CNR's radio department, noted that in 1929 the CNR served 210,000 passengers with 77,600 hours of news, information and entertainment, representing an 80 per cent increase from the number of passengers using radio-equipped train cars the year before.¹⁹ In addition to enhancing its rail service the CNR's innovative, internally-produced programming was also heard by local listeners in the fourteen cities in which it had a presence.

¹⁹ Weir, 10.

The Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company, formed in 1928, provided network programming by linking a variety of cities and stations for the mutual benefit of the stations and their advertisers. Harry C. Hatch, president of Gooderham and Worts, was the Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company's financial backer and R.W. Ashcroft of CKGW Toronto managed the network.²⁰ CKGW, the chain's base of operations, was able to provide regularly sponsored programs such as *Imperial Tobacco Joycasters*, *Jack Frost Anti-Freezers* and *Jack Denny's Orchestra* extending into the 1930s.²¹ The *Ottawa Winter Carnival Programme* was a sample of one of the special features that the chain also supplied.²² The Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company provided a commercial network distinct from that of CNR by creating a foundation for the supply of advertiser-supported programming to existing stations, supplementing their schedules with Canadian sponsored programs.

In addition CKGW embarked upon ambitious programs such as its *Internationale Programme* "featuring Canadian artists dedicated to Canada and Canada's Cheerio station CKGW and broadcast throughout the U.S. and by short wave to Great Britain, Holland, Germany, and Australia".²³ CKGW became one of the few enterprising Canadian stations that acted not only as the anchor station for a Canadian network, but used its NBC affiliation to occasionally send its own programming back through the American system. Canadian Pacific Railway chain broadcasts were also transmitted through CKGW by using the station's facilities to send CPRO programmes to other

²⁰ *Radio News of Canada* (November 1928): 3 as cited in Vipond, 71.

²¹ "Today's Radio Programmes," CKGW, CFCF and CKAC *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (January 20, June 2 and October 6, 1930).

²² "Today's Radio Programmes," CKGW, *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (January 19, 1930).

²³ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (January 24, 1930).

cities.²⁴

By 1930 the Canadian Broadcasting System operated a third Canadian network based at CKNC in Toronto. This network provided existing stations with programs such as *Sherriff's Breakfast Hour*, *Eveready Hour*, *Neilson Chocolate Orchestra*, *Kelvinator Feature* and *Supertest Programme*.²⁵ Other examples of network programs such as the *Bromo Seltzer Programme* and *The Man from Mars* appeared in the CFCF schedule in the following years with the designation CKNC rather than Canadian Broadcasting System.²⁶ This network constituted another early initiative of Canadian stations to establish their own network hook-ups. Small program-sharing arranged by individual stations also existed in Montreal and the Maritimes.²⁷

Throughout the 1920s Canadian radio experienced a tremendous growth as a privately-owned but financially weak commercially-supported system. Radio service was heavily concentrated in large metropolitan areas, while small towns, rural areas and remote locations had inadequate access to broadcasting. Most of the broadcasts of so-called national chains such as the Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company and the Canadian Broadcasting System were actually largely confined to central Canada, and only occasionally extended to stations such as CHNS in Halifax. The chains were in fact more regional than national.

The Canadian networks' short-lived forays into chain broadcasting were unusual; it seemed more likely that Canadian stations would become

²⁴ One example of such programming was the *Canadian Pacific Hour of Music*. "Today's Radio Programmes," CKAC and CKGW *The Montreal Gazette* 160 (June 5 and July 3, 1931).

²⁵ "Today's Radio Programmes," CFCF and CKAC *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (January 23, June 5 and October 9-11, 1930).

²⁶ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 160 (June 1, June 4, and October 22, 1931).

²⁷ Examples of this type of networking continued to appear in the 1930s in the CHNS and CFCF program schedules.

extensions of the American networks. That expansion became reality not long after the formation of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System in the United States. In 1929 CFRB in Toronto and CKAC in Montreal joined CBS. NBC acquired the affiliates CKGW Toronto in 1929 and CFCF Montreal in 1930.

Despite the ongoing arrangements for regional or national chain broadcasting and affiliation with American networks, the majority of Canadian stations remained local independent stations. As such, their access to network broadcasts of American programs was severely limited. The penetration of American programming into the program schedules of Canadian radio stations remained inconsistent in volume and form across the country. The closest substitute for network affiliation, and at times the only option, was electrical transcriptions of American programs. Certain programs owed their wide distribution to these 16-inch disks that could play a 15 minute program.²⁸ Electrical transcription became an efficient means to popularize and distribute a variety of early programs. Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll capitalized on the process of electrical transcription by making *Amos 'n' Andy* available to national audiences in the United States and Canada. Similar to the use of musical recordings, electrical transcription became the only way for smaller stations without network affiliation to have access to programs beyond the scope of their local talent.

The appearance of electrical transcriptions, widely available in the 1930s from American advertising agencies, presented a new challenge for the Radio Branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries. While small

²⁸ Cecil Widdifield, an executive at Schwimmer and Scott Advertising, developed the idea of transcription. This innovation was important to the advertising agencies, because the advertising was prerecorded with the program and also allowed the performance to be replayed which was a huge consideration due to the cost of talent. William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products & Images of Well-Being* (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1990), 109.

independent Canadian stations with limited resources both in terms of money and talent often resorted to recordings to fill their schedules, guided by the idea that recorded music diminished the quality and immediacy of broadcasting, in 1925 the Radio Branch introduced a regulation barring all stations from using recordings between 7:30 p.m. and midnight.²⁹ This then posed a problem for these same stations that wanted to benefit from the use of transcriptions as well. Eventually the Radio Branch yielded to their pleas, and electrical transcriptions were first permitted in Canada in 1929. A new policy announced on March 10, 1931 allowed for the use of electrical transcriptions without restriction between midnight and 7:30 p.m., but in the remaining time slot were limited to one-half hour daily, or a total of three and one-half hours weekly. Vipond noted that electrical transcriptions were subject to the first Canadian content requirements in Canadian broadcasting. As of 1932 electrical transcriptions aired in the evenings had to have been produced and manufactured in Canada and could not be broadcast more than once in any one area.³⁰ Although it was required that electrical transcriptions and recordings be announced on the air, the erratic use of E.T. in newspaper schedules indicated that this did not apply to the published schedules.

The use of electrical transcriptions solved problems of program distribution at a low cost. They made programs available to areas where the cost of telephone line transmission would be prohibitive and networks unavailable. Despite the convenience of electrical transcriptions the preference for live programming evidently survived well into the 1930s. In 1938 the radio column in *The Halifax Herald* explained: "...there are those who while admitting that these discs raise the standard of program-calibre as compared to indifferent local artists (in many cases) confess to having a luke-

²⁹ Vipond, 137.

³⁰ Vipond, 139-141.

warm attitude to a program they know to be "canned" because there is the thought that it is not being produced for them at the particular time of the broadcast. And it is not difficult to appreciate that viewpoint."³¹ This persistent bias would partially account for the almost complete absence of electrical transcriptions in the program schedules of some stations, however useful they might have been to schedule diversification.

It was not until the end of the 1920s and slightly before Canadian stations joined American networks that regulatory difficulties of the Radio Branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries finally provided an occasion for the discussion of radio's role and future in Canada. These difficulties are commonly portrayed as having to do with popular objections to the controversial broadcasts of the International Bible Students Association (I.B.S.A.).³² A flood of complaints to Ottawa about various I.S.B.A. stations ranging from interference with other stations to condemnation of vaccination as well as attacks on the British empire and other churches started in 1926.³³ P. J. A. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, took the unprecedented step in March 1928 of denying the licence renewals for four I.B.S.A. stations and their affiliated Universal Radio of Canada station. However, other important issues also contributed to the debate about radio broadcasting in the last years of the 1920s. For example, a battle was being waged over the reassignment of wavelengths in Toronto.³⁴ The resolution of this issue would represent a departure from the Radio Branch's policy from 1925 onward of assigning a

³¹ OI DAR, "Around the Dial," *The Halifax Herald* (April 18, 1938): 5.

³² The International Bible Students Association's open attacks upon other churches and the British Empire are fully described in Vipond and Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920-1951*, but for a fuller discussion of the participation of other religious groups in radio broadcasting see: Johnston. The censorship of religious groups on the air was not revisited until the creation of a National Advisory Council by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1938.

³³ Vipond, 195-207.

³⁴ It was this realignment that allowed CFRB and CKGW to have separate frequencies, making it possible for the stations to join CBS and NBC.

single frequency to be shared in each city. In this climate of controversy the issue of free speech and service to listeners was debated, but most importantly a Royal Commission to make a long overdue inquiry into Canadian radio was established.

Appointed in 1928 to conduct the Royal Commission were the editor of the Liberal Ottawa *Citizen*, Charles Bowman, Sir John Aird, president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and Dr. Augustin Frigon, director of the Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal and director-general of technical education for the province of Quebec. Serving as secretary to the commission was Donald Manson, chief inspector in the Radio Branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries. The Aird Commission, as the Royal Commission was more commonly known, "was to determine how radio broadcasting in Canada could be most effectively carried on in the interests of Canadian listeners and in the national interests of Canada."³⁵

The Aird Commission Report, produced on September 11, 1929, recommended a system modelled after the British example which entailed the formation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Company, acting as a public utility, owning and operating all broadcasting stations in the country, with a board of 12 members, one from each province. Total control over programming was to be handed over to provincial radio broadcasting directors. The provinces would set up their own advisory councils on radio. In an effort to provide good reception for the whole country, the report called for the erection of seven high-powered stations, while owners of existing stations were to be compensated and absorbed into the network. The much-hated and evaded radio licence fees, in place since radio began in Canada, were to be continued, increased to three dollars and supplemented by indirect advertising and

³⁵ Canada. Royal Commission of Radio Broadcasting. *Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1929), 5.

government subsidy. A plea was also made for an equitable division of the broadcast band with the United States.³⁶ Although programs were discussed, no provision was made for their production, while some allowance was made for the continued broadcast of "good foreign programs". The report gave its support to the continued interchange of programs between different parts of the country and stressed the desirability of coast to coast broadcasts of features of a "national interest". Religious and political broadcasts were both of concern to the commissioners, who urged the monitoring and regulation of these areas. According to the report, time in the schedule would be made available for educational broadcasts.³⁷

Had the report's recommendations been followed to the letter, the resulting changes would have completely transformed Canadian radio broadcasting. The 78 private stations would have been replaced by the proposed seven high-powered stations, augmented by a few weaker stations. The provinces were assigned a place in the proposed arrangement and the federal government, generally, would assume a role of prime importance in this area of cultural regulation.

The major weakness of the Aird Report as a blueprint for the future of Canadian radio broadcasting was that it lacked the specificity of direction to guide a future national broadcaster. In particular, the area of financing was somewhat lacking in foresight. The commission did advocate increased licence fees, rental of time for programs employing indirect advertising and federal government subsidies for what they projected would be a total annual expenditure of approximately \$2,500,000.³⁸ Regardless of any other developments, once the Depression began, such funding levels would have been

³⁶ *Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting*, 1-30.

³⁷ *Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting*, 10-11.

³⁸ *Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting*, 8-9.

politically inconceivable.

Based upon the recommendations of this report, a bill was drafted and ready by February 1930; however that month Prime Minister Mackenzie King called an election, which left the bill in abeyance. Spearheaded by Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt, the Canadian Radio League was formed in October 1930 to take up the cause, lobbying for a Canadian Radio Broadcasting Company. The Canadian Radio League accepted the basic premise of the Aird report, but differed on administration, financing, centralization of programming and providing for coexisting local private stations.³⁹ Although generally supportive of the Aird Commission recommendations, the Canadian Radio League suggested changes that would make the transformation of Canadian broadcasting achievable and palatable, in part by allowing for private and public broadcasters and American content in exchange for a system that would promote educational, cultural and national programming.

Most of the opposition to the report came from the owners of profitable radio broadcasting stations. A variety of newspapers rejected the proposed government monopoly over broadcasting. Another major critic of the Aird Commission report was Ralph W. Ashcroft, advertising manager at CKGW, who alleged that costs were underestimated and proposed a Canadian Pacific Railway broadcasting chain as an alternative. The Canadian Association of Broadcasters accepted the call for government regulation at the Commission hearings, but rejected the restriction of advertising to only indirect advertising. The threat the report's recommendations posed to existing commercial broadcasters put them in a quandary with regard to the future of their broadcasting operations and the value of further investment in radio.

A major barrier to the construction of a national broadcasting network

³⁹ Vipond, 232-238.

was the long unresolved issue of frequency allocation mentioned in the report. Until 1932 six exclusive North American frequencies were assigned to Canada in accordance with the Gentleman's Agreement of 1924.⁴⁰ The increased strength of American stations and their own domestic problems of regulation persisted through the 1920s, however, and wreaked havoc on Canadian broadcasting signals and reception. The introduction of a new American Radio Act and its Federal Radio Commission in 1927 provided some hope of negotiations, but they were unsuccessful. The situation was further aggravated by the erection of high-powered Mexican and Cuban stations on Canadian frequencies. In May 1932 Canada and the United States agreed on a new allocation arrangement which included nine clear Canadian channels and twenty-seven shared ones. The full resolution of these difficulties did not occur until the meeting of North and Central American countries for the Havana Treaty of 1937 that created the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement, finally ratified by all parties in 1941. Unfortunately, Mexico, the home to many high-powered stations which were the root of many complaints about interference, was among the last to ratify the treaty.⁴¹ In 1941 Canada obtained a total of eleven channels for high power coverage and forty other shared channels.

The province of Quebec presented a separate challenge to the pending radio legislation. Quebec passed its own radio broadcasting act in order to set up its own stations or produce programs to be heard on other stations, such as *L'Heure Provinciale* broadcast by CKAC.⁴² This legislation was followed by

⁴⁰ For a full discussion of the problems of interference free broadcasting and negotiations with the United States for a fair share of frequencies, see Vipond, Chapter 7.

⁴¹ In the "[c]omplaints and commendations received in the Department of Marine concerning Canadian Broadcasting Commission between June 28, 1934 and April 6, 1936, 30 of the 69 complaints about interference were about Mexico, while 29 were about the United States; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on Canadian Radio Commission. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1936), 64.

⁴² The Radio Broadcasting Act, 1929, 3 *Revised Statutes of Quebec*, 1941, c. 254.

another radio act in April 1931 that gave the province complete licensing authority within its boundaries.⁴³ Quebec claimed, under subsections 13 and 16 of section 92 of the British North America Act, that radio fell within the bounds of "property and civil rights" and "matters of a merely local or private nature". When the federal government challenged the Quebec legislation in the courts, the province was supported by Ontario and New Brunswick, while Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta were represented by legal counsel without an active role in this case.⁴⁴ The federal government argued that radio clearly fell with the limits of the "peace, order and good government" clause of section 91 of BNA Act. The Supreme Court decided in June 1931 that radio did indeed fall under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Quebec appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London and was supported by Ontario; however, it also decided in favour of the federal government. In the ensuing period the debate over radio and the recommendations of the Aird Commission continued, but once the challenge over jurisdiction was resolved it was possible to pass the anticipated radio legislation.

A less-than-enthusiastic, newly-elected Conservative government convened a Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting in March 1932. Following its report, the long-awaited Radio Broadcasting Act, passed in May 1932, finally established the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC). Prime Minister R. B. Bennett introduced it with a flourish: "Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for the communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals by which national consciousness may be fostered and

⁴³ Quebec Radio Act, 1931, 21 Geo V, c.36.

⁴⁴ Brooke Claxton, "Legislative Control of Radio in Canada" *Air Law Review* 2 (1931): 441 as cited in Vipond, 252.

sustained and national unity still further strengthened."⁴⁵

The Commission was charged with program production, the organization of a national network and regulatory activities. Privately owned stations were not nationalized, but permitted to continue operations alongside this new national network. Contrary to the suggestions of the Canadian Radio League, a general manager was not appointed; rather three commissioners would run the CRBC. The chairman of the new commission was Hector Charlesworth, editor of *Saturday Night*; his vice-chairman was Thomas Maher, a forestry engineer, director of CHRC and publisher of *Le Journal* of Quebec; and rounding out the group was Lt. Col. W. Arthur Steel, technical advisor to the Aird Commission. The policy of the CRBC and its daily operations were left in the hands of these three commissioners.

The remains of the Canadian National Railways radio network provided the initial skeletal structure for the emerging Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission.⁴⁶ In most cities CNR radio stations had effectively disappeared long before, but CNRO in Ottawa, CNRA in Moncton, CNRV in Vancouver and the studios and equipment in Montreal and Halifax were sold to the new CRBC for \$50,000 in 1933.⁴⁷ In cities such as Montreal where no existing stations would provide time for CRBC programs new stations such as that city's CRCM were established. By 1936 the Commission owned three stations and leased four more private stations however.⁴⁸

On April 1, 1933 the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission signed

⁴⁵ R.B. Bennett, "Speech in support of Bill 94, respecting radio broadcasting," 18 May 1932, *Debates*, 3035-3036, in Roger Bird, ed., *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988), 112.

⁴⁶ The radio operations of the Canadian National Railways were slowly disbanded when the operations of the railway were investigated by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Railways in June 1931.

⁴⁷ Canada. House of Commons. *Debates* (April 24, 1933), 4194; (April 25, 1933), 4241-4259 as cited in Peers, 119.

⁴⁸ Mary Vipond, "The Beginnings of Public Broadcasting in Canada: The CRBC, 1932-36," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 19 (1994): 155.

an agreement with the joint services of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Telegraphs for transmission circuits to broadcast its sustaining programs for four hours between 6 p.m. and midnight over national and regional networks.⁴⁹ In cities where the CRBC did not possess a fully owned or leased station, it paid for time on existing stations outside the network, thereby supplementing the program schedules of these stations. The Commission immediately set out to establish its network to provide evening programming by paying network fees ranging from \$250 to \$1,500 monthly to private stations. These fees, provision of programming and subsidized wire line costs enabled the network to expand to 21 basic network or affiliate stations and an additional 30 that received a portion of the evening programs by 1936.⁵⁰ Vipond contends that nearly 70 per cent of the Commission's budget directly or indirectly subsidized private broadcasters and advertisers.⁵¹ In fact by expanding its affiliates and renting broadcast time on private stations the CRBC was effectively propping up the private sector by redirecting licence fees to it.⁵²

Insufficient funding impinged upon the success of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission during its tenure. Although the Aird Commission proposed a subsidy of \$2,500,000, in addition to licence fees, while the Canadian Radio League suggested a \$1,500,000 subsidy might have sufficed, the Commission's appropriation amounted to somewhat less than \$1,000,000 in its first year of operations.⁵³ In deliberations over the operations of the

⁴⁹ Weir, 161.

⁵⁰ Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. *Annual Reports* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935-36), 22 as cited in Vipond, "The Beginnings of Public Broadcasting," 155-156.

⁵¹ Vipond, "The Beginnings of Public Broadcasting," 156.

⁵² Vipond, "Financing Canadian Public Broadcasting: licence fees and the "culture of caution", " *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 15 (1995): 290.

⁵³ Canada. House of Commons. Special Committee on the Operations of the Commission under the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act, 1932. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, 1934 as cited in Peers, 130.

Commission in 1934 it was estimated that with equal territory to cover NBC and CBS spent \$80,000,000 while the CRBC spent \$1,000,000.⁵⁴ The funds from the sale of receiving and broadcasting licences, advertising income and the sale of programs provided all of the CRBC's sources of income, to which it had access only through allocation by Parliament.

Originating during the depths of the Great Depression and put into place by a government whose commitment to the creation of public enterprises is questionable, the Commission seemed destined to fail or at least to be perceived to have failed. On the heels of the establishment of the CRBC, amendments were made to the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 and a promise was made to formulate a new Special Committee under the Radio Broadcasting Act to review the Commission's progress, which was fulfilled in 1934 and 1936. The hearings on the Commission afforded its critics ample opportunity to come forward to accuse it of unfair competition, unfair advertising regulations, wastefulness and excessive use of French-language programming. Even though the Commission, in fulfilling its mandate to create a national broadcasting network, acquired seven new stations, the private sector flourished and expanded its existing numbers by six.⁵⁵ Inadequate funding and insufficient political support condemned the Commission to a short tenure of four years.

Aside from some technical considerations left in the hands of the Minister of Marine, the CRBC was granted full domain over the regulation of the private broadcasters, which give it considerable control over the private sector. However, although the Act proposed as an ultimate step the complete

⁵⁴ Testimony of Frank Denton, National Council of Education in Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on the Operations of the Commission under the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act, 1932. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934), 377.

⁵⁵ Vipond, "The Beginnings of Public Broadcasting," 155.

nationalization of broadcasting, that threat failed to materialize. The new national network became part of a compromise or a dual system of coexisting private and public broadcasting.

In a parallel storm of controversy to that of the International Bible Students, the "Mr. Sage" broadcasts of 1935 brought many resentments to the surface, and forced yet another reevaluation of Canadian broadcasting. The "Mr. Sage" broadcasts featured a fabricated character who converted Liberals to Conservative ideas and represented a pointed attack on the person and performance of Mackenzie King. The unidentified broadcasts were produced for the Conservative Party in the CRBC Toronto studios and those of CKCL as part of their 1935 federal election campaign.⁵⁶ Once the Liberal Party was returned to power the "Mr. Sage" broadcasts provided a convenient target for a new attack on public broadcasting. This incident was damaging to the CRBC because it revealed that no strictly enforced policy with regard to political broadcasting existed. Both Frank Peers and E. A. Weir claimed that the "Mr. Sage" broadcasts sealed the fate of the Commission.⁵⁷

The wheels were set into motion to replace the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission when the Special Committee on the Radio Commission was appointed in March 1936. The "Mr. Sage" broadcasts and the regulation of political broadcasting constituted but a minor segment of the issues before the Special Committee. Although it had been largely inactive since 1932, the Canadian Radio League sprang back into action for this Committee's review. Many of the original recommendations of the Aird Commission were reiterated and formed the basis of discussion. The Association of Canadian Advertisers, the Canadian Association of Advertising

⁵⁶ When required by Hector Charlesworth, the Gibbons Agency identified the sponsor as R. L. Wright, an employee of the advertising agency.

⁵⁷ Weir, 203; Peers, 167.

Agencies and the Canadian Association of Broadcasters had become defenders of the CRBC because they benefitted from the extension of Canadian radio broadcasting made possible by the CRBC; advertisers no longer supported the full cost of broadcasting, because network lines and some programming were supplied by the CRBC.⁵⁸ They did, however, argue for a separation of the regulatory and operational functions of public broadcasting. The Special Committee's work culminated in the dissolution of the CRBC and its reorganization to create the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in late 1936.

The Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936 resulted in a new public broadcasting corporation that, like the CRBC, would additionally act as a regulatory body. Nine appointed governors would represent the principal geographic regions of Canada for fixed terms; this unsalaried board would act as a buffer between the government and CBC management. In September 1936 the new Board of Governors was announced; it included the chairman Leonard W. Brockington, vice-chairman René Morin of Montreal, Col. Wilfred Bovey of Montreal, J.W. Godfrey of Halifax, Nellie McClung of Victoria, N.L. Nathanson of Toronto, Gen. Victor Odlum of Vancouver, Alan B. Plaunt of Ottawa and Rev. Alexandre Vachon of Quebec. Gladstone Murray became general manager and Dr. Augustin Frigon was selected for the assistant general manager position. The management of the new corporation would be given new authority over finances, staffing concerns and programs.

One of the CBC's initial challenges emerged from within the ministry, namely the Minister of Marine and then Minister of Transport, C. D. Howe. Early in his tenure as Minister of Marine, Howe backed the Ministry's Director of Radio Services, Commander C. P. Edwards, and the Canadian Association of

⁵⁸ Vipond, "The Beginnings of Public Broadcasting," 157.

Broadcasters, who contended that the regulatory matters would be better left in the hands of the Minister and his department rather than the proposed CBC. But the act passed the House June 19, 1936 with little resistance; it maintained the system whereby the public broadcaster regulated all of radio.⁵⁹ C.D. Howe was then overruled in the selection of a candidate for the position of general manager of the CBC. Ultimately the nominee favoured by the Canadian Radio League, Gladstone Murray, a Canadian with the British Broadcasting Corporation, won over Howe's contender, Reg Brophy, manager of the station relations department for NBC in New York. Howe, at the urging of Commander Edwards and private broadcasters, backed higher power for private stations, more liberal granting of small centre licences and resistance to the rapid erection of major CBC stations across the country.⁶⁰ Howe was forced to retreat, however, when threatened by the resignation of the entire CBC board. These early skirmishes with Howe fortunately did not present insurmountable obstacles to the progress of the newly formed CBC.

On November 2, 1936, the CBC officially succeeded the CRBC. As discussed above, the CRBC made great strides in the provision of Canadian programming across the country, but it was never given sufficient support to serve the entire country. Under the terms of the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936, the CBC was given more power to conduct its own business on a day-to-day basis than the CRBC had had. In addition, the revenues from the licence fees were to be paid over to the corporation without requiring a parliamentary appropriation, and it could retain earnings from commercially-sponsored programs.⁶¹

This increased control over finances in part allowed Leonard

⁵⁹ Canada, *Statutes*, The Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936, I Edward VIII, c.24.

⁶⁰ Robert Bothwell and William Kilbourn, *C.D. Howe, a biography* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 103.

⁶¹ In 1938 the receiving licence fee was increased to \$2.50 in 1938.

Brockington as Chairman of the Board of Governors and his general manager Gladstone Murray to embark upon an ambitious project to increase the presence and coverage of the CBC by building a chain of high-powered stations. Early in 1939 Brockington was able to report that, with the expansion of the network, before June the CBC would be able to serve 84.2 per cent of the Canadian population, a substantial increase from the 48.8 per cent coverage with which it had commenced in 1936 (see Table 2.2 below).⁶²

Table 2.2 CBC broadcasting coverage as a percentage of the total Canadian population

Region	Nov. 1, 1936	Jan. 1, 1938	Jan. 1, 1939
Maritimes	47.5	-	47.5
Maritimes (with CBA)	-	-	71.2
Quebec	66.1	85.2	85.2
Ontario	29.6	85.5	85.5
Prairies	55.4	64.9	64.9
Prairies (with CBK)	-	-	88.2
British Columbia	60.8	67.9	67.9
Dominion	48.8	76.5	76.5
Dominion (with CBA & CBK)	-	-	84.2

Source: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Canadian Broadcasting: An Account of of Stewardship*, excerpted from Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Nos. 2 and 3* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939), 11.

Brockington argued that his plan to broaden national coverage was essentially the same as the original proposals of the Aird Commission, which predicated this growth on the ownership of all high-power stations by the national broadcaster and assigned private stations a purely local function.⁶³

⁶² Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Canadian Broadcasting: An Account of of Stewardship*, excerpted from Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Nos. 2 and 3* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939), 11.

⁶³ *Canadian Broadcasting: An Account of Stewardship*, 7.

At the inception of the CRBC the total power of all Canadian stations stood at 45,000 watts, rising to 80,000 on November 1, 1936 upon the creation of the CBC; Brockington anticipated it would be 215,200 watts in the spring of 1939.⁶⁴ This tremendous growth in the power and extended coverage by CBC stations accorded the Canadian listening audience greater access to the national broadcasting system, especially in areas that were poorly served a decade before.

The CBC was able to extend its reach in large part through the construction of new and powerful stations, in the first stage with CBF Montreal and CBL Toronto and then with the completion of CBA in Sackville, New Brunswick and CBK in Watrous, Saskatchewan in 1939. By June 1939 Canada's broadcasting system could proudly meet the challenge of national broadcasting in time for the King's Royal Tour. At the conclusion of the decade the power of CBC-owned stations represented three-quarters of the power of all stations in Canada.⁶⁵

The financial challenges faced by CRBC made it clear from the outset that the CBC would need to accommodate commercial programming. The wire-line contracts were renegotiated to extend the day to 16 hours effective October 1, 1937. The new system included tremendous wire-line charge reductions and offered regional discounts to promote national commercial programming. By early January 1938 there were 16 commercial evening programs on the new national network, ten American programs and six Canadian.⁶⁶ The CRBC had not accepted commercial programming, thus this change in the composition of CBC programming represented a dramatic

⁶⁴ *Canadian Broadcasting: An Account of Stewardship*, 8, 11.

⁶⁵ "Part VII. Radio Communications," Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, *The Canada Year Book 1940* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), 728.

⁶⁶ Weir, 224-229.

alteration of the program schedule offered by the new national network.

In a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation broadcast of February 3, 1938 Leonard Brockington, the chairman, outlined corporation policy. The provision of radio service to Canada's neglected rural population in addition to the urban areas well served by the existing private stations was premised on the acquisition of state ownership of all high powered stations in Canada. He further explained that the commercial programs were a compromise necessary during transitional and developmental periods. Brockington outlined the division of Canadian and American programming over the network. Total network program time had reached 89 hours a week. Canadian programming without advertising made up 57 hours, advertising-free American programming made up 17.5 hours and 12 were devoted to British programs. Commercial programming occupied another 12 hours of broadcast time and a total of 8.5 hours consisted of American commercial broadcasting.⁶⁷ Thus a full 29.21 per cent of all CBC programming was American content. This is to say nothing of the fact that American programs made up 70.83 per cent of all the network's commercial broadcasting. Brockington's distinction between American commercial and sustaining programming was important to the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, which perceived the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as a competitor for advertising revenue; by emphasizing American sustaining programming Brockington was trying to minimize the extent of American programming's share of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation schedule.

The perception of the CBC as a competitor for advertising dollars was

⁶⁷ Leonard Brockington in a broadcast over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporations stations February 3, 1938 as cited in Peers, 215-216.

an accurate one.⁶⁸ Brockington described the incorporation of commercial broadcasting into the CBC schedule as a necessary evil. Commercial broadcasting was deemed necessary because the licence fee did not cover all operating costs. The advertising revenue derived from Canadian and American programming allowed the Corporation to produce Canadian programs for the network. While Brockington's figures covered network programming, the extent of the incorporation of American programming varied from station to station in the network. Affiliates were also free to supplement American commercial programs supplied by the network with other American programs available through electrical transcription, making the proportion of American programming even higher on some stations. CBL Toronto, for example, the network's key station, exceeded the network average considerably. An analysis of a week's schedule by *The Financial Post* in 1938 concluded that 44.3 per cent of its programming was American.⁶⁹

In testimony before the Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting in 1939, Leonard Brockington continued to justify the utilization of American programs and to downplay fears of Americanization. He asserted that commercial programming released time and funds for the network's sustaining programs. In addition Brockington called attention to the benefits of American programming by highlighting the Metropolitan Opera and New York Symphony.⁷⁰ The testimony before the Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting and evidence presented in other official documents failed to reveal that these high cultural programs constituted a very small minority of

⁶⁸ E. Austin Weir questions the logic of this assertion that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation could be perceived to be a competitor. He seems astonished and contests the accuracy of such a claim. Weir, 241.

⁶⁹ *The Financial Post* (January 15, 1938) as cited in Peers, 231-232.

⁷⁰ Leonard W. Brockington as cited in Canada. House of Commons Session 1939. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and evidence*. Tuesday, February 21, 1939 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939), 10.

the American programs offered by the network. Standard offerings of American programming in fact tended to be serial drama, popular musical programs, orchestras, comedy and variety. These programs satiated public desire for clear reception of the star-studded, commercially successful American programs. The cultural uplift implied by most testimony and official evidence did not reflect the reality of the standard American programs included on the network.⁷¹

The combined effect of the physical expansion of the CBC network and its use of affiliate stations enabled greater exposure for its programming across Canada. Once this network was established, the CBC increased its broadcast day to 12 hours and then to 16 hours.⁷² The affiliated stations reserved certain hours of their program schedule strictly for CBC programs; there also existed a number of supplementary stations to which CBC programs were made available, but on an optional basis. As a consequence, CBC programs could be heard in every major city in Canada, as shown in Table 2.3.

The stations that participated in this extended network were rewarded for their efforts. Under the CRBC, affiliated stations were paid subsidies annually for the time that they set aside for CRBC programs. In the 1935-36 fiscal year the CRBC paid \$229,280.78 to private stations, but payments were reduced to \$58,494.05 in 1937-38 by the CBC, because it replaced the subsidies with a share in CBC's commercial revenue, paralleling the practice of

⁷¹ This reality will be discussed in detail in the CBC sections of Chapter 6 "Stage West: Vancouver Radio Program Schedules 1930-1939", Chapter 7 "Centre Stage: Montreal Radio Program Schedules 1930-1939" and Chapter 8 "Stage East: Halifax Radio Program Schedules 1930-1939".

⁷² "The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation," prepared under the direction of Dr. Augustin Frignon in Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *The Canada Year Book 1947* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947), 738.

Table 2.3 CBC National Network Broadcasting Stations March 31, 1940

Owned or Leased	Affiliated	Optional
CBA Sackville, N.B.	CJCB Sydney, N.S.	CJLS Yarmouth, N.S.
CBJ Chicoutimi, Que.	CHNS Halifax, N.S.	CHGS Summerside, P.E.I.
CBV Quebec, Que.	CFCY Charlottetown, P.E.I.	CHLT Sherbrooke, Que.
CBF Montreal, Que.	CKCW Moncton, N.B.	CKRN Rouyn, Que.
CBM Montreal, Que.	CHSJ Saint John, N.B.	CKCH Hull, Que.
CBO Ottawa, Ont.	CFNB Fredericton, N.B.	CKCO Ottawa, Ont.
CBL Toronto, Ont.	CHNC New Carlisle, Que.	CKOC Hamilton, Ont.
CBY Toronto, Ont.	CJBR Rimouski, Que.	CHML Hamilton, Ont.
CBK Watrous, Sask.	CFRC Kingston, Ont.	CKTB St. Catharines, Ont.
CBR Vancouver, B.C.	CFCH North Bay, Ont.	CFPL London, Ont.
	CJKL Kirkland Lake, Ont.	CFCO Chatham, Ont.
	CKGB Timmins, Ont.	CKLW Windsor, Ont.
	CKSO Sudbury, Ont.	CJIC Sault Ste. Marie Ont.
	CKPR Fort William, Ont.	CKCA Kenora, Ont.
	CKY Winnipeg, Man.	CJRC Winnipeg, Man.
	CKX Brandon, Man.	CJGX Yorkton, Sask.
	CKCK Regina, Sask.	CJRM Regina, Sask.
	CHAB Moose Jaw, Sask.	CJCJ Calgary, Alta.
	CFQC Saskatoon, Sask.	CFCN Calgary, Alta.
	CKBI Prince Albert, Sask.	CFRN Edmonton, Alta.
	CFAC Calgary, Alta.	CKUA Edmonton, Alta.
	CJCA Edmonton, Alta.	CKLN Nelson, B.C.
	CJOC Lethbridge, Alta.	CHWK Chilliwack, B.C.
	CJAT Trail, B.C.	
	CKOV Kelowna, B.C.	
	CFJC Kamloops, B.C.	

10 owned or leased 26 affiliated stations 23 optional stations

Source: Derived from "Part VII. Radio Communications," Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *The Canada Year Book 1940* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), 729.

the American networks.⁷³ In 1938-39 the affiliates' share of commercial

⁷³ Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939), 15.

revenue amounted to \$288,000 and in 1939-40 \$499,000.⁷⁴ Thus in addition to providing Canadian programming for a broader network of radio stations and their listeners, the subsidies and sharing of commercial revenue added to the profitability of affiliated private radio stations.

Not only was the CBC marked by growth in the last few years of the 1930s, so too were the private broadcasters. Even though Brockington described private radio stations as fulfilling only a local purpose and as subsidiary to the dominant system in the emerging picture of Canadian radio, private stations sustained their growth. Despite the period of uncertainty before the introduction of national broadcasting and some severe years of economic depression, the private sector experienced regular growth throughout the 1930s as illustrated below in Table 2.4.

Greater expansion of private stations in the latter part of the 1930s was to some extent contained by Brockington and the regulatory arm of the CBC. In 1936 the Board recommended that while new licences would be available for broadcasting stations in areas with inadequate service, power for new private stations would be limited to 1,000 watts and clear channels would be reserved for the CBC.⁷⁵ Consistent with CRBC policy, the CBC insisted that no station would form part of a chain or network outside of Canada (although existing links were grandfathered), nor would any chain or network be set up within Canada without permission from the CBC.⁷⁶ Brockington even went so far as to suggest that as a public utility there should be a limitation on profits in the industry, since he considered all broadcasters, private and public, a part of the

⁷⁴ Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1942), 329, as cited in Peers, 242.

⁷⁵ National Archives of Canada. Plaunt Papers, box 16, Minutes of Second Meeting of Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Board of Governors, Ottawa, December 17-19, 1936. Private stations that previously had more than 1,000 watts or were American affiliates kept those privileges.

⁷⁶ *Canadian Broadcasting: An Account of Stewardship*, 37.

Table 2.4 Private commercial broadcasting radio stations in operation in Canada, 1923-1939

1923	51	1932	77
1924	46	1933	70
1925	63	1934	68
1926	55	1935	74
1927	74	1936	78
1928	84	1937	80
1929	79	1938	88
1930	81	1939	94
1931	80		

Source: "Statistical Summary of the Progress of Canada," and "Part VII. Radio Communications," Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *The Canada Year Book 1940*. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), xx-xxi, 721-722; "Radio Telephony" Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. General Statistics Branch. *The Canada Year Book 1927-28* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1928), 713; C.P. Edwards, "Radio Service" Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. General Statistics Branch. *The Canada Year Book 1932* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1932), 613; "Radio Telephony" Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. General Statistics Branch. *The Canada Year Book 1934-35* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935), 787; "Radio Telephony" Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. General Statistics Branch. *The Canada Year Book 1925* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925), 660.

public domain.⁷⁷ These statements, however, belied the reality of the continued strength of the private sector.

Table 2.5. Number of private receiving-station licences issued in Canada, 1930 to 1939

1930	424,146	1935	812,335
1931	523,100	1936	862,109
1932	598,358	1937	1,038,500
1933	761,288	1938	1,104,207
1934	707,625	1939	1,223,502

Source: *The Canada Year Book 1940* xx-xxi, 721-722; *The Canada Year Book 1932*, 613; *The Canada Year Book 1934-35*, 787.

⁷⁷ *Canadian Broadcasting: An Account of Stewardship*, 9.

Radio was unquestionably gaining listeners throughout the 1930s as the number of licensed receiving sets soared between 1930 and 1939, as illustrated in Table 2.5. The number of receiving set licences increased 2.89 times in the 1930s.⁷⁸ By 1937 there were over ten times as many licensed listeners in Canada as in 1925. The rate of growth was much greater in the 1920s, but once a base of listeners was established in Canada a greater number of receivers were licensed in the 1930s. As shown by Table 2.6 radio ownership per household grew considerably during the 1930s. Radio became a permanent part of 77.8 per cent of Canadian households by 1941. Radio ownership not

Table 2.6 Percentages of radio ownership per household for selected regions and provinces in 1941

Location	Total	Rural	Urban
CANADA	77.8	64.5	88.6
Maritime Provinces	66.8	57.5	86.8
Quebec	70.6	40.1	85.1
Ontario	83.6	71.4	90.9
Prairie Provinces	77.7	70.8	88.4
British Columbia	84.3	77.6	89.7

Source: Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941* Volume 1 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), Table 17, 421.

only almost doubled telephone ownership, which was at 40.3 per cent, it far exceeded the 20.9 per cent of households that possessed mechanical refrigerators and the 24.2 per cent that owned electric vacuum cleaners. Urban areas consistently exceeded the rate of radio ownership in rural Canada, mainly because they were more likely to have access to better reception and a greater volume and variety of radio programming.

⁷⁸ "Radio Communications," *The Canada Year Book 1940*, 721-722.

During the 1920s and 1930s private Canadian stations weathered competition not only from the American networks formed in the 1920s, but from the new Canadian networks formed in the 1930s. The high rate of radio ownership in Canadian households attests to the fact that radio became an ongoing and growing part of Canadian life. The first of the major American commercial networks evolved in the 1920s, to take a stranglehold over the American broadcasting environment in the 'thirties. In the same decade an assortment of private independent broadcasters took root in Canada, regulated by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Contrary to the initial proposals of the Aird Commission, private Canadian stations were not nationalized. The private broadcasting sector was able to sustain growth in numbers and in the broadcast duration of the schedules of individual stations. Initial efforts at private chain broadcasting apparent in the late 1920s and early 1930s dissipated with the arrival of the Depression. Two separate efforts to construct a publicly owned Canadian national network were made in the 1930s; the creation of the CBC permanently altered the course of Canadian broadcasting. Through the affiliation arrangements established by the CRBC and CBC many private stations benefitted from the programs supplied by the network. The framework thus constructed became the context within which all Canadian radio broadcasting, private and public, evolved and coexisted in the 1930s.

Chapter 3
"Dead Air":
Historiography

Radio ushered broadcast media into personal lives around the world, setting into motion the process of linking the world through media since perpetuated by television and the internet. Radio enjoyed its greatest growth and popularity for just over two decades until it was overshadowed by television. Nevertheless within this short time span radio irrevocably expanded the influence of media and paved the way for the visual broadcast medium of television. Despite radio's impact and importance in the everyday lives of Canadians in the twentieth century, it has largely escaped the notice of historians and researchers of the mass media, primarily due to the barrier created by a chronic lack of useful source material.

The international literature surrounding radio history is also profoundly limited when compared to that of print media or television. American researcher Michele Hilmes argues that "one reason for radio's neglect as a field of study is precisely that close analysis of radio begins to unravel the mask that U.S. commercial media have created for themselves: as a naturally arising, consensus-shaped, and unproblematic reflection of a pluralistic society, rather than the conflicting, tension-ridden site of the ruthless exercise of cultural hegemony...[over] alternative popular constructions that oppose and resist it."¹ Although the American networks may have managed to exercise cultural hegemony over broadcasting in the United States, commercial broadcasting did not seize absolute control in Canada. Government intervention in the marketplace in the form of the creation of national network broadcasting has emerged as the area of study most interesting to Canadian historians. The overwhelming focus on this national network has resulted in only fragmentary coverage of the remaining history of early Canadian radio.

The narrative of early Canadian radio history draws upon the work of

¹ Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), xvii.

political scientists, historians, sociologists and researchers from communications and literature, but a large portion of the literature in this field remains of a reminiscent type, largely written by former broadcasters or writers with some type of connection to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The memoirs, anecdotal material and other reminiscences assist in colouring the past and in filling the gaps in archival research. Some of the best known national examples of this type of work include *The Birth of Radio in Canada: Signing On* by Bill McNeil and Morris Wolfe, T. J. Allard's *Straight Up: Private Broadcasting in Canada: 1918-1958*, Warner Troyer's *The Sound and the Fury: An Anecdotal History of Canadian Broadcasting*, Sandy Stewart's *A Pictorial History of Radio in Canada* and his *From Coast to Coast: A Personal History of Radio in Canada*.² In particular, the names, places and other details that emerge from these works are essential to research in early radio because very few written records were retained, particularly by the private broadcasters. T.J. Allard, whose broadcasting career dated back to 1934, asserted that "All broadcasters have a singularly deep-rooted aversion to paper. Very few broadcasting stations in the so-called "private sector" have made the least attempt to keep any records other than those strictly required by law."³ This literature has expanded more recently with *Out of Thin Air: The Story of CFCY "The Friendly Voice of the Maritimes"* by Betty Large and T. Crothers and *On Air: Radio in Saskatchewan* by Wayne Schmalz, both of

² Bill McNeil and Morris Wolfe, *The Birth of Radio in Canada: Signing On* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1982); T. J. Allard, *Straight Up Private Broadcasting in Canada: 1918-1958* (Ottawa: The Canadian Communications Foundation, 1979); Sandy Stewart, *From Coast to Coast: A Personal History of Radio in Canada* (Toronto: C.B.C. Enterprises, 1985); Sandy Stewart, *A Pictorial History of Radio in Canada* (Toronto: Gage Publishing Limited, 1975); Warner Troyer, *The Sound and the Fury: An Anecdotal History of Canadian Broadcasting*. (Toronto: Personal Library Publishers, 1982).

³ T.J. Allard, *Straight Up, Private Broadcasting in Canada: 1918-1958* (Ottawa: The Canadian Communications Foundation, 1979), ii.

which help to fill in some missing details.⁴ The vast American literature of this variety is dominated by the work of former broadcasters and additionally fueled by the intense interest of old-time radio hobbyists. Uninterested in placing broadcasting history within a larger social context and methodologically not very rigorous, these largely nostalgic and institutional works nevertheless serve as useful building blocks to compensate in small part for the lack of other sources.

The first major work in Canadian broadcasting history is Frank W. Peers's *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920-1951*. Though its focus is political, concentrating on the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, it represents Canada's closest equivalent to the fuller national surveys that exist elsewhere, such as Asa Briggs's four volume study *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom* and Erik Barnouw's work about broadcasting in the United States, *A Tower in Babel, The Golden Web* and *The Image Empire*.⁵ Peers's contribution of a second volume of work, *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1952-1968*, reinforces that parallel.

Narrower in focus than the British and American surveys, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920-1951* recreated the back-room machinations of a variety of politicians, public figures and private interests lobbying for what they felt would be in the best interests of their party, country or business. Peers writes that "The considerations which decided the political choice in the

⁴ Betty Large and T. Crothers, *Out of Thin Air: The Story of CFCY "The Friendly Voice of the Maritimes"* (Charlottetown, P. E. I.: Applecross Press, 1989); Wayne Schmalz, *On Air: Radio in Saskatchewan* (Regina: Coteau Books, 1990).

⁵ Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, volume I: The Birth of Broadcasting, volume II: The Golden Age of Wireless, volume III: The War of Words and volume IV* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961, 1965, 1970, 1979); Erik Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel: A History of Broadcasting in the United States to 1933* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966) and *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States 1933-1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

1930's were nearly all national in character - bound up with the feeling that Canada must have an identity of its own, that its communications should not be subordinate to or dependent on the enterprise or the industry of another country."⁶ Peers's role as an apologist for a national Canadian broadcasting system in the face of the expanding threat of American cultural domination in the 1960s becomes evident when he canonizes Graham Spry and Allan Plaunt and their lobbying efforts as the Canadian Radio League to move the Conservative government to create the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. Peers's ideas are crystallized in the assertion that "a unique Canadian system of broadcasting endures...it reflects values different from those prevailing in the British or American systems. It not only mirrors Canadian experience, but helps define it."⁷

Peers's thesis that public broadcasting mirrored and defined national identity has been accepted with little criticism. Many of his colleagues have presented similar, if not identical, conclusions regarding Canadian radio broadcasting. Increased Canadian dependence upon American political and economic policies, with cultural domination looming threateningly on the horizon, has provoked a number of studies concentrating upon the purely national aspects of Canadian broadcasting.

The breadth of Peers's work is rivalled by Austin Weir who, like Peers, makes arguments based upon assumptions and information rooted in a previous broadcasting career.⁸ His *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* was simultaneously a rich history and a memoir. It spanned a career that commenced in 1929 with Canadian National Railways and extended to his

⁶ Peers, 284.

⁷ Peers, 3.

⁸ Peers's worked as a CBC producer, program organizer and supervisor of public affairs programs in radio and television.

comments on the Report of the Fowler Committee in 1965.⁹ Weir provided a detailed description of radio executives, radio commission inquiries and the role of early radio in Canada, especially the CNR. Many of his conclusions are based upon personal knowledge of events and provide a valuable record for other researchers. The underlying assumption of the work, however, postulated that the development of a national system of broadcasting was inevitable.

Both Weir's and Peers's concerns with the political origins of national broadcasting surfaced also in "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada", written in 1965 by Margaret Prang of the University of British Columbia.¹⁰ Prang gave equal weight to public broadcasting's inevitable role as a cultivator of national identity. She viewed the adoption of public broadcasting, however flawed, as an expression of Canadian nationalism, specifically the 'defensive expansionism' that came into being to counter the threat of American culture and as an extension of the national policy. The development of a public broadcasting system, according to Prang, is but one more manifestation of the stirrings of nationalistic sentiment that, in her view, extended beyond the academic and political world to the business world. She identifies the Canadian Radio League members as lobbyists, providing immediate impetus for the developments of the 1930s. Essentially radio policy of the 1930s is interpreted as the wellspring of national spirit, rising out of a compromise between regions and races reacting to a recurring American cultural threat.

Not only an activist during radio's infancy, Graham Spry reentered the

⁹ E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965). In May 1929, Weir was appointed head of the radio department of the Canadian National Railways' national network of radio stations. By 1937 Weir became Commercial Manager of the CBC and Superintendent of the CBC Press and Information Services.

¹⁰ Margaret Prang, "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 46 (March 1965): 1-31.

debate in the 1960s to applaud and amplify Prang's work in his article "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada: A Comment".¹¹ Spry credits Canadians' sense of being overwhelmed by American radio, the problem of licensing and finally Mackenzie King's "appreciation of the power of broadcasting" as important factors that added to the impact and central role of the Canadian Radio League.¹² Aside from the contemporary concerns over nationalism among Canadian elites in the 1960s, undoubtedly the Fowler Committee Report's reexamination of Canadian broadcasting further fueled nationalist reconsideration of the actions that led to the formation of a Canadian national broadcasting network.

Another early contribution to the literature was John E. O'Brien's Ph.D. dissertation entitled "A History of the Canadian Radio League: 1930-1936."¹³ O'Brien's review of the Alan B. Plaunt papers inspired him to argue that the Canadian Radio League was the single most important force in the drive to establish a national network. Had the Canadian Radio League not spearheaded a movement for public broadcasting, O'Brien was certain, the Canadian Pacific Railway would have developed a private monopoly. "A History of the Canadian Radio League: 1930-1936" voiced what became the traditional view of Canadian radio broadcasting and again reflected the nationalistic concerns of the 1960s.

In a more recent addition to the literature, Michael Nolan's *Foundations: Alan Plaunt and the Early Days of CBC Radio* pursued a similar nationalist

¹¹ Among his other work amplifying the importance of radio to Canadian nationalism were: Graham Spry, "The Decline and Fall of Canadian Broadcasting", *Queen's Quarterly* 68 (1961): 213-225 and his much earlier Graham Spry, "A Case for Nationalized Broadcasting," *Queen's Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1931): 151-169; Graham Spry, "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada: A comment," *Canadian Historical Review* 46 (1965): 134-141.

¹² Spry, "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada," 140-141.

¹³ Rev. John E. O'Brien, "A History of the Canadian Radio League: 1930-1936" (Ph.D. diss., University of South California, 1964).

train of thought.¹⁴ Although formerly a part of the private broadcasting sector, he is currently a member of the faculty at University of Western Ontario. *Foundations* traced the life and career of Alan Plaunt as a pivotal figure in the battle for the establishment of public broadcasting in Canada. Nolan thereby created a central role for the Canadian Radio League and public broadcasting. Nolan concluded that "the career of Alan Plaunt...offers an interesting counter-point to the widely held view that only holders of public office are in positions to effect social change."¹⁵ This close study of Plaunt depicted him as a product of a surge of post-war nationalism in the 1920s. The Canadian Radio League was portrayed as a very small lobbying group dominated by the tireless efforts of Alan Plaunt and Graham Spry.

Mary Vipond has loosely and quite justifiably grouped these works together as the traditional school of early Canadian radio history.¹⁶ As Vipond notes, the works all employed conventional sources that include government reports, private papers and newspaper editorials. The shared specific concern of these works was indeed government action to promote Canadian broadcasting in the face of the threat of Americanization. These traditional works and their nationalistic perspective long dominated the literature unchallenged.¹⁷ Standard surveys of Canadian history have relied on and reiterated the interpretations of Peers, O'Brien, Weir and Prang. The

¹⁴ Michael Nolan, *Foundations: Alan Plaunt and the Early Days of CBC Radio* (Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1986).

¹⁵ Michael Joseph Nolan, "Alan Plaunt and Canadian Broadcasting" (Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1983), 377.

¹⁶ Mary Vipond, "Please Stand By for that Report' The Historiography of Early Canadian Radio," *Fréquence / Frequency* 7-8 (1997): 13-17.

¹⁷ Other general studies that accepted this traditional view of radio history which included: Albert A. Shea, *Broadcasting the Canadian Way* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1963); E. S. Hallman with H. Hindley, *Broadcasting in Canada* (Don Mills: General Publishing Company Limited, 1977); Herschel Hardin, *A Nation Unaware: The Canadian Economic Culture* (Vancouver: J. J. Douglas Ltd., 1974); David Ellis, *Evolution of the Canadian Broadcasting System: Objectives and Realities 1928-1968* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1979).

nationalistic interpretations of radio's past forged in the 1960s have been reinforced with repetition.

Criticisms of the traditional interpretation of early Canadian radio history have been slow to emerge. The occasional attempt in the 1960s and 1970s to poke a hole in the monolithic presentation of broadcasting had little impact. These efforts did little to sway other researchers, who clung tightly to the concept that national public broadcasting was always dominant and somehow inevitable. T. J. Allard's polemical and non-academic work *Straight Up* represented an early challenge to the dominant interpretation and the place of the Canadian Radio League, CRBC and CBC. Largely based on recollections and personal experience, Allard's work tried to redefine the place of private broadcasting in Canadian radio's early history. He asserted that "the so-called 'private sector' is now and always was, the most significant and useful element in Canadian Broadcasting [and] that there has never been any 'master plan' or coherent philosophy of development for broadcasting."¹⁸ Alexander Toogood's Ph.D. dissertation returned to the themes of national and cultural identity, but did not dismiss the achievements of the private sector.¹⁹ Toogood also deviates from previous work by arguing that the work of the Canadian Radio League was the clever manipulation of a small body of public opinion by two idealistic young men. He also sensibly argued that government interference in broadcasting imposed an idealistic quest for national identity upon public broadcasting without considering the practicalities of broadcasting, such as costs and technical problems.

A series of smaller studies has also gradually reopened the debate. One early dissenting contribution was that of Kenneth C. Dewar in "The Origins of

¹⁸ Allard, 3.

¹⁹ Alexander Toogood, *Broadcasting in Canada: Aspects of Regulation and Control* (Ottawa: Canadian Association of Broadcasters, 1969).

Public Broadcasting in Canada in Comparative Perspective".²⁰ Pursuing the lead of private broadcaster T. J. Allard, Dewar questioned the motivation of Plaunt and Spry by describing to the Canadian Radio League pamphlet, "Radio Advertising - A Menace to the Newspaper and a Burden to the Public" as a cynical way of employing financial fears to bolster political strength. Rejecting the idea that Canadian broadcasting was part of a "master plan" or "visionary design", he argued that Canada benefitted from delays which allowed it to assess both the British and American systems. Ultimately Dewar concludes that state intervention was encouraged because it coincided with business interests.

Dewar's work represents an important and early step toward greater discussion of early Canadian radio history, but is still firmly situated within the confines of the debate over the role of public broadcasting and its origins in Canada. Michael Nolan, however, has attempted to address some of the neglected areas of private broadcasting. *Foundations*, which focussed almost exclusively on the career of Alan Plaunt and the Canadian Radio League, was drawn from a larger Ph.D. dissertation. The dissertation also yielded the article "Canada's Broadcasting Pioneers: 1918-1932", the first of three in which he opened up the discussion of private broadcasting in early Canadian radio history.²¹ Nolan offered a critique of the existing literature for ignoring private broadcasting and depicting Canadian broadcasting as a struggle of private versus public and Nolan made a case for a larger role for early private broadcasters. For him, Peers, Prang, O'Brien and Weir were simply apologists

²⁰ Kenneth C. Dewar, "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada in Comparative Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Communications* 8 (January 1982): 26-45.

²¹ Nolan, "Alan Plaunt and Canadian Broadcasting."; Michael Nolan, "Canada's Broadcasting Pioneers: 1918-1932," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 10 (Summer 1984): 1-26; Michael Nolan, "An Infant Industry: Canadian Private Radio 1919-36" *Canadian Historical Review* 70 (December 1989): 496-518.

for state ownership of Canadian radio.²² Prang, in particular, was challenged for her quick dismissal of private stations as inferior. Nolan argued that she did not allow for the full range of broadcasters of the time. He illustrated through contemporary accounts that the range of broadcasts was far greater than Prang was willing to allow. Nolan's criticism also extends to those depicting the struggle in Canadian broadcasting as simply private versus public, naturally opposed to one another. His argument was that cultural and economic considerations weighed more heavily than the quarrel between private and public broadcasters. His work called for further research about all radio stations on the basis of their merits, not who owned them.

The issue of broadcasting policy from the perspective of Quebec is emphasized in Marc Raboy's *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*.²³ This survey of broadcasting policy from 1928 to 1988 judged the broadcasting system to be the result of interaction between the social pressure of public service broadcasting, pressure from financial interests to keep commercial broadcasting alive and the political interest in preserving Canada as a distinct entity from the United States.²⁴ The underlying theme throughout his work is that there is a blurring of the concept of 'national' and 'public' interest, making the broadcasting system an instrument of the state, or what Raboy called administrative broadcasting. Additionally, Raboy argued that the federal government used broadcasting to combat the internal threat of Quebec's nationalist sentiments. Raboy asserted that "behind an official rhetoric of public service and national pluralism, the CRBC ran up against the ideology of private enterprise and the politics of anglo-centric domination. The

²² Michael Joseph Nolan, "Alan Plaunt and Canadian Broadcasting" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1983).

²³ Marc Raboy, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

²⁴ Raboy, xii.

brief CRBC experience...demonstrated the impossibility of reconciling Canada's two national interests within a single broadcasting service."²⁵ Raboy used traditional sources and the familiar themes of regulation and national broadcasting to emphasize the failure to provide alternatives to a capitalist or administrative broadcasting structure and the neglect of Quebec within that structure.

Michel Filion also discusses broadcasting from the Quebec perspective in *Radiodiffusion et société distincte: Des origines de la radio jusqu'à la Révolution tranquille au Québec*.²⁶ Filion's work draws some inspiration from Elzéar Lavoie's 1971 study, "L'évolution de la radio au Canada français avant 1940".²⁷ Lavoie's work was the first to point out some early differences in radio reception in Quebec as opposed to the rest of Canada. His use of census data, for example, demonstrated the poor rate of radio ownership and reception in the rural areas of Quebec. Lavoie tempered his discussion by examining radio as a link to the outside world, very much like the car and other major purchases. He explained that the electrification of rural Quebec, which did not proceed at quite the same pace as in other parts of the country, did a great deal to slow down the spread of radio, but mainly emphasized the lack of access to good French-language programs.

Filion's broad survey essentially argues that the radio experience of French Canadians was distinct from that of their English-speaking counterparts in the 'rest of Canada'. However critical Filion is of the traditional literature, he makes use of Peers, Weir, government reports and committee proceedings for his research. He quite ably demonstrates that American

²⁵ Raboy, 48-49.

²⁶ Michel Filion, *Radiodiffusion et société distincte: Des origines de la radio jusqu'à la Révolution tranquille au Québec* (Laval: Editions du Méridien, 1994).

²⁷ Elzéar Lavoie, "L'évolution de la radio au Canada français avant 1940," *Recherches sociographiques* 12 (janvier-avril 1971): 17-49.

programs presented no threat to Quebec culture in what he calls the 'free market' period before 1932, nor were they a substantial threat in the 'hybrid' period that followed. Although previous researchers may have been remiss in not belabouring such an obvious point, it forms the basis of his premise that Quebecers were more loyal to their culture and better at developing indigenous cultural products for the new media than other provinces. As an aural medium, in a province that holds language to be its most distinctive element, American programs had little chance of penetration in unilingual French-speaking areas. Filion's work too quickly dismisses the Montreal area and the presence of a large English-speaking population in Quebec which presents a huge exception to his analysis. It would have been more astute had Filion argued that the building of a national radio broadcasting network helped to broaden the base of both public and private broadcasting in the province, undoubtedly fostering and strengthening a distinct *québécois* culture. His selective use of materials and his unquestioning acceptance of an adversarial Quebec-versus-Canada paradigm, however, has certainly made this work a less significant contribution to the literature than it might have been.

Most of the literature that comprises the reawakening of the issue of early Canadian broadcasting has consisted of retrieving interesting strands of inquiry from the mass of remaining unexplored areas. The bulk of the historical research has come from Mary Vipond, whose work completely reassesses the larger picture of Canadian early radio broadcasting for the first time. The essential barrier to the research of early Canadian broadcasting is the lack of readily available resources. Vipond has overcome these obstacles in her own work by a close study, in part, of departmental files and correspondence relating to the regulation of radio broadcasting through the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

Early Canadian broadcasting history has been given a new voice in Vipond's *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932*, which shifts the focus away from the establishment of the CRBC and CBC.²⁸ *Listening In* immediately broadens the base of the study of Canadian radio by examining the *ad hoc* development of broadcasting practices and private radio prior to the establishment of a national network. Vipond's examination of the interplay and interdependence of the triangular relationship between the manufacturers, broadcasters and their customers, the audience, breaks new ground as the most complete study to date of the emergence of Canadian radio broadcasting a full decade prior to the intervention of public broadcasting in any form. *Listening In's* exploration of frequency and power assignments, interference and licensing creates a fuller framework for assessment of the dissatisfaction and frustrations with the system that brought on the endless policy debates of the 1930s launched by the Aird Commission. A new perspective is added to the evaluation of the broadcasting environment which provoked the Aird Commission, the ongoing debate about radio broadcasting and the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932.

The lack of access to sufficient resources for the study of private broadcasters in the period after 1932 has forced Vipond to make the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission the focus of her more recent and current research.²⁹ In "Financing Canadian Public Broadcasting: licence fees and the "culture of caution", she ably demonstrates that the financial support of public broadcasting directly and indirectly affected its programming and development.³⁰ Vipond examines how the CRBC and CBC became dependent

²⁸ Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

²⁹ Vipond, "Please Stand By for that Report", 23.

³⁰ Mary Vipond, "Financing Canadian Public Broadcasting: licence fees and the "culture of caution", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 15 (1995): 285-300.

on government appropriations and licence fees. Focussing on the audience and its greater sense of involvement through fees, Vipond reveals that this led to a policy of least resistance or a "culture of caution". Programming was increasingly centrally controlled, rather than reflecting the country's diversity, in order to monitor expenses and audit the quality of productions. The examination of the financial underpinning of the system points not only to the cautiousness of the public broadcaster, but outlines some of the causes of increasing professionalization and bureaucratization.

Vipond conveys a greater sense of the audience and programming preferences in "London Listens: The Popularity of Radio in the Depression".³¹ Because there was no regular review or investigation of listening habits in Canada until the 1940s, Vipond has had to make innovative use of two undergraduate theses written about radio listening during the 1930s in London, Ontario. Written in 1932 and 1937, these theses provide a snapshot of audience preferences at an important juncture in time, the first just as the CRBC was being set up and the second just after the CBC was established. This exploration of listeners' preferences reveals that radio had become a routine part of the day, increasingly sought out as entertainment. The preferred American network programs were held up as a model for Canadian stations. This analysis also asserts that even in a relatively homogeneous city different "taste publics" had emerged simultaneously.³²

In "The Beginnings of Public Broadcasting in Canada: The CRBC, 1932-36" Vipond assesses the early undertakings of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. She judges the CRBC successful with regard to three critical functions: subsidizing audience acquisition for private

³¹ Mary Vipond, "London Listens: The Popularity of Radio in the Depression," *Ontario History* 88 (March 1996): 47-63.

³² Vipond, "London Listens," 60-61.

broadcasters and advertisers, regulating controversial broadcasts and celebrating the nation and Empire through programming.³³ By side-stepping the traditional review of commentary from politicians and lobbyists, this analysis of the successful endeavours of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission presents a starting point for its reevaluation.

As the major historian of early Canadian broadcasting history Vipond's work has not only broadened the field of study to encompass private and early broadcasting, but has accentuated the utility of new techniques and approaches from the international literature and those of other fields. Uncovering the occasional additional resource such as the London surveys has helped Vipond fill in the picture, but above all the willingness, as in much of the international discourse, to forgo a strictly political discussion of radio has helped her to realize a more accurate assessment of its role and impact.

Most recently Mary Vipond has also culled from the pages of the *Canadian Radio Guide* and *Radio Weekly* some clues to the normative view of radio in the 1930s in "Desperately Seeking the Audience for Early Canadian Radio".³⁴ She outlines the tension between the periodicals' definition of radio as commercial and entertainment-based and the conception of the CRBC or of any public broadcasting in general as "alien or abnormal". In "The Continental Marketplace: Authority, Advertisers, and Audiences in Canadian News Broadcasting, 1932-1936," Vipond examines the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission's choice of authority within an essentially commercial and continental marketplace which viewed news as a commodity.³⁵ These

³³ Mary Vipond, "The Beginning of Public Broadcasting in Canada: The CRBC, 1932-36," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 19 (1994): 151-171.

³⁴ Mary Vipond, "Desperately Seeking the Audience for English Canadian Radio," in Michael D. Behiels and Marcel Martel, *Nation, Ideas, Identities: Essays in Honour of Ramsay Cook* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000), 86-96.

³⁵ Mary Vipond, "The Continental Marketplace: Authority, Advertiser, and Audiences in Canadian News Broadcasting, 1932-1936," *Journal of Radio Studies* 6 (1999): 169-184.

differing approaches and the placement of Canadian broadcasting within the larger context of the continent provide to new perspectives on early Canadian radio that have expanded beyond the exclusive focus on the development of a national broadcaster.

Other innovative approaches to this field of study have come from a variety of sources crossing the boundaries of discipline. An early impetus to research in this area was Howard Fink's collection and organization of Canadian radio drama scripts, *Canadian National Theatre on the Air, 1925-1961, CBC-CRBC-CNR Radio Drama in English: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List*, through the Radio Drama Project of Concordia University.³⁶ Howard Fink and John Jackson then formed the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies which has become a hub of ongoing research on Canadian radio drama and broadcasting. Among the early works to emerge from the project was Howard Fink's introduction to Canadian radio history and the archival collection at Concordia University emphasizing the early role of drama in radio's programming in a special issue of the *Canadian Theatre Review*.³⁷ "On the Implications of Content and Structural Analyses" is an discussion of suitable methodology for cultural analysis of Canadian radio drama by John Jackson.³⁸ Methodology combined with literary analysis in a jointly written article by Howard Fink, John Jackson, Greg Nielsen and Rosalind Zinman entitled, "Literary and Sociological Approaches to the

³⁶ Howard Fink, *Canadian National Theatre on the Air, 1925-1961, CBC-CRBC-CNR Radio Drama in English: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983). The booklet accompanied a series of microfiches that list over 3,000 entries of radio dramas broadcast in Canada. The listings included information such as title, author, producer, location, series, categories and other relevant material, as did Pagé and Légris's work. This bibliography opened up the examination of English-language radio as popular culture and work continues in this area.

³⁷ Howard Fink, "Canadian Radio Drama and the Radio Drama Project," *Canadian Theatre Review* 36 (Fall 1982): 12-22.

³⁸ John Jackson, "On the Implications of Content and Structural Analyses," in Liora Salter, ed., *Communication Studies in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworth and Company, Canada, Limited, 1981), 232-249.

Analysis of C.B.C. English Language Radio-Drama".³⁹

Howard Fink's "The sponsor's v. the nation's choice: North American drama," contrasted the evolution of American radio drama, which was sponsor-supported and driven by popular tastes, to Canadian publicly-funded broadcasting which was able to produce more serious drama.⁴⁰ Fink asserted that the lack of established theatre outside of radio made Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's radio drama a significant expression of Canadian culture. Additionally his article, "CKUA: Radio Drama and Regional Theatre" documented the pioneering and distinctive work of CKUA in Edmonton, run by the Extension Department of the University of Alberta, which operated in the 1920s and 1930s and eventually supplied quality productions to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.⁴¹ "Jack Bowdery/ Ammon: Pioneer Leftist 'thirties B.C. Radio Dramatist" by Fink and Jackson examines the characters portrayed in a serial called *Millie and Lizzie*, as well as the serial's producers, its political message and changing financial backing, and asserts that the serial's comic and carnivalesque form represented the first western drama to present a satiric social criticism of market capitalism in the 1930s.⁴² Each of these works isolates a solitary aspect of early Canadian radio broadcasting to add perspective and to more fully evaluate its progress and impact in light of use of alternative methodologies and the examination of new resource materials. In addition a variety of graduate theses and work by other Fellows

³⁹ Howard Fink, John Jackson, Greg Neilsen, and Rosalind Zinman, "Literary and Sociological Approaches to the Analysis of C.B.C. English-Language Radio Drama," *Culture* 1 (1981): 73-87.

⁴⁰ Howard Fink, "The sponsor's v. the nation's choice: North American radio drama," in Peter Lewis, ed., *Radio Drama* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1981), 185-243.

⁴¹ Howard Fink, "CKUA: Radio and Regional Theatre," *Theatre History in Canada* 8 (Fall 1987): 221-233.

⁴² Howard Fink and John Jackson, "Jack Bowdery/Ammon: Pioneer Leftist 'thirties B.C. Radio Dramatist," *Fréquence/Frequency* 1-2 (1994): 59-71.

such as Greg Nielsen have emerged from the Centre.⁴³

In Quebec, Renée Legris and Pierre Pagé dominate the writing regarding French-language radio. Employing techniques of content analysis and semiotics, they have explored many areas of Quebec radio history in the last few decades. The first important work by Pierre Pagé with the collaboration of Renée Legris and Louise Blouin was *Repertoire des œuvres de la littérature radiophonique québécoise, 1930-1970*; an inventory of radio programs providing author, title, series, producers, station, duration, location and other relevant details. The work provides a base for additional analysis that is unavailable for English-language programming in Canada. Since this initial project, which included extensive microfilming and collection of materials, Legris and Pagé have been able to explore comedy, drama, propaganda, educational programming and other themes in radio and television to chart the growth of Québécois language and culture.⁴⁴ The extensive research of Legris and Pagé provides a parallel to the expansion of the literature that has emerged from the Centre for Broadcasting Studies.

The combined body of work of fellows of the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies and other researchers such as Legris and Pagé appeared in the periodical *Fréquence/Frequency*, the journal of the Association for the

⁴³ Greg Nielsen, *Le Canada de Radio-Canada: Sociologie critique et dialogisme culturel* (Toronto: Editions du Gref, 1994).

⁴⁴ Pierre Pagé avec la collaboration de Renée Legris et Louis Blouin, *Repertoire des œuvres de la littérature radiophonique québécoise, 1930-1970* (Montréal: Fides, 1975); Pierre Pagé avec la collaboration de Renée Legris, *Le Comique et l'humour à la radio québécoise: aperçus historiques et textes choisis, 1930-1970*, 2 vols. (Montréal: Editions LaPresse, 1976, Fides, 1979); Pierre Pagé et de Renée Legris, *Repertoire des dramatiques québécoises à la télévision, 1952-1977* (Montréal: Fides, 1977); R. Legris, *Propagande de guerre et nationalismes dans le radio-feuilleton (1939-1955)* (Montréal: Fides, 1981); Pierre Pagé, *Radiodiffusion et culture savante au Québec (1930-1960)* (Montréal: Editions Maxime, 1993); Renée Legris, "Le modèle théâtrale dans les émissions éducative de la radio durant les années '50 et '60," *Fréquence/Frequency* 1-2 (1994): 37-94; Pierre Pagé, "Edouard Montpetit et Henri Letondal, les créateurs d'une radio éducative: 'L'Heure Provinciale' (1929-1939)," *Fréquence/Frequency* 3-4 (1995), 55-86.

Study of Canadian Radio and Television from 1994 until 1997.⁴⁵ The expanded field of study has fostered interdisciplinary study of Canadian broadcasting, extending far beyond the exploration of nationalism and regulation.⁴⁶

The reinvestigation of early broadcasting in Canada has parallels in the international literature. Until recently the belief that the development of American commercial network broadcasting was inevitable has been dominant in the United States. In the last few years scholars have challenged this tenet of broadcasting history by revisiting it by examining new source material analysed from difference perspectives. Robert W. McChesney's *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* objects to the neglect and trivialization of the movement for radio reform.⁴⁷ His meticulous examination of the records of the principals in the battle for the control of broadcasting tracks the unevenly matched contest between network broadcasters and a variety of groups that questioned the inevitability of network commercial broadcasting. Nonprofit broadcasters, civic organizations and intellectuals were counted among the groups that resisted this progression toward commercial broadcasting. The very discussion of the battle fought by these groups, however ineffectual countered the conception that commercialization of American radio was the only possibility available for the development of the medium.

The commercialization of the American media has been analyzed with equal success in Susan Smulyan's *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of*

⁴⁵ After 1997 A.S.C.R.T. became a part of of the Canadian Communications Association and *Fréquence / Frequency* ceased publication.

⁴⁶ Other works include Howard Fink and John Jackson, ed., *All the Bright Company: Radio Drama Produced by Andrew Allan* (Kingston and Toronto: Quarry Press and CBC Enterprises, 1987); Howard Fink and John Jackson, eds., *The Road to Victory: Radio Plays of Gerald Noxon* (Waterloo and Kingston: Malcolm Lowry Review Press and Quarry Press, 1989).

⁴⁷ Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

American Broadcasting 1920-1934.⁴⁸ Smulyan tracks the resistance to broadcast advertising and the initial reluctance of advertisers to become involved in radio. She asserts that rather than reinforce ethnic and regional ties, radio was reduced to the lowest common denominator of selling to the consumer. Through the examination of the program files and network records, Smulyan traces the rise of networks and the development of sponsorship. While she examines the resistance to this process, she concludes that by the mid-1930s the United States had a broadcasting system that was "directly commercial, passive, and homogenized, promoting consumption as the way to happiness."⁴⁹

Susan Douglas's most recent work, *Listening In...from Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern*, supports the challenge to the traditional American literature initiated by McChesney and Smulyan. However, rather than searching program files and archives for information about programming, the role of capital or resistance to commercialization, Douglas examines radio as an aural medium. She asserts that "listening remains the richer form of cognitive processing. Radio, from the dramas of the 1930s up through free form, made people learn how to pay attention."⁵⁰ According to Douglas "Radio...encouraged [Americans], through its various discourses...to construct imagined communities of which we were part, some of them national, some of them regional, racial, or generational."⁵¹ Douglas argues that the content of the programming was not as essential to the impact of this new medium as the ethnic and cultural concepts embedded

⁴⁸ Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting 1920-1934* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

⁴⁹ Smulyan, 165.

⁵⁰ Susan Douglas's most recent work *Listening In...from Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern* (New York: Random House Inc., 1999), 355.

⁵¹ Douglas, 355.

in the content or even the use, for example of language in a linguistic slapstick. Her point is that "by compelling [listeners] to use their imaginations as part of the cultural work of being Americans, radio required people to engage in a cognitively active mode in the construction of mass culture's varied, multiple meanings."⁵² Douglas suggests that as a machine the radio reaffirmed masculine specialized skills. In terms of content, she argues that a variety of forms of male entertainment was offered, but it was comedy during the Depression which addressed anxieties about threatened masculinity. Another recurring theme in her work is that of race and the ways "this medium without images...allowed fleeting moments of pureness between performer and listener when, again, for moments here and there, either race didn't matter, or being black was actually an advantage."⁵³ Douglas places radio at the centre of American culture, not only as an entertainment medium but as a reflection of its patterns.

Another refreshing new view of radio programming is Michele Hilmes's study of early American broadcasting. *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* is ground breaking work in that it analyses the cultural impact of radio, thereby also situating programming prominently within the analysis. She looks at how radio was able to unite the forces of advertising and culture to produce Americanization. Thematic in organization, the work does a great deal to illuminate important trends in the United States with regard to the growth, popularity and change in programming, even taking note of the importance of shifts in scheduling. Specifically Hilmes focuses on the programs and their evolution within the network structure. Her work is enriched by the large store of archival records for these programs, in particular the material from the NBC Collection and the J. Walter Thompson Collection. These rich resources

⁵² Douglas, 355.

⁵³ Douglas, 98.

allow her to comment on the content of the programs, the writers and the importance of the exclusions and inclusions within the schedule. She draws attention not only to the imaginary community created by radio, but to its exclusionary tendencies toward African American communities and women. She extends her arguments about the exclusion of women to the transfer of programs from the night to the daytime schedule. This exploration of a variety of genres of programs and their place within the larger American culture and broadcasting was made possible only by the close examination of available archival materials.

Recent literature in the field, in a similar vein to that of Vipond and Hilmes, moves away from the early political histories as part of a shift in the historiography of communications.⁵⁴ In the tradition of Harold Adams Innis, these works examine the role of communications and of broadcasting within society. The reinvestigation of the place that the new mass medium of radio assumed in shaping culture and society forces researchers to turn to new issues such as those of programming, audiences, rhythm, financing and broadcasters.

An editorial by Paddy Scannell in *Media, Culture & Society* makes a plea for "systematic, and if possible collaborative enquiry (for it is a massive and intimidating task) into media and cultural history [despite]...the theoretical and empirical difficulties of such work."⁵⁵ Scannell calls for historians to join the discussion of media rather than to let that discussion "proceed...on the basis of ignorance...not...troubled by the historical complexities, the difficult and contradictory work performed by these [media] industries, and their own

⁵⁴ William D. Rowland, Jr., "Foreword." in David Crowley and Paul Heyer, eds., *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society* (London: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), vii.

⁵⁵ Paddy Scannell, "History and Culture," *Media, Culture & Society* 2 (January 1980): 2.

individual and unevenly related developments."⁵⁶

This appeal for further research into radio history was reiterated by Asa Briggs in "Problems and possibilities in the writing of broadcasting history", where he noted that securing access to documents or oral interviews is the major obstacle facing researchers.⁵⁷ He expressed the hope that research in the field would extend beyond his commissioned history of the British Broadcasting Commission to tackle controversial issues, as well as to look for tendencies, trends, continuities, contrasts and configurations, to investigate international comparisons by making use of previously inaccessible or unofficial evidence and to put broadcasting into a larger economic, social and cultural perspective.⁵⁸

Some of these objectives are shared by recent researchers of British and Australian radio. Lesley Johnson's article, "Radio and everyday life: The early years of broadcasting in Australia, 1922-1945", investigated the role radio assumed in the everyday lives of the working class by looking at the pattern of broadcasting and its impact upon the rhythms of listeners's lives.⁵⁹ Her work suggests that radio moved from being viewed as an intrusion into the home to the role that it promoted for itself as a part of the domestic sphere - a place of escape and repose, which made leisure more meaningful than work. She argues radio became more punctual which changed the rhythms of people's daily lives. In addition, she asserts that radio was caught up in a conflict

⁵⁶ Scannell, 2.

⁵⁷ Asa Briggs, "Problems and possibilities in the writing of broadcasting history," *Media, Culture & Society* 2 (January 1980): 5-13. The call for further investigation of Canadian radio history surfaces repeatedly as well. John E. Twomey, "Canadian Broadcasting History Resources in English: Critical Mass or Mess?" (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting History Research Project, March 1978); Josephine Langham, "Tuning in: Canadian Radio Resources," *Archivaria* 9 (1979-80): 105-24; Vipond, "Please Stand by for that Report," 13-33.

⁵⁸ Briggs: 11.

⁵⁹ Lesley Johnson, "Radio and everyday life: The early years of broadcasting in Australia, 1922-1945," *Media, Culture & Society* 3 (April 1981): 167-178.

between popular and dominant culture, a theme that surfaces frequently on many levels in Hilmes's work.

Johnson's larger work, *The Unseen Voice: A cultural study of early Australian radio*, makes a detailed investigation of the social use of radio in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁰ She argues that the listeners initially viewed the radio as an object of scientific curiosity. In an innovative use of alternative sources, Johnson employs radio magazines to demonstrate how radio brought the 'outside world' to the domestic world. She explains that listeners had to be taught to make appropriate use of their radio, by choosing programs and turning the dial, a discussion echoed in the work of Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff.⁶¹ She examines the 'radio stunt', the significance of the mike, the radio personality and the distinction between 'A' class (eventually the Australian Broadcasting Company) and 'B' class (commercial) stations. Although the glamour and wonder of radio were important elements in the 1920s, Johnson noted that in the 1930s the preoccupation with technology was replaced by a preoccupation with radio's content and audience. Her scrutiny of radio advertisements demonstrated that radio was portrayed as the centre of the home. The contrast between the high culture of the ABC and the 'popular' culture of the commercial Australian radio stations provides an interesting comparison to the Canadian dual system.

Simon Frith's essay "The Pleasures of the Hearth" explores radio's role and development within British society in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶² Frith suggests that the BBC operated with "explicitly anti-mass cultural principles" as a response to the threat of the Americanization of popular culture. Frith

⁶⁰ Lesley Johnson, *The Unseen Voice: A cultural study of early Australian radio* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁶¹ Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff, *Serving the Nation: A Social History of British Broadcasting, Volume One 1922-1939* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1991).

⁶² Simon Frith, "The Pleasures of the Hearth," in J. Donald, ed., *Formations of Pleasure* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983).

challenges two assumptions: that light entertainment can be defined separately from public service and that the popular/serious distinction describes a class distinction. He explains that BBC's light entertainment was middlebrow, shaped by the idea of public service, and that it became a significant strand in British commercial entertainment.⁶³ He argues that broadcasting became the centre of a common culture that reached people in their homes. Familiarity and predictability provided a standard rhythm to leisure for the community of the radio audience. This early argument is central to many of the more recent forays into the field, particularly in the United Kingdom.

A Social History of British Broadcasting: Serving the Nation, Volume One 1922-1939 by Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff assesses the impact of broadcasting, first by describing the ways it developed and interacted with society and secondly by reflecting upon its wider political, social and cultural implications.⁶⁴ This work is undoubtedly influenced by the broader currents of communications studies. Scannell and Cardiff pronounce that "broadcasting... embodies, always, a communicative intention which is the mark of a social relationship. Each and every program is shaped by considerations of the audience, is designed to be heard or seen by absent listeners or viewers. Programs are the highly determinate end-products of broadcasting".⁶⁵ Scannell and Cardiff's treatment of cultural standards, national interests and the tensions between nationalism and regionalism have great applicability to the international literature. They note important transformations in the rise of popular radio in the 1930s that included the routinization of program schedules, the changing style of radio talk and the end of the concept of a

⁶³ Frith, 106.

⁶⁴ Scannell and Cardiff.

⁶⁵ Scannell and Cardiff, xi.

unified audience. By turning to a detailed study of BBC archives, contemporary newspapers and periodicals, scripts and early recordings, Scannell and Cardiff are able to move away from a traditional institutional history of broadcasting to explore the cultural impact of the medium largely through examination of programming and reactions to it.

Other works also show how British broadcasting has been the centre of innovative research that is removed from the debates about networks and commercialism of radio that logically remain the focus of some of the American literature. Mark Pegg was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to draw upon the audience and listener research of the BBC for *Broadcasting and Society 1918-1939*.⁶⁶ The Listener Research files provide information about listening audiences for various types of programming, by season and type; as a result Pegg is able to estimate the extent of the audience and to try to put the audience response to programming into context. Pegg's investigation of the regional scheme makes it possible to suggest that regional programs generally became subordinate to national programming. The greatest significance of Pegg's work is that it places other researchers of British broadcasting in the enviable position of working with a background of serious documentation and analysis of audience listening patterns.

Other new perspectives have also resulted in innovative research on a smaller scale, much of it published in the British journal *Media, Culture & Society*. For example, Shaun Moores explored the definition of the social space occupied by radio and its place in the schedule of the home in "'The box on the dresser': memories of early radio and everyday life".⁶⁷ This pioneering work

⁶⁶ Mark Pegg, *Broadcasting and Society 1918-1939* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).

⁶⁷ Shaun Moores, "'The box on the dresser': memories of early radio and everyday life," *Media, Culture & Society* 10 (January 1988): 23-40. Moores has also completed a much broader work on the audience, a subject which has gained wider attention. Shaun Moores, *Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption* (London: Sage Publications, 1993).

explores the formation of the audience, the relationship of women to radio, and radio's role in bringing precise measurement of the twentieth century to the home, drawing specifically on oral history interviews. In "Mass middlebrow laughter: the origins of BBC comedy," David Cardiff argues that the BBC was the prime agent of the growth of 'middlebrow' comedy.⁶⁸ Drawing upon Frith's analysis of leisure, Cardiff examines the move in the interwar years away from a cultured, educational BBC to cater to an increasingly the middle class audience, to whom a broader, less elitist appeal was made. "The pursuit of sound: radio, perception and utopia in the early twentieth century" by Frank A. Biocca argues that radio was part of a major perceptual shift which altered the processing of cultural and environmental sound.⁶⁹ Biocca draws attention not only to the question of how the audience organized its new aural environment, but to how this change was perceived by *avant-garde* composers. The utilization of novel perspectives and infrequently employed techniques allow for a broadened investigation of neglected aspects of early radio history.

One essential theme in the recent literature has been the exploration of the elusive audience. The audience has been addressed in tangential ways by examining the place of the radio in the home and in daily life. The shortage and limitations of detailed listener surveys, such as in Canada, forestalls detailed analysis. The theoretical investigation of the audience has also been broadened considerably with Shaun Moores's *Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption*, Ien Ang's *Desperately Seeking the Audience* and Denis McQuail's, *Audience Analysis*.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ David Cardiff, "Mass middlebrow laughter: the origins of BBC comedy," *Media, Culture & Society* 10 (January 1988): 41-60.

⁶⁹ Frank A. Biocca "The pursuit of sound: radio, perception and utopia in the early twentieth century," *Media, Culture & Society* 10 (January 1988): 61-79.

⁷⁰ Shaun Moores, *Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption* (London: Sage Publications, 1993); Ien Ang, *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1991); Denis McQuail, *Audience Analysis* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1997).

Additionally the contrast between high brow and low brow or popular culture and the lack of acceptance of the latter as a worthy cultural product surfaces frequently in the literature, particularly with regard to the BBC. In North America, however, the distinction between high brow and low brow programming has been subordinated to the distinction between commercial and non-commercial radio programming. The concept has also been extended to regional differences and centralization. In Canada this discussion is inextricably linked to efforts to preserve Canadian culture in the face of the American popular culture threat. Centralization of the networks and programming has been a recurring theme in the literature, surfacing in the works of Vipond, Pegg, Jackson, Fink, McChesney, Smulyan, Filion and Raboy.

Recent research has taken giant strides by examining the social role of radio and positioning it more firmly within the context of larger society; however there are still many issues worth addressing. The issues of regulation, financing and legislation have come under new scrutiny and reevaluation in the literature, but the programming remains elusive. Specific programs have been analyzed such as Howard Fink and John Jackson's work on one of Canada's earliest serials *Millie and Lizzie*, as previously mentioned. Similarly, Jeff A. Webb's evaluation of Newfoundland's *Barrelman* program, Margaret McFadden's discussion of the cultural work of the Jack Benny Program and Pamela Grundy's work on the musical programs sponsored by Crazy Water Crystals have all served to place individual Canadian and American programs into a broader social and cultural context.⁷¹ Gradually there has been an attempt to put together the history of radio broadcasting, but it is still very

⁷¹ Jeff A. Webb, "Constructing Community and Consumers: Radio Broadcasting During the Depression," (paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1997); McFadden, Margaret T., "America's Boy Friend Who Can't Get a Date": Gender, Race and the Cultural Work of the Jack Benny Program, 1932-1946," *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 113-134; Pamela Grundy, "We Always Tried to Be Good People: Respectability, Crazy Water Crystals, and Hillbilly Music on the Air 1933-1935," *Journal of American History* 81 (1995): 1591-1620.

much like a piece-work quilt, done with fragments and drawn from a great variety of scraps.⁷²

The traditional work in the field has been based on conventional sources. For example, in the United Kingdom the commitment of the BBC to the research and writing of its own history by hiring an historian with an assistant and opening its records guaranteed prominence in the historical literature, and the availability of the Listener Research has influenced the direction of the analysis of the BBC. The American literature is vast in both depth and breadth, employing an array of different sources including network file material and financial records.⁷³ The conventional sources in Canada were predominantly the written records emanating from the parade of royal commissions appointed to investigate radio and the ensuing policy debate. This, in addition to cultural nationalism, is why the first natural inclination of Canadian researchers was to pursue that component of the development of radio. Moreover, program logs, scripts, tapes and many miscellaneous records have been discarded, while many programs were never taped and listeners surveys did not begin until the 1940s. The great barrier to the growth of early radio history in Canada has always been the lack of access to sufficient records. This shortage of materials and lack of a background for the study of

⁷² Other thematic explorations of radio content has extended to the news in the case of Jeff Webb's investigation of the reporting of the Moose River Mine Disaster and the struggle between radio and newspapers for advertising dollars. Jeff A. Webb, "Canada's Moose River Mine Disaster (1936): radio-newspaper competition in the business of news," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 16 (1996): 365-376. Russell Johnston examined the place of religious broadcasting in radio in "The Early Trials of Protestant Radio, 1922-1938". Russell Johnston, "The Early Trials of Protestant Radio, 1922-38," *Canadian Historical Review* 75 (September 1994): 376-402. Johnston asserts that the costs and respectability made established churches more reluctant to become involved in radio. Johnston's more recent work analyses the growing acceptability of the advertising in Canadian radio. Russell Johnston, "The Emergence of Broadcast Advertising in Canada, 1919-1932," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 17 (1997): 29-47.

⁷³ The course of American radio history has been better documented at the early nostalgic stage, paving the way for later analysis by historians. For example see: Harrison B. Summers, comp. *A Thirty-Year History of Programs Carried on National Radio Networks in the United States 1926-1956*. orig. ed. 1958, New York: Arno Press Inc., 1971.

Canadian radio in the 1930s provoked this research. Similarly there are no records of program policy decisions taken by private and public broadcasters, which forces us to deduce what constituted policy from their practices as revealed by their radio program schedules.

This work endeavours to fill in some of the *lacunae* in the literature of Canadian radio history by starting to bring an end to the elaborate game of blind man's bluff that ensues when any effort is made to assess programming trends or the impact of American broadcasting on the Canadian environment. As a content analysis of the radio program schedules drawn from newspapers in Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, this study attempts to analyze the patterns and development of Canadian radio program schedules in the 1930s, while also creating usable information to generate further study. Although this type of study cannot determine who was listening and in what quantities, it can reveal the variety of programming that was available to the audience. As has been the case in most of the recent literature, I have attempted to draw upon an unexploited source of information and a new approach to answer questions that have not yet been asked in the literature.

Key overlapping concepts recur in the analysis of radio in the international literature. The new research and analysis of the history of early Canadian radio broadcasting has emerged as part of the reinterpretation of mass media on an international scale. Both here and elsewhere, the study of radio has progressed through the typical stages: first nostalgic, then a horizontal frame of reference placing media history within the broader range of social institutions and finally extending vertically to evaluate communication's role in the development of the species and civilization. Canada's geographic position immediately north of the United States influenced not only the development of our early radio broadcasting, but the direction of our historical

literature. Canada's first academic historians of radio, writing in the 1960s, were strongly influenced by the cultural nationalism of that decade. Their policy-oriented works, narrowly focussed on the Canadian situation, are now being replaced by studies that examine features and issues that early Canadian radio shared with other countries, such as the role of capital, audiences, programs and the impact of radio upon daily life and leisure. Canadian radio history is finally becoming a part of an international scholarly endeavour.

Chapter 4
"Checking the Schedule":
Methodology

"The only thing that really matters in broadcasting is program content; all the rest is housekeeping" was the opening statement of the Fowler Committee Report of 1965.¹ Despite the truth of this comment, the history of early Canadian radio programming has largely escaped the notice of scholarly researchers. Even the "housekeeping" concerns of the broadcasting industry have only recently gained a greater measure of attention, seventy years after the first commercial radio licences were issued.² Quite justifiably the largest share of research with regard to early Canadian radio has focussed on the legislative and political discussion precipitated by commercial broadcasters, the Canadian Radio League and the federal government. This study represents a departure from the traditional direction taken by the majority of existing inquiries into early Canadian radio by focussing on programming and employing the technique of content analysis.

Broadcasting, particularly in its early years, was highly prized by contemporaries for its immediacy and currency. Unfortunately for the researchers who followed, the repercussion of this valued immediacy was that most programs that Canadians listened to in the 1930s were not preserved, but simply dispersed into the ether.³ In an effort to recapture the fragments that remain, this content analysis of Canadian program schedules allows a reconstruction of the basic programming trends and developments within Canadian radio during the 1930s.

Content analysis presents a logical choice to uncover the history of the early radio in Canada. The method gained popularity following the Second World War. It can be traced to the efforts of allied intelligence units to track

¹ The Fowler Committee Report of 1965 as cited in E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), 453.

² Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

³ Although the term ether is not technically correct it is historically appropriate, because the electromagnetic spectrum was widely referred to as the ether during the 1930s.

the changes in troop concentrations by successfully monitoring the number and types of popular songs on radio stations in a progression of European nations as compared to German stations.⁴ In the decades to follow the technique became increasingly popular, and between 1977 and 1985 content analysis accounted for 21 per cent of all quantitative work published by the *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*.⁵ This technique has been largely overlooked by historians, however, due to the nature of such inquiries. Scrupulously systematic, content analysis can be long, labourious, tedious and expensive. Many examples of content analysis consist of brief works of restricted scope based on readily available contemporary materials. However historical content analysis is ideally suited to the analysis of many kinds of material - words, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, as well as meanings or messages within a text. The text itself can involve written, visual or spoken communication. The objective of content analysis is to quantify the qualitative, thereby revealing trends or patterns not discernible by employing more focussed techniques.

The need for a background of content analysis to support other selective and theoretical research in the field has been long since recognized. Gérard Laurence's *Le contenu des médias électroniques* focusses on television, but specifically addresses the issue of content analysis for electronic media and calls for an expansion of this type of research.⁶ He considers the approach itself an ambitious one, but hopes that other researchers will contribute to the systematic analysis of radio and television through the use of content analysis.

⁴ Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1991), 157.

⁵ E. A. Moffett and J. R. Dominick, "Statistical analysis in the *Journal of Broadcasting* 1970-1985," *Feedback* 28 (1987): 13-20 as cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 157.

⁶ Gérard Laurence, *Le contenu des médias électroniques* (St. Hyacinthe: Edisem, 1980).

He deals with questions of sampling, units of measurement, categorization, operationalization and genres. Another important example of the application of content analysis to the study of Canadian media is Paul Rutherford's *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada 1952-1967*, which successfully utilizes this method to rechart the course of early Canadian television.⁷ Although not calling specifically for content analysis, Paddy Scannell has also appealed for more research "solidly underpinned by detailed, empirical historical knowledge" in order to broaden a field that is very theoretical.⁸ In the twenty years since the pleas for this type of research by Laurence and Scannell this technique has yet to be employed to examine early Canadian radio.

Content analysis is more a technique than a theory. It lends itself to research in early radio, in particular, because of the limitations of the other sources. Continued semiotic analysis of surviving programs vastly enriches the literature, but it is difficult to claim such studies are representative of the period, given that a random selection from the total population of programs is impossible. Content analysis serves as a very effective technique to broaden the study of early radio because it provides the background and context for existing and future studies of other aspects of radio history.

This content analysis is confined to the 1930s, a developmentally important decade for the medium of radio in Canada. Mary Vipond notes that "although many practices had been established, the full impact of radio on Canadian life remained undetermined in 1932."⁹ Frank Peers, however, explains that by 1939 "no one disputed the importance of radio in the life of the

⁷ Paul Rutherford, *When Television Was Young* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

⁸ Paddy Scannell, "History and Culture," *Media, Culture & Society* 2 (January 1980): 1.

⁹ Vipond, *Listening In*, xvi.

average citizen, or radio's general pervasiveness".¹⁰ Certainly the changes that occurred in programming during this period of growth are essential to the full picture of early Canadian radio. The routinization of a full daily broadcasting schedule became entrenched in the 'thirties, and radio became one of the central popular entertainment media in North America. Within the confines of this decade the majority of Canadian radio stations moved to a new level of development, fully diversifying their schedules in the face of two monumental challenges - American commercial broadcasting and the establishment of Canadian network broadcasting.

The analysis of the radio program schedules drawn from the newspapers of three major Canadian cities, Halifax, Vancouver and Montreal, reveals a shared pattern of development but also regional and local differences as well as national and American influences. Not only do these cities represent the East Coast, West Coast and a linguistically diverse central city, but they encompass locations marked by differing influences: a strong impact of Canadian national networks in one city, a small independent competitive market in another and a broadcasting environment characterized by American affiliation in the third. By studying these different media markets, it is possible to trace the contribution of a variety of environments and factors to the development of Canadian radio stations through the decade. Additionally important to the structure of this study is that the radio program schedules employed include the full schedule available to listeners. They include not only the products of local stations but the American stations listed in the evenings, which presents a more realistic picture of the broadcasting environment. An evaluation of the listings employing only the program schedules of the Canadian stations would generate only a partial portrayal of the reality of the

¹⁰ Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 281.

listeners' choices. Thus a pattern of development emerges from three different cities marked by distinct broadcast markets and their unique features.

Although a full population is desirable for any type of content analysis the constraints of the size of population do not always make this possible or feasible. The scope of this study were defined as 520 weeks, encompassing Sunday, December 29, 1929 to Saturday, January 6, 1940. The program schedules were drawn from major newspapers in each of the cities, namely *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Montreal Gazette* and *The Halifax Herald*. The weeks were numbered and a random number table was employed to select by simple random sample method three weeks yearly from each city, ranging from Sunday, January 19, 1930 to Saturday, August 12, 1939.¹¹ This yearly selection was made in order to pinpoint the impact of annual changes and to assess gradual trends.

The average of the three weeks of program schedules levels out the effect of an abnormally short or long broadcast week, bringing the analysis closer to the norm. In the case of 1930, for example, the weeks include selections from January, June and October, covering the changes that reflected different seasons. Altogether, this sample provides a much more reliable picture of the radio schedule in the 1930s than previous historical works, which have tended to rely upon what broadcasters decided to present to various government committees studying broadcasting. Usually these were single-week samples, and picked to make a good impression or to present a specific case. The small size of these samples, and their selectivity, make them much less reliable than the large random sample presented here.

This sample represents 5.77 per cent or 114,365 programs of a total estimated population of 1,963,266 programs. While at first glance a 5 per cent

¹¹ A complete listing of this sample follows in Appendix A.

sample may seem small, in fact the repetitive nature of the weekly radio schedule made a sample of three weeks per year not only massive, but bordering upon excessive. Indeed it is probably the case that a one week sample of each year would have illustrated the same patterns.¹²

Methodologically the choice of a 5.77 per cent sample was a decision based upon manageability. To cite one example, the week of Sunday, November 19, 1933 to Saturday, November 25, 1933 in Montreal encompassed 3,427 individual programs. As the decade progressed, the number of programs available to listeners in the Montreal area expanded as the broadcast day was lengthened and additional stations were included in the regular listings in the newspapers. The sample for Montreal alone amounts to 43,917 programs; for all three cities the sample is vast of 114,365 programs (see Table 4.1). Conventional sampling size shrinks as the size of the population grows; for large populations over 150,000 sampling ratios of one per cent can be very accurate.¹³ Given that the sample size for this study

¹² A two-week sample may have proved sufficient since the second week would have evened out any irregularities. Any irregularities were more than accommodated by the three-week sample. To form a confidence interval for the proportion or, in other words, find out if you have a sufficient sample size, you can use calculations for the worst case scenario because there are no known proportions from the population to employ. Using the normative value for a 95 per cent level of confidence and proportions of 50 per cent (worst case scenario) a sample of 1536 would be significant for a 95 per cent confidence level. Consequently a sample of 114,365 would be highly significant.

$$n = z \text{ of } \alpha / 2 / b^2 \times P \times Q$$

where n is the sample size

z of α is the normative value = 1.96

b is half the width of the confidence interval, which is predetermined in the case of 95 per cent = 0.025

P is a known proportion in the population. No known proportions are available so the worst case scenario is used being 50 per cent or 0.50

Q is a known another proportion in the population. No known proportions are available so the worst case scenario is used being 50 per cent or 0.50.

I am indebted to the Statistical Methodology for the Social Sciences course of Université de Sherbrooke taught by Derek Hart, also of Dawson College, for introducing me to these concepts and to Derek Hart for conducting a personal review of the case of this sampling with me. I am also indebted to Prof. John D. Jackson of the Department of Sociology, Concordia University for his suggestions with regard to sampling for this study.

¹³ W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* Second Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1994), 214-216.

approaches the size of a population that can accurately be described with a one per cent sample, sufficient size is guaranteed. An even larger sample would have required a larger team of researchers and perhaps several lifetimes. A project of this scope for radio in this time period has yet to be attempted by anyone in the international literature.

Table 4.1 Number and duration of programs (in minutes) contained in the sample, classified by year and city

Year/City	HALIFAX		MONTREAL		VANCOUVER	
	Number of Programs	Minutes Duration	Number of Programs	Minutes Duration	Number of Programs	Minutes Duration
1930	2,025	64,337	2,458	107,110	1,706	71,083
1931	3,421	89,160	3,822	109,501	1,401	47,515
1932	3,223	78,651	3,800	96,853	3,164	191,974
1933	1,994	50,790	3,427	95,840	2,387	152,270
1934	2,635	63,419	4,007	92,317	1,251	73,524
1935	3,234	73,547	4,075	98,459	1,836	83,851
1936	3,836	86,783	5,913	143,700	3,613	135,999
1937	3,730	87,099	5,534	133,970	6,197	196,323
1938	4,426	102,754	5,633	143,165	7,099	211,610
1939	4,891	113,823	5,248	138,425	8,128	139,705

Total Program Listings in Sample: 114,365

Total Program Duration in Minutes: 3,273,557

Source: Unless otherwise specified all statistical information presented in table form or presented within the text is drawn from the sample listed in detail in Appendix A.

The unit of analysis is the individual program and the unit of measurement is the duration of the programs in hours and minutes, calculated upon a weekly basis. The sample has been selected on a year-by-year basis, using the same weeks for each of the three cities for reasonable comparisons. A file was created for each program, listing the time and date of broadcast, its

broadcast duration, city, station, classification by type of program and country of origin.

The creation of a usable classification system of programming type for this content analysis required the consultation of a variety of sources to establish a mutually exclusive and exhaustive list of categories. Since other models for this work are extremely rare, a combination of contemporary compilations and current compilations of the old-time radio type were reviewed to create a system of categorization suitable for this analysis.

The compilations were essential to this study because they provided the basis for the identification of programming. One of the earliest and best known American works of this type is Harrison B. Summers's *A Thirty-Year History of Programs Carried on National Radio Networks in the United States 1926-1956*.¹⁴ Published in 1958, Summer's work remains a useful tool, because it reflects the contemporary information available. The work, however, focuses very closely on major network programs and does not extend to regional and smaller productions.

Contemporary content analysis of early radio programs is extremely rare; among the only examples is American sociologist William Albig's study "The Content of Radio Programs, 1925-1935".¹⁵ His contemporary non-

¹⁴ Harrison B. Summers, comp., *A Thirty-Year History of Programs Carried on National Radio Networks in the United States 1926-1956* orig. ed. 1958 (New York: Arno Press Inc., 1971). Similar, although not as comprehensive, information is also available in promotional material from the networks, which published lists of their popular sponsored and sustaining programs. NBC, *NBC Network Programs* (NBC, June 1938); NBC, *NBC Network Programs* (NBC, November 1938).

¹⁵ Albig's judgmental sample was quite small compared to a work such as this. Albig limited the scope of his study to seven American radio stations and did not use an appropriate random sampling method. For his own convenience, allowing for seasonal differences while minimizing the intrusion of holidays, Albig used a judgmental sample of the first two weeks of February and the last two of July. The judgmental or purposive sample is less desirable and not based on probability theory. These types of samples are only appropriate to select unique cases or a population that cannot be reached without difficulty. It is not representative of a population and cannot be used to describe an entire population. William Albig, "The Content of Radio Programs, 1925-1935," *Social Forces* 16 (March 1938): 338-349.

random judgmental sample provides some guidelines to determine program categorization, but his work was quite restricted in scope. A review of Albig's work reveals that access to contemporary information assisted him immeasurably; unfortunately he provided no clues for identification seventy years later.

In addition to the contemporary works of Albig and Summer, the classification of programs presented by Gladstone Murray, general manager of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, to the Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting of 1939 was consulted.¹⁶ These contemporary classifications played a role in determining usable categories, but many of their program types are rendered useless by the lack of the necessary information in the newspaper listings to make the distinctions that were possible in the 1930s.

These program classifications were, in turn, modified by employing the recent American compilations of old-time radio programs; no such Canadian works exist. Two of the essential sources for identification of programming and examples of categorization for this content analysis are Jon D. Swartz and Robert C. Reinehr's *Handbook of Old-Time Radio: A Comprehensive Guide to Golden Age Radio Listening and Collecting* and John Dunning's *On the Air: the Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio*.¹⁷ Dunning's work represents an updated and greatly improved version of his earlier *Tune In Yesterday: The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio*. Other earlier and helpful sources include Frank Buxton and Bill Owen's *The Big Broadcast* and Vincent Terrace's

¹⁶ The categories employed by Gladstone Murray were "(a) Music - (1 - serious, 2 - popular), (b) Talks and dialogue, (c) dramatic, (d) variety (comedy, etc), (e) News, (f) Special events, (g) Religious and devotional, (h) Children's program, (i) Educational, (j) Sport, (k) Women's programs. Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939), 302.

¹⁷ Jon D. Swartz and Robert C. Reinehr, *Handbook of Old-Time Radio: A Comprehensive Guide to Golden Age Radio Listening and Collecting* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1993); John Dunning, *On the Air: the Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Radio's Golden Years.¹⁸ These works not only provided additional options for categorization but were employed in the identification of American programs in the sample.

Not to be ignored are the essential contribution of the newspapers themselves and contemporary periodicals. Although the information in the newspapers accompanying the radio program listings was sporadic and inconsistent, when available this was the best source of information with regard to programming that fell outside the scope of the major network productions. Local performers and Canadian programs were more likely to be described in highlights accompanying the program listings as well as in the explanatory notes that were regularly incorporated into the radio program schedules. Selections from the Canadian periodicals *Radio Weekly* and *Canadian Radio Guide* as well as the American *Radio Index* provided occasional references to programs not elsewhere identified.

The intricate web of program classification and identification generated by these diverse sources was distilled into a final tally of twenty-three categories of programs that were employed for the purpose of this content analysis. The categories were chosen based upon consistency of identification and for distinctiveness. Among the most distinctive categories were those that yielded some of the smallest proportions of programs within the schedules. Counted among these were astrology, education, exercise, games, opera, quiz programs, religious music and sports. Most of these types of programs were readily identified, usually by the title of the program, and were not easily grouped with other programs. These provide some insight into small local and regional variations.

Many of the other types of programs were driven by the American

¹⁸ Frank Buxton and Bill Owen, *The Big Broadcast, 1920-1950* (New York: Viking, 1972); Vincent Terrace, *Radio's Golden Years* (San Diego: Barnes, 1981).

networks during the decade and the limits of these categories are in large part defined by the recent compilations and early American classifications of such programs. Among the more obvious program types that do not vary from one source to another whether Canadian or American were children's programs, comedy, drama, news, religious programs, serial drama, talk, variety and women's programs. The three categories of adventure, crime and mystery, drama anthology and talk and information were based primarily upon the classifications employed by Swartz and Reinehr and Dunning. Adventure, crime and mystery was a category employed by Swartz and Reinehr while Dunning used each of the separate categories. The accumulated total of all these programs, whether Canadian or American, was always small enough that a grouping was reasonable. Talk and information was a device used only by Swartz and Reinehr; this category was retained to refer to the ongoing series of exclusively American talk programs that evolved during the decade, making an important and useful distinction between the network talk programs and local talks or addresses. Drama anthology was an exclusively American classification that is used throughout the literature to describe the ongoing drama series as distinct from occasions when a single production was mounted. Mutually exclusive categories were thus created.

A classification for special programming was necessary to describe events broadcast by radio that were out of the ordinary or were listed as *Special Feature* or *Program* in the schedule. Some key examples of such programs were the coronation of the King, the Royal Tour in 1939, the Admiral Byrd expedition, the presentation of Olympic medals and Royal greetings on special occasions.

As the largest component of all on the Canadian and American radio stations of the decade, music needed special attention. For the purpose of this

study, music has been divided into four groups. Opera and religious music have self-evident titles and are easily separated from the remaining music. The connotations of high culture that opera carried made it not only simple to separate out, but worth distinct evaluation in the content analysis. Religious music, however, was separated from the remaining music because it formed more of a subset of religious programming than of music and therefore it was important that it be evaluated on its own. All other musical programming was contained by the categories of dance music and music. Dance music includes all programs identified clearly as "dance music" or hotel orchestras, not specifically listed as a concert or symphony orchestra. This encompasses most of the popular music that owed a great deal of its success to radio. All other music such as soloists, symphonies, recitals, bands, trios, quartets, organ music, concerts and any other live or recorded musical performance are included in "music". Programs that did not fit into the other categories such as melodies, recordings, serenades and any other music also fell into the music category. A variety of smaller subsets of music could have been drawn out of the larger category of music, such as military, concert, organ, piano, recitals and symphonies. This more detailed classification of the music, however, would not have added appreciably to the discussion of music and its role in the schedule. It would have been interesting and informative to distinguish between "serious" and "popular" music, but it is impossible to do this because of the lack of detailed information in the program schedules. Music was unquestionably the dominant element in radio programming in the 1930s; whether it was of one type or another would have made some small differences, but would not have changed the overall place of music in the programming schedule. My musical categorizations differ substantially from the few contemporary studies. The contemporary records accessible to Albion allowed

him to divide the programs into categories that would be impossible to distinguish today, particularly in the case of music. Thus, Albig was able to divide music into nine sub-categories of dance, string ensemble, concert orchestra, soloist, combination, vocal, sacred, victrola and miscellaneous, but that has been impossible here.

Whereas variety and comedy are important distinctions in this study, they were collapsed into a feature category in Albig's work. The distinction can be a difficult one, but for the purposes of this study all programs containing primarily comedy were classified as comedy. Variety is a much larger classification, because it encompasses not only the primarily musical variety type programs that were popular in the evenings, but the other programs that included talk, philosophy and music, including many aired early in the day. This separation of categories is consistent with the distinctions made by Dunning, Swartz and Reinehr. Thus the classifications used in this content analysis represent a compromise between the desire for detailed categorization and the lack of readily available detail.

Unidentified programming remains a consideration for this type of historical analysis. An average of 10.44 per cent of the programs remain in an unidentified category due to the lack of any written evidence indicating their proper classification.¹⁹ In most cases it is pretty clear that these were musical programs. For example, listings of a single name or sponsor such as *Barrington Street Merchants' Program* and *Ungar's Laundry Program* were generally musical programming.²⁰ Soloists were often simply listed by name, for example the unidentified *Frankie McPhalen*.²¹ Other programs imply that

¹⁹ The rate of unidentified programs in the Vancouver sample was 8.182 per cent, 9.607 per cent in Montreal and 13.53 per cent in Halifax.

²⁰ "The Broadcasting Station C.H.N.S. of *The Halifax Herald*," *The Halifax Herald* 55 (January 20, June 4, and October 8, 1930): 1.

²¹ "Tuning In," *The Vancouver Sun* (May, 24, 1939).

they were musical through their titles, such as *Whistle While You Work*.²² Sponsor-identified programs tended to have some variation in a minority of cases and could frequently be variety programs. At the beginning of the decade when a greater number of performers, particularly local ones, were unknown, there was a more conscientious effort in the listings to identify such programs. In the latter part of the decade more performers were familiar and there was less of an effort made to do this. Due to the probability that the greatest proportion of these unidentified programs were comprised of music, they do not upset the balance because of the great weight already assigned to music within every program schedule.

The distinction or sub-category of the national origin of the program permitted the examination of the amounts of American programming available to Canadian listeners. Certainly American cultural products permeated the air. Songs played on Canadian programs were undoubtedly frequently American in composition and origin, even if they were performed live by Canadians. For the purpose of this study American content is defined as that which was directly imported from the American networks and broadcast by an American or Canadian station, lacking any Canadian input. In addition whenever possible regional or local programming will be highlighted in discussion, particularly with regard to French and English-language programming in Montreal.

Another sub-category worthy of attention is the distinction between sponsored and sustaining programs in the radio program schedules - that is those with and without advertising. While there are some indications within radio programs schedules as to some of the sponsored programs, in general this information is neither consistent nor reliable enough to justify a sub-category.

²² "Tuning In," *The Vancouver Sun* (May, 24 and June 23, 1939).

Some programs, such as the *American Sunday at Seth Parker's*, were well known as sustaining programs and the frequent listing of *Recordings* is another indicator of a lack of sponsorship. On the other end of the spectrum were programs that used the sponsor's name in the program name - for example, the local *Gerald's Gown Shop Programme* or well documented American network programs are equally easily identified as sponsored programs.²³ There remain, however, too many programs, particularly broadcast by the Canadian stations, that are impossible to identify as sponsored or not with any certainty. For example, it cannot be decided without doubt whether Ivy Evans's piano recitals were scheduled merely to fill gaps in the CKMO schedule or whether her family owned the local garage and sponsored the program, as was often the case when such programming was identified.²⁴ Diminished appearance of listings such as *Recordings* indicate that the sustaining programs were declining during the 1930s; however the lack of sufficient evidence of sponsorship precludes the integration of this variable into this content analysis.

The creation of the carefully structured and mutually exclusive categories employed produces reliable results. The fact that the content analysis was performed by one researcher eliminates any of the concerns about intercoder reliability that plague research groups. The rigid definition of categories and careful review of classification to verify consistency also adds to the reliability of the classifications.²⁵

One of the distinctions of this content analysis of the program schedules is that the entire broadcasting environment was incorporated into the study. Although the schedules at times included stations with questionable reception

²³ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (October 9, 1930).

²⁴ "Tuning In," *The Vancouver Sun* 87 (January 19, 1930).

²⁵ Neuman, 264-266; Wimmer and Dominick, 171-175.

they were included as part of the possibility of radio broadcasting that was presented by these schedules. As the decade progressed the range of these stations was quickly narrowed, reflecting a more realistic picture of local reception. This in itself reflected the transition from radio listeners who were captivated with the limitless possibilities of radio as a hobby to an audience seeking entertainment or perhaps information. By examining the full radio program schedule, this study includes the sought-after network programming available from American stations, scheduled largely in the evening. Only in the first few years of the decade did the daytime listings exceed the limits of ordinary reception. Some consistent exceptions to this restricted evening reception must be made to account for other factors affecting reception such as the ground conductivity and physical geography.²⁶ A greater range of stations was listed in the evenings, particularly at the outset of the decade; however, by the end of the decade the program schedules, even in the evening, included only local stations and stations within a reasonable proximity or with sufficient power to feasibly be received. This analysis of the complete radio listings then, reflects not only the reliably received programs at the end of the decade, but the possibility that radio represented at the beginning of the decade.

This examination of the full radio program schedules through content analysis of a simple random sample of the decade's programming in Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax permits an analysis of the growth, development and forces at work in the determination of the direction and evolutionary trends of Canadian radio programming in the 1930s. By including all the stations in the schedules, the development of Canadian radio can be

²⁶ J.M. Greene, "Where Radio Programs Get Largest Audiences During the Daytime," *Printers' Ink* (April 26, 1940), as cited in J. M. Greene, *Radio Station Coverage - Day and Night* (New York: NBC Reprint from the *Printers' Ink*, 1940), 5.

evaluated alongside its American competition, emphasizing areas of neglect and development resulting from the interaction of an assortment of variables at work. Rather than assessing Canadian radio programming in a void, the analysis of the full radio program schedule gives a greater sense of the challenges of competition within the local broadcasting environment of each of these cities as well as within the broader national and international framework.

Chapter 5
“The American Backdrop”:
The American Network Stations Within the
Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax Radio Program Schedules

American network programming formed a crucial backdrop for the development of Canadian radio programming during the 1930s. Indeed, more than a backdrop, American network programming set the stage for the development and direction of radio program schedules in both the United States and Canada. A quiver in American radio broadcasting would be echoed by a quake in the Canadian broadcasting environment. The dominance of specific types of American programs influenced the direction of program development for the entire continent.

American radio had a variable impact on radio stations in Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax because their levels of exposure to American network programming differed due to the proximity and reception of American or Canadian network affiliates. The preeminence of American network programming, however, remained unchallenged throughout the decade particularly in a few essential and innovative areas, especially adventure, crime, mystery, comedy, serial drama and variety. Leading the way in these genres, American network programming limited the options for competitors seeking to provide alternatives and thereby shaped Canadian programming.

RECEPTION

At the beginning of the 1930s a network structure had already taken a strong hold of American radio, and by the end of the decade the network conquest of the majority of the powerful American stations was complete. The general effect of this networking of American stations was to centralize programming and standardize it to such an extent that it directed trends across the nation. The spill-over effect into Canada was direct: when it was available American programming prevailed. Alternatively, lack of access to this programming led stations to depart from these trends to explore different

directions of program development to compensate for the void.

American network programming may have grasped hold of the hearts and minds of the Canadian listening public, but it did not have complete domain over the entire Canadian radio program schedule during the 1930s. With the exception of Canadian listeners who were within a 125 to 170 mile radius of a major American broadcaster, listening to American stations was limited to an evening experience.¹ Most Canadian listeners could realistically pick up the more powerful American stations on clear channels in the evenings when there was less interference and when dependence upon sky waves rather than daytime ground waves enabled a wider field of reception. Thus after sunset Canadian radio receivers were flooded with strong American signals. In the early years of radio, particularly the early 1920s, the pursuit of distant stations and keeping track of these conquests developed as a hobby. As the early hobbyist excitement wore off, listeners preferred to hear their favourite American programs clearly from local stations without the static and interference that often disrupted broadcasts from distant stations. This helped impel a few Canadian stations to pursue American network affiliation, making at least a portion of American programs available locally in Toronto and Montreal.

These changes in the listening patterns with regard to distant stations were clearly reflected in the newspaper listings of radio programs in each city. Until 1933, American stations often formed part of the standard listings, reflecting an optimistic view of reception. Specifically, American stations that were out of daytime reception range were often unrealistically listed. By the middle years of the decade each city in this study listed only major network stations and those in the immediate geographical vicinity, eliminating many of

¹ See Chapter 2 "Right on Cue: The Historical Background," n.3.

the network stations broadcasting identical programming. Starting in late 1936 until the end of the decade a pared-down, structured, grid-design of listings favoured the American networks and the new Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. These changes in the listings mirrored the increased importance of and emphasis upon the regular, reliable reception of radio programs, usually broadcast by networks, rather than the feat of listening to distant unusual stations.

NETWORKS

Entering the 1930s NBC had such a strong hold over the American radio market that it was able to design two networks - the Red and Blue. Alfred N. Goldsmith, RCA's chief engineer, recounted the following story of a ride to Washington with Elam Miller, AT&T operations engineer, just prior to the establishment of the networks: "We had some blank maps of the United States...We drew on these maps the networks that we hoped would come into existence in their entirety, based on WJZ and WEAF both located in New York City. WEAF stations and connections were drawn with a Red pencil, those of WJZ with a Blue pencil."² By January 1927 these dreams were realized and WEAF fed the Red network while WJZ fed the Blue network. The networks' program schedules were increasingly uniform, leaving little room for program variation; thus their stations were usually listed as a group in the newspaper program listings.

The National Broadcasting Company was launched on November 15, 1926 when a variety of interests was combined thereby overcoming an existing corporate and patent stalemate. This was, of course, not the first attempt at

² Goldsmith, "Interview," 21-22 as cited in Eric Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel: A History of Broadcasting in the United States Volume 1- to 1933* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 191, n. 5.

American network broadcasting. WEAF, owned by AT&T, maintained a network of twenty stations and the WJZ network, operated by the Radio Group - GE, Westinghouse and RCA - had a smaller network in the East. The larger agreement to settle the conflict between telephone and radio interests in 1926, however, cleared the way for NBC when a licence or patents pool agreement was redefined. AT&T received a monopoly over the provision of wire connections between stations and AT&T sold WEAF to RCA with an eight year non-competition clause.³ NBC ownership was split among RCA, holding 50 per cent, GE with 30 per cent and Westinghouse the last 20 per cent. In May 1930 RCA assumed full control over the network. The Red and the Blue remained separate networks under the umbrella of NBC throughout the 1930s; NBC also briefly added a Pacific Coast Network from 1927 to 1928 until coast to coast programming was initiated.

The Columbia Broadcasting System emerged as competition to NBC. First called the the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System, Inc., it merged interests with United Independent Broadcasters, Inc. to air the network's first program on September 25, 1927. Columbia Phonograph withdrew as did other investors until an ideal match was found in William S. Paley, whose family owned the Congress Cigar Company of Philadelphia. Paley bought a controlling interest in CBS in 1928 and remained at the company until 1977.⁴

The consolidation of American stations into networks remained an ongoing process during the 1930s. In 1933 NBC was dominant, owning ten stations outright; another 88 stations formed the NBC's Red and Blue networks (and supplemental stations) which constituted nearly 14.7 per cent

³ Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting* Second Edition (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1990), 66-68.

⁴ Sterling and Kittross, 108-110.

of all American radio stations.⁵ CBS initially rented time on independent stations, but by 1933 it had a network of 91 stations, constituting 15.2 per cent of the market.⁶ By the early 1930s CBS and NBC constituted 70 per cent of American broadcasting measured by transmitter power and 90 per cent in the evening when many smaller stations were not licensed to broadcast.⁷

The Mutual Broadcasting System emanated from the cooperative agreement of four major stations, WGN in Chicago, WOR in Newark, WLW in Cincinnati and WXYZ in Detroit to offer themselves as a package to advertisers; the network was launched on September 29, 1934. Unlike NBC and CBS, MBS lacked central ownership and did not enter into contractual agreements with affiliate stations. WXYZ left the partnership in 1935, and was replaced by CKLW in Windsor, Ontario. The four partners joined with 13 stations of the Colonial Network in New England and 10 affiliates of the Don Lee Network on the West Coast to make Mutual a national network in 1936.⁸

By the end of the 1930s the process of building networks was largely complete; in 1939 54.9 per cent of American radio stations were part of NBC, CBS or Mutual. All 52 of the American clear channels were held by the four national networks, enabling broadcasting coverage of almost the whole nation. NBC's network amounted to 167 stations and 23.1 per cent of the market, while CBS held 113 affiliates totalling 15.7 per cent and 116 stations or 16.1 per cent belonged to the Mutual Broadcasting System.⁹ Small independent stations quickly found themselves on the wayside of American broadcasting.

⁵ Sterling and Kittross, 108, 634.

⁶ Sterling and Kittross, 108, 634.

⁷ Robert W. McChesney, "America, I Do Mind Dying: Public Broadcasting in Troubled Times," *Current* 14 (August 14, 1995): 16-17, 19.

⁸ Sterling and Kittross, 156-158.

⁹ Sterling and Kittross, 156, 634.

Robert McChesney asserts that American non-profit broadcasting effectively ceased to exist in 1933 for the average American listener.¹⁰ This phenomenon of network domination was very obvious in Canadian radio program schedules, which never featured non-profit American radio stations.¹¹ At the beginning of the decade, only a few American stations in the Canadian listings were not affiliated with networks, but even these, such as KNX from Hollywood, were large commercial broadcasters that all joined networks by the end of the 1930s.

American network domination of clear channels and stations became more evident as broadcasting increasingly became a homogenized product heard across the continent. The essential difference was that the high degree of homogeneity and rigid uniformity of programming achieved among East Coast stations did not evolve until later in the 1930s on the West Coast. NBC did indeed dominate the West Coast, but the emergence of a distinctive divide between its Red and Blue networks was delayed there. Many West Coast stations claimed membership in both Red and Blue networks, which accounted for their indistinct loyalties and alternation between the programming of both networks; alliances solidified on the West Coast just after the mid-point of the decade.

While the interchangeable use of programming between Blue and Red networks represented an early variability in service, the lack of clear network affiliation on the West Coast was more of a dilemma for CBS. Many of the network's West Coast stations joined during the 1930s but not all of them maintained long-term relationships with CBS, while Mutual had no impact there until 1936. Shifting alliances, particularly on the West Coast, prevented

¹⁰ McChesney, "America, I Do Mind Dying," 16-17, 19.

¹¹ Specifically the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio program schedules never listed any non-profit stations.

the early development of a station-based regularity of programming similar to that evident in the eastern part of the United States.

Four East Coast stations constituted the core of all American broadcasting with increasing consistency by the end of the decade. Stations WABC, WJZ, WEAF and WOR most frequently formed a part of the radio program listings of both American and Canadian cities. Tables 5.1 to 5.4 below detail the programming categories broadcast by these four key stations, as drawn from the Montreal program schedule.¹² Table 5.1 outlines the programming of WABC New York, the anchor station for CBS; Table 5.2 WEAF New York of NBC's Red network; Table 5.3 WJZ New York of NBC's Blue network and Table 5.4 WOR Newark, a partner in the cooperative venture that launched the Mutual Broadcasting System.

As feeder stations for their respective networks these stations provided the basic structure of American broadcasting for the entire country. An essential feature of the contribution of these American stations to the sample as shown in Tables 5.1 to 5.4 is that they were restricted to the prime-time evening schedule listings after 1932 because the rich diversification of the daytime schedules of the American networks were usually inaccessible to Canadian listeners. As a result, the schedule analysis reveals a concentration of comedy, variety, music, dance music and drama in all its forms on the American stations. This part of the American network schedule had the greatest impact; it comprised the American broadcasting during the 1930s to which Canadians were most exposed.

¹² Unless otherwise specified all tables and statistics in this study refer to the sample described in Chapter 3 "Checking the Schedules: Methodology" and listed in Appendix A.

Table 5.3 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on WJZ (NBC Blue), 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	1.64	2.26	0.99	2.86	3.76	1.06	1.51	1.72	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0	0.19	0	0	0	0	0
Children	0	2.05	0.85	0	0	0	0.71	0	0.43	0.40
Comedy	8.34	7.50	7.20	6.27	4.20	5.67	7.26	6.21	1.08	1.01
Drama	1.46	3.91	6.64	6.93	7.06	6.33	4.60	4.52	8.84	6.66
Drama anthology	0.73	1.23	2.54	1.65	0.76	0.99	1.06	1.88	0	0.40
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.75	0	0
Music	60.23	38.14	28.10	28.33	23.52	21.31	27.32	19.20	24.93	35.74
Dance music	19.43	24.82	32.06	42.85	47.55	36.35	35.34	35.95	33.26	25.84
Religious music	1.10	0.73	0.85	0.50	0	0	0	0	0	0
News	0.37	1.86	2.12	3.63	4.07	6.27	6.84	7.53	6.39	3.10
Opera	1.10	0	2.35	0.99	0	0.79	0.71	1.63	5.17	0
Quiz	0	0	0.28	0	0	0	0	1.51	2.37	4.04
Religious	0.73	0.68	1.51	0	0.38	1.19	0.35	0.94	0.43	1.21
Serial drama	0	2.45	2.26	0.66	0.57	1.58	0.35	0.75	0	1.21
Special	0	0	1.41	0.66	0	1.58	0.12	0.75	0.22	0
Sports	2.56	2.55	4.39	0.06	1.21	0.20	1.77	1.25	0.65	0.61
Talk	0.18	7.59	1.22	2.37	4.20	9.43	6.02	6.40	4.53	10.70
Talk and information	0.73	3.32	2.26	3.47	1.34	0.59	2.30	3.95	4.02	1.82
Variety	3.05	1.64	1.69	0.33	2.10	3.76	3.83	4.71	4.31	7.07
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.19	0	0.20

Table 5.4 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on WOR (Mutual after 1935), 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.15	0.53	0.35
Astrology	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0
Children	0.89	10.87	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8.53	4.98	5.71
Comedy	2.55	3.46	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.64	0.53	1.04
Drama	1.53	5.27	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.64	3.44	0.35
Drama anthology	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2.13	0.71	0.17
Education	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0
Games	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.16	0.36	0
Music	61.50	43.16	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	14.59	39.06	36.59
Dance music	29.35	34.27	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	43.89	24.48	20.54
Religious music	0.51	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0
News	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5.36	7.17	7.16
Opera	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.33	4.62	0
Quiz	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1.24	1.73
Religious	0.76	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0.36	0
Serial drama	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0
Special	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.87	0	0.35
Sports	0	0.49	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4.10	3.02	8.60
Talk	0.84	0.99	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5.41	5.04	10.85
Talk and information	0.51	0.49	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6.07	2.31	1.90
Variety	1.57	0.99	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2.95	1.78	2.60
Women	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0

MUSIC

Because radio is an aural medium, music formed a natural and essential element of the radio program schedule, dominating broadcasting in every city across the continent throughout the 1930s. American musical programming was generally of a high calibre, produced live in the studio or supplied live by a network. With the support of their networks, major American stations never resorted to recordings to fill their broadcast days. As early as 1922 the Secretary of Commerce prohibited the use of records by powerful stations, designated as Class B, while networks refused to employ them as a matter of pride. A 1928 survey of western American stations by Federal Radio Commissioner Harold Lafount revealed that records comprised a mere 13 per cent of the program schedule.¹³ We may assume, however, that phonographs were undoubtedly heavily relied upon by the smaller stations that were not as well financed as the networks.

Although American network stations were already operating at an advanced level without the necessity of a regular diet of recordings, they nevertheless began the 1930s with musical programs described in very general terms, such as *Dance Music* or *Orchestra*. Other musical offerings appeared as *Old Melodies*, *Concert* and *Symphony*. Performers specifically identified by name remained a distinct minority in the 1930 program listings. *Max Dolin and His Violin* with its self-explanatory title is one example of a recurring performer on the American NBC network stations. *John and Ned* was a less illuminating description, but they too were frequent musical performers on NBC. Musical performers specifically identified by name or title increased as radio stations obtained more sponsors, underscoring the lack of reliance on recordings.

¹³ Sterling and Kittross, 72, 83, 115.

The trend toward these performer-identified, specifically named programs and sponsorship started in the 1920s, but intensified in the 1930s. A detectable increase occurred each year of the decade. In 1931 the move away from anonymous programming became evident with the introduction of the *R.C.A. Victor Program*, *Carnation Contented Program*, *Stromberg Carlson Program*, *Crema Band Concert*, *Enna Jettick Melodies* and *Jones and Hare*. Billy Jones and Ernie Hare were the ultimate example of brand name artists. They claimed to be the first paid radio entertainers and more importantly changed their name with every sponsor.¹⁴ In quick succession they were the Happiness Boys when Happiness Candies was their sponsor, the Interwoven Pair for Interwoven Sox, the Flit Soldiers for Standard Oil, the Tasty Breadwinners and most commonly the Tastyeast Jesters for Tastyeast Bakers. A fairly even division between the more anonymous *Melody Moods*, *String Quartette* and *Concert Trio* and the more specific *Kate Smith*, *Bing Crosby*, *Boswell Sisters* and *Paul Whiteman's Music Hall* resulted by 1934. In a similar manner, orchestras or dance music became *Dance Music with Paul Whiteman*, *Rudy Vallee and His Orchestra* or *Artie Shaw and His Orchestra*. This star system for radio developed quickly during the 'thirties, particularly on American radio. Listeners would have been very surprised to find many musical programs that were not identified by the name of the artist, band or

¹⁴Jon Swartz and Robert C. Reinehr, *Handbook of Old-Time Radio: A Comprehensive Guide to Golden Age Radio and Listening and Collecting* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1993), 358-359. Billy Jones and Ernie Hare are singled out as important examples of the early commercialization of American radio in Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting 1920-1934* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1994), 93-124.

sponsor by the end of the decade.¹⁵ American networks supplying many of the headliner shows provided the impetus for the rapid acceleration of this process. The decade witnessed the persistent growth of a star system in radio music, fostered and cultivated by the networks. As the single most important element of the schedule, music was the foundation of radio in the 1930s, taken for granted to fill any gaps in the schedule.

The star system took root in radio by virtue of the link to advertising. Eric Barnouw acknowledged Albert D. Lasker of Lord & Thomas as the dean of advertising, the man who cemented the bond between radio and advertising.¹⁶ Michelle Hilmes further reinforces the concept of advertisers bringing Hollywood to radio in her analysis of the role of the J. Walter Thompson Company. She cites company personnel files that agreed that John Reber "was perhaps the first to realize that the star system, the lifeblood of motion pictures, could revolutionize radio," acknowledging that he led the movement of radio production to Hollywood.¹⁷ By the mid-1930s this star system was pervasive not only in music, but in comedy, variety, drama and daytime serials.

Not only did performers rise to stardom on the radio, but those with established vaudeville credentials such as Kate Smith and Bing Crosby

¹⁵ In fact, it is this particular trend to use the names of the artist or sponsor that makes many program offerings impossible to identify to an absolute certainty. This accounts for some later years with higher rates of unidentified programs; only the most famous artists made it into the old-time radio compilations while the most obscure were sometimes explained in the radio schedule. The programs that did not fall into either category, not worthy to be discussed in compilations or contemporary magazines, and newspapers remain unidentified. Many of the programs in the unidentified category are without doubt music but because the program is identified with a single name, absolute certainty is impossible.

¹⁶ Eric Barnouw, *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States Volume II - 1933 to 1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 9-18.

¹⁷ Robert T. Colwell, "Theme Song Days," RG3, box 3, folder 9, Sidney Bernstein papers, Officers and Staff - Sidney Bernstein - JWT Personnel Information - Daniel Danker, RG3, JWT as cited in Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 118.

enhanced their careers on the new medium. The dwindling fortunes of the vaudeville circuit during the Great Depression provoked many stars of the vaudeville stage to find salvation in radio. In terms of timing, the rise of radio was indeed serendipitous for the vaudeville stars who were buffered from the effects of the Depression when they made the changeover to radio. For example, or so it was claimed, at WLW performers were "scarcely aware that a Depression existed."¹⁸

The star system encouraged the continued use of American network music programs despite the fact that this type of program could potentially easily be produced locally. Table 5.5 shows that American music (that is music produced for American networks) was a significant force in the full schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax.¹⁹ The initially strong entry of American music programs reflected the appeal and strength of the

Table 5.5 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of music programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	35.58	28.30	21.51	20.52	17.12	17.93	19.52	19.81	19.35	12.70
Canadian Content	17.18	15.66	11.83	17.93	17.08	15.70	16.40	14.20	15.98	18.62

star system. The decline of the genre as a proportion of the overall schedule

¹⁸ Ruth Lyons, "Reminiscences," (Unpublished, 1959), 6 as cited in Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, 271.

¹⁹ The impact of American content within the individual program schedules of the cities of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax varies. Tables with a full listing American and Canadian content in each of the cities, companion tables to Tables 5.5 to 5.15, can be consulted in Appendix B.

over the course of the decade reflects the increased diversity of both Canadian and American stations, more realistic listings of American stations within the schedule and the inherent ability of local stations to produce their own music programs.

Sterling and Kittross assert that prior to 1930 orchestras alone were the most popular musical network programming.²⁰ The continued presence of dance music, which was largely defined as hotel orchestras from the Waldorf Astoria, St. Moritz, Savoy Plaza and Biltmore Hotels and others identified by name such as the *Ted Fio Rito Orchestra*, *Guy Lombardo Orchestra*, *Xavier Cugat Orchestra* and *Wayne King Orchestra* as shown in Tables 5.1 to 5.4, attests to the ongoing popularity of the genre. At a minimum of 19.43 per cent of the WJZ schedule in 1930 and a maximum of 57.47 per cent of the WABC schedule in 1933, the standard position the hotel orchestras maintained in the late evening is clear. The contribution of American dance music programs to the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax schedules as compared to the limited Canadian alternatives attests to the popularity of well-known American bands and orchestras, as shown in Table 5.6. Music of all types was thus one of the

Table 5.6 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of dance music programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	15.66	21.86	23.10	20.09	19.54	15.88	17.15	15.80	13.07	15.30
Canadian Content	2.48	3.86	4.14	6.27	5.33	4.97	4.28	2.12	2.76	3.58

²⁰ Sterling and Kittross, 118.

American networks' core areas of competency, supplying a wealth of programming to affiliates throughout the continent.

ADVENTURE, CRIME AND MYSTERY

The American networks had an enormous advantage over Canadian radio stations in the realm of adventure, crime and mystery programs. This head start was maintained as the bulk of these types of programs were supplied by American networks even at the end of the decade when the Canadian stations were finally beginning to produce a few mysteries. The massive discrepancy in the production of these types of programs between Canadian and American stations illustrates the fact that the stations were at different stages in their development, as shown in Table 5.7 below. As part of

Table 5.7 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of adventure crime and mystery programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	0.75	1.17	1.08	0.25	0.52	0.56	0.54	0.62	1.31	0.82
Canadian Content	0.03	0.01	0.09	0	0	0.02	0.05	0.10	0.06	0.04

a network, it was much easier for the American stations to include expensive adventure programs, comedies or other major productions as the production costs were in essence shared with all the stations in the large American networks.

For most of the decade Canadian listeners found almost all of their

adventure, crime and mystery programs on American stations. Even so the genre remained a very small portion of the schedule of any American station. The forerunners of many early types of adventure programs were popularized and cultivated as subsets of the genre in the early 1930s. In 1930 the absolutely first adventure program, *Empire Builders*, benefitted from the widespread distribution of the NBC network of stations. Airing from 1928 to 1931, it chronicled the adventures of travellers in the northwest and was sponsored by the Great Northern Railroad.²¹ In a distribution similar to that of *Empire Builders*, the radio version of Arthur Conan Doyle's *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* appeared in the Halifax, Montreal and Vancouver schedules broadcast by American stations as a crime program as early as 1931.²² This instantly popular detective-mystery had a very long life on radio, starting out October 20, 1930 and enduring until 1956.²³ The network system created a structure that made it possible for such programs to flourish.

The distribution of other adventure, crime and mystery programs could be best described as uneven. The first western, *Death Valley Days*, presented an example of program that made slow progress across the country and the continent. The program was initially broadcast by the NBC Red network in the 1930-1931 season. The next year it moved to the Blue network and was contained in the sample of schedules on the East Coast as early as 1932 on the powerful KDKA. The same program did not appear on the West Coast until much later (1934) over KOMO, despite its sponsorship by the Pacific Borax Company, a West Coast company.²⁴ The inconsistent distribution of the program was notable, because as a program that endured from 1930 to

²¹ Sterling and Kittross, 121; Swartz and Reinehr, 316.

²² Sterling and Kittross, 121.

²³ John Dunning, *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 610-612.

²⁴ Dunning, 195.

1951, eventually filmed as a television program with Ronald Reagan as host, it would have been a likely candidate for a wider and more consistent distribution.²⁵

Although the American networks could generate a standard national schedule, and in most cases did, there were many erratic and sporadic additions to the schedule. These programs were indeed network programs, but were not picked up by all the network's affiliates. An example on the West Coast was the unusual series *The Bishop and the Gargoyle*, a crime drama about a bishop and a Sing Sing convict who became a crime fighting team.²⁶ The wider range of adventure, crime and mystery programs that appeared in the 1930s listings included *Gang Busters*, *Calling All Cars*, *Alias Jim Valentine*, *Thatcher Colt Mysteries*, *Big Town*, *Mr. Keen*, *Mr. District Attorney*, *Detective O'Malley*, *Crime Clues* and *I Love a Mystery*. These programs often had long runs in network production, but were not all necessarily retained consistently by single stations, and thereby were not regularly available to the same audiences from coast to coast.

The supply and availability of this type of programming effectively discouraged local independents from shouldering the cost of similar productions of their own. Sporadic attempts were made at competition; however the support of a network was essential in the development of adventure, crime and mystery. Although it was not necessarily as expensive as some other genres that employed big-name talent, ongoing dramas this genre required the kind of financial commitment routinely made only by the network broadcasters and advertisers.

²⁵ Dunning, 195-196.

²⁶ This series was only available in the 1936-37 season and was picked up in the 1936 sample for Vancouver on stations KGO and KJR for NBC-Blue. Dunning, 95.

COMEDY

Comedy was a very strong and profitable element on the American networks, especially NBC, during the 1930s. The profitable comedy shows played a significant role in helping the networks stem the tide of the Depression. Comedy became one of the areas where a clear distinction emerged between the NBC Red and Blue networks. The Red network was more profitable and by 1935 was clearly deemed by sponsors to be more attractive. Once sponsors started to prefer the Red, Blue became the dumping ground for talks and less commercial fare, thus weakening Blue and reinforcing the strength of Red.²⁷ This transition of the larger share of comedy programming from one network to another was clearly discernible on the East Coast at the feeder stations. West Coast stations showed less of an impact from this change due to their initial membership in both Red and Blue networks.²⁸

The effects of the policy of shifting comedy programs from one network to another, thereby strengthening the key characteristics of each network, are demonstrated by the sampling of NBC programs shown in Table 5.3. WJZ, the feeder station of the Blue network, made a very strong start in 1930 when 8.34 per cent of its programming consisted of comedy. While Blue maintained a strong lead in comedy, it slowly decreased in terms of its place in the schedule. Comedy declined to 4.20 per cent of WJZ's schedule in 1934 and to 5.67 per cent in 1935. In 1935, for example, *Amos 'n' Andy* was aired by both Red and Blue networks. Despite any shifting fortunes of comedy on American networks, these American network programs commanded an overwhelming lead over Canadian comedy, as shown in Table 5.8.

²⁷ Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, 272.

²⁸ This is evident in a comparison of the radio program schedules of *The Vancouver Sun* 1930-1939 and that of *The Montreal Gazette* 159-168 (1930-1939).

Table 5.8 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of comedy programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	3.04	6.06	2.80	3.34	2.72	3.15	2.75	3.80	2.60	2.56
Canadian Content	0.03	0.04	0	0.14	0.21	0.32	0.28	0.22	0.21	0.11

WJZ initially introduced and came to dominate the comedy genre in 1930 with its most famous comedy, a show described as "The Pepsodent Programme - *Amos 'n' Andy*, blackface comedians".²⁹ Initially billed as *Sam 'n' Henry* and aired over WGN in Chicago between 1926 and 1927, the show with its comedy duo of Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll moved to WMAQ when WGN refused to allow them to distribute their program through electrical transcription. The show debuted as *Amos 'n' Andy* on WMAQ on March 19, 1928, at the same time increasing its audience base by sending the pre-recorded program to subscribing stations outside of the network structure. Concurrently the Lord and Thomas advertising agency convinced Pepsodent to sponsor the program. When the program aired for the first time on August 19, 1929 on NBC it had independently acquired a large share of the market and sponsorship. *Amos 'n' Andy* peaked in 1931, but endured until 1960 in various forms.³⁰ This program was particularly important to this genre because its sustained financial success and its lasting position in the popular collective

²⁹ For one of many examples please see "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (June 2, 1930).

³⁰ Dunning, 31-34; Hilmes, 84-88.

memory of the continent transcends its significance to NBC. The ability of the program to extend itself beyond the typical boundaries of network distribution through electrical transcriptions opened up possibilities to the program and genre unrealizable without this additional boost.

The simple decision made by Judith Waller, program director at WMAQ, to distribute *Amos 'n' Andy* by electrical transcription transformed comedy on the West Coast.³¹ All of the NBC stations in the West Coast sample broadcast the transcribed version, making it the most frequently aired comedy program in the schedule. Of the 80 comedy programs on American stations contained in the 1930 Vancouver program schedule sampling, 59 featured incidences of a station broadcasting *Amos 'n' Andy*. Except for two listings for CBS comedies, the remainder were NBC comedies. *Amos 'n' Andy* literally introduced the genre of comedy to the West Coast during the 1930s. Thus *Amos 'n' Andy* became the earliest of a series of situational comedies, also including *Fibber McGee and Molly* and *Easy Aces*, that gained a strong following during the 1930s.

Although *Amos 'n' Andy* and other situational comedies accounted for much of the Blue network's early success, the roster of comedy also encompassed other types. To cite other examples in the 1930 WJZ program schedule, *Cuckoo* consisted of a burlesque skit from "station KUKU" and the *Tastyeast Jesters* was a male trio that performed songs in Swedish dialect with ukelele accompaniment.³² Drawing upon comedy of diverse origins, WJZ was unquestionably the dominant comedy station at the beginning of the decade, providing more comedy in its evening schedule than WEAQ, WABC and WOR

³¹ Ruth Adams Knight, *Stand by for the Ladies: The Distaff Side of Broadcasting* (New York: Coward McCann, 1939), 42-43 as cited in Hilmes, 86, 303-304, n. 34.

³² "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (June 4 and 5, 1930).

combined.³³

The secondary stream of growth in comedy, however, increasing by the middle of the decade, reflected the introduction of the American vaudeville tradition to radio. Ed Wynn, lured from vaudeville to radio in 1932, was one of the early performers instrumental in establishing the studio audience as part of the comedy show's framework and ambience.³⁴ The vaudeville performers' propensity, however, to perform live in the evenings created scheduling difficulties on the West Coast that suppressed the rise of vaudeville-style radio comedy there until the second half of the decade.³⁵ George Burns and Gracie Allen, another well known, long-running comedy duo, were featured on CBS commencing in 1932 and for the remainder of the decade. The introduction of vaudeville performers constituted a major addition to the existing comedy programs.

The star quality of the performers and their so-called feuds focussed popular attention upon personalities such as Fred Allen and Jack Benny, who both had roots in vaudeville.³⁶ The vaudeville tradition and possibly the magic of radio can partially account for the success of the Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy ventriloquist act in this medium. Other comedies featured in the 'thirties are too numerous to mention, but included *Al Pearce and His Gang*, *Phil Baker*, *Pick and Pat*, *Lum and Abner*, *The Gibson Family*, *Stoopnagle* and

³³ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (January 19- 25, June 1-7 and Sunday October 5-11, 1930).

³⁴ Interview with John Royal as cited in Barnouw, *The Golden Web*, 99.

³⁵ West Coast stations listed in the radio program schedule of *The Vancouver Sun* reveal that these live programs aired three hours earlier, so a 9:00 p.m. East Coast show would air at the less opportune time of 6:00 p.m. These programs were, however, favoured over serial drama and children's programs which did not appear until the second half of the decade. *Amos 'n' Andy* did not experience similar problems, because an electrical transcription offered flexibility when it came to scheduling.

³⁶ The antics of Jack Benny and Fred Allen have been widely discussed and are quickly reviewed in Hilmes, 188-212; and Barnouw, *The Golden Web*, 100; See also Margaret T. McFadden, "America's Boy Friend Who Can't Get a Date": Gender, Race and the Cultural Work of the Jack Benny Program, 1932-1946," *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 113-134.

Budd, Vic and Sade, Kaltenmeyer's Kindergarten, Gloom Chasers, Wife Saver, Phil Cook's Almanac, George Jessel, Tommy Riggs and Blondie. The wide variety and long tradition of comedy shows and performers assured the American comedy industry of an early and sustained success in radio across the continent.

The early successes of shows such as *Amos 'n' Andy* and the vaudeville performers maintained the lead of the NBC Blue network station, WJZ, in comedy for the larger portion of the decade; as late as 1937 comedy occupied 6.21 per cent of its schedule, although it dropped to 1.08 per cent in 1938. Comedy reached 6.40 per cent and 6.55 per cent at the CBS station, WABC, and at WEAF, NBC Red, respectively in 1937. WABC's comedy levelled off to 3.26 per cent in 1938 and 4.89 per cent in 1939. *Lum and Abner, Joe Penner, Burns and Allen, Pick and Pat* and *Al Pearce's Gang* all became part of the regularly scheduled CBS comedy on WABC. *Burns and Allen* and *Al Pearce's Gang* appeared on two networks, surfacing as an NBC Blue network comedy in the WEAF schedule. *Kaltenmeyer's Kindergarten, Fibber McGee and Molly, Jack Benny* and *Amos 'n' Andy* completed WEAF's roster. WEAF's comedy settled at 3.37 per cent in 1938 and 4.70 per cent in 1939. WOR of the Mutual network trailed the other networks; comedy represented only 1.64 per cent in 1937, 0.53 per cent in 1938 and 1.04 per cent in 1939. Thus the balance of comedy had shifted by the end of the decade. It declined on WOR and WJZ, while it grew on WEAF and WABC. Despite the changes and transitions in comedy programs and their shifting fortunes on various networks, comedy remained an important genre to the American networks during the 1930s, easily eclipsing any Canadian efforts.

VARIETY

Variety expanded even more rapidly on the American networks than comedy, occupying a significantly larger portion of radio program schedules for most of the decade. Variety, aired in the mornings and evenings, was a compilation of different elements, usually musical numbers, but also talk, comedy or a dramatic sketch. In 1930 most listings of variety provided little description, reading simply *Variety*, *Novelty* or *Vaudeville*. The exception was *Sunday at Seth Parker's*, a universal and early success. The premise for the program was very different from others, as it presented a fictional account of a group that gathered at "Seth Parker's" Sunday evenings to sing hymns and enjoy each other's company. The program was offered as a sustainer to the affiliates by NBC.³⁷ The purpose was to bridge the gaps in programming, because the network did not want to "sell religion".³⁸ The wide distribution of this program by the network was an early indication of the networks' power to support the expensive variety format.

The early success of *Sunday at Seth Parker's* as a sustainer was, however, an exception; sponsorship was essential to the development and success of the variety format. The first fifteen-minute program to obtain sponsorship in this category was the *Camel Quarter Hour*, a largely musical variety that incorporated talks by Tony Wons, a popular radio talk program host.³⁹ *RKO Theater of the Air* was an early 1931 vaudeville-style variety program. Chase and Sanborn sponsored a number of shows that included *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* with Eddie Cantor, *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour* and later in the decade *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* with Edgar

³⁷ Sustaining programs were offered for free to network affiliates partly in exchange for carrying sponsored programs and as part of the added benefit of the network.

³⁸ Dunning, 605-606.

³⁹ Dunning, 133. This early start spawned *Tony Wons' Scrapbook* using inspirational talk and self-improvement format to span the decade. *Tony Wons' Scrapbook* lasted from 1930 to 1942.

Bergen and Charlie McCarthy. *The Eveready Hour*, the first major variety program, was considered "the most ambitious project of its day...a full hour of entertainment and information...a radical departure from the ordinary sponsorship of a dance orchestra" and appeared in schedules across the continent.⁴⁰ An outgrowth of musical programming, variety developed early as a genre and it spread rapidly. *Hodge Podge Lodge, Roxy and His Gang, Collier's Radio Program, Kodak Week-End Program, Crosscuts from the Log o' Day* and others numbered among the diverse variety programs that appeared throughout the decade. Local Canadian stations could never compete with the expensive, star-studded variety productions of the American networks, ensuring their unchallenged preeminence in the genre of variety throughout the decade as indicated in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of variety programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	6.68	5.63	7.65	5.48	4.98	4.28	5.20	6.31	5.19	3.39
Canadian Content	1.05	0.96	0.33	0.89	1.53	1.55	1.42	1.80	2.33	1.90

SERIAL DRAMA

The serial drama came into its own in the 1930s, blossoming into a huge industry that eventually made the crossover to television. Michele

⁴⁰ William Peck Banning, *Commercial Broadcasting Pioneer: The WEA Experiment, 1922-1926* as cited in Dunning, 235. Many programs were listed simply as *Variety and Al Pearce* or *Variety and Jack Benny*.

Hilmes notes that serial dramas such as *The Rise of the Goldbergs*, *Clara, Lu and Em*, *Myrt and Marge* and *Just Plain Bill* were broadcast for their first few years in the evening but that by the mid-1930s the networks cleared the evenings of serial drama.⁴¹ She also cites *Variety's* 1936 statistics, which indicate that the network daytime schedule consisted of 55.3 per cent serial drama, 16.1 per cent "talks" and 11.4 per cent juvenile programs.⁴² Analysis of the program schedules employed in the sample for this study makes it possible, for the first time, to pinpoint the shift of the bulk of the serial dramas to the afternoons in 1936.⁴³ The shift of these live serial dramas to the afternoon on the East Coast meant that they would be part of the morning and early afternoon schedule on the West Coast. This was the juncture when the serial drama also became an important element of the schedules of West Coast American stations. The genre was almost exclusively American in origin, virtually uncontested in Canada, as shown in Table 5.10. The increase in distribution of serial drama through networks and electrical transcriptions accounts for its added contribution to the schedule.

Rather than being immediately expelled from the evening schedule, the serial dramas drifted away from it. Tables 5.1 to 5.4, outlining the American networks' evening schedules, demonstrate that serial drama did not assume a role of equal importance to each network. WOR, not part of a network until after Mutual Broadcasting was created, never carried any serial dramas in the evening. WABC (CBS) started to carry evening serial dramas in 1932; the genre reached its high point at 4.78 per cent of the schedule in 1935, mostly accounted for by *Just Plain Bill* and *Myrt and Marge*, every week night from

⁴¹ Hilmes, 151.

⁴² Edgar A. Grunwald, "Program-Production History, 1929-1937," *Variety Radio Directory 1937-1938* (New York: Variety, 1937), 28 as cited in Hilmes, 151.

⁴³ This was clearly the case on the East Coast and will be pinpointed in the discussion of serial dramas in the Montreal chapter. Montreal was directly affected by the decisions of the American networks on the East Coast and their changing priorities.

Table 5.10. Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of serial drama programming in the overall Vancouver radio schedule, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	0.53	0.97	1.79	1.02	0.78	1.48	1.78	3.13	3.40	4.70
Canadian Content	0.03	0.21	0.28	0	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.22	0.14	0.11

7:00 to 7:30 p.m. In 1936, however, serial dramas contributed less than a third of what they had the year before. By 1939 WABC aired no serial dramas in the evening. WAAF of NBC's Red network followed an almost identical pattern. Its serial dramas went into decline in 1937. Some serials, particularly the longer ones such as *One Man's Family*, remained an exception as part of the evening schedule as late as 1939. WJZ of the Blue network never really committed to serial dramas as a part of the schedule. The years 1931 and 1932 marked the Blue network's strongest use of the genre, when it occupied 2.45 and 2.26 per cent of WJZ's schedule. With the exception of 1935, serial dramas made up less than half that proportion of the evening schedule until, by 1938, WJZ had discontinued them completely.⁴⁴ Thus, with a few exceptions, the shift of the serial drama from night to day was complete by the end of the decade.

The meager showing of serial drama on the American West Coast stations was altered in a positive way by the decision on the East Coast that

⁴⁴ The only exception to WJZ's abandonment of serial drama was the brand new *Brent House*, which experienced a short run from January 21, 1939 until June 4, 1940. Dunning, 118.

the genre was better suited to the afternoons. A long-neglected component of the evening schedules of western stations KOMO, KIRO, KOL and KJR, in mid-decade serial drama became a consistent part of the West Coast schedules, mainly in the daytime. The scheduling move made the genre palatable and even desirable on the West Coast. For example *Arnold Grimm's Daughter*, which was broadcast by CBS at 1:30 p.m. on the East Coast, was regularly scheduled by West Coast stations of CBS at 10:30 a.m. By 1936 serial dramas were suddenly dispersed throughout the West Coast schedule and they experienced tremendous growth over the next three years. In the last years of the decade musical and variety programs were scheduled in the evening spots that had previously been filled by serial dramas. Transcriptions also contributed to serial drama's newly discovered success on the West Coast.

Serial dramas were numerous and diverse. From the mid-point until the end of the decade the varied programs included *The Affairs of Anthony*, *Your Family and Mine*, *Houseboat Hannah*, *Ma Perkins*, *Dan Harding's Wife*, *Young Hickory*, *Guiding Light*, *Backstage Wife*, *The Story of Mary Marlin*, *The Rise of the Goldbergs*, *Stella Dallas*, *Big Sister* and an assortment of others too extensive to list. The generous supply of serial dramas meant that exposure to specific programs was inconsistent across the continent. Except for very well established and long-running programs such as *Ma Perkins*, which ensured their extended reach beyond the networks with the assistance of electrical transcriptions, there was only rarely a common national experience of these programs. The Canadian experience of this genre derived almost entirely from the United States.

NEWS

News only took on importance for the American networks in the second

half of the decade. Eric Barnouw noted in a pinpoint analysis of one-day's program listings on Thursday, November 16, 1933, that WEAJ offered no news, while WJZ's Lowell Thomas represented the beginnings of NBC Blue's news, as did WABC's Boake Carter for CBS.⁴⁵ In this sample the year 1933 did represent a sparse year for news on the American networks. WEAJ was indeed the weakest of the three, although minute traces of news are reflected in the sample for this study, such as *News in Washington* with George R. Holmes. WABC had discovered news by 1933, as Barnouw noted, but outside of news bulletins, H. S. Kaltenborn was the only frequently featured news commentator. Boake Carter became more prominent in 1935.⁴⁶ NBC's Blue network was the sole regular provider of news. Barnouw explained that WJZ and the NBC network were reputedly a "dumping ground for talk and other items which, it was felt, would be useful ammunition *vis-a-vis* Washington."⁴⁷ The large number of sustaining programs broadcast by the NBC Blue network were used to counterbalance the popular commercial programs of the Red network. The Blue network was used as a public relations ploy when NBC came under pressure from the Federal Radio Commission to provide more culturally uplifting programming. Thus although NBC Blue provided more news than the other networks in an effort to present more information and education, none of the American networks had much news programming prior to 1935.

The principal reason for the slow growth of radio news was resistance from the newspaper industry. Initially newspapers did not perceive radio as a

⁴⁵ Eric Barnouw, *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States. Volume 1 - 1933 to 1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968): insert following page 90.

⁴⁶ Boake Carter does not even appear in the 1933 sample, indicating that his start was late in year (Barnouw looked at November 16, 1933) or that his appearance was sporadic. In 1934 his appearance was sporadic. He became WABC's most prominent news commentator from 1935 to 1937.

⁴⁷ Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, 272.

threat and some newspapers owned radio stations and shared in their profits. However, from at least the mid-1920s, many newspapers owners started to see radio as a competitor for advertising revenues. Early disagreement among the publishers on the appropriate course of action with respect to radio dissipated in the midst of the Depression; sufficient hostility had developed by April 1933 that the American Newspaper Publishers Association in an effort to deprive radio of the newspaper exposure it needed, resolved that radio schedules would be published only as paid advertising.⁴⁸

The essential conflict between radio and the newspapers was that radio stations could use newspapers or wire services to 'scoop' the newspapers. United Press and the International News Service gathered their own news and offered their news free to radio for its promotional value with on-air credit.⁴⁹ Similarly radio was used for self-promotion by newspapers that owned radio stations. On the other hand, Associated Press, which was a cooperative news agency that gathered news from member newspapers, as well as the small independent stations, had nothing to gain when the news was released first by radio. These groups fed the anti-radio faction. Once the anti-radio faction of the newspapers reached 'critical mass' the wire services were all persuaded to cease providing news to radio under the threat of loss of revenues.⁵⁰ By withholding news, the newspapers forced the establishment of news divisions by NBC and CBS.

The initial efforts of the networks to provide news services of their own resulted in news commentary programs and the emergence of the cult of the

⁴⁸ Alf Pratte, "Going Along for the Ride on the Prosperity Bandwagon: Peaceful Annexation Not War Between the Editors and Radio 1923-1941," *Journal of Radio Studies* 2 (1993/1994): 123.

⁴⁹ Gwenyth Jackaway, "American's Press-Radio War of the 1930s: a case study in battles between old and new media," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 14 (1994): 302.

⁵⁰ Jackaway, 306.

news personality. Although news did not really gain any momentum on WJZ until 1932, the station invariably maintained some news. The year 1934 marked a turning point. That year daily news programs alternated between Lowell Thomas and Press-Radio News on the Blue network station WJZ. WABC news programming swelled with the greater use of news commentators, among them Edwin C. Hill and Boake Carter. In 1935, Edwin C. Hill appeared on the West Coast CBS stations and Rush Hughes on NBC. By 1936 WEAJ arrived on the news scene with Edwin C. Hill, who had moved to NBC and was heard on both the Red and Blue networks that year. By mid-decade, when network news emerged, the trusted news anchor constituted an essential component of the American network news format.

The Press-Radio News bulletins that surfaced in 1934 were the result of negotiation between the Associated Press and the networks over control of the news. It was finally agreed that a central agency, Press Radio Bureau, would provide these bulletins, the scheduling and content of which would be regulated by the newspapers. The expense and inadequacy of their news departments led the networks to acquiesce to the demands of the newspapers. However restricted these bulletins were they were generally the first of this type of news to establish a routine place in network station schedules. In addition to the news commentary programs identified by the anchor's name, these bulletins became part of the mainstay of network news programming for the remainder of the decade.

The delayed development of news by the American networks and dearth of local substitutes emphasized the extreme dependence of affiliates on the network for programming. This reliance is especially obvious in the case of news, because although local alternatives would have sufficed they did not

generally emerge in the first half of the decade.⁵¹ Instead American radio stations clung to the news programming supplied by the network and simple news bulletins were rejected in favour of commentary. The weakness of the contribution of American network news due to the ongoing conflict with the American newspapers is evident in the comparison afforded by the program schedules, as demonstrated in Table 5.11. While American networks hesitated, Canadian stations filled the news gap. By the end of the decade,

Table 5.11 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of news programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	0.43	0.99	1.50	1.12	1.70	2.80	3.21	3.47	4.09	3.78
Canadian Content	1.64	1.77	1.51	4.10	5.25	4.65	3.92	3.38	3.42	3.59

however, the situation had evened out. News had become a fixed part of the network broadcast schedule and the news personality or anchor closely associated with the newscast had become the mainstay of American news programming.

TALK

Talk programming was not immediately seized upon by the networks. Prior to the development of an appropriate format for the genre it remained a

⁵¹ The listings indicated on occasion that *Darrell Donnell* was news, but always that it was on KGO; thus it was a station-based rather than a network program. "Tuning In", *The Vancouver Sun*, (September 28-October 1, 1937). Other occasional examples were *Radio Headlines* and *News Reporter*. On the West Coast where more daytime listings constituted part of the sample news was not appreciably more prominent.

sporadic network contribution and an irregular component of programming on local American stations. While local community groups and politicians filled the talk programming segments of American radio schedules in the early part of the decade, this format did not take permanent root; it was marginalized and largely eliminated by the middle 'thirties. By 1935, as shown in Table 5.12, when talk started to assume a network format, it began to occupy a consistent place in the schedule.

Table 5.12 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of talk programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	2.40	2.46	3.25	3.09	1.81	3.84	3.51	5.21	4.80	4.64
Canadian Content	0.93	1.75	0.46	3.60	5.68	4.57	3.11	3.29	2.11	2.61

Tony Wons' Scrapbook, launched by CBS in 1930, was an early attempt to develop a talk program format. The program was a mixture of Wons' own philosophy, memories, readers' letters and quotations. Enduring until 1942, Wons' program was symptomatic of the loose structure of talk early in the decade. The University of Cincinnati offered university-type lectures on WLW, such as "German Chemical Manufacture" by Dr. D. R. Bergsmark in 1932.⁵² In general, however, the talks did not form a repetitive pattern in a series. *Agriculture Program*, *Health Talk* and talks listed simply as talk formed the early norm for the genre. American talk programs still ranged in 1938 from

⁵² "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 161 (November 12, 1932).

The University of Chicago Round Table, which discussed public affairs and controversial issues such as strikes, prohibition, war, presidential politics, communism and isolationism at an advanced level, to *Jimmie Fiddler's Hollywood Gossip*, which chronicled the shortcomings of Hollywood stars and Hollywood productions. Until the last few years of the decade the direction of American talk programming remained unclear, shifting in a variety of directions to satisfy many tastes.

When American networks entered the fray, in the middle of the decade, they transformed talk by adopting an entertainment format that capitalized on self-help and advice. *Alexander Woollcott*, a literary commentator, and *Voice of Experience*, the first major advice show, were among the earliest network talk programs of this nature to achieve a national distribution. The *Voice of Experience* was first heard on WOR in July 1932 and moved to CBS from 1933 to 1936; from 1936 to 1937 it was broadcast over NBC and then settled at Mutual in the last few years of the decade. Assisted by electrical transcriptions, the program also extended beyond the network stations. In 1936 the American network talk format expanded with *National Radio Forum*, *Goodwill Court*, *Western Farm and Home Hour* and *America's Town Meeting of the Air*. Self-help became one of the popular formats of the continuing American talk programs. Some programs such as *I Want a Divorce* dispensed legal advice, probably providing a real service. Others, however, invited a new type of voyeurism as entertainment that had not previously existed. For example *Goodwill Court's* host, A. L. Alexander, invited real court defendants to tell their story and a legal panel to dispense advice. Less than three months after its premiere the New York Supreme Court banned judges and lawyers from appearing on the program.⁵³ It was replaced by *Goodwill Hour*, which did

⁵³ Dunning, 288.

not encounter its predecessor's problems because it did not use any lawyers.⁵⁴ *Variety* described *The Goodwill Hour*, also carried by Mutual in 1939, as "revolting drivel" laced with "unintentional pathetic comedy." Its host "John J. Anthony" would dispense advice on marital and financial problems mainly from women questioners.⁵⁵ The self-help and advice programs represented the network's entertainment version of talk. Talk programming, like news, was rarely initiated by individual or independent American radio stations, revealing again how dependent they were upon the networks in all genres.⁵⁶

CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMING

Children's programming remained a standard part of American radio programming throughout the decade; however, as its format evolved the genre was inconsistently employed in the schedules of American stations of different regions. Like talk, children's programming presented an opportunity to develop inexpensive independent programs, largely of the "Auntie" and "Uncle" or story-time variety, using local talent to tell stories and sing songs. The programs appeared habitually in the daytime time slot after school, in the late afternoon and at bedtime. These types of programs appeared in the schedules of East Coast stations, but lacking any standard network-issue programs West Coast stations opted to broadcast no children's programming at all.

Even after the arrival of a standard children's format of juvenile serial dramas the genre remained neglected by West Coast stations. The difference in time zones meant that some of the time slots habitually filled with children's programming, particularly in the late afternoon, were occupied by live

⁵⁴ Dunning, 288.

⁵⁵ Dunning, 288-289.

⁵⁶ Although it might be expected that the lack of local talk programming was a function of the largely evening sample, West Coast stations such as KOMO and KJR were listed for the entire day in Vancouver and showed no evidence of talk programming alternatives to the network offerings.

vaudeville-style comedy. Likewise when variety was shifted to the earlier afternoon slots it left few optimal positions for children's programming in the schedule. As a result children's programs that enjoyed years of popularity on the East Coast were only routinely introduced to West Coast schedules in 1937 after comedy moved to later evening spots and serial drama was shifted to the morning and early afternoon. Despite the innovative efforts in the realm of children's programming put forward by the networks, adult programming took precedence on the West Coast. Although long a part of the American network schedule, children's programming only grew in Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax when these programs were more widely available through electrical transcription in the latter part of the decade, as indicated in Table 5.13.

The introduction of the children's program *Little Orphan Annie* was pivotal. It marked the start of the juvenile radio serial drama, a genre in and of itself, and it set the pattern for the development of American children's programming for the decade. First aired by WGN in Chicago in 1930, but quickly picked up by the NBC Blue network, which aired the program from April 6, 1931 to January 19, 1940, it was broadcast at 5:45 p.m. weekdays.⁵⁷ *Little Orphan Annie* was the catalyst for the explosion of juvenile drama that included such long-running favourites as *The Lone Ranger*, *Treasure Island*, *Jack Armstrong*, *Tarzan*, *Chandu the Magician*, *Howie Wing*, *Dick Tracy*, *Popeye the Sailor*, *The Green Hornet*, *Speed Gibson* and *Buck Rogers*. As ongoing dramas, similar to the serial drama, the programs developed a regular and loyal set of fans.

⁵⁷ The program was aired concurrently by Mutual from November 2, 1936 to January 19, 1940. Dunning, 402-403; Swartz and Reinehr, 76-77, 86. The lack of any evidence that the program was distributed by electrical transcription in the schedule and its late arrival on the West Coast indicated that it was available solely through the network in the 1930s.

Table 5.13 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian children's programming in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930-1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	0.48	1.41	2.13	1.17	1.20	1.51	1.76	2.25	3.31	2.26
Canadian Content	0.33	0.66	0.63	0.63	0.60	1.22	1.24	1.39	1.10	0.93

Another type of children's program that emerged was juvenile repertory. The short-lived children's theatre program *Our Barn*, which endured from 1936 to 1941, drew many of its performers from *The Children's Hour* and NBC's *Coast to Coast on a Bus*. *Let's Pretend*, however, remained the most successful of this genre, running on CBS from September 7, 1929 to October 23, 1954, featuring children's fairy tales and employing child performers.⁵⁸ By the decade's end, then, the field of children's programming encompassed two popular subgroups: juvenile drama and juvenile repertory. The "Auntie" and "Uncle" programs that had launched the genre were effectively removed from American network broadcasting by these new productions. While Canadian children's programs did not encompass the same quantity or variety of juvenile serial drama or repertory, the continued use of the "Auntie" and "Uncle" programs allowed them to maintain a consistent place in the schedule.

⁵⁸ Miriam Ross was well known as a young child for her toothless cackle as witch, but played a range of other roles. Louie Rosella, "Miriam Ross, 78, radio actress," *The Toronto Star* (Thursday, October 5, 2000), B-5.

DRAMA

The juxtaposition of high brow and low brow culture was a defining feature of American radio drama scheduling.⁵⁹ The networks presented prestige drama formats such as *Lux Radio Theater* and the *Mercury Theater on the Air*; in addition the wildly popular serial dramas and portrayals of small town America, such as *Memory Lane*, thrived on the same networks.⁶⁰ In terms of prestige or serious drama, however, as Howard Fink has argued, the American networks "generated...exceptional sustaining filler in a mainly sponsored programme schedule".⁶¹ The American networks unquestionably possessed the resources to finance memorable drama anthologies, giving these networks a distinct advantage over independent stations in this realm of programming. This clear advantage is illustrated by Table 5.14, which indicates that American drama sustained a commanding lead over Canadian drama throughout the decade.

The premium drama anthologies which acted as the showcase for American radio drama consisted of ongoing serious drama series that usually had network commitment. NBC's *Radio Guild*, radio's first major experimental theatre, received a one hour time slot on NBC in the late afternoon. It presented fairly lengthy productions in installments, which it preferred to exceeding the time allotment or condensing the content.⁶² Early in the decade, WABC aired the British *Theatre of the Air*, which competed with NBC's *Gems of Drama*. CBS soon added the dramatic anthology *The Mercury*

⁵⁹ Hilmes, 183-187; Howard Fink, "The sponsor's v. the nation's choice: North American radio drama," in Peter Lewis ed., *Radio Drama* (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1981), 185-243.

⁶⁰ *Memory Lane* was only loosely classified as drama; it was more of a "slice of life". It first aired on KPO, San Francisco over the NBC West Coast Network in April 1927. The sample indicated that it survived into the 1930s. Hilmes, 102-103.

⁶¹ Fink, 240-241.

⁶² Dunning, 564.

Theater on the Air to its offerings and by the end of the decade the networks produced *Campbell Playhouse*, *Radio Theater*, *Columbia Workshop* and a host

Table 5.14 Average percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of drama and drama anthologies in the full radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	1.74	3.89	5.26	3.67	3.23	3.90	2.76	3.11	3.62	2.35
Canadian Content	0.15	0.16	0.30	0.68	0.79	1.22	1.07	0.89	1.10	0.52

of other dramatic productions. As indicated in Tables 5.1 and 5.3 drama and drama anthologies made up a considerable portion of the evening schedules of WABC and WJZ, the anchor stations for CBS and the NBC Blue network, and this portion increased in the late 1930s. The longer average length of serious drama, in particular, meant that fewer productions added up quickly in terms of their contribution to the total radio schedule. By the end of the decade some of the serious dramas had acquired sponsors. *The Mercury Theater on the Air*, for example, became *Campbell Playhouse* in 1938 when Campbell Soups became its sponsor. The unsponsored sustaining programs represented a substantial commitment on the part of the networks which did not receive advertising revenue for the large blocks of time consumed. Thus they migrated to the evening schedule only when they gained sponsorship. As sustaining programs, the serious dramas were provided to assist network affiliates in their efforts fill and balance their schedules and to convince the Federal Radio Commission that they had the best interests of the American public in mind.

Fink noted that drama was what the listeners of the early 'thirties wanted. In a sponsor-driven medium the American networks did their best to provide drama, and this of course meant that they went well beyond a small offering of serious drama as sustaining programming.⁶³ *First Nighter* was an example of the popular American drama that more frequently populated the weekly schedules of the American radio stations. Mr. First Nighter strolled down Broadway to "the little theater off Times Square" at which the listener became a member of the audience for a series of three-act plays with regular performers.⁶⁴ *Grand Hotel* and *Hollywood Hotel* were ongoing dramas set in hotels that shared performers and a format with *First Nighter*. *Grand Hotel* was based in Chicago; *Hollywood Hotel*, however, was the first major network show to broadcast from the West Coast. In *Hollywood Hotel's* short run from 1934 to 1935 the program exploited Hollywood talent by expecting performers to appear free in exchange for billing.⁶⁵ In 1931 *The Collier Hour*, designed to boost the circulation of the magazine, was described as the first significant network dramatic anthology.⁶⁶ The format was varied, ranging from thrillers to the crime story *Fu Manchu*. *The Collier Hour* only had a five-year run from 1927 to 1932 and quickly evolved into a variety format. Although the occasional production of Shakespeare did surface and sustaining premium dramas remained in the schedules of the affiliates, the lighter dramas increasingly became a strong component of the schedules.

By 1935 very little of the "high brow" culturally significant drama was available on the West Coast American stations, where the anchor stations did

⁶³ Fink, 191.

⁶⁴ Swartz and Reinehr, 325. This popular program debuted in 1929 as radio adaptation of Broadway plays. Hilmes, 213.

⁶⁵ Dunning, 323-324.

⁶⁶ Dunning, 163-164.

not dominate as thoroughly as on the East Coast.⁶⁷ Instead, programs like *Court of Human Relations*, a dramatized human interest story program, appeared frequently in the listings, as did *Dog Drama*, *Police Drama*, *Mary Pickford*, *Spy Drama* and *Novelettes*. In the last two years of the decade, *Fish Widowers* ran alongside *Silver Theater* and *Mercury Theater*. The high-minded hopes and ideals of those who felt they would bring culture to the masses had not been completely extinguished, but from a standpoint of pure volume the kind of drama that *Fish Widowers* and *Dog Drama* represented had won out in some regions of the country. High culture was not dead, but it was certainly not first choice in the radio schedules of the highly commercialized radio industry of the United States. Nevertheless, it still far exceeded the output of Canadian stations.

OPERA

Another occasional nod to high culture in the 'thirties was represented by the inclusion of opera in the radio program schedule. Susan J. Douglas argues that "these early years [were] marked by musical extremes: opera, the *sine qua non* of cultural elitism, and jazz, the exemplar of bottom-up cultural insurgency."⁶⁸ The jazz-inspired white band leaders and performers that she discusses, such as Paul Whiteman, were heavily in evidence in the sample for the decade. Opera, however, remained an extremely variable component of the schedule, hardly existing in some years and regions. *The Chicago Opera* and the *Metropolitan Opera Company* appeared regularly, as did *Light Opera* and various other network performances, but they did not amount to substantial

⁶⁷ This is particularly significant because sample included stations such as KOMO KJR and other stations whose entire time schedule was included.

⁶⁸ Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In, Radio and the American Imagination, from Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern* (New York: Times Books, 1999), 89-90.

portions of the schedule. Opera was another realm affected by time zones, as it was less likely to appear on the West Coast. The rarity of opera in this region and variability in others would indicate that it was not considered a standard part of the radio diet, even when available through the network.

RELIGIOUS PROGRAMMING

American network religious programming was characterized by a variety of pre-formatted network religious series, catering to different faiths, which varied from year to year. An early example of religious programming contained in the sample was *Back Home Hour* featuring the preaching of the professional baseball player turned fire-and-brimstone evangelist, Billy Sunday, from 1929 to 1931.⁶⁹ Surviving for three decades starting in 1930, *Catholic Hour*, which featured prominent church figures, appeared regularly in the schedule. *Message of Israel* started in 1935 and continued until the end of the decade. CBS presented its *Church of the Air* twice on Sundays from 1932

Table 5.15 Average percentages of broadcast duration of religious programming in radio schedules of Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, not including unidentified programs, 1930-1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content	0.80	1.82	0.78	0.22	0.49	0.65	0.62	0.77	0.62	0.91
Canadian Content	1.21	1.10	0.76	0.87	2.26	2.61	1.64	1.32	1.22	1.49

to 1947. Catering to many faiths, the origination alternated between

⁶⁹ Swartz and Reinehr, 235.

Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Mormon, Christian Science, Dutch Reform and other churches. All the American programs were formatted specifically for national broadcast. Few if any local church services appear on the schedules of the American stations sampled; however the evening programming did not lend itself to a sampling of the typical Sunday morning services.⁷⁰ The limited contribution of all generic religious programs is evident in the overall radio program schedules, as shown in Table 5.15. As we shall see later, while the Canadian stations programmed more religion it mainly comprised church services.

OTHER TYPES OF PROGRAMMING

Very few other types of programming garnered much network time or attention. One remaining area was sports programming. Play-by-play broadcasts of baseball and football accounted for the majority of time devoted to network sports. American networks also developed sports commentators during the 1930s, especially after 1936. The new roster of sports commentators including *Ira Blue*, *Frank Bull* and *Al Hardy* paralleled the pattern developed by newscasters, where the personality identified the program. Unlike news, however, the category of sports provided such a mix that sports commentary could never be anything but a small portion of the total. American stations' reliance on the network was important particularly to follow out-of-town games, ensuring a specialized focus on a few sports. This was not a genre that flourished or experienced radical change during the decade; the addition of sports commentary was the single variation to a set format.

⁷⁰ Daytime programming that was available in the sample for the American stations on the West Coast indicated that Sunday services were a consistent part of the schedule, but were not an overwhelming proportion of the religious programming; network programming remained an important element.

By virtue of the fact that the evening portion of the American network schedule formed the majority of this sampling, many genres of American network programming do not appear. Among the types of programming that appeared only rarely in the American evening offerings were women's programming, religious, opera and exercise, all typically daytime offerings. Their occasional inclusions in the network schedule added to the overall variety but did not make an impact on the main directions of network programming.

CONCLUSION

American network programming remained at the core of broadcasting across the continent during the 1930s. Through affiliates and directly over the air Canadians had almost as much access to American network programs as did residents of the United States. The American networks, able to afford the considerable cost of developing innovative programming, easily and overwhelmingly dominated the categories of adventure, crime, mystery, comedy, serial drama, drama anthologies and variety. This domination of various genres of programming accounts for the striking similarity of program schedules produced nationally within the network system; variation was limited largely to such constraints as time zones.

The preeminence of network programming meant that its foci and its programming directions and initiatives had widespread implications for stations in both Canada and the United States. Entertainment remained central to the American networks' interpretation of the objective of radio programming. Comedy, drama, variety and musical performances seized the attention of the networks first, their entertainment potential immediately apparent. During the 1930s these genres were followed by the cultivation of news, talk and children's programming when their entertainment possibilities

were recognized.

The overwhelming dominance of American networks over certain genres left very little space for independent stations to develop competitive or alternative programming. Some of the most fertile ground remained the areas of talk and news that did not become important foci of the networks until half way through the decade. Lacking the ability to produce competitively in the genres dominated by the networks, local independent stations started out on their own path independently and relying on local resources. Women's programming, largely a part of American daytime schedules, was inaccessible in most parts of Canada and thus another opportunity left open for Canadian stations.

A variety of other genres of programming was available for development on the local level, but as a rule could not meet the standards set by the networks. Sports and religious programs, by their very nature, were readily accessible to stations through the national networks, but were also easily cultivated through the use of local events. American stations leaned upon the crutch of network broadcasting of more religious commentary rather than the religious services. Music and dance music were obvious elements of the schedule that could be produced by all stations, with varying levels of quality. Children's programs and drama could potentially be developed locally as well, but would have to compete with set network formats that evolved during the decade. To a great extent the American networks were able to determine programming priorities for the continent. American network programming not only effectively controlled the schedules of the affiliates and supplemental stations, but had a residual effect upon all the other stations within range that hoped to compete in a bid to build their own audience. To produce a true alternative to network programming independent stations would have to avoid

the established genres and the techniques employed by the networks would have to be set aside. But listeners' tastes were set by the networks, so those developing alternatives could not stray too far.

Radio stations unaffiliated with the American networks were unquestionably playing catch up on an uneven playing field. The greater resources of the networks allowed them to dictate, to a large degree, the direction of program evolution during the 1930s. Whether independent stations tried to imitate or to deviate from the trends evident in network programming, the networks still played the major role in setting the stage for program expectations. Independent program development generally flourished only in areas neglected by the American networks. Alternatively, areas dominated by American stations were developmentally delayed largely due to the expense involved and also because the demand was already being satisfied, at least in regions close enough to receive American network stations. This was the context within which Canadian radio stations struggled to survive and develop in the 1930s.

Chapter 6
“Stage West”:
Vancouver Radio Program Schedules 1930-1939.

The survival of the local radio stations in Vancouver in the 1930s was testament to their ability to diversify their program schedules in order to face the challenges of the decade. Diversified programming adequately armed the independent radio stations to confront the dominant American network programming and the new Canadian national network. The programming decisions executed by the Vancouver stations, evidenced by the radio program schedule, became acts of self-preservation in a highly competitive market. The resulting program schedules reveal that Vancouver radio stations conformed to the common pattern of schedule development, from novice to mature, shared by local independent radio stations across Canada during the 1930s.

The unique character of the Vancouver stations was that, although numerous, they were evenly matched. None of the enduring Vancouver radio stations drew support from a well-financed corporate entity. Neither did any of them experience the advantages or disadvantages of American network affiliation; nor (with one exception) did they reap any of the benefits of Canadian network membership. Lastly, the immediate proximity of powerful American radio stations allowed daytime reception, representing an additional source of competition to the local radio stations. These unique factors, the local context and national broadcasting changes combined to direct the evolution of the Vancouver program schedule and ultimately the success of the stations in the city.

THE CITY

The geographical location of the city of Vancouver was distinct from that of the other cities in this study in that it was close enough to some American radio stations to enable daytime reception. On the other hand, by

virtue of its location the city was deprived of American network programming provided by wire, available only to Montreal and Toronto. As was the case in other Canadian cities, however, broadcasts direct from American stations flooded the Vancouver airwaves in the evening.

At approximately four times the size of Halifax and approaching a third the size of Montreal, Vancouver, with a population of 245,593 in 1931, possessed a sufficient audience to support a variety of radio stations.¹ For the better part of the decade eight stations were consistently clustered in and around Vancouver, guaranteeing acceptable reception. The city's rate of 47.03 per cent radios per household in 1931 was very close to the national average of 47.69 per cent.² By 1941, 89.7 per cent of households in urban areas of British Columbia possessed radios, attesting to the growing interest in radio broadcasting.³ The array of Canadian radio stations and easy access to American stations made Vancouver's listening conditions representative of the ongoing choices presented to Canadian listeners along the American border.

"TUNING IN"

The simple random sample for this study was drawn from the daily newspaper radio programming schedules that were consulted by the listeners of the day.⁴ Consistent and reliable radio listings cannot be assumed to be a given in this decade. Some newspapers only featured the program listings of a single local radio station, particularly if it was one the newspaper owned. *The Vancouver Sun*, the basis of the Vancouver sample, generally provided reliable

¹ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* Volume II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), Table 8, 13.

² *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* Volume V, Table 58, 980.

³ *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941* Volume I, Table 17, 421.

⁴ For more details with regard to sample selection see Chapter 4 "Checking the Schedules: Methodology" and Appendix A.

and comprehensive radio schedules. The one exception to the reliability of *The Vancouver Sun's* schedule, however, was that CKCD was not listed from 1930 to 1934, despite the fact that it broadcast regularly in the evening. CKCD belonged to *The Vancouver Sun's* competitor, the *Vancouver Daily Province*, accounting for this early omission. The end of *The Vancouver Sun* ban on CKCD listings coincided with the shift of the operations of CKCD from the *Province* to the Pacific Broadcasting Company.

Aside from this bias against CKCD, *The Vancouver Sun's* program listings were generally thorough, with few changes over the course of the decade. Situated in the middle of the spectrum, the *Sun* neither owned a radio station that it was motivated to promote, nor did it go to the other extreme of never mentioning the word radio.⁵ In 1930, Vancouver listeners who consulted the newspaper's listings read "Tuning In" by Charles M. Defieux, a column that usually offered program highlights and clarifications of the daily schedule. Minimal commentary accompanied the listings; in 1933 the schedule was reduced to a list. In 1935 the schedule acquired a more prominent position in the newspaper which now highlighted its sponsorship of CKWX news, calling itself the "Sun Newspaper of the Air".⁶ Bill Newell became the compiler of the schedule that year and radio editor by 1939.⁷ The highlights and program commentary returned with the arrival of Newell, but no other major changes were made in the decade. The consistent commitment of *The Vancouver Sun* to its schedule indicated that it believed an established local listening audience

⁵ Anecdotal evidence suggests that some newspapers would not use the word radio, while others scratched call letters out of photographs. Marianne Morrow of CFCY in Charlottetown and Don Laws of CJOR in Vancouver as quoted in Bill McNeil and Morris Wolfe, *Signing On* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1982), 43, 159.

⁶ It was moved from its habitual spot on pages 17, 18 or 19 to page 7, but only temporarily, in 1935.

⁷ Good examples of the change in format coinciding with Newell's introduction appear in *The Vancouver Sun* the week of November 30-December 6, 1935. The earlier samples for that year in January and February do not include this change.

existed. Radio had become such a widespread phenomenon that a newspaper ignoring radio programs would have forced its readers to look to its competition for this vital information.

THE ROSTER OF STATIONS

In 1930 the roster of radio stations listed in the Vancouver radio program schedule created the illusion of a veritable multitude of listening options. The reality was that the Vancouver airwaves were populated with a patchwork of very small local broadcasters which broadcast only part-time. The part-time local stations were augmented primarily in the evenings by powerful American stations, but initially the long list of American stations included many that could not realistically be heard. By the end of the decade the radio program schedule favoured local stations and only the strongest American stations in the immediate proximity of Vancouver. Whereas in 1930 twenty-one American stations had been featured in the schedule, this number was reduced to eight by 1939. Vancouver entered the decade with ten local stations and left with eleven. This narrowed focus reflected a more accurate portrait of the broadcasting environment.

The practice of the Radio Branch of the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries of liberally granting licences on the condition that frequencies were shared, initiated in 1925, partially accounted for the initial dearth of full time broadcasters in Vancouver. In 1930, five of the eight radio stations in the immediate vicinity of the city shared one frequency. The shared frequency of 730 on the dial accommodated CKCD, CHLS, CKFC, CKMO and CKWX.⁸ Exclusive frequencies were only available to CFCT in Victoria, CJOR in Sea Island and CNRV in Vancouver. This initial shortage of frequencies

⁸ "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 36-49.

suppressed the expansion of programming hours at the outset of the 1930s.

This situation was alleviated in 1933 by the redistribution of frequencies and the elimination of the practice of granting licences to phantom stations.⁹ In Vancouver the crowding of five stations on one frequency was partially remedied by splitting this cluster of stations into two groups. CKCD and CKWX shared the frequency 1010, while CKMO and CKFC occupied 1410.¹⁰ The operations of CHLS were folded into those of CKCD. Elsewhere in Canada, shared frequencies were eliminated completely at this time, which provided the impetus for the emergence of a few dominant stations. The continued practice of shared frequencies in Vancouver ensured that no one station could attain immediate predominance. This unusual arrangement, probably the result of frequency over-crowding on the West Coast, was maintained for the remainder of the decade.¹¹

The three stations broadcasting in the Vancouver vicinity in 1930 that were unfettered by the constraints of a shared frequency also failed to take a commanding position in the broadcasting market. CFCT, at best, was a part-time broadcaster with religious inclinations. The local Canadian National Railways' radio station CNRV was already in decline in the early 'thirties, contracting under the pressures placed on Canadian National Railways. CNRV was ultimately replaced by CRCV, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission station, then transformed into the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station CBR. CJOR most closely approximated a full time broadcaster in the Vancouver area. Stations broadcasting from the

⁹ Until 1933, when the CRBC was formed, licences were granted to phantom stations. These were stations that did not have their own frequency or facilities but leased them from another station. Initially this was helpful to sponsors when sponsored programs were discouraged.

¹⁰ "Index by Locations with Map Key," *The Radio Index* no. 68 (April 1, 1933): 62.

¹¹ Regulation of the number of stations per city was tackled again in 1940 when many of the stations of the 1930s relinquished their licences. "North American B.C. Stations by Locations," *The Radio Index* no. 134 (December 1939): 87.

surrounding region, including CFJC in Kamloops, CHWK in Chilliwack and CKOV in Kelowna contributed sporadically and were of limited consequence to the radio program schedule. Over the course of the decade CKWX, CKMO, CJOR and CBR emerged as full time Vancouver stations but none of them ever became overwhelmingly dominant.

TABLE 6.1 Power levels in watts of stations accessible to Vancouver listeners, 1930 and 1939

Canadian Stations				
Station	City	Network	1930	1939
CBR	Vancouver	CBC	n/a	5,000
CFCT	Victoria	n/a	500	500
CFJC	Kamloops	CRBC, CBC	100	1,000
CHLS	Vancouver	n/a	50	n/a
CHWK	Chilliwack	CRBC, CBC	100	100
CJOR	Sea Island	n/a	500	500
CKCD	Vancouver	n/a	100	100
CKFC	Vancouver	n/a	50	50
CKMO	Vancouver	n/a	50	100
CKOV	Kelowna	CRBC, CBC	n/a	1,000
CKWX	Vancouver	n/a	100	100
CNRV	Vancouver	CNR	500	n/a
American Stations				
Stations	City	Network	1930	1939
KIRO	Spokane	CBS	n/a	1,000
KJR	Seattle	NBC (Blue)	5,000	5,000
KOL	Seattle	Mutual	1,000	1,000
KOMO	Seattle	NBC (Red)	1,000	1,000
KVI	Tacoma, WA.	CBS	1,000	1,000
KGO	San Francisco	NBC (Blue)	7,500	7,500
KNX	Hollywood	CBS	5,000	50,000
KPO	San Francisco	NBC (Red)	5,000	50,000

Readers of *The Vancouver Sun* encountered a plethora of American stations in the radio program schedule at the outset of the decade. The

schedule reflected the spirit of the Edgar Guest poem, "Radio": "entranced by the "miracle of radio/...such pleasure brings/...A singer in New York appears,/ And distant California".¹² Indeed, American stations from California formed part of the roster of stations for the entire decade and reception of many of these American stations was not so much a dream as a reality in Vancouver.

In 1930, 9 of the 21 American stations' listings in the Vancouver radio schedule included daytime programming. This would have been a hopeful exaggeration in some cases, but for those stations in closer proximity it was most likely a reflection of optimum reception.¹³ The narrowing of the field occurred fairly rapidly. Repetition of scheduled programming by affiliates of the same network was eliminated. By 1932 the list of American stations dropped to sixteen and in 1934 only the seven closest and strongest signals remained.¹⁴ By 1939 eight American stations appeared in the schedule, five of which were from the neighbouring state of Washington. At the end of the decade, when the schedule was most realistic, daytime and evening programming for Washington stations listed in the Vancouver radio program schedule likely indicates that these stations were in fact regularly received in the city.

The majority of the American stations included in the radio program

¹² Edgar A. Guest, "Radio" *The Radio Index* no.48 (April 1931): cover liner.

¹³ The regular schedule included KECA, KFI and KHJ from Los Angeles, California; KEX, KGW and KOIN from Portland, Oregon; KRFC and KPO from San Francisco, California; KNX from Hollywood, California; KGA and KHQ, from Spokane, Washington; KGO and KTAB from Oakland, California; KJR, KOL, KOMO and KVL from Seattle, Washington; KOA from Denver, Colorado; KPQ from Wenatchee, Washington; KSL from Salt Lake City, Utah; KVI from Tacoma, Washington. "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers", *The Radio Index* nos. 41-50 (September 1930-Mid-Summer 1931): 36-49. In the intervening years, primarily in 1931, stations were introduced such as KIRO and KFPY from Spokane; KDYL from Salt Lake City; KFSD and KGB from San Diego; KOH from Reno, Nevada; and KTAR from Phoenix, Arizona. It is likely that the reason so many stations were included was that NBC and CBS listed groups of stations for each region and the newspaper expected the listeners to choose the station which was clearest and most easily received.

¹⁴ The seven remaining stations in 1934 were KFRC, KGO, KJR, KOL, KOMO, KPO, KRJ and KVI.

schedule stretched through several states down the West Coast. As previously noted, the guaranteed daytime range of 125 miles for a 5 kilowatt station and 170 miles for a 50 kilowatt station would render most of the American broadcasters beyond the daytime listening range.¹⁵ In 1930 KJR, only 117 miles from Vancouver and operating at 5 kilowatts, was well within daytime listening range. KOMO, with 1,000 watts of power in Seattle, would not have fallen within this confirmed range of reception; however it was the only station that remained in the Vancouver daytime radio program schedule for the entire decade. The persistence of KOMO in the schedule, while other stations were ignored, challenges the technical assertion that reception was confined to a set radius. A number of other factors affected reception such as the ground conductivity and physical geography. A contemporary NBC report indicated that it was "entirely possible, under certain conditions, for a station on 250 watts to have a greater radius than one on 50,000 watts".¹⁶ This constant availability of Seattle network stations would have made the wiring-in of a Vancouver American affiliate a broadcasting and financial redundancy.

As already mentioned, by the end of the decade most of the stations appearing in the radio program schedule were confined to a narrower radius outside of Vancouver. With the exception of KNX, a very powerful station from Hollywood, the stations remaining in 1939 originated in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington as well as San Francisco and Oakland, California. In 1930, 61.91 per cent of the American stations were included in the schedule only in the evenings. By 1939 those proportions were reversed, when 62.5 per cent of a

¹⁵ Chapter 2 "Right on Cue: Historical Background," n. 3; In addition, it has been noted that a 500 watt station had a daytime range of only 20 miles. Canada, Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Proceedings and Report, 1932* as cited in Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 9.

¹⁶ J.M. Greene, "Where Radio Programs Get Largest Audiences During the Daytime," *Printers' Ink* (April 26, 1940), as cited in J. M. Greene, *Radio Station Coverage - Day and Night* (New York: NBC Reprint from the *Printers' Ink*, 1940), 5.

much smaller selection of stations were listed for both daytime and evening programming. Power levels specified in Table 6.1 indicate that most of the American stations operated at ten times the power of their Canadian counterparts. Until the introduction of Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission in 1933 none of the Canadian stations equalled even the lowest power level of an American station.¹⁷ Despite this environment of easy accessibility to American broadcasting, however, the local Vancouver stations were able to sustain themselves through a decade of growth and change.

THE LOCAL STATIONS

The emergence of a group of evenly matched, competitive local independent radio stations was one of the most distinctive features of the Vancouver broadcasting market. Ownership influenced the direction taken by these and other radio stations during the 1930s. The original operators of Canadian radio stations, mainly newspapers, department stores and electrical manufacturers, were motivated to broadcast from a need for self promotion and cross marketing.¹⁸ Increasingly it became evident as radio profits grew that radio was a business unto itself. By 1932 nascent broadcasting companies could be added to the three principal ownership groups. In most cities a representative of the original three types of owners remained in a commanding position during the 1930s. A newspaper remained the only full time broadcaster in Halifax, for example. One of Montreal's key stations was owned by a newspaper and the other by an electrical manufacturer. Ownership based in one of these main groups, however, did not guarantee

¹⁷The following stations, with power levels indicated, were not listed in Table 6.1 because they only appeared sporadically in the *Vancouver Sun* radio schedule: KECA 1000, KFI 1000, KHJ 1000, KLS 250, KFSD 500, KGB 500, KFRC 1000, KTAB 1000, KOA 12 500, KLZ 1000, KVL 100, KSL 5000, KPQ, 50, KFPY 1000, KGA 5000, KHQ 1000, KOIN 1000, KEX 100, KRJR 500, KGW 1000 and KOL 1000.

¹⁸ *Wireless and Aviation News* (April 1922): 23 as cited in Vipond, 20-21.

dominance in the Vancouver broadcasting market.

Vancouver radio station ownership emerged in part from the same major groups as those in other cities, but did not grow as quickly. The varied roster of radio station owners in 1930 included two churches, a railway, a newspaper, an automotive electrical operation, a school and two broadcasting entrepreneurs. The goal of broadcasting full time was one that was not shared by special interest stations such as the religious broadcasters in the Vancouver market, limiting the number of stations that aspired to become full time broadcasters much less leaders in the field. But even for those which did so aspire, the shared frequency situation in Vancouver delayed the development of potentially dominant stations by forcing most stations to remain part-time broadcasters. The suppressed growth of broadcasting in the city left its radio stations in an experimental stage for the early part of the decade, postponing the emergence of full-time broadcasters.

Vancouver stations were also not exposed to the same pressures of network competition that existed in other Canadian cities. The American network programs that were available by wire in Toronto and Montreal were not provided to Canadian cities in the west. American network affiliation was not an option in Vancouver and even American programming for use on Vancouver stations was not easily accessible.¹⁹ Limited quantities of electrical transcriptions of American programs existed but were inferior in quality of sound and considered less desirable than live performance. In Montreal and Toronto the American affiliate stations expanded and diversified their schedules first, thereby setting a standard for competing stations in the market. Lacking such pressures, Vancouver's radio broadcasters were free to

¹⁹ Some western stations went so far as to try to pirate American signals, since they were not available to these stations. E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), 24.

find their own way in the market unfettered by dominant stations accelerating competition or forcing them into specialty niches. The incorporation of American programming directly into the schedules of Vancouver stations did not become a major phenomenon until CBR was established in 1937. Because CBR carried as much American content as the privately owned affiliates of NBC and CBS in other Canadian cities, the overall programming balance in Vancouver was significantly altered at that point.

The discussion below charts the critical programming decisions made by each of the stations in the Vancouver broadcast market as evidenced by an analysis of the program schedule of each station. Tracing the evolution of the program schedules establishes, reinforces and confirms the profile of the local independent Canadian radio station. This is of particular significance as we see the stations move from being highly dependent on music to more diversified schedules, within the context of competition in the local broadcasting market and the environment of North American network broadcasting.

CKWX

CKWX originated as CFDC in Nanaimo, British Columbia in 1923 under the ownership by Arthur "Sparks" Holstead and William Hanlon, the proprietors of an automotive-electrical operation. After an unauthorized move to Vancouver in 1925, the station was forced off the air and then returned as CKWX in 1927.²⁰ In 1930 it commenced the decade with a power level of 100 watts, sharing 730 on the dial with four other stations.²¹ The combined efforts of the five stations furnished a full day and evening service for Vancouver

²⁰ Dennis J. Duffy, *Early Radio Broadcasting in British Columbia*. (Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1983), 19-21.

²¹ The other stations on 730 were CKFC, CHLS, CKCD and CKMO, as previously discussed. "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930), 38; "Index by Location with Map Key," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930), 55.

listeners. In 1933, with the reassignment of Vancouver frequencies, CKWX moved to 1010 with CKCD.²² The immediate expansion of the broadcast hours of CKWX revealed that the shared frequency had stunted its potential prior to 1933.

At the outset of the decade CKWX's broadcasts lacked continuity. The shared frequency had the effect of scattering CKWX programs throughout the day. The station's regular morning spot aired between 8:00 a.m. and 8:30 a.m. while the 10:30 a.m. to noon slot was generally filled with recordings. Occasionally the station broadcast in the early afternoon, returning at 4:30 p.m. with additional recordings and, periodically, a children's program.²³ CKWX provided regular *Evening Sun News Broadcasts* at 5:30 p.m. and *Cecil and Sally*, a humorous serial drama, at 7:15 p.m. The early survival of CKWX can be credited to its persistence in using the frequency at every available moment, despite the lack of opportunity to program as a cohesive whole. As indicated in Table 6.2 below CKWX managed to use enough broadcast hours weekly to be counted third after CKMO and CJOR in 1930. The station's broadcast hours more than doubled over the course of the decade.

CKWX displayed all the common attributes of an evolving local independent Canadian radio station. Between 1930 and 1933 the station was still in its novice stage. Music and dance music combined constituted 85.85 per cent of the broadcast week in 1930, as indicated in Table 6.3 below. Characteristic of this developmental stage, the station extensively employed programs identified simply as *Recordings*, *Studio Program*, *Organ Recital* and *Concert Orchestra*. Although the station may still have relied on recordings, they became sponsored with the introduction of *C. P. Hour of Music*, *Quaker*

²² "Index by Location," *The Radio Index* no. 70 (June 1, 1933), 64.

²³ A children's program called *Uncle Jerry* appeared everyday, but only in the week of the 1930 sample that extended through June 2-7, 1930. "Tuning In," *The Vancouver Sun* 87 (January 19-25, June 1-7, October 5-11, 1930).

Table 6.2 Average hours and minutes per week of broadcast time based upon sample for Canadian stations in the Vancouver radio schedule, 1930 to 1939

Station	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
CJOR	38/53	26/42	47/32	62/32	46/25	41/25	55/38	55/22	88/50	78/45
CKFC	3/25	0	4/25	11/40	10/30	10/00	18/25	17/56	23/58	18/28
CKMO	33/10	13/25	33/45	44/27	31/55	38/00	42/08	37/15	54/18	56/05
CKWX	27/23	16/10	33/40	48/35	40/25	47/52	55/38	77/40	78/53	62/45
CFCT	14/07	8/30	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CNRV	10/45	21/25	25/37	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CHWK	n/a	0/35	n/a	10/07	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CFJC	n/a	n/a	n/a	10/07	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CKOV	n/a	n/a	n/a	10/07	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CRCV	n/a	n/a	n/a	41/33	37/42	43/15	49/52	79/13	n/a	n/a
CKCD	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	11/15	15/10	11.25	11/15	13/10
CBR	n/a	103/54	101/14	84/05						

Oats Musical Program and *Home Gas Symphony* in 1931. Music and dance music programs then represented 84.76 per cent of the schedule. In 1932 and 1933, however, an almost complete dependence upon *Recordings, Organ, Dance Music* and *Concert Orchestra* returned with a vengeance. Musical programming constituted 93.76 per cent of CKWX's schedule in 1932, a year all other types of programming were eliminated with the exception of talk and variety.²⁴ In 1933 a number of the original signs of diversification of the program schedule returned when the music and dance music contribution to the schedule shifted

²⁴ Even these contributions to CKWX's schedule were pitiful. Two of the three talks were Salvation Army Appeals.

Table 6.3 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CKWX, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.43	0.24	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children	1.94	8.54	0	1.09	0.76	6.71	0	4.12	12.40	4.10
Comedy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.55	2.18	2.39	1.46
Drama	0	0	0	0	2.04	3.36	0.92	1.43	0.94	0.59
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0.61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0	18.32	15.40	0	2.85	7.45	1.46
Games	0	0	0	0	0	0.20	0	0	0	0
Music	75.81	78.66	78.13	52.60	36.64	29.62	35.57	22.19	42.80	60.57
Dance music	10.04	6.10	15.63	30.53	19.85	14.02	33.23	13.43	1.18	1.46
Religious music	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.29
News	7.78	0.61	0	1.89	6.36	9.08	15.14	11.89	9.85	5.47
Opera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.71	0
Religious	0	0	0	2.74	6.11	1.58	0	1.90	1.41	8.10
Serial drama	2.27	0	0	0	0	0	1.11	1.19	1.29	0
Special	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.73	0	1.61
Sports	0.65	0.61	0	0	0	0	0	0.48	1.02	0.68
Talk	0.86	4.86	4.26	6.35	9.16	11.19	5.72	16.64	4.12	11.42
Talk and information	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.46
Variety	0.65	0	1.99	4.80	0.76	6.06	5.54	17.31	13.50	1.32
Women	0	0	0	0	0	1.78	0	0.23	0.71	0

downward slightly to 83.13 per cent. The subordination of the schedule to musical programming continued, however, due to the huge growth in the weekly broadcast hours of the station. In 1931 CKWX had broadcast for a weekly average of 16 hours and 10 minutes; by 1933 its hours tripled to 48 hours and 35 minutes. This expansion was accomplished by sacrificing any attempt to diversify by employing excessive amounts of musical programming to fill the schedule. The longer broadcast hours prepared CKWX to adapt to its new circumstances on the reassigned frequency and ushered in its next stage of development.

CKWX progressed to the next phase of its evolution in 1934 when it ceased to share a frequency with four other stations. CKWX henceforth needed only to coordinate with CKCD, a station occupying largely evening portions of the schedule.²⁵ Table 6.3 demonstrates that this was the first year of the decade to present a particularly significant shift; quantities of music rose while dance music was all but erased from the schedule. Both years were marked by an increase in the use of American musical programs and in 1939 a return to a generous scheduling of *Recordings*. The decline in music in the middle years of the decade coincided with an effort to diversify within the expanded broadcast hours. These efforts were successful. The changes in the last two years, as will be discussed later, represent an effort to contend with the changes in the Vancouver broadcasting environment provoked by the introduction of a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station.

The ability of CKWX to sustain itself through the 1930s was based at least in part on its development of local programming. Rather than diversifying the schedule through the use of any American programming available, the station built a base of its own programs. The expansion of the

²⁵ CKCD's broadcast hours first appeared in listings of *The Vancouver Sun* in 1935, amounting to an average of 3 hours and 45 minutes in 1935.

station's news programming constituted its first major effort to effectively utilize local sources for program development. In 1934 *Air Edition* news became a regular part of the schedule. In 1935 CKWX designated *The Vancouver Sun* "the newspaper of the air" with its thrice daily broadcasts of *Sun News*. The frequency of news bulletins increased as part of a varied broadcast day that persisted until the end of the decade. News was just one of the regularly targeted types of programming that could be developed by the local independent station.

A second category of programming employed to advantage by CKWX was religious programming. The addition of simple broadcasts of church services further varied the schedule. On the previously shared frequency CKFC traditionally filled Sunday with broadcasts of church services. CKWX started to broadcast its own church services in 1933, and followed this up with a more diverse set of religious offerings. By 1939 CKWX featured *First United Church, Evangelistic Tabernacle, Vancouver Church of the Air, The Angelus* and *Christian Science Lecture*. The expanded and varied offerings accounted for the spectacular rise of religious programming, totalling 8.10 per cent of the schedule in 1939. This achievement was consistent with the pattern of local independent stations striving to increase their broadcast hours and variety of programs to provide not only a full service to their audiences, but one based on the resources of the local community.

More unusual for a Canadian station was CKWX's introduction of exercise programming. Largely ignored by the other cities in this study, exercise was always a part of the programming of the West Coast American stations to which the Vancouver audience was exposed. Exercise programming was cheaply and easily produced; consequently when it was dropped by the American stations, specifically KOMO, KHQ, KPO, KGW and

KFI after 1933, it created an opportunity for CKWX to incorporate this genre of programming into its schedule.

The new Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission introduced drama to CKWX through its British Columbia network programs in 1934 and 1935. Although CKWX was not a regular member of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission network, it listed the network's dramas in its own schedule for this brief period. The dramas were identified as drama or *Drama of British Columbia*. After that initial injection of CRBC programming, drama declined but remained an occasional part of the schedule.

Children's programming always formed part of the CKWX schedule. The standard "Uncle" or "Auntie" programs, usually comprised of some stories or songs, provided a base for local stations across the country to build children's programming. *Uncle Jerry* was the station's only children's program from 1930 to 1933. It was followed by *Happy Family* in 1934 and 1935. *Aunt Edith's Safety Club* represented another example of the kind of show that formed the backbone of children's programming throughout the 1930s. Children's programs also expanded with the use of the *Light Up and Listen Club* broadcast by most of the Vancouver stations in 1938 and 1939. Starting in 1937 American children's programs were added, including *Tarzan*; *Chandu, the Magician*; *Dick Tracy* and *Speed Gibson*. The addition of American children's programming did not create or replace a genre of programs, but merely added to the existing repertoire to expand the schedule.

Talk was the *sine qua non* in the pattern of the development of the local independent Canadian radio station and this was reflected in the evolution of CKWX. The open door talk format on CKWX allowed contributions from various groups in the community, enhancing the connection between the audience and radio station. The station was notable for its considerable

variety of political speakers. These political talks included the *C.C.F. Program*, *Liberal Address*, *B.C. Conservative Association* and *B.C. Conservative Club*. The Trades and Labour Council, the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., City of Vancouver and various members of parliament and aldermen also contributed addresses; as well there were recurring local speakers such as Tom MacInnes.²⁶ The political talks varied from one-time-only addresses to those sponsored by groups with an ongoing relationship with the station and its audience.

The station provided an increasing variety of informative talks in the second half of the decade, featuring guest speakers, book reviews and programs entitled *Your Home*, *Garden Club*, *Beauty Talk*, *Diet Talk*, *Financial Talk* and the regularly featured *Great Britain Today*. American talks did not make a big impact; the only imitation of the typical American gossip show was *Hollywood Reporter*, appearing in the 1936 and 1937 schedules. The informational talks reinforced and diversified the genre by appealing to a broader audience than that for specifically directed political addresses. This emphasis on local talk programming provided something that neither the Canadian nor American networks could offer. Talk was an area of distinctive competency of the local independent station; CKWX capitalized on it with great success.

As the decade progressed CKWX refrained from expanding American programming in areas such as music, children's programming and serial drama. Instead the station diversified and grew without taking on an American programming 'personality'. CKWX delayed its introduction of comedy, which the American networks completely dominated, until 1937. Even then the sum total of its comedy programming consisted of the local *Bill*

²⁶ Tom MacInnes also appeared on other stations such as CKMO. A series of regular speakers repeatedly appeared on a variety of Vancouver stations.

Hill Comedy Songs. There was always a segment of variety in the schedule, listed varyingly as vaudeville or variety, which eventually became a catch-all that labeled the talk and music programs filling the early morning portion of the schedule, but the station did not have access to the star-studded evening American network variety programs. Generally CKWX maintained a high level of Canadian content because the drama, drama anthologies, adventure, crime, mystery and variety programs, the genres dominated by American content, appeared only in small quantities in the CKWX schedule.²⁷ Limited access to American programs through electrical transcriptions also ensured that the stations continued on this route. The diversification of the station thus followed a Canadian route based on local programming and largely eschewed the American programming that could have accomplished the job with greater speed. While it is not clear exactly why the stations followed this route, certainly one reason was the lack of opportunity to become an American network affiliate.

Serial drama, on the other hand, did enter the CKWX schedule. *Cecil and Sally* in 1930 constituted CKWX's first sample, followed by the 1936 broadcast of an original Canadian drama, *Millie and Lizzie*.²⁸ Research on *Millie and Lizzie* by Howard Fink and John Jackson suggests that it was not the standard serial drama fare. Jack Ammon, who wrote and performed in the serial about two Cockney cleaning ladies, was both a dramatist and leftist critic in the 1930s.²⁹ Ammon infused his serial drama with examples of social criticism, a far cry from typical American serials. Again, CKWX did not let

²⁷ The incorporation of American programming into the Vancouver stations' schedules will be discussed in great detail later in this chapter.

²⁸ Originally broadcast by CKMO, this program appeared in its last year of broadcasts on CKWX, after having been aired by both CKMO and CJOR. Part of the *Millie and Lizzie* season's run on CKWX appeared in the sample from June 8 to 12, 1936.

²⁹ John William Bowdery was known professionally as Jack Ammon. Howard Fink and John Jackson, "Jack Bowdery / Jack Ammon Pioneer Leftist 'thirties B.C. Radio Dramatist," *Fréquence / Frequency* no. 1-2 (1994): 59-71.

American serials overrun its program schedule. In the areas where American content overwhelmingly dominated, one finds little more than a sampling on CKWX. The station developed sufficient quantities of its own programming, and whether through choice or necessity refused the temptation of American programming.

Over the course of the decade CKWX managed to expand its daily programming from an average of 3 hours and 43 minutes a day to an average of 8 hours and 58 minutes daily, and completed its evolution into a self-sufficient local independent station.³⁰ The finite number of American programs available to Vancouver stations and the intense competition for such programming between CBR and CJOR left little room for yet another competitor. Instead of a surfeit of American programming, it offered a genuine Canadian alternative to the offerings available to the Vancouver audience.

CKMO

The changes and developments of the 1930s provided CKMO with the occasion to grow to maturity as a station. The Spratt-Shaw Radio Company owned CKMO and operated it as part of the Spratt-Shaw School of Commerce which offered courses related to radio and allowed students to work at the radio station to gain experience.³¹ Originally the school was closely allied with CJCE, the station opened by *The Vancouver Sun* in 1922. When CJCE ceased viable broadcasting operations the school took an interest in CFCQ, which became CKMO in 1928. The school remained connected with the station until the latter was sold in 1955.

The shared frequency employed by CKMO, CKFC, CKWX, CKCD and

³⁰ This calculation is based upon a seven-day week.

³¹ "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 43; Duffy, 9.

CHLS suppressed the broadcasting possibilities of all the stations. In 1930, on its shared frequency, CKMO started the day at 6:30 a.m. with recordings, followed by the *Sunrise Hour* at 7:00 a.m.³² CKMO also occupied the frequency at the end of the broadcast day, usually closing with an orchestra at 10:30 p.m. In its main time slot of the early afternoon, which ranged from noon until 4:30 p.m., the station aired music. Because the station programmed only a few hours at a time, it did not move to the stage of diversification.

Because of its shared frequency situation, CKMO remained in the novice stage of its development until 1933, lacking schedule diversification and employing excessive quantities of music. CKMO largely broadcast less desirable gramophone records an average of 37 hours and 50 minutes weekly compared to the 27 hours and 43 minutes scheduled by CKWX. As illustrated by Table 6.4, in the first year of the decade CKMO was even more dependent upon music than CKWX. The music and dance music component of its schedule made up 90.97 per cent of its broadcast week. This proportion of music and dance music declined in the next few years to 83.33 per cent of the schedule in 1931, followed by 80.58 per cent in 1932 and finally 72.25 per cent in 1933. True to its novice status, all its musical programs were itemized as *Recordings, Studio Program* and *Dance Orchestra*. The only exceptions in 1930 were the Skyrakers and Ivy Evans' organ recitals. This initial focus on musical programming is evidence of the primitive nature of the station.

The lack of variation in the CKMO schedule was so conspicuous that the only other programs contained in the sample were a news service; talk, such as *Book Chat*; the variety program *Sunrise Hour* and *Millie and Lizzie*. *Millie and Lizzie*, as already discussed, was a Canadian serial drama, laced with social criticism. When it first aired on CKMO in 1930 the drama was set in London,

³² As previously discussed, CKMO shared this frequency with CKFC, CKWX, CKCD and CHLS until 1933. From 1933 until the end of the decade, it shared with CKFC alone.

Table 6.4 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CKMO, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.22	1.53	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.41	3.49	0	0
Children	0	0	0	0	0	2.05	0.95	1.88	2.29	2.24
Comedy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.19	0.19
Drama	0	0	0	0.44	2.09	0.68	5.71	1.07	1.72	1.37
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.19
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Games	0	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	88.33	77.36	78.27	69.25	54.21	64.43	38.75	29.22	41.20	44.49
Dance music	2.64	5.97	2.31	3.00	2.61	7.50	2.14	3.48	2.86	11.84
Religious music	0	0	0	0	1.04	1.36	0.95	0	0	0.19
News	0.88	0	2.31	0	0	0	0	0	3.62	5.42
Opera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.68	3.24	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious	0	0	3.08	0	9.92	23.18	2.61	3.75	7.82	9.91
Serial drama	0.88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Special	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.19	1.31
Sports	0	0	0	5.25	1.83	0	4.75	5.09	7.31	2.87
Talk	0.66	3.73	4.81	5.19	8.36	11.25	19.41	21.72	18.50	13.46
Talk and information	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.19
Variety	6.61	5.97	0	3.38	1.04	0	2.14	7.24	3.62	0.37
Women	0	5.97	9.23	13.50	9.40	12.27	12.24	17.16	5.91	4.67

but as the program's run continued, the story was relocated to Vancouver.³³ *Millie and Lizzie* was the most ambitious original production from CKMO in the 1930 sample. *Book Chat* and organ recitals by Ivy Evans, although original, were not of the same calibre of programming. These types of programs were usually assembled in the studios of the station, often employing staff, friends or relatives. *Sunrise Hour*, the variety program with which CKMO started its day at this point, was an electrical transcription of an NBC program hosted by Graham McNamee that also aired on KOMO, KHQ, KGW, KECA and KGO. From this inauspicious start, however, CKMO, much like CKWX, resourcefully developed its own programming.

Despite challenges and restrictions, CKMO was able to introduce a new program in 1931, *Betty Lee*. *Betty Lee* became the backbone of women's programming on CKMO for the decade. Later in the decade CKWX also picked up the program. Not only was it a major addition to the 1931 schedule, but because it was aired regularly in the morning and afternoon schedules, 30 minutes five times a week by 1939, *Betty Lee* became one of the essential ingredients of the daytime schedule. This early success at programming helped support CKMO initiatives to efficiently fill its broadcast day, because it single-handedly contributed so many hours to the schedule.

As was consistent with a local independent station's normal pattern of development, CKMO sought out as much talent as it could from the community. Community sources were chosen for both their desirability to listeners and their availability.

Like most Vancouver stations, CKMO developed a substantial array and quantity of religious programming. It first became part of the CKMO

³³ John William Bowdery, who wrote and performed *Millie and Lizzie* and his mother, Alicia Bowdery who also performed on the program, had arrived in Vancouver from England in 1927 and participated in local vaudeville. Fink and Jackson, 61.

schedule in 1932, in the form of church services. Dropped from the schedule in 1933, the genre returned in 1934 to remain a fixed segment of the program schedule. In 1935 religious programming peaked, seizing 23.18 per cent of the schedule. On average, religious programming amounted to 5 hours and 40 minutes a week. *Fellowship Hour*, *Vesper Hour*, *Evening Meditations* and *Devotional Services* became standard and more prominent than the Sunday church services that launched this type of programming on the station.

Perhaps a holdover from the shared frequency or because it continued to share with the primarily religious station CKFC, CKMO's religious programs were distributed through the entire week. After CKMO's high point of religious programming in 1935 the genre fell dramatically in 1936. It climbed, however, each year after that until it reached an average of 4 hours and 25 minutes weekly in 1939. By that time, CKMO's regular religious programs included *Watchtower Gospel Service*, *Rev. A. Bennett*, *In the Cloisters*, *Wayside Pulpit* and *Glad Tidings Mission*. The considerable diversity within the genre of religious programming contributed to its substantial portion of the schedule.

After 1933, with CKMO sharing its frequency only with CKFC, it was able to aggressively expand its broadcast week, further diversify its programming and compete with the other local stations. It did not expand as rapidly or as consistently as CKWX, but by the end of the decade it approached the same level of broadcast hours per week. By 1939 CKMO was on the air for an average of 56 hours and 5 minutes a week, while CKWX was on for 62 hours and 45 minutes. Although CKMO had not overtaken the competition, it stayed within a competitive range.

Music and dance music were the first areas of programming that were transformed in the post-1933 period. Table 6.4 above charts a slow and steady decline in music (except for a brief rise in 1936) to an astounding low of 29.22

per cent of the schedule in 1937. This decrease was accomplished while local musical programming proliferated. By 1936 the generic *Recordings* vanished from the schedule, an amazing turnaround considering the dominance of music and precisely that type of programming on CKMO at the beginning of the decade. Also worth consideration is the fact that none of the musical programs in the sample were American. Local performers such as Wilf Wylie, Dick Misener and Eileen Hayes filled CKMO's musical needs. The decline in musical programming, however, reversed in 1938 and 1939. CKMO also introduced a very small number of American musical programs in 1938.³⁴ In the space of one year, in 1939, CKMO's musical programming jumped from an average of 6 hours and 45 minutes a week to 25 hours and 46 minutes. Overall, then, CKMO's musical programming shifted from a base of recordings to varied musical offerings making use of local talent by the end of the decade. Music remained an essential element of the station's broadcast day, but not to the extent that it had been in 1930.

Children's programming, as already pointed out, was an area frequently employed by Canadian stations to diversify the program schedule. In the case of CKMO, children's programming remained a largely neglected area with little consistency over the decade. No examples of children's programming appeared in the sample until *Children's Program* in 1935. This was followed up by rare examples such as *Stars of Tomorrow*, an American children's variety show, in 1938 and 1939. The station did not develop its own "Uncle" or "Auntie" to read stories or sing songs. American children's programs provided a quick diversification, but even those were rare in the last few years of the decade. The paltry attempts at children's programming did not compare favourably with the efforts of other stations. CKMO chose largely to ignore children's

³⁴ Although there was an increase in musical programming in 1938, only 3 of the 76 programs listed in the sample were American.

programs rather than to develop its own or to purchase programs.

A number of other types of programs appeared sparingly throughout the decade but were never fully exploited. Opera was a rare addition to the schedule and appeared only briefly in 1937 and 1938. CKMO was the first station to make a regular commitment to astrology with *Madame X* in 1936.³⁵ It occupied 11.52 per cent of the schedule that year, followed by 3.49 per cent in 1937. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation instructions of 1936 to discontinue such programs led to the disappearance of the genre after May 1937.³⁶ Religious music, opera and astrology were generally minor considerations in program schedules; the fleeting and sporadic presence of unusual types of programs merely filled gaps in the schedule when these programs were available.

CKMO broadcast no news at all for the first six years of the decade, which was unusual for a Canadian radio station. The station's lack of news may have been partially a holdover from the shared frequency, when CKCD specialized in news. The lack of a sponsor until *The Vancouver Sun* came forward in 1938 may have been another major reason for the delayed development of news on CKMO. Only in 1938 and 1939 did the station regularly air *Sun News* and briefly newscaster *Frank Skipper*. By the end of the decade had CKMO not commenced news broadcasts it would have seemed like an oversight in the face of the standard news bulletins prevalent on other stations. Moreover, the station might have lost listeners to dial turning.

CKMO was strongly predisposed to include sports programming drawn from local sources. Racing and high school sports attained a regular spot in the

³⁵ The only earlier example of astrology in the sample drawn from *The Vancouver Sun* was broadcast by CRCV in 1934.

³⁶ *Regulations for broadcasting stations made under the Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936*, Chap 24. S 22. (CBC pamphlet, 1937), section 7. The regulations stipulated that "No one shall...broadcast programs presenting a person, who claims supernatural or psychic powers, or a fortune-teller, character analyst, crystal-gazer or the like.

schedule, as did baseball and wrestling. During the 'thirties sports commentary became an important part of sports programming on the American networks. CKMO imitated this trend in a modified way in 1939 when the station recruited two sports commentators, Anne Stott and Jimmy Poole.³⁷ As one of the areas frequently mined by the evolving local independent radio stations, sports became a permanent addition to the CKMO schedule in the second half of the decade.

CKMO did not possess sufficient means in the 1930s to compete directly with the American stations in their specialities of variety, comedy and drama.³⁸ Consequently these genres made up insignificant portions of the total schedule. Comedy was non-existent for most of the decade. The same was true for variety, which entered the schedule early in the decade, but never took root. CKMO started the decade with the serial drama *Millie and Lizzie*, but never used the genre again. Some American drama appeared in the schedule, but it never outweighed Canadian drama since both made very small contributions. For a station like CKMO it was fruitless to seek out electrical transcriptions of American programs that already were readily available through powerful American stations. As a smaller station, CKMO lacked both the means and the motivation to go into direct competition with American stations; instead it developed its local roots.

CKMO concentrated its energies on the cultivation of talk programs; in fact this genre was central to CKMO's survival strategy in the decade. Talk expanded slowly throughout the decade, from 0.66 per cent of the schedule in 1930 to 21.72 per cent in 1937. It experienced a drop in 1939, but was still the second largest programming category after music. At its peak it was evident

³⁷Jimmy Poole commented on fishing, characterizing the local flavour of CKMO sports commentary.

³⁸Duffy, 25.

that a policy allowing people and groups from the community ready access to broadcast time was thriving. Frequent contributors such as Dr. Lyle Telford, Frank Skipper, Tom MacInnes and Paul McD. Kerr appeared repeatedly over the course of many years. The station also made room for many groups such as the Youth Council, Socialist Forum, Social Credit League, C.C.F. Program, Civic Radio Program, Communist Party, British Israel Program, Canadian Peaceways Movement, Junior Chamber of Civic Affairs, Disabled Veterans Association, Teachers' Federation and Socialist Party of Canada. In most cities the local speakers were lobbyists for a cause or group. In Vancouver, however, as already shown with respect to CKWX, there was a greater than average representation of political groups and speakers.

Each station carved out a portion of public discussion of issues for itself, although there was also an overlap of speakers and groups on CKMO and CKWX. Although CKWX tended to be somewhat right of centre, the list above shows that CKMO tended more toward a selection of speakers somewhat to the left. In the same manner as CKWX, CKMO forged a connection with its community or audience through talk. CKMO used more of its broadcast hours for talk than most other types of programming combined; in 1936, an election year, talk made its greatest single yearly increase, rising from 11.25 per cent to 19.41 per cent of the CKMO schedule. Talk was more important on CKMO than on any other station. In 1936 talk amounted to an average of 6 hours weekly on CKMO, while it totalled 4 hours and 15 minutes on CJOR, 50 minutes on CKCD, 4 hours and 20 minutes on CKFC, 2 hours and 35 minutes on CKWX and 2 hours and 7 minutes on CRCV. CKMO rarely allotted time for informational talks, such as *Diet Talk*, while its competitor CKWX did so regularly; CKMO's preferred approach to talk was the presentation of an array of political or issue-oriented speakers.

CKMO emerged from the 1930s a much stronger station than it had been at the outset of the decade. The station employed strategies used repeatedly by local independent stations to strengthen and reinforce its position in the community. The main strength of its newly developed programming was its secure local base. The most important programming focus of CKMO, after music, was talk, but religious programming and women's programming were also emphasized. Each genre reinforced the station's link to its community and audience.

CJOR

In 1930 CJOR was the closest approximation Vancouver had to a full time radio station. It possessed its own frequency and broadcast for slightly more time than its nearest competitor at 38 hours and 53 minutes on average per week in 1930. The station originated in 1924 as CFXC in New Westminister but was bought and relocated to Vancouver by George Chandler in 1926. Broadcasting from Sea Island at 500 watts established CJOR as one of the strongest signals in Vancouver.³⁹ At the beginning of the 'thirties, CJOR's programming was very simple, consisting mostly of music, news and religious services on Sundays. There were gaps in the day, but CJOR managed to start as early as 7:00 a.m. on weekdays and to sign off as late as midnight on the weekends.

The program listings were as follows for Friday, January 24, 1930:

CJOR

FRIDAY

7:00 to 8:00 a.m. - Recordings.

8:00 to 8:30 a.m. - Stock reports.

8:30 to 10:20 a.m. - Recordings.

10:20 to 10:30 a.m. - Markets.

[Programming gap]

³⁹ Duffy, 22; "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 43.

11:30 a.m. to 12 noon - Recordings.
 [Programminggap]
 5:00 to 6:15 p.m. Recordings.
 6:15 to 7:00 p.m. - Markets.
 7:00 to 7:30 p.m. - Recordings.⁴⁰

With very little variation, this formed the pattern for the CJOR broadcast day in 1930. Although the station's operations were not hampered by the necessity of a shared frequency and it was therefore poised for immediate expansion and schedule diversification, CJOR made only a little more progress than the other local stations in 1930.

Music was the single most important component of the CJOR schedule in 1930. Music and dance music constituted 79.54 per cent of the schedule in that year. The musical programming was identified almost exclusively as *Recordings, Studio Program, Dance Orchestra* and *Dance Music*. The exceptions drawn from the sample were *Laddie Watkis Blue Program*, a regular musical feature throughout the decade, and *Jack Allen, Pianologue*. Paralleling the pattern set by CKWX and CKMO, CJOR remained at this developmental stage with regard to its musical programming from 1930 to 1933. Although there was increased mention of specific performers and programs began to have names, the dependence upon music and recordings persisted. As shown in Table 6.5, after diminishing for two years in 1933, the musical contribution to the schedule increased proportionately to 81.20 per cent. This was caused by the expansion of the total schedule from 47 hours and 32 minutes in 1932 to 62 hours and 32 minutes per week in 1933, and the sudden need to fill many more hours. This expansion of the schedule signalled that CJOR hovered on the edge of change in 1933. Expansion was consistently the necessary step that enabled program development and diversification.

⁴⁰ "Tuning In," *The Vancouver Sun* 87 (Thursday, January 24, 1930).

Table 6.5 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CJOR, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.94	0	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children	0	3.80	11.83	3.69	0.77	0	1.00	7.92	6.58	2.11
Comedy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.67	0	2.78	1.64
Drama	0	0	6.26	0	0	1.26	1.17	0.38	0	0
Drama anthology	0	0	0	3.28	0	0	0	0.75	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.10	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.57	0	0.59
Games	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	69.82	43.66	53.99	73.55	36.78	46.97	33.02	24.91	38.58	32.75
Dance music	9.76	20.05	4.87	7.65	11.49	3.54	16.34	10.57	2.98	15.57
Religious music	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.33	0.57	3.91	1.88
News	10.87	7.95	8.63	0.59	1.98	2.53	1.00	4.53	4.32	10.02
Opera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.62	0.35
Religious	7.54	11.75	6.26	6.42	18.97	27.27	7.34	8.68	6.89	5.99
Serial drama	0	5.88	0	0	0	0.25	1.50	6.23	1.95	9.62
Special	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.62	1.17
Sports	0	4.49	3.65	1.23	11.49	3.03	14.67	21.70	7.51	7.86
Talk	1.78	2.42	1.74	1.78	12.07	13.38	13.62	8.30	5.35	2.70
Talk and information	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.41
Variety	0.22	0	0.70	1.82	3.26	1.82	3.00	3.21	10.19	2.23
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0.25	6.34	0.75	7.61	4.11

Even though CJOR remained in the novice stage in 1933, in that it aired so much music, it had begun its quest to diversify its program schedule. News constituted a prominent component of the schedule early in the decade. Because American network stations were unable to develop the genre, a gap was available for the development of local news by stations like CJOR. News debuted strongly at the beginning of the decade at 10.87 per cent of the schedule, but CJOR did not maintain this high proportion of news for the whole decade. After 1933, with the expanded schedule, news programming declined rapidly to negligible amounts, re-approaching its 1930 level only in 1939. News in 1930 consisted exclusively of market reports, typical of most Canadian stations at this juncture. The station lacked the continuity provided by a consistent sponsorship for its news programs. In 1931 the *The Vancouver Sun* stepped forward to promote the *Vancouver Sun Air Report*, followed by the *Vancouver Sun Period* in 1932 and 1933. The *Monitor News*, an American news service, was adopted by CJOR from 1934 until the end of the decade. *Skipper Scans the News*, the station's own news program, aired in 1937 and 1938. In the last year of the decade, CJOR finally made a greater commitment to news, featuring as many as eight news bulletins a day. Irregularity characterized the news component of CJOR's schedule; however, its ongoing efforts to find its own news programming format indicated that news was a local programming source that CJOR deemed critical to its schedule.

Religious programming represented one of the early connections CJOR forged with the community and maintained throughout the decade. In 1930 CJOR commenced its religious programming with inexpensive productions of church services. The station tried to appeal to a wide variety of churches, including services from *First United Church*, *Foursquare Gospel Service*, *Watchtower Program*, *Christ Church Cathedral* and *Wesley United Church*.

Church services, rather than religious speakers or imported American programs, continued to form the basis of the religious programming at CJOR through the decade. At its peak in 1935 the genre averaged 9 hours a week. This locally developed programming appealed to a variety of denominations with the potential to cement the connection between CJOR and the communities of each of the churches.

Religious music would seem to be the natural outgrowth of the lasting popularity of religious programming in Vancouver; however this potential musical component did not fare as well. CJOR attempted to fill this gap in the last four years of the decade. Counted among its featured programs were *Sunday Song Service*, *Metropolitan Tabernacle*, *Gospel Singer* and *Chapel Chimes*. While the genre remained a relatively small portion of the schedule, its presence on CJOR is noteworthy because it was so rare on other stations.

Children's programming consistently provided an easy area for the development of local programming in Vancouver. In 1931 CJOR launched the decade's children's programs with *Big Brother Bill* and *Captain Jimmy*. *Big Brother Bill* came on the air at 5:15 p.m. every weekday from 1931 to 1936, interrupted only in 1935. The American program *Uncle Mickey's Club* debuted on CJOR in 1937, a prelude to more American programs in 1938 that included *Howie Wing* and *Dick Tracy* as well as *Smiling Jack* in 1939. The American programs served to supplement CJOR's local programming, *Cookie Kids* and *Aunt Edith*. Children's programming occupied a larger share of the schedule in 1937 and 1938 when Canadian and American programs were both employed for the first time. The decline in 1939 was due to the withdrawal of Canadian children's programs from the schedule. CJOR struggled to develop children's programs that aired in all but three years of the decade; these Canadian programs filled an audience need, replaced only at the end of the decade by

American programs.

In the same way that the other local stations had opened their doors to the community, CJOR allowed speakers and groups to address their audience. Among the early talk programs were the *British Israel Lecture* and *Dr. Lyle Telford*. By 1934 an overlap still existed between the talk programs on CJOR and CKWX, CKMO, and CRCV. Like other Vancouver stations, CJOR attempted to broaden the scope of its talk programs by making them more political in their orientation. Their proportion of the schedule also expanded, from 1.78 per cent to 12.07 per cent in 1934. The new programs included *C.C.F. Broadcast*, *Federated Council of Youth*, *Voice of Progress*, *Douglas Social Credit Talk*, *Junior Chamber of Commerce* and *Conservative Association*. In the middle years of the decade the CJOR approach to talk closely resembled and overlapped that of CKMO and CKWX.

The politicization of the CJOR talk programs did not endure. By 1938 the talks had taken on a more topic-driven informational style. Most of the political groups had been replaced by programs such as *Stamp Talk*, *Financial Talk*, *Canadian Book Week*, *This Week in History*, *Heroic Dogs* and *Book Review*. Once the talks lost their political flavour they diminished considerably as a feature of the schedule, in what was a striking parallel to the station's new competitor, CBR.⁴¹ In 1939 CJOR supplemented its talks with the American programs *Voice of Experience* and *The Goodwill Hour*. This last shift in direction toward the American self-help format was consistent with CJOR's move away from political to informational local talks. The development of the talk programs at the station was somewhat similar to that of children's programming. CJOR developed its own programming during the 1930s only to abandon it at the end of the decade for American programs. The diversification

⁴¹ CBR favoured informational talks in smaller quantities. Serial drama, as will be discussed, was another area in which the two stations competed.

of the CJOR schedule ultimately came at the cost of Canadian content, because many of the new programs adopted at the end of the decade were American.

CJOR's ability to purchase a sufficient quantity of electrical transcriptions to make American content a conspicuous component of its schedule indicated that it was likely the most financially successful of the Vancouver stations. The station's utilization of American content will be elaborated upon later in this chapter, but it is important to note that CJOR was the only Vancouver station to make a concerted use of American programs in an attempt to enter into direct competition with American stations and with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station in the last few years of the 1930s.

Sports programming provided yet another natural focus for stations searching for local sources of programming. Sports broadcasting at CJOR started in 1931 with rugby and *Old Country Football Results*. These selections were appropriate considering that 26.20 per cent of the population of British Columbia listed their place of birth as the British Isles.⁴² The first large jump in the quantity of sports programs came in 1934, when sports rose from 1.23 per cent to 11.49 per cent of the schedule. Sports experienced another major surge in 1937, when it constituted 21.70 per cent of the broadcast week. More North American sports that included baseball, hockey, lacrosse and wrestling became standard on the station. Although in the last three years of the decade the station concentrated on sports summaries, reviews and interviews, overall play-by-play of games provided the preponderance of sports broadcasting. The sports commentator never became a regular feature of CJOR's broadcasts.

⁴² 181,873 of 694,263 residents of British Columbia listed their place of birth as the British Isles. 116,993 specifically listed England. The only larger group was those listing Canada as a birth place. This ethnic distribution would also account for talk programs such as *Great Britain Today* on Vancouver radio. *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* Volume II, Table 16, 739.

CJOR was able to mine the local resources sufficiently and successfully in order to maintain a large portion of sports in its schedule.

Had it not been for CJOR's addition of American programs to its schedule, comedy would have been almost absent from its programming. Comedy played a role in the diversification of the station only late in the decade and only through the use of by American programs. *Wife Saver* and *Vic and Sade* of NBC, as well as *Easy Aces*, a long-running CBS comedy, were added to the 1938 comedy roster. The two latter programs continued as the station's only comedy programs. Except for very infrequent Canadian inclusions, American comedy became the norm on CJOR, but it was a very limited part of CJOR's programming package.

American variety also failed to thrive at CJOR. Programs in that genre were identified simply as variety until the end of the decade. Variety filled only a small portion of the schedule until the anomalous year 1938, when at 10.19 per cent it occupied a large piece of the schedule. The introduction of the Canadian program *Ab Hine's Varieties* accounted in part for this phenomenon. Morning programs that were a mix of elements accounted for the remainder of variety programming. The American *Bing Crosby Variety Show* joined the program roster in 1939. The time zone may have accounted for the failure of variety to infiltrate the program schedule. The genre did not establish a well defined time slot on the West Coast. Without a set time or habitual format on CJOR variety had a lesser impact and remained inconsequential to the station.

Serial drama, on the other hand, did make a significant contribution to the CJOR schedule. This category was also almost completely dominated by American programs. CJOR employed serial drama very early in the decade, airing the locally-produced *Millie and Lizzie* in 1931. This, the sole serial drama on the station at the time, was placed in an excellent time slot starting

out at 7:30 p.m. and playing at 7:45 p.m. later in the year. No other serial drama appeared until the American *Ma Perkins* in 1935 and 1936. After that serial dramas snowballed on CJOR; by 1939 when serial drama consumed 9.62 per cent of the CJOR schedule, the station carried a wide variety of them, all but one American. CJOR's audiences were treated to *Life Can Be Beautiful*, *Ma Perkins*, *Pepper Young's Family*, *This Day Is Ours*, *The Goldbergs*, *Manhattan Mother* and, the sole Canadian entry, *The House of Peter McGregor*. By 1939 CJOR aired more than twice the quantity of serial dramas of its only Canadian competitor in this area, CBR.

This major commitment to serial drama by CJOR amounted to an average weekly of 6 hours and 50 minutes, which is impressive considering that almost all of these programs were 15 minutes in duration. The extensive use of the American serial drama is most evident in 1939. This simultaneous augmentation on CJOR, CBR and the American stations in the region was due to the decision to move serial drama to the afternoon on the East Coast. CJOR seized its first opportunity to compete for the serial drama audience at a time when no other station had the advantage of a lead or established listening audience in this area.

The development of women's programming was comparable to the emergence of serial drama at CJOR. No women's programming appeared in the schedule at all until the local *Women's Point of View* in 1935. It was joined by an afternoon program in 1936 entitled *Women's Column of the Air*, another local program broadcast six times a week. This was replaced by *For Women Only* in 1937. In women's programming's greatest year on CJOR, it attained 11.79 per cent of the schedule. *Good Morning Neighbor*, *Sue's Notebook* and the American *Radio Kitchen* formed part of the roster. *Radio Kitchen* was dropped the following year, but the other two new programs were broadcast

regularly, having found their niche. CJOR's adoption of a large amount of American serial drama was counterbalanced by the simultaneous development of its own women's programming.

Initially predominantly a music station, CJOR diversified and competed vigorously for first place in the market. At the outset of the decade the station possessed the advantage of having its own frequency. CJOR was able to develop programs regularly on its own over the course of the decade and came to rely upon areas of programming that were similar to all the local independent radio stations. Talk, sports, religious, women's, children's and news programs were all developed to help diversify the schedule to make the station competitive in what was increasingly becoming a mixed market. More than the stations previously discussed, CJOR, especially in the late 'thirties, made use of American programs to achieve the diversified schedule it needed to survive. This use of American programming, however, did not assume sufficient dominance to change the essential character of this local independent Canadian radio station, which had already developed its own foundation of Canadian programs.⁴³

CKFC

Not destined to become a preeminent broadcaster in the Vancouver market, CKFC's primary interest was in religious broadcasting. In 1930 the United Church of Canada, whose interests obviously extended well beyond the world of broadcasting, owned and operated CKFC. Its predecessor, the First Congregational Church, initially broadcast church services on CFYC; this

⁴³ At its peak American content represented 29.28 per cent of the CJOR schedule in 1939, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

success led it to establish its own radio station, CKFC, in 1924.⁴⁴ CKFC could not expect ever to assume a central role in the Vancouver broadcasting environment as a religious broadcaster. The station, however, passed through three distinct phases of development during the 1930s.

CKFC remained one of only three Canadian radio stations owned by religious interests when the International Bible Students Association lost its licences and the right to own radio stations.⁴⁵ The other surviving church-owned radio stations were CJBC of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto and CHMA of the Christian and Missionary Alliance of Edmonton. Religious broadcasting was not confined merely to church-owned stations, however. Its widespread success as a programming genre can be credited in part to the fact that radio stations had easy access to a steady supply of local religious broadcasting content. A variety of stations carried church services and other religious programs, particularly on Sunday, even though they were not owned or controlled by churches.⁴⁶ Early broadcasters reaped full advantage of the eagerness of various churches to have their message heard by a larger audience, simultaneously providing listeners with a wide variety of church services.

In 1930 CKFC occupied a minuscule segment of the local radio broadcasting schedule in Vancouver, contributing only 3 hours and 25 minutes

⁴⁴ The United Church of Canada became the official owner of CKFC after Church Union in June 1925. The station did not seem to be associated with any specific United Church in the early 1930s. In 1930 it broadcast services from Chalmers United Church and Wesley United Church. For a few years church services were listed without specifying a church. From 1936 until the end of the decade First United Church was the only United Church that contributed services to the CKFC schedule.

⁴⁵ The case of the International Bible Students is credited with having helped to spark the Aird Commission and is well documented in the literature. Vipond, 195-203; Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1920-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 30-34; Weir, 100-103.

⁴⁶ Even the stations that took a specific interest in religious broadcasting were not always owned by churches. This will be discussed in the chapter on Montreal CHYC, which was owned by Northern Electric and broadcast only on Sundays, splitting its time between musical and religious programming.

to total programming.⁴⁷ As shown in Table 6.6, CKFC retained only a small share of the local broadcast market over the course of the decade, but it was marked by a few bursts of growth.⁴⁸ The station's first surge of growth occurred in 1933; from 1935 forward it attempted to sustain this expansion. The first expansion coincided with the redistribution of frequencies in Vancouver. As already mentioned, until 1933 CKFC shared its frequency with CKCD CHLS, CKCD, CKMO and CKWX.⁴⁹ Once CKFC shared a frequency with only CKMO it was freer to expand. By 1933 the station was still not a full time broadcaster by any standard, but had increased its program schedule to an average of 11 hours and 40 minutes weekly. Although one of the smallest Vancouver radio stations, the development of CKFC remains significant. This is because the station was transformed during the 1930s from a special interest broadcaster into an almost typical profit-driven broadcaster with religious interests. The original motivation of CKFC to propagate the message of its church were modified by new management during the 1930s.

The original religious objectives of the station are clearly reflected in the station's programming selections outlined by Table 6.6 below. In 1930 it broadcast on average 3 hours and 15 minutes weekly, almost exclusively on Sundays. The high commitment of CKFC to its religious programming is

⁴⁷ Unless otherwise specified, all statistics are drawn from my own sampling of *The Vancouver Sun*, 1930-1939. For details regarding specific weeks in the selection, please refer to Appendix A.

⁴⁸ In 1931 temporarily CKFC disappeared from *The Vancouver Sun* program listings for unknown reasons.

⁴⁹ "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 38.

demonstrated by the fact that it constituted two thirds of the station's broadcast week. CKFC's status as a specialty station is demonstrated by the predominance of religious programming in the schedule. Although music filled the balance of the schedule, CKFC did not conform to the habitual pattern characteristic to all novice stations of an extremely high dependence on music.

As part of the transformation that CKFC underwent in the 1930s, 1933 marked its entrance into a transitional phase when music assumed a more important role in the schedule. The reprioritization of the station's program schedule represented a retreat into the novice stage of the development of a typical local station. Signs of the shift in the schedule were apparent in 1932. In that year the schedule was almost evenly divided between religious and musical programming. In 1933 we see the addition of daily afternoon broadcasts to the standard Sunday schedule of the station. This new time block consisted almost exclusively of music, largely recordings. As a result, the altered schedule placed a greater emphasis on music, amounting to 72.86 per cent of the schedule. CKFC's adaptation to the expansion of the hours in its broadcast week by almost quadrupling the quantity of music in the program schedule is typical of the evolution of most Vancouver stations.

Upon the successful extension of the station's broadcast week, some greater balance returned to the CKFC schedule when music fell to 55.56 per cent and 55.00 per cent of the schedule in 1934 and 1935 respectively. This change was accompanied by a resurgence of religious programming and a rise of talk. Religious programming was never restored to its former prominence, however. Temperance lectures also supplemented religious programming starting in 1933. Although these talks were not strictly religious programs they were still consistent with religious tone of the station. A quick review of Table 6.6 would seem to reveal that religious programming suffered a serious

decline in the middle of the decade. But this is only because religious programming did not keep pace proportionately with the total schedule expansion. In fact it almost doubled in quantity, rising from 1 hour and 45 minutes to 3 hours and 20 minutes in an average week in 1934 and 1935. It is noteworthy that CKFC, primarily a religious station, diversified and reached its height of religious programming in 1939 at an average of 4 hours and 30 minutes per week, only 5 minutes more than CKMO. Nevertheless, the balance did change. Although the original mandate for the existence of CKFC had been to serve as a religious station, it moved from specialty station to novice local independent station by the middle of the decade.

A definite break in the pattern of CKFC program schedule development followed a management change in 1936. Until then Cyril Trott of Radio Service Engineers operated the station independently for the church.⁵⁰ Then the United Church of Canada leased CKFC to the Standard Broadcasting Company, which in turn was taken over by Sun Publishing in 1937. The station maintained a commitment to religious broadcasting despite the changes until CKFC surrendered its licence in 1940 at the request of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The impact of the expanded schedule and diversification under new management can be partially assessed by examining the position of religious programming in the schedule. Table 6.6 reveals that it dropped from 66.67 per cent of the schedule in 1930, to 33.33 per cent in 1935, and a low of 11.34 per cent in 1936. Although a significantly smaller portion of the schedule, religious broadcasting totalled an average of 1 hour and 40 minutes per week in 1930 and in 1936 as well - further emphasizing the tremendous growth of the schedule. Religious programming reached its height of 4 hours and 30 minutes averaged weekly in 1939 when the schedule was

⁵⁰ Duffy, 18.

most diversified. At the same time, music declined to its lowest proportion of the schedule, amounting to 35.33 per cent. By 1939 music and religious programming occupied almost equivalent proportions of the schedule for the first time since 1932. Although the two key elements of the CKFC schedule were roughly equal again, they permanently shared the schedule with a variety of other genres of programming.

After 1936, under the new management, experimentation with the schedule in other programming areas became more evident. The typical local independent station's standard growth areas of talk and news were exploited to the advantage of the station. In 1938 and 1939 the *Sun News* naturally became a regular feature since Sun Publishing managed the station from 1937 onward. Exercise, opera, variety, dance music, religious music and children's programs were also introduced in small measures in the last four years of the decade. In 1938 CKFC took advantage of the gap left by the end of the exercise programs on accessible American stations with its own replacement, *Griff Morris Gym*. The extended, diversified program schedule was built largely upon these new local programs and the expansion to evening and afternoon time slots.

The essential components of the program schedule nevertheless remained religious and musical programming at the end of the decade. The one constant within the CKFC schedule remained the church services of the First United Church every Sunday. Music remained a basic element of the broadcast day, but the day was rounded out in the evening with American dance orchestras. *Wayne King's Orchestra* was the first American program captured by the sample in 1936. By 1939 *Richard Humber's Orchestra*, *Kay Kyser's Orchestra*, *Hal Kemp's Orchestra* and *Horace Heidt's Orchestra* occupied the final spot in the broadcast day.

Thus although CKFC was launched as a specialty station with a religious focus, expansion of broadcast hours of the station made it dependent upon music and took it through the typical novice stage experienced by most Canadian radio stations. Finally under new management, CKFC sought out local programming and diversified in order to survive and compete in the Vancouver market.

CFCT

A second specialty station in the Vancouver area with a religious inception was CFCT in Victoria. Dr. Clem Davies of the Centennial Methodist Church, who had previous broadcast experience in California, resolved that his church would have a radio station. This occurred in time for Easter Sunday in 1923 with the introduction of CFCL. Dr. Davis left the Centennial Methodist Church to establish the Victoria City Temple in 1924 and moved the radio transmitter there with the help of his former choir master, George Deauville. That new station became CFCT. In 1926, Deauville bought the station to operate commercially.⁵¹ Throughout the 1930s CFCT had its own frequency at 620, moving to 1430 in 1933 and finally settling at 1450 by 1935.⁵²

Despite the fact that CFCT was one of few stations not required to use a shared signal and its early start in 1923 with a 500-watt transmitter, the station only appeared in *The Vancouver Sun* radio schedules in 1930 and 1931. Technicians interviewed by Dennis Duffy reported that the station was poorly equipped and doubted that the station could be heard. In his reminiscences, Don Horne, who worked at CFCT, noted that CFCT "was...similar to CKMO; neither station had much money." By the early 1930s CFCT had gone from a

⁵¹ Duffy, 24.

⁵² "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 36-49; "North American Broadcasting Stations by Frequencies with Sunday's Time on the Air," *The Radio Index* no. 134 (December 1939): 63-82.

Table 6.7 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, excluding unidentified programs, on CFCT, 1930 to 1931

Type	Children	Drama	Music	Dance music	News	Religious
1930	2.36	2.36	36.61	18.90	27.36	12.40
1931	0	1.96	61.76	15.69	0	20.59

500 watt transmitter to a "little ship transmitter".⁵³ These interviews also indicated that the desperate conditions of the depression partially stunted the potential growth of CFCT. In *The Radio Index* of 1939 the station remained in the index of stations, listed as operating from 10:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. on Sundays. As shown in Table 6.7 above, an increased dependence upon music and decreasing diversification of the program schedule bespoke a reversal of the standard process of maturation for a local independent station, suggesting a station in distress.

Signs of the decline of CFCT were evident between 1930 and 1931. The range of programming alternatives narrowed, focusing almost exclusively on musical and religious programming. Programming excised from the schedule drew heavily upon local sources, signalling earlier attempts by the station to diversify. The elimination of news programming consisting of time signals, announcements and twice-daily market reports was an ominous indication of a station in difficulty, since this constituted a bare minimum for even novice stage stations. A 1930 children's program entitled *Auntie Bab's* led the evening schedule at 5:30 p.m. but disappeared by 1931. Decreased attempts to vary program offerings resulted in a higher concentration of musical programming.

The greater focus on musical and religious programming did not

⁵³ Duffy, 25.

represent an increase in these genres of programming. In 1930 CFCT broadcast an average weekly of 14 hours and 7 minutes while in 1931 it broadcast only 8 hours and 30 minutes on average weekly. Religious programming increased its share of the schedule but only by steadily contributing an average of 1 hour and 45 minutes weekly in both years. While music and dance music jumped from 55.51 per cent of the schedule in 1930 to 77.45 per cent in 1931 in fact musical programming dropped an average of 1 hour and 15 minutes weekly. The severe cuts to broadcast hours accounted for the shift in programming concentrations.

Despite a high dependence on music, CFCT did not resort to filling its schedule with recordings. Although CFCT acquired its own gramophone in 1925, one of the barriers to its use of recordings was a prohibition of mechanically produced music between 7:30 p.m. and midnight issued by the Radio Branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries in 1925.⁵⁴ This ban on recordings effectively disallowed them on CFCT since the station broadcast almost exclusively in the evenings.⁵⁵ In 1926 the Radio Branch authorized limited use of recordings in the evening by CFCT and other smaller stations.⁵⁶ This authorization and early possession of a Victrola provided the necessary tools for the entry of CFCT into the novice stage of development during the 1920s.

In 1930 and 1931, however, recordings were never mentioned in the program schedule. The decline of the station in 1931 did not prompt a return to the novice stage dependence on recordings. It seems that it was technical and financial difficulties that blocked the return to this stage. CFCT technician Dick Batey recalled, "when I entered the picture in 1939, it was a thoroughly

⁵⁴ "Special Rules to be observed in the operation of Private Commercial Broadcasting Stations," as cited in Vipond, 136.

⁵⁵ The only exception was its Sunday broadcasts.

⁵⁶ Vipond, 138.

run-down, utterly haywire operation...we didn't have a 33 1/3 r.p.m. turntable that worked...We used to turn it by hand...you got comparatively [adept] at turning the thing at the right speed with your finger."⁵⁷ Without the means to return to extensive use of recordings substantial reductions to the broadcast schedule became necessary.

The abrupt reversal in the CFCT schedule coincided with a change of religious programming partners. In 1930 CFCT continued to broadcast the morning and evening services of the Victoria City Temple. In 1931 the International Bible Students' *Watchtower Program* formed part of the CFCT program schedule for the first time. The departure of Dr. Clem Davies, the original guiding spirit of CFCT, foreshadowed the altered status of the station.⁵⁸ The new religious programming base, reduction in broadcast time and technical difficulties all contributed to the decline of the station. The disappearance of CFCT from the newspaper's radio program schedule can be cited as yet another sign of its decline. The station's normal progression as a local independent station came to a halt; CFCT continued to exist on paper but was not a viable competitor in the Vancouver area.

CKCD

CKCD, owned by *The Vancouver Daily Province*, debuted on March 13, 1922 with an evening of news and music. Like Vancouver's other major newspapers, the *Province* seized the first opportunity to enter into radio broadcasting. *The Vancouver Sun* commenced broadcasting on March 15, 1922 on CJCE and *The World* started a week later on CFYC. Both CJCE and CFYC introduced an ambitious eight-hour-a-day schedule but by year's end neither

⁵⁷ Duffy, 25.

⁵⁸ Dr. Clem Davies later contributed to programs on CKWX in 1937 and CKMO in 1938.

newspaper continued to broadcast. Only CKCD, however, first of the three to go on the air, broadcast throughout the 'thirties.⁵⁹ Once the *Vancouver Daily Province* ceased to have an affiliation with CKCD the program schedule of the station finally appeared in the pages of *The Vancouver Sun*.

CKCD operated with a power of 100 watts on a transmitter provided by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of Canada.⁶⁰ The sum total of CKCD's contribution to the Vancouver broadcasting environment until 1933 was its fifteen-minute news bulletins with Earle Kelly. The phantom station CHLS shared CKCD facilities and supplied the remainder of the evening commercial programming. William G. Hassell, known as "Uncle Billy" on the air, owned and operated CHLS. The *Uncle Billy* programs consisted of stories about dogs, which tied in to his other business, dog food sales.⁶¹ CHLS ceased to exist when the practice of granting phantom licences was discontinued in 1933. That year CKCD and CHLS's programs combined to form an evening schedule on the frequency they also shared with CKFC, CKMO and CKWX until 1933.⁶² In 1934 the Pacific Broadcasting Company took over CKCD. The operations of CHLS were collapsed into those of CKCD, with William Hassell remaining as manager.

By that time, 1935, CKCD had already developed a set format, broadcasting fairly consistently in the evening hours Monday to Saturday from 7:30 p.m. until midnight.⁶³ Although it did not broadcast all day, CKCD exhibited all the traits of the typical local independent station. The station developed its program schedule through the use of its own local programming;

⁵⁹ Duffy, 9-14.

⁶⁰ Duffy, 10.

⁶¹ Duffy, 11.

⁶² "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 38.

⁶³ The station's broadcast day often finished earlier, but midnight was the latest.

it was exceptional in that it never used recordings.

Neither decline nor expansion marked the CKCD program schedule in the second half of the decade. It broadcast for an average of 11 hours and 15 minutes per week in 1935, its minimum for this period. The station, however, attained a peak of 15 hours and 10 minutes in an average week in 1936. It rested at this plateau until it surrendered its licence in 1940 when the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation reduced the total number of Vancouver stations.

CKCD achieved some success in diversifying its program schedule, as demonstrated in Table 6.8 below. The early affiliation of CKCD with *The Vancouver Daily Province* as a specialty station allowed the station to establish a firm base of news. At 23.48 per cent of the program schedule in 1935, news was a major factor. Amalgamation with CHLS and the transfer of operations to the Pacific Broadcasting Company fostered the broadening of CKCD programming. In the last three years of the decade news bulletins aired for exactly 15 minutes, 5 evenings a week. Still a sizable portion of the schedule, news declined to a level comparable to other stations, ceasing to define CKCD as a specialty station. Nevertheless throughout this period and similar to other local independent radio stations, news was a core area of proficiency, reinforcing and sustaining CKCD.

Music formed the other standard part of the schedule. Slowly the hours devoted to music decreased, indicating that some diversification was occurring. Dance music represented a comparatively small portion of the overall schedule until 1939 when American dance orchestras were added. The almost negligible amount of American programming on CKCD consisted entirely of music.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ In 1936 one American 30 minute program of music called *Cowboy Joe* was found in the sample, amounting to 1.28 per cent. In 1939, 2 hours and 15 minutes of American programming or 7.20 per cent formed part of the total.

**Table 6.8 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs,
not including unidentified programs, on CKCD, 1935 to 1939**

Type	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0	0
Children	0	2.56	13.45	7.00	2.40
Comedy	10.43	3.85	3.36	12.24	4.80
Drama	0	0	0	0	0
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0	0
Music	67.83	62.82	53.78	57.73	44.80
Dance music	5.22	6.41	3.36	4.37	21.60
Religious music	0	2.56	0	4.37	3.20
News	23.48	12.82	12.61	13.12	12.00
Opera	0	0	0	0	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0	1.60
Religious	0	1.28	0	0	0
Serial drama	0	0	0	0	0
Special	0	0	3.36	0	0
Sports	0	0	0	0	0
Talk	10.43	6.41	5.04	0.87	9.70
Talk and information	0	0	0	0	0
Variety	0	1.28	5.04	0	0
Women	0	0	0	0	0

The vast majority of its guests and programs, such as the Canadian *Farmer Fiddlers*, recurred regularly throughout the period. CKCD always made an effort to recruit local talent and the recurring appearances of performers mentioned by name such as George Boyd, Billy Blinkhorn and Myrtle Thompson, attests to this endeavor.⁶⁵ This commitment to local talent went beyond that of the other stations which resorted to recordings to fill their days. Fortunately CKCD was never pressured to stretch its resources to the limit; its shared frequency did not allow the station to broadcast for the entire day. Additionally, the fact that CKCD broadcast in the evening during the ban on the use of recordings required it to explore the possibilities of local talent.

CKCD relied heavily on the genres of programming that were successful at other local independent stations. *Uncle Remus* mirrored one of the standard formats for a local children's program. The long-running juvenile drama *Marston of the Mounted*, developed by the staff, represented a more serious commitment to children's programming. Although extremely unusual as a juvenile drama in the Canadian market, *Marston of the Mounted's* quality may not have matched the American productions. John Avison, who worked on the program and at CKCD, described the long-running series as a "pretty dreary" and did not believe anyone would admit to writing it.⁶⁶ Another atypical venture was the development of a local series, *Mr and Mrs*. The talk programs included the recurring local titles *Practical Philosopher*, *Civic Forum* and *William Easterbrook*. Aside from *Civic Forum*, the titles suggest a standardized program rather than an invitation to the members of the community to address the audience. In these instances of program development CKCD exhibited many of the characteristics common to the

⁶⁵ Some of the performers held other positions at the station as was often the case at many early radio stations.

⁶⁶ Nora Shell wrote *Marston of the Mounties*, which featured Bill Buckingham and Alan Young. Esther Roughton as cited in Duffy, 13.

development of local independent stations. Like most of the others, it also avoided the drama and variety programming dominated by the American networks.

CKCD's impressive offerings of Canadian programs in a wide range of areas was sustained throughout the decade. The unprecedented development of an almost exclusively Canadian schedule, without the assistance of a network or recordings, provided a distinct alternative to the existing American network fare and promoted the continued existence of CKCD during the 'thirties. The efforts of CKCD also demonstrated that the cultivation of predominantly Canadian program schedule was entirely conceivable for a relatively small radio station.

CNRV

Heralded as the first national radio broadcasting network, the Canadian National Railways' chain owned and operated CNRV in Vancouver. CNRV fared better in the early years of the 1930s than the other stations in the chain. Not only was it not a phantom like most of the CNR stations, but it possessed an exclusive frequency in Vancouver. CNRV was also the most powerful station in Vancouver, operating at 500 watts.

The impact of the CNR's stations varied greatly from city to city depending greatly on the facilities and access to broadcast time, especially in the case of phantom stations. Across the country the majority of the CNR's stations started to scale back their hours of operation under the constraints of layoffs and budget restraints in the early 1930s. In the case of the chain's Vancouver station, however, rather than dwindling, it expanded its hours of operation each year. In 1930 it started with a weekly average of 10 hours and 45 minutes of broadcasting, almost doubled to 21 hours and 25 minutes in

1931 and continued to maintain this expansion at 26 hours and 37 minutes in 1932. As one of the most stable stations in the chain, CNRV was in a position to extend beyond the original mandate to entertain train passengers. CNRV possessed a greater opportunity to cater to a wider audience within Vancouver due to its comparatively longer broadcast week.

The Canadian National Railways' chain has been celebrated for its innovations in early Canadian radio broadcasting. E. Austin Weir became Director of Radio for CNR in 1928 and chronicled its early programming achievements in his work, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada*.⁶⁷ The chain had easy access to hotel orchestras for its extensive Canadian musical programs and also produced some early variety programs. Weir recounted that it became increasingly important for the Canadian National Railways to develop programs other than musical ones.⁶⁸ The series of historical dramas entitled *The Romance of Canada*, written by Merrill Denison and produced by Tyrone Guthrie, sprang from this desire to expand the program offerings. It was an important step away from a steady diet of musical programming, but did not represent a replacement of music by itself. Analogous to the Royal Tour in 1939, it attracted a great deal of uncommon attention and special coverage; *The Romance of Canada* was a wonderful inauguration of Canadian radio drama. The series, however, provided an exception to the standard ongoing everyday listening fare. Such series were unique national broadcasting events, not the beginning of a trend toward

⁶⁷ Weir, 42-78.

⁶⁸ Weir, 51.

schedule diversification.⁶⁹ The network and CNRV rarely diverged from a steady diet of music in their last few years of existence, making their programming largely indistinct from the trends evident among local independent stations, particularly in the case of music.

Table 6.9 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CNRV, 1930 to 1932

Type	1930	1931	1932
Drama	3.10	1.74	0
Education	2.33	0	0
Music	72.87	66.96	66.56
Dance Music	9.30	17.39	15.30
News	0.78	3.48	6.23
Special	0	0	2.30
Sports	0	2.17	0
Talk	0.78	3.04	5.69
Variety	6.20	5.22	2.62
Women	4.65	0	0

As part of a chain, CNRV featured national concerts drawn from the network. Recordings dominated the musical offerings of most Vancouver stations, but CNRV was fortunate enough to be able to broadcast live musical

⁶⁹ *The Romance of Canada* has been celebrated in the historical literature as one of the important events in the radio history of Canada. Its contribution to the national imagination is worth investigation. Trevor W. A. Grigg, "Text and Context: 'The Romance of Canada' and the Construction of a National Imagination" (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1989); Weir, 51-63. John Gammon's interpretation was that, "By the late 1920s, radio broadcasters began to replace music with drama." John R. Gammon, "Creating for the Audience of One: An Ethnography of Radio Drama," M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1997, 4-5. Although there were some limited examples borne out in the program schedules such a broad statement is unwarranted. E. Austin Weir, "The Prime Purpose of Radio," *University of Toronto Monthly* (May 1933): 256; Peers, 22-27. The danger of the repeated emphasis on anomalies in early radio broadcasting history rather than the standard daily listening fare highlighted in this study is that the historical perception of the early radio experienced by the Canadian audience becomes skewed toward the exception rather than the rule.

performers. Significantly, the proportions of music and dance music were relatively high compared to those of other stations, especially considering this was a well-established network station. The two musical programming categories combined amounted to 88.17 per cent of the schedule in 1930, 84.35 per cent in 1931 and 81.86 per cent in 1932. Some program diversification existed as shown in Table 6.9 above, yet no new initiatives materialized between 1930 and 1932.

Despite the high concentration of music in the CNRV program schedule, the station provided a commendable array of programs. Most stations tended to draw on news, religious programming or other specialized areas depending on the focus of the station. The original intent of CNRV and all the stations in the chain was entertainment, consequently in the 1920s and early 1930s CNRV developed programs from an assortment of sources not customarily employed by local independent stations. The weekly contribution of original dramatic productions by the *CNRV Players* stood out as unusual for the chain and exceptional in Vancouver. Under the direction of Jack Gilmore, 95 plays were performed between 1927 and 1931.⁷⁰ *CNRV Players* was spotlighted with excellent placement in the schedule, appearing at 9:00 p.m. on Friday in 1930 and 8:00 p.m. on Saturday in 1931 before abruptly disappearing in 1932. Other local features such as an educational program by the Vancouver School Principals' Association enhanced the CNRV program schedule. Noteworthy for its propensity for original programming, the station completed its roster of Canadian programs with variety, talk and *Household Science and Economics*.

Between 1930 and 1932 CNRV put greater emphasis on specific categories of programming, slowly narrowing the station's focus, a sign that the station was in decline. News grew with regular bulletins. The University of

⁷⁰ "CNR Radio Programme," and "Production List of the CNRV Players," as cited in Vipond, 96.

Alberta and University of British Columbia regularly supplied poetry readings and lectures, contributing to the ongoing use of local and regional resources by CNRV. While talk and news grew in the first three years of the decade, CNRV withdrew from drama, educational and women's programming. The alterations in the program schedule were slow. Despite ongoing difficulties suffered by the chain, CNRV maintained a somewhat varied program schedule in a period when other Canadian National Railways' stations had all but vanished.

Minor shifts in programming emphasis from one genre to another are not as telling as the slow change in music. What had been in 1930 a clear mixture of identified performers and recordings disintegrated into an overwhelming dependence on recordings and unnamed concert trios, piano recitals and organ recitals by 1932. Not a single musical performer or dance orchestra was identified by name in the 1932 program schedule. This signalled the imminent demise of CNRV. The station's schedule deteriorated; lacking identified live performances, it closely resembled a poorly financed novice independent station. While, at least in 1931, the broadcast hours of the station expanded rapidly, the increasing reliance on recorded music and unnamed performances indicates a decline in the quality of station programming.

Ultimately the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Railways in 1931 relentlessly pursued the broadcasting operations of the Canadian National Railways until they were permanently suspended. The budget cuts and layoffs in the interim affected service provided by the radio stations in the chain. The growing use of recordings at CNRV was undoubtedly the result of these economizing measures; live performers had been a major expenditure. Though the station maintained its broadcast hours it exhibited none of the signs of an evolving radio station. The stalled diversification also indicated a station in distress. The demise of the Canadian National Railways

broadcasting network contributed more to the cessation of operations at CNRV rather than any specific actions on the part of the station. In 1932 the newly formed Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission purchased all the Canadian National Railways' stations including CNRV.

Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission

The remains of the Canadian National Railways radio network provided the skeletal structure for the emerging Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. In most cities CNR radio stations had effectively disappeared long before the equipment and studios were sold to the new CRBC in 1933. In Vancouver, however, where CNRV was still in existence if not exactly thriving, the CRBC gained an established station with its own frequency. The new call letters were CRCV.

At its inception the CRBC broadcast in the evenings only, making CRCV merely a part time competitor. While it could have broadcast its own programs during the day, it only occasionally did so. In many other cities the Commission paid for time for its programs on existing stations, thereby supplementing the program schedules of those stations. Because of the existence of CRCV, however, the local independent stations in Vancouver benefitted only on rare occasions from these program supplements.

CRCV

CRCV entered the Vancouver broadcasting market in 1933 just as the redistribution of frequencies allowed the local stations to expand. CRCV possessed its own frequency of 1100 and power of 500 watts, increasing to 1,000 in 1934, establishing it as the most powerful Canadian station in the

area.⁷¹ Serendipitously, the simple random sample selected for the purposes of this study encompassed a week in November 1933 that uncovers the details of one of CRCV's first weeks of operation, a week during which it was on air for 41 hours and 53 minutes.

CRCV was not only pressed quickly into service, as were other Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission stations, but as was typical for a novice station it was highly dependent on musical programming. The fact that CRCV broadcast only in the evening made the station's reliance on music more pronounced, since concerts and a variety of musical programs were more common in the evening on all stations. In 1933 music and dance music constituted 76.77 per cent of the schedule. In 1934 music and dance music programs dropped to 66.81 per cent of the schedule, in 1935 to 58.22 per cent and in 1936 to 38.35 per cent, as shown in Table 6.10. The reduction of the proportion of music reflected an effort to diversify that paralleled that of other stations. Although facing similar challenges, CRCV accomplished this diversification in a unique manner.

As a part of the network it was supplied with its programming, but it was not forced to seek the approval of the audience in order to attract the support of advertisers, the core of the financial structure of local independent stations. CRCV and the other CRBC stations were financed by licence fees, making the traditional appeals directly to the community unnecessary. This independence from local advertisers permitted the network and CRCV to assemble a schedule not rooted in local concerns, allowing the exploration of new types of programming or new program sources for standard genres of programming such as music. This was also, of course, part of the *raison d'être*

⁷¹ A number of other CRBC stations were also listed in the Vancouver radio program schedule. In 1933, CHWK Chilliwack, CKOV Kelowna and CFJC Kamloops were all listed together in much the way that NBC or other American networks listed their stations as a group. These stations were listed as CRC. This aberration in the schedule lasted one year. In the following year the commission's programs were listed as CRC and CRCV.

Table 6.10 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CRCV, 1933 to 1936

Type	1933	1934	1935	1936
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0.83
Astrology	0	1.05	0	0.41
Children	0	0	0.24	0.21
Comedy	0.63	2.09	1.42	1.86
Drama	4.34	2.09	6.95	0.41
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0.71	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0
Music	51.12	49.20	48.50	36.05
Dance music	24.65	17.61	9.72	22.58
Religious music	0	0	0	0
News	5.67	6.43	9.48	14.09
Opera	2.10	0	0	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0
Religious	0	1.05	3.32	1.24
Serial drama	0	0	0.95	1.24
Special	0	2.35	0.47	0
Sports	1.05	1.83	4.27	2.07
Talk	4.20	14.99	12.80	16.92
Talk and information	0	0	0	0
Variety	6.23	1.31	0.71	2.07
Women	0	0	0.47	0

of the CRBC - to provide network programming that enabled interchange among the different parts of the nation.

One distinctive feature of CRCV's programming was that although it broadcast mostly music, with heavy reliance on recordings, the station did not start out as a normal novice station. Instead the support of the national network allowed CRCV to broadcast live performances from across the country. Within the framework of a single broadcast week musical programs emanated from every region of Canada. For example Regina supplied Jack Dale, a Ukrainian choir and the Regina Philharmonic Society. Cowboy music came in from Winnipeg, as did vocalist Colin Ashdown. The Royal 22nd Regiment Band from Quebec was broadcast over CRCV, as were performers from Toronto, Montreal, Calgary and the Maritimes. The musical programs were overwhelmingly Canadian with the occasional exception, such as the New York Philharmonic Orchestra from CBS. This network program, broadcast regularly at noon, was also one of the few exceptions to CRCV's exclusively evening schedule. The national scope of the performers, however, was the only major difference that distinguished the array of sopranos, tenors, organists, pianists, violinists and orchestras performing on CRCV from those on other radio stations. Opera and religious music were as rare on CRCV as on other Vancouver stations. Nevertheless, the transition away from a largely music-based to a diversified schedule was swifter and easier for CRCV due to the national resources of the network available to it.

The immediate introduction of drama set CRCV apart from the local broadcasting community. As drama had been a featured element of CNRV, the acquisition of CNRV staff with the purchase of the station assisted in setting the stage for the continued broadcast of drama. Drama was not specific to this station alone; Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission

stations featured drama across the country. The majority of the early drama listings in 1933 revealed very little about the programs; they are usually identified simply as drama. Specifically noted titles such as *Born to be a Policeman* were infrequent. One exception was the ambitious sustaining program *Radio Theatre Guild*, a series of mainly Canadian original pieces of serious drama produced by Rupert Caplan for the CRBC originating in Montreal from 1933 to 1935.⁷² *The Theatre of the Air*, a long-running Vancouver series, was first introduced in 1934.⁷³ *Drama of British Columbia* aired concurrently over CRCV and CKWX. *Theatre Club* from Kamloops was also added to the roster of Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission drama programs. By 1935 CRCV provided 55 per cent of all drama broadcast by the Canadian stations in the Vancouver area. The swift implementation of a schedule that ensured the greater availability of Canadian drama was only possible through the continued efforts of the Vancouver drama community and CRBC national productions.

The Canada-wide resources behind the drama programs were also available for the comedy presented to CRCV audiences. This programming category was dominated by *Nit Wit Court* from Calgary between 1934 and 1936, *Mr. and Mrs.* written for CRCV in 1934 and 1935 and *Woodhouse and Hawkins*, which began in 1936.⁷⁴ Esther and Alan Roughton played *Mr. and Mrs.*, a domestic comedy Roughton created for CRCV that aired as early as

⁷² Howard Fink, "The sponsor's v. the nation's choice: North American radio drama," in Peter Lewis ed., *Radio Drama* (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1981), 230-234.

⁷³ Fink, 234.

⁷⁴ Other occasional examples appeared such as *Nautional Nonsense* from Moose Jaw. In what would seem to be shortage of comedy show titles as indicated by the footnote below, *Nit Wit Court* from Calgary should not be confused with *Nit Wit Hour*, which was first broadcast in this decade in 1931 by CBS stations on the West Coast.

1934.⁷⁵ By 1935 CRCV's comedy represented 60 per cent of all comedy broadcast by the Vancouver stations. As was the case with drama, comedy enabled CRCV to embrace a new category of Canadian programming, but this was only possible because the network supplied programs from across the country. This made CRCV distinctive in the Vancouver market as its capabilities extended well beyond those of the local independent Vancouver radio stations.

Ultimately news assumed a key role on CRBC stations. Twice-daily *Canadian Press News* bulletins supplied by the network commenced in 1933. Also available on CRCV were the ubiquitous *Sun News* bulletins that appeared on a majority of the Vancouver stations in the decade. By 1935 the station alternated between *Sun News* and *Canadian Press News*. In 1936 the news was identified as *News* and *Sun News*, with the occasional news commentary, *Dr. H. L. Stewart Reviews the News*. With the exception of news commentary, the CRCV news listings did not differ substantially from other stations; access to *Canadian Press News*, however, gave them national news. The station's use of *Sun News* and *Monitor News* were unexceptional as they were shared by CKWX and CJOR during the decade. CRCV news coverage hit its peak in 1936 with bulletins three times a day. Aside from the addition of *Canadian Press News* bulletins, CRCV news programming did not radically alter the course set by local stations with regard to news. The standardized national news provided by the *Canadian Press News* bulletins, however, contributed to

⁷⁵ Esther Roughton reminisced about the origins of the comedy in Duffy, 39-40. In her discussion of the emergence of national narratives, Michele Hilmes included *Mr. and Mrs.* with short-lived NBC comic serials based on comic strips, indicating that there was another comedy by the same name. Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 82; In fact, there were two programs of this name in the United States, in addition to the Canadian program. The first was broadcast by CBS from 1929 to 1931, based on a comic strip by Clare Briggs. The other was aired much later in the summer of 1946 on NBC, but was not based on the comic strip. Jon Swartz and Robert C. Reinehr, *Handbook of Old-Time Radio: A Comprehensive Guide to Golden Age Radio and Listening and Collecting* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1993), 453.

the centralized Canada-wide role that the national broadcaster was developing for itself.⁷⁶

In a market already saturated with religious programming, CRCV would not have distinguished itself by adding to the long list of church services available. Instead CRCV relied on the network rather than local sources for its religious programming. In 1934 CRCV first contributed *Vesper Hour* from Winnipeg, and *Bible Drama* was added in 1935. The station was wise to take a different course from the local Vancouver stations which seem to have broadcast every imaginable church service available. Religious programming with a broader, thematic approach was more efficiently delivered by a network. Religious programming was a very small portion of the CRCV schedule, however, which also set it apart from the local independent stations that relied upon such local sources of programming for survival.

Women's programming, children's programming and sports were frequent focal points of the local independent radio stations in their search for affordable and feasible programming that would serve the needs of Vancouver listeners. The distinction between those stations and CRCV is demonstrated in Table 6.10 which shows the restricted use that CRCV made of those categories of programs. Only sports rose periodically due to the length of hockey broadcasts. At most, these types of programs were sporadic inclusions in the CRCV schedule. As part of a national network, CRCV did not rely upon these types of programs that were drawn largely from local sources and essential to the local independent stations. An important part of CRCV's neglect of these categories of programs was the fact the the station broadcast almost exclusively in the evening, while women's and children's programs were

⁷⁶ Mary Vipond, "The Continental Marketplace: Authority, Advertisers, and Audiences in Canadian News Broadcasting, 1932-1936," *Journal of Radio Studies* 6 (1999): 172.

generally daytime programming and sports was variable. Thus the combined effect of network programming and scheduling served to exclude programs that were key to local stations.

The recurrent American varieties and serial dramas that were so popular on most of the continent did not seize hold of even a small portion of the CRCV schedule. The rural serial drama *Youngbloods of Beaver Bend*, produced in Winnipeg, aired from 1935 on. This program, however, represented the extent of the station's interest in the genre. Variety remained a largely neglected portion of the CRCV schedule between 1933 and 1936. It occupied a larger portion of the schedule in 1933 with American offerings such as *Hodge Podge Lodge* which featured guests with unusual hobbies. As a CRBC owned-and-operated station, CRCV's utilization of American programming was restricted largely to classical music such as the New York Philharmonic. American programs did not become a tool for schedule diversification at CRCV; instead it set its own priorities through program development.

Talk, essential to the maturation of the local independent stations, was equally important to CRCV. Only musical programming occupied a larger portion of the station's programming from 1934 to 1936. The station incorporated some local groups and speakers into the schedule, though they were not the overriding focus of talk programming as they were on the local independent Canadian stations. There was a certain amount of overlap in talk. Dr. Lyle Telford spoke passionately about the C.C.F. on CRCV, as he did on most other Vancouver stations. But generally and from the outset, talk programming was different on CRCV. Numerous informational talks were broadcast such as *Stamp Collecting as a Hobby*, *Farm Address*, *Agricultural Talk* and *Financial Talk*. The majority of these talks were quite general in approach and were broadcast in cities across the country. CRCV and all

CRBC stations were also distinct in the application of university style lectures. CRCV broadcast a lecture on "Salt in the Sea" by Prof. S. A. Beatty of Dalhousie University and "Shakespeare, the Great Englishman in History" by the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen in 1935. The 1934 sample contained an address by the curator of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in Toronto and "Canada Reconstructed" by E.S. Woodward. By 1936, however, CRCV's talk format was transformed; talks by groups and topics similar to the standard fare of the local stations almost completely replaced the university lectures. *The Social Credit League*, *C.C.F. Radio Forum* and book reviews became standard. As a CRBC station, CRCV was distinctive for its inclusion of local talk, but it was its network broadcasts of lectures and topical addresses that set it apart from local broadcasters and demonstrated the potential of a Canadian network.

Despite the fact that CRCV existed only for a few short years it carved out its own distinctly Canadian niche in the market. The power of the national network behind the station was evident first in its musical programming selections. CRCV also added comedic and dramatic elements to Vancouver broadcasting that could not be matched locally. The station disregarded standard genres such as children's, women's and religious programming. News, however, was a major focal point of CRCV and the station cultivated its own brand of talk supported by national resources. This differentiation was the result of its membership in the CRBC network, which was not only a source of programming, but also provided stable funding based on licence fees. CRCV was thus able to emerge as a distinctive station with its own programming specialties in the Vancouver market.

CBR

As of November 2, 1936 CRCV operated as a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station broadcasting the full network schedule of six hours daily.⁷⁷ The call letters were not changed to CBR until 1937 when the station became a full time broadcaster.⁷⁸ The presence and programming direction of CBR solicited a competitive response on the part of the local Vancouver stations, because unlike its predecessor CRCV CBR's schedule extended beyond the evening hours and made use of American programming.

CBR diversified more rapidly than any other radio station in the Vancouver listening area - at a cost to Canadian content. Although it did have access to a national network, a considerable proportion of the station's offerings were American; indeed CBR tripled the proportion of American content in its scheduled offerings between 1937 and 1939. Thus CBR represented a double threat to the local stations. Not only did it have the backing of a Canadian national network, it also for the first time introduced significant amounts of locally broadcast American programming, something which had barely existed in Vancouver to that point. Subsequently the two major challenges to the local independent stations in their struggle for survival were embodied in one new station - CBR.

CBC network programming formed the backbone of CRCV's broadcasting for a year before it officially changed its name to CBR. As shown

⁷⁷ "The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation," prepared under the direction of Dr. Augustin Frigon in Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *The Canada Year Book 1947* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947), 737.

⁷⁸ The wire-line contracts were renegotiated to extend the day to 16 hours effective October 1, 1937, which signalled the change over from CRBC to CBC. See Chapter 2 "Right on Cue: The Historical Background" for more detail. The sample for 1937 includes the weeks Sunday, May 9 to Saturday, May 15, Sunday, September 26 to Saturday, October 2 and Sunday, November 28 to Saturday, December 4, 1937. Thus the first weeks except for the last two days coincide with CRBC's term and the last week in that sample year falls under CBC as CBR. Consequently the data in Table 6.11 reflects this change by listing two weeks under CRCV and one under CBR.

in Table 6.11 below, CBR expanded its schedule very rapidly while also diversifying. In 1937 and 1938 CBR operated for an average of 103 hours and 54 minutes and 101 hours and 14 minutes a week respectively; the station burst onto the Vancouver broadcasting market with a full schedule unmatched by any local station. By 1939 its broadcast week levelled out to an average of 84 hours and 5 minutes, while CJOR increased to 78 hours and 45 minutes, making the two close competitors. CBR's quickly expanding schedule was an indication of the level of support gained from both the network and American programming to which CBR had access.

Music again figured prominently in the CBR program schedule as was the case on all radio stations in the 1930s. Although CBR was a new station, it gained a foundation from CNRV and CRCV, so it did not have to go through the initial stage of schedule development heavily laden with music. As Table 6.11 shows, music and dance music combined to form 55.97 per cent of the 1937 schedule, 54.93 per cent of the 1938 schedule and 68.14 per cent of the 1939 schedule. Due to its network status, the station was not obliged to use recordings to meet the demand for music or to fill the schedule. Even in 1938 when the broadcast week expanded by over 55 hours a sufficient supply of network musical programs was made available to CBR. In fact music programming was highly centralized in Toronto, despite the inclusion of occasional regional productions such as *Acadian Serenade*. This minimized the Canada-wide flavour that had characterized the early programming of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. The advantage of the resources of the national network allowed CBR to commence operations with a schedule that was immediately diversified.

National network programming was central to the overall development of CBR, as it had been for CRCV. The station did not pursue the standard

Table 6.11 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CRCV and CBR, 1937 to 1939

Type	1937 (CRCV)	1937 (CBR)	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0.35	0.49
Astrology	0	0	0	0
Children	0.19	0.41	1.42	0.49
Comedy	0.19	0.41	0.97	0.66
Drama	4.34	3.05	4.96	2.74
Drama anthology	0	0	0.89	0.44
Education	0	0	0.71	0.66
Exercise	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0
Music	43.08	39.48	43.62	43.76
Dance music	5.85	16.28	11.31	24.38
Religious music	0.38	0.21	0.53	0.66
News	8.05	4.47	8.24	5.88
Opera	1.13	0	0	0.22
Quiz	0	0	1.15	0
Religious	0.38	0.41	1.51	1.31
Serial drama	1.32	0	1.51	4.60
Special	9.81	1.22	0.53	2.63
Sports	0.57	2.58	3.10	1.09
Talk	7.93	14.65	6.02	4.31
Talk and information	0	0	0	0.22
Variety	7.74	16.82	12.94	5.53
Women	0.19	0	0	0

sources of local programming that formed the basis of the schedules of the local independent stations. Women's programming, consistent with the pattern of the American networks, remained conspicuously absent from the CBR schedule. The station maintained religious programming at a bare minimum. It broadcast some of the American programs such as *Catholic Hour* and *Church of the Air* as well as the CBC's own *Church by the Sea*, *Devotional Service* and *It Came to Pass*. The religious programming of the station had a general character, developed in a similar fashion to American network programs that could be broadcast across the country, as had been the case for CRCV. Forging individual links to churches in the community was unnecessary for a large national network.

Other areas traditionally within the purview of local stations such as children's programming and sports were similarly neglected by the national broadcaster. Only rare examples of children's programs appeared in of the CBR schedule. *Impressions of Tenderfoot* was the solitary example in the 1939 sample. The station's few children's programs were exclusively Canadian. CBR did not resort to loading its schedule with American children's programs despite their popularity and availability. Similarly sports broadcasting was restricted but varied with the season, hockey remaining an important part of the schedule.

CBR maintained the strong commitment to drama that its predecessors CNRV and CRCV had established. In early 1937 it picked up national drama programs that included *Just Supposin'* from Winnipeg; *Within these Walls* from Toronto; and *London Sketches* from Halifax. It also produced *Theatre Time*, *From the Coastline* and *Chains of Circumstance* for the network. Later in the year, however, as the CBC became more established, fewer local productions were featured, a harbinger of things to come in Canadian radio drama.

Throughout the latter 1930s drama production became more centralized in Toronto and mention of Winnipeg and Montreal disappeared completely from the listings as well.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, generally speaking, both the CRBC and CBC managed to sustain a high commitment to Canadian drama in Vancouver. By 1937, 70.19 per cent of the drama broadcast by Vancouver stations was presented under the auspices of the CBC. CBR supplied 68.81 per cent of all drama provided by Vancouver stations in 1939. The station added to the existing base with some American drama such as *Columbia Workshop*, *Radio Theatre*, *Drums*, *Great Plays*, *Silver Theatre* and *Buffalo Summer Theatre*. CBR supplied Vancouver with small amounts of the adventure, crime and mystery programs that originated from the United States as well. Nevertheless CBR's own drama programs still outnumbered the additional American programs. They included *Green Door*, *Shakespearean Drama*, *Play Time*, *CBC Summer Theatre*, *Street Scene*, *Red Ledger*, *Theatre Time*, *Everyman Theatre* and a variety of other titles. The ability to broadcast drama regularly to Vancouver audiences proved to be one of the clear distinctions between CBR and the local independent stations. Consistently CNRV, CRCV and CBR were the city's purveyors of Canadian drama; local stations either avoided the genre completely or supplemented their schedules almost exclusively with American drama.

As remarked upon earlier, the problem of time zones that restricted the use of comedy by American stations on the West Coast was mirrored in the practices of the Vancouver stations. Comedy never became as popular on the

⁷⁹ CBC drama was completely reorganized in the last few years of the decade. In the program listings, it would seem that regional drama disappeared. Halifax disappeared from the notations at the end of the program listings in 1938, as did Vancouver. However major regional series were on the verge of becoming operational. *Winnipeg Drama* began in 1939. Vancouver's sustaining series, *Theatre Time* was continued the direction of Andrew Allen in December 1939. *Montreal Drama* was established under Rupert Caplan in 1941. Halifax's *Maritime Workshop* started operations in 1947. A continued commitment to drama existed under the CBC, but during the last few years of the 'thirties a transitional void in regional drama occurred. Fink, 234-236.

West Coast as it was on the East Coast. Until CJOR started to use comedy the local stations, with only the occasional exception, simply ignored the genre. CBR mirrored this trend in its own program schedule. Comedy never reached one per cent of the CBR schedule from 1937 to 1939. The CBC production, *Woodhouse and Hawkins*, was regularly complemented by the American *Gloomchasers* and *Kaltenmeyer Kindergarten*. Even though comedy became more popular on the West Coast American stations in the last few years of the decade, CBR continued to ignore it.

American serial drama was one area that expanded dramatically in the CBR schedule in the last two years of the decade. Prior to the arrival of CBR, CJOR was the sole purveyor of American serial drama. CBR challenged this monopoly in 1938 by providing an average of 1 hour and 25 minutes of serial drama weekly, while CJOR provided only 10 minutes more each week. CBR more than doubled its serial drama offerings in 1939 to 3 hours and 30 minutes in an average week. To compete CJOR increased its offerings to 6 hours and 50 minutes. An area of programming that had previously been of only a limited interest on the part of Vancouver radio stations experienced tremendous growth once these two stations incorporated it into their program schedules.⁸⁰

By the end of the 1930s CBR had still not found its news 'voice'. The CBC was not to establish its own National News Service until the 1940-41 season.⁸¹ In the meantime it continued the CRBC practice of airing news bulletins provided by Canadian Press. Although news occupied a substantial part of the CBR schedule as shown in Table 6.11, it was both variable in quantity and content in the last three years of the decade. In 1937 news was

⁸⁰ This change was compounded by the scheduling changes made by American networks in the last years of the decade, which were more than coincidental.

⁸¹ "The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation," *The Canada Year Book 1947*, 739.

simply identified as *News and Weather*, appearing at least twice daily; the station also used *Monitor Views the News*, supplementing *Dr. H. L. Stewart* and *Sun News*. Thrice daily in 1938 news bulletins alternated between *Canadian Press News*, *News and Weather*, *News*, *Farm Talk and Weather* and a news commentator, *Hugh Bartlett*. By 1939 news was simply listed as *News* or *Stock quotations*; reminiscent of the early news broadcasts of the local independent stations, the only distinction was the addition of American news. The CBS program *The World Today* and Mutual's *Raymond Gram Swing* were introduced to the station's news programming in that year.⁸² Similar to the ongoing efforts of most of the local stations, a consistent news program or format was difficult to establish in Vancouver. The frequency and pattern of news broadcasts varied yearly and from station to station. Not unique to Vancouver, this variability also extended to the American stations in the region.

Both talk and variety programs declined rapidly on CBR between 1937 and 1939. In the case of talk, the format underwent a transformation as it declined. Most of the CBR talk programs became very general and informational such as *Farm Talk*, *Democracy at Work*, *Book Review* and *Canadian Portraits*. CBR talk programs were broadcast regionally or nationally, with only rare connections to the local community. Table 6.11 indicates that talk fell from 14.65 per cent of the schedule in 1937 to 6.02 per cent in 1938. In reality, however, while the amount of talk programming diminished, its decline was not quite as drastic as this seems to indicate. Talk programming totalled an average of 14 hours and 12 minutes per week in 1937 and 8 hours and 13 minutes in 1938, but it did not maintain the pace of the great expansion of the overall broadcast week of CBR. In the last year of the

⁸² John Dunning, *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 488.

decade the type of talk programming offered by CBR had not changed. It was still more general than local in flavour, but the amount of talk programming had been slashed to an average of 3 hours and 56 minutes per week. The talk programming offered by CBR was not an exchange or public forum for groups and speakers, neither was it entertainment, as on the American networks. Talk on CBR was designed to be informational and thematic, drawing largely upon the resources of the national network.

Variety's decline, similar to that of talk, was to a certain extent a function of the rise in total programming hours. As demonstrated in Table 6.11, variety fell as a proportion of the schedule. As with talk, more hours of variety were broadcast in 1938, but these were cut dramatically in 1939. For the most part the variety programs used by CBR were Canadian programs. The greatest use of the American programs *Al Jolson's Program* and *Club Matinee* occurred in 1938, when CBR broadcast on average 12 hours and 30 minutes a week of variety. In terms of actual hours of programming broadcast in 1938, this represented an increase over the 10 hours and 20 minutes broadcast in an average week in 1937. The cut came in 1939 to an average of 4 hours and 15 minutes per week. The CBC's own variety programs, such as *Happy Gang* and *By the Sea*, and the British program *London Calling* dominated. Despite the fact that this genre was reduced in hours, its foundation of Canadian network programs endowed it with the potential to flourish. Variety on CBR was not characterized by the star-studded format available from American networks, as it was on stations with American network affiliation in other cities.

CBR was a very different Vancouver radio station than those that had preceded it. The station injected a new stronger network presence into the Vancouver broadcasting environment because of the station's CBC and

American network programming. The impact of the station was much greater than that of its predecessor CRCV. The full time schedule and the greater bank of programming drawn from the network allowed it to develop a diverse schedule of largely Canadian offerings.

Vancouver radio had operated in the 1930s with only a small amount of American network programming. CBR's appearance in the market with its supply of American programming coincided with a greater use of American programming throughout the city. CBR can be partially credited with that change. The presence of CBR forced the local stations to reconsider their programming to find ways to compete. One readily available option was to air a larger quantity of American programming themselves. However without access to American affiliate status American programming was more difficult for Vancouver stations to obtain, and thus it was difficult for them to compete on an even playing field. Not only did CBR establish itself as a distinct presence within the Vancouver broadcasting environment, it effectively altered the programming patterns of the others local stations due to their reaction to this new competitor.

THE AMERICAN COMPONENT

The Vancouver Sun radio program listings did not reflect a network-dominated broadcasting environment until 1936; at that point, networks became central to the layout and focus of the listings. CBC was positioned first; followed by NBC Red, specifically KOMO and KPO; then NBC Blue, consisting primarily of KJR and KGO and finally Columbia with KOL and KSL. This spotlight on network programming originating in both Canada and the United States relegated the local stations, formerly given priority in the schedule, to the end of the listings. At least in terms of the priority in the

printed radio program schedule, the networks prevailed by the end of the decade, a complete reversal from the situation at the beginning of the 1930s.

Essential to understanding the impact of American stations on the Vancouver broadcasting environment is the fact that, unlike the situation in many other major Canadian cities, some American stations were received throughout the day, not just in the evening. In the 1939 radio program schedule, for example 62.50 per cent of the American stations were listed for the full day, suggesting that those in close proximity could realistically be heard by Vancouver listeners.

The distinct developmental stages of the American compared to the Canadian stations are evident in the proportion of music in the program schedules of individual stations. The full day's broadcast schedule for KOMO and KFI in 1930, for example, demonstrated that their broadcast schedules were more diversified than their Canadian counterparts. As shown in Table 6.12, KOMO and KFI had significantly lower proportion of music in their schedules in 1930, 52.78 per cent and 53.81 per cent respectively, compared to the Canadian stations CKWX, CKMO and CJOR. At the outset of the decade

Table 6.12 Percentages of broadcast duration of music and dance music of individual station program schedules, not including unidentified programs, in 1930 and 1939

Stations	1930	1939
CKWX	85.85	62.03
CKMO	90.97	56.33
CJOR	79.58	48.32
KOMO	52.78	45.48
KFI	53.81	n/a

these American stations had already reached the level of diversification that the Canadian stations would achieve only by 1939.

Nevertheless the narrowing of the gap between American and Canadian stations with regard to the amount of music in their schedules demonstrates that Canadian stations were starting to approximate the diversification modelled by the American stations. The slow progress charted in Table 6.13 was neither steady nor uninterrupted. By 1939 the proportion of music in the CJOR schedule had declined to 48.32 per cent, 62.03 per cent at CKWX, 56.33 per cent at CKMO and 45.48 per cent at KOMO.⁸³ The diminished dependence upon music demonstrated that the Canadian stations were reaching a similar stage in their development to that of the American stations in their region.

During the 1930s the small independent Canadian stations were of necessity more concerned with the cost of maintaining their equipment and other more primary goals, just to survive. The American stations with which they competed for listeners, however, had the safety net of the large networks, CBS and NBC, to help cushion the economic blows of the Depression. As noted in Table 6.13 below, KOMO did not exhibit the variability in its program schedule shown by the Canadian stations. The support obtained from the network helped KOMO to maintain a diversified program schedule even in the worst years of the depression. In Canada, lacking the support of a network, most of the independently operating stations concentrated upon survival more than program development, stalling schedule diversification.

As previously noted in the discussion of American network programming, the three-hour time difference between the East Coast feeder stations and the West Coast stations presented scheduling challenges. The difficulties presented by time-zone differences delayed the incorporation of

⁸³ As the only station that consistently appeared for the entire day's broadcasts in the Vancouver schedule throughout the decade, KOMO provided a valid basis for comparison with Vancouver area stations.

Table 6.13 Percentages of broadcast duration of music and dance music of CJOR, CKWX, CKMO and KOMO programming in the Vancouver radio schedule, 1930 to 1939

Stations	CJOR	CKWX	CKMO	KOMO
1930	79.58	85.85	90.97	52.78
1931	63.71	84.76	83.33	64.04
1932	58.86	93.76	80.58	36.77
1933	81.20	77.55	72.25	41.06
1934	48.27	51.86	56.82	58.98
1935	50.51	43.64	71.93	45.91
1936	49.36	68.80	41.28	50.60
1937	35.48	35.62	32.70	49.28
1938	38.56	44.08	44.06	51.14
1939	48.32	62.03	56.33	45.48

comedy, variety, serial drama and children's programming into the schedules of West Coast stations, which in turn delayed the use of these types of programs on Vancouver's local stations. As indicated in Tables 6.12 and 6.13, however, these difficulties did not interfere with the diversity of overall American network programming on the West Coast. The "diversity gap" between the Canadian and American stations was not due to time zone problems but to the financial implication of the lack of networking opportunities.

Erratic Beginnings of American Content in Canadian Schedules

The incorporation of American programming into the overall Vancouver radio program schedule differed from what happened in other cities in two ways. First, no Vancouver station ever acquired an American affiliation. Secondly, because the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and CBC had their own station in the city, no opportunities for affiliation to the Canadian network were available to the other local stations. Thus the city's existing stations had only irregular access to American programs, which was reflected in their fluctuating use of the American content.

The constant presence of American stations through daytime access may also account for the meager offerings on the Canadian side. In the first few years of the decade American programming was quite limited, as shown in Table 6.14; at any one station it might amount to the inclusion of only one regular program. Availability determined the selection of American programs; without network affiliation the programs chosen did not always reflect the basic network successes, such as comedy, that tended to be the immediate foci of affiliates. Electrical transcriptions, which were not driven by network priorities, were one of the main sources of American programming on Vancouver radio stations.

A single program can usually be pinpointed as the source of all American content on any given Vancouver station during the early 1930s. The humorous daily adventures of *Cecil and Sally*, distributed by transcription, constituted the sum total of all CKWX American programming in 1930, for example.⁸⁴ The only other instance of American programming in that year was the variety program *Sunrise Hour*, appearing on CKMO but available as well on the American stations KECA, KGO, KGW, KHQ and KOMO. American

⁸⁴ The program was also available over KPO from San Francisco.

Table 6.14 Percentages of broadcast duration of American programs on Canadian radio stations in the Vancouver radio program schedule, 1930 to 1939

Station	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
CFCT	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CFJC	n/a	n/a	n/a	10.71	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CHWK	n/a	0	n/a	10.71	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CJOR	0	0	7.36	5.46	0	1.21	10.20	12.19	16.70	29.28
CKCD	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1.10	0	0	5.70
CKFC	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0.53	0	18.66	6.32
CKMO	7.54	4.97	0	0	0	0	3.66	3.13	3.22	6.74
CKOV	n/a	n/a	n/a	10.38	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CKWX	2.13	7.73	6.44	2.56	0	0	3.89	2.61	26.81	8.43
CNRV	0	2.34	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CRCV	n/a	n/a	n/a	4.08	3.67	9.25	5.89	4.24	n/a	n/a
CBR	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9.36	21.65	39.05

content represented 2.13 per cent of the CKWX schedule or an average of 35 minutes weekly, while CKMO's *Sunrise Hour* occupied on average 1 hour and 40 minutes of the weekly schedule, or 7.73 per cent of the schedule. Both stations were among those with shared frequencies until after 1933; as part time broadcasters, even limited quantities of American content became a larger proportion of the stations' total broadcast time.

American content did not make any further inroads into the Vancouver broadcast market in the next few years. In 1931 CKMO added the American

musical program *Jamboree* to its other American program, *Sunrise Hour*, the two together now constituting 4.97 per cent of the schedule. CKWX added some American musical programs and CNRV included some NBC network musical programs, specifically listed as transcriptions. CJOR's new content consisted largely of *Physical Culture*, a program of dramatized stories sponsored by the American magazine of the same name, and some music. From 1930 to 1932 CNRV, CKWX, CKMO and CJOR attempted to incorporate very limited quantities of American programs into their schedules. These efforts were inconsistent from year to year, providing limited continuity and no standard position in the Vancouver stations' schedules.

Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and American Content

The appearance of CRBC stations in the Vancouver radio program schedule added considerably to the American content. The temporary listing of CFJC, CHWK and CKOV in the pages of *The Vancouver Sun* served to illustrate the consistency of the CBRC's network offerings. All three stations featured American programming fare very similar to that on the network in the rest of the Canada. The entire American selection of programs was composed of musical programs, the symphony and New York Philharmonic Orchestra constituting 76.92 per cent of that total. The local CRBC station CRCV employed American programs for 4.08 per cent of its schedule, the symphony and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra constituting 51.72 per cent of the schedule. The sudden addition of assorted CRBC stations to the schedule added to the quantity of American programming in the listings, but consisted for the most part of duplications attributable to this temporary aberration in the listings.

The other local independent stations did not respond to the introduction

of American programming by increasing their American content. Lacking affiliation opportunities, an immediate turn to American programming would have been beyond the means of the local stations. In the face of competition from the CRBC which was better able to broadcast American programming, the local stations started to withdraw; the immediate reaction was a diminished use of American programs in their schedules.

In 1934 the only station remaining in the Vancouver radio schedule that still employed any American content was CRCV, the CRBC station. The station's American content totalled 3.67 per cent of its schedule. CRCV incorporated only American musical programs into its schedule, drawing upon offerings from both CBS and NBC. The symphony and philharmonic still made up 60.24 of these musical programs. A detectable change occurred, however, when the musical offerings started to diversify to include the dance orchestras of Paul Whiteman, Vincent Lopez and Jack Denny from NBC as well as *California Melodies* from CBS in Los Angeles. In 1935 American content rose to 9.25 per cent of the CRCV schedule; 54.17 per cent of the programs were represented by the philharmonic and the sinfonietta and the remainder consisted of a variety of musical programs. In 1935 CJOR was the only independent station to start to broadcast American programs again; these included music and its first American serial drama *Ma Perkins*. In 1936 CJOR became the only station that rose to the challenge of the CRBC by broadcasting more American programming than CRCV at 10.20 per cent compared to CRCV's 7.93 per cent. By 1936 the philharmonic and sinfonietta constituted only 21.88 per cent of American content in the CRCV schedule, other music and dance music making up the balance. CJOR's American programs did not differ greatly from those of CRCV; they comprised popular music and dance music and the continued broadcasts of *Ma Perkins*. Sporadic

musical programs started to appear in the CKCD, CKWX and CKFC schedules in 1936 and very small quantities of talk, variety and children's programs were used by CKMO. This slight return of American programming to the schedules of the local independent stations, however, helped to set the stage for the introduction of huge proportions of American content in the last few years of the decade.

INTEGRATION BEGINS IN EARNEST

A full scale, genuine effort to increase the use of American material on local stations did not begin in earnest until the arrival of the CBC station CBR in 1937. As a result of the CBC's new policy accepting commercial American programs, by the end of 1937 American content reach 9.36 per cent of CBR's schedule.⁸⁵ CBR's use of American content was also quite diverse. Drama, comedy, talk and variety were immediately added to the American musical selections previously employed by the CRBC network.

The local stations slowly began to imitate CBR. The American content broadcast by CKMO and CKWX continued to be minimal in 1937. CKMO employed drama, while CKWX's American programs were composed entirely of comedy, serial dramas and children's programming. CJOR provided a wider diversity of American programs, largely serial drama, and smaller quantities of children's programs, music and other drama. The year 1937 marked the first year of major diversification of the American content on Vancouver stations; with the exception of CBR the selections made by the local independent stations were influenced greatly by the availability of programs outside the scope of network membership. Thus a certain randomness and unevenness is

⁸⁵ See Chapter 2 "Right on Cue: The Historical Background" for more detail on the CBC's commercial policy. Essentially expanded hours of operation and the acceptance of advertising was accompanied by an incorporation of American commercial programs into the CBC schedule, ten in its first year. The revenue derived from such programs helped make the production of other CBC sustaining programs possible.

evident.

More stations than ever before dedicated significant segments of their schedules to American programs in 1938. CBR led the way with the greatest quantities of American programming in the market, with 32 hours and 50 minutes, or 21.65 per cent of its schedule comprised of American content. Although CBR supplied significantly more American content in 1938 than any of the established local independent stations, it fell well below the 29.21 per cent on the total CBC network schedule.⁸⁶ Despite the fact that CBR had less American content than some other CBC stations, its impact in the Vancouver market where the penetration of American programs on Canadian stations had been very slow and restricted is significant.

In 1938 most stations followed the CBR lead by increasing American content; only CKMO's use of American programs was consistently low at 3.22 per cent. American content formed a greater percentage of the CKWX schedule at 26.81 per cent, while CKFC's American content rose to 18.66 per cent of its schedule. CJOR presented the closest competition to CBR, with American programming amounting to 16.70 per cent of the station's schedule. Following CBR's first year of operations in the city, then, the utilization of American content by the local independent stations radically changed. American programming had not been a *sine qua non* of the Vancouver radio program schedule. Its inclusion in the schedules of Vancouver stations had been irregular and sporadic at best. The effect of the new Canadian network station in the Vancouver market became evident in the simultaneous increase in the proportion of American programs offered by the local independent stations.

Further diversification of American offerings accompanied this increase

⁸⁶ *The Financial Post* (January 15, 1938) as cited in Peers, 231-232.

in the number of hours of American programming. CBR still depended upon music for 44.54 per cent of its American content and dance music for another 15.97 per cent. But American dramas and drama anthologies now constituted 12.60 per cent of the American segment of the CBR schedule. The American content, generally speaking, employed programming drawn from the areas in which the American networks excelled - variety, serial drama, other drama and comedy, as well as some of the national religious programs. By selecting from the strengths of the American network offerings, CBR's diversification proceeded at a rapid rate.

CJOR's utilization of American content in order to diversify took a different route, putting greater emphasis on a few key areas. Music, of course, led with 69.88 per cent of the station's American content. The bulk of CJOR's additional American inclusions were comedies, serial dramas and children's programs. Music occupied a major share of the American content among stations that employed less American programming, such as CKWX and CKFC. Music was an element of CKMO's selection, but its American programs remained more diverse. The accessible choices for American programs ensured that each of the local independent stations could obtain a sufficient selection of programs distributed by electrical transcription without being forced to air the same programs as their competitors.

By the end of the decade CBR and CJOR emerged as leaders in American content in the Vancouver market. It constituted no less than 39.05 per cent of CBR's broadcast week, and 29.28 per cent of CJOR's. By the standards of the early part of the decade the use of American programs had become excessive in both cases. All Vancouver stations, however, scheduled a much greater proportion of American content at the end of the decade than had ever been the case prior to the arrival of CBR.

The growth of American programming in the schedules of Vancouver's Canadian stations occurred very slowly. The lack of easy access to American programming through network affiliation was the major factor restraining the growth of American programming in Vancouver. As independent stations, Vancouver stations sparingly selected their American programs from those distributed through electrical transcription only. The introduction of CBR seems to have stimulated the growth of American content in the schedules of Vancouver stations. American content reached a cumulative peak in 1938. CBR continued to grow to 39.05 per cent in 1939 and CJOR provided competition at 29.28 per cent, but the proportions at the other stations did not to keep up that pace of growth.⁸⁷ The quick infusion of American programs into the Vancouver market occurred because of the CBC. American programming was almost absent from the Vancouver market until the arrival of CBR. Once the local independent stations were faced with the prospect of competing with a full-time Canadian network station they selected American programs to assist in their diversification of the program schedules. The addition of the Canadian network station forever altered the market by making the inclusion of American programs a standard component of local offerings.

CONCLUSION

The Vancouver broadcasting market in the 1930s, as seen through the program schedules of the city's stations, reveals a very clear pattern of development. CKMO, CKWX and CJOR entered the decade on a relatively even footing. Each station started the 'thirties in the novice stage of development, at least a half decade behind their American West Coast competitors. As novices each of the Vancouver stations embarked upon a

⁸⁷ Some such as CKFC were still largely religious stations that did not have the same motivation to compete with CJOR and CBR.

quest to develop suitable local programming to fill its schedule, suit its audience and fit within the constraints of its limited budget. The program schedules of the competing American stations available in Vancouver strongly reflected their extraordinary dependence upon CBS and NBC. By pursuing more local programming choices, the local independent stations set themselves apart from the American alternatives and forged stronger links with their local communities.

Gradually the local independent stations diversified their programming by developing the areas of talk, religious, news, sports, women's and children's programming. The evolution of these stations started early enough in the decade that a solid foundation of a diversified program schedule was established to meet the challenge of both the American networks and the Canadian national network by mid-decade. The scheduling problems of the American network stations allowed Vancouver's local independent stations to take advantage of the American stations' developmental delays and to set their own patterns of broadcasting.

Since the option of American network affiliation did not exist for the Vancouver stations, the use of American programs to fill their hours was not a real issue until late in the decade. Rather than being defeated by their own limitations and the constraints of the broadcasting environment, the local independent stations made this narrow path part of their success. Their use of specific genres of locally-produced programming made them less susceptible to the penetration of Canadian and American network broadcasting. Finally, in the midst of change among the American network stations, reinforced by the CBC's legitimation of the use of American programming late in the decade limited alterations to programming strategies occurred, mainly the incorporation of more and more diverse American programs.

The pursuit of diversification of the program schedule through local programming helped to refine the voice of the local independent stations in Vancouver, thereby ensuring their survival in the face of American and Canadian network programming. Tied to their local communities, these stations sought out the sources of programming that were essentially ignored or overlooked by the networks. The carefully developed program schedules of the local stations constituted the essence of their survival in the face of the challenges of the 1930s in Vancouver.

Chapter 7
"Centre Stage":
Montreal Radio Program Schedules 1930-1939

The essential objective of Montreal radio stations was survival in the face of mounting competition and growing challenges during the 1930s. An analysis of the factors that supported or obstructed this original goal involves consideration of the city itself and its French language, English language and at times American influences. As in the Vancouver case, the expansion of American network programming concurrent with the establishment of a Canadian national network presented specific challenges to the survival of the local stations. The imprint of the internal and external influences on the Montreal broadcasting milieu can be measured through the assessment of the radio program schedule during this developmental stage. Despite complications unique to the Montreal broadcasting environment, the city's stations conformed to the pattern shared by local independent radio stations in Canada during the decade.

Montreal's substantial population allowed it to support, profitably, a variety of radio stations, as well as to accommodate the city's built-in linguistic duality. The reality of operating within the framework of this linguistic duality presented it own obstacles, making programming choices more difficult for French-language and bilingual stations. This language barrier, however, serendipitously prevented the Montreal stations from absorbing too much American programming too rapidly, fostering the growth of sufficient local programming to preserve the distinctive character of the local stations.

Montreal's core broadcasters were well established and supported by commercial enterprises from the outset of the decade. Most importantly the two main stations were American network affiliates. The infiltration of American network programming presented a double-edged sword in the Montreal broadcasting environment. Supplementary programming provided to network affiliates enabled them to take the lead in the market by sustaining

long seamless broadcast days impossible in other cities. The threat of encroachment and conquest by American networks was tempered and deflected by effective use of the tantalizing American programs within the schedules of Montreal's local stations without utterly overpowering the local content.

The combination of these local circumstances and national changes was responsible for the distinct evolution of Montreal's program schedule, which was exceptional in the Canadian broadcasting context. The individual development of each of Montreal's radio stations and the station-specific programming choices made during the 1930s ensured their survival.

POPULATION AND LANGUAGE

Montreal was Canada's largest city in 1931, with a population of 818,577.¹ Although it was more than triple Vancouver's size and almost fourteen times the size of Halifax, however, it did not possess a proportionately greater number of radio stations. The overwhelmingly English-language nature of early broadcasting and the division of Montreal's population between two language groups affected the number and type of local stations.

As an aural medium, radio was not equally accessible to a population divided into two language groups. The province of Quebec's population in 1931 was 56.19 per cent unilingual francophone; an additional 13.78 per cent spoke only English and another 29.31 per cent of Quebecers were bilingual, speaking both French and English. Most of the English-speaking people were clustered on the island of Montreal and the surrounding area, as they are to this day. In fact Montreal represented somewhat of a reversal of the proportions of the rest of the province. Just 28.37 per cent of the population living on the island

¹ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* Volume II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), Table 8, 9.

of Montreal spoke only French, another 43.77 per cent were bilingual and 26.63 spoke only English.² Of considerable importance to radio broadcasting was the fact that 67.52 per cent of those who spoke English only in all of Quebec and another 52.15 per cent of the bilingual portion of the Quebec population were concentrated on the island of Montreal. A ready-made audience existed in Montreal for English-language Canadian and American radio stations. The combined English-speaking and bilingual population of Montreal in 1931 was almost triple the entire population of Vancouver.³ Notwithstanding the possibility of a large audience capacity, the Montreal broadcasting scene did not spawn a multitude of stations; instead the volume of broadcasting hours was greater.

The longer broadcast days of Montreal radio stations and greater variety of radio programming more than compensated for the lack of a long roster of local stations. Comparatively speaking Montreal listeners were not deprived of radio programming. For example, in 1931 the three main Montreal stations broadcast for 114 hours and 18 minutes more than the combined efforts of the six Vancouver stations - in other words for more than twice the total broadcasting hours in the Vancouver market.

The issue of language additionally affected the rate of radio ownership in Montreal. Only 40.94 per cent of Montreal households reported owning a radio, in 1931, lower than both the Halifax and Vancouver rates, as well as the national average of 47.69 per cent.⁴ The success of radio sales in Montreal at the beginning of the decade was unquestionably affected by the fact that more than a quarter of the population did not consistently have access to programming in its own language. For the 28.37 per cent of the population

² *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* Volume II, Table 57, 802-804.

³ 706,758 people were either English speaking or bilingual.

⁴ *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* Volume V, Table 58, 980.

unable to comprehend English, with the exception of the French-language broadcasts on the bilingual station CKAC and the cross-cultural appeal of music, there was very little in a virtual sea of English-language broadcasting to interest the unilingual French population in purchasing radios.⁵

Quebec historian Elzéar Lavoie has convincingly argued that radios were among the last luxury items incorporated into the lives of Quebec farmers due to this lack of easy access to French language programming, rather than to a lack of means.⁶ Presumably the French-only speaking population in Montreal also had a lower rate of radio ownership, while the rate of radio ownership for the English-speaking population in Montreal must have been higher than the national average to sustain the overall average. An increased rate of radio ownership demonstrated the heightened interest in radio by the end of the decade. The percentage of radios per household grew to 85.10 per cent in urban areas of the province by 1941 when French-language broadcasting was more available to listeners.⁷

These rates of radio ownership represent only minimums. The number of receiving licences issued in Quebec for 1930 stood at 100,398 and rose to 318,387 by 1940.⁸ Evasion of the payment of the radio licence fee, however, was so great that these figures might have been 20 to 40 per cent less than

⁵ Although CKAC did broadcast increasingly in French as the decade wore on, at the outset French programming was scarce. On a random day, such as Monday October 6, 1930, there were no listings for any specifically French-language programs, except perhaps predominant musical programming on CKAC. "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (Monday, October 6, 1930): 5.

⁶ Elzéar Lavoie, "L'évolution de la radio au Canada français avant 1940," *Recherches sociographiques* 12, no. 1 (1971): 24-25, 40-41.

⁷ *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941* Volume 1, Table 17, 421; "Part VII - Radio Communications," in Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *Canada Year Book 1942*. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1942), 652.

⁸ *Eighth Census of Canada, 1934 Bulletin, The Radio Industry in Canada, 1931* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1942), Table 6; "Part VII - Radio Communications," in *Canada Year Book 1942*, 629.

the actual figures.⁹ The fact that the number of radio receiving licences in Quebec more than tripled by 1940 attested to an astonishing rate of growth within ten years' time. Enough listeners and radios were in place over the course of the decade for a potentially profitable existence for local broadcasters in Montreal.

"TODAY'S RADIO PROGRAMMES"

The Montreal Gazette was the source of the daily newspaper radio programming schedules that form the basis of the simple random sample for Montreal segment of this study. This newspaper constituted the only regular source of English-language radio listings throughout the decade. *The Gazette* was the city's smaller English-language newspaper, in both size and circulation. It had little competition in radio reportage from the city's evening newspaper, *The Montreal Star*. As late as 1931 in a city with well-established radio stations, *The Montreal Star* printed advertising for the sale of radios without a single radio schedule or column about radio programs or celebrities. *The Montreal Gazette* did not own a radio station or sponsor any radio programs; as such it represented an impartial source for radio program schedules during the 1930s.

As a morning newspaper, the *Gazette* was well suited to present "Today's Radio Programmes" immediately following its weather forecast. The radio schedule printed in the *Gazette* was more of a list than a description of each program, even at the beginning of the decade. The newspaper did not embellish the listings with very much in the way of information, particularly with regard to American programming.

⁹ E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), 90, n. 2; Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 34.

Advertising offered some inducement to newspapers to print radio program schedules. Manufacturers of radios and radio stations advertised frequently in print media with or without the accompanying radio program schedule. Advertising from program sponsors promoting their programs, however, only appeared in newspapers that printed the program listings in order to supplement and clarify them, calling attention to their own programs. Schedules and advertisements blended on the same page, information side by side with advertisement. In this ambiguous context, the less forceful advertisements could masquerade as additional information. The advertisement below, from 1931, purportedly addresses issues of good taste, but it effectively clarifies the vague program listing by supplying details to call attention to the program.

About Our Radio Broadcast

We are of the opinion that good music speaks for itself and that a well arranged programme needs no commercial announcement in order to carry its message.

As a gesture of good will we present the first of a series of artistic radio broadcasts to-morrow at 5.30 p.m., and have resolved that no advertising message shall mar its beauty.

Will you please listen to our presentation and tell us if you do not consider that we have once again stepped forward in our efforts to please you in a practical way.

Station CFCF
Sunday, November 6 and the following Sundays,
5.30 to 6.00 p.m.
Stephen Fournier Limited
Canada's Greatest Shirt Shop

The promotion above is notable not only as a program advertisement, but because many programs on the local Montreal radio stations consistently identified themselves by the sponsor, usually without providing a clue as to the content.¹⁰ The Fournier program was identified as a *Special Feature*, necessitating the explanatory advertisement. The majority of advertisements, however, were more aggressive, bold and detailed. This additional source of advertising revenue undoubtedly encouraged the regular inclusion of radio program listings in newspapers like *The Montreal Gazette*, in addition to the need to provide information to its readers.

There was a presumption of knowledge embedded in the Montreal radio listings that did not exist in Vancouver. Presumably the dearth of detailed information indicated that listeners were either very knowledgeable about American radio programs or sought this information elsewhere. Perhaps listeners turned to *Canadian Radio Guide* or *Radio Weekly*, two short-lived examples of the radio periodicals from which this information could have been drawn. The availability of American radio magazines and the shortage of discussion regarding Canadian performers in the Canadian magazines would account for the attempt to compensate by providing information about Canadian programs in *The Montreal Gazette*.¹¹ While the *Gazette's* radio schedule did not feature regular discussion in a column of radio highlights at the beginning of the decade, it did manage to spotlight some local programming in

¹⁰ In addition, this type of program listing and advertisement represented a departure in policy for Stephen Fournier, which had been simply listed as *Stephen Fournier Limited* in previous years. *Stephen Fournier Limited*, May 31, 1931 21:00, CHYC, *The Montreal Gazette*, 160 (May 31, 1931).

¹¹ Mary Vipond indicated that these publications came under criticism for their lack of content focusing on Canadian performers and programs. Mary Vipond, "Desperately Seeking the Audience for Early Canadian Radio," in Michael D. Behiels and Marcel Martel, eds. *Nation, Ideas, Identities: Essays In Honour of Ramsay Cook* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000), 93.

short pieces that followed the schedule on an irregular basis.¹² For example, on Wednesday, January 22, 1930 it was noted that, "In celebration of the birthday of Robert Burns, the Canadian National Railways will broadcast a programme of Scottish music" and just below it was announced that Geoffrey O'Hara, composer of the war-time favourite "K-K-K-Katy," was being brought to Montreal over CKAC on the *Dow Old Stock Ale Hour*.¹³ The radio notices that followed the radio schedule in the early years of the decade, however, were primarily concerned with the highlights or changes to specifically Canadian programs.¹⁴ This is in direct contrast to the schedule in *The Vancouver Sun*, which prominently and almost exclusively featured information regarding American programs and personalities. As will be demonstrated, this difference in the presentation of program listings corresponded with the level of sophistication of the Canadian radio stations in each city.

The Montreal Gazette's radio program schedule was essentially identical throughout the decade with only minor changes. It retained the title "Today's Radio Programmes" and "Week-End Radio Programmes" until 1937. In 1936 highlights were introduced; the predominant focus of all supplementary information was on the local stations and Canadian programs, largely with respect to CFCF and CKAC. The spotlight on Canadian features, however, was short-lived; as local stations came to rely increasingly upon American programming to fill their own schedules, by the end of the decade highlights usually meant information about American programs broadcast by Canadian radio stations.

Shortly following the arrival of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

¹² Short articles that were totally unrelated to radio such as "Equestrian Displays" or "Druggists' Annual Meeting" were just as likely to follow the program schedule as short pieces about radio.

¹³ *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (January 22, 1930).

¹⁴ *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (January 19-25, 1930).

in 1936 the format of radio program listings was altered across the country to accommodate this new Canadian network. The change in *The Montreal Gazette* schedule was similar to that in other cities with the introduction of a grid-like arrangement on the page that accompanied the new title "Radio News and Reviews" from 1937 until the end of the decade. The radio schedule in Montreal throughout the decade maintained a consistent and precise style not always attained in other cities. Each station's place on the dial was always indicated. The timing and duration of programs was also clear to the reader. The precision and the type of information that was conveyed by the radio schedule throughout the decade depicted a fairly mature and developed radio environment.

THE ROSTER OF RADIO STATIONS

The roster of radio stations listed in the Montreal radio program schedule remained fairly consistent throughout the decade. The local commercial broadcasters presented long seamless days which remained but an aspiration for the part-time broadcasters of other cities. These well-entrenched stations provided full service to the city's audience.

As a result, the captivation with the wide ranging possibilities of radio reception was not a phenomenon evident in the Montreal radio schedule. The commanding lead seized by Montreal's two key stations, CKAC and CFCF, stemmed the tide of fantasy that marked the listings in other cities. *The Montreal Gazette's* radio schedule compiler did not succumb to the idea of listing stations with only remote possibilities of reception. A few optimistically listed stations from Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Toronto were eliminated by the end of 1932. Table 7.1 below lists the stations that appeared at the beginning and

end of the decade in the Montreal radio schedule.¹⁵ The enduring stability of key Montreal radio stations and the absence of unstable smaller stations provided a standard unchanging radio program schedule throughout the decade; the examination of the unmistakable patterns that emerged reinforces this consistency.

TABLE 7.1 Power levels in watts of Montreal area stations, 1930 and 1939

Canadian Stations

Station	City	Network	1930	1939
CFCF	Montreal	NBC	500	500
CHYC	Montreal	n/a	5,000	n/a
CKAC	Montreal	CBS	5,000	5,000
CNRM	Montreal	CNR	5,000	n/a
CKCL	Toronto	n/a	500	n/a
CKGW	Toronto	NBC	5,000	n/a
CBF	Montreal	CBC	n/a	50,000
CBM	Montreal	CBC	n/a	5,000
CHLP	Montreal	n/a	n/a	100

American Stations

Stations	City	Network	1930	1939
WABC	New York	CBS	5,000	50,000
KDKA	Pittsburgh	NBC (Blue)	50,000	50,000
WBEN	Buffalo	NBC (Red)	1,000	1,000
WEAF	New York	NBC (Red)	50,000	50,000
WFI	Philadelphia	NBC (Blue)	500	n/a
WGY	Schenectady	NBC (Red)	50,000	50,000
WJZ	New York	NBC (Blue)	30,000	50,000
WOR	Newark	Mutual	1,000	50,000

¹⁵ For purposes of consistency, WQXR of New York was left off the table since it only appears in 1939 and contributes only 0.17 per cent of the total programming in the sample for that year. "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 42-69; "North American Broadcasting Stations by Frequencies with Names of Verification Signers," *The Radio Index* no.134 (December 1939): 63-75; "North American Stations by Locations," *The Radio Index* no.134 (December 1939): 76-82; "North American Broadcasting Stations by Call Letters," *The Radio Index* no.134 (December 1939): 83-89.

Equally important to an examination of the listing of stations drawn from *The Montreal Gazette* is that the newspaper served the English-speaking community off the island of Montreal. In the case of some areas in the Laurentians, north of Montreal, and areas west of Montreal the reception of Toronto or Ottawa stations was more plausible. *The Montreal Gazette* also served the area to the south of the city that included the Eastern Townships, which was more likely to receive some less powerful American stations. Considering the broad geographic circulation of Montreal's English-language dailies, the listing of some stations that may have been, at best, difficult to receive in the city is plausible in that they may have been much clearer in the outlying areas than some of the city's own stations.¹⁶

The varied power levels of this assortment of Canadian and American stations served different audiences in regions in and around Montreal. Given the population distribution in the province previously discussed, CKAC needed higher power to secure the French-speaking population of the area beyond the island of Montreal. It should be noted that the far flung Canadian stations in the 1930 schedule were located in Toronto, namely CKCL and CKGW, the former operating at 500 watts and latter at 5,000 watts.¹⁷ Their reception in Montreal would have been spotty at best. In 1930 CKGW operated at the same power as the approximately equidistant WABC, which made reception of one as likely the other. Neither Toronto station formed part of the Montreal schedule by the end of 1932, when CKGW ceased operations.

Montreal was within reception range of some of the most powerful

¹⁶ A case in point would be CHLP which received its licence to broadcast in Montreal in 1932 with a power of 100 watts. Not only would it have been more difficult to receive in these outlying areas, it could not be heard even on the island of Montreal in Outremont. Paul L'Anglais as cited in Bill McNeil and Morris Wolfe, *Signing On: The Birth of Radio in Canada* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1982), 71.

¹⁷ It was unlikely that anyone in Montreal could have heard CKCL with any regularity or consistency, if at all, at 500 watts. It was removed from the listings after 1930.

stations in the United States in 1930. KDKA, WEAJ and WGY all operated at 50,000 watts, followed closely by WJZ at 30,000 watts. The only local Canadian station in Montreal to broadcast at that level was CBF, which was constructed in 1937 and assigned 50,000 watts in order to serve a larger area of Quebec. The collection of American stations that appeared in the Montreal program schedule was significant, not only because they were high-powered stations, but because among their number were the stations that played an essential role as the feeder stations for each of the American national networks. These stations were very influential in terms of their development of new programming and its transmission to the rest of the United States and Canada.

With the exception of WBEN in Buffalo, all the American stations in the Montreal radio schedule had increased to a power of 50,000 watts by 1939.¹⁸ The power levels of the American stations were indicative of their desire and drive to serve as wide an audience as possible. With the exception of CBF, the Montreal stations were confined, in terms of their power levels, to serving a smaller number of listeners than the major American stations. CFCF, in particular, was unquestionably a station intended especially for the English-speaking Montreal area listeners. The geographic reach of the radio stations and that of the newspaper influenced the decision to include the mix of stations that constituted the Montreal radio program schedule.

THE LOCAL CANADIAN STATIONS

The long seamless broadcast days characteristic of the Montreal

¹⁸ WBEN maintained a consistent power level of 1,000 watts. KDKA maintained a power level of 50,000 watts throughout the decade, but was dropped from *The Montreal Gazette's* radio schedule after 1932. Note that the network designation, particularly the Red and Blue networks of NBC, were subject to change. Some stations changed alliances over the course of the decade. WOR was listed with no affiliation in 1930, but became part of the Mutual Broadcasting System after it was formed in 1934.

broadcasting environment were entirely due to the efforts of CKAC and CFCF, its two long established stations. Unlike other Canadian cities, Montreal was completely free of all specialty stations whether religious, educational or otherwise motivated to promote a specific message. Specialty stations did not conceive of the growth and profit of the station as a priority and consequently did not seek the schedule expansion and diversity necessary to sustain a radio station for the long term. On the contrary, the owners of the Montreal stations pursued the expansion of both profits and the broadcast day.

Ownership of Montreal stations was drawn exclusively from the groups that prevailed as leaders in broadcasting in the 1920s, the department stores, newspapers and electrical manufacturers.¹⁹ Marconi owned CFCF and Northern Electric owned CHYC. The newspapers *La Presse* and *La Patrie* owned CKAC and CHLP. CNRM, a phantom station in the Canadian National Railways' chain, made a nominal contribution to the Montreal market in the first few years of the decade. CHYC's presence was likewise meager in the early 1930s. In 1933, however, CHLP joined Montreal's two key stations unified in their focus on long uninterrupted broadcast days to attract the sponsorship necessary with hopes of achieving commercial success.

The predicament of shared frequencies that plagued other cities into the 1930s was largely alleviated in 1928 when CFCF was assigned its own frequency. The Radio Branch's motive was more to eliminate interference with WJZ and WEAJ than to promote simultaneous broadcasting and tremendous expansion of the Montreal schedule.²⁰ Whatever the motivation of the Radio Branch, the secondary effects of the new frequency assignments set the stage

¹⁹ *Wireless and Aviation News* (April 1922): 23 as cited in Vipond, *Listening In*, 20-21.

²⁰ For more information regarding the problem of interference see National Archives of Canada. Record Group 97, vol. 149, file 6206-72 part 2, Edwards to J. M. Colton, 26 December 1928 as cited in Vipond, *Listening In*, 179.

for an extension of the broadcast schedule and more professional broadcasting in Montreal throughout the 1930s. The division of these two stations furnished an appropriate setting for the acquisition of separate American affiliations by CKAC and CFCF, furthering the expansion and growth of the stations.

By 1930 Montreal's key broadcasters had cleared the hurdles of early development and were ready to press forward as full time broadcasters. As American affiliates and large well-financed stations, CFCF and CKAC forced other broadcasters to compete directly or to find small gaps in the programming schedule to exploit. The following analysis outlines the essential choices made by each of the stations in the Montreal market. Tracking the evolution of the program schedules both illustrates the impact of American programming within the Montreal market and pinpoints the similarities to the patterns of development of other Canadian local independent stations.

CFCF

The precise date of CFCF's first regular broadcasts is an issue of much confusion and debate, but it was undoubtedly Canada's first radio station.²¹ CFCF may have been the world's first radio station as Donald G. Godfrey and other historians have asserted.²² These claims to preeminence as the world's first broadcaster, however, are not verifiable. As Mary Vipond has established in *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932*, the precise date when CFCF made the changeover from experimental to regular

²¹ Pierre C Pagé, "L'origine des stations XWA (1915) et CFCF (1922) de Marconi Wireless Telegraph: des données historiographiques à corriger," *Fréquence/Frequency* 5-6 (1996): 151-168.

²² Donald G. Godfrey, "Canadian Marconi: CFCF the Forgotten First," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 8, (September 1982): 56-71; Gilles Proulx, *La Radio d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (Montreal: Editions Libre Expression, 1986), 27; Gilles Proulx, *L'Aventure de la radio au Québec* (Montreal: Editions La Presse, 1979), 22; Marc Raboy also gives qualified support to the notion. Marc Raboy, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 5.

broadcasting is impossible to pinpoint.²³

It is clear that XWA received a licence in the 1914-15 fiscal year. The station was one of the few broadcasters outside of army camps that continued to operate during the Great War because it was needed to train radio operators. Once the war was over XWA started test programs in 1919 and the Marconi Company opened a shop to sell wireless apparatus in Montreal.²⁴ KDKA in Pittsburgh is CFCF's rival for the distinction of first broadcaster. Licensed as KDKA on October 27, 1920, it started regular broadcasts on November 2, 1920. CFCF started regular broadcasts in December 1920; anything prior to that is not verifiable. In April 1922 CFCF officially became a broadcasting station, a new category of licence created that year. Although Marconi held licences in Montreal, Toronto, Halifax and Vancouver, only the Montreal station survived the 1920s. CFCF continued to operate, with the same call letters, until 1991.

By 1930 CFCF had had a longer history than most Canadian radio stations and more time to iron out the difficulties of being a broadcaster. The easing of these challenges and the implementation of a professional standard were made possible by the support of the Marconi Company of Canada. The relationship was somewhat reciprocal; the maintenance of a radio station helped to support Marconi's other business of manufacturing and selling radios and transmitters. Moreover, in 1930 CFCF joined the NBC network, which enabled it to supplement its own programming to further extend its broadcast day. A firm broadcasting foundation supplied by Marconi combined with American network affiliation permitted CFCF to expand and diversify its program schedule in a rapid manner that would have been impossible for a small independent station.

²³ Vipond, *Listening In*, 17.

²⁴ Vipond, 15-17; Pagé, 160.

Prior to its membership in the NBC network CFCF produced most of its own programming, occupying a substantial portion of the total air time of Montreal stations. On a typical day, Friday, January 24, 1930, a full day of CFCF programming was presented in the following way:²⁵

FRIDAY
CFCF - Marconi Wireless Co. (Montreal), (291.3 Metres)

10 a.m. - Sunshine Hour
11:01 a.m. - J.L. Miller feature
12:20 p.m. - Mining reports, Juneau & Co.
12:30 p.m. - Concert Orchestra
1:13 p.m. - Concert Orchestra
3 p.m. - Layton's matinee musicale
4 p.m. - Wentworth feature
5 p.m. - Better service feature
6 p.m. - Twilight Hour
7:10 p.m. - Model airplane talk
7:30 p.m. Little Forum address
8 p.m. - Concert orchestra
11 p.m. - Jack Denny and his Orchestra

CFCF was not noteworthy for its diversity in the first year of the decade. In fact Friday, January 24, 1930 was remarkably similar to the same broadcast day in stations across the country.²⁶ This particular day for CFCF may not have been more diverse than that of any other station, but what stands out is the high number of sponsored programs, which would have been unusual in the majority of other Canadian cities. Six of the day's fourteen programs used the sponsor's name as identification. The conventional offering of *Concert Orchestra* provided the necessary continuity to produce a full day without breaks. Nevertheless, the length and detail of the CFCF schedule exceeded the standards for other Canadian cities. The higher rate of sponsorship, longer

²⁵ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (Friday, January 24, 1930).

²⁶ See previous chapter for a complete listing of programming for Friday, January 24, 1930 on CJOR in Vancouver. See the following chapter for the same day in Halifax on CHNS.

broadcast day and the station's lack of dependence on programs generically described as *Recordings* set CFCF apart from the typical local independent station in Canada at the outset of the decade.

The average broadcast week of 72 hours and 48 minutes in 1930 marked CFCF's preeminence among the Canadian stations listed in the *Gazette*.²⁷ The full broadcast day presented by CFCF represented the culmination of the efforts over the course of the previous decade. In February 1922 CFCF had operated for exactly 2 hours a week from 8 to 9 p.m. on Monday and Thursday.²⁸ CFCF's broadcast hours increased to 10 hours in October and 17 hours by June 1923.²⁹ In 1925 CFCF relocated from its original position on the dial at 440 metres to 730 kilocycles or 410.7 when the Radio Branch assigned one frequency to each city.³⁰ While sharing a frequency with CKAC, CHYC and CNRM, CFCF produced 16.5 broadcast hours on its own in 1927.³¹ In 1928 CFCF received the new frequency of 1030, which it kept until 1933 when it moved to 600 where it remained until 1991. By contending with the obstacles to growth presented by the shared frequency in the 1920s, CFCF was fully prepared to launch a full-time program in the 1930s.

As indicated in Table 7.2, by 1930 CFCF alone broadcast approximately

²⁷ Please note that unless otherwise specified, all statistics are drawn from my own sampling of *The Montreal Gazette* 159-168 (1930-1939). For details on specific weeks in the selection, please refer to Appendix A.

²⁸ "What's Doing in the Ether," *Canadian Wireless* (February 1922): 3 as cited in Vipond, *Listening In*, 80.

²⁹ "Canadian Broadcasting Stations," *Radio News of Canada* (October 1922): 24; and "Canadian Broadcasting Stations," *Radio News of Canada* (June & July 1923): 30 as cited in Vipond, 80.

³⁰ I am indebted to Ross McCreath for sharing with me information as cited in T.J. Allard, H.R. Newcombe, F. K. Frost, R. A. Spalding, *Broadcasting Stations in Canada Operating from August 1, 1922 to April 1, 1960* (Ottawa: Canadian Association of Broadcasters, 1960).

³¹ Paul Brand, "'The Twentieth Century Bible': Listening to the Radio in Montreal, 1924-1939," *The Register* 1 (September 1980): 118.

22 hours more than all Montreal stations combined in 1927.³² This amounted to an average of 2 hours and 45 minutes a day more than CKAC, its closest competitor.³³ In 1931 it maintained this strong lead, broadcasting for an average 1 hour and 46 minutes longer everyday than CKAC, but the gap quickly closed to only 10 and 40 minutes more in 1932 and 1933 respectively. By 1934 CKAC took the lead, broadcasting on average 1 hour and 27 minutes a day more.³⁴ CKAC's lead increased slightly to 1 hour and 36 minutes more a day in 1935. The gap between the stations narrowed and persisted at approximately one half hour a day from 1936 to 1939.³⁵ By decade's end both stations settled into a familiar pattern of all-day broadcasting.

In 1930, even without the assistance of network affiliation, CFCF established a regular routine for its program schedule. The station generally started its weekday schedule at 10 a.m. with the *Sunshine hour* or at 11 a.m. with *Morning melodies* or *Morning musicale*. On Saturday the broadcast day started at 11 a.m. or later with only occasional and brief broadcasts on Sunday. Generally the broadcast day would end at 10 p.m. on Saturdays and between 11 p.m. and midnight during the week. CFCF quickly added to this basic foundation so that by the end of the decade it broadcast from early in the morning until after midnight, replicating the pattern set by American broadcasters.

CFCF started the decade with a schedule offering 69.57 per cent music and 11.94 dance music, putting it in the same boat as smaller stations with fewer resources. In 1930, for example, CFCF regularly showcased the Mount

³² Brand, 118.

³³ This includes CNRM.

³⁴ CFCF's strong lead in 1931 and CKAC's lead in 1934 both coincided with the greater application of American network programming in each station's schedule. This phenomenon will be discussed with regard to each station later in the chapter.

³⁵ In 1936 the gap stood at 33 minutes, 35 minutes in 1937, 41 minutes in 1938 and 28 minutes in 1939.

Table 7.2 Average hours and minutes per week of broadcast time based upon sample for Canadian stations in the Montreal radio schedule, 1930 to 1939

Station	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
CFCF	72/48	104/21	108/27	103/34	107/52	109/56	117/7	118/25	117/45	121/53
CKAC	52/05	90/04	107/20	98/55	117/42	120/47	120/53	122/30	122/30	124/08
CHLP	n/a	n/a	n/a	91/31	67/23	82/19	88/53	66/03	92/35	107/55
CNRM	4/11	3/00	n/a							
CRCM	n/a	n/a	n/a	52/05	42/56	44/53	46/40	62/20	n/a	n/a
CRCT	n/a	n/a	n/a	36/25	41/34	22/48	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CRCO	n/a	n/a	n/a	27/05	n/a	36/05	95/10	112/29	n/a	n/a
CHYC	3/50	3/20	2/00	n/a						
CKGW	52/05	52/55	41/55	n/a						
CKCL	21/00	n/a								
CKCO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	71/35	n/a	n/a	n/a
CBF	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	12/00	98/00	119/50
CBM	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	84/30	97/15	122/03
CBO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	98/45	102/40	n/a

Royal Hotel Concert Orchestra to fill the lunch hour. What made CFCF distinctive in 1930 was that aside from the avalanche of sustaining programs that filled gaps it attracted a noteworthy list of local sponsors that included a furniture retailer that presented *Valiquette's Hour of Music*, a brewery's *Dow Old Stock Ale Hour* and a clothing retailer's *Holt Renfrew Musical Program*.

Among its other musical programs were *Layton's Musical Matinee*, *Belmont Park musical programme*, *Bellefontaine hour*, *Hartney's Eventide Music*, *Arch Aid Montreal Programme*, *Orient Hosiery Serenade* and *A Dostert Musical Programme*. Some sponsored programs remain unidentified with regard to type in the sample; however many of those identified solely by a sponsor or a single name are most likely more musical programs.³⁶ CFCF's use of music to provide continuity for a longer broadcast day and its extensive use of locally sponsored musical programs were parts of a more mature broadcasting environment, distinguishing it from struggling stations in other cities.

In addition, and perhaps just as importantly, CFCF's musical programs were almost exclusively local productions. The American network programming contribution to the schedule of music and dance music combined represented only 3.32 per cent of all CFCF music and dance music in 1930. This small proportion of American content and evidence of sponsored programs demonstrates that a high level of self-sufficient programming existed already at CFCF. This is particularly striking when compared to other cities such as Vancouver, where many stations were still very dependent upon sustaining programs entitled *Recordings*. At the outset of the decade, even prior to receiving the backing of a network, CFCF was one of the few Canadian stations that had taken a commanding lead in the business.

The strength of CFCF's local base of programming extended well beyond its musical programming. Other local features included children's programs such as *Uncle Joe* and *Uncle Willard* and sponsored programs such as *Tavannes Humor Corner*, *Charis of Canada dramalogue* and *Tavannes Feature*,

³⁶ Among identified programs those that were identified in the program listings by a single name were almost without exception musical performers. The same rule applied to those programs identified by a sponsor. Sponsor-identified programs tended to have some variation in a minority of cases and could at times be a variety show or rarer yet another category.

another drama. The news was composed mostly of the closing market quotations, consistent with the news programming in other cities. Scores and play-by-play made up the sports programming. Talk tended to be erratic and dependent upon a collection of groups that came forward; the *Purple Circle Address* repeatedly appeared in the schedule, its subject being animal welfare. It was upon this foundation of program categories that CFCF would build its local programming for the rest of the decade.

Although cheap, readily available, and therefore a frequent favourite of local independent stations casting about for sources of local programming, broadcasts of local church services were never to become the forte of CFCF. The only program with any remotely religious connection in the first year of the decade consisted of an *Address from Temple Emanuel*. CFCF showed very little interest in this type of programming throughout the decade. It only broadcast occasionally on a Sunday in 1930; this may well have been a holdover from its shared frequency days from 1925 to 1928 when CHYC broadcast exclusively on Sundays, providing most church services. Religious programming on CFCF reached its height in 1936 at 1.85 per cent of the station's identified programming, when it featured a program called *Morning Devotions* for fifteen minutes, six times a week from Monday to Saturday. CFCF left religious programming to other stations.

CFCF benefitted from a few nationally broadcast chain programs, such as those from Ovaltine, Imperial Oil and the Maple Leaf Milling Company. These programs generally helped stations add variety and more music to the evening hours of their schedules. CFCF was among the early stations in eastern and central Canada fortunate enough to arrange the links necessary to broadcast such nationally sponsored programs. Marconi's backing, nationally sponsored programming, diverse local programming, a high level of

sponsored local programming and a sufficiently developed bank of sustaining programs helped CFCF sustain, diversify and expand its broadcast day to attain a central place in the Montreal broadcasting milieu right from the beginning of the 1930s.

CFCF's affiliation to the NBC network had an immediate and immense impact upon the station's weekly program schedule in 1931. Not only did hours of operation increase, but the level of American programming increased from 2.06 per cent of the total programming in 1930 to 34.54 per cent in 1931. The 1931 sample indicated that additional American programs amounted to on average 31 hours and 22 minutes more per week than in 1930. The overall increase in average weekly broadcast hours for CFCF amounted to 31 hours and 22 minutes. Unquestionably CFCF's huge expansion of its broadcast schedule had a direct relationship to its membership in NBC and the newly accessible American network programs.

Although the introduction of American programming was responsible for the initial surge in broadcast hours, the expansion of the station's broadcasting hours tapered off to a more consistent level of growth for the remainder of the decade. CFCF's American network affiliation, however, forever altered the distribution of different genres of programming within the station's schedule as outlined in in Table 7.3 below. Later in this chapter I will specifically discuss American programming on all Montreal stations, but because CFCF was an NBC affiliate it had particularly large amount of such programming, so large that its overall programming patterns cannot be described without extensive discussion of its use of NBC shows.

Table 7.3 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CFCF, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0.20	1.21	0.29	0.36	0.18	0	0.62	0.40	0.68
Astrology	0	0	0	0.48	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children	0.45	1.25	3.11	4.02	3.27	3.82	2.44	4.46	5.31	5.44
Comedy	0.30	7.11	1.81	2.29	2.45	2.09	0.81	1.08	2.46	0.61
Drama	1.49	1.32	0.86	4.40	2.91	3.34	4.84	3.00	2.70	1.43
Drama anthology	0	0.20	0	0.38	1.27	1.09	1.79	1.23	0.16	1.56
Education	0	0	0	0.38	0	0.18	0.08	0	0.16	0.27
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0.17	0.48	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	69.10	53.09	37.40	47.01	34.13	35.40	36.20	34.30	30.04	27.02
Dance music	11.89	11.51	17.35	15.77	20.93	13.39	16.47	10.36	17.28	17.80
Religious music	0	0	0.46	0.10	0.67	0.73	0.32	0.69	1.19	0.34
News	2.39	3.91	3.77	2.89	6.18	5.44	8.36	5.85	6.50	6.43
Opera	0	1.83	2.65	0.38	0.36	3.28	0.49	2.21	0.24	0.41
Quiz	0	0	0	0	0.55	0	0.32	0	1.51	2.04
Religious	0.90	0.91	0.37	0.19	0.55	1.28	1.70	1.85	0.87	1.22
Serial drama	0	0.61	1.30	0.19	1.00	0.55	0.57	5.01	3.25	1.56
Special	0	6.58	17.12	0.57	1.36	0.46	0	4.60	0.71	2.38
Sports	2.79	0.82	0.16	0.57	3.15	2.27	2.16	4.6	5.39	2.99
Talk	3.53	0.92	4.03	5.04	5.54	7.09	4.30	4.94	2.75	2.63
Talk and information	0	1.12	3.28	4.40	3.91	4.13	4.71	2.44	3.17	2.04
Variety	7.16	1.73	2.16	3.73	7.87	11.45	12.07	10.61	12.29	11.61
Women	0	5.95	2.77	3.57	3.72	3.83	2.35	2.61	3.01	3.06

The greatest difference from the CFCF schedule was in the area of comedy. Locally sponsored comedies were overshadowed quickly by NBC offerings such as *Fay Templeton*, *Amos 'n' Andy*, *Cuckoo*, *Quaker Early Birds* and *Phil Cook, the Quaker Man*, all materializing in 1931. All comedy on CFCF increased more than 35 times, rising from an average weekly contribution of 10 minutes in 1930 to an astounding (but temporary) 5 hours and 50 minutes

Table 7.4 Time and percentages of broadcast duration of comedy on CFCF, 1930 to 1939

Year	Average duration per week	Percentage of schedule
1930	10 minutes	0.30
1931	5 hours 50 minutes	7.11
1932	1 hour 45 minutes	1.81
1933	2 hours	2.29
1934	2 hours 15 minutes	2.45
1935	1 hour 55 minutes	2.09
1936	50 minutes	0.81
1937	1 hours and 10 minutes	1.08
1938	2 hours and 35 minutes	2.46
1939	45 minutes	0.61

on average per week in 1931.³⁷ This extensive use of comedy was the strongest indicator of the station's desire to incorporate American programs into some the areas that were particularly challenging for the station to develop independently.

³⁷ This represents an average of three weeks drawn from the sample, as will all following weekly averages per year. To refer to the specific weeks for any given year consult Appendix A.

The extreme fluctuation of the volume and proportion of comedy on CFCF with regard to its relative standings in CFCF's overall schedule and pure volume reflected the provision of comedy by the NBC Blue network, the leader for most of the 1930s. In 1930 comedy represented 0.3 per cent of the CFCF schedule, the lowest proportion for the decade, but in 1931 it rose to a peak of 7.11 per cent. The much sought-after comedy acts that brought success to the American networks were obviously of great interest to CFCF when it first joined NBC. This interest waned; comedy reached a plateau over the decade and occupied a smaller segment of the schedule. To a certain degree, the rise and fall of comedy at CFCF reflected the success of comedy at its feeder station at NBC, WJZ.³⁸ WJZ always provided more comedy than could be used by CFCF. Only in the last two years of the decade did comedy experience a huge decline at WJZ; this was mirrored by the decreased offerings of comedy by CFCF.³⁹ Although CFCF was able to make its own program choices to reflect its own audience, comedy was one of the areas that was so dominated by American programming that the supply offered by the network had a direct impact upon affiliated stations such as CFCF.

The change in terms of new programming from the network extended, perhaps most surprisingly, to music. Music had more or less filled every spare moment of CFCF's broadcast day at 80.99 per cent of the schedule in 1930; the abundance of local musical programming did not force the station to look elsewhere for music. But while American programming comprised only 3.32 per cent of music and dance music programming in 1930, it rose abruptly to

³⁸ Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 "The American Backdrop: The American Network Stations Within the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax Radio Program Schedules" indicates that WJZ started the decade with a very strong component of comedy. By 1939 *Easy Aces* was one of the few remaining comedies on WJZ. WEAJ and WABC broadcast the majority of comedies at the end of the 1930s.

³⁹ The reasons for this decline are discussed in greater detail later in the chapter, in the discussion of division of comedy between the Red and Blue networks.

38.1 per cent in 1931. An average of 7 hours and 56 minutes a week of additional musical programs appears in the 1931 sample, but at the same time its broadcast hours increased so much that music programming declined to 64.6 per cent of the total. Among the musical programs that made their debut on CFCF that year were *Rudy Vallee and his Connecticut Yankees*, *Enna Jettick Melodies*, *Maurice Chevalier*, the *Ponce Sisters*, the *Boswell Sisters* and *Little Jack Little*. Many Canadians anxiously awaited the arrival of these luminaries on their local stations after trying to listen to them on American stations. Other less well known programs, such as *Cheerful Tunes* and *Le Trio Charmante*, were also picked up from NBC.

New American programming did not usually replace Canadian programs, as was the case with music on CFCF in 1931. Generally the American additions helped to diversify the programming by adding to categories that were very limited or nonexistent. CFCF retained *Hartney's Eventide Music* and *Champion Sparklers*, but few other overtly Canadian-sponsored programs. Many of the remaining titles in the schedule appear to be sustaining; the wide variety of locally sponsored programs that were so generously distributed in the previous year's schedule had decreased. By joining NBC, CFCF significantly decreased its drive to obtain new Canadian sponsored programs to fill its schedule, particularly in the area of music.

The addition of NBC programming brought all varieties of drama to CFCF, expanding the category and reinforcing its potential impact. The station's first serial drama, *Moonshine and Honeysuckle*, the story of a mountain man in Lonesome Hollow, appeared as a weekly feature on Sundays. *The Country Doctor*, a week-night evening serial, added to the initial roster of serial dramas in 1931. Serial drama represented only 1.3 per cent of the station's programs in 1931. The genre of serial drama did not meet with

immediate success in the Montreal broadcasting environment. In 1935 CFCF was the only Canadian station in the Montreal schedule that offered any serial drama. Throughout the decade the levels of serial drama broadcast by CFCF fluctuated dramatically. It rose from 0.19 per cent in 1933 to 1 per cent in 1934, reached its peak for the decade, 5.01 per cent, in 1937, but immediately started a decline again in 1938. In 1937 CFCF was broadcasting an average of 5 hours and 25 minutes a week of serial dramas. Just as it enthusiastically embraced American comedy in 1931, 1937 was the station's best year for serial drama. CFCF regularly offered the standard American fare, such as *One Man's Family*, *Dan Harding's Wife*, *Houseboat Hannah*, *Ma Perkins*, *Young Hickory*, *Special Delivery* and *Stella Dallas*. In a fashion similar to the changes in the broadcast schedule with regard to comedy, the sudden and large scale incorporation of American serial drama had more to do with the supply and scheduling at NBC than listener demand in Montreal.⁴⁰

In 1936 the American networks largely banished serial drama from the evening hours, allocating the genre to time slots in the afternoon. As a result Montreal listeners no longer had access to these programs in the evening on American stations within listening range. As part of the NBC network CFCF had access to these programs and placed them into its afternoon schedule to accommodate the Montreal listeners, further widening the window into which American programming found a place in the CFCF schedule. This side effect of American scheduling decisions partly accounted for the enlargement of American content in the CFCF schedule in 1937.

The influx of American serial drama, easily accommodated in the

⁴⁰ This issue was discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5 "The American Backdrop: The American Network Stations Within the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax Radio Program Schedules" and also see Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 151. Issues of competition and the altered balance within the Montreal broadcasting environment late in the decade will be further discussed in relation to serial drama later in this chapter.

CFCF daytime schedule, accounted for most of the overall rise in the genre. The year 1937 also marked the first year that Canadian serial dramas formed part of the CFCF schedule. The Canadian offerings, *The Black Ghost* and *The House of Peter McGregor*, were regular inclusions, which constituted as much as 23.08 per cent of the category. Although a significant addition, the Canadian serial drama accounted for a small portion of the genre on CFCF; American serials remained the front runners. The significant shift of the genre to daytime on American stations fostered its growth on Canadian stations.

Although they always constituted a minute portion of the overall schedule, adventure, crime and mystery programs were opened up to CFCF listeners by network affiliation. At the genre's peak in 1932, when the category amounted to 1.21 per cent of the schedule, CFCF's listeners could tune in the *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, *Smackouts* and *K-7*. By 1937 they could hear *Count of Monte Cristo* and *Crime Clues* and by 1939 *Charlie Chan*. All of these shows were NBC network offerings; the closest approach that Canadian shows came to this category was the occasional example such as *Mystery Play* on CFCF in 1937. This genre remained dominated by American network programs as part of a larger trend not only on CFCF or in Montreal, but also across the country.

Drama and drama anthologies did not burst upon the scene as suddenly as comedy did when CFCF joined NBC, but drama built slowly over the decade. At its height drama was 6.63 per cent of the schedule in 1936, comprising 6 hours and 48 minutes of an average week. This was a tremendous growth from the first three years of the decade when it progressed from the low of 0.86 per cent in 1932 to its first growth spurt of 4.78 per cent in 1933.⁴¹ The ongoing American dramas such as *Heart Throbs of the Hills* and *Fortune*

⁴¹ These figures group drama and drama anthologies together. The drama anthologies merely represent American ongoing drama series

Hunter appeared in 1934 and developed a continued presence in the schedules of Canadian and American stations. They aired more frequently than Canadian programs such as *Honorable Archie*, which appeared regularly in the CFCF schedule from 1934 to 1936. Drama, especially high drama, tended to occupy larger blocks of time than comedy and serial drama, filling its quotient of the schedule with fewer individual programs.⁴² The addition of a few drama anthologies that continued weekly could account for a major shift in the schedule's proportions.

High drama occupied a much smaller place in the overall CFCF schedule, whether it was Canadian or American. Drama, of course, lent itself easily to the medium of radio due to the easy adaptation of the text to an aural form. Consequently, it was easier for Canadian radio stations to stage one-time productions of a play even in the early years of radio. Shakespearean plays, for example, might be rare but they tended to be Canadian programs. The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission did help slightly with the increase in drama over the course of the decade. In its first year of operation, one of the CRBC's playlets surfaced in the CFCF sample. Drama productions tended to vary greatly in style, approach and content during the 1930s on CFCF. Drama's inclusion in the broadcast week was a sign of not only a maturing, but also a diversified schedule; it was sought out as entertainment suitable to the medium and an alternative to musical programming.

NBC supplied most of CFCF's variety programs; in 1931 the American *Major Bowes Family*, *Hugo Maraini and his Marionette* and the *Chase and Sanborn Program* were introduced to the schedule.⁴³ By 1934, 7.87 per cent of

⁴² Although some of the regularly featured dramas still tended to be 15 minutes long, more often they were 30 or even 60 minutes in length.

⁴³ The temporary decline in variety in 1931 and 1932 can be attributed to an anomaly in the listings. A corresponding increase in special indicates that a great quantity of variety was listed anonymously as *Special Program*.

CFCF's programs were variety and the genre never constituted less than 10 per cent for the remainder of the decade. Variety became almost an exclusively American portion of the CFCF schedule from 1931 onward; variety programs included *Week-End Review*, *Palmolive Beauty Box Theatre*, *Vallee's Varieties*, *Crosscuts from the Log of the Day*, *Eddie Cantor* and the *Breakfast Club*. The stars showcased for the American networks were given the same platform on Canadian radio through affiliates like CFCF. The American programs did not replace the local genre, however; only local morning variety programs existed prior to the introduction of the American productions.

Due to the delayed development of news by the American networks, news evolved as a Canadian product on CFCF, despite its status as an NBC affiliate. In 1931 CFCF's news was still largely restricted to stock quotations, closing market quotations, time announcements and weather forecasts. News was consistently identified in the schedule as simply *News* throughout the decade on the station, and not overtly associated with any sponsor. Even after the introduction of American news, the genre remained overwhelmingly Canadian. The increased frequency and quantity of all news during the day resulted in the overall growth of news. Stock reports remained a regular feature for the whole decade. In general news grew from a weekly average of 1 hour and 20 minutes in 1930 to 7 hours and 10 minutes in an average week in 1939, reaching a high of 8 hours and 35 minutes in 1936. For example on June 19, 1939 CFCF listed news at 8 a.m., 9 a.m., 12:10 p.m., 18:15 p.m. and 1 a.m., with *Monitor News* at 1 p.m. and *Women in News* at 7:45 p.m. This frequency of news represented a huge increase over the course of the decade.

As part of NBC's Blue network American news programs were not regularly available to CFCF until 1934.⁴⁴ That year CFCF rapidly

⁴⁴ Gwenyth Jackaway, "American's Press-Radio War of the 1930s: a case study in battles between old and new media," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 14 (1994): 299-314.

incorporated American news services, such as *Press-Radio News* and *Lowell Thomas*, into its broadcast week to supplement its own news. CFCF's incorporation of the American news personality into its schedule before the mid-point in the decade was indeed an early use of the genre, as it was only just beginning to evolve on the American networks. In 1937 CFCF extended its news with American news services that still included *Press-Radio News* and added *Hughes Reel*, which was replaced by *Monitor News* in later years. Thus the early foundation of Canadian news ensured that American news never became more than a supplement to Canadian news.

Talk, much like news, retained its largely local flavour, reinforcing one of the local components the station's schedule retained and expanded independent of the network's impact. The *Purple Circle* continued to contribute topics such as "The Welcome of the Flowers to Their Insect Friends". Other more timely discussions also cropped up, such as *A Business Man's Point of View on the Federated Charities Campaign*, which was delivered at 9:00 p.m. on October 22, 1931 by Ross Clarkson, chairman of the Federated Charities Executive Committee.⁴⁵ A more explanatory talk, by Miss Marjorie Bradford, secretary of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, preceded the businessman's point of view the day before on "Some Effects of Unemployment in the Work of the Federated Charities".⁴⁶ CFCF's line-up of talks varied from year to year, reflecting the constantly evolving concerns of the community. A number of groups and people regularly appeared in the CFCF program schedule. Other talks were drawn from a more random selection of people and groups who requested time to speak, practically wandering in off the street. In fact, Will C. van den Hoonaard described that kind of incident in *The Origins of the Baha'i Community of Canada, 1898-1948* as follows:

⁴⁵ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 160 (October 22, 1931).

⁴⁶ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 160 (October 21, 1931).

The earliest record [of the spread of the Baha'i Faith through radio] relates to the visit of the Baha'i traveling teacher Martha Root to Montreal in 1932. Staying at the home of May and Sutherland Maxwell, the most prominent of Canadian Baha'is, Miss Root had, on impulse, picked tulips from a vase in the home and taken them to a Montreal radio station for a hoped for broadcast. To the surprise of the Baha'is, the radio manager was Dutch. After gratefully accepting the tulips, he accorded Martha Root an opportunity to broadcast the Baha'i message.⁴⁷

It was this openness to the community and its varied interests that helped to sustain the stations and feed their audiences with a variety of ideas. Local talk programs were the closest connection each of the radio stations could make with their audiences or communities. It was that connection that sustained them long beyond the 1930s.⁴⁸

Talks on most Canadian stations tended to be not just Canadian, but predominantly local. CFCF was the only local broadcaster that aired a large portion of American talk content. American talk programs, which are contained in large part by the category of talk and information in Table 7.3, evolved quite differently from the Canadian category.⁴⁹ Like most of the other American network offerings, they possessed a distinctly entertainment tone. American talk programs, including advice, self-help, tidbits, information, poetry and interviews without local focus found their way into CFCF's schedule. By the end of the decade, American programs with standardized formats such as *Neighbor Nell* or *Nellie Revell*, *Goodwill Court* and *Tony Wons* emerged and

⁴⁷ Mabel R. Garis, *Martha Root: Lioness at the Threshold* (Wilmette, Illinois: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1983), 381 as cited in Will C. van den Hoonaard, *The Origins of the Baha'i Community of Canada, 1898-1948* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1996), 199-200.

⁴⁸ To this day, it is that local connection for news, talk, weather, sports and local personalities that sustains local print and broadcast media in the face of global satellite communications.

⁴⁹ Talk and information was used as a category largely in the American literature for most talk programs, particularly those that were ongoing in the way that *Goodwill Court* and *Tony Wons* were.

constituted a regular part of the CFCF broadcast week. These programs lacked the impact that the local talk had on the station or its audience, but were added to the schedule for their entertainment value and could have just as easily been drama or variety.

Only music, talk and news consistently exceeded the children's programming contribution to the schedule. Local programs always formed the core of CFCF's children's programming. The station started the decade and a consistently strong commitment to the genre with an *Uncle Joe* and an *Uncle Willard*. The long-term commitment to in-house productions was evident; the station's own *Uncle Troy* started in 1932 and remained part of the schedule through 1939. By 1932, the station aired its own *Children's Story Hour*, *Children's Knowledge Hour*, *Aunt Jean* and *Cowboy Tom*. In addition the very popular American program *Little Orphan Annie* supplemented the roster of Canadian programs as early as 1933, six days a week at 5:45 p.m. From that point onward CFCF's children's programming remained a mixture of Canadian and American programming. New American programs, including *Tarzan of the Apes*, *Howie Wing* and *Our Barn*, were added to the regular local programs but did not eliminate Canadian options. In fact in the latter part of the decade the Canadian programs were further supplemented by some Canadian Broadcasting Corporation offerings such as the *Light Up and Listen Club* and *Fairy Coronation*. By 1938 CFCF was able to draw upon its own programs as well as American and Canadian network programs to the point that children's programming reached 5.31 per cent of the schedule.

Canadian Women's Hour, *Women's Radio Review* and *Homemakers* constituted the regular daily women's programs aired by CFCF throughout the 1930s. The genre grew from nothing to its high point for the decade in 1931, reaching an average of 4 hours and 50 minutes a week. This great surge in

women's programming occurred because CFCF supplemented its own programs *Radio Homemakers' Institute* and *Original Betty of the Air* with the American network program, *Edna Wallace Hopper*. Although Hopper's program content was typical, offering beauty tips, it was unusual as one of the few American women's programs that appeared in the sample of Montreal stations for the decade.⁵⁰ These women's programs were habitually daytime inclusions in the schedule, serving what was presumed to be the daytime audience. The daily inclusion of these programs made them an integral part of the schedule due to the consistent time block they filled.

Many programming areas were never fully exploited by CFCF. Sports grew slowly, occupying a larger segment of the schedule only at the end of the decade. There was no specific concentration on any one sport; tennis, sports scores, track and field, boxing, fishing and baseball all received a share of the schedule. Religious programming, although easily accessible, never amounted to a very large portion of the schedule; in 1933 on average it represented 10 minutes weekly. Only *Vesper Hour*, a CRBC program from Winnipeg, appeared in the sample that year. CFCF then added the American *National Vespers* to its schedule in 1934. *Morning Devotions*, rather than church services, was the preferred offering by decade's end. Opera was a variable and occasional offering, never establishing a secure position in the schedule. The core areas of the schedule supplemented by American programming were sufficient; occasional experimentation with other genres were not essential to the ongoing operations of the station.

CFCF entered the decade an established broadcaster. The station broadcast more than ten hours daily in 1930, a standard that many Canadian stations had not reached by the close of the decade. A foundation of local

⁵⁰ Dunning, 314. Other less regular American inclusions were *NBC Radio Kitchen* in 1934 and *Women in America* in 1939.

programming built upon children's, music, dance music, talk and women's programs sustained the station, giving it a certain degree of schedule diversification independent of network affiliation. NBC network affiliation brought with it supplementary programs in the same areas as well as introducing comedy, variety and drama. The station's programming intertwined to bring about a skillful merger of these two sources.

As an NBC affiliate, CFCF's focus was entertainment. As a local station the issues and concerns of the community were brought into focus. The dual roles of a local and affiliate station were efficiently combined by the station. CFCF was the city's dominant English-language broadcaster, enduring and maintaining its essential connection to the community despite the expansion and alteration to the schedule that network affiliation entailed.

CKAC

CKAC may not have been the first French-language radio station in the world, but it was certainly the first in North America.⁵¹ It started its existence as a bilingual station, primarily musical, but was able to transform itself increasingly into a French-language station as the decade progressed. Having obtained its first licence in 1922, CKAC, owned by *La Presse*, continues to broadcast to this day. Unlike many of the newspapers that took an early, but temporary, interest in radio broadcasting, *La Presse* sustained its interest in radio as an extension of itself. In 1922, CKAC was positioned at 430 metres,

⁵¹ Pierre Pagé asserts that Radio-Tour-eiffel, a government station in France, was created in 1921, but started broadcasting regularly in 1922, while CKAC received its first licence in April 1922. Pagé, "L'origine des stations XWA (1915) et CFCF (1922) de Marconi Wireless Telegraph: des données historiographiques à corriger," *Fréquence/Frequency* 5-6 (1996): 166. Other French-language stations soon followed. Inspired by Jacques-Narcisse Cartier of CKAC, Joseph-Narcisse Thivierge of *Le Soleil* inaugurated broadcasting on CKCI in Quebec City with a concert of Quebec performers on Sunday, March 23, 1924. Jean Du Berger, Jacques Mathieu and Martine Roberge, *La Radio à Québec 1920-1960* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997), 27-29. CKCI was but one of many tiny stations in Quebec City in the 1920's; others included CHRC and CKCV.

ten metres from CFCF at 440. In 1925, in a move initiated by the Radio Branch to serve listeners troubled by interference due to the close placement of many Canadian stations, all the Montreal stations were assigned 730 kilocycles or 410.7 metres on the dial. CKAC and the city's smaller stations retained this shared frequency after 1928, when CFCF was reassigned.⁵² This situation persisted in the 1930s when CKAC shared its frequency with CHYC from 1930 to 1933, as well as the additional phantom stations CNRM and CPRY. In 1929 CKAC became the first Montreal station to join an American network as part of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Starting out in the 1920s CKAC drew upon local sources to produce original programming. In its first two years of operations, CKAC broadcast the weather, stock market quotations, news, music and talks for about 12.5 hours a week.⁵³ A few peculiarities developed that were specific to the station in its first decade. For example, out of respect for the Roman Catholic background of most of the French speaking population, the station did not broadcast on its liturgical holidays.⁵⁴ Unlike its main competitor CFCF, it regularly announced its silent periods which were particularly unusual in that they persisted even in 1932 and 1933. By decade's end CKAC emerged as Montreal's bilingual station, owned by a French-language newspaper while simultaneously a new member of the CBS network. The station's earlier idiosyncrasies did not interfere with the complete offerings available as the station entered the 1930s. The potential value of programs to CKAC's perceived audience, however, guided the ongoing tug-of-war between the French

⁵² I am indebted to Ross McCreath for sharing with me information as cited in T. J. Allard, H. R. Newcombe, F. K. Fost, R. A. Spalding, *Broadcasting Stations in Canada Operating from August 1, 1922 to April 1, 1960* (Ottawa: Canadian Association of Broadcasters, 1960).

⁵³ Bernard Montigny, "Les Débuts de la Radio à Montréal et le Poste CKAC" (M.A. Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1979), 58.

⁵⁴ *La Presse* (December 7, 31, 1925 and April 2, 1926), as cited in Montigny, 66.

and the American influences.

Although CKAC joined CBS in 1929, the impact of network programming was not immediately detectable in the station's program schedule. In 1930 American programs broadcast by CKAC were limited to a few selections such as the comedy *Amos 'n' Andy*, but for the most part American programs were musical. The *New York Philharmonic Symphony*, *Columbia Operatic Hour*, *Lew White Organ Recital*, *Phil Spitalny's Music*, *Vapex Ambassadors* and *Atwater-Kent National Radio Audition* were all a part of the CKAC schedule; American programming formed 6.34 per cent of the schedule that year. As illustrated in Table 7.5 below, in 1930 76.9 per cent of all of CKAC's identified programs were music or dance music, only slightly less than its closest competitor CFCF.⁵⁵ The following year CKAC's musical programming experienced a drop parallel to that of CFCF to 62.33 per cent of total programming. The types of programming that witnessed appreciable growth were, however, dissimilar to those of CFCF. Although English-language programs and American network programs appeared regularly in the CKAC schedule, they were used in a way that was sensitive to the primarily French-language and bilingual broadcast intentions of the station. The wholesale adoption of American programming that was so simple for CFCF, as an English-language broadcaster, had to be more thoroughly assessed for the suitability of the bilingual broadcasting schedule of CKAC.

In locally produced programs it was often simple for CKAC to be a bilingual station. This was the case for children's programming which never reached as much as 2 per cent of the schedule.⁵⁶ In 1930 children's programs consisted largely of *Causerie aux tout-petits* with Tante Marie Aurore and a

⁵⁵ Music and dance music consumed 80.99 per cent of the CFCF schedule.

⁵⁶ In fact CKAC's height of children's programming content was in 1930 at 1.87 per cent of the schedule. Its lowest point was in 1931 at 0.51 per cent of the CKAC schedule.

Table 7.5 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CKAC, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17	0.36
Astrology	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0.23	0	0	0
Children	1.88	0.51	0.85	0.59	1.08	1.37	1.2	1.14	1.44	1.62
Comedy	0.34	0.2	0	0	0.31	1.14	1.17	0.29	0.51	2.07
Drama	0.68	0.41	3.29	0.21	2.01	3.4	5.79	3.04	3.85	2.16
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0	0.54	1.22	1.8	1.37	1.36	1.26
Education	0	1.33	0.85	0.21	0.98	1.75	0.47	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.54
Games	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	66.37	43.4	29.86	47.86	39.84	32.25	39.78	37.16	42.77	34.27
Dance music	10.37	18.93	15.18	17.14	22.22	19.27	16.43	15.5	17.16	21.5
Religious music	0	0.82	0.38	0.21	0.30	0	0.08	0	0	0.36
News	3.27	10.93	10.02	8.10	6.03	9.42	8.69	10.31	9.99	9.06
Opera	1.31	0.89	3.10	3.55	0.84	0.98	0.78	0.53	0.59	0.72
Quiz	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.37	0.23	0.34	0.18
Religious	1.03	0.51	1.41	4.08	3.32	3.95	3.05	3.37	1.1	0.54
Serial drama	0	0	0	0	0.15	0	1.49	1.52	1.27	1.35
Special	0	2.86	20.47	1.67	0.49	0.71	0.23	2.77	0	0.72
Sports	3.65	2.08	2.92	1.85	2.64	2.35	0.97	1.88	2.55	2.97
Talk	2.90	8.16	8.14	12.51	9.59	11.09	9.57	8.9	3.29	10.1
Talk and information	0	0.82	0.19	0	0.23	0.15	0	0	0.25	0.54
Variety	7.86	7.97	3.00	0.63	8.57	10.19	6.23	5.76	10.19	6.57
Women	0.34	0.2	0.38	1.29	0.85	0.76	1.51	4.16	3.14	3.06

companion English-language program *Children's Chat* by Aunt Mary Duncan. The next year there was a similar arrangement with *Uncle Bill* and *L'Oncle Joe*. It was certainly obvious that children who were not bilingual would prefer programs in their own language. Rather than leaning heavily toward American English-language programming, CKAC in the first half of the decade maintained small quantities of children's programming, but with a fairly even-handed treatment of language.

In the second half of the decade CKAC's approach to children's programming deviated from its earlier course and that of its chief competitor. Its early efforts at the "Auntie" and "Uncle" variety of programming were largely discontinued, the one exception being *Aunt Susan*, a 1937 CBS program. *Rin-Tin-Tin* was CKAC's major American programming addition in 1938. By the end of the decade the CBC stations, CFCF and CKAC all aired the *Light Up and Listen Club*; however outside of that CKAC did not seem to have much interest in developing children's programs.

CKAC seemed reluctant to make extensive use of American network programs until 1934. In that year, American programming was greater than 20 per cent of the CKAC schedule for the first time.⁵⁷ Comedy, as discussed previously, burst onto the CFCF schedule quite dramatically in 1931. A corresponding development did not occur in comedy at CKAC during the 1930s. Until 1935 comedy never exceeded the 0.34 per cent share of the schedule with which it started the decade; after that it only rose to 2.07 per cent in 1939. Although comedy fluctuated wildly during the 1930s on CFCF, it enjoyed much greater popularity on that station as a rule. This is the point at which the issue of language came into play for CKAC.

The availability and desirability of American programming made

⁵⁷ American content actually reached 23.16 per cent of the programming in 1934; prior to that its peak was 12.69 per cent in 1933.

scheduling more flexible, but the case of comedy was problematic. Although the station may have had many English-speaking listeners, comedy, especially English comedy, represented the last category of programming that would have had any appeal for French speaking listeners. Musical programs transferred almost effortlessly from one language group to another, but the same was not true for comedy. The success of comedy depends upon the tone, the delivery, the turn of a phrase, the pun and other forms of interpretation by the audience that require a good command of the language and knowledge of the culture. Comedy in English would have no appeal for unilingual French-speaking listeners and only limited appeal for bilingual listeners with insufficient knowledge of the language to "get" the jokes. CKAC's limited use of American comedy programs was its first and most obviously distinct program choice that led it to diverge strongly from the patterns set by CFCF.

Variety contributed substantially to the CKAC schedule from the beginning of the decade. *L'Heure Provinciale*, sponsored by the provincial government, comprised of a mixture of talk and music, appeared like clockwork twice a week for a hour at 8 p.m. Listeners were also able to enjoy some early Canadian private networks' programming such as the *Imperial Tobacco Jockeys* and *Sheriff's Breakfast Hour*. Variety, as its name implied, was the embodiment of many elements, the principal one being music.

The enthusiastic incorporation of variety into the CKAC schedule also coincided with its increase in American content. CKAC surpassed CFCF in average weekly broadcast hours of American content in 1934.⁵⁸ Aside from anomalies such as the rise in *Special Features* particularly in 1932, variety remained a favourite.⁵⁹ By 1934, 7.87 per cent of CFCF's programs consisted

⁵⁸ Refer to Table 7.2.

⁵⁹ *Special Features* rose to 20.37 per cent on CKAC paralleling the similar change in identification of listings as discussed in the case of CFCF.

of variety and CKAC kept pace with 8.57 per cent. Because variety encompassed a hodgepodge of different kinds of entertainment, it was less fettered by the barriers of language and therefore equally acceptable on CKAC. Variety was, however, predominantly American. For example in 1934 only one of the 55 variety programs that appeared in the sampling for CKAC had a French title. Although many of them were generically listed as *Variety Show* and could conceivably have been French-language programs, the list also encompassed *Buffalo Variety Workshop*, *Chicago Variety Program* and *Columbia Variety Hour*.

The shows themselves were diverse; CKAC picked up some American network programs including the *Al Jolson Show* and *Major Bowes* in 1938 and *Dick Powell* in 1939. CKAC did develop some of its own varieties, but variety remained almost exclusively an English component of its schedule, even if not American. Much like comedy, variety had its own star system, which made American programs desirable, but unlike comedy it was less anchored to language so it was more desirable in linguistically diverse Montreal.

CKAC embraced the concept of talk with such enthusiasm that it soared to unparalleled heights from 1931 to 1939, competing with news for third spot in the schedule after music and dance music. Talk represented another area in which language effected a distinct difference for obvious reasons. In 1931 CKAC's American talk programming imports such as *Tony Wons' Scrap Book* were in a definite minority. More common on CKAC was the scheduling of talks such as Felix Desrochers, speaking for the *Association Catholiques des Voyageurs de Commerce*; a literary talk by Jules Masse; and English-language speakers such as Sir Barry Jackson of the Canadian Club. The Federated Charities that appeared on CFCF addressed the CKAC audience in French with the help of E. de B. Panet and in English with E.W.

Beatty.⁶⁰ Talk remained a way for CKAC to serve the public and by its choices have its own 'voice' emerge. The American network programs were readily available to CKAC. The ease with which talk programs could be produced locally, however, and the need for French programming, guaranteed that talk remained both a large and overwhelmingly local portion of the schedule.

Women's programs presented a logical extension of the talk program format. To an even greater degree than talk programming most women's programs were local; the ongoing *Bonjour Madame* with Jovette Bernier appeared on CKAC as early as 1931 and *Daily Menu* appeared in 1930. In 1937 CKAC attained its greatest level of women's programming with an average of 4 hours and 33 minutes per week, featuring *Bonjour Madame* and *Feminine World* six times a week. The frequency and regularity of specific programs were characteristic of women's programming. Among the other inclusions for the decade were *Women's Programme* and *Women's Page*. The regularity of these programs and their anonymous presentation in the schedule was revealing. Unlike other local talk programs listed in *The Montreal Gazette*, there was no need to outline the subject of the talk, because its content remained predictable within a certain range of topics like health, cooking and beauty.

Those outside Quebec might presume it was a very religious market given the dominant position of the Catholic Church in Quebec society. CKAC, however, was not overly focussed upon religion or religious music. While by 1933 CKAC held the lead with 70.9 per cent of all religious broadcasting on

⁶⁰ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 160 (October 22 and 23, 1931). There was an effort, particularly at the beginning of the decade to present topics in both languages. It is interesting to note that E.W. Beatty, who was speaking on behalf of the Federated Charities with which he long served, was at the same time president of Canadian Pacific Railways which had established its own studios in the Royal York Hotel and broadcast as the phantom station CPRO over CKGW and CKAC, giving him easy access to radio.

Montreal stations, this meant that there was a modest 3 hours and 15 minutes of religious programming in an average week on the station.⁶¹ This contribution consisted of two weekly *Church Services* and *L'Heure Catholique* in 1933 when religious programming reached the highest proportion of the schedule at 4.08 per cent. CKAC devoted more broadcast time to religious programming in 1934, 1935 and 1937, but it did not keep up with the rate of overall growth of the schedule.⁶² Despite the fact that such programs were economical productions, they held only limited appeal for CKAC in the middle years of the decade, when more of its growth was premised upon greater use of American programs.

CKAC drew heavily upon local talent to fill its program schedule during the 1930s, especially for talk and women's programs, just as CFCF did. Children's programming and more importantly comedy pointed to a significant difference in the development of the stations, hinting at their relationships with groups of listeners and affecting their intake and absorption of American network programming. Music, dance music and variety were essential elements of both stations, which underscored their role as part of a large and growing entertainment medium. Neither placed primary emphasis on education or information. CKAC evolved into an unusual amalgam of English-language American network programming and largely French-language local programming. The American network programming was easily incorporated into the schedule though judicious review of the suitability of such programming for the linguistically diverse audience. The dual nature of the

⁶¹ In terms of religious broadcasting the Montreal stations included CFCF, CKAC, CHLP and CRCM.

⁶² In 1932 CKAC devoted an average of 1 hour and 15 minutes weekly to religious programming, 3 hours and 15 minutes in 1933, 3 hours and 35 minutes in 1934, 4 hours and 20 minutes in 1935, 3 hours and 15 minutes in 1936 and 3 hours and 55 minutes in 1937 and 1 hour and 5 minutes in 1938. "Today's Radio Programmes," and "Radio News and Reviews," *The Montreal Gazette* 161-167 (1932-1938).

station revealed how it preserved its essential local character while taking advantage of the range of programming provided by CBS.

In a similar fashion to CFCF, CKAC dealt effectively with the push and pull from both local influences and its American network. The station was propelled rapidly into full time operations fueled by the city's competitive market and with the assistance of its American network affiliation. The need for French-language programming gave rise to the development of distinct programming that necessarily was local. Various areas of network programming, such as comedy and serial drama, were incorporated into the schedule in much smaller quantities despite their availability due to this sensitivity to language, thus reinforcing the local content. Initially CKAC drew on local resources similar to those employed across the country by other local independent stations, but as a CBS affiliate the station's schedule was also supplemented by American network programs.

CHLP

Conceived in a moderate storm of controversy, CHLP was assigned a licence on October 28, 1932. That was three days before the new commission on radio was sworn in and according to Ernest Lapointe, Liberal member and former Minister of Marine and Fisheries, this action was "...an insult to parliament and a violation of law" since no new licences were being issued until the Aird Commission's report was acted upon.⁶³ CHLP was owned by the newspaper *La Patrie*, which in turn had been purchased by Quebec Conservative interests in 1930. Although the mass media of the 1930s had evolved since the nineteenth century when the religious and political biases of newspapers were worn on their sleeves, it had not traveled so far that the idea

⁶³ Ernest Lapointe's recollections as cited in Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1920-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 114.

of CHLP being a "political" station was not at least a threat.⁶⁴

More of a city-based than a regional station, CHLP at 100 watts did not have the power of CFCF, let alone that of CKAC.⁶⁵ Paul L'Anglais worked as a salesman at the station in its early days. He recalled that he and a former classmate produced their first radio show and sold it to Ed Michaud of Michaud Hats. "Unfortunately, Michaud canceled after four weeks because the [station's signal] was so weak that it didn't reach as far as Outremont for him to hear it himself."⁶⁶ This indicated that the station had a very limited range even on the island of Montreal.

Nevertheless CHLP burst upon the Montreal radio scene in 1933 with an average of 91 hours and 31 minutes of broadcast time a week.⁶⁷ It presented viable competition, at least in scheduled time, to CKAC's 98 hours and 55 minutes that year. In its second full year of operations it dropped to an average of 78 hours and 18 minutes a week just when CKAC and CFCF were experiencing a surge of growth. In 1934 the *Radio Index* recorded CKAC as operating from 7:30 a.m. to 1:00 a.m. and CFCF as 8:00 a.m. to midnight. In 1934 CHLP did not offer a full day of broadcasting, operating instead from 8:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., then following a break in the afternoon resuming operations from 5:00 p.m. until midnight.⁶⁸ With only this small break in the schedule, which contracted over the course of the decade, CHLP operated as a full time station, reaching an average of 107 hours and 55 minutes in 1939. It never fully bridged the gap between itself and its competitors, however.

⁶⁴ Paul Rutherford, *The Making of the Canadian Media* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978), 20-36, 69-76.

⁶⁵ "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *Radio Index* no. 68 (April 1, 1933): 51.

⁶⁶ This testimony is certainly clear confirmation that CHLP's signal was quite weak. Outremont is located on the island of Montreal, just slightly northeast of the downtown core of Montreal. Paul L'Anglais as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, *Signing On*, 71.

⁶⁷ See Table 7.2 for comparisons with other stations not listed above.

⁶⁸ "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *Radio Index* no. 81 (September 1, 1934): 62-69.

Observing a sample day on November 20, 1933, CHLP's day started with *Health Exercises* at 9:30 a.m. Its last program before it began a silent period at 1:45 p.m. was *Varieties*. It resumed programming with *Varieties* at 5:01 p.m.; its last program of the day, *Charles Dornberger and dance orchestra*, concluded at midnight.⁶⁹ By incorporating standardized breaks, CHLP's operating schedule resembled small local independent stations such as CJOR and CKWX in Vancouver. CHLP, however, did not operate with the limitation of a shared frequency and it aspired to many more hours of air time. Without the assistance of the American networks, CHLP was compelled to draw upon local talents and resources in order to maintain a broadcast schedule, complicating and impeding early attempts at scheduling a full day of programming.⁷⁰

CHLP represented a reversal of CFCF's position in the Montreal broadcasting environment. CFCF was an English-language radio station with the occasional French-language program, while CHLP was a French-language station with the odd English-language program. Although listings for CHLP appeared as *Health Exercises*, *Varieties* and *Ladies Hour* they were doubtless French-language programs listed in that way because they appeared in an English newspaper. The exceptions were programs from the 1933 sample such as *Westmount Baptist Church Services*, which could not have been French in that decade, given the location and denomination.⁷¹ Each of the stations

⁶⁹ "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette*, 162 (November 20, 1933).

⁷⁰ This status is relative only in comparison to the other Montreal broadcasters. To make a fair comparison of independent local stations in 1939 CKMO had finally reached an average of 55 hours and 45 minutes, CKWX had risen to 62 hours and 45 minutes, while CHLP broadcast for 107 hours and 55 minutes. Even at its lowest level for the decade, 66 hours and 3 minutes in an average week in 1937, CHLP's broadcast hours exceeded peak operation of many independent stations outside of Montreal.

⁷¹ Westmount was an area of Montreal that was steadfastly English-speaking; a French-speaking church would not have made Westmount its home.

Table 7.6 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CHLP, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0.48	0	0	0	0.57
Astrology	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.17	1.52	2.73	2.11	0.38	0	0
Children	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.52	0.83	0.12	0.12	0.38	0	0.34
Comedy	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.13	1.66	2.85	2.78	1.26	0.45	0
Drama	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.88	0.83	2.68	2.19	2.14	2.91	1.36
Drama anthology	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0.55	0.12	0.12	0	0	0
Exercise	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.09	1.50	1.6	0	0	0	0
Games	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	n/a	n/a	n/a	31.62	42.07	36.24	35.08	49.36	47.53	42.95
Dance music	n/a	n/a	n/a	31.19	14.96	27.84	8.06	18.00	15.92	10.68
Religious music	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News	n/a	n/a	n/a	4.93	4.03	2.02	0.63	0	1.35	3.98
Opera	n/a	n/a	n/a	5.18	2.49	4.28	6.06	2.52	2.69	4.09
Quiz	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0.35	0.63	0	0
Religious	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.25	1.80	0	0	0	0	0
Serial drama	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Special	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.13	0.55	0	0.23	0	2.24	3.18
Sports	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	3.97	0.36	13.06	5.43	8.52	15.8
Talk	n/a	n/a	n/a	12.54	11.32	8.6	6.45	2.27	0.9	2.05
Talk and information	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variety	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.62	11.92	5.82	7.27	6.90	3.48	1.14
Women	n/a	n/a	n/a	6.78	0	4.28	15.49	10.72	14.01	13.86

retained some of the mixture of the two languages when it suited their programming schedule.

Consistent with radio programming across the continent CHLP made music and dance music dominant and regular features of its broadcast schedule for the entire decade. Only once did music and dance music even fall more than slightly below half the broadcast week's programming at CHLP, in 1936 at 43.09 per cent. CHLP took advantage of local talent frequently, offering *Laure Choquette*; *Meunier da Sylva*, a pianist; *Romeo Mousseau*, a tenor; *John Gilbert and his Dreamers of Melody* and *Syd Woodham, the Melody Man*. The repeated bookings of local musical talent echoed the practices of CKCD in Vancouver, without resorting to recordings. The extensive use of local musical performers and the types of music employed placed CHLP in stark contrast to Montreal's two major stations that actively employed American programming in their schedules. French-Canadian folk songs were a regular component of the CHLP musical mix. In addition CHLP provided a multitude of variety with accordions, harmonicas, choirs, waltzes, tangos and the recurring *Chansons Françaises*. As was customary on small local stations the majority of dance orchestras were not identified by name until 1938, when acquisition of big name orchestras or hotel rooms ceased to be largely a network prerogative.

Opera was the domain in which CHLP competed most successfully with CKAC and CFCF. From 1933 to 1937 CHLP generally dominated opera in the city; the other stations only occasionally matched or came close to its commitment to this musical genre.⁷² Only in 1937 did CFCF devote more time to opera than CHLP, but this was entirely through the use of NBC programs. It was not difficult for CHLP's opera output to exceed that of CKAC, because

⁷² In 1935 CFCF matched CHLP, with each station airing an average of 3 hours per week.

CKAC specialized largely in the shorter programs *Operatic Excerpts* and *Operetta*. In 1939 CBM, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language station in Montreal, introduced a substantial proportion of opera to its broadcast week for the first time, with a weekly average of 2 hours and 45 minutes. Although close, it did not exceed CHLP's average weekly contribution that year of 3 hours per week. A Montreal listener, Norma Hayes, recalled that her parents Narcisso and Lucia Morara, who had come to Canada from Italy in November 1922 and 1924 respectively, would have the whole family sit together to enjoy the opera.⁷³ This recollection underscores once again the fact that in the linguistically diverse city of Montreal a program such as opera could cross the boundaries of language. Thus it occupied a much larger part of the Montreal radio schedule than that of other cities and also of the broadcast week of each of the individual stations within Montreal.

Despite the fact that CHLP was owned by a newspaper, news was not its area of distinctive competence over the course of the entire decade. News debuted strongly; the station presented more news than any other station in its first year of operation. At that point, however, news was restricted to the *Mining News and Quotations* and *Stock Quotations* six times weekly. Industrial quotations were added in 1934 while stock quotations dropped completely from the schedule the following year. By 1936 the fifteen-minute bulletins appeared simply as news. Year by year the broadcast duration of news shrank until it disappeared in 1937 and 1938; it began to rebuild in 1939, however, when CHLP resumed its news bulletins after *Le Courrier* became part of the schedule. Despite the importance of news to local independent stations as a rule, this was not the case at CHLP.

The closest CHLP ever came to becoming political, as initially feared,

⁷³ I am indebted to Norma Hayes of Montreal for her interview of July 15, 1999.

was a few of its talk programs, but even those were rare and did not all originate at the station. The CRBC, which started operations less than a year after CHLP, supplied the station with programs such as *Canadian Folklore*, *Promenade en Nouvelle France*, *Book Review* and its regular installment of *L'Idée Conservatrice*. The occasional programs such as *Mémoires d'un Vieux Marin*, *Nos Souvenirs* and *Causerie par Madeline* were representative of the station's programming. CHLP initially did not subscribe to the same ideas about talk as CKAC and CFCF and many other stations that made their talk programming an open public forum. As a rule the station's talks tended to feature a selection of the same groups and topics, and less of the random selection characteristic of the other stations. Talk became an increasingly smaller portion of the schedule with each year. CHLP's talk programs broadened in 1937 to include *Talk*, *Votre Santé* and *Voyages*. At its most political, Mayor Houde addressed CHLP's listeners on June 4, 6 and 8, 1934, but CHLP's talk programming never became a threatening platform for Conservative Party ideas or policy.

Like its peer stations in Vancouver, sports played an important role in the CHLP broadcast week, expanding to 13.06 per cent of the schedule in 1936. Play-by-play broadcasts of baseball and hockey games were standard fare on CHLP. *Blue Bonnets Racing Results* appeared as early as 1934, as did the baseball sports commentator O. O. Martin. Sports coverage on CHLP differed from that of CFCF and CKAC not only because it was a larger part of the broadcast week, but because it consisted of more hours of coverage. CHLP's sports coverage fit again into the model of a local station that did not receive a great deal of outside help from networks. Sports programming could be developed easily by broadcasting games, results and using the station's own commentators. CHLP mirrored the performances of other independent

stations when it employed local sports coverage in its schedule.

CHLP's use of religious programming was similar to that of other Montreal stations. It filled only 50 minutes of its schedule with religious programming in the form of church services in an average week in 1933. CHLP never really committed to religious programming as a part of its standard schedule. In 1934 CHLP added *Le Grand Frère Marcel* to its roster. Then after keeping pace for two years with the other Montreal stations with regard to religious programming, CHLP suddenly dropped it from its schedule. This change was not an isolated incident for CHLP, but indicative of a distinct pattern of change in the last few years of the decade which was more pronounced at CHLP than at other stations.

An examination of the trends revealed by Table 7.6 indicates CHLP experimented with a lot of short-lived programming genres. The station had not established a defined programming strategy before the arrival of CBM and CBF, which necessitated further adjustments to the schedule for the next few years. The last of its minor contributions to the category of education was a program called *Diction* which ended in 1936. CHLP was the city's sole provider of exercise programs for the decade until CBM introduced *Physical Fitness* and CKAC *Eddie Allen*, both in 1939. *Health Exercises* was CHLP's regular start of the day at 9:30 a.m. in 1933 and 1934. Then in late 1934 the program switched to 8:30 a.m. signalling an earlier start for CHLP's broadcast day. Exercises also came to an abrupt end in 1935. Initial enthusiastic efforts at children's programming included *Grandpapa Jean*, *Children's Birthday Party* and *Musique pour les Enfants*, but by the next year efforts were limited to music for children and seasonal specials such as a Santa Claus feature. For a station that was conceived in such controversy over its interpretation of the news, or more precisely, politics, news started off strong, dwindled to

practically nothing in 1936, but appeared to revive in 1939.

Entire categories of programming disappeared at the mid-point in the decade while others started to rise, if only briefly. Drama and comedy began to gather strength in 1935. Sports became a very important part of the schedule as of 1936, and that was the last year that talk programs made a major contribution to the schedule. The year 1936 was the last strong year for variety on CHLP; after that it diminished quickly.⁷⁴ The most dramatic rise was that of women's programming, which had been important from the inception, but from 1936 onward was such a large portion of the schedule that it was competing for second spot with dance music.⁷⁵ Although CHLP was one of Montreal's early radio stations in the 1930s, it had little in common with its major competitors, CFCF and CKAC.

On the more unusual side, CHLP was Montreal's main purveyor of astrology. In fact the station was practically the only provider of astrology. Between 1933 and 1936 there was a sprinkling of astrology programs on CFCF, CKAC, CRCM, CRCO and CKCO, but all of these examples are minor when compared to CHLP's regular and frequent commitment to astrology.⁷⁶ The versatile *Madame X*, the mainstay of this type of programming, provided astrology and handwriting analysis. *Geoffrey St. Claire* supplemented the evening contributions of *Madame X* in 1935, as did the handwriting analysis of A. C. Woodthorpe in 1933. At their peak in 1935, astrology programs ranged from four to eight times weekly on CHLP. Astrology may seem an unusual

⁷⁴ Very little commentary can be made regarding variety aside from its quantity, since it was usually listed as *Variété*.

⁷⁵ The only exception was 1934 when no women's programming was captured by the sample.

⁷⁶ In 1933 four examples of a fifteen-minute evening program entitled *Horoscope* were captured by the sample on CFCF and CKAC broadcast *Hollywood Astrologer*. A banner year for astrology was 1936, when the Montreal sample included six of the five-minute *Horoscope* programs and one fifteen-minute *Astrologue* broadcast on CKAC. The sample also contained the American program *Evangeline* on CRCM and CRCO and *Radio Mystic* on CKCO in 1936.

choice for a broadcast medium, but horoscopes were regular features in the print media and like addresses, drama and lessons were easily transferable to the new medium.

Faced with the need to fill its broadcast hours without the assistance of American networks while broadcasting in French, CHLP's schedule followed a path similar to that of most local independent Canadian stations in the 1930s. Music was dominant. News, sports, talk, variety, women's programming and even exercise and astrology were all local programs that could be efficiently produced by the station. CHLP did experiment briefly with children's, drama and religious programming, but these types of programs never assumed the importance that they did at other Canadian stations. Not surprisingly due to language barriers, opera was popular and English-language comedy was not. The lack of access to a supply of network programs left the station essentially bereft of adventure, crime, comedy, quiz and serial drama programs. Given the long hours that were the norm in the Montreal broadcasting market, CHLP's day extended further in a shorter period of time than independent stations in other cities. Without the added boost of network programs, however, CHLP broadcast fewer hours than its competitors in Montreal. Consequently, CHLP developed in a manner that reflected the needs of its listeners and the capabilities of a station that did not form part of a network.

CNRM

The input from the Canadian National Railways' network of stations constituted a very small part of the Montreal radio portrait. Unlike CNRV in Vancouver, CNRM, the Canadian National Railways' Montreal station, was not fortunate enough to have its own frequency, preventing it from having a major impact. CNRM possessed its own production studios, but it shared a

frequency with all Montreal stations from 1925 to 1928. From 1928 to 1932 it broadcast programs as a phantom station utilizing the frequency of CKAC and forming a minor part of the latter station's schedule.

The presence of CNRM in Montreal was so small that it did not appear as a separate station in *The Montreal Gazette's* radio schedule. The station was not included in Table 7.2 above to indicate its broadcast time in the Montreal radio schedule because its small contribution was depicted more as a series of programs than as a distinct entity. In Montreal CNRM could be heard in the evenings over CKAC. Sometimes identical programs could be heard over CKGW, a Toronto station included in the Montreal listings until 1932, indicating that these were network broadcasts rather than programs originating at CNRM. Although Canadian National Railway owned 18 per cent of all Canadian radio broadcasting licences in 1932, most of these were on shared frequencies as in Montreal, which limited their impact upon their respective cities. When asked about CNRM in interviews with Paul Brand, early listeners responded: "...the Canadian National...I didn't even know they had a station."⁷⁷ The lack of awareness regarding CNRM by Brand's interview subjects may have been broader than he suspected. There is little evidence of any programming specific to CNRM in the sample. It appeared in the CKAC and CKGW listings usually as the Canadian National Railways' Network.

The sum total of all Canadian National Railways' programming broadcast over CKAC and CKGW to Montreal listeners in 1930 amounted to an average of 2 hours and 44 minutes per week. The Tuesday, June 3, 1930 program description below was the only specifically itemized entry for a CNRM

⁷⁷ Interview with Paul Lemay, January 13, 1980 as cited by Paul Brand, "'The Twentieth Century Bible': Listening to the Radio in Montreal, 1924-1939," *The Register* 1 (1980): 27,129. Brand also encountered this reaction in other interviews and explained that a number of arguments ensued as to whether the Canadian National Railway ever operated a radio service in Montreal.

program.

Canadian National Railways French-Canadian hour of music. Soloist: Mlle. Camille Bernard, soprano. Programme. Overture, Le Roi L's Dit (Delibes). Soprano Solos, (a) Parlez Echo des Bois (Handels); (b) Se tu m'ami (Pergoiese). Orchestra, (a) Fox Trot: (b) One Step, (c) Fox Trot. Soprano solo, (a) Ils etaient trois petits chats blanc (Pierne); (b) Paris est roy (Wekerlin) Orchestra, Hans, le jouer de flute (Gannes). Soprano Solo, La Ballade des gros dindons (Charbrier). Orchestra, Valse des blondes (Ganne). Soprano Solo, La Priere du Soir (Moussorgsky). Orchestra, Cortege de moce et danse general de "Antar" (Dupont). Soprano solos, (a) Le Petit Navire (Selmet); (b) Trimonsett - Au port du Havre. Orchestra, Marche Hongroise (Pony).⁷⁸

This description demonstrates the capacity of the radio schedule listing at its best. Its elaborate detail, although unusual, provides a very clear image of the *Canadian National Railways French Canadian Hour of Music*. The only other program in the sample that is specifically identified as part of of CNRM programming is the *Canadian National Symphonic Hour* on Sunday, October 5, 1930. Another detailed listing was that for the *Canadian National Railways Transcontinental Hour* on Tuesday, June 3, 1930 as described below.

C.N.R. Transcontinental Hour. Orchestra, Rule Britannia. Male Quartette, Lite on the Ocean Wave. Baritone solo, Sea Fever. Orchestra, The British Grenadiers. Male quartette, O Canada. Solo, Buckingham Palace. Male quartette, The Maple Leaf Forever. Orchestra, God Save the King.⁷⁹

In 1931 only one program identified simply as CNRM appeared in the sample. By 1932 all traces of CNRM and the Canadian National Railways Network had disappeared from the Montreal radio schedule. The Canadian Radio

⁷⁸ Canadian National Railways 9:00 p.m. in "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (June 3, 1930).

⁷⁹ Canadian National Railways 10:00 p.m. in "Today's Radio Programmes," *The Montreal Gazette* 159 (June 3, 1930).

Broadcasting Commission then emerged, with one program listed on Christmas Eve broadcast over CKAC. The tide had turned; the Canadian National Railways' minuscule contribution to broadcasting in Montreal in the 1930s had ended.

Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission

When the CRBC was created, it set out to acquire enough stations to be truly national. Montreal was a challenge, because the shortage of broadcast frequencies made it unlike many cities where there were enough sufficiently powerful stations willing to lease time to the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission for its programs. Both CKAC, as part of the CBS network, and CFCF, in the NBC network, were making a profit and therefore unwilling to give up time to the new commission for its programs. The solution announced in September 1933 was that the CRBC would build a station in Montreal. CRCM became the CRBC's Montreal station, located at 910 on the dial with a power level of 5,000 watts.⁸⁰

CRCM

CRCM started operations on November 4, 1933 and immediately operated at a level that exceeded that of many smaller stations, at 52 hours and 5 minutes as soon as its third week.⁸¹ These early programs were scheduled from 2:00 p.m. to midnight. The station broadcast for 10 hours on Sundays and an average of 7 hours a day for the remainder of the week. Over the next three years CRCM broadcast for an average of 44 hours and 50 minutes weekly. Between 1934 and 1936 the earliest start for the CRCM

⁸⁰ "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *Radio Index* no. 81 (September 1, 1934): 67.

⁸¹ See Table 7.2 for comparison. Fortunately one the sampling weeks for 1933 is November 17-25, 1933.

broadcast day was 4:45 p.m., with rare exceptions made for special events such as the coverage of a football game. The station also had a mandate to broadcast bilingually, which was not unusual in the Montreal broadcasting environment, but put some restrictions on its programming options. It was also the production centre for virtually all CRBC French-language programs.

Like all other radio stations music was the central element of the CRCM schedule. Dance music accounted for 21.13 per cent of the schedule and other music for 48.63 per cent. One hour of the week's programming was devoted to the *Operetta "La Hussarde"*. In a commitment to high culture the *New York Philharmonic Orchestra* and *Nino Martini and the Columbia Symphony* also appeared in the station's listings. This kind of programming originating in the United States was neither new nor unusual in Montreal since it was part of the packages CFCF and CKAC delivered from the American networks. Although the majority of the assorted orchestras and other musical performers were Canadian, the examples above do highlight the fact that the CRBC made an early decision to include some American sustaining programs; it could not, however, take American commercial programs because of the restrictions in its wireline contracts discussed previously.

One of the noteworthy aspects of the CRBC's broadcasts was that the stations in the network were able to showcase performers originating from all over Canada to a Canadian national audience. In the space of one week in 1933 CRCM furnished Montreal listeners with a *Concert Programme* from Halifax; *Vancouver Saturday Night Frolic*; *Seville Fair*, Olga Pavlova, Tito Frandos and Leon Zuckert and His Argentine Orchestra from Winnipeg; *Moonlight on the Pacific*, a mandolin orchestra from Vancouver; *Joe Decourey's Orchestra* from Ottawa; and finally *Rex Battle's Orchestra* and *Billy Bissett's Orchestra* from Toronto. Many familiar and local performers on the CRCM

roster had broadcast over private Canadian networks and stations in the past. The CRBC stations and the stations that carried their programs, however, helped to cement this partnership with specific regional performers for ongoing programs available to listeners all across Canada. The Canada-wide aspect of the Commission's programs was less obvious in later years. Descriptions indicating the city of origin that accompanied the first year's programs became rarer. Some of the same programs continued and the listeners may have been more aware of the origins of the programs, not requiring the ongoing identification in the program listings. In general, however, there was less and less effort to incorporate a great deal of regional programming into the schedule as Toronto became the network's English-language production centre.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the network's provision of daily national news was essential to its construction of a Canada-wide audience and its own role as a public broadcaster.⁸² As noted in Table 7.7 below, from 1934 to 1936 news grew with the schedule so that it always occupied at least 10 per cent of air time. In 1933 CRCM aired two five-minute *Canadian Press News Bulletins* everyday, a French one at 6:30 p.m. and the English version at 10:30 p.m. It was the only station in the city that featured *Canadian Press News*, according to national arrangements made between the CRBC and Canadian Press. The remainder of the news consisted of stock market quotations and federal market reports. The station's format did not vary at all from the format of the other Montreal stations, except that CRCM did not carry any American news. The news bulletins were continued as *Canadian Press News Bulletins* and then listed simply as news in 1936 and 1937 as the station was transformed into a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station. The national news service of the station provided a Canada-wide link that was unique in

⁸² Mary Vipond, "The Continental Marketplace: Authority, Advertisers, and Audiences in Canadian News Broadcasting, 1932-1936," *Journal of Radio Studies* 6 (1999): 172.

Montreal and was consistent with its Canada-wide presentation of other programming.

The fact that CRCM perpetuated a policy of strictly Canadian news is notable, because it was not a consistent one throughout the CRBC. CRCM's sister stations, CRCT Toronto and CRCO Ottawa, did not maintain the same level of Canadian purity in their news, as evidenced in their listings in the Montreal radio program schedule. An examination of news bulletins at CRCT, the CRBC's Toronto station, revealed that it did employ *Canadian Press News Bulletins*. In addition, however, *Lowell Thomas*, an American news commentator, formed part of CRCT's news from 1933 to 1935 when the station's listings appeared in the Montreal radio schedule. CRCT took over operations from CKGW in Toronto and assumed the latter's affiliation with NBC. It also picked up the American *Press-Radio News* service in 1934. By 1935 CRCO, the CRBC's Ottawa station, was using the American *The Monitor Views the News* to supplement its own news bulletins. CRCV also made use of *Monitor News* within its program schedule. Certainly the need to provide French-language news would have influenced CRCM to continue its use of the *Canadian Press Bulletins* in both languages. In the case of American news programs and services, it would also have been redundant for CRCM to begin to use them in the Montreal market. *Press-Radio News* service was used by both CFCF and CKAC; in addition *Lowell Thomas* was aired by CFCF. The market was already saturated with American news, even if it was still a minor supplement to the dominant Canadian news. The station distinguished itself in the Montreal market by not employing American news; this also set it apart from other CRBC stations.

Table 7.7 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CRCM, 1933 to 1936

Type	1933	1934	1935	1936
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0.80
Astrology	0	0	0	0.40
Children	0.91	0.46	0.62	2.61
Comedy	0	0.23	0.83	0
Drama	6.38	4.37	6.98	2.40
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0.23	0.41	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0
Music	48.63	47.12	40.64	54.51
Dance music	21.13	23.16	14.64	17.64
Religious music	0	0	0	1.20
News	9.29	10.02	12.52	10.82
Opera	2.19	0	1.38	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0
Religious	2.19	0	0.41	1.20
Serial drama	0	0	0	0
Special	0	1.30	1.24	0
Sports	3.28	1.99	8.07	0.40
Talk	3.28	9.05	9.33	6.21
Talk and information	0	0	0	0
Variety	2.73	0.46	1.87	2.00
Women	0	0.60	1.04	0.80

CRCM differed from the other Montreal stations not only in its choice of topics for talk programming, but in their quantity. As illustrated by the average broadcast durations of talk programs per week on Montreal radio stations in Table 7.8 below, CRCM fell far behind the other stations in terms of time allotted for talk in its schedule.⁸³ In 1933 the duration of CRCM's talk programs were significantly lower than all other stations, but that was not indicative of future trends. It consistently contributed less talk to the

Table 7.8 Average broadcast duration of talk in hours and minutes per week on Montreal radio stations, 1933 to 1936.

Year	CFCF	CHLP	CKAC	CRCM
1933	8 hrs. 8 min.	8 hrs. 11 min.	9 hrs. 58 min.	30 min.
1934	8 hrs. 40 min.	6 hrs. 49 min.	10 hrs. 40 min.	1 hr. 48 min.
1935	10 hrs. 6 min.	6 hrs. 3 min.	12 hrs. 8 min.	3 hrs. 55 min.
1936	9 hrs. 15 min.	4 hrs. 20 min.	10 hrs. 12 min.	2 hrs. 30 min.

Montreal program schedule, but the gap would decrease between it and CHLP. The other stations almost evenly divided the category of talk among themselves. CKAC was invariably talk's front runner. CFCF was a close second. However, all comparisons must be made cognizant of the fact that a large American component of talk and information programming always formed part of CFCF's total. Despite the large quantities of American talk programming incorporated in the CFCF schedule, its local content still

⁸³ Table 7.8 includes "talk" and "talk and information" combined. This really only accounted for a difference in CFCF. The amount of talk and information included in the CFCF totals was always less than half the total, except in 1936. Talk and information is an exclusively American category of programming. CKAC added very minor amounts of talk and information to its totals in 1934 and 1935, 15 and 10 minutes respectively.

exceeded the total broadcast time devoted to talk by CRCM. CKAC's talks were almost without exception dedicated to local topics of interest. CHLP had a similar bias, but as it broadcast less hours of talk the proportion of its local talks was close to that of CF CF without its American additions. Talk was an important reflection of the local community on radio; it was granted a larger role on local stations than on CRCM.

Talk was nevertheless an area in which the efforts of CRCM, with the backing of the CRBC, stood to have made a difference to the Montreal listening public. In its first year of operations its speakers were very different from the locally based speakers of other Montreal stations, which as noted in some cases literally wandered in off the street. None of the talks in 1933 on CRCM were local. The records captured a book review by a professor in Toronto and a university lecture by Professor F. Clarke, appropriately enough, on "The Value of Radio as a Medium of Education." There were also addresses by Mayor Thompson of Halifax, Mayor C.L. McKeand on "Canada's Eastern Arctic Patrol" and Prime Minister R. B. Bennett in Ottawa. In a similar approach to that of its musical programming, more Canada-wide content was evident in that first year.

In the next year of its operation talks assumed greater importance in the CRBC schedule, increasing from 3.28 per cent to 8.59 per cent. Talk only decreased in 1936, but was sustained every year as the largest category of programming after news. The focus of talks broadened over the next four years to include political contributions from *L'Action Libérale Nationale*, agricultural talks (usually in French), poetry, the international situation, safety, dental hygiene and the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs. The sample drawn from 1935 included an address by the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen on "Shakespeare" and two addresses by Prime Minister R. B.

Bennett. CRCM exhibited a stronger tendency to employ national politicians, political groups and loftier debates, mixed with some more practical discussions. CRCM's talk programs were out of step with the overwhelming local and eclectic talk selections aired by the other Montreal stations; the support of a national network that could draw upon speakers from across the nation removed CRCM from its local community.

Some perspective on the approach to talk programming on CRCM can be gained through a review of the approaches presented by CRCO and CRCT in the Montreal radio program schedule. Both employed a similar method for the presentation of talk to that of CRCM, but naturally focused on issues more of interest to Ontarians, such as the recurring *Ontario Employment Service Talk*. Talks also represented a smaller part of their respective evening schedules. In 1935 talk was 9.33 per cent of CRCM's broadcasts, 7.15 per cent of those on CRCT and 6.81 per cent on CRCO. Once more language accounts in part for the difference. Talk programs were a quick and easy way for CRCM to incorporate more French-language programming into its broadcast schedule. In 1935, 45.93 per cent of time devoted to talk by CRCM was occupied by French-language talks. That difference alone would account for the greater interest in the scheduling of talk programs at CRCM in comparison to other CRBC stations.

Thus, although CRCM scheduled proportionally more talk than did other CRBC stations, it fell far behind that of other local stations. Moreover, the more time it spent dividing itself between two linguistic communities, the less connected it was to either of them. The three other stations identified strongly with their linguistic groups in the category of talk as early as 1933. CFCF's talk was exclusively English. CHLP was exclusively French with the exception of CRBC programs. CKAC was almost solidly a French-language station when

it came to talk, although much more varied in other areas. It could be said that CRCM, by more evenly serving both linguistic communities, was all things to all people - a role that is usually so difficult to fulfill that those attempting it fail. In the case of CRCM talk served to provide information and topical discussion, but never served to sustain the connection to the community that was one of the life lines that sustained local independent stations, even those with American network affiliation.

CRCM dabbled in children's programming, as did most other stations, but did so in both French and English. From 1933 to 1936 it presented programs that included *Mon Oncle* and *Le Grenier de Grand'Maman* in French as well as *Fairy Coronation* and *Children's Corner* in English. The sampling also indicated that sports included coverage of hockey games but little else. Religious broadcasting represented a weak point for CRCM. In 1933 *The French Catholic Hour* represented all of its religious broadcasting. The genre fared no better in later years when *And It Came to Pass* and *L'Heure Dominicale* were the few examples recorded in the sample. Religious music, education, opera, women's programs and even variety appeared only sporadically in the CRCM schedule.

A final area emphasized at CRCM was drama. The station maintained a consistent commitment to drama for the whole of its tenure, unlike the situation at the private Canadian radio stations. The station introduced a variety of serial dramas such as *Tales of the Black Horse Tavern*, *The Youngbloods of Beaver Bend* and *Billy and Pierre*, by Genevieve Barre. The French-language *Radio Theatre* was another regular feature, as was *Theatre Time* and the occasional play, such as *The Phantom Train*. CRCM was only able to sustain its commitment to drama because the costs were borne by the national network. This was one area in which CRCM could rise above the

other stations. Drama offered a unique and strictly Canadian programming segment that was beyond the abilities of most local independent stations and helped to justify a national network.

During the years of its effective existence from late 1933 to late 1936, CRCM assumed a very focused approach to its broadcast schedule. The natural dominance of music was a given, particularly in the early years of a station or network, due to the availability of music and musical performers as well as its suitability to the medium. Apart from that natural similarity to other radio stations, CRCM's overall approach set it apart from the American network stations. It flirted with the idea of the presentation of an assortment of types of programs, but could never be deemed to have committed itself to the development of any but a few categories. A clear course was set that concentrated on and reinforced news, talk and drama to the almost complete exclusion of all other categories. This narrow focus on a few areas of programming allowed CRCM to compete successfully with long established stations that in some cases supplemented their own programs with American network programming. In each genre of programming CRCM's approach was distinctive; *Canadian Press News*, serious talk and Canadian French and English-language drama were all unique contributions to the Montreal broadcasting scene. CRCM's specialist rather than generalist approach to its radio broadcast schedule was essential to its having an effect on the Montreal market in a few short years.

CBM

As previously noted, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation came into being on November 2, 1936. Among the first orders of business was to set up CBF in Montreal as a 50,000 watt station to serve Quebec in French. CBM

took over English-language operations in Montreal, operating with a power level of 5,000 watts. The network renegotiated wire line contracts to extend its broadcast day to 16 hours. These immediate changes in stations, power, broadcast hours and the addition of a new policy that accepted Canadian and American sponsored programming meant that the new stations potentially presented formidable competition to existing stations. The broadcast schedule of CBM in Table 7.9 demonstrates that its objectives and programming choices were quite unlike those of its predecessor, CRCM.

One of the notable differences that distinguished CBM was its rejection of the role of specialized broadcaster; it actively attempted in its first year of operations to diversify its schedule. In the sample of one week of CBM's early schedule, it broadcast for an impressive 84 hours and 30 minutes. Its broadcast day generally ranged from noon to midnight, without gaps or silences. The crucial change that allowed CBM to explore the possibilities of a more diversified schedule was the establishment of CBF. The powerful French-language station freed CBM from the constraints of bilingual broadcasting under which CRCM laboured.

Schedule diversification, however, was not immediately evident. In 1937 CBM presented a broadcast schedule that included 46.57 per cent music and 9.39 per cent dance music. That was a standard approach to radio, particularly in a start-up situation. Symptomatic of a radio station's early growing pains, CBM extensively employed *Recordings* rather than the regularly featured performances that the listeners had grown accustomed to on CRCM and other Montreal stations. CBM quickly attempted to overcome these early problems by reducing its use of music in 1938, although it showed a slight increase again in 1939. The category of music fell to 33.96 per cent of the broadcast schedule and dance music stood at 11.19 per cent in 1938; in 1939

the figures rose again to 35.05 per cent for music and 14.15 for dance music. Scheduled broadcasts of programs identified as *Recordings*, *Musicale* and *Piano Duo* continued to be a part of the CBM schedule until the end of the decade,

Table 7.9 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CBM, 1937 to 1939

Type	1937 (CRCM)	1937 (CBM)	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0.45	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0
Children	2.47	1.08	2.46	0.18
Comedy	0.55	0	4.44	3.36
Drama	3.81	6.14	2.24	1.72
Drama anthology	0	0.72	0.45	0.54
Education	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0
Music	44.75	46.57	33.96	35.05
Dance music	10.90	9.39	11.19	14.15
Religious music	0	0	0.34	0
News	9.73	7.58	9.40	5.99
Opera	1.10	0	0.22	2.99
Quiz	0	0	0	0
Religious	1.10	3.25	5.70	4.08
Serial drama	0	1.08	4.92	9.71
Special	13.94	0	1.45	5.17
Sports	0.49	1.81	4.14	1.91
Talk	6.49	4.69	6.12	4.99
Talk and information	0	0	0.11	0.36
Variety	3.57	17.69	11.30	8.53
Women	1.10	0	0.34	0.27

mirroring the practices of most Canadian and American stations in the early 1930s. Some specific performers were mentioned in the schedule, but the best identified section of the CBM musical listings was the American programs.

The arrival of American commercial programming provides the sharpest contrast between the practices and programming of CRCM and CBM. By 1939 CBM had acquired a considerable number of the best known American network programs. Its schedule included the *Firestone Hour*, *Contented Hour*, *Kraft Music Hall*, *NBC Symphony*, *Dean and Austin*, *Al and Lee Reiser*, *Ward and Muzzy* and a great many dance orchestras. The expansion of American musical programming presented a pattern that repeated itself in other genres, permitting the station to diversify rapidly. Thus, although CBM's use of unidentified musical programs represented a return to the methods of presentation and listing of music that had been standard in many novice radio stations in Canadian cities at the beginning of the decade, this was counteracted by the fact that CBM, unlike the independent local stations, had ready access to American network programs.

The drastic changes in children's programs, comedy and serial drama also signalled both changes in policy and new vistas that had opened up to CBM. The amount of American programming introduced certainly demonstrated the willingness of the CBC to acquire American programs rather than to develop its own in specific areas. Additionally, the release of the obligation to broadcast bilingually allowed CBM to be more liberal in the introduction of more verbally-oriented programming.

Children's programming under CRCM had been rather evenly divided between French and English-language programs, but limited in quantity. In 1937 the genre remained restricted to occasional seasonal programs and *Mon Oncle*. In 1938, however, children's programs suddenly became a standard

part of the CBM schedule, solely through the addition of the American programs *Dick Tracy* and *Robinson Crusoe Jr.* This was a temporary phenomenon. By 1939 children's programs had all but disappeared when the American juvenile dramas were dropped from the schedule, possibly indicating a lack of commitment to this genre.

As previously discussed, comedy is very dependent upon language comprehension. English comedy was difficult for CBM's predecessor CRCM to present; given the assumption that it had a linguistically diverse listening public, the station all but ignored it. CBM, however, quickly granted comedy a larger portion of the schedule; it grew from 0.31 per cent in 1937, to 4.41 per cent and 3.36 per cent of the schedule in 1938 and 1939 respectively. As with children's programming, this was accomplished by adding American programs to the schedule. In 1938 CBM's list of new comedies included *Jack Benny*, *Gloom Chasers*, *Amos 'n' Andy*, *Kaltenmeyer's Kindergarten*, *Wife Saver* and *Gene and Glenn*. *Vic and Sade* and *Fibber McGee and Molly* were added to the roster the following year. The selected programs were successful and popular and undoubtedly had listeners turning their dials to CBM.

The CBC stations arrived on the scene just as serial drama was being heavily incorporated into the schedules of at least one Canadian station in each major city. CBM opened the floodgates to a steady stream of serial dramas available from the American networks. Serial drama was another area that depended heavily upon language and lacked the same number of French-language alternatives. The major competitor to CBM in this area was the NBC affiliate CFCF. Neither CKAC nor CHLP took great interest in making American serial drama an important part of their schedules. In 1938 alone CBM introduced *One Man's Family*, *Mary Marlin*, *Ma Perkins*, *Pepper Young* and *Guiding Light*. By the next year the quantity of time devoted to

American serial drama in the schedule almost doubled, rising from an average of 3 hours and 40 minutes weekly to 5 hours and 30 minutes. In order to make such a jump CBM retained all the serial dramas it introduced in 1938 and added *Road of Life*, *Stella Dallas*, *Backstage Wife*, *Central City*, *Miss Trent's Children* and *The Man I Married*. CBM was certainly fulfilling its commitment to serving the public by introducing popular serial dramas and comedy; however many of them were already available on CFCF and CKAC in Montreal. Freed from restrictions of language and policy CBM introduced new types of programs specifically directed at an English-language audience; it was thus able to become more of a well-rounded broadcaster.

To diversify its schedule CBM of necessity reduced its proportionate offering in the specific areas of concentration formerly employed on CRCM, talk, news and drama. Talk fell from a high of 9.33 per cent of CRCM's schedule in 1935 to 4.99 per cent in 1939 on CBM. News fell from its peak at 12.52 per cent of the broadcast week in 1935 on CRCM to 5.99 per cent on CBM in 1939. Serious drama fell from its highest point on CRCM in 1935 at 6.98 per cent of the CBM schedule to 1.72 per cent in 1939. Nevertheless, as in so many cases it is necessary to point out that the accumulated broadcast time of these three categories was not necessarily decreased; rather they merely constituted a smaller portion of the station's total schedule.

The decline in news can be simply accounted for by the discontinuation of French-language news bulletins. Talk, which should have been stimulated by the formation of a CBC Talks Department, in fact seems to have deteriorated.⁸⁴ Instead of debates on international affairs, CBM now presented briefer talks on practical topics such as swimming, nutrition, travel,

⁸⁴ "Canadian Broadcasting Corporation," in Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *Canada Year Book 1938* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938), 730.

book reviews, nature and *How to Buy*. Personalities of note were still invited to address listeners on CBM; in 1938 and 1939 the samples included Neville Chamberlain, John Grierson, Lady Tweedsmuir and Graham Spry.⁸⁵ Although the talks had become more down-to-earth, they still lacked the connection to the community which had become important to the local stations. They had a very anonymous 'feel' to them in the schedule. No specific groups or personalities were represented from the community; the talks were intended to be aired across the country and thus lacked any 'city' identity.⁸⁶ The talks may have been applicable to the daily lives of Canadians, but did not reflect the 'voice' of the community as talk on the local stations did.

CBM also began to experiment with a wide assortment of other types of programming. Opera and sports remained variable and inconsistent parts of the schedule as they had been on CRCM. Other areas that had been neglected by CRCM were opened up and broadened. In particular, more time was allotted in the schedule to make room for variety. Variety was expanded using a British program, *London Calling*, and the CBC's own *Happy Gang*, which started its long run in the CBC's first full year, 1937.⁸⁷ Variety on CBM developed as a true alternative to the American network programs.

CBM also took the road less traveled when it embarked on a course to provide more religious programming in a city where it had been all but ignored. In the last two years of the decade religious programming was a greater proportion of the CBM schedule than religious programming was on any other Montreal station for the entire decade. The inclusion of this greater amount of

⁸⁵ The address by Neville Chamberlain was not a *coup* of CBM's. His address was broadcast on November 9, 1938 at 4:19 p.m. on CBM, CFCF and CKAC simultaneously. "Radio News and Reviews," *The Montreal Gazette* 167 (November 9, 1938).

⁸⁶ Comparisons reveal the same topics were employed by CBO. "Radio News and Reviews," *The Montreal Gazette* 167 (April 17-23, July 11-15 and November 6-12, 1938).

⁸⁷ Other American programs, such as *Al Jolson* and *Sunday Driver's* were added but remained a tiny proportion of variety.

religious programming was specific to Quebec and not part of a national agenda. Classification of CBC programs by the Corporation itself indicated that religious programming amounted to one per cent of the overall schedule, whereas on CBM it ranged from 3.25 per cent to 5.7 per cent of the schedule.⁸⁸ This new departure into the realm of religious programming was in large part accounted for by the broadcast of *Church Services*, which had been used in moderation by other stations throughout the 1930s as well. But CBM also made some new departures in religious programming; contained in the sample were crossover programs that could be considered drama as well, such as *And It Came to Pass* and *Biblical Drama*. The remaining programs consisted of the American programs *Church of the Air* and *Radio Pulpit*, which were also aired by CBO in Ottawa. The greater amount of time devoted to religious programming may have been an effort on the part of a national broadcaster in a diverse city to make an equitable division of time among a variety of denominations.

CBM represented a hybrid between an early local station and a network station, implementing a variety of strategies to cope with growth and change, while having the advantage of access to Canadian and American network programming. Like many novice stations starting out at the beginning of the decade, CBM relied upon church services, recordings, local talks and sports to fill its days. In sharp contrast to the local independent stations, however, it had the backing of a national network and a variety of American network programs. This made it much easier for CBM to expand and diversify rapidly. What becomes plain in this examination of the first few years of CBM is that unlike most Canadian stations very little in terms of programming was

⁸⁸ Table 7.7 in "Program Broadcasting and Regulation under the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation," in Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *Canada Year Book 1940* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), 731.

generated by the station independently. Although CBM's schedule was more varied than that of CRCM this was not the result of the station's independent effort to develop programming by the station. The foundation was network programs from the CBC and the United States.

CBF

CBF, which commenced broadcasting in late 1937, inherited *Radio Theatre* and a strong tradition of talks from CRCM. As can be expected for a novice radio station, music was central. Music and dance music accounted for 72.50 per cent of the schedule in 1938 and 75.74 per cent in 1939. CBF's programming reflected similar trends evident in other French-language stations. Variety and music, including judicious use of American programs, were key components of the schedule. Supplemented by American programs CBF's variety stood at 7.84 per cent of the schedule in 1938 and 4.36 per cent in 1939 as indicated in Table 7.10.⁸⁹ American variety formed a small portion of the CBF schedule, including *Phil Brito*, *Sunday Drivers*, *Ransom Sherman*, *Ray Shield's Revue* and *Breakfast Club* in 1938 and 1939. The variety segment of the schedule was also well supported by CBF's own programs and those drawn from the CBC's network.

Like other French-language stations, CBF almost completely avoided comedy; serial drama was totally absent from the schedule and children's programming was employed only in small quantities. Consistent with the approach of other Montreal stations, religious programming represented a very minor contribution to the schedule. Talks were largely local and news consisted of fifteen-minute bulletins. CBF borrowed heavily from the American

⁸⁹ In 1937 CBF appeared in the sample for only one day. These results are not particularly comparable to weekly results because they fell on a Saturday. The Saturday, December 4, 1937 schedule was divided as follows: drama 2.22 per cent, music 20.00 per cent, dance music 35.56 per cent, news 2.08 per cent, opera 20.00 per cent, sports 13.33 per cent and talk 6.67 per cent.

Table 7.10 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CBF, 1938 and 1939

Type	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0
Astrology	0	
Children	0.68	0.18
Comedy	0.68	0
Drama	1.82	1.87
Drama anthology	0	0
Education	0	0
Exercise	0	0
Games	0	0
Music	56.02	58.58
Dance music	16.48	17.16
Religious music	0.23	0
News	5.91	3.73
Opera	1.02	0.98
Quiz	0.80	0.71
Religious	1.36	0
Serial drama	0	0
Special	1.14	3.82
Sports	1.59	3.29
Talk	3.86	3.64
Talk and information	0.11	0
Variety	7.84	4.36
Women	0.45	1.69

networks and its own network to fill its broadcast days. Comparison of Tables 7.9 and 7.10 shows that although both CBF and CBM relied extensively on American and CBC network programming, they concentrated on different areas of programming. The heavily language-based genres like comedy, serial drama and children's programming were deemed less suitable for a French-language station if only available in English, so they are almost absent from CBF's schedule.

In CBF's first years its profile was closer to that of the local independent stations in their novice stage, attempting its first few tentative steps toward expansion and diversity. The available network offerings rendered the CBF schedule generally dependent upon popular music and variety; only very slowly did it begin to concentrate on a few areas developed locally such as news, talk and sports. Ready-made English language programming did not drive the agenda of the station. The early areas of concentration in the schedule signalled that the station viewed its mission as more of a medium of entertainment than of information or education.

"ONE NIGHT STANDS": SHORT RUN STATIONS

Montreal's radio program schedule started and ended the decade with five Canadian stations. Only CKAC and CFCF, both located in the city and affiliated with American networks, survived the entire decade. In 1930 two of the Canadian stations listed were located in Toronto, but by 1939 all of the Canadian stations were Montreal stations. Seven additional stations found a spot in the Montreal radio program listings of *The Montreal Gazette* over the course of this ten-year period. Some made large contributions in terms of the duration of broadcasts, but these stations either stopped broadcasting or were listed in the schedule sporadically, implying that their impact upon the

Montreal audience was limited.

CRCT's programs were listed from 1933 to 1935, CRCO in 1933 and 1935 to 1937. As CRBC stations they echoed CRCM's programming. As noted above, certain regional variations existed, but by and large they had access to the same Canadian and American network programming and made similar choices for their schedules. They did not radically change the composition of the overall program mixture in the Montreal market. As a CBC station, CBO provided a parallel set of programs to those of CBM. Certainly for radio listeners outside of the city of Montreal who read the *Gazette*, the listing of these stations provided an alternative when reception of Montreal stations was difficult.

Many other stations appeared sporadically in the Montreal program schedule. A few were members of the CRBC^s and CBC networks in other cities. Other stations from as far as Toronto made limited and temporary contributions to the Montreal radio schedule. CKCL had the most tenuous hold on any part of the Montreal audience. The station operated at 500 watts and was owned by the Dominion Battery Co., Ltd. Appearing only in evenings in the 1930 listings, broadcasting music for an average of 3 hours daily, it had little chance of being heard in Montreal.⁹⁰ It did provide another option, however slight, in a very narrow field.

The last three stations appearing in the program listings, from Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, owned respectively by an electrical manufacturer, an independent entrepreneur and a distillery, provided novel contributions to the city's broadcasting portrait, even if their reception may have been more than occasionally in doubt.

⁹⁰ Although Ottawa stations have been successfully received in Montreal, reception of a Toronto station was less likely. This and other stations that follow in this discussion undoubtedly were listed because *The Montreal Gazette* served a broader base than the city of Montreal. Areas to the west and north of the city may well have had success receiving these stations.

CHYC

Among the stations that were listed temporarily in the radio program schedule of *The Montreal Gazette*, CHYC was probably the most useful because it was a specialist station that filled the chronic religious void in the city's program offerings. While CHYC, owned by Northern Electric Co., Ltd., had obtained its licence in 1923, it exhibited signs of decline by the outset of the 1930s. Its original power of 2,000 had decreased to 500 watts and the station broadcast only on Sundays. It shared a frequency with CKAC as a phantom station, which accounts for CKAC's lack of interest in Sunday and religious broadcasts from 1930 to 1932.

In 1930 CHYC divided its time almost evenly between music and church services. Music averaged 1 hour and 30 minutes weekly and religious programming 1 hour and 40 minutes. The station carried a number of Canadian network programs such as *Buckingham Hour*, *Imperial Oil Symphony* and *Majestic Hour of Music*. By 1931 the CHYC schedule was more heavily weighted with religious programming, which constituted 84.21 per cent, while music became locally sponsored and only 15.79 per cent of the schedule. In its last year, before phantom stations were disbanded, its broadcasts were exclusively religious, averaging 2 hours a week. Prior to the disappearance of phantom stations in 1933, there were many stations such as CHYC that made regular limited broadcasts to promote radio or to help generate goodwill for a company, group, or message. In the case of CHYC its purpose was primarily that of cross-marketing, specifically to sell the radios that Northern Electric manufactured. The company's loss of interest in the station undoubtedly was related to the expansion of listening opportunities stimulated by the growth of other radio stations.

CKCO

Although CKCO Ottawa first received its licence to broadcast in 1923 with a power of 200 watts, by the time it appeared in the Montreal radio schedule in 1936, it operated at 100 watts. The original owner, Dr. G. M. Geldert, still owned the station at the mid-point in the decade. CKCO exhibited some strong characteristics of the small independent local station. As was routinely the case, music and dance music formed an unusually high 85.20 per cent of the schedule. Its musical selections were typically not identified by performer. The station's listings frequently included programs such as *Variety*, *Dance Orchestra* and *Dance Music*. The station provided a sample of almost every type of program but the only area provided in any concentration outside of music was talk, amounting to 3.24 per cent of the schedule. The talks tended to be topical such as *Health Talk*, *Parent's Forum* and *Pet Lovers*, all of which could have been locally produced with ease. Children's programming, sports, news and a few American programs rounded out the CKCO schedule. All of its programming choices were indicative of a small local independent station living by its wits, scheduling as well as it could, in contrast to Montreal broadcasting which was so heavily dominated by CKAC and CFCF.

CKGW

CKGW was a larger station owned by the distillery Gooderham and Worts in Toronto, broadcasting at 5,000 watts. The station first obtained its licence in 1925 in Burlington Junction, but by 1927 moved to Toronto. In November 1929 it became the Toronto NBC affiliate. It was also host to CPRY, the Canadian Pacific phantom station and CNRX for the Canadian National Railways' network and the key station in the private Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company chain. This may have been the station that provoked

Graham Spry to make his direst predictions about the inevitable doom of Canadian culture due to the threat of American cultural domination of broadcasting.

First and foremost, CKGW provided a conduit for entertainment. The station's own programming generally featured musical programs, but whenever possible CKGW took part in chain or network broadcasts. For example, it broadcast the *Imperial Tobacco Joycasters* for the Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company chain. Music and dance music formed 65.07 per cent of the 1930 broadcast week. CKGW was early 'thirties radio's wanton woman, playing anything for anyone, for the right price. Unlike CFCF's period of grace before the wholesale adoption of American programming, CKGW jumped right in as soon as it could in 1929. *Amos 'n' Andy*, *Enna Jettick Melodies*, *Chase and Sanborn Choral*, *Voice of Firestone*, an early serial drama *Real Folks*, *Sunday at Seth Parker's* and the *Coca Cola Programme* represented but a tiny sampling of the long list of American programs aired by CKGW in 1930. Aside from the NBC programs, CKGW was able to attract a variety of local sponsors for programs such as *Satin Finish Hardwood Flooring*, *Fess Oil Burner Programme* and *Breay-Nash Hour*.

By 1932 CKGW was comparatively a very diversified station. Music and dance music constituted only 58.21 per cent of the schedule. Local programming remained concentrated in the area of music, but American programming assumed a more important role in the station's diversification. In 1932 comedy formed 1.78 per cent of the schedule, adventure, crime and mystery 3.33 per cent, serial drama 3.11, quiz show 0.89 and variety 4.44 per cent. These programs signalled the infiltration of NBC programming since these were genres that were almost exclusively American in origin. Children's programming soared to 5.11 per cent of the schedule in 1932, but only due to

the addition of the American *Little Orphan Annie*. One distinct sign of the station becoming increasingly enamoured with American programming was its news. This category rose from one example of the *Evening Telegram News Flash* in 1930 to 4.89 per cent of the schedule in 1932, when the American program *Lowell Thomas* satisfied all CKGW's news needs. Opera at 4.00 per cent was provided by NBC's *National Light Opera* and *National Grand Opera*. Equally important in this assessment are signposts of the neglect of the areas which generally constituted the core of local programming at Canadian stations. Religious programming consisted of a mixture of *Vesper Hour* and church services that constituted 3.11 per cent of the schedule. Talk, the standard element of a local station's broadcast week, occupied only 0.44 per cent and half of that was American content. The complete absence of sports and women's programming made the reliance on network programs most obvious. As CKGW adopted its American identity with relish and vigour, it became the cultural purists' worst nightmare. It stood out as the most commercial and Americanized station in Canada.

Whether or not a Montreal audience could actually listen to CKGW is unclear; however, its strictly evening listings provide an important point of comparison with the programming of CKAC and CFCF. Although the two key Montreal stations efficiently ushered in American network programming, this was done with some balance and attention to their individual roles as broadcasters within the framework of the city of Montreal. They did not surrender completely to the role of being nothing but an American network affiliate. These stations did not become exclusively entertainment-oriented the way CKGW unquestionably did. The development of their own programming in the areas of sports, news, talks, local musical performances and to a limited extent children's programming followed the same pattern as the local

independent Canadian stations.

THE AMERICAN COMPONENT

American programming was a very strong element of the Montreal broadcasting schedule, entering through American stations within reception range and as a significant portion of the schedules of the local stations. In 1930 the newspaper optimistically listed American stations' programming from about noon, sometimes as early as 11:30 a.m., until midnight. But in this situation, local NBC and CBS affiliates broadcast many of the same programs, making it folly to fiddle with dials and reception to receive programs available locally. By 1933 the newspaper listings more realistically reflected these trends by relegating American programs solely to the evening schedule, with only rare exceptions prior to 6:00 p.m.

NETWORKS

Montreal's experience with the American networks during the 1930s was the quintessential one because the feeder stations for all of the networks served the city and were routinely listed in the radio program schedule. The stations that were most consistently a part of the listings throughout the decade were WABC, the anchor station for CBS; WEAF, the feeder station for NBC's Blue network; WJZ, the feeder station for NBC's Red network and WOR which started out as an independent but eventually anchored the Mutual Broadcasting System after its creation in September 1934.⁹¹ Although a variety of stations such as KDKA Pittsburgh and WLW Cincinnati appeared sporadically, by 1933 WABC, WEAF, WJZ and WOR were the only American

⁹¹ Refer to Tables 5.1 to 5.4 in Chapter 5 "The American Backdrop: The American Network Stations Within the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax Radio Program Schedules" to view a full listing of the program categorization of the schedules of WABC, WEAF, WJZ and WOR as they appeared in the Montreal program schedule.

stations in the Montreal radio schedule.⁹²

PROGRAMMING

Consistent access to major American network stations on the East Coast ensured that Montreal enjoyed the successful network programs broadcast by these stations. Being in the same time zone as the major American network stations allowed the Montreal affiliates to mirror the networks' greatest successes. Music, comedy, adventure, crime, mystery, serial drama, children's programming and talk were all readily available to the Montreal market in the evenings with little deviation due to scheduling, time zones or other physical constraints.

SCHEDULING

Although Montreal had constant access to American East Coast evening programming by virtue of a shared time zone, afternoon programs became more likely to migrate to the afternoon schedules of Canadian stations, particularly if they were American affiliates. The utilization of children's programming and serial drama was most influenced by the American scheduling considerations.

The standard programming slots for children's programming were after school, just before supper and bedtime. As previously discussed, signals from American stations were clearer after sunset; consequently many of the early to late afternoon children's programs were inaccessible direct from the United States. While the children's program offerings available through WJZ and WEAJ were almost negligible in the 1930s, CFCF, the Montreal NBC Blue

⁹² Even WOR vanished from the listings in 1933 and 1934. In 1935 WOR appeared only once in *Gabriel Heatter's* news. In 1936 *Lum and Abner*, *Roy Shield's Revue*, *News* and *Coburn Orchestra* were the only WOR programs listed in the Montreal radio program schedule.

affiliate, expanded its commitment to children's programs over the course of the decade. The increase was so great that by 1939 it represented 5.44 per cent of the schedule, a dramatic climb from the 0.45 per cent of the schedule in 1930. This increase at CFCF was in large part due to the adoption of American programs.⁹³

The reason for the larger proportions of children's programs on CFCF than on the feeder stations was the timing of the programs. Certainly the American network stations, particularly the feeder stations, had more children's programs than CFCF, but their afternoon timing made the majority unavailable to Montreal audiences. This in turn encouraged CFCF to adopt these programs for its own schedule, because they were available through the network and CFCF would be free to use the programs unfettered by competition from other network stations.

Another programming area that was similarly affected by scheduling was serial drama which was moved in stages from the evening to the daytime starting 1936 on the American networks. The ricochet effect of this altered scheduling of American serial drama was that Canadian broadcasters were presented with the chance to be the sole broadcasters of these serial dramas for Canadian audiences. This opportunity was seized upon immediately. Serial dramas first aired on CFCF in 1931, the year when it first incorporated NBC programs into its schedule on a large scale. In 1937 serial dramas rose from a mere 0.57 per cent of the schedule in the previous year to 5.01 per cent of the schedule. These serial dramas were scheduled in the daytime on Canadian stations to leave the evenings open for other American network offerings. This transformation of the schedule demonstrated how quickly and effortlessly a nudge by the American network broadcasting giants could result in a major

⁹³ CFCF is highlighted in this section, because until the introduction of CBM, CKAC adopted very little children's programming.

Table 7.11 Time and percentages of broadcast duration of American serial dramas broadcast in the afternoon (noon to 6 p.m.) by Canadian radio stations in the Montreal program listings, 1935 to 1939

Year	Average duration per week	Percentage of schedule
1935	20 minutes	0.29
1936	2 hours and 5 minutes	1.16
1937	2 hours and 30 minutes	1.46
1938	5 hours and 55 minutes	3.07
1939	6 hours	3.35

shock in the Canadian broadcasting market.

Integration of American Content into Local Schedules

The early success of a few stations in Montreal and Toronto that gained American network affiliation engendered a desire on the part of other regions, not as well served by American networks, to emulate them. The infiltration of American programming broadcast directly over Canadian stations in the early 1930s created an immediate distinction between the cities with American network affiliation and those that coveted it. The eventual equalization of access to programming that became part of the mandate of the CBC was based in part upon this initial inequity.

The American network affiliation that distinguished Montreal from other cities established itself early. As already explained, in September 1929 CKGW became the first Canadian station to join an American network when it joined the NBC Red network. Although a Toronto-based station, CKGW

appeared in the Montreal radio program schedule from 1930 until 1932 after which it ceased to broadcast. In the fall of 1929 CKAC became a CBS station. CFCF followed in 1930 by becoming part of the NBC network.

CFCF

CFCF's heavy usage of American programs after 1931 has already been discussed as an inextricable part of its program schedule. American programs were drawn from almost every other conceivable category of programming during the 1930s. The American programs on CFCF included adventure, crime and mystery; children's; drama; news; opera; religious; serial drama; sports; talk; variety and women's programming. The notable exceptions to these new American additions consisted of religious music, astrology and education.

The ebb and flow of the proportions of American content within the CFCF schedule not only reflected internal choices or network availability of programming. Competition from other stations in the Montreal broadcasting environment clearly provided the impetus for increased utilization of American programming. The level of American programming employed by CFCF fluctuated yearly in the 1930s as indicated in Table 7.12. As discussed above, 1931 represented the first year that CFCF aggressively employed American programs in its schedule. Table 7.13 shows that the station drew upon as much as the network had to offer. This intense interest in American programs abated somewhat in the two years to follow. American programming constituted 19.20 per cent of the CFCF schedule in 1932 and 19.64 in 1933. Although CFCF faced competition from distant affiliates in the evening and CKAC was its major daytime competitor, the availability of American programs on CFCF gave the station an advantage over distant evening

Table 7.12 Percentages of broadcast duration of American programs on Canadian radio stations in the Montreal radio program schedule, 1930 to 1939

Station	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
CBF	n/a	20.83	23.27	18.29						
CBM	n/a	13.61	21.91	22.39						
CBO	n/a	20.76	29.51	n/a						
CFCF	2.06	34.54	19.20	19.64	38.03	34.54	37.86	55.46	44.04	43.19
CHLP	n/a	n/a	n/a	2.37	0.50	6.20	1.59	10.40	4.77	2.16
CHYC	17.39	10.00	0	n/a						
CKAC	6.38	9.62	5.44	12.69	23.26	18.56	27.83	31.31	20.25	19.20
CKCL	2.15	n/a								
CKCO	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2.45	n/a	n/a	n/a
CKGW	44.75	30.24	33.47	n/a						
CNRM	0	0	n/a							
CRCM	n/a	n/a	n/a	6.72	9.90	6.28	5.36	19.44	n/a	n/a
CRCO	n/a	n/a	n/a	3.08	n/a	5.77	5.17	17.08	n/a	n/a
CRCT	n/a	n/a	n/a	27.92	38.47	31.67	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

stations due to the comparative stability of its signal for local listeners.

Equally evident in Table 7.13 is that CFCF started to narrow its focus in terms of its selection of American programming. The station did not continue to draw programming from as many genres as was the case in 1931, but by diverting its choices away from music and dance music the station's schedule was further diversified through greater utilization of other programs. Comedy, drama, children's programs, sports, serial drama, variety and particularly talk

and information benefitted from this move away from music.

American programs took on greater significance to the CFCF schedule again in the middle years of the decade from 1934 to 1936 when CFCF was competing with the additional Montreal stations CHLP and CRCM. American content totalled 38.03 per cent of the schedule in 1934, 34.54 per cent in 1935 and 37.86 per cent in 1936. American programming was more diverse, drawing from as many categories of programs as possible, as was the case in 1931. It was in this period that variety became a large segment of the imported programs. Daily programming remained the key to the prominence of variety programming. The regular morning installments of *Breakfast Club* took the lead in variety in terms of pure volume over the evening selections such as *Palmolive Beauty Box Theatre*, *Contented Hour*, *Seth Parker*, *Vallee's Varieties*, *Major Bowes' Amateur Hour* and *Sunday Drivers* that formed part of the late afternoon and evening time slot.

A sharp change in the consumption of American programming by CFCF occurred in 1937. The only major change in the Montreal broadcasting environment that year was the introduction of a full-fledged English-language CBC station CBM and its French-language counterpart CBF. In that year CFCF allowed American content to reach a height of 55.46 per cent of the schedule. In the years that followed the rate of incorporation of American programs in the CFCF schedule declined to 44.04 per cent in 1938 and 43.19 per cent in 1939, but never to its previously lower levels. In its first few years of operation, CBM's American content grew from an initial 13.61 per cent in 1937 to 21.91 per cent in 1938 and 20.96 in 1939. A similar phenomenon of a significantly raised level of American content was experienced by all of the Montreal radio stations in 1937, only to decline but remain competitive in the years that followed. Aside from the introduction of a new and major

Table 7.13 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of American programs, not including unidentified programs, on CFCF, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0.56	0.80	1.23	0.82	0.44	0	0.53	0	1.28
Astrology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children	0	0.56	0	7.81	3.07	3.73	1.15	1.98	3.09	6.23
Comedy	0	13.63	8.40	7.78	5.12	4.61	1.15	1.85	4.55	1.44
Drama	0	2.50	2.00	4.10	2.87	3.95	1.15	1.85	1.77	1.44
Drama anthology	0	0.56	0	1.64	1.64	1.75	2.32	2.11	1.65	3.68
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0.44	0	0	0	0.32
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	33.33	50.54	31.30	34.42	24.65	29.41	32.90	32.63	25.07	21.63
Dance music	66.67	17.19	25.21	18.44	21.03	12.73	25.11	14.31	23.73	26.53
Religious music	0	0	0	0	1.02	1.76	0.77	0.53	0	0
News	0	0	0	0	2.46	0.51	1.22	0.92	0.65	2.08
Opera	0	1.11	0.95	0	0.82	0.88	0.38	3.78	0	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0	1.23	0	0.77	0	13.09	3.20
Religious	0	2.50	0	0	0	0	0.38	2.11	0	0.32
Serial drama	0	1.67	6.00	0.82	2.25	1.32	1.34	6.60	4.71	1.56
Special	0	1.67	0	0	0.41	1.10	0	5.32	0	0.16
Sports	0	1.67	0.40	0	3.41	1.76	0.64	2.51	2.11	1.60
Talk	0	0.28	0	0	1.23	1.76	0.58	3.52	0.49	1.28
Talk and information	0	0.83	14.41	19.26	8.81	9.95	11.13	4.18	6.01	4.79
Variety	0	2.50	6.40	4.51	17.74	23.04	19.00	15.18	23.08	23.07
Women	0	2.23	0	0	1.43	0	0	0	0	0.96

competitor, the CBC, to the Montreal broadcasting environment, there were few other factors to account for this widespread growth in American content.

The expanded use of American programming reflected growth more than any real change in pattern of consumption by CFCF. Dance music as well as talk and information decreased as categories, but this had occurred in other years. There was a rise in sports and opera, but both categories of programming tended to be variable as a rule within the CFCF schedule. The change in consumption of American programming did not parallel any changes in the provision of programs by WJZ, the feeder station for the NBC Blue network. Nevertheless there was a large and generalized expansion of American content in the CFCF schedule from 37.86 per cent in 1936 to 55.46 per cent in 1937 .

Only the threat of competition with the CBC stations can explain this drastic change. While CBM arrived on the Montreal broadcasting scene employing significantly less American content than CFCF, it had the capacity to match many of CFCF's American program offerings, because it had access to and incorporated NBC programs into its schedule. The combined American content of the CBM, CBF and CBO schedules, which also formed part of the Montreal listings, gave CFCF legitimate cause for concern.⁹⁴ In the first year of the sample CBM used only 11 hours and 30 minutes of American programs weekly, but the potential threat remained that the station could increase its

⁹⁴ The threat of programming overlap may have seemed greater than it became in fact. The only case of an overlap between CBM and CFCF outside of musical programming in 1937 was the serial drama *Dan Harding's Wife*. CFCF and CBM both aired musical programs that included *Words and Music* and *NBC Symphony*, while CBO and CFCF shared *Singing Sam*. The shared musical programming base expanded in the following year as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation stations availed themselves of a greater number of the American programs. In 1938 CBO broadcast *Howie Wing*, *Ma Perkins*, *One Man's Family*, *Club Matinee* and *Monitor News*; CBF broadcast *Merry-Go-Round* and *Club Matinee*; CBM aired *Ma Perkins*, *One Man's Family* and *Road of Life*, all of which were a part of the CFCF schedule. CFCF's schedule was modified to adapt to competition from CBM. Prior to CBM's arrival it was the only station to air NBC programs in the Montreal market. The station's preeminence in this area was guaranteed.

consumption of American content and moreover present identical NBC programs to those of CFCF. Thus CFCF turned to an increased use of American programming. In some cases, when programs CFCF had previously aired surfaced on one of the CBC stations, it discontinued them. For example CFCF had been the only station to air *Count of Monte Cristo*, but when CBM started to incorporate the program into its schedule it was dropped by CFCF. *Ma Perkins*, *One Man's Family* and *Road of Life* were all removed from the CFCF schedule in 1939. CFCF acquired instead the *Voice of Experience* and *Goodwill Hour*.

CFCF aggressively incorporated American programming into its schedule from the time the station joined NBC. It continued to be the main purveyor of American content until 1934. At that point CKAC did not surpass CFCF but started to become more competitive. At its closest in 1936 CKAC provided only ten per cent less American content to its listeners. The arrival of three CBC stations in the region during 1937 precipitated a major increase in quantity of American content on CFCF, as well as an adjustment in the selection of American programs.

CKAC

The peaks and valleys characteristic of the CFCF consumption of American content were moderated in the case of CKAC. The station only gradually built up its American programming as shown in Table 7.14. Despite the fact that CKAC became a CBS affiliate before CFCF joined NBC, the station accumulated American programs in its schedule at a slower pace. As discussed previously the scheduling priorities differed at CKAC since not all American programs were suitable for a linguistically diverse audience. Consequently many American programs were initially rejected.

American content remained a very small proportion of the CKAC schedule until 1934. It represented so few hours of programming that the shifts from one genre to another were inconsequential. The majority of the American programs employed by CKAC remained musical for the entire decade. In the first four years of the decade musical programs constituted 76 per cent, 87.81 per cent, 92.65 and 91.10 per cent of American content respectively. In 1934 American content rose to 23.26 per cent of the CKAC schedule. That year marked a major expansion of the whole CKAC broadcast week largely with the assistance of a greater quantity of American programs; however 1934 was the last year that American content would be overwhelmingly music. In 1935 musical programs dropped to 67.22 per cent of American content, thereby giving the station the choice to use the remaining programs to supplement its own diversification. American content maintained that level of diversification for the rest of the decade. The rate of incorporation of American content also remained consistent with the exception of the peak of 31.31 per cent in 1937.

The station's standard American selections were, irrespective of the category of programming, some of the most popular and successful American programs of the decade. In the case of drama, variety and serial drama, CFCF's American content maintained an ongoing representation of specific programs. In direct contrast CKAC featured a stable commitment to a few genres of American programs such as children's programs and comedy, but not to specific programs within these categories. Notwithstanding the long run of such programs on the CBS network few of these programs experienced the same success within the CKAC roster of American programs.

The major alterations to CKAC's consumption of American programming over the course of the decade were consistent with those of

CFCF and the expansion of American content in other cities. The first notable increase took place in 1934 after the arrival of CRCM and CHLP in the Montreal market. Once the CBC stations began operating in earnest they precipitated heightened use of American programs again. A station such as CKAC differentiated itself in the Montreal broadcasting environment through the utilization of American content. The arrival of similar stations using these techniques forced CKAC to compete, ensuring its own position through increased use of that American content. Although it started the decade as a bilingual station, providing in some cases a translated version of the same program, by the end of the decade CKAC was largely a French-language station supplemented by mostly American English-language programming; it had ceased to produce English-language programs of its own. Consequently the heightened use of American programming altered the nature of the station's bilingualism.

CHLP

As a primarily French-language station, American programming was not easily incorporated into the CHLP schedule. CHLP's utilization of American content fell well below the levels of other Montreal radio stations. Between 1933 and 1939 CHLP's lowest level of American content in 1934 was 0.50 per cent. Like CFCF and CKAC the station reached its peak at 10.40 per cent in 1937.

Music and dance music were the most frequently adopted American programs in the CHLP schedule. By 1939 CHLP had settled on the use of American dance orchestras as part of their morning and afternoon schedule. Variety appeared first in 1934, and remained a suitable choice given the

Table 7.15 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of American programs, not including unidentified programs, on CHLP, 1933 to 1939

Type	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Comedy	0	0	0	0	1.05	0	0
Drama	0	0	15.59	0	0	0	0
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	100.00	0	19.34	17.65	18.53	25.00	7.14
Dance music	0	0	58.03	0	69.93	69.23	92.86
Religious music	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Opera	0	0	0	0	0	5.77	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serial drama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Special	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sports	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Talk	0	0	0	0	2.10	0	0
Talk and information	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variety	0	100.00	7.03	83.35	8.39	0	0
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

tendency for a high proportion of music within the genre. Exceptionally great proportions of variety in Table 7.15 are indicative of particularly small amounts of American programming. For example in 1934 when American content constituted only 0.50 per cent of the schedule, variety amounted to an average of 10 minutes weekly. In 1936 variety totalled 1 hour and 10 minutes weekly while American content formed only 1.59 per cent of the total broadcast week. As a French-language station with a short broadcast week, American content was a small consideration for CHLP.

Despite the small quantities of American programming that CHLP incorporated into its schedule, the pressures that encouraged other stations to employ greater quantities of American content in 1937 were also experienced by CHLP. However, the greater quantities of American programming remained undiversified; the station used almost exclusively American musical programs.

CRCM

When CRCM first appeared in the 1933 Montreal market its schedule had very little American programming. In fact this pattern would persist throughout the station's existence, imitating the pattern set by CHLP. Music was the only major component of American programming employed by CRCM.

The extremely restrained use of American programming by CRCM seems to have eased any sense of the network as a potential threat. While American content almost doubled on CKAC and CFCF in the first year of CRCM's operations, serving to differentiate their schedules from the offerings of CRCM, the levels of American content on these Montreal stations subsided slightly when it became obvious that CRCM would employ exclusively musical programming from the United States.

As shown in Table 7.16, CRCM's practice of only employing American music meant that American content never served as a quick means to diversification of the CRCM schedule. Although the station continued to offer symphony concerts, more popular American dance music programs were employed as early as 1934. The American hotel orchestras were routinely scheduled as the station's final program of the evening. In its first full year of

Table 7.16 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of American programs, not including unidentified programs, on CRCM, 1933 to 1936

Type	1933	1934	1935	1936
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0	0
Astrology	0	0	0	6.67
Children	0	0	0	0
Comedy	0	0	0	0
Drama	0	0	0	0
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0
Music	100.00	65.12	50.51	36.67
Dance music	0	34.88	49.49	56.67
Religious music	0	0	0	0
News	0	0	0	0
Opera	0	0	0	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0
Religious	0	0	0	0
Serial drama	0	0	0	0
Special	0	0	0	0
Sports	0	0	0	0
Talk	0	0	0	0
Talk and information	0	0	0	0
Variety	0	0	0	0
Women	0	0	0	0

operations CRCM incorporated *Jack Denny and his Hotel Pierre Orchestra*, *Paul Whiteman and his Orchestra* and *Vincent Lopez and his Orchestra*. While this mixture of the symphony, sinfonietta and other concerts with the more popular musical performers of the day remained the practice for CRCM's entire tenure, by 1936 the balance started to tip in favour of the popular American hotel orchestras.

The lack of deviation from American musical programming provided little threat to the commercial stations that increased their share of American content in order to compete with CRCM. The level of American content varied between 1933 and 1936 from its low of 5.36 per cent of the schedule to a high of 9.90 per cent in 1934. Due to the fact that CRCM broadcast almost exclusively in the evening, the proportion of American content in its schedule was higher than that of its Montreal competitors but much smaller in broadcast duration. For example in 1935 when CRCM utilized 6.28 per cent American content in its schedule and CHLP used 6.20 per cent, CRCM broadcast a weekly average of 1 hour and 39 minutes of American programming while CHLP broadcast an average of 5 hours and 4 minutes weekly. Although CRCM's American content ranged between 5.36 to 9.90 per cent of its schedule, the station actually contributed very little to the total American programming available on Montreal stations.

CBM

While CRCM made a very restrained use of American programs in its schedule, as has already been discussed, the same was not the case for CBM and other CBC stations in the Montreal radio program schedule. Immediately upon its establishment CBM began making use of a diversified selection of American programs. In 1937 the station's American programming (under the

Table 7.17 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of American programs, not including unidentified programs, on CBM, 1937 to 1939

Type	1937 (CRCM)	1937(CBM)	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	1.60	0
Astrology	0	0	0	0
Children	0	0	6.81	0
Comedy	0	0	12.68	13.96
Drama	5.26	9.30	0.40	0
Drama anthology	0	4.65	1.60	2.26
Education	0	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0	0
Music	43.56	46.51	25.63	21.89
Dance music	40.67	18.60	22.83	27.17
Religious music	0	0	0	0
News	0	0	4.41	1.89
Opera	0	0	0.80	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0
Religious	0	0	1.60	0
Serial drama	0	6.98	17.62	37.36
Special	0	0	0.40	0
Sports	0	0	0	0.38
Talk	2.63	0	0.80	1.51
Talk and information	0	0	0.40	1.51
Variety	7.89	13.95	2.40	2.64
Women	0	0	0	0

call letters CRCM) amounted to 19.44 per cent and 13.61 per cent of its schedule. As demonstrated in Tables 7.16 and 7.17 the difference between

CRCM and CBM was immediately evident.⁹⁵

A sampling of CBM's 1937 schedule only hinted at the major transformation of the program offerings that would become fact in 1938 and 1939. Music remained a strong component of the American selections on CBM in 1937, but the type of music altered significantly. As just mentioned, in 1936 CRCM started to favour the dance orchestras over the symphonies that had been its initial base of American programming. By 1937 CBM exhibited even more preference for popular music. Only one symphony appeared in the American offerings, amounting to 13.04 per cent of the 1937 American programs. Musical programming, however, provided the bulk of American content in the schedule. This practice was consistent with that of other stations. In 1939 American musical programs totalled 49.06 per cent of the American contribution, quite similar to that of CFCF. The CFCF total stood at 48.16 per cent. At the decade's end *WOR Symphony*, *Duluth Symphony* and *Sinfonietta* still numbered among the *Firestone Hour*, *Happy Jack* and *Kraft Music Hall*. American orchestras made up 46.15 per cent of the dance music broadcast by CBM. In the realm of music the practices of the station were most similar to those of other Montreal stations, relying on dance orchestras and well known sponsored programs or performers.

Comedy represented a larger proportion of American content on CBM than on any other Montreal station. *Jack Benny*, *Gene and Glen*, *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *Vic and Sade*, *My Home Town*, *Wife Saver*, *Kaltenmeyer's Kindergarten*, *Amos 'n' Andy* and *Gloom Chasers* all contributed to the daily schedule of CBM in 1938 and 1939. This genre and the station's heavy

⁹⁵ Note that the first two weeks of 1937 were listed under the call letters CRCM. The changes in call letters that coincided with the implementation of changes in policy and wire line negotiations took effect October 1, 1937. After that the station was referred to as CBM. The sampling for CBM in 1937 represents one week. The station is still identified by the call letters CRCM on October 1 and 2, 1937, while in Vancouver the change is immediate.

reliance upon it permitted the greater and immediate diversification of the CBM schedule. American comedy amounted to 80.33 per cent of all comedy broadcast by CBM in 1938 and 100.00 per cent in 1939. Without this American content the transformation of the station's schedule would have necessarily been a slower process. The availability of American network comedy programming made it possible for the station to diversify its schedule in this direction quickly.

Another major proportion of the CBM schedule was devoted to American serial dramas. Again, the importation of these programs made it possible for the station to rapidly divert some hours away from musical programs. In the last three years of the decade serial drama's share of the broadcast week increased markedly. In 1937 *Dan Harding's Wife* alone accounted for 6.98 per cent of the station's American content and all of the station's serial drama. By 1938, when serial drama more than doubled to 17.62 per cent of the station's American programming, a greater assortment of serial dramas was added to the roster. These included *One Man's Family*, *The Story of Mary Marlin*, *Ma Perkins*, *Pepper Young's Family* and *Guiding Light*. As previously noted American serial drama was not introduced to the city by CBM. CFCF, in particular, was in direct competition with CBM for these serial dramas, both stations drawing from the NBC offerings. The only serial that both stations shared that year was *Ma Perkins*. In terms of pure quantity CBM outdid CFCF in its second year in the city. In 1938 CFCF broadcast 2 hours and 51 minutes of American serial dramas weekly while CBM broadcast 3 hours and 40 minutes. Additionally, CFCF supplemented its offerings with a supply of Canadian serial dramas, but CBM did not.

By 1939 CBM took a commanding lead in the realm of American serial drama in Montreal. The station forced out all of its competitors, who offered

very little resistance to CBM's takeover. CBM's roster of American serial dramas included *Road to Life*, *Ma Perkins*, *Stella Dallas*, *Backstage Wife* and *One Man's Family*, all previously part of the CFCF schedule. The list was rounded out by *The Story of Mary Marlin*, *Pepper Young's Family*, *Guiding Light*, *Central City*, *Man I Married* and *Miss Trent's Children*. CBM reached an average of 8 hours and 50 minutes a week of serial dramas, all of which were American, while American serial drama occupied an average of 50 minutes of the CFCF schedule and CKAC broadcast an average of 1 hour and 15 minutes a week of the American serial *Big Sister*. CBC stations were frequently competitors in this area in other cities, but in Montreal CBM took complete control of serial drama.

As previously discussed, Canadian drama remained an essential element of the CBC schedule, as demonstrated by the declining proportions of American drama and drama anthologies in the CBM schedule. American drama remained of little importance while CBM had access to the network's own drama.

Variety formed a larger portion of the American content used in 1937 but amounted to an average of merely 30 minutes weekly within the schedule. The genre quickly diminished in the schedule as the CBC's own variety shows and the British program *London Calling* became the base of variety programming. The development of Canadian alternatives and British programs made reliance on American programs unnecessary. American programming made only minor contributions in other genres of programming. In 1938 children's programming amounted to 6.81 per cent of American content when *Dick Tracy* and *Robinson Crusoe Jr.* were introduced. Other minor contributions represented sporadic American programs from areas such as talk, sports and religious programming.

The difference between CBM and the other local radio stations was its instant diversification and immediate access to American content. When the station was established it began with a high level of American programming and this grew by small increments each year. At CBM, American content was clearly concentrated in the areas of music, comedy and serial drama, rather than permeating the entire schedule. This focus was typical of any radio station with access to American content. The American programs readily filled the gaps in the station's schedule by providing content not readily produced by local independent stations. The reliance on American programming to create a few specific genres of programming within the schedule led to increased levels of American content in the CBM schedule, reaching 22.39 per cent in 1939.

The high proportions of American comedy and serial drama found in the CBM schedule may have been exactly what the people wanted. The CBC may well have been serving its mandate when it made these programs more available than ever before across the country. The station's performance is nevertheless difficult to reconcile with the portrait of the network painted by the Corporation's Chairman, Leonard Brockington, who asserted that the CBC relied on American content only to provide financing for Canadian programming and for sophisticated programming unavailable in Canada. The use of American commercial programming on CBM certainly exceeded the limits he defined. The American content used by CBM did not reach the heights that were reached by CFCF, but the concentration of American content in a few categories of programming had a strong impact in those areas. The intensive use of American serial dramas and vaudeville-style performers did not fit Brockington's description of American content as a resource for tasteful programming inaccessible in Canada.

In fact CBM's main impact of the Montreal radio market was to seize comedy and serial drama programming from the local stations and to air a great variety of hotel orchestras and American musical programs and performers which had previously been the mainstays of the existing American affiliates. Ironically, CBM's arrival in Montreal stimulated greater use of American programming on many of the city's stations, itself included, contrary to the stated goals of the CBC network then, and the assumptions of historians since.

CBF

CBF presented a different type of challenge to the Montreal broadcasting environment. Typical of the pattern established by other French-language stations, CBF did not employ a diversified selection of American programming. It tended to use large proportions of music, marginally supplemented by variety. In 1937 the sample captured only one Saturday schedule for the station, showing its American content to be 90 per cent opera and 10 per cent dance music. Table 7.18 below shows that in 1938 and 1939, while its English-language counterpart CBM was rapidly diversifying its American offerings, CBF's American content remained rooted almost exclusively in music.

The popular music at the forefront of the American musical offerings for other Montreal stations was as important to CBF. Music and dance music represented 84.94 per cent of the American content in the CBF schedule during 1938 and an even larger share, 94.98 per cent, in 1939. The symphony, opera and sinfonietta amounted to only 6.74 per cent of these musical programs in 1938 and 8.81 per cent in 1939. The majority of the American programs were those shared with stations across the continent. *Album of*

Music, Happy Jack, Ray Shield Revue, Contented Hour, Marine Band, The Kidoodlers and a long list of orchestras numbered among the American musical programs featured by CBF. Aside from the lack of diversification the programs were similar to the selection offered by any English-language station.

Established later in the decade than other French-language Montreal stations, CBF launched its operations with a high proportion of American programs. CHLP never employed such levels of American content in its schedule at any time during the decade. CKAC only exceeded the 1938 level of CBF American content in 1936 and 1937. CBF employed 20.83 per cent American content in its schedule in 1937, increasing it slightly to 23.37 per cent in 1938. In 1939 this proportion declined to 18.29 per cent. In the last two years of the decade CBF, CBM and CKAC maintained almost equivalent proportions of American programming.

Variety provided the only other major genre of American programming of interest to CBF. In 1938 variety amounted to 13.03 per cent of the station's American content, or 2 hours and 40 minutes. The larger broadcast duration and proportion of the schedule was mainly due to the use of the daily program *Breakfast Club*, which was also aired by CFCF. When the daily *Breakfast Club* was removed from the schedule, variety declined to an average of 1 hour weekly or 5.02 per cent of the schedule in 1939. In sum, American programs other than music were very rare on CBF. The suitability of English-language programming on a French-language station was certainly a factor, particularly for the CBC which could offer such programming on its other station, CBM.

In terms of its American content, CBF added to the total quantity available in Montreal but did not employ programs unheard on the other local stations. A standard seems to have been established in the market, the exceptions being CHLP which fell well below this level and CFCF which doubled

it. CBF's use of an average 20.80 per cent American content in the last three years of the decade nevertheless helped to contribute to the atmosphere that evolved in Montreal, establishing American content as a standard portion of the schedules of local radio stations.

Table 7.18 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of American programs, not including unidentified programs, on CBF, 1937 to 1939

Type	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	0
Astrology	0	0	0
Children	0	0	0
Comedy	0	0.81	0
Drama	0	0	0
Drama anthology	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0
Exercise	0	0	0
Games	0	0	0
Music	0	42.61	53.56
Dance music	10.00	41.52	41.42
Religious music	0	0	0
News	0	0.81	0
Opera	90.00	0.81	0
Quiz	0	0	0
Religious	0	0	0
Serial drama	0	0	0
Special	0	0	0
Sports	0	0	0
Talk	0	0	0
Talk and information	0	0.41	0
Variety	0	13.03	5.02
Women	0	0	0

AMERICAN PROGRAMMING IN MONTREAL

CKAC and CFCF were American affiliates from 1929 and 1930, making American content a fixed presence in the schedules of local Montreal stations throughout the decade. American programming on CKAC remained minimal until 1934 when it was faced with additional competition from CHLP and CRCM, which had both entered the Montreal market the previous year. Whether the potential threat of these new stations was real or imagined, within a year of their arrival both CKAC and CFCF had almost doubled their American content from the year before. CHLP displayed a very limited interest in making American programs a part of its standard schedule. As a CRBC station, CRCM employed American content sparingly in its schedule. The need to differentiate themselves in a larger market sustained the interest in American programming exhibited by CKAC and CFCF. The very presence of competition, even on a part time basis, reinforced and added to the use of American programming in the Montreal broadcasting market as a whole.

The launch of two CBC stations in Montreal in 1937 precipitated the next rise in American content in the city's radio program schedule. That year marked the peak of American content for Montreal stations, with the exception of the new CBC stations that would continue to increase their American content in the last few years of the decade. For the first time the American affiliates were faced with the prospect of competing for American programs with another Montreal station. Overlapping program options presented a difficulty for the competing stations. CFCF was literally forced out of its former position of preeminence in the realm of American serial drama. The aggressive use of American programs by the CBC intensified the competition, reinforcing the increased incorporation of these programs into the schedules of all the Montreal stations. In the final years of the decade a

greater quantity and proportion of American content became a permanent attribute of the Montreal broadcasting environment.

CONCLUSION

In the face of the lure of American programming and the impact of the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, local independent stations were able to survive because they devised a powerful potion of their own. The Montreal private radio stations, CKAC and CFCF in particular, made up a concoction of strong local flavour, including sports, talk and news. The mixture had enough of a taste of American programming to gain popular appeal, but not so much as to overwhelm the brew and surrender the stations' individual identities.

Despite the American affiliate status of Montreal's two major radio stations, CKAC and CFCF joined CHLP and other local independent stations across Canada in employing locally developed programming that not only completed their schedules, but tied them to their community. The utilization of talk, sports and news, in particular, distinguished the stations from American network stations. CHLP's performance during the 1930s most closely mirrored the evolution of stations in other cities due to its late introduction, while CFCF and CKAC had endured the trials of the novice period in the 1920s. The early pursuit of schedule diversification and ties to the community allowed CFCF and CKAC to provide a local 'voice' for their communities while balancing it with a heavy load of American content.

These stations steadfastly mirrored their communities through program choices guided by language. The linguistic diversity of Montreal had differing effects upon each of the city's stations. Montreal itself was large enough to accommodate two languages and the separate directions of development that

this entailed with regard to broadcasting. Rather than being defeated by the challenge of linguistic choice, the stations thrived on the diverse choices, incorporating them into their schedules.

The creation of a national network for radio broadcasting permanently altered the Montreal market, but the change was limited to the heightened use of American programming at the end of the decade. Since CKAC and CFCF had built a solid base of their own local programs early in the decade this change did not threaten the established foundation of Canadian programs. The quantity of Canadian programming in Montreal was so great that even with supplementary American programs the Canadian content exceeded that in other cities such as Vancouver with lesser proportions of American content. CRCM was hardly given a sufficient opportunity to make its impact felt and was hampered by the necessity of operating in both English and French. CKAC had done so, with great success, but had had a longer time to establish itself and implemented a local rather than a national focus. Arriving on the scene in 1937, CBF and CBM really only made an impact in two areas. First, the CBC stations reinforced the legitimacy of the use of American programming on Canadian stations. Secondly, CBM in particular experimented with the development of a diversified schedule. As individual stations, all three contributed in a positive way to the Montreal radio program schedule. The CRBC and the CBC introduced new elements and encouraged some changes by delivering new programs from the rest of the country, but did not defeat or even diminish the city's already dominant radio stations.

Unquestionably, the support of the corporate owners, Marconi and *La Presse*, figured prominently in the establishment of Montreal's two major stations on a firm base so that by the 1930s they were able to withstand the ramifications of depression, national networks and American competition. The

long-established stations were not about to become back-up singers in the CBC's band, nor those of any American network, notwithstanding their utilization of American affiliation. Rather than fade in a decade of challenge, their positions were continually refined and strengthened as a result of the programming choices they effected in anticipation of their audiences' needs.

Montreal's radio stations were not swallowed up by the American networks, nor were they pushed to the wayside by the new Canadian national network. Solidly anchored in their own communities, their connection to those communities and the reflection of their collective 'voice' allowed these stations to survive in their confrontation with the giants of the CBC and American networks.

Chapter 8
"Stage East":
Halifax Radio Program Schedules 1930-1939

The enduring success of Canadian radio in Halifax during the 1930s was ensured by the virtual monopoly of a single station. Unlike the situation in larger broadcasting markets this station, CHNS, was not pressured by emerging local competitors, but was free to determine its own program schedule within its abilities as a local independent radio station. Halifax's distance from American stations meant that their network programming could only be received in the evenings. The lack of spirited local competition and the restricted access to American stations intensified the impact of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and then the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on the Halifax program schedule. The programming decisions made by the stations in Halifax were consistent with the development of local independent stations everywhere, but the strong dominance of CHNS heightened the influence of the program schedule of that station.

The Halifax one-station context facilitates an unhindered evaluation of the impact of the CRBC and the CBC upon the radio environment. The broadcasting scenario in Halifax clearly differed from those found in Vancouver and Montreal; broadcasting in Vancouver was characterized by the rise of small competitive radio stations, while Montreal experienced the infiltration of American network affiliation. The virtual monopoly situation in Halifax shared more common characteristics with smaller Canadian broadcasting markets like Lethbridge, Saskatoon, Kirkland Lake, Kingston and Sudbury, all dependent on a key station and the additional elements that the CRBC and the CBC provided.¹

THE CITY

Halifax was a sizable city for 1931, with a population of 59,275,

¹ By the end of the decade all of these cities depended on one station, which was a CBC affiliate. They included CJOC Lethbridge, Alberta, CFQC Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, CKJL Kirkland Lake, Ontario, CFRC Kingston, Ontario and CKSO Sudbury, Ontario.

certainly large enough to support more than one radio station. However, it did not attract competing stations within the bounds of the city.² The city's geographic location on the Eastern Coast of the province of Nova Scotia made it far removed from the broadcasting of other major cities. Partial schedules of radio stations from cities and towns smaller than Halifax were included in *The Halifax Herald* listings, but these stations did not pose a serious threat to CHNS as the only full-time Halifax broadcaster. Buffered by distance, the Halifax station chose its own course in the daytime, while the evening hours welcomed the broadcasts of other Canadian and American cities.

The fact that there was only one full-time radio station operating in Halifax did not present a barrier to the growth of radio ownership in the 1930s. The mix of daily local broadcasts and American evening programming provided a sufficient base of programming to foster that growth. In 1931, 42.18 per cent of Halifax households owned radios, falling slightly under the national average of 47.69 per cent.³ By 1941, however, the rate of radio ownership per household had grown to 86.8 per cent in urban areas in Nova Scotia.⁴ This high rate of growth was also reflected by the number of radio licences issued in Nova Scotia, which rose from 18,027 in 1930 to 55,796 in 1940.⁵ As in the other cities studied here, radio seized the public's interest in Nova Scotia during the 1930s.

² Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada*. Volume II, Table 7 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1933), 6.

³ *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931*. Volume V, Table 58, 980.

⁴ *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941* Volume I (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), Table 17, 421.

⁵ *Eighth Census of Canada, 1934, Bulletin, The Radio Industry in Canada, 1931*. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1942), Table 6; "Part VII - Radio Communications," in Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Department of Trade and Commerce, Canada. *Canada Year Book 1942* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1942), 652.

"LISTENING IN"

The simple random sample of radio programming schedules for the city was drawn from the pages of *The Halifax Herald*, the owner and operator of CHNS, the only full-time radio station in Halifax. *The Herald* was the main provider of the city's news and its sole local broadcaster; consequently reliable listings were in the newspaper's own best interests. *The Herald* pursued its broadcasting objectives long after many newspapers had lost interest.⁶

The radio program listings in the pages of *The Halifax Herald* were as variable, in format and content, as they were in other Canadian cities. In 1930 readers had to look no further than the bottom left-hand corner of the front page of *The Herald* to find the daily program schedule of CHNS highlighted prominently.⁷ The CHNS listings were followed a few pages later with the feature "Radio Program" and the column "Listening In" by Lionel Lanatford. "Radio Program" provided extensive evening listings of programs from Montreal, Toronto and an array of American network stations from many different cities in the United States. "Listening In" featured details about selected upcoming American programs or special events, such as the address of King George V on the occasion of the Naval Disarmament Conference and the use of CHNS by the Halifax County Conservative Association as part of a political campaign.⁸ The detailed commentary found in "Listening In" was discontinued in 1930. By 1931 CHNS listings appeared in a box on page three, deeper in the newspaper, under the heading "Best Features On The Air Today," followed immediately by the evening listings largely from American stations

⁶ Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 45; Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1920-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 50-51.

⁷ On occasion, the newspaper's page layout forced the CHNS listings out of the corner, but this was rare and the listings always remained on the bottom of the front page.

⁸ For these examples, see: Lionel Lanatford, "Listening In" *The Halifax Herald* 55 (January 20, 1930), 4.

without commentary. CHNS and the rest of the radio program schedule moved to page two and then later to page ten in 1932, but still highlighted and led with CHNS. From the beginning of the 'thirties, the radio program listings in *The Halifax Herald* cast a wide net, drawing upon the listings of distant Canadian and American cities.

By the second half of the decade the radio program schedule narrowed its focus. In 1934 what was then called "*Halifax Herald* Radio Programmes" introduced each day's listings with the features from the CRBC and commentary on this new source of programming for the city. By 1936 the surplus stations and much of the explanatory detail from the program listings were removed. In 1937 "Around the Dial" by "OIDAR" preceded the radio program schedule, providing Canadian and American programming highlights. Throughout the decade the program schedule for CHNS consistently came ahead of all other listings. The schedules of the remaining stations were not set apart; all remaining programs were grouped together, separated only by time. Late in 1938 the commentary was discontinued again in favour of the grid layout of the program schedule. Half of this schedule was devoted to CHNS; the remainder divided evenly among the networks. In 1939 CBA, the newly established CBC station, shared the prominence of CHNS in the schedule. By the end of the decade the once extensive radio program schedule was pared down to a mere skeletal structure of standardized grid style program listings, eliminating commentary and superfluous radio stations.

THE ROSTER OF STATIONS

Throughout the decade Halifax radio programming was characterized by the stark contrast between its daytime schedule, solely the purview of CHNS and a handful of Canadian stations, and the extensive variety provided largely

by American stations only in the evening. A larger world opened up to Halifax usually after 7:00 p.m.; once evening came listeners proceeded from the local programming of CHNS to the vast expanse of American network programming that fascinated most of the continent.

The radio program schedule in *The Halifax Herald* listed as many stations as conceivable from eastern Canada and most of the northeastern United States. As indicated in Table 8.1 below, in 1930 the radio program schedule listed seven Canadian stations and fifteen American stations.⁹ The selection of stations declined considerably to two Canadian stations and eight American stations by 1939.

Although a wide variety of geographically closer Canadian stations appeared in the Halifax radio program schedule, American stations were more readily available to Haligonians because they were more powerful. The power levels of the Canadian stations in the Halifax radio program schedule ranged from 50 watts to 5,000 watts between 1930 and 1939. Meanwhile in 1930 many of the American stations listed in the radio schedule already operated at 50,000 watts. The American stations that remained in the Halifax radio schedule by 1939 had all attained a power level of 50,000 watts. The greater capacity of these stations accounted for their availability to Halifax listeners and therefore their sustained inclusion in the Halifax radio program schedule.

Among those stations in the Halifax evening schedule that broadcast at 50,000 watts as early as 1930 were some of the feeder stations of the American networks. They included WEAJ of the NBC Red network, WJZ of the NBC Blue network, WABC of CBS and WOR of the Mutual Broadcasting

⁹ "Index by Locations with Map Key," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 50-55; "A Complete Index by Call Letters," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 56-61; "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 36-49; "North American B.C. Stations by Locations," *The Radio Index* no. 134 (December 1939): 83-88; "North American B. C. Stations by Call Letters," *The Radio Index* no. 134 (December 1939): 89-94; "North American Broadcasting Stations by Frequencies with Sunday's Time on the Air," *The Radio Index* no. 134 (December 1939): 63-82.

Table 8.1 Power levels in watts of Halifax area stations, 1930 and 1939**Canadian Stations**

Station	City	Network	1930	1939
CHNS	Halifax	CRBC/ CBC	500	1,000
CKIC	Wolfville	n/a	50	50
CNRA	Moncton	CNR	500	n/a
CHYC	Montreal	n/a	5,000	n/a
CKAC	Montreal	CBS	5,000	5,000
CKGW	Toronto	NBC	5,000	n/a
CBA	Montreal	CBC	n/a	50,000

American Stations

Stations	City	Network	1930	1939
WABC	New York	CBS	5,000	50,000
KDKA	Pittsburgh	NBC (Blue)	50,000	50,000
WEAF	New York	NBC (Red)	50,000	50,000
WFI	Philadelphia	NBC (Blue)	500	n/a
WGY	Schenectady	NBC (Red)	50,000	50,000
WJZ	New York	NBC (Blue)	30,000	50,000
WOR	Newark	Mutual	1,000	50,000
WTIC	Hartford	NBC (Red)	5,000	50,000
WCAU	Philadelphia	CBS	10,000	50,000
WLW	Cincinnati	NBC (Blue)/ Mutual	50,000	500,000
WBZ	Boston	NBC (Blue)	15,000	50,000
WBAL	Baltimore	NBC (Blue)/Mutual	1,000	10,000
WEEI	Boston	NBC / CBS	1,000	1,000

System. The standard feeder stations were the same stations that appeared in the Montreal radio program schedules. In addition, a part of the radio schedule was also comprised of further Toronto radio stations at a distance of 786 miles from Halifax and the closer Montreal stations at a distance of 492 miles, somewhat closer than the more powerful New York stations.

More than any other city in this study, the radio program schedule in

Halifax indicated that its readers were most likely to be captivated by the promise of the wide world offered by radio. Reminiscences of radio listeners from the Maritime provinces recall the challenge and satisfaction of listening to stations such as KDKA in Pittsburgh in the 1920s.¹⁰ This practice of tuning in distant stations was alive at the beginning of the 1930s, but declined over the course of the decade, as indicated by the radio program schedule. In the first years of the decade the Halifax listings included programs from such distant locations as WLW in Cincinnati, Ohio, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, WEEI in Boston, Massachusetts and WPG Atlantic City, New Jersey. WLW was an interesting case in point. Although it did not appear in the listings of geographically closer Montreal, *The Herald* chose to include it. In 1934 the clear-channel station WLW, the "Nation's Station", experimented with a power of 500,000 watts around the clock to measure day and night interference, as well as advertiser response.¹¹ Despite the fact that interest in DX-ing waned in the 'thirties in favour of greater listening ease, it was still necessary in Halifax.¹²

As noted above, the powerful feeder stations for the major American networks remained a part of the Halifax radio program schedule for the entire decade, heavily represented in the evening fare for Halifax listeners.¹³ WEAJ, WJZ and WABC all had permanent homes in the Halifax radio program schedule, but these stations shared this position with other constants such as WCAU in Philadelphia, WOR from Newark, WGY from Schenectady, WBZ

¹⁰ F. Walter Hyndman and "A Listener" as cited in Bill McNeil and Morris Wolfe, *Signing On: The Birth of Radio in Canada* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1982), 38-39.

¹¹ Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting* Second Edition (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1990), 155.

¹² Vipond, *Listening In*, 45; Peers, 84; "The RADEX Mystery DX Contest," *The Radio Index* no. 96 (February 1, 1936): 3.

¹³ Sterling and Kittross, 105-110.

from Boston and WTIC Hartford. American network affiliation also accounted for the inclusion of distant and less powerful Canadian radio stations such as CFCF and CKAC from Montreal and CKGW from Toronto. It was only after the middle of the decade that *The Halifax Herald* program listings became less optimistic about the extent of potential reception, realistically favouring the local stations and only the most powerful distant stations.

THE LOCAL STATIONS

The population of the whole of the province of Nova Scotia in 1931 was less than that of the island of Montreal.¹⁴ The smaller audience could support only small radio operations and a few regional stations. Thus the long seamless days of the commercial broadcaster were conspicuously absent from the Halifax broadcasting environment. As already mentioned, CHNS was the dominant station by far. Its virtual monopoly is clearly demonstrated in Table 8.2. Also officially licensed in Halifax was the phantom station, CNRH, of the Canadian National Railways' chain of radio stations. Two additional regional stations that appeared in the late afternoon and evening listings were CNRA, the Canadian National Railways' Moncton station, and CKIC owned by Acadia University. In 1933 CHNS became the CRBC affiliate for the area, delivering national programming to Halifax listeners. Then in 1936 CHNS became a CBC affiliate. CHNS was joined in *The Halifax Herald* listings by two other CBC affiliates. The first of these, CJLS, was owned by a broadcasting interest in Yarmouth; the last regional station was CFCY, owned by an early radio enthusiast in Charlottetown. Thus, CHNS started broadcasting during the 1930s in a virtual monopoly situation until the arrival of CBA, a fully owned CBC station, in 1939. Only the evening radio program schedule provided a

¹⁴ *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* Volume II, 28, 52.

wider variety of listening options.

Table 8.2 Average hours and minutes per week of broadcast time based upon sample for Canadian stations in the Halifax radio schedule, not including Montreal and Toronto stations, 1930 to 1939

Station	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
CHNS	29/36	41/25	38/09	49/50	61/43	63/10	72/50	101/52	104/39	108/53
CKIC	1/20	2/30	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CNRA	2/00	n/a	n/a	n/a						
CNRH	0/40	n/a	n/a	n/a						
CFCY	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10/20	17/50	20/00	n/a
CJLS	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	11/15	12/05	13/25	n/a
CBC	n/a	14/00	n/a							
CBR	n/a	n/a	85/51							

CHNS

CHNS was Halifax's central station from its founding in 1925. The catalyst for the inception of CHNS was Major William Borrett, whose interest in radio was piqued during the First World War while in the army. Upon his return Borrett obtained his own amateur radio licence as part of the Halifax Radio Listeners Club, and in 1925 he was sent to Paris to represent Canada at the World Conference of Amateur Radio Operators. Soon after, Borrett quit his job and went into debt with backing from Senator Dennis, owner of *The Halifax Herald*, to start his own radio station. CHNS went on the air for the first time in May 1925.¹⁵ The station was first located in the Carlton Hotel,

¹⁵ Major William Borrett as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 54.

but quickly moved to rent-free accommodations at the Lord Nelson Hotel. The station was launched with a power level of 100 watts; it increased its power to 500 watts in 1928 and to 1,000 watts in 1936. At the outset of the 1930s the station was officially licensed as the station of *The Halifax Herald*.¹⁶

As the only full-time station in Halifax, CHNS developed a preponderance of its own programming during the 1930s. In 1930 CHNS broadcast with breaks in its day and did not always extend very late into the evening. The station's average broadcast week amounted to 30 hours and 36 minutes in 1930. The program listings were as follows for Friday, January 24, 1930:

CHNS
Friday, January 24, 1930

10:00 - Women's Radio Institute
 11:00 - Phinney's Musical Program
 12:00 - Electrical Transcriptions.
 12:30 - Stock Market Quotations - Soloway, Mills and
 Co. and MacDougall and Cowans. Herald New
 Items, Weather Report. Birks' Time.
 [Programminggap]
 2:00 - Educational Series Broadcast.
 [Programminggap]
 6:15 - Talkie topics.
 6:45 - Eastern Organ Recital.
 7:15 - Stock Market Quotations and *Herald News*
 Items.
 7:00 - Lord Nelson Dinner Music.
 8:00 - Bens "Holsum" Merriment, Birks' Time.
 8:30 - Hockey Game Broadcast.¹⁷

Compared to the programming in other cities, CHNS provided a varied day with educational programming, women's programming, sports and talk to accompany the standard fare of news and music that characterized early 'thirties Canadian radio stations.

¹⁶ "Index by Frequencies and Dial Numbers," *The Radio Index* no. 41 (September 1930): 40.

¹⁷ "The Broadcasting Station C.H.N.S. of *The Halifax Herald*," *The Halifax Herald* 55 (Friday, January 24, 1930): 1.

CHNS clearly took the route of the local independent station to sustain itself through the decade. At the outset of the decade the station's quest for program diversification was more advanced than similar stations in other cities. The lack of daytime competition permitted the station to be selective about its hours of operation and assured it the enthusiasm of local staff who assumed multiple roles at the station and helped to accelerate the development of in-house programs.¹⁸

The most remarkable feature of the program schedule of CHNS was its lack of dependence upon music. Certainly *Studio Program* and *Victor Recordings* formed part of the listings, similar to radio programming across the continent. The program schedule, however, showed signs that an early attempt to recruit talent was successful. The amazing difference between CHNS and the rest of the local independent stations studied here was that musical programming accounted for only 41.23 per cent of the program schedule in 1930, essentially equivalent to the level of diversification usually apparent only in the program schedules of American stations affiliated with a major network. This proportion of music in the early CHNS schedule amounted to approximately half of the share that music held in the program schedules of the other station studied.

Local performers were instrumental in the development of the musical programming at CHNS. Organ recitals and programs such as *Old Fashioned Pianist* were common. Frank Willis, who became well known as the CRBC's only employee east of Montreal when he reported on the Moose River Mine disaster in 1936, was actually a long-time employee of CHNS. Willis first appeared on radio playing a banjo at the opening of CHNS. Not only did he become a news reporter and the Maritime representative of the CRBC, but he

¹⁸ McNeil and Wolfe, 54-62, 216-219.

also worked on programs such as *Harmony Harbour* and *Nocturne* and he also acted in CHNS productions.¹⁹ In addition his family's piano company sponsored the *Willis Request Program* in 1930, followed by the *Willis Victor Request Program*, and he produced the *Willis Ampico Show*, a Sunday piano music program.²⁰ William Borrett recalled that he had "no trouble getting people, no matter how important they were, to come on the air."²¹ Between the resources of the CHNS staff and others willing to perform on the air, CHNS presented a variety of local musical performers. In the early years of the decade, the regulars included *Nova Scotian Trio*, *The Corn Huskers*, *Phinney Victor Programme*, *Tea Bisk Tunes* and *Royal Canadian Regimental Band*. The local enthusiasm for radio and the musical traditions of the Maritimes made fertile ground for the development of local programming, particularly in the area of music, at CHNS.

CHNS's uncharacteristic lack of dependence on music so early in the decade was partially due to scheduling and the virtual monopoly it enjoyed. As the city's only full-time station, CHNS was able to implement its own hours of broadcast. It did not have to respond to pressures to compete by expanding its broadcast day. In Vancouver and Montreal the quickest way for a radio station to expand its hours of broadcast was to add more music; as we have seen, this was a routine part of the pattern of growth for local independent stations. Table 8.3 below shows that CHNS was never tempted to take that step and musical programming remained a consistent, but moderate, segment of the schedule in the 'thirties.

When the Halifax program schedule was flooded in the evening with every imaginable program, CHNS refused to enter into a direct competition for

¹⁹ Hugh Mills as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 58.

²⁰ Jock Carroll, "J. Frank Willis: My Life on the Air," *Weekend Magazine* (1961) as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 216.

²¹ Major William Borrett as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 56.

Table 8.3 Percentages of broadcast duration of programs types, not including unidentified programs, on CHNS, 1930-1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	0	0	2.20	0	0	0	0.27	0.30	0.77	0.42
Astrology	0	1.70	1.10	1.14	0.55	1.76	0.82	0	0	0
Children	2.41	4.30	3.03	1.94	3.30	5.93	8.73	7.01	6.80	4.78
Comedy	0	0	0	0.60	0	0.32	0.14	1.58	1.05	2.43
Drama	0	0.60	0	1.20	2.14	2.08	1.59	2.86	3.63	1.01
Drama anthology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.68	0	0.96	0.53
Education	4.22	0.30	0	0.80	1.65	1.92	0	2.67	1.25	1.59
Exercise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.79	1.82	0
Games	0.60	0	0.09	0	0.37	0	0	0	0.19	0
Music	43.25	37.84	37.37	36.11	39.72	31.69	36.88	38.81	37.81	39.59
Dance music	0	3.60	3.58	6.13	10.58	10.21	7.78	2.67	5.91	4.27
Religious music	0	0	0	0.20	0	0	0	0.49	2.87	0.34
News	16.92	14.31	20.02	21.26	22.63	20.25	14.42	9.35	9.71	8.69
Opera	0	0	0	2.41	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quiz	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.55	0.79	0.19	0.34
Religious	4.52	2.90	3.40	1.61	3.36	4.17	8.55	5.13	2.87	2.85
Serial drama	0.60	0	0	1.34	0.37	1.76	2.05	3.36	6.99	9.81
Special	0	0	0	0	3.67	1.28	0	4.28	1.44	3.19
Sports	1.20	6.51	0.46	2.26	2.51	2.89	0.82	5.53	1.44	2.01
Sustaining	0	0	5.60	1.40	0	0	0	0	0	0
Talk	5.12	9.61	5.88	9.36	9.91	8.18	6.96	6.91	3.61	3.13
Talk and information	0	0	0.46	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.26
Variety	3.01	1.80	1.38	0	1.10	0.48	1.59	0.99	6.61	6.63
Women	16.86	14.41	15.43	12.11	10.20	8.34	8.19	5.83	6.58	7.13

listeners. The standard dance orchestras with which most radio stations concluded their day were not part of the typical CHNS evening. Rather than fight the battle of the evening airwaves, CHNS ceased broadcasting much earlier in the evening. Although it did broadcast sporadically as late as midnight, CHNS frequently started its last program of the day at approximately 8:00 p.m. This meant that CHNS shared few hours of overlap with the American networks, since the American programming became a choice for Haligonians only at 7:00 p.m. With no pressure from other local stations to maintain a late schedule, CHNS refused to compete with the onslaught of choice that was available in the evening "prime time", concentrating its energies instead on the daytime broadcasts when it had a captive audience.

When CHNS became a host station for the programs of the CRBC in 1933, it did not have to adjust its previous routines greatly. Because the CRBC programs were broadcast in the evenings only, the overall effect was an extension of the CHNS broadcast day to midnight. The late evening programs of the CRBC were heavily weighted with musical programs, in particular dance orchestras from across the country. Table 8.3 shows the effect on the balance of CHNS's musical programming from 1933 to 1936.

When CHNS became a CBC affiliate in 1936, the balance of musical programming on CHNS once again more closely resembled the period 1930 to 1933. The CBC broadcast for a full day and favoured a more diversified program schedule, even in the evening hours. Thus the CRBC provided a bridge to expand the CHNS schedule to a full broadcast day, from morning as early as 9 a.m. to midnight, with the addition of larger quantities of music than was previously standard. After the CRBC helped to extend CHNS's schedule, the CBC diversified the larger schedule, returning to the diminished dependence

on music.

As "The Broadcasting Station...of *The Halifax Herald*" a particular emphasis on news to diversify CHNS's schedule could be expected. Stock quotations were the standard minimal news item in the stations across the country in 1930; CHNS extended its news service far beyond that. In the first half of the year, stock market quotations, news items, time and weather were broadcast at least twice a day. By October news appeared four times a day at 12:30 p.m., 1:00 p.m., 7:00 p.m. and 10:30 p.m. News remained a large proportion of the schedule by virtue of the fact that the broadcast day was not padded with music.

Consistently employed in the schedule throughout the decade, news experienced its first major increase in quantity in 1932, with frequency increasing to as many as seven news reports daily. News continued to rise from an average of 6 hours weekly in 1932 to 8 hours and 50 minutes on average in a week in 1933. The introduction of *Canadian Press News* from the CRBC supplemented the already generous supply of news on CHNS. CHNS developed new programs to accompany its *Halifax Herald's News Service*. *The World in Review*, a *Halifax Herald* feature was added, as was *Provincial News Review* by Marion Robb. The extension of the program day through the assistance of CRBC programs made a morning news program *Halifax Herald's Morning News Review* possible as well. None of the older news programs such as weather, time, news items and stock market quotations were dropped to make room for the new news programs. While the total hours of news broadcasts grew, however, as we have seen in other instances this is disguised in Table 8.3 because news growth paralleled the overall schedule expansion.

News reached its peak in the schedule and in quantity with the help of

the CRBC in 1934 and 1935. Its proportions contracted somewhat after that when the station became part of the CBC network. News reports from the *Halifax Herald* and Canadian Press were retained as were other market reports, but the news commentary and review programs were replaced with only one program, *Dr. Stewart Reviews the News*. Although the quantity of news rose in the last year of the decade it was a smaller proportion of the overall schedule. By that point in the decade, CHNS news lost all traces of its former sponsorship; bulletins were listed simply as news, time, markets or market report.²² While news remained a core area of the station's programming throughout the decade, once it became a CBC affiliate the emphasis on news diminished as a greater variety of programming options took hold of the schedule.

Talk was the natural extension of news for most of the local independent Canadian radio stations in their efforts to provide diversified local programming. In Halifax, with one primary radio station, there was no need to court the audience by encouraging their participation in talk programs, as was typically the case in other Canadian cities. CHNS tended instead toward official government informational talks throughout the decade. At the beginning, for example, in 1930, the station made extensive use of government speakers to fill its talk programs. Government departments such as agriculture and natural resources occupied 57.90 per cent of the talks on CHNS that year. The Halifax Branch of the League of Nations and the Halifax County Conservative Association were both listed in the schedule, but in general talks were not very varied. In 1931 the station channelled the overflow of news programming into its talk programs. New regular talk

²² Prior to the decrease of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation programs in the schedule, *Dr. Stewart Reviews the News* and *Canadian Press News* were aired for part of 1939.

features included *Halifax Herald's Home Page Review* and *Question and Answer*. The early CHNS talk programming tended to be informational, biased toward government department addresses and a news-oriented programming.

Talk on CHNS experienced its greatest growth in the period when it was a CRBC affiliate. Consistently talk was one of the key foci of the CRBC's program production. CRBC talk programs included *Canadian Folk Lore*, *Events of Canadian Interest*, *Book Review* and *En Disant*. Although agricultural talks and other government talks remained a fixed part of the CHNS schedule, some general interest talks such as *Talk on Flowers and Floriculture*, *Fashion Talk* and addresses by the Liberal and Conservative Parties were introduced as talk broadened in the middle of the decade. Addresses by Dr. J. H. Cody, president of the University of Toronto and the Right Honourable R. B. Bennett were typical of the CRBC talks. The CBC put much less emphasis in its program schedule on talk programming. Many of the CBC talks broadcast over CHNS were listed simply as talk; some topics in the sample included *Dr. Bethune*, *Banff National Park*, *Outdoors in Ontario*, the constitution, government and citizenship. The CBC talks added a standardized and general element to the format, without local or regional components.

In addition to CRBC talk programs, CHNS consistently featured its own talks from the Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture and the long-running *Maritime Industrial Review*. These consistencies in the schedule ensured that by the end of the decade talk did not differ greatly from the beginning of the decade. While the genre almost doubled in quantity of broadcast duration and was more varied, it occupied a smaller portion of the expanded schedule. In sum, talk programming on CHNS was best described as official in tone, addresses by various authorities being the cornerstone. The association with the CRBC and CBC only reinforced this focus.

The "official" tone of CHNS talk programming set it apart from the format that evolved in other cities. The common thread that it shared with other Canadian stations, however, was the introduction of American self-help programs in 1939. Notably CHNS started to broadcast the American *Goodwill Hour* and *The Voice of Experience* which also took hold in the Vancouver market through the use of electrical transcriptions. The morning time slots that these programs occupied and their emergence in the schedules of stations that did not form parts of American networks were testament to the utility of electrical transcriptions to non-network independent stations coast to coast.

Women's programming was one of the most common resources used by local independent radio stations to diversify and satisfy the needs of their daytime audiences. Neither Canadian nor American networks exhibited much interest in the production of women's programming throughout the decade; it remained almost exclusively the preserve of local stations. Women's programming had an early start on CHNS as a regular morning feature in 1930. In that year the *Women's Radio Institute* constituted the majority, if not all, of the morning programming of the station at an average of 4 hours and 40 minutes weekly. The program began CHNS's broadcast day at 10:30 a.m. or 11:00 a.m. and remained fixed in the schedule until *Mrs. Dexter's Women's Radio Hour* replaced it in 1935. By the end of the decade the contribution of women's programming to the weekly schedule increased to an average 7 hours and 5 minutes, but constituted a declining proportion of the total schedule. By then the women's programming included *Good Morning Neighbor*, available across the country, and Halifax's own *Mrs. Dexter*, a regular feature on CHNS from 1935 to 1939. The weekday morning position guaranteed women's programming a secure place in the schedule, unthreatened by network

programming or competition from other types of programs. As a standardized feature of local programming, women's programming was marked by its regularity, frequency and overwhelmingly local nature.

Children's programming was another 'gold mine' for the local independent radio station that hoped to diversify programming largely with its own staff or local talent. CHNS started the decade with *Halifax Herald's Children's Period with Pollyanna*, which lasted until 1938. The CRBC contributed *Children's Corner* from Montreal in 1933, followed up with *Lullaby Lagoon* in 1936, but CHNS also continued to develop its own children's programming. One long-lasting success was *Uncle Mel*. In 1934 Senator Dennis of *The Halifax Herald* hired Hugh Mills, already working as an actor at CHNS, to read the comic strips from his newspaper to boost circulation, starting the eighteen-year run of *Uncle Mel*.²³ The dramatic expansion of children's programming after 1936 was the product of a combination of locally developed programming and the American programming introduced by the CBC. *Light Up and Listen Club* was the CBC's own contribution to children's programs, but it also introduced the American *Howie Wing* and *Dick Tracy*. At the decade's close children's programming at CHNS was quite different from ten years earlier. While CHNS retained a strong foundation of local programs, American programming mostly acquired from the CBC was increasingly evident.

Religious programming assumed an unpredictable role from city to city in Canada, but remained a standard source for local programming. In 1930 CHNS followed the standard route of independent stations by broadcasting local church services. Religious services such as *Church Services at the Cathedral of All Saints* or *Full Gospel Church Service* filled the Sunday evening hours. Church services remained the mainstay of religious programming at

²³ Hugh Mills as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 58-60.

CHNS until they were supplemented from 1935 to 1939 with the daily *Morning Devotions*, increasing the portion of the schedule occupied by religious programming. The CRBC introduced the occasional program such as *Vesper Hour* from Winnipeg. Later the CBC imported some American programs such as *Radio Pulpit*, but it did not have an important impact upon the largely local religious programming of CHNS. The growth of the genre in the course of the decade was due to an increase in frequency and types of local religious programming, rather than an altered format involving network programming.

Sports programming at CHNS was also marked by its local character. Hockey, the Schooner Race from C.G.S. Lady Laurier and the Maritime Auto Racing Association were testament to the variable nature of sports broadcasting of the CHNS schedule in the early years of the 'thirties. National Hockey League broadcasts occupied a regular part of the schedule from 1933 to 1936. In 1937 the CBC continued the hockey broadcasts, but the appearance of horse racing at the Nova Scotia Provincial Exhibition was yet another example of continued local sports coverage. Baseball and chuck wagon races were also introduced. Nevertheless, coverage of local sporting events was sporadic throughout the decade; the station's membership in the national network did not affect the small variable and seasonal place sports held within the schedule.

As noted in the discussion of the early musical programming at CHNS, and as we have seen with respect to other stations in this study, CHNS stopped short of competing directly with the American networks in their areas of distinctive competence. Variety was such an area. While meager offerings, usually of local variety programs, appeared sporadically in the schedules throughout the decade, it was not until 1938 when the CBC made extensive use of its own *Happy Gang*, *By the Sea* and the British *London Calling* that

variety experienced growth on CHNS. The CBC also supplemented these programs with a few American programs, such as *Don Ameche's Program* and the *Al Jolson Program*. These CBC and American programs formed the core of CHNS's variety programming in 1939 as well.

Comedy also took a long time to take root in the CHNS schedule. Like variety, CHNS did not develop any comedy of its own, but introduced it slowly as a product of the American networks. The station's sporadic samplings of comedy programs came first in extremely limited quantities from the CRBC. After 1936 the CBC introduced greater quantities of comedy. These programs were, however, largely American; they included *Jack Benny*, *Vic and Sade*, *Fibber McGee and Company* and *Easy Aces*. Occasionally the CBC introduced a few of its own comedy programs to CHNS; *Sam Slick* and *Laughing with Canada* are two examples. But comedy still only added up to 2.43 per cent of the schedule at its peak in 1939. Like dance orchestras and variety, CHNS left comedy largely to the American networks.

CHNS avoided serial drama, like comedy, until the CBC introduced it in large quantities. Like many other stations, CHNS started the decade with *Cecil and Sally* and the program recurred in the schedule in 1933 and 1937. The Winnipeg drama *The Youngbloods of Beaver Bend* appeared in the CHNS schedule from 1934 to 1935, courtesy of the CRBC. The American serial *Ma Perkins* was introduced in 1935 in the afternoon. In 1937 serial drama averaged 2 hours and 50 minutes weekly in 1937, when *Stella Dallas* and *Backstage Wife* were added to the roster. This was followed by a dramatic increase to 6 hours and 5 minutes in an average week in 1938 and an average of 9 hours and 45 minutes weekly in 1939. This sudden adoption of serial drama was consistent with the altered position of the genre in Montreal and Vancouver; however in the case of Halifax the American networks' decision to

move the genre to the daytime slot was a minor contributor to the change while the CBC's introduction of American serial drama had a major effect. In a strikingly similar scenario to that of Montreal and Vancouver, CHNS drastically increased the proportions of serial drama to compete with its first competitor in this area, CBA. This was how American serial drama found a permanent niche in the CHNS program schedule.

Other types of drama tended, in Halifax, to be an amalgamation of American and Canadian productions, but in both cases highly dependent upon the support of a network for development and distribution. The CRBC introduced drama to the Halifax market. Among the Commission's dramas were regular shows like *Billy and Pierre*, *Radio Theatre Guild*, *Forgotten Footsteps* and other special dramatic productions such as *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Evangeline*. The CBC further increased the drama quotient of the schedule. It introduced such American drama as *Memory Lane*, *Hollywood Hotel*, *Silver Theatre*, *Campbell Playhouse* and *Lux Radio Theatre*. Meanwhile, it also aired its own productions, including *Within These Walls*, *Novelette*, *Backstage*, *The Last Buffalo Hunter* and *CBC Summer Theatre* over CHNS. The dramatic input of both the CRBC and the CBC was valuable but temporary. Consistently a weak element within the schedule, drama could be furnished by national networks, but was not the kind of programming that CHNS could easily produce on its own. From 1936 until June 1939, the CBC fed the station a steady supply of programs that included drama. Upon the establishment of CBA in 1939 drama declined as a proportion of the CHNS schedule. Broadcasting CBC dramas ceased to be a unique option that CHNS could offer the region.

One of the most innovative parts of the CHNS schedule in the early 1930s was a local initiative. Major Bill Borrett made arrangements with Jerry

Redmond at the Nova Scotia Department of Education to supply school broadcasts in English literature, French, history and music. The station provided a two-hour block of its schedule every Friday afternoon free and the Department of Education assembled the programs. Within the context of these programs, historical drama by Helen Creighton was highlighted. Her scripts, in turn, were exchanged for the scripts of a geography series on an American network that were then performed by local actors from the Theatre Arts Guild of Halifax.²⁴ However, this early initiative apparent in the 1930 schedule fell by the wayside in the middle of the decade. During CHNS's CRBC years, university lecturers from across the country became a routine feature. In the last three years of the decade, the Department of Education school broadcasts returned in smaller segments, every weekday morning. This arrangement to produce educational programming was unusual, but effectively used local resources for a sustaining program. The broadcasts helped to serve the audience and diversify the schedule of the local independent station.

Yet another unprecedented programming departure launched by CHNS in an attempt to fill gaps in its schedule was a brief foray into the genre of adventure, crime and mystery. Normally solely the domain of American networks, CHNS took the unusual step of developing its own version of *Sherlock Holmes*. Although the radio version of Arthur Conan Doyle's *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* was an early NBC standard, the CHNS variation was a "hijacking of material" adapted by Frank Willis for Major Bill Borrett.²⁵ As a rule, however, the successful American productions were enjoyed by the Halifax audience without any Canadian competition; the support of a network was essential in the development of expensive ongoing

²⁴ Jerry Redmond as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 62.

²⁵ Jock Carroll, "J. Frank Willis: My Life on the Air," *Weekend Magazine* (1961) as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 216.

series.

In the 1930s CHNS was the essence of the Halifax broadcasting environment. The station was the only reliable broadcaster in Halifax and the only daytime radio station; all other stations were merely supplementary. The regional and local stations on the periphery occasionally added to the broadcast day, but rarely supplied programming not already found on CHNS. The virtual monopoly enjoyed by CHNS allowed the station to pursue certain avenues that might not have been as readily available to stations operating under the pressures of competition. The development of educational broadcasts was an impressive example of very early local initiative, particularly for a commercial radio station. One of the freedoms afforded CHNS by the lack of competition in the market was its ability to be flexible about scheduling. Unlike radio stations in Montreal that were truly commercialized and had adopted the long seamless broadcasting day, and unlike the competitive stations in Vancouver that scrambled at their first opportunities to rapidly expand their schedules, CHNS never utilized an excessive quantity of music to fill its broadcast days. In Halifax, the gaps in the program schedule were reduced and the broadcast days became seamless not by the introduction of music but by the development of new local programs or by pick ups from the CRBC and CBC.

As a local independent radio station at the outset of the 1930s, CHNS had already started to move out of the novice stage to embark upon its quest for local programming to support its ultimate schedule diversification and survival. CHNS was transformed by the network support received from the CRBC and the CBC during the 'thirties. The station, however, did fit the pattern of a local independent station in many ways. It sought most of its programming from the same local sources as was the case for local independent stations. Talk, news, women's and children's programming were

important sources of local diversification for CHNS. Sports and religious programming were more variable on CHNS and of less consequence to the station overall, but were employed in the same manner as at other local independent stations. Some of the diversification of the program schedule at CHNS was transient in nature, depending very heavily upon network support; this was the case with drama for example. In general, however, the network support or foci did not permanently replace the foundation of local programming that CHNS had built.

As the vehicle for Canadian network programming in Halifax, CHNS possessed an added programming dimension which supplemented the local programs it developed independently. In the case of the introduction of the CRBC programs, for example, there was a scheduling shift of the existing roster of local programming to accommodate the Commission programming. That change, in turn, resulted in an overall expansion and some diversification of the schedule at CHNS. Similarly, in many cases the association with the CBC resulted in greater diversification and quantity of programming, but these changes did not detract from the original programming foundation of the station. CHNS emerged from the decade a strong local independent radio station with traces of the imprint of the CRBC and the CBC affiliation experience.

CKIC

Operated by Acadia University as an educational station, CKIC obtained its licence during the deliberations of the Aird Commission. In 1932, the station held the distinction of being one of only three university stations in Canada, the other two being CFRC at Queen's University and the University of Alberta's CKUA in Edmonton. Based in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, only 50

miles from Halifax, CKIC was CHNS's nearest competitor. As a non-commercial radio station, it did not amount to a great rival for CHNS. The station survived the entire decade, but only emerged in the samples of two years, 1930 and 1932.

The CKIC program schedule, at least as it appeared in *The Halifax Herald*, was limited to the late afternoon and evening. The breakdown of CKIC programming in Table 8.4 below demonstrates that the station broadcast mostly music in the hours that it was available to Halifax listeners. Since 500 watt stations were expected to have a daytime broadcast radius of 20 miles, at 50 watts of power and 50 miles away from Halifax, most of CKIC's programs would have been available to Halifax listeners strictly in the evening. In the late afternoon the programs may have provided a welcome alternative to CHNS, but the evening programs would have had the added competition of the American network offerings.

Table 8.4 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CKIC, 1930 and 1932

Type	Music	Dance music	Talk
1930	75.00	0	25.00
1932	80.00	8.33	13.33

The minuscule selection of CKIC programs captured by the sample amounted to an average of 1 hour and 20 minutes per week in 1930 and 2 hours and 20 minutes weekly in 1932. The musical programs were mostly recitals or simply listed as *Music program* or *Studio program*. Talks represented the only other major feature of the CKIC schedule and tended to

be educational in nature. The 1930 sample listed *Talk on Public School Education, Talk on Canadian History Since Confederation* and *Talk on reading for boys and girls*. Similarly an address on Sir Francis Hincks by Prof. R. S. Longley formed part of the 1932 sample. CKIC presented exclusively local programming, providing a Canadian alternative to CHNS. As part of an educational institution, CKIC offered a schedule that reflected the internal, educational goals of the station's owner rather than any commercial motivation.

CNRH

CNRH represented the only officially licensed alternative to CHNS within the bounds of the city. Like other phantom stations belonging to Canadian National Railways in the early 'thirties, it was on the decline. A 500-watt phantom station, CNRH appeared merely as a small part of the CHNS listings, a maximum of one hour weekly. Not listed separately as a station in *The Halifax Herald*, CNRH's broadcasting amounted to the equivalent of a regular late Saturday evening program in 1930, the same on both Saturday and Sunday evenings in 1931 and again only a late Sunday program in 1932. No further details were offered with regard to the type of programming the station provided. In these last few years of the Canadian National Railways' operations the effects of budget and staff cutbacks became more evident on phantom stations such as CNRH. It did not have the facilities or budget to produce its own programs, depending instead upon the programming available through its network. The network featured largely musical fare across the country and the CNRH schedule was doubtless based upon a foundation of musical programming. As such a limited contribution to the Halifax broadcasting environment, CNRH did not alter the balance of programming in

the city. The station did, however, supplement the late evening offerings of CHNS which were weak in the first few years of the decade.

CNRA

CNRA appeared only briefly in the Halifax radio program schedule in 1930, offering the greater promise of one of the three wholly owned radio stations belonging to the Canadian National Railways network. CNRA began broadcasting from Moncton, New Brunswick on November 7, 1924 with a power of 500 watts. The station possessed a remote control connection with the Dominion Observatory at Saint John, 85 miles away, and according to E. Austin Weir "Programs were relayed regularly from Saint John to Halifax, transmission being excellent without intermediate amplification."²⁶ At a distance of 130 miles from Halifax, CNRA was out of daytime range of Halifax, but the evening programs appeared in *The Halifax Herald*.²⁷

While CNRA did not substantially change the composition of the overall listings because its programs were largely musical, it provided yet another Canadian alternative to American programming in the evening. In the small selection captured by the 1930 sample, only one program was a local musical program; the remainder were music and variety chain programs as part of the CNR network, identified as originating in Montreal, Toronto and Fredericton. CNRA's programming was only contained in the January 1930 portion of the sample, contributing six hours in that one week alone. As only a short-lived component of the schedule in *The Halifax Herald* the station did not have a sustained impact upon the programming available in the city.

²⁶E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), 20.

²⁷Weir reported that the aerial in Saint John was angled to give best coverage to the southwest into the New England states, but that it consistently covered more of the Maritime provinces than any AM transmitter since.

DISTANT CANADIAN STATIONS IN THE HALIFAX LISTINGS

A variety of stations located in Montreal and Toronto were listed in the Halifax radio program schedule, with only the remotest possibility of ever being heard. Both CFCA and CHYC, broadcasting from Toronto and Montreal respectively, were occasional additions to the schedule, offering some variety of programming, but at 500 watts were almost impossible to receive. The remaining Montreal and Toronto stations were affiliates of American networks and were undoubtedly included in the Halifax listings as a part of the network's listings of stations in the region. American networks generally listed their stations as a group, particularly in the first few years of the decade. This anomaly in the Halifax listings completely faded by the end of 1932, except that CKAC appeared until 1934.²⁸

Although the CKAC evening fare rarely deviated from musical programming, this CBS station's content did not customarily repeat other offerings in the schedule because it was overwhelmingly Canadian. CKAC represented a more mature and diversified Canadian station than others in the Halifax radio schedule and a more complete alternative to other American network affiliates.

CKGW and CFCF were included in the schedule by virtue of their affiliation with the NBC Blue network. In the *Herald's* evening schedule CKGW was the more Americanized of the two stations in 1931 at 97.95 per cent American content, while CFCF offered 39.16 per cent. CKGW program listings included well-known American programs such as *Amos 'n' Andy*, *Sunday at Seth Parker's*, *Eddie Cantor*, *The Country Doctor*, *Lowell Thomas*, *Paul Whiteman's Orchestra* and *Little Orphan Annie*, more readily available on

²⁸ See Chapter 7 "Centre Stage: Montreal Radio Programs Schedules 1930 to 1939" for more detail, particularly for CKAC, CFCF and CKGW.

more powerful and closer American stations. The alternative stations made CKGW an unlikely choice for Halifax listeners.

A notable aspect of CFCF's inclusion in the Halifax radio program schedule was that it did not commence until its first full year as an American affiliate, reinforcing the fact that these distant stations formed part of the schedule merely as a part of the larger American networks. Although CFCF employed more Canadian programs than did CKGW, a listener in Halifax was just as likely to hear *Sunday at Seth Parker's*, *Eddie Cantor*, *The Country Doctor*, *Lowell Thomas* and *Paul Whiteman's Orchestra*. The station owed some of its diversity to American network selections, particularly in the realms of comedy and variety, but local programming accounted for the development of CFCF's varied program offerings early in the decade. CFCF represented more than just another American affiliate, but unquestionably owed its temporary position in the Halifax schedule to its connection to NBC rather than to any genuine alternative it provided as a primarily Canadian station, even in the evening.

CJLS

Operated as a commercial radio station by Radio CJLS Limited, CJLS started broadcasting in 1934 from Yarmouth at a power level of 100 watts. At a distance of 142 miles from Halifax, on the southwestern tip of Nova Scotia, even with repeaters in Digby and Shelburne, CJLS would have been impossible for Halifax listeners to hear clearly in the daytime. Yarmouth had a fraction of the population of Halifax at 7,055 in 1931, but CJLS would have effectively served southern Nova Scotia. CJLS suddenly appeared in the radio program schedule of *The Halifax Herald* in 1936 as part of a package. Just as CKAC, CKGW and CFCF were listed in the *The Halifax Herald* for the first few

Table 8.5 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CJLS, 1936 to 1938

Type	1936	1937	1938
Children	0	18.36	21.70
Comedy	0	0	2.01
Drama	3.33	0	0
Music	45.00	47.82	36.24
Dance music	10.00	17.60	13.87
Opera	0	1.15	1.34
Quiz	7.22	1.53	0
Religious	16.11	3.44	2.68
Serial drama	15.00	0	6.04
Sports	0	1.15	0
Talk	3.33	0	2.68
Variety	0	9.18	1.34

years of the decade as part of the American networks, CJLS appeared after 1936 because it was an optional member of the CBC.

Halifax listeners only had access to the CJLS program schedule after 6:00 p.m. A heavy reliance on music as indicated in Table 8.5 above was purely a function of listings that included only the station's evening programming. In 1936 very few of the programs on CJLS were American; music from *Smilin' Ed McConnell* and the perennial *Cecil and Sally* were captured by the sample, but these proved exceptions to predominantly Canadian and musical programming. CJLS provided the CBC program, *My*

Kingdom Come, but CHNS did not; this kind of small difference made the station of some potential interest to Halifax listeners. The early evening hours provided children's programs that included *Adventure Bound*, *Uncle Bob* and CHNS's *Uncle Mel*. Occasional American comedies such as *Kaltenmeyer's Kindergarten* were added to the evening mixture of predominately music and some variety. *Mid-Week Evangelists* provided an alternative religious option and some opera added to the programs available to Nova Scotia. Despite the fact that CHNS and CJLS were both CBC stations, the evening offerings of the station were distinct, providing programming alternatives.

CJLS's link to the CBC sustained its place in the Halifax radio program schedule. Listeners who lived south of Halifax and received *The Halifax Herald* would have been more interested in programming from both stations. Once the Corporation established its own powerful station in the Maritimes, CJLS disappeared from the Halifax program listings. CJLS's entry into the Halifax listings was predicated on its place in the newly established Canadian network and on the additional programs it could potentially provide, but it would hardly have been favoured over the wide variety of American network programs that were available in the evening.

CFCY

In the spring of 1921, Keith Rogers of Charlottetown, who possessed the only experimental licence in the province of Prince Edward Island, started broadcasting as 9AK. In 1923 the Charlottetown Radio Association was formed to provide the legal basis for an amateur broadcasting licence, which was obtained on July 31, 1923. The early station, named 10AS, had a 20-watt

transmitter with a normal daylight range of 25 miles.²⁹ In 1925 the station was licensed under Island Radio, Keith Rogers's business, to broadcast commercially as CFCY and the power of the station expanded to 100 watts in 1926. After 1927, the station shared its wavelength with CHCK, also located in Charlottetown.

CFCY was a small operation that used partners and family to keep it afloat. By 1929 CFCY had increased power to 250 watts in a ongoing bid to force CHCK out of business (Rogers eventually purchased the station in 1938).³⁰ In 1931 CFCY moved from 960 on the dial to 580 and increased its power to 500 watts. By 1934 the station moved to 630 at 1,000 watts. Rogers arranged for cooperative programs with Major Bill Borrett of CHNS for chain broadcasts and ultimately became part of the CRBC and later the CBC networks.

Aggressive use of local opportunities for programming, characteristic of the novice local independent station's quest for schedule diversification, is evident in the reminiscences of Betty Rogers Large about CFCY.³¹ Table 8.6 below, however, shows that the station used increased amounts of musical programming toward the end of the decade. Usually increased use of music in the radio program schedule was an indicator of change in the station, most frequently of decline or of a station in crisis. This was not the case for CFCY. Instead it represented a move away from Canadian network programming, compensating for the introduction of a new regional CBC station.

In the few years that CFCY was part of the Halifax schedule, it was

²⁹ This 'normal' daylight range runs contrary to evidence previously cited. This range may have been an optimum range while other calculations most likely cite minimal range. Betty Rogers Large and Tom Crothers, *Out of Thin Air* (Charlottetown: Applecross Press, 1989), 33.

³⁰ CHCK was not listed in *The Halifax Herald*.

³¹ The development of new programs by staff and aggressive use of local talent is highlighted in Rogers' discussion of CFCY during the 1930s. Large and Crothers, 95-114.

Table 8.6 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CFCY, 1936 to 1938

Type	1936	1937	1938
Astrology	8.24	0	0
Children	8.24	11.32	5.26
Comedy	0	0.47	1.44
Drama	0	2.83	3.83
Drama anthology	0	0	1.91
Education	0	0.47	0
Music	35.29	32.55	55.99
Dance music	11.76	4.25	0.96
News	29.41	14.62	8.61
Quiz	0	0	0.96
Serial drama	3.53	5.66	4.78
Sports	0	0.47	0
Talk	1.18	8.96	4.31
Variety	2.35	1.88	0.48

marked by some abrupt changes. It abandoned American dance orchestras available initially through the CBC, but unavailable in 1938.³² Local music adequately filled this gap. Don Messer and the Islanders and George Chappelle's *The Merry Makers* ultimately came out of the CFCY's search for local programming. The traditional music featured by the *Outports Hour* from 5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. six days a week represented a return to the 'roots' of the

³² The change in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation offerings of dance music is noted in Table 8.7, which follows later in the chapter.

station and its local talent. That one program alone constituted 11.49 per cent of the musical programming for 1938. The station refocused on its strength, the 'old time' music and fiddlers that the station originally recruited locally to fill its broadcast days. This assertion of the distinct character of the local independent radio station, even though it was a CBC affiliate, indicated that the network had not weakened the strong foundation of local programming, particularly in the realm of music.

CFCY's news programming was also marked by some abrupt changes and decline as a proportion of the program schedule. In 1936 the typical stock quotations listed in the schedule were augmented by the Canadian Press News bulletins. Although news increased in quantity it fell as a proportion of the schedule in 1937. In 1938 news was reduced to news bulletins and *Hughes Reel*, hosted by the American John B. Hughes.³³ The only consistent element was the station's own news contribution.

Evidence of the strength of local programming permeated many of the genres offered by CFCY. Among the least typical was its use of a psychic. Many stations, such as CHNS, aired a daily horoscope. CFCY, however, took the genre one step further with the *Veiled Lady of Mystery*, who employed her psychic powers to locate listeners' lost items. Just as in the case of all the stations across Canada, psychics, astrologists and graphologists disappeared after 1936. As in Vancouver and Montreal astrology came to an abrupt end as a direct consequence of new CBC policy.

CFCY also employed a favourite for local program development - children's programming. By 1938, CFCY regularly featured *Uncle Mel*, developed by CHNS, but throughout the decade, the station also aired its own

³³ Hughes was later infamous for his correct prediction that Japan would attack the United States. John Dunning, *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 500.

children's program, *Sleepy Town Express*, between the hours of 6:00 and 7:00 p.m.³⁴ The simple content of the program, consistent with most locally developed children's programs, featured Betty Rogers Large reading a bedtime story, continued in later years by her younger sister, Marianne Rogers Morrow.³⁵ Betty Rogers Large was additionally in charge of an afternoon program called *Women at Home*. Serving its audience with local programs, frequently employing the staff in multiple roles, CFCY practices were consistent with many other Canadian local independent stations.

The CBC contributed to the diversification of the CFCY schedule largely through the introduction of drama. A mixture of American and Canadian productions, CFCY's drama included American commercial successes such as *Memory Lane*, *Hollywood Hotel* and *Silver Theatre* as well as *The Plainsmen* and *Red Ledger*, which were CBC productions. They remained but a minimal contribution to the station's schedule. The evening serial dramas *Cecil and Sally*, *The Youngbloods of Beaver Bend* from Winnipeg and *One Man's Family* suggested serials most likely formed part of the CFCY afternoon schedule. The big American successes of comedy and variety, however, were little more than after thoughts in the CFCY program schedule. Variety was listed as merely *Variety Program* and comedy encompassed only the occasional American show. Examination of the CFCY evening program schedule suggests that it did not try to compete with the wide range of American programs in areas of their distinctive competency, but instead provided a Canadian and Island alternative to American network programming.

Marianne Morrow remarked that "We didn't feel the threat of American radio to the extent people in Ontario did. Prince Edward Island was unique in

³⁴ The timing of the program varied from year to year. *Sleepy Town Express* was scheduled at 6:30 p.m. in 1936, 18:45 p.m. in 1937 and 6:15 p.m. in 1938.

³⁵ Large and Crothers, 109; Marianne Morrow as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 42.

that it was naturally isolated from the rest of the world."³⁶ As the CFCY listening range increased and it became part of the CRBC and then the CBC networks, it gained further links to American and Canadian network radio. The distinctiveness of the station, however, was preserved. As a local independent station, it succeeded in securing local programming. Particularly in the area of music, in which local talent was plentiful, the distinctive sound of the Maritimes flourished. Other areas of local programming were also effectively employed, consistent with the profile of a local independent station. The assistance and support of Canadian network membership helped to bring some diversity to CFCY, but did not leave an overwhelming imprint upon the station and its programming. Thus, as Morrow indicated, CFCY was somewhat removed from the general direction of Canadian network programming and developed as a true local independent radio station, drawing upon local resources to serve its own audience.

CBA

The CRBC and CBC's initial impact upon the Maritime region was confined to a network of small independent stations pieced together to provide the network coverage. The affiliated stations of the network included CHNS in Halifax, Nova Scotia; CJCB in Sydney, Nova Scotia; CFCY in Charlottetown, P.E.I.; CKCW in Saint John, New Brunswick; and CFNB in Fredericton, New Brunswick; the optional network stations included CJLS in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia and CHGS in Summerside, P.E.I.. Shortly after its creation, however, the CBC decided to blanket the region with complete coverage from its own station, CBA in Sackville, New Brunswick. Opened in May 1939 in time for the Royal Tour of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the newly constructed

³⁶ Marianne Morrow as cited in McNeil and Wolfe, 44.

station operated with a power level of 50 kilowatts. CBA's establishment in Sackville, in the geographic centre of the Maritimes, allowed maximum coverage of the region, thereby eliminating the need for a network of smaller stations.³⁷

As previously discussed, the introduction of CBA signalled a change for the other stations affiliated with the CBC. The steady stream of CBC programs did not cease to exist, but stations such as CHNS did not make as extensive use of them after CBA started operations. Essentially the continued broadcast of all the CBC programming employed by CBA would have made CHNS merely a repeater station for CBA. Even prior to the establishment of CBA, stations such as CHNS did not avail themselves of all of the CBC programs, but the shift away from programming identical to that of CBA was more evident after May 1939.

A temporary anomaly that coincided with *The Halifax Herald's* adoption of a grid style to give prominence to network programming, in the latter part of 1938 CBC programming was listed separately, despite the fact that it did not yet operate a fully owned station.³⁸ This listing, shown in Table 8.7 below, provides an interesting glimpse of the potential impact of the public broadcaster. Music was the dominant category of programming, as it was on any North American radio network. What is striking is the lack of available dance music. Table 8.11 also shows that news, variety, drama, comedy and children's programming were made readily available and formed a substantial portion of the programming provided by the CBC.

³⁷ Only areas around the north western-most tip of New Brunswick, near Edmunston, and the most easterly portions of Cape Breton Island including Sydney fell outside the limits of guaranteed coverage established earlier by the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

³⁸ This schedule listing aberration appeared only in the sample week of November 61-12, 1938.

Table 8.7 Percentages of broadcast duration of types of programs, not including unidentified programs, on CBC and CBA, 1938-1939

Type	1938	1939
Adventure, crime & mystery	1.45	0
Children	7.97	0.88
Comedy	5.80	1.87
Drama	7.25	1.10
Drama anthology	2.90	0.66
Education	0.72	0.11
Games	1.45	0
Music	37.68	38.27
Dance music	1.45	12.07
News	10.14	9.84
Opera	0	0.88
Religious	1.45	2.31
Serial drama	2.90	8.78
Special	1.45	6.04
Sports	0	1.54
Talk	4.35	5.23
Variety	7.25	9.99

Thus the evening programming fare was quite diverse, keeping music to a minimum.

Once CBA was established in 1939 as a regional outpost of the CBC, with a fully diversified schedule, the balance of programming in the Maritimes

was forever altered. As the regional representative of a national network, CBA did not experience the same process or growing pains that were part of the evolution of most local independent Canadian radio stations. CBA appeared in all three of the sample weeks for 1939 in May, June and August, broadcasting the full CBC schedule. At this time CJLS and CFCY were eliminated from the Halifax listings, as they would have created unnecessary duplication.

Not only did CBA arrive in the Maritimes fully developed and diversified, but as a full-time broadcaster providing the long hours of a commercial station. In 1939, its first year of operations, the station broadcast on average for 86 hours and 30 minutes weekly. For the sake of comparison it is important to note that CHNS, broadcasting since 1925, operated in 1939 for an average of 109 hours and 36 minutes per week, including some CBC programming. CHNS broadcast for a longer day because it generally signed on at 9:00 a.m., while the broadcast day at CBA habitually commenced at 1:00 p.m. The extended day consequently altered the proportions of different program categories in the schedule.

CBC stations established in other cities as early as 1936 were launched without the advantages afforded CBA in 1939. CBA benefitted from the national network programming that had already been developed to fill the broadcast days of the CBC's stations across the country. Music was one of the types of programs that drew heavily upon the resources of the network. Although the *CBC Singers*, *Canadian Grenadier Guard* and a host of trios filled the program schedule of CBA, *Celtic Ceilidh* was the only program that resembled the list of fiddlers and traditional music more rooted in the Maritimes. The majority of the musical selections reflected the centralization of the network rather than the character of the region; this in turn influenced the musical programming of the other stations in the region.

Other types of programming owed their instant development on CBA to the use of American network programs. American network programs constituted the entire selection of comedy on CBA. CBA broadcast an assortment of very popular programs that included *Vic and Sade*, *Fibber McGee and Molly* and *Jack Benny*. American serial drama constituted 8.78 per cent of the CBA schedule, an average of 6 hours and 40 minutes weekly. *The Story of Mary Marlin*, *Road of Life*, *Ma Perkins*, *Life and Love of Dr. Susan*, *Pepper Young's Family*, *The Guiding Light* and *Miss Trent's Children* all found a place in the CBA schedule. Variety was a mixture of American and Canadian content because the CBC had had a few years to develop its own programming in this area, in particular *The Happy Gang*. CBA drew religious programming and drama, like variety, from the CBC and American networks. The support of the American network programming added to the immediate diversity of the CBA schedule.

The points of the CBC's greatest impact on CBA were the areas of talk and news. Standard talks, broadcast across the country, formed a significant part of the CBA schedule. The CBA listings included *Interview with Lady Tweedsmuir*, *Nature and the Outdoors*, *Graham Spry* and *United States Today*, which were also heard over other CBC stations. CBA offered the Canadian Press News and its own news in an identical fashion to other CBC stations. The almost total lack of any local programming was very conspicuous in the CBA schedule. What identified the local independent radio stations in Canada and connected them to their communities was absent in CBA. CBA, essentially a regional and national station first, ignored the scheduling elements that bonded local radio stations to their respective audiences. CBA delivered ready-made national programming to the Maritimes rather than bringing the Maritimes to the national network.

The delayed introduction of CBA to the Halifax broadcasting environment allowed the existing stations to develop slowly, with the CRBC and then the CBC gradually supplying network programming in smaller amounts. As a national network station CBA reflected less of the local voice, initiating a domino effect among the existing stations and reinforcing their interest in local programming. The late arrival of CBA made it more dependent on a network which had already established its programming priorities.

THE AMERICAN COMPONENT

The American stations and their network programming created such a powerful impression that Maritime radio stations seemed reluctant to compete with them. In the case of CHNS, the station would sign off early unless it had a Canadian network program to place in the late evening time slots; it never pitted its own programs directly against American late evening offerings. As in Vancouver and Montreal, Halifax listeners had access to a variety of American stations that were listed initially in groups, but not identified in the program schedule as networks. Once the grid-style program schedule of 1938 appeared, the clear delineation between networks became obvious. As late as 1938 WEAJ in New York, WTIC in Hartford and WGY in Schenectady of the NBC Red network remained part of the choices in the Halifax, as did WJZ in New York and WBZ in Boston of the NBC Blue network, WABC in New York of the Columbia Broadcasting System and WOR in Newark, initially an independent station but later of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

As was the case on the West Coast, timing was important to the reception and place of American programming within the Halifax schedule. The time-zone difference allowed the Halifax listeners to receive a greater segment of the American network schedule. In the first half of the decade

American programs were listed from 7:00 p.m. onward, but after 1935 they were listed as early as 6:00 p.m. Atlantic Standard Time. In the Halifax market this meant that a greater variety and quantity of late afternoon American programs scheduled from 5:00 to 7:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, usually children's programs and serial dramas, were available than in cities such as Montreal and Toronto in the same time zone as New York City. In addition once most Canadian stations had signed off for the evening by midnight, Halifax was still able to receive an additional hour of American programming scheduled at 11:00 p.m. in New York City, usually consisting of dance orchestras such as *Vincent Lopez and His Orchestra*, *Palais d'Or Orchestra* and *Jack Denny and his Orchestra*. Due to this quirk in timing, local stations did not feel the same pressure as stations in other cities did to obtain electrical transcriptions or network affiliation to broadcast American children's programs or serial drama.

Slow Beginnings of American Content Within Canadian Schedules

Operating independently at the outset of the decade, Halifax stations took years to incorporate even the minutest quantities of American content into their schedules. Without American network affiliation, Halifax area stations would seem to have been prime candidates for the use of electrical transcriptions. However, apart from one fifteen-minute exception in 1930, CHNS can be grouped with CNRA and CKIC as stations that did not incorporate any American programming in their standard schedules for the first few years of the 1930s, as indicated in Table 8.8. The availability of the technology to employ electrical transcriptions did not provide sufficient enticement to the stations to make an active use of American programs.

Table 8.8 Percentages of broadcast duration of American programs on Canadian radio stations in the Halifax radio program schedule, 1930 to 1939

Station	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
CBA	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	23.88
CBC	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	22.62	n/a
CFCA	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CFCF	n/a	39.16	33.67	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CFCY	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8.87	7.94	10.83	n/a
CHNS	0.28	0	0	2.01	4.09	3.03	5.72	5.32	14.47	21.53
CHYC	100.00	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CJLS	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8.15	3.45	18.47	n/a
CKAC	6.14	6.76	7.14	n/a	100.00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CKGW	49.21	97.95	62.84	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CKIC	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CNRA	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
CNRH	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Canadian Stations Outside the Maritimes in the Halifax Schedule

Table 8.8 also indicates that the level of American programming on the Montreal and Toronto radio stations included in the Halifax radio program schedule was very high. The inclusion of these stations emphasized the concentration of American programs in the evening time slot listed in the Halifax schedule, the most extreme case being CKGW. American

programming assumed varying degrees of importance in these schedules. Language and an already established program schedule prevented American programming from having an immediate impact on CKAC, while on CFCF American programming became a standard feature very early. CKGW allowed a wave of American programming to envelope its program schedule to an extent not immediately imitated by other stations. These listings outside the region, however unrealistic, reinforce the contrast to the local Halifax stations that did not incorporate American programming into their schedules in the early 1930s.

CANADIAN RADIO BROADCASTING COMMISSION

The CRBC first delivered American programming directly to Halifax through CHNS in 1933. This began gradually with programs that included the *New York Philharmonic Orchestra* and other American network programs identified merely as *CBS Program*. In the two years that followed the increased amounts of American content broadcast over CHNS included a greater variety of programs. In 1934 CHNS offered the *Chicago Symphony*, *NBC Symphony Concert* and the *New York Philharmonic Society* to its audiences. This expansion of American programs to 4.09 per cent of the schedule also included other American musical programs, such as *Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra* as well as the American news program *World in Review*. By 1935 musical programs originated in New York and Detroit, *The World in Review* maintained a position in the schedule and the popular serial drama, *Ma Perkins* began. Even with these additions American content remained restricted to only 3.03 per cent of the schedule that year. The CRBC's introduction to the Halifax broadcasting environment, through CHNS, constituted neither dramatic nor lasting change.

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION AFFILIATES

American programming did not become a serious consideration in the schedules of Canadian stations in Halifax until the CBC began to contribute to the program schedules of the city. In 1936 three stations in the region became part of the CBC network of radio stations, introducing variable and inconsistent quantities of American content to Halifax for the next three years. As CBC stations in Charlottetown and Yarmouth, CFCY and CJLS served different regions of the Maritimes. Both stations formed part of the Halifax radio program schedule only in the evening, providing a partial glimpse at their moderate American programming selections.

Music initially overshadowed, by far, all other genres of American programs included in the CFCY schedule. By 1938, however, CFCY's American programming encompassed comedy, drama, music, dance music, news, quiz programs and serial dramas. The same pattern marked the incorporation of American programming into the program schedule at CJLS. American programming became a source of adventure, comedy, music, dance music, serial drama, talk and variety by 1938, rather than just music. The incorporation of American programs into the schedules of CFCY and CJLS altered the course of their development, providing the diversification required to parallel the development of radio stations across the country.

Like CFCY and CJLS, CHNS incorporated American programs into its schedule largely in the evening through its CBC affiliation. Examination of its full broadcast week in 1935 reveals that American programming made up 5.72 per cent of the full day. The *New York Philharmonic Orchestra* and *Ma Perkins* were two of the few regular contributions to the daytime schedule. With the exception of some music and variety the remainder of the programming was

concentrated exclusively in the evenings. In 1936 musical programs such as *America Dances*, *Alfred Wallenstein's Sinfonietta* and *King's Jesters* were offset by some light drama such as *Front Page Dramas*. In 1937 orchestras such as those of Xavier Cugat and Paul Whiteman were regular inclusions in the schedule. *Ma Perkins* was joined by *Stella Dallas* and *Backstage Wife* but, as previously discussed, there was no sudden influx of American serial drama into the Halifax radio program schedule in 1937. The time-zone difference allowed Halifax listeners a chance to listen to their favourite serial dramas that were also still available in the late afternoon on American stations. Light drama, such as *Memory Lane* and *Silver Theatre*, the comedy *Easy Aces* and the crime program *Crime Clues* were added to the CHNS schedule that year. The American content injected into the CHNS schedule fit into a pattern similar to that of stations across the country, with the adoption of programs from the genres dominated by the American networks.

Between 1937 and 1938 the American programming on CHNS jumped almost threefold, from 5.32 per cent of the schedule to 14.47 per cent. Although broadcast hours remained consistent, American content increased, the most obvious area of expansion being serial drama which grew 2.5 times in one year. American content continued to be drawn from music and adventure, crime and mystery, while a wider selection of American variety and comedy also appeared in the CHNS schedule. The substantial new additions to the CHNS broadcast week consisted of daily children's programming such as *Dick Tracy* and *Howie Wing*. Quiz programs, religious and religious music programs also contributed to the increased quantity and diversification of American programming on CHNS in 1938. As a CBC affiliate the station's access to and adoption of American programming grew, but more importantly for the first time it supplanted rather than merely supplemented the station's Canadian

offerings.

By 1939 American programming was well entrenched in the CHNS schedule. Indeed American programming grew to 21.53 per cent of the schedule in that year; clearly this was a reaction to the opening of CBA. As was the case for many stations in both Vancouver and Montreal, CHNS's method of competing with the arrival of a new CBC station was to offer more American programming. CHNS juggled its array of children's programming to replace *Howie Wing* and *Dick Tracy* with new additions such as *Smilin' Jack*, a juvenile adventure from the Mutual network that debuted in 1939.³⁹ The addition of other Mutual Broadcasting System programs such as *Voice of Experience* and *Good Will Hour* were indicative of the station's need to compete with CBA by finding alternate sources of American programs. The addition of talk programs and retention of the children's programming did not make high quality additions to the program schedule but distinguished CHNS from its new competitor. By virtue of its longer broadcast day CHNS offered a greater quantity of American programs to the Halifax audience than CBA, though such programming constituted a slightly smaller proportion of the entire CHNS schedule.

CBA and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

As already discussed, CBA arrived in the Maritimes with a fully diversified program schedule that depended to a considerable extent on American content. The schedule included *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *Vic and Sade*, *Jack Benny*, drama, music, dance music, religious, serial drama and variety programming originating in the United States. The CBC made no apologies for its use of American programs on its network. American

³⁹ Dunning, 621.

programs formed part of the schedule of the network from its inception as part of its new commercial policy that would support the production of sustaining programs.

The introduction of CBA to the Maritime region meant that the CBC was able to deliver service and American programs available only in urban areas a decade earlier to a much wider range of Canadian listeners. This expansion of the network radically changed the balance of programming in the Maritimes. Although American programs formed only 23.88 per cent of the CBA schedule in 1939, a low proportion for a CBC station, this was an unprecedented level of Americanization in the region. The availability of American programming to CBC affiliates made its use acceptable, desirable and a standard feature of the affiliate station schedule. The imprint of the CBC on its affiliates established American programming as an integral part of the local Halifax program schedule.

CONCLUSION

The heart and soul of the Halifax radio program schedule was CHNS. The broadcast day in the city started when CHNS signed on. The station operated in a virtual monopoly situation during the day, setting the schedule and broadcasting priorities for the city, until the regular evening invasion of regional and American programming. The virtual local void in which CHNS operated allowed the station to take some distinct directions in programming and scheduling. Nevertheless the overall pattern of the development of the station fit into the mould of the local independent Canadian radio station.

Halifax's primary radio station entered the decade at a more advanced state of development than the novice stage stations on the West Coast as CHNS had already started on its quest for new sources of local programming

to diversify its program schedule. Consistent with the approach of the typical local independent radio station the Halifax station successfully used local resources to develop its own news, women's, children's, talk, religious and sports programming, with great success. These programs, however, were employed in different proportions in the Halifax market. Lacking the pressure of local competitors CHNS was free to pursue or ignore new avenues of programming, less fettered by the concern that they might not appeal to its audience.

The independence of CHNS, the sole full-time Halifax radio station, was reinforced rather than undermined by its membership in the CRBC and then the CBC. From the beginning of the decade CHNS did not make a great effort to extend its evening hours to compete with the American networks. Thus, the evening programming of the CRBC served as a helpful supplement that assisted the station in its transition to a full-time broadcaster.

The affiliation with the CRBC was immediately followed by a similar arrangement with the CBC. Both served to introduce new programming genres to CHNS. Drama, American serial drama and a collection of Canadian and American network programs came to CHNS through the support of the Canadian networks. This network support allowed the station to expand and diversify its program schedule without an extreme strain on its resources and with very little risk. Despite the local autonomy of CHNS and the support of the Canadian national networks, the same priorities of diversification and use of local resources asserted themselves, conforming with the practices of other Canadian local independent stations.

Halifax entered the decade with a local broadcaster with an abbreviated schedule and a vast array of choice in the evening drawn largely from American stations. The city left the decade with two fully developed Canadian

broadcasting stations. The first, CHNS, a local independent station, made the transition to a full-time, completely diversified radio station. The second, CBA, a link in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation chain, emerged fully formed and developed at birth in 1939. Thus, the city entered the next decade with much changed broadcasting circumstances. Moreover the American network offerings had permanently entered both the day and evening schedules of every station and were to remain a constant in the Halifax radio environment.

Chapter 9
"Signing Off":
Conclusion

Within the framework of the radio industry in the 1930s, Canadian radio stations were faced with a finite range of possibilities for development. The most profitable and successful Canadian stations became American affiliates, a second tier of radio stations ultimately became CBC stations or affiliates and the remaining stations persevered as independents. The performance of the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio stations demonstrates that whether they were affiliates or independents, they drew upon consistent strategies for development and a few core areas of programming to distinguish themselves in what was becoming an increasingly homogenized network broadcasting environment dependent on network-generated programs. These distinctions assured the stations' continued survival and relevance to their communities.

The technological context and economic boundaries within which radio operated determined that the medium would forever be influenced by the American radio industry, due to the range of signals and the inability to block them. The network system that evolved in the United States may not have been inevitable; once it was established, however, the powerful impact of network broadcasting was unavoidable in Canada.

The rate of penetration of American programming into Canadian radio schedules cannot be attributed to its appeal alone. The rapid spread and pervasiveness of American programming by the end of the decade can be at least partially credited to the decisions made by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The CBC chose to make American network programs an early and strong component of its program schedule in order to finance the production of more Canadian programming. The incorporation of American network programming into the CBC schedule in turn influenced other Canadian radio stations to do the same, thereby changing the overall balance within Canadian broadcasting. This acceptance of American programming

quickly accelerated the infiltration of American culture into Canadian society, making it one of the most influential actions of the decade in terms of the increasing impact of American culture on Canadians.

The disparities among the Halifax, Montreal and Vancouver broadcasting environments are immediately apparent. Halifax was dominated by a single station that became an affiliate of the CRBC and then the CBC. Montreal dealt effectively with the challenge of linguistic duality in part by the early American network affiliation of its two major stations. Vancouver was marked by its collection of competitive independent stations, somewhat removed from the direct impact of network broadcasting until the last years of the decade. Each station in turn employed similar strategies to deal with the challenges of the decade in order to diversify, survive and preserve a local 'voice'. Nevertheless the larger challenges of American network broadcasting and the development of a Canadian national network had a cumulative effect in each city that was remarkably similar.

The typology developed in this study tracks the consistency in the growth and development of Canadian radio stations despite the divergent local circumstances. Whether there was a dominant single station, fairly equal competition or American affiliation, the path of development did not stray far from a single course. The consistent development of a base of local programming, whether or not significant quantities of network programs were added, became the common element of Canadian radio stations that linked them to their individual communities and distinguished Canadian stations' schedules from those of the networks. The choices made by the owner and managers were influenced by the early model of diversification provided by the American networks.

Local programming genres, not surprisingly, were derived largely from

the categories of programming left behind by the large American networks and by the CRBC and the CBC. News, sports, religious, talk, children's and women's programs remained the domain of local independent stations. Some overlap did develop in the areas of talk and children's programming, especially, where parallel but very different types of programming were offered by both local stations and the networks. Talk programming, particularly, constituted one of the most significant links between local radio stations and their audiences.

The increased diversification of program schedules involved the addition of greater quantities of network programming on virtually all stations in the later 1930s. Most significant here is the role of the CBC. While the CBC produced many of its own programs, its immediate incorporation of American programs into its schedule hastened the delivery of American commercial programming to Canadian cities. In his defence of CBC policy Leonard Brockington described the use of American programs largely as a great cultural exchange to obtain the opera and symphony. While this was true in the early use of American programs by the CRBC prior to the arrival of the CBC and Brockington, this kind of description did not accurately reflect reality once the CBC extended its schedule on October 1, 1937.

The CBC concentrated its acquisition of American network programs largely in the areas of serial drama and vaudeville-type performances that encompassed comedy, variety and music. As previously noted the new CBC schedule in 1938 included sixteen commercial programs, ten of which were American. In all the cities in this study the introduction of American content through the CBC resulted in an increased usage of American network programs in the total schedule, not just through the CBC additions. In Montreal, stations that already used American programs, whether or not they

were American network affiliates, increased their American content to differentiate themselves from the CBC. In Halifax the American programs were delivered directly through CHNS, the local CBC affiliate. Upon the arrival of CBA in 1939, the new CBC station supplied American content to the Maritime provinces and CHNS scrambled to find alternative sources of American programming to maintain the level of diversity it had previously attained. In Vancouver all of the stations, but especially CJOR, bolstered American content through the considerably increased use of electrical transcriptions after the arrival of the CBC.

As shown in Table 9.1 below, despite the differences in the local circumstances, the use of American programs was particularly low in 1930, ranging from 0.25 per cent of the total program schedule in Halifax to 4.42 per cent in Montreal. By the end of the decade there was a marked rise in the incorporation of American programs in the schedules of Canadian stations; American content amounted to 22.57 per cent in Halifax, 23.43 per cent in Montreal and 16.85 per cent in Vancouver.

Notably American content reached approximately the same levels in all three cities despite their varied local circumstances. In Halifax the CBC station CBA and the CBC affiliate CHNS aired 23.88 per cent and 21.53 per cent American programs respectively. In Montreal a standard of approximately 20 per cent American content seems to have been set, with CBF contributing 18.29 per cent, CBM 22.39 per cent and CKAC 19.20 per cent. The major exceptions to this standard were CFCF at 43.19 per cent and CHLP at 2.16 per cent. In Vancouver there was quite a range of usage of American material. Most stations provided fairly small amounts of American programming, with CKCD at 5.70 per cent, CKFC at 6.32 per cent, CKMO at 6.74 per cent, CKWX at 8.43 per cent. The greater rates of

Table 9.1 American content on Canadian stations in Halifax, Montreal and Vancouver radio program schedules in 1930 and 1939

City/Year	1930	1939
Halifax	0.25	22.57
Montreal	4.42	23.43
Vancouver	2.42	16.85

incorporation of American content in the schedule were employed by CJOR at 29.28 per cent and CBR at 39.05 per cent, bringing the average to 16.85 per cent of the total program schedule. Despite the distinct routes that each city's stations pursued with respect to their incorporation of American content into their schedules, the results were similar. In each city the introduction of added American content through the local CBC station or affiliate provided the foundation for the legitimization and standardization of its use within the schedules of virtually all Canadian radio stations.

The impact of network programming was perhaps unavoidable; the immediate increase and pervasive invasion of American network programs that accompanied the arrival of the CBC, however, indicates that at the very least the new network accelerated the process of homogenization toward a North American culture. The resistance to such assimilation by Vancouver stations, CHNS in Halifax until it became a CBC affiliate and French-language stations in Montreal demonstrated that the process was not inevitable or necessary. The barrier to the assimilation of these stations into the larger

North American culture may have been the lack of ability or means, but the CBC forever altered the course of broadcast media in Canada by making them an inextricable part of a broadcasting mixture dependent on both American and Canadian network programming.

The final report of the Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, presented to the House of Commons on May 9, 1932 just before the creation of the CRBC, outlined its conception of the place of radio broadcasting in national life in the following terms:

[The committee] was seized from the inception, of the national importance and international character of radio broadcasting,...of the far-reaching scope and benefits of proper, well-regulated broadcasting service throughout Canada as a medium of education, thought-provoking development, and fostering of Canadian ideals and culture, entertainment, news service and publicity of this country and its products, and as an auxiliary to religious and educational teaching, also as one of the most efficient mediums for developing a great National and Empire consciousness within the Dominion and the British Commonwealth of Nations.¹

The reality of the CBC and the effect of its commercial policy were far removed from these early hopes. The lofty ideals and rhetoric of those who created the public broadcaster have remained part of the popular conception of the CBC; few realize that from its inception the CBC has also served, ironically, partially to facilitate and encourage the entry of American programming into Canada.

The development of local programming forged a bond between Canadian stations and their audiences by means of their language, culture and focus on a variety of local concerns. This link was the principal strength of the independent stations but it was also essential to the appeal of the affiliated stations. Successful Canadian radio stations were able to maintain an identity or 'voice' of their own despite competition among themselves and with the

¹ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. General Statistics Branch. *The Canada Year Book 1933* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), 732.

American and Canadian networks. The distinctive elements in the schedules of Canadian stations provided some counterbalance to the homogenization of North American culture promoted by network broadcasting; more importantly, they ensured the stations' survival in the face of the larger American networks and the two successive Canadian networks, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

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APPENDIX A

A Sampling of the Canadian Radio Broadcast Schedule for Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax in the 1930s.

The sample from the decade of the 1930s with a parameter of 515 weeks, including Sunday, December 29, 1929 to Saturday, January 6, 1940, is listed below. This sample was drawn from *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Montreal Gazette* and *The Halifax Herald* 1930-1939. The weeks were numbered and the random number table employed was drawn from *Handbook of Tables for Probability and Statistics*.¹

Selected weeks:

1.	4.	Sunday, January 19- Saturday, January 25, 1930
2.	23.	Sunday, June 1- Saturday June 7, 1930
3.	41.	Sunday, October 5- Saturday, October 11, 1930
4.	75.	Sunday, May 31- Saturday, June 6, 1931
5.	79.	Sunday, June 28- Saturday, July 4, 1931
6.	95.	Sunday, October 18- Saturday, October 24, 1931
7.	145.	Sunday, October 2- Saturday, October 8, 1932
8.	156.	Sunday, December 18- Saturday, December 24, 1932
9.	150.	Sunday, November 6- Saturday, November 12, 1932
10.	185.	Sunday, July 9- Saturday, July 15, 1933
11.	188.	Sunday, July 30- Saturday, August 5, 1933
12.	204	Sunday, November 19- Saturday, November 25, 1933
13.	242.	Sunday, August 12- Saturday, August 18, 1934
14.	232.	Sunday, June 3- Saturday, June 9, 1934
15.	248.	Sunday, November 25- Saturday, December 1, 1934
16.	301.	Sunday, December 1- Saturday, December 7, 1935
17.	253.	Sunday, December 30, 1934- Saturday, January 5, 1935
18.	259.	Sunday, February 10- Saturday, February 16, 1935
19.	351.	Sunday, November 15- Saturday, November 21, 1936
20.	340.	Sunday, August 30- Saturday, September 5, 1936
21.	328.	Sunday, June 7- Saturday, June 13, 1936
22.	379.	Sunday, May 9- Saturday, May 15, 1937
23.	399.	Sunday, September 26- Saturday, October 2, 1937
24.	408.	Sunday, November 28- Saturday, December 4, 1937.
25.	428.	Sunday, April 17- Saturday, April 23, 1938
26.	440.	Sunday, July 10- Saturday, July 16, 1938
27.	457.	Sunday, November 6- Saturday, November 12, 1938
28.	488.	Sunday, June 18- Saturday 24, 1939
29.	484.	Sunday, May 21- Saturday, May 27, 1939
30.	495	Sunday, August 6- Saturday, August 12, 1939

¹ William H. Beyer ed., *Handbook of Tables for Probability and Statistics* Second Edition (The Chemical Rubber Company, CRC Press, Inc., 1968) as cited in June Audrey True, *Finding Out: Conducting and Evaluating Social Research* Second Edition (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1989), Appendix A, 422.

APPENDIX B**American and Canadian Content Classified by Program Type**

Table 10.1 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of music programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	25.89	22.11	16.85	25.67	19.25	19.47	28.12	23.86	23.17	18.97
Montreal	41.03	33.28	19.12	13.75	11.26	8.63	10.69	14.07	13.79	8.50
Halifax	39.21	29.52	28.57	22.15	20.86	24.08	19.76	21.51	21.09	10.64
Average	35.58	28.30	21.51	20.52	17.12	17.93	19.52	19.81	19.35	12.70
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	25.58	20.62	13.25	16.99	18.09	16.28	9.81	8.98	9.52	14.91
Montreal	14.70	16.77	12.54	24.00	22.65	22.36	28.16	21.05	24.68	23.66
Halifax	11.25	9.60	9.69	12.81	10.50	8.47	11.23	12.56	13.74	17.28
Average	17.18	15.66	11.83	17.93	17.08	15.70	16.40	14.20	15.98	18.62

Table 10.2 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of dance music programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Type	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	10.89	20.32	28.44	26.24	20.87	18.60	20.02	18.31	15.36	15.02
Montreal	21.43	25.06	21.02	19.11	19.96	15.79	14.08	17.10	13.18	12.56
Halifax	14.66	20.20	19.85	14.93	17.79	13.27	17.34	11.98	10.67	18.22
Average	15.66	21.86	23.10	20.09	19.54	15.88	17.15	15.80	13.07	15.30
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	3.00	4.62	0.99	4.10	4.42	2.70	3.63	2.65	1.21	2.67
Montreal	3.83	5.23	7.56	12.36	9.25	9.36	6.93	2.69	5.30	5.61
Halifax	0.62	1.73	3.90	2.36	2.31	2.85	2.29	1.03	1.78	2.45
Average	2.48	3.86	4.14	6.27	5.33	4.97	4.28	2.12	2.76	3.58

Table 10.3 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of comedy programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	2.41	4.26	0.71	0.26	0.66	2.56	1.92	2.83	2.13	1.72
Montreal	2.63	5.79	2.93	1.87	2.07	1.62	1.18	1.68	1.42	1.55
Halifax	4.07	8.14	4.77	7.89	5.44	5.26	5.16	6.89	4.34	4.40
Average	3.04	6.06	2.80	3.34	2.72	3.15	2.75	3.80	2.60	2.56
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	0	0	0	0.06	0.18	0.20	0.30	0.23	0.29	0.26
Montreal	0.08	0.13	0	0.15	0.34	0.74	0.53	0.21	0.34	0
Halifax	0	0	0	0.22	0.11	0	0	0.22	0	0.08
Average	0.03	0.04	0	0.14	0.21	0.32	0.28	0.22	0.21	0.11

Table 10.4. Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of serial drama programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	0.55	0.18	0	0	0.13	0.69	2.37	4.88	4.15	7.16
Montreal	0.28	1.11	2.03	0.84	0.89	1.01	0.73	1.78	1.95	1.77
Halifax	0.76	1.62	3.33	2.22	1.32	2.75	2.23	2.74	4.09	5.16
Average	0.53	0.97	1.79	1.02	0.78	1.48	1.78	3.13	3.40	4.70
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	0.09	0.62	0	0	0.04	0.12	0.12	0.07	0	0.14
Montreal	0	0	0.85	0	0.04	0	0	0.46	0.34	0.18
Halifax	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.14	0.07	0
Average	0.03	0.21	0.28	0	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.22	0.14	0.11

Table 10.5 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of news programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	0.26	0.15	0.38	0	0.09	2.19	1.81	2.51	4.64	5.08
Montreal	0.25	0.29	1.81	1.36	1.56	2.01	2.45	2.06	2.51	2.99
Halifax	0.79	2.52	2.31	2.00	3.43	4.20	4.88	5.83	5.13	3.27
Average	0.43	0.99	1.50	1.12	1.70	2.80	3.21	3.47	4.09	3.78
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	2.83	1.06	0.68	0.97	2.59	2.23	2.06	1.94	2.54	2.76
Montreal	0.57	2.96	2.79	3.23	4.25	4.74	5.09	4.78	4.94	3.85
Halifax	1.52	1.28	1.07	8.10	8.91	6.99	4.61	3.41	2.79	4.16
Average	1.64	1.77	1.51	4.10	5.25	4.65	3.92	3.38	3.42	3.59

Table 10.6 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of talk programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	3.11	0.62	1.50	1.21	0.70	3.76	5.00	7.25	6.38	6.46
Montreal	0.90	1.43	3.13	1.94	2.33	3.06	0.98	4.01	2.30	3.04
Halifax	3.19	5.34	5.12	6.11	2.41	4.71	4.56	4.36	5.73	4.41
Average	2.40	2.46	3.25	3.09	1.81	3.84	3.51	5.21	4.80	4.64
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	0.33	0.88	0.48	1.31	4.58	5.02	2.86	3.70	3.01	2.79
Montreal	1.55	1.61	2.03	5.92	5.94	6.21	4.43	3.97	2.71	3.28
Halifax	0.90	2.75	0.90	3.57	6.52	2.48	2.04	2.21	0.61	1.76
Average	0.93	1.75	0.46	3.60	5.68	4.57	3.11	3.29	2.11	2.61

Table 10.7 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of variety programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939.

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	5.19	11.32	16.32	12.30	9.05	4.51	5.98	9.81	5.59	1.95
Montreal	4.00	3.16	3.17	0.75	2.25	3.60	3.74	5.12	5.09	4.10
Halifax	10.84	2.42	3.47	3.38	3.64	4.72	5.87	3.99	4.89	4.13
Average	6.68	5.63	7.65	5.48	4.98	4.28	5.20	6.31	5.19	3.39
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	0.25	0.58	0.16	1.14	0.56	0.81	0.63	2.72	2.61	1.26
Montreal	1.59	1.99	0.67	1.46	3.71	3.70	3.26	2.26	2.74	2.19
Halifax	1.32	0.32	0.16	0.07	0.32	0.14	0.36	0.41	1.63	2.26
Average	1.05	0.96	0.33	0.89	1.53	1.55	1.42	1.80	2.33	1.90

Table 10.8 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of drama and drama anthologies in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	1.45	3.62	7.84	3.76	3.39	4.55	3.20	3.56	4.03	1.93
Montreal	1.47	3.36	3.74	2.85	2.07	2.69	2.48	2.72	2.54	2.63
Halifax	2.31	4.70	4.20	4.40	4.22	4.45	2.61	3.05	4.30	2.50
Average	1.74	3.89	5.26	3.67	3.23	3.90	2.76	3.11	3.62	2.35
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	0.18	0.22	0.00	0.31	0.57	1.08	0.47	0.42	0.40	0.37
Montreal	0.26	0.26	0.85	1.23	1.46	2.22	2.36	1.78	1.89	0.91
Halifax	0	0	0.05	0.51	0.35	0.36	0.38	0.46	1.01	0.28
Average	0.15	0.16	0.30	0.68	0.79	1.22	1.07	0.89	1.10	0.52

Table 10.9 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of children's programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930-1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	0	1.62	1.64	0.42	0.18	0.08	0.75	0.85	2.04	1.50
Montreal	0.28	1.11	1.30	0.53	1.04	1.05	0.84	1.47	1.54	1.15
Halifax	1.15	1.50	3.45	2.57	2.37	3.41	3.69	4.42	6.35	4.13
Average	0.48	1.41	2.13	1.17	1.20	1.51	1.76	2.25	3.31	2.26
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	0.23	0.91	0.63	0.33	0.15	0.87	0.25	0.59	0.57	0.40
Montreal	0.38	0.46	0.81	0.79	0.70	1.18	1.00	1.23	1.05	0.90
Halifax	0.39	0.61	0.46	0.78	0.95	1.60	2.47	2.35	1.69	1.49
Average	0.33	0.66	0.63	0.63	0.60	1.22	1.24	1.39	1.10	0.93

Table 10.10 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of adventure crime and mystery programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930 to 1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	0.50	1.09	0.35	0	0.26	0.36	0.44	0.61	2.13	0.80
Montreal	0.18	0.79	1.19	0.38	0.51	0.43	0.20	0.26	0.44	0.34
Halifax	1.57	1.56	1.71	0.36	0.79	0.90	0.97	1.00	1.35	1.33
Average	0.75	1.17	1.08	0.25	0.52	0.56	0.54	0.62	1.31	0.82
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	0	0	0.03	0	0	0	0.05	0.25	0.08	0
Montreal	0.08	0	0.07	0	0	0.07	0.10	0.05	0.09	0.09
Halifax	0	0.04	0.18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.03
Average	0.03	0.01	0.09	0	0	0.02	0.05	0.10	0.06	0.04

Table 10.11 Percentages of broadcast duration of American and Canadian content of religious programming in the Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax radio schedules, not including unidentified programs, 1930-1939

Origin	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
American Content										
Vancouver	0.66	3.21	0.09	0	0.79	1.05	0.98	0.89	1.00	1.62
Montreal	1.10	1.43	1.33	0.27	0.27	0.28	0.21	0.68	0.27	0.26
Halifax	0.63	0.83	0.91	0.40	0.40	0.63	0.67	0.74	0.60	0.85
Average	0.80	1.82	0.78	0.22	0.49	0.65	0.62	0.77	0.62	0.91
Canadian Content										
Vancouver	1.84	2.04	0.67	0.96	4.42	4.83	0.92	1.09	1.40	2.64
Montreal	1.09	0.96	1.00	1.08	1.38	1.50	1.50	1.20	1.36	0.79
Halifax	0.76	0.29	0.60	0.58	0.99	1.51	2.51	1.66	0.91	1.03
Average	1.21	1.10	0.76	0.87	2.26	2.61	1.64	1.32	1.22	1.49