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Text and Context:
'The Romance of Canada'
and the
Construction of a National Imagination

Trevor W.A. Grigg

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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ABSTRACT

Text and Context; "The Romance of Canada" and the Construction of a National Imagination

Trevor Grigg

Guided by the theoretical formulations for a sociology of culture as developed by Raymond Williams, the 'text' of the "Romance of Canada" radio drama series, broadcast nationally from Montreal during 1931-32 by the Canadian National Railways (CNR), is placed within its productive 'context' such that the relationship between the social relations of production and the cultural product itself might be elucidated, and thereby to contribute to the broader discussion of the relationship between cultural production and ideology.

The study demonstrates that the nationalist discourse, shown to be embedded within the "Romance of Canada" series scripts, flowed from specific interactions between such factors as the personal/professional interests of particular individuals involved in the creative formation; the lobbying of a number of individuals and groups headed by the Canadian Radio League; the CNR organizational base; the state of government policy as regards broadcasting; the state of broadcasting technology in Canada; and the general socio-historic context from which these productions emerged.

Having done so, it is argued that the question of whose interest the nationalist discourse in the series was intended to serve cannot be answered in any simple, one dimensional fashion (i.e., the determination of the economic dimension), but rather must be seen as the result of the structured sum of the effects of various and specific levels of practice (including the political, social, technological, cultural and economic) involved in the specific social relations of production of the "Romance of Canada" series.

Dedication:

To Sue and Kaleigh
whose presence and love
provide the impetus...

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This thesis owes much to the gentle, careful, and oft-subtle guidance provided by John Jackson. The general character of the study, and the quality of much of its documentation, is in large measure due to the mere presence of the Centre for Broadcasting Studies as well as the nature and quality of the research and researchers which the Centre has fostered in the past.

Thanks also to Ivan who has patiently watched, listened and thoughtfully responded all the way along.

And, finally, heartfelt thanks to my parents and family whose profound and diverse influences continue to move and shape me.

Introduction

At the most general level, the present study is an investigation of the relationship between cultural production and ideology: We seek to demonstrate the manner in which the social organization of cultural practices may effect the nature of the products arising from those practices - both in terms of form and content. We hold that the nature of a particular cultural product, i.e., the kinds of meanings which it entails and the discourse(s) which it carries, is directly affected by the particular way in which the practices, which give rise to the work, are structured or organized. It is the empirical validity and usefulness of this assertion which the study intends to demonstrate. The intent is, to demonstrate that the interests which a particular cultural product is intended to serve can be revealed empirically, by means of focusing on the specific nature of the social relations of production and upon the actual practices and processes through which specific cultural products are constructed.

Our study uses as its principal object of analysis, a series of twenty-four radio dramas, collectively entitled "The Romance of Canada", which was broadcast from Montreal during 1931-32 over a national broadcasting network owned by the Canadian National Railways (CNR) and operated by its own radio department. The series, which constitutes the first nationally-broadcast series of radio dramas ever realized in Canada, depicts the adventures, discoveries and explorers of the Canadian past in heroic light and carries a demonstrable nationalist discourse. As such, our study confines itself to an investigation of this historically specific instance, and is concerned specifically with the relationship between the "Romance of Canada" broadcasts and Canadian nationalism, in an effort to contribute to the broader discussion of the relationship between cultural production and ideology.

Our study, therefore, attempts to demonstrate the manner in which the "Romance of Canada" radio dramas, as cultural products, are tied to social and political interests, economic forces and means, as well as technological developments. Moreover, the study intends to draw out the specific social processes which gave rise to these cultural products, such that the

individuals involved in these practices, their positions, interests, influences and actions might be recognized and that the impact of such factors upon the cultural product itself might be made apparent. That is, we will attempt to demonstrate the manner by which the nationalist discourse embedded within the "Romance of Canada" flowed from specific interactions between such factors as the general socio-historical context within which these broadcasts took place, the state of broadcasting technology, the state of government policy as regards broadcasting, the CNR organizational base with its inherent economic nationalism, the lobbying of a number of individuals and groups at the centre of which stood the Canadian Radio League (CRL), as well as the personal/professional interests of particular individuals involved in the specific creative formation (the producer, director, writer, actors, etc.) responsible for the series.

The study is organized into nine (9) chapters in the following manner: (i) a chapter which explicates the general theoretical orientation from which the study gains its impetus, which is developed upon the formulations for a sociology of culture as espoused by

Raymond Williams; (ii) a chapter which uses historical texts to elucidate the general political and economic context of Canada through the decade of the 1920s, with particular emphasis upon events which can be seen as having contributed to and/or reflected a growth in the influence of the sentiment of Canadian nationalism; (iii) a chapter which traces the development of broadcasting technology and programming throughout the 1920s, including the relatively rapid growth of the American broadcasting networks, the accessibility of these in Canada and their influence on Canadian broadcasting. This chapter is divided into two sections, the first of which focuses upon the development of private broadcasting in Canada, the difficulties which it encountered, its earliest attempts at network broadcasting and the extent of its coverage in Canada by the late '20s. The second section of this chapter deals with the development of public broadcasting in Canada, focusing upon the early broadcasting activities of the Canadian National Railways (CNR), beginning with the creation of its Radio Department in 1923, and including analysis of the development of its broadcasting policy, description of its programming through the 1920s, its role in the

first national network broadcast in Canada, and its achievement in becoming the first single organization to produce a nationally distributed network broadcast; (iv) a chapter comprising a detailed discussion of the 1929 Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (the Aird Commission), providing an analysis of events leading to the appointment of the commission, its composition, its explicit purpose, its method of inquiry, as well as its report and recommendations which called for the nationalization of broadcasting in Canada; (v) a chapter which deals with the organization of lobbying efforts both for and against the nationalization proposals contained in the Aird Commission's report. This chapter traces the development, membership, activities and influence of the principal organizations of either side of this issue, namely the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), who came to represent the interests of private broadcasters in Canada, on the one hand, and the Canadian Radio League (CRL), who were to lobby on behalf of a nationalized broadcasting system in Canada, on the other; (vi) a chapter which provides an account of the proceedings of the 1932 Parliamentary Committee leading to the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act which nationalized

broadcasting in Canada in the form of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC). This treatment includes analyses of key presentations before the committee as well as the recommendations put forth by the committee; (vii) a chapter which focuses on the individual members and the specific social relations of production within the creative formation (the producer, director, writer, actors, etc.) directly involved in the cultural practices which realized the "Romance of Canada" broadcasts, and upon the structure and nature of the relations which existed between the creative formation and the institution which organized them, namely, the CNR; (viii) a chapter which comprises a treatment of the "Romance of Canada" scripts themselves in an effort to demonstrate the relationship between the productive context of the specific cultural practices and the cultural product itself. This analysis is concerned with demonstrating the existence of a nationalist discourse embedded within the scripts or, more precisely, the manner in which the scripts represent an attempt to create Canadian national heroes and, thereby, a national tradition and a national consciousness within its listeners; (ix) and, finally, a chapter directed toward drawing conclusions brought

to light by the study with specific regard toward the manner in which the social organization of these specific cultural practices can be seen to have affected the nature of the cultural products arising from those practices, and the implications which the findings carry with regard to the broader issue of the relationship between cultural production and ideology.

Chapter One

Theoretical Orientation

Insofar as the function of theory in the physical or social sciences is to stimulate and direct empirical research, and to sensitize investigators to potentially relevant factors involved in the relationship or phenomenon under investigation, theorizing in the field of popular culture as a whole has recently been significantly advanced. Problems in the field of popular culture in the late 1970s were, for the most part, deadlocked around the polar opposites of structuralism and culturalism, wherein the former perspective viewed popular culture as an 'ideological machine' which dictated the thoughts of 'the people', while the latter perspective held popular culture to be the expressions of the authentic values and interests of subordinate social groups and classes (c.f. Bennett et. al., 1986).

The structuralist/culturalist opposition has been displaced, however, as the debate has shifted to new terrain. This shift has been affected, notably, as many working in the field of popular culture began to draw increasingly on the work of Antonio Gramsci and,

more specifically, through development and employment of the Gramscian concept of hegemony. As noted by Bennett et. al., in Gramsci's conception;

popular culture is viewed neither as the site of the people's cultural deformation nor as that of their cultural self-affirmation ...[but] rather it is viewed as a force field of relations shaped, precisely, by these contradictory pressures and tendencies - a perspective which enables a significant reformulation of both the theoretical and the political issues at stake in the study of popular culture (1986:xiii).

Such an orientation provides a foundation for an integrative framework in which the structuralist perspective of popular culture as imposed mass culture, and the culturalist perspective of popular culture as spontaneous oppositional culture can both be addressed and their specific relation to one another worked through in specific instances, thereby avoiding the unnecessary theoretical closure inherent in each of these separate traditions.

Recent works of Raymond Williams, specifically Marxism and Literature (1977) and Culture (1981), attempts to develop and specify the general contours

of such an integrative and flexible theoretical framework for the sociology of culture, and builds on the work of Gramsci, as well as Luckas, Goldmann, Althusser and others. It is an orientation which calls for adequate recognition of the 'indissoluble connections between material production, political and cultural institutions and activity, and consciousness' (Williams, 1977:80), and which emphasizes the dynamic nature of social structures, which recognizes that social structures are composed of human activities, and which rejects notions of economic base and superstructure which are 'uniform or static' (1977:82).

Although Williams offers a rich inventory of theoretical constructs for the complex set of relations which constitute the area of the sociology of culture, it must be stressed here that these constructs are offered by Williams as preliminary and orienting, rather than as hard and fast definitions of the field's relevant components. Indeed, we would suggest that the primary importance of Williams' contribution to the field will be found in the heuristic value of his theoretical constructs. It is toward partial reconstruction, interpretation and discussion of some

of the major elements of Williams' general theoretical orientation that we now turn.

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness (Marx and Engels, 1962:362).

It is largely this passage which is cited in order to represent the Marxist base/superstructure metaphor which, for those who adhere strongly to it, is held to reflect the Marxist view of the human world wherein the economic base is seen as the determining force over and against all other spheres of social life. Although the concept of 'correspondence' does not necessarily imply a relationship of determination, it is clear that the concepts of 'real foundation' and 'superstructure' do imply that the latter is in some manner dependent on the former. It is important in this context to note

along with Williams, however, that Marx himself was 'at once specific and flexible' in the manner in which he employed his own terms, recalling that in 1857 Marx noted,

As regards art, it is well known that some of its 'peaks' by no means correspond to the general development of society; nor do they therefore to the material substructure (quoted in Williams, 1977:78).

It is toward more flexible definitions and usages of the 'base' and 'superstructure' concepts that Williams argues. Rather than seeing these as fixed and separate entities, as 'economic basis' and 'reflexive superstructures', these are viewed by Williams as processes constituted in and by real human activities which occur within an interactive structure-superstructure complex comprising social, cultural, political and economic dimensions or levels. Within Williams' conception, then, a cultural product is not simply superstructure; the base is not simply determining. The principle of determinacy cannot be thought of as the simple determination of one level (e.g. the economic) over all the others, but rather

must be seen more as the structured sum of the effects of the various levels of practice. Clearly, this is not to argue that the economic dimension may not, in specific instances, exert a particularly strong influence in determining the content or form of specific cultural products. It does mean, however, that the relationship between 'the cultural' and 'the economic' cannot be decided a priori. Williams writes,

...it is clear that there are certain kinds of cultural productions which are directly economically determined, and it is clear that there are other kinds which, to say the least, are so indirectly determined, and perhaps in this sense not determined at all, that to understand them in this way is to misunderstand, reduce and even cancel them. To offer a general theory based on one set of such instances in then as unwise as it is unnecessary (1981:191).

It should be noted in this context that Williams emphasizes that the root sense of 'determine' is 'setting bounds' or 'setting limits' (1977:84) and in that sense is willing to cede (echoing Althusser) that

in the last instance there is determination by the economy. On this point, however, we would note along with Wolff that,

...the fact that the 'last instance' never comes only means that historically the economic is never the sole determinant (1981:82).

Williams' sociology of culture requires that the specific and complex social formations of individuals involved in cultural production must be analyzed in terms of their specific relations to the economic, political, social, organizational and cultural institutions and practices through which and within which specific cultural products are realized. Each of these dimensions, or levels of practice, have to be accorded a specific weight in determining the particular form and content of specific cultural products. As such, we would assert with Wolff that,

The value of pursuing a systematic account of the numerous determinants and mediators of cultural production is not to prove that they are always operative in the same way and with the same force, but to sensitize the

investigator to the variety of factors which come into play with more or less efficacy at different times (1981:140).

It is the connections, the nature of the 'relatedness' between specific formations and the particular complex of relations within which they practice, which must be explicated with reference to specific cultural products and practices if the sociology of culture is to resist reductive and structuralist economic determinisms.

As noted in the introductory remarks of this chapter, the work of Williams builds in an important way upon the Gramscian concept of hegemony. As noted by Bennett et. al.,

Where Gramsci departed from the earlier Marxist tradition was in arguing that the cultural and ideological relations between ruling and subordinate classes in capitalist societies consists less in the domination of the latter by the former than in the struggle for hegemony - that is, for moral, cultural, intellectual and, thereby, political leadership over the whole society - between the ruling class and, as the principal subordinate class, the working class (1986:xiv).

Williams adopts this conception and stresses that hegemony does not exist passively as a structure or system of dominance; it is, rather, to be viewed as a process. It is a process which operates within a complex interlocking of economic, political, social and cultural forces through which the dominant classes strive (and to some degree succeed) to 'set the limits' - both mental and structural - within which subordinate classes live and are able to 'make sense' of their subordination in a manner which sustains the dominance of those ruling over them. Williams writes that the concept of hegemony,

...sees the relations of domination and subordination, in their forms as practical consciousness, as in effect a saturation of the whole process of living... the whole substance of lived identities and relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense... It is a lived system of meanings and values - constitutive and constituting (1977:110).

Insofar as hegemony may be viewed as process, it must be stressed that it is always partial and incomplete. That is, hegemony is not a 'given' or permanent state of affairs. Rather, it must be actively won and secured; it must continuously be produced and reproduced, perpetually 'renewed, recreated, defended and modified' (Williams, 1977:112), if it is to be sustained. Moreover, to the degree that it is incomplete and partial, hegemony is also continuously 'resisted, limited, altered and challenged' (Williams, 1977:112). Williams writes,

The reality of any hegemony, in the extended political and cultural sense, is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive. At any time, forms of alternative or directly oppositional politics and culture exist as significant elements in society (1977:113).

Thus, Williams posits that it is necessary to add to the concept of hegemony, the concepts of counter-hegemony and alternative hegemony as these must be recognized as 'real and persistent elements of practice' (1977:113). The implication which such theorizing carries for a sociology of culture is that

the field of cultural production itself (that is, cultural practices and the products resulting from such practices) must be seen as structured in and by the attempts of the dominant classes to win hegemony as well as by various forms of opposition to this endeavour.

It would perhaps do well, in this context, to recall the well-known general proposition put forth by Marx and Engels that,

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas; i.e., the class which is the ruling material force is, at the same time, its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it (1965:61).

Williams' conceptions of counter and alternative hegemonic forces offer an extremely important and useful corrective to the classical Marxist position which, in the light of Williams' thinking, must now be seen as rather over-simplified generalization. That

is, within the Williamsian framework, the degree to which (or whether or not) a specific cultural product can be seen to carry or sustain the ideas and/or values, meanings, etc., of the dominant class is a question which is open to empirical investigation. Williams writes,

The specific functions of 'the hegemonic', 'the dominant', have always to be stressed, but not in ways which suggest any a priori totality (1977:113).

Thus, the framework whose contours Williams traces is one which is able to accommodate the fact that, within various cultural practices and products, dominant, alternative and oppositional forces and ideas/values/meanings etc., are 'mixed' in different permutations depending upon the nature of the network of social, political and economic relations in which (and through which) they are elaborated.

Because our study focuses upon a cultural product which was produced under the auspices of a publicly-owned corporation as its object of analysis, we would do well at this point to articulate an underlying notion or assumption about the role of the

state which will partially inform our interpretation of some of the historical events and documentation to be presented. Following the framework for a theory of the state suggested by O'Connor (1973) and represented by Panitch (1977), we hold that there are two [1] basic, and often mutually contradictory, functions which the state must try to fulfill in capitalist societies; capital accumulation and legitimization. O'Connor writes,

This means that the state must try to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible. However, the state must also try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony. A capitalist state that openly uses its coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes loses its legitimacy and hence undermines the basis of its loyalty and support (1973:6)

It should be emphasized that 'the state' is viewed here not merely as the government but rather as a complex of institutions which includes the government but which also includes the bureaucracy--embodied in the civil service as well as in public corporations, central banks, regulatory commissions, etc.--the

military, the judiciary, representative assemblies, as well as provincial executives, legislatures, and bureaucracies, and municipal governmental institutions (Panitch, 1977:6).

Given this theoretical orientation, then, an element of our investigation will necessarily concern itself with the manner in which the state's activities (vis.a vis. the nature of its policy developments) in the broadcasting field in Canada represent attempts to fulfill the capital accumulation and/or legitimation function(s).

Rather than espousing a general theory, Williams' theoretical framework emphasizes the need for a sociology of culture to investigate the specific contexts and conditions of specific cultural practices and products with particular reference to the specific social relations of production. More specifically, in place of a general theory, Williams posits an hypothesis of 'variable distances of practice' (1981:189) to indicate that, within the whole range of social practice, there are variable measures of distance between particular practices and the social organizations which organize them. Thus, Williams

points toward the need to establish, in specific instances, the extent to which particular practices can be seen to be relatively autonomous.

In the example of some art forms, - i.e., the practice of poetry, sculpture, music - the distance from economic, political, or ideological forces may be so great, that the practice(s) is/are relatively autonomous. At a manifest level, the notions of variable autonomy and variable reproduction are a giant step away from conceptualizations of reproduction which gloss over the wide range of differences in cultural practices, forms or institutions (Zinman, 1984:193).

Added to the hypothesis of 'variable distances of practice' is the proposition that there are 'variable relations' between cultural producers and recognized social institutions on the one hand, and that there are 'variable relations' in which cultural producers have organized themselves on the other. That is, after defining cultural formations as those formations 'in which artists come together in common pursuit of some specific aim' (Williams, 1981:62), Williams points toward the investigation and elucidation of both the external relations of specific cultural formations

(particularly in terms of determining the degree of a given formation's relative autonomy) as well as the internal organization of those formations in such a way that the individuals who make up the formation, their positions, interests, influences and actions may be recognized.

A particularly important element in the type of formational analysis which Williams proposes is the role of the 'mediating cultural producer'. It can be noted that in significant cultural areas (i.e., television and radio broadcast productions, cinema, video, the recording industry, theatre, newspapers, magazines, etc.) the single cultural producer does not work alone. Indeed, group production (which ultimately requires coordination) can be said to characterize the new forms of cultural production of the twentieth century. As such, it is commonly the case that a corporate body involved in cultural production employs a producer/director who assumes a mediating role. That is, the 'mediating cultural producer' is responsible to the corporation and has responsibility over the production group (i.e., writers, actors, musicians, technicians, etc.). Thus, it is the 'mediating

cultural producer' who should be seen as the link between positions of power and control and the creation of cultural products.

Although these constructs are very general and do not receive extensive elaboration by Williams, they are significant insofar as they move cultural analyses in the direction of ascertaining and characterizing the specific nature and influence of the whole configuration of social relations within which specific cultural practices take place.

A further element of Williams' orientation which must be stressed concerns the need for cultural analyses to recognize the materiality of cultural production, and to make efforts to explicate the connections between the means of cultural production and the social relations of cultural production. He asserts that,

... 'thinking' and 'imagining' are from the beginning social processes...and...they become accessible only in unarguably physical and material ways: in voices, in sounds made by instruments, in penned or printed writing, in arranged pigments on canvas or plaster, in worked marble or stone (1977:62)

and that,

...whatever purposes cultural practice may serve, its means of production are unarguably material. Indeed, instead of starting from the misleading contrast between 'material' and 'cultural', we have to define two areas for analysis: first, the relations between these material means and the social forms within which they are used...and, second, the relations between these material means and social forms and the specific (artistic) forms which are a manifest cultural production (1981:88).

That is, then, insofar as all the raw materials, instruments, equipment as well as the human skills and abilities - the means or forces of cultural production - alter the social relations of production, the connections between these, as well as the connections between these and the cultural product itself, must be investigated and drawn out since,

The social relations of the means of production involves relations of class, power and cultural/material means: who is producing and reproducing any cultural form; the structure of the social relations involved; the asymmetrical qualities characterizing capitalist relations; and the particular constraints and controls on the

cultural form. The cultural form is directly affected (Zinman, 1984:166).

Following Williams' general theoretical orientation, then, any cultural analysis which seeks to understand and/or explain the form or content of a particular cultural product is incomplete if it does not include investigation and elucidation of the individuals, groups, pressures, hierarchies and power relations within the organizations involved in the process(es) of the production of that specific product. Attention must be paid to the institutional factors involved in the production, and to the actual processes through which the product emerges. The social organization of culture must be seen as including cultural institutions, cultural formations, various means of cultural production, as well as cultural products (see Diagram in Appendix A). Each of these levels or areas is distinct but connected. It is the 'connectedness' between these areas, the nature of the relations between these levels of practice, which a sociology of culture must seek to comprehend in its efforts to analyze particular cultural products.

As has been alluded to in various ways earlier in our discussion, our general theoretical orientation leads us to view all action or practice, including cultural practice, as arising in a complex conjuncture of numerous structural determinants and conditions (be they economic, political, social, organizational, technological, etc.). All practice is situated practice. That is, everything we do is located in, and therefore affected by social structures. On this point we would assert, following Wolff, that,

i) Human agency is situated in and determined by a complex of structures; ii) Structures enable human practices by providing the conditions of actions and offering choices of action; and iii) Agents are therefore 'free', not in the sense of being undetermined but, in their ability to make situated decisions and perform situated practices (1981:24).

It must also be emphasized here that our view of social structures and social systems does not consider these to be inanimate objects, but rather as the products and forms of human activity. This follows from Giddens' position that,

... neither subject (human agent)
 nor object ('society' or social
 institutions) should be regarded as
 having primacy. Each is constituted
 in and through recurrent practices
 (1982:8).

This having been said, with specific reference to cultural practices and the products arising from those practices, it will be seen that our approach is opposed to those which see art as somehow 'above' historical determinants. Such views are usually bound up in conceptions of the 'artist as genius'; one who works through divine inspiration and is exempt from all normal rules of social intercourse. Such approaches themselves can be shown to be historically specific (Indeed, the division generally made between the 'high' arts and the 'lesser' arts can be traced historically and linked to the emergence of this idea of the 'artist as genius'; see Wolff, 1981).

We hold, rather, that cultural products are the products of specific historical practices on the part of specific and identifiable individuals and/or social groups who practice(d) in specific social and material

conditions, and which, therefore, bear an imprint of the ideas, values and conditions of existence of those individuals or groups. Zinman writes,

The social relations that pertain in a particular society at a particular time, the particular forms of discourse, are the ground in which cultural forms are embedded and from which they emerge (1984:183).

We view cultural practices as processes, and the products of such practices as artifacts of those processes which arise out of (as well as contribute to and mediate between) a complex of social, political and economic forces. Thus, cultural practice viewed as (materially and socially) situated practice consists of the 'subject' (artist) positioning him/herself within a specific social, political, economic complex, the objectivated field of discourses which are available in language, culture and indeed, society in general, at a particular historical conjuncture. It is the nature of the particular complex, the manner in which specific cultural practices are 'situated', the way in which specific artists are 'positioned', and the

relationship between the specific contexts of cultural practice and the cultural product itself which, finally, must be elucidated.

Williams has defined 'culture' as a 'realized and related signifying system' (1981:207-214), a construct which is descriptive of the meshing of approaches involved in Williams' cultural materialist theoretical orientation. The term 'realized' points toward the manner in which 'culture' is constituted in and by 'real', actual human practices (the materialist approach); the term 'related' is meant to denote the manner in which 'culture' is related or tied to, interwoven within, a social, political, economic complex (the structuralist approach); and the terms 'signifying system' stand for the way in which 'culture' is the articulated expression of meanings and/or values (emphasizing its communicative component) (see Zinman, 1984:255). 'Culture' as a 'realized and related signifying system' is, thereby, a construct which itself asserts the essential connections between the actual practices of human beings, the contexts in which these practices occur, and the meanings and/or

values which are an inherent component of those practices. Williams writes,

...a signifying system is intrinsic to any economic system, any political system...and, most generally, to any social system. Yet it is also in practice distinguishable as a system in itself: as a language, most evidently; as a system of thought or...as a body of specifically signifying works of art and thought (1981:208).

Thus, while the social organization of culture, as a realized and related signifying system, is enmeshed in a whole range of activities, relations and institutions, only some of these activities, relations and institutions are manifestly 'cultural'; although culture is interwoven with all social practice, only some practices are explicitly directed toward the production of signifying works. It is these practices which have been referred to throughout our discussion simply as 'cultural practices'. With reference to Williams' definition of culture, however, it will now be seen that such practices may alternatively be referred to as 'signifying practices'.

It is necessary at this juncture that we stress a fundamental element underlying our theoretical orientation, namely, that meaning is viewed as socially constructed. That is, 'the world' ('the universe', 'life', 'the cosmos', etc.) does not have any intrinsic or inherent meaning in and of itself, but rather, has to be 'made to mean'. Indeed, we would assert that it is an essentially human act to create meaning, to produce definitions, to construct 'realities', to 'make sense' of that which is, ultimately, a mystery namely the purpose or function of life itself. Stuart Hall writes,

...things and events in the real world do not contain or propose their own, integral, single and intrinsic meaning, which is then merely transferred through language. Meaning is a social production, a practice. The world has to be made to mean (1982:67).

Furthermore, we hold that it is by means of language and symbolization that meaning is produced; language is the means by which 'reality' is constructed. Language is the 'signifying practice' par excellence. It must be stressed, however, that

language as signification is a very different notion than language as simply reflection. That is, rather than seeing language as neutral reflection, description or expression of 'reality', it must be understood as evaluative, as structuring and shaping 'reality' from a particular point of view. As such, it is clear that the same 'event' can be signified in numerous (if not unlimited) and, indeed, contradictory ways. Such an approach draws attention to the signifiers which are used in given instances and away from the signified, since there is no 'really real' which is signified; There is no definite signified. Instead of debating the truth or falsity of a given representation, emphasis must be placed upon the meaning systems represented in and by specific discourses.

The term 'discourse' itself, as advanced by Terry Eagleton (1983:194-217) can be used to refer to the evaluative, appraisive and persuasive aspects or elements of language (this includes, of course, speech). In this sense, then, 'discourse' refers to the way in which content is presented; it refers to the structure of argumentation. Discourses are, in Williams' terms, 'signifying systems' or 'systems of signification'; meaning systems. Discourse refers to

ways of talking, which are intimately bound up with ways of seeing as well as ways of living. It is through discourse (as well as other means, i.e., force) or, perhaps more precisely, discursive practices - signifying practices - that a social order may be communicated and reproduced, as well as experienced, explored, etc. Eagleton writes,

Discourses, sign-systems and signifying practices of all kinds, from film and television to fiction and the languages of natural science, produce effects, shape forms of consciousness and unconsciousness (1983:210).

Cultural products as signifying works, as carriers of discourse, are constructed in such a way as to achieve a certain effect. In this respect, we would assert along with Charland that 'to measure the world is to produce a guide for acting in it' (1983:332). As such, and following Williams' general framework, we are led, finally, to consider the signifying dimensions of cultural products themselves - the meanings, values, attitudes and ideas which are generated and

communicated in and by the cultural form - the effect(s) which particular cultural products intend to produce.

At the level of the analysis of the signifying dimension of particular cultural forms or products, Williams does not offer, or espouse any particular approach or textual strategy. Although his work suggests that semiotic and symbolic analyses in general appear potentially fruitful, we would stress, given that there are 'x number of textual strategies' (Zinman, 1984:217), that the particular approach or strategy adopted at this level of analysis depends upon what one is practically trying to do. The approaches of semiotics, structuralism, psychoanalysis, deconstruction, reception theory and others all have valuable insights which can be put to use depending upon the strategic goals of the analyst as well as, perhaps, the particular nature of the cultural form itself (see Eagleton, 1983:211).

Perhaps the principal value of Williams' framework stems from its emphasis that the nature of a particular cultural product, the kinds of meanings which it entails, the discourse(s) it carries, is/are directly affected by the particular way in which the practices,

which give rise to the signifying work, are organized. Questions around whether to construct 'this' or 'that', and the responses to such questions, the particular choices that are made and the reasons for those choices, are tied to the social relations of production and clearly, therefore, implicate the issue of ideology. That is, questions of whose interests a particular cultural product is intended to serve can be treated in an empirical way, by focusing on the specific social relations of production and on the actual practices and processes through which specific cultural products are constructed. As Bennett has written,

Ideology must be viewed not as a product of an evanescent consciousness but as an objective component of the material world (1982:50).

Similarly, Anthony Giddens has articulated a notion of ideology which offers an analytically useful formulation of a term whose meaning, through its widespread and variable use and misuse, has become extremely difficult and, indeed, contentious. Giddens argues for rejecting definitions of 'ideology' which

rely on references to truth claims (as in the commonly espoused science/ideology dichotomy) as well as rejecting any notions that 'ideology' can be defined in reference to any specific content at all. (As we have argued that language should be viewed as signification, if 'ideology' was to be defined in reference to truth claims, all language would be viewed as ideological in the sense of being evaluative and selective). Rather, Giddens argues that,

...the concept of ideology should be reformulated in relation to a theory of power and domination - to modes in which systems of signification enter into the existence of sectional forms of domination...I want to define ideology as the mode in which forms of signification are incorporated within systems of domination so as to sanction their continuance (1983:19).

As we have argued previously, since there is no definite signified, there is no sense in debating the truth or falsity of a given representation. Rather, we have expressed the view that what is of importance is/are the meaning system(s), Giddens' form(s) of signification, the discourse(s) which constitute the

cultural form. What Giddens' definition of ideology stresses is that, while discourses permeate throughout the entire social system, some forms of signification are mobilized and employed in such a way as to legitimate the sectional interests of hegemonic groups. He writes,

I take it to be the type of case of such a notion of ideology that sectional interests are represented as universal interests (1983:19).

What such a view puts at issue is the manner in which discourses, forms of signification, cultural products of all kinds, are closely related to the maintenance as well as the potential transformation of systems of power and domination. (Similarly, Eagleton has asserted that 'ideology' can be seen as 'the link or nexus between discourses and power' (1983:210)). The question of how forms of discourse, or how particular cultural practices and products, come to be incorporated into such systems becomes important (and is no doubt tightly bound up with the question of whose needs will be served by the preservation or extension of a particular discourse), and can be investigated

adequately only at the level where such products are in fact produced. Williams' emphasis on the direct social processes of cultural production, and his preliminary mapping of the complex social relations involved in cultural production offer a valuable general framework with which one may begin to approach such issues at an empirical level.

In conclusion, following Williams' general theoretical orientation we view cultural production and practices in terms of the relations between the material conditions of their creation or production, and their work as representations which produce meanings; we are concerned with the modes of production and modes of signification, and the manner(s) in which these may be related.

Golding and Murdock have written,

...the sociology of culture and communications has been seriously incapacitated by the tendency to over-privilege texts as objects of analysis. Textual analysis will remain important and necessary, but it cannot stand in for the sociological analysis of cultural production. Indeed, if sociology is to make an important contribution to contemporary cultural analysis, then it is primarily in the analysis of social relations and social structures

that its strongest claim to significance can and should be staked (1979:207).

From the standpoint of Williams' conceptualization, it is the social relations of cultural institutions and cultural formations which must be investigated as well as the social means of production and the social aspects of the art form. His theorizing is directed toward developing a means by which the relationship(s) between the general social organization of cultural production and the signifying product itself may be brought into focus. As such, Williams' sociology of culture offers a method by which to relate a 'text' to its productive 'context', to the social relations and structures through which it is produced; 'no longer turning inwardly solely to the text but now also outwardly to the social connections' (Zinman, 1984:204). The general social system is external to the cultural product but is related by human social practice; it is the human actor who is the mediator between various levels of practice.

In each area in the field of the sociology of culture, Williams puts the "human coefficient" at the

centre...At the core of Williams' theory is the human: relating acting, interacting, creating, thinking, developing... (Zinman, 1984:201).

In the light of Williams' general framework for the sociology of culture as sketched in the previous pages, the study which follows constitutes an examination and analysis of specific social relations between and within specific institutions and formations, the means of production and processes of reproduction of specific cultural products, and the signifying dimension of specific cultural products. That is, we will examine the specific conditions, practices and products which constitute the specific processes of cultural production involved in the creation of the CNR's 'Romance of Canada' national radio drama series as these overlap with other dimensions such as political, economic, social, technological and ideological. The 'Romance of Canada' dramas, as cultural products, are tied to technological developments, social and political interests and economic forces and means. As such, it is toward an explication of the mesh of relations which gave rise to these particular cultural products that the study is

intended, drawing out the specific interactions between such factors as the state of broadcasting technology, the state of government broadcast policy, the general political environment, the state of the Canadian economy, the CNR organizational base, the lobbying of various traditional voluntary associations, the roles of the mediating cultural producer and the individuals involved in these specific cultural practices (their positions, interests, influences and actions) and the cultural products themselves, such that the impact of such factors upon the cultural product might be made apparent.

Chapter Two

English Canadian Nationalism and the 1920s

The Canadian 1920s gave rise to a variety of cultural, social, political and economic developments which can be seen to have contributed to and/or reflected an increase in the influence of the sentiment of Canadian nationalism in English Canada. As such, while the following chapter intends to touch upon a number of events from this period, and thereby to capture something of the general tenor of these times, its primary concern is with depicting some of the more significant events which signalled and/or advanced the growth of nationalist sentiment, or a sense of nationhood, in English Canada during this decade. Rather than presenting itself as a detailed historical analysis of the period, then, the chapter is intended as a brief demonstration of the breadth and influence of the nationalistic impulses of the period, such that the subsequent chapters may be seen in the light of this context.

The impact of the Great War of 1914-18 upon the Canadian nation was profound in numerous respects, not the least of which was its role in the transformation of Canada from a British North American colony to a nation in its own right; to a 'nation in the community of nations'. Not only did Canada's participation in World War I precipitate changes which would bring a vastly increased measure of political autonomy, but it was arguably this event, more than any other in its history, which would give English Canadians a sense of themselves as a distinct, autonomous and capable people.

Having served in the Canadian war effort, and writing of the experience in 1923, Frank Underhill wrote of the Canadian Corps saying that it was,

...the greatest national achievement of the Canadian people since the Dominion came into being; and its story is to be cherished not only as proof of Canadian military capacity but as the noblest example yet given of the ability of Canadians, working in concert with a single inspiration, to accomplish great ends... The four year career of her fighting troops in France forms the real testimony to Canada's entrance into nationhood, the visible demonstration that there has grown up on her soil a people not English

nor Scottish nor American but
Canadian - a Canadian nation
(Lucas, 1923:286).

While the conscription election of 1917 had alienated Quebec from the rest of Canada, the effects of the war experience upon English Canada is typified by Underhill's remarks. The military reputation for effectiveness which the Canadian forces gained, particularly through events such as the storming of Vimy Ridge in 1917 (the first major victory of the war won by Canadian arms alone) did much to convince Underhill and, indeed, English Canada that great things would be possible were Canada to focus the same determination and organizing capacity upon its own domestic politics following the conclusion of the war. In fact, the effect(s) of the nationalistic sentiments which were aroused in English Canadians by the war were to ripple throughout Canadian society during the 1920s and were to play a major role in shaping the events of that decade.

National unity (such as it was prior to the war), however, had been severely strained by the war as well as by the class and sectional tensions of the post-war deflation. The results of the federal election of

1921 serve well as a reflection of the racial and sectional differences in Canadian society which had been intensified by the war and its aftermath. The Liberals under Mackenzie King came into power due, in large measure, to the fact that all of Quebec's 65 seats went solidly Liberal for the first time (the Liberal Party had been opposed to conscription and the bitter resentment felt in Quebec around this issue translated into a vote for King's Liberals). With a total of 117 seats, however, the Liberals were short of a working majority. While only 50 Conservatives, under the leadership of Arthur Meighen, were returned to the House of Commons, the newly-formed Progressive Party won a total of 65 seats. Primarily an expression of agrarian discontent resulting from the collapse of agriculture prices in 1920-21 (caused mainly by the abolition of the Wheat Board in 1920), the Progressives had swept the West, while capturing 24 seats in Ontario, and thereby disrupted the old two-party system. W. L. Morton writes,

The farmers were in revolt against the old political parties and the old National Policy; they wanted a new national policy to ensure

the old significance of agriculture
in Canada (1963:435).

It is worth noting in this context that by 1921 the rural population in Canada was 4,436,041 while the urban population equalled 4,352,443 or 50.48% and 49.52% of the Canadian population respectively (Canadian Annual Review, 1922:559). The farmers' entry into politics reflects this change. The West had now been settled; the East industrialized. Agricultural and rural Canada had reached its limits and was losing its old supremacy; industrial and urban Canada was moving with momentum. As such, a major shift in the balance of the Canadian economy was occurring. In terms of production, in 1921 agricultural production equalled \$ 1,403,686,000.00 while industrial production amounted to \$ 2,747,926,675.00 (Canadian Annual Review, 1922:553). The economic disparities and the related regional tensions at this time are characterized by McInnis who writes that the provinces of the West as well as the Maritimes,

...looked on central Canada as a region that exploited them for the benefit of concentrated financial and industrial interests. In their

turn the central provinces regarded the outlying areas as responsible for the debt and rising expenditures that threatened Canada's stability... The basic interests of Ontario and Quebec placed them in diametric opposition to the rest of the country on some of the most vital economic issues, while racial friction continued to divide these two provinces and to present a major obstacle to Canadian national unity (1982:510).

The post-war depression also gave way to the nationalization of several Canadian railways; 'The tangled mass of five major railroads - Grand Trunk, Grand Trunk Pacific, Canadian Northern, National Transcontinental, Intercolonial - with a number of lesser ones, exceeding twenty-three thousand miles in length, had to be welded into one effective unit' (Weir, 1965:4). This 'welding' resulted in the creation of the Canadian National Railways (CNR), and whether nationalization of the Canadian railways was conceived in an effort to offset financial panic or for the purposes of centralizing power remains open to empirical scrutiny. What can be said with certainty at this point, however, is that nationalization served to do both of these.

As an experiment in public ownership, not surprisingly, the new CNR was viewed critically by financial and business interests. Indeed, to have it fail and to sell off its component lines seemed, to many, to be sound business as well as good national policy. This, however, would not be allowed to happen and the political result was that, in much the same way as conscription had estranged Quebec, the nationalization of the railways alienated the Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR) and the financial and business interests of Montreal, thereby further dividing Canadian interests (Morton, 1963:442-443).

As the brief sketch above may demonstrate, the immediate post-war period in Canada was characterized by national and regional tensions as well as by economic tension, crisis and change. While the war had given a great boost to the sentiment of nationalism in English Canada, and the country had emerged from the war crowned with a new and burgeoning national political autonomy, it was also deeply divided by racial and social conflict. At the same time the relative importance of agriculture was declining in the face of the rapid industrialization and urbanization of central Canada with the growth of the manufacturing

industries. In the midst of post-war depression, with its own related stresses, the country's cohesion was severely strained by these various social, political and economic tensions. Indeed, Canada was, at this time, a country whose unity was, at best, precarious.

The regional distresses which were experienced as the Canadian economic balance shifted from an agrarian base to an economy whose expansion was tied to the development of industrial capitalism, however, did subside somewhat toward the mid-1920s as the general economic circumstances improved. The crops of 1923 and 1924 were good, agricultural prices were once again rising, and business was reviving. Morton notes, however, that,

The growth in manufacturing in the central provinces was...the central factor in the revived prosperity...[;] it was the expansion of old industries and the addition of new, such as the automobile assembly plants at Windsor and Oshawa, that characterized the prosperity of the 20s (1963:448).

It was through the period of the mid-1920s that the 'nationalizing sentiment' of English Canadians would become an increasingly visible and significant social force, as the national feelings aroused by the war began to issue forth in action. While this action would assume a variety of forms across the country, the fact that these were largely forged in the fires of a surging nationalistic emotion is undeniable. As Graham Spry, the National Secretary of the Association of Canadian Clubs during the mid-1920s, has written,

The period in Canada after the recovery from the first war...was a period not of "nationalism" in any narrow sense, but of "nationhood". There was not much that was isolationist about the mood...[T]here was simply the emotion and conviction to carry forward in every field the concept of Canada and of Confederation, not in opposition to or separation from others but in the realization of a national self (1965:136).

During this period, the infusion of national feeling brought a new vitality to many existing voluntary organizations and provided the impetus for the formation of numerous new associations. Indeed, it has been asserted that in the 1920s proportionately

more Canadians were committed to organizations and/or undertakings which professed to serve national needs or aspirations than in any other decade since Confederation (see Prang, 1965). Referring to this period, Brooke Claxton has observed that,

"...every kind of organization, national, local, cultural and religious, political and commercial, was at a peak of activity... All of these were manifestations of the growth of national feeling - it was nationwide, spontaneous, inevitable. It cut across political, racial and social lines, indeed, it was curiously a-political" (quoted in Prang, 1965:3).

Many of the organizations and associations formed at this time were created for the specific purpose of promoting national sentiment. One such group, known as the Canadian League, whose formation was led by lawyers W. D. Herridge and J.M. MacDonnell, declared at their founding conference in Winnipeg, 1925, that their intention was to 'foster the national spirit as opposed to sectionalism', to stimulate interest in public

affairs, as well as to promote 'such special objects for the benefit at the country as may be decided upon' (Prang, 1986:57). Indeed, as Berger has noted,

The desire for a national culture that would reflect the character of Canada...became a master impulse in the intellectual life of the '20s, far stronger and more pervasive than similar stirrings of the latter 19th century (1976:54),

and further that,

The intellectual temper of the young was optimistic, impatient of the derivativeness of Canadian culture, and suffused with the determination to express the country in concepts appropriate to itself (1976:55).

As such, it is not surprising that when the Association of Canadian Clubs mounted a drive to establish new clubs in 1926 (the Association itself was founded before the war) the result was that, before the end of 1927, the number of clubs increased from 53 to 120 with a membership of over 40,000, while at the same time the Native Sons of Canada would boast one hundred assemblies across the country with over 30,000 members committed to promoting Canadian sentiment (Canadian Annual Review, 1928:672).

Furthermore, it is important for our purposes to

note that, while this period offered a rich harvest of individuals wishing to involve themselves in furthering Canadian national sentiment, it also gave way to,

...the formation of many new national organizations with more specific purposes than the promotion of a generalized Canadian patriotism. What they had in common was a belief that some of their interests could be best articulated and pursued within a national context (Prang, 1986:57).

Some of the organizations which can be included in this context are the Canadian Authors' Association, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Catholic Womens' League, the Canadian Chambers of Commerce, the National Conference of Education, the Canadian Federation of University Women, the Student Christian Movement, the Canadian Historical Association, the Royal Canadian Legion and the United Church of Canada. Although organizations such as these were not devoted to bolstering Canadian nationalism per se, the creation of each nonetheless reflected, to some degree, the growing national awareness amongst Canadians at the time. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, such organizations had the inherent function of furthering

national awareness in that each comprised structures within which social networks of national character were produced and would be reproduced.

A further development of the middle 1920s which must receive mention here, since it was to prove so very profound in its contribution to the growth of Canadian nationalism, was the international triumph of the unique and powerful landscapes of the Group of Seven. It was in 1924 that the Group's work received great and glowing praise from the English critics after its Wembley Exhibition.

Cook has noted that the Group's,

...very presence at the exhibition marked the triumph of the new artists over the traditionalist and European-oriented painters of the Royal Canadian Academy (1986:132).

Not only was the Group's work unique in various technical respects, but its content comprised startling representations of the artists' own country's landscape. The year 1926 marks the apotheosis of the Group as it was then that a book entitled A Canadian Art Movement, The Story of the Group of Seven, by F. C.

Housser was published, in which the Group's work was extolled as the vibrant expression of Canadian culture. Berger has observed that,

These painters came to be regarded as the leading edge of nationalistic Canadian expression because they had...successfully broken with the dead hand of tradition, discarded Old World techniques, experienced the north country directly, and boldly conveyed its shapes and colours (1976:55).

Indeed, the growth of a national culture which would reflect the unique geo-political fact that was Canada, and for which there was such a wide-spread desire, was apparently beginning to mature and give forth fruit.

Events on the federal political scene of the mid-1920s also serve to depict the extent to which national sentiment was effecting the character of the country at this time. The election of 1925 exposed disillusionment with both the Liberals and Progressives; the Liberals were reduced to 101 seats (Prime Minister King himself was defeated) and the

Progressives to 24 seats. While the Conservatives emerged with 116 seats, they were still short of a clear majority, and King (who was soon after returned at a by-election) was enabled, with the support of the Progressives, to carry on the government for a period of six months. As the continued support of the Progressives seemed to be in danger of disappearing (with charges of corruption being levied against the Customs Department) King requested that the Governor General, Lord Byng, dissolve Parliament. However, Byng refused this request, taking the view that the Conservatives should be given an opportunity to govern and, on June 28, the Governor General called on Meighen to form a ministry. However, Meighen's assurances that the Conservatives could form a working government, upon which Byng's decision was predicated, were apparently unfounded; after three days in office Meighen's government succumbed to an adverse vote. As such, Lord Byng was forced to grant to Meighen the dissolution of Parliament which he had refused to King.

In the election which followed, King mounted a campaign which was astutely founded upon a raging denunciation of the unconstitutional interference by a British Official, Governor General Byng, in the

processes of Canadian government. King's forceful appeal to Canadian national sentiment resulted in his return to power. Morton has written,

The election did nothing to resolve the basic divisions of Canadian society, but it did restore a national majority in Parliament drawn from all sections of the country. In a measure, national unity had been regained... The victory was interpreted by King as a victory for political nationalism in Canada (1963:452).

The national political autonomy of Canada would be further established through the mid to latter 1920s by events such as the Imperial Conference of 1926 in which the famous Balfour formula was declared. This declaration provided the theoretical justification for the autonomy of the Dominions within the British Commonwealth, according to which the Dominions would have full control concerning both internal and external policies. Furthermore, the Balfour Declaration set in motion the achievement of the Statute of Westminster, signed in 1931, by which the Parliament of the United Kingdom declared that its legislative supremacy over the Dominions was at an end.

During this same period, the furthering of Canadian diplomatic independence was signalled by the appointment (in 1927) of Canada's first Minister to Washington in the person of Mr. Vincent Massey. Perhaps more importantly, this achievement also marked the acceptance of Canadian nationhood by the United States. Furthermore, to signify the new relations between Canada and the United Kingdom, a British High Commissioner was appointed to Ottawa in 1928. In this same year, Philippe Roy became Canadian Minister to France, and in 1929 Herbert Marler became Canada's Minister to Japan. This period, therefore, marks the founding of the Canadian diplomatic service.

In tracing the development of the Canadian nation during the latter 1920s, it is important to note that, while Canada had relied very heavily upon British capital in developing her economy until the First World War (75% of all foreign capital in Canada in 1914 had come from British sources), after 1926 American investment came to exceed British investment and increasingly Canada's major economic axis was moving in a north-south direction (see Cook, 1986:124-133). It was through this period (between WWI and the latter

1920s), then, that the transformation of Canada from a British North American nation to an American nation had occurred and this shift carried new and profound implications. Desmond Morton has written of the late 1920s that,

Sir John A. MacDonald had planned an east-west country; now the branch-plant factories, the mineral exploration, the floods of American films, magazines and radio programs were switching Canada to a north-south axis (1984:24).

Accordingly, while a good deal of Canadian political discourse prior to this period could be characterized in terms of the relationship between "nationalist" and "imperialist" views of the country, by the end of the 1920s (although the nationalist/imperialist debate would continue to play a role) the major emphasis of the Canadian political debate had shifted and now increasingly revolved around the tension between "nationalist" and "continentalist" perspectives of Canada.

The increasing prosperity of the latter 1920s including a record wheat crop in 1928 did little to signal Canadians (nor, indeed, most of the rest of the

world) as to the dark and dismal days of the depression which were around the corner.

The industrial boom of the mid twenties gave rise to a speculative psychosis and an over-extension of credit which led to a wholly unrealistic inflation of the price of stocks. It was actually thought by the enthusiastic that the economy had transcended the process of boom and slump and that the current prosperity was permanent (Morton, 1963:456).

Nonetheless, the great stock market crash, in October of 1929, plunged the country into severe economic crisis which would not reach its worst until 1933. Compounding and intensifying the economic depression, moreover, was an agricultural one (the wheat crop of 1928 could not be completely sold off and a surplus developed) which was followed by a harsh and prolonged drought transforming the great prairie wheatfields into a desert of dust and sand. McInnis writes that,

This situation struck at the very foundation of the national economy. The decline in wheat exports had immediate effects of the railways. Revenues were cut in half. The

deficits of the CNR rose to more
than \$60,000,000 annually
(1982:519).

Through these years, moreover, the farm was not able, as it had been in the past, to act as an absorber of industrial unemployment. As such, it became necessary for governments, at all levels, to provide relief on a scale which had hitherto been unknown.

The ensuing social and political discontent gave way to a change of government with the 1930 election. While Mackenzie King's famous "five cent speech" [2] did much to undermine Liberal support across the country, the promise of the Conservative party, under the leadership of R.B. Bennett (who had been chosen to succeed Meighen in 1927), to end unemployment by methods of economic nationalism went very far, indeed, in convincing Canadian voters to elect a Conservative government. Moreover, Bennett's election campaign made great use of the issues of King's failure in excluding foreign competition and the absence of Canadian retaliation against recent increases in American tariffs. Bennett promised, furthermore, that a Conservative government would use the tariff as a means of blasting Canada's way into world markets.

The 1930 election results gave the Conservatives a clear majority in the House, with 138 members (including 25 from Quebec) while King's Liberals were reduced to 87 seats, and the various independent groups fell to a total of 20. The Bennett government took office on August 7, 1930.

Almost immediately the Bennett administration turned its energies toward increasing the protective system believing, as it did, that its promise to end Canadian unemployment could be achieved through the exclusion of competition from abroad. McInnis has observed that,

The new tariff schedules adopted between 1930 and 1932 were deliberately designed to exclude from Canada not merely articles of a type already produced there, but any products that Canadians might conceivably be inclined to produce. Virtually every industry of any importance was granted increased protection, and the general tariff level was raised by almost 50%... Never since the inauguration of the National Policy had there been such a sweeping change in the Canadian tariff system (1982:520).

There was, however, an uneasy relationship between the Conservative government's imperial sentiment and its national economic policy. This contradiction would be resolved, to a large degree, by the events of the Special Imperial Conference in Ottawa during 1932. However, the results of the Conference would not be those which the Conservatives had hoped for.

It was an ambition of R. B. Bennett to establish a system of imperial preference, which would guarantee for Canada an economic separation from the United States while also securing for the Commonwealth and Empire the potential of its huge territories. This lofty vision, first presented by Bennett at the Imperial Conference of 1930, however, would not be realized; the Special Conference of 1932 revealed that no member of the Commonwealth was willing to reduce its tariffs to the point of creating genuinely competitive conditions. While a set of agreements concerning mutual tariff reductions was reached, from the perspective of Canada, the Conference attested to the stark autonomy of its economic nationalism rather than any advancement of the notion of imperial consolidation. Morton writes,

...while the Agreements were not without value, the substantial failure of the Conference left Canadian Conservatives deprived of half their program, that of imperial economic solidarity, and faced the need at last to come wholly to terms with the fact of Canadian nationhood (1963:460).

Indeed, however unwittingly, the Conservative government, and the people of Canada, would now be forced to confront their own problems and to search for their own solutions without recourse to that umbilical connection to the Mother Country which had, for so long, nurtured and sustained it. Although the times were hard, and the realities harsh, for many in Canada this period in the country's development was perceived as a great and challenging jumping-off point toward which it had been shuffling and lurching for sometime. For others it must have appeared as if a black and bottomless cavern, toward which the country had been dangerously sliding for sometime, was suddenly opening beneath them. Still for others, those whom the times had already rendered disenfranchised and dejected, it likely appeared as if nothing was happening at all.

In conclusion, we have attempted with broad strokes to capture something of the character of the country through the decade of the 1920s (or, more precisely, from the end of the First World War to the early 1930s). Our depiction of the nature and events of this period of the country's development has been presented principally in an effort to set a broad socio-historical context - viz a viz the growth of influence, appeal and application of the notion of Canadian nationalism during this period - within which we can begin to situate the production of the "Romance of Canada" radio drama broadcasts.

As such, we have endeavoured to emphasize those events or developments which can be seen as having contributed to and/or reflected a growing sense of Canadian nationhood or nationalism in English Canada through this period. Events of particular importance in this regard, as we have argued, include (i) the First World War, which had both profound political and psychological consequences in the development of Canadian nationhood; (ii) the creation of the Canadian National Railways; (iii) the rapid acceleration in the formation of national organizations and voluntary associations (some of which were expressly devoted to

the propagation of Canadian nationalist sentiment); (iv) the appeal to nationalist sentiment made by Mackenzie King in the 1926 election campaign and the results of that election; (v) the 'arrival' of the Group of Seven; (vi) the Balfour Declaration; (vii) the creation of the Canadian diplomatic service; (viii) the signing of the Statute of Westminster; (ix) the economic nationalism of the Bennett administration; (x) and the results of the Special Imperial Conference of 1932.

Each of these events, whether cultural, social, political or economic in nature, attested to a wide-spread growth in the impact and influence of Canadian nationalist sentiment in English Canada which, in many respects, can be said to characterize this period in the development of the country. It would be, moreover, from within this context that Canada would witness, and be forced to come to terms with, the extremely rapid developments which were occurring in the field of radio broadcasting - particularly south of its border. As Prang has written of this period,

Ironically, just when an increasing number of Canadians were involved in the activities of flourishing nation-wide enterprises a

revolution in communications, possibly as far-reaching in its consequences as the change from wood and wind to iron and steam which had done so much to bring about Confederation itself, was threatening the clearer delineation of a Canadian identity (1965:3).

Chapter Three
The Broadcasting Situation
of the Canadian 1920s

i) The Private Sphere

The birth of regular radio broadcasting occurred in Canada during December of 1919 when station XWA in Montreal (which was owned by the Marconi Company of Canada Limited and which had been conducting experimental broadcasts for about a year), still in operation today as CFCF, Montreal, began regularly transmitting broadcasts of gramophone records, news items and weather reports (Blakley, 1979:23). The Marconi Company was in the business of manufacturing and selling transmitting and receiving equipment for radio amateurs and conceived of the broadcasts as a means of creating public interest and giving prospective buyers something to listen to (Bankart, 1926:14). These broadcasts mark the transition, in Canada, from radio transmissions for point-to-point communication to transmissions intended for public consumption.

While there has been considerable debate as to the precise dates, regularly scheduled broadcasting commenced in Europe, Great Britain, and the United States during the year 1920 (Weir, 1965:2). Frank Peers, in his seminal work on Canadian broadcasting, has noted that,

It is not surprising that broadcasting began in these...countries about the same time. Up to the First World War, radio invention remained an international process. It was carried on by men of many nationalities in many places, and the results in the first stage were freely interchanged (1969:4).

Experimental broadcasts had been occurring in Europe and North America since the beginning of the century, initially in radiotelegraphy (the wireless transmission of voice). The contributions made by men such as Guglielmo Marconi, R. A. Fessenden and Dr. Lee de Forest, in the early research and development of these technologies during the years before the war, had laid the foundation upon which radio broadcasting [3] would be perfected and popularized throughout the industrialized world during the decade of the 1920s.

In Canada, as in most countries, the popularity of the new technology grew quite rapidly, such that by September, 1922, 55 Private Commercial broadcasting licenses were issued by the Department of Marines and Fisheries (then vested with the responsibility of administering all radio matters in Canada). Almost 10,000 receiving licenses were issued in the same year. In the next year, the number of receiving licenses was to increase by more than 200% over the previous year to over 31,000 (see Appendices B and C for details). As C. P. Edwards, the Director of Radio for the Department of Marine, would later testify, "by 1922 broadcasting had been definitely established throughout the country" (Canada, 1932:3).

In these early years, the ownership and operation of broadcasting stations was undertaken for the most part, by newspapers hoping to profit from self-promotion (some of the newspapers conducting radio operations early in 1922 include the Winnipeg Tribune (CJNC); the Manitoba Free Press (CJCG); the Vancouver Daily Province (CKCD); and the Toronto Star (CFCA); see Raymond, 1962:92, and Peers, 1969:6), as well as by firms in the business of manufacturing and selling

radio equipment. These early operators were rather rapidly joined, however, by telephone companies, department stores and religious organizations.

The broadcast regulations of 1922, which stipulated that only British subjects were eligible to receive transmitting licenses, created a category of license for private commercial broadcasters allowing these license holders to broadcast news, information and entertainment providing that "No toll shall be levied...on account of any service performed" (Allard, 1979:12). As such, in these early years, Canadian broadcasters did not expect the operation of a broadcasting station to pay for itself. The annual license fee for private commercial broadcasters in 1922 was set at \$50.00, while amateur broadcasters paid an annual license fee of \$5.00 and the owners of receiving sets annually paid \$1.00 for their licenses (Peers, 1969:16).

About one year after these regulations were enacted, however, the Radio Branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries was becoming concerned about the rate at which broadcasting stations were closing down (Peers, 1969:27). As such, in 1923 the Radio Branch began to consider the possibilities which advertising

presented, and its decision to begin allowing limited advertising was, no doubt, influenced by the example being set at this time by the American broadcasters. The Report of the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries in 1923 stated that,

The question of advertising as a source of revenue for broadcasting has been the subject of much discussion; it divides itself into two general classes, "Direct" and "Indirect"... It has finally been decided to allow stations to undertake advertising as an experiment, and by the end of the next fiscal year the department should be in a position to know whether advertising can be handled in such a way as to make it popular with the broadcast listener (Canada, 1923:141).

Thus, for the next few years private commercial broadcasters were enabled to transmit indirect advertising (a sponsor's name being announced before and after a programme which it had contributed) without any restriction, and direct advertising (the purchasing of "air time" in which to promote a specific product) was permitted only before 6:00 p.m. By 1926, however, the Radio Branch changed the license provisions such that direct advertising was completely forbidden,

permitting only the mention of a sponsor and his location (with no reference to specific products or their merits), unless the written consent of the Minister had been obtained.

While the situation for private commercial broadcasters was improved considerably by the early provisions allowing both indirect and (limited) direct advertising (during the years 1924-26 private broadcasters in Toronto and Montreal began establishing network arrangements; see Blakley, 1979:28-30), it was during this period that the competition coming from the relatively huge and rapidly growing American broadcasters began to become a significant factor in shaping the Canadian broadcasting landscape. E. A. Weir has written,

The mushrooming of stations in the early 'twenties was even greater in the United States [than in Canada]. By the end of 1924, there were 530 stations operating south of the border (1965:2).

Broadcasting in the United States during the immediate post-war years was shaped, to a large extent, by the joint action of General Electric, Westinghouse

and American Telephone and Telegraph (AT+T), which in 1919 gave rise to the creation of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) principally for the purpose of buying out American Marconi and gaining control of its patents. While AT+T would withdraw from the RCA consortium in 1922, it was the only firm in the group which was not in the business of manufacturing radio receivers. By early 1922 Westinghouse, General Electric and RCA each had stations of their own, and AT+T was in the process of establishing its own New York station, WEAf (White, 1947:12-29).

The first National Conference on Radio in the United States was held early in 1922, and while the need for such a conference was precipitated by confusion over the allocation of wave lengths, its purpose was to advise the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, on the whole subject of broadcasting. While Hoover expressed the opinion that it was "...inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service...to be drowned in advertising chatter" (Siepmann, 1946:40), one of the recommendations which came out of the conference was that, "toll broadcasting service be permitted to develop naturally under close observation" (Robinson,

1943:14). As such, the commercial foundation upon which the American broadcasting system would be developed had begun to be officially sanctioned.

Indeed, by the time the first National Conference on Radio was held, advertising, or "toll broadcasting" as it was then called, was already becoming the standard mode of operation for most American broadcasters, and was rapidly becoming increasingly lucrative. While not a typical example of the cost of 'air time' during this period, it is worth noting that in August of 1922 the AT+T station in New York, WEAf, put on a 10 minute talk for which a real estate developer paid \$ 100.00, and by 1923 WEAf had, as did most stations by that time, a long list of program sponsors (Peers, 1969:8-9).

Network broadcasting in the United States began when stations WEAf in New York, WCAP in Washington and WJAR in Providence were linked in 1923. By October 1924 these stations were joined by stations in Boston, Buffalo and Pittsburgh for regular service, and a few days later the first nation-wide broadcast (involving 20 stations) - an address by President Coolidge - was conducted (Banning, 1946:30-31). Peers writes that,

By 1925 the question of "who should pay" under the American system was being settled. AT&T had already established a small commercial network of three stations; by the spring of 1925 it had expanded to thirteen stations, and by the end of the year to twenty-six stations... Network broadcasting was likewise to be financed by the advertiser's dollar (Peers, 1969:10).

By September of 1926 RCA had created the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and its two major networks (the "Red Network" and the "Blue Network") and the following year, 1927, saw the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) commence operations in competition with NBC. As noted by Fink, these two major broadcasting corporations were destined to dominate American radio until the 1950s, and once these had begun operations, the overall structure of commercial broadcasting in the United States was complete (1981:186), lacking only in regulatory legislation. This came in the form of the United States Radio Act of 1927 which sanctioned the American system of private ownership, while also putting in place mechanisms to ensure the orderly regulation of frequency allocations.

Fink writes,

When the American networks were created in 1926 and 1927, they considered the Canadian 'market' to be a natural extension of the American one, and proceeded to make affiliation arrangements with Canadian stations, especially in the cities of larger population, Montreal (CFCF and CKAC) and Toronto (CFRB) (1981:227).

It should be noted, however, that by this time Canadian radio listeners had already, for some years, been within regular range of American broadcasters. It should be noted that in 1923 the American government allocated the entire band of frequencies from 550 to 1350 kilocycles for broadcasting in the United States, and thereby duplicated broadcasting channels which were already being used by stations in Canada (see Allard, 1979:9-10). The ensuing problem of American broadcast interference gave way to meetings between Canadian and American officials which, by October 1924, resulted in an agreement which gave Canada the exclusive use of six (out of ninety-five) channels, while eleven channels were to be shared by both countries.

Over the next few years, however, the situation worsened as the whole broadcasting regulatory structure in the United States collapsed. Indeed, when, in

February 1926, a station in Chicago operated by the Zenith Radio Corporation appropriated one of the wavelengths which had been reserved for the exclusive use of Canadian broadcasters, an attempt to prosecute it in the courts was defeated. From this point, until the passing of the Radio Act of 1927, the United States' Secretary of Commerce gave up all attempts to regulate frequencies (see Peers, 1969:19-22).

As such, through the years 1923 and 1927 Canadian listeners had been exposed to a great deal of American broadcasting and comparatively little Canadian broadcasting. Moreover, while there were a total of 555 broadcasting stations in the United States by January 1925, and 138 of these had at least 500 watts of power, half of the higher-powered stations were to be found in states which bordered the Great Lakes and thereby reached easily into the central provinces of Canada (Peers, 1969:19). Indeed, as early as 1924 a writer for MacLean's wrote that,

Ninetenths of the radio fans in this Dominion hear three to four times as many United States stations as Canadian. Few fans, no matter in what part of Canada they live, can regularly pick up more than three or four different Canadian stations; ...any fan with

a good set can 'log' a score of
American stations (Johnson,
1924:12).

Further indication of the popularity of American broadcasting in Canada can be derived from the "Radio Popularity Ballot" conducted by the Toronto Telegram in September of 1925 in which readers were asked to vote for their best-liked radio station. While the poll cannot be considered representative, the fact that the stations appearing in the first seventeen places were all American stations is noteworthy (Peers, 1969:20). Perhaps the best indication of the extent of the popularity of American broadcasting in the mid-to-latter 'twenties, however, can be seen in a 1928 decision to shift a Toronto station from its newly allocated frequency that it shared with a New York Station, which resulted from the numerous complaints by listeners who preferred to get the American programming (see Toogood, 1969:18).

As noted earlier, during the mid-1920s private broadcasters in central Canada began to work out network arrangements. The Rogers Majestic Network originated from CFRB, Toronto and, with the help of Vic

George at CNRA, Moncton, by 1927 this network included twenty-one stations. By using the CNR's transmission lines this network could cover most of southern-central Canada as well as the Maritimes [4]. At about the same time, R. W. Ashcroft began to build a network called the Transcanada Broadcasting Company (TBC) which was anchored by CKGW, Toronto, and which also could cover a good deal of central and eastern Canada (the network could not actually span the country until 1932: See Allard, 1979:11, 87). The first networks programs which could encompass all three Prairie Provinces were not conducted until 1928 (Weir, 1965:28).

Indeed, as noted by R. L. Jackson, network broadcasting in Canada presented very real difficulties; extremely long and costly transmission lines were necessary in order to connect relatively small population centers (1966:10). This is echoed by Toogood who, writing of the difficulties of commercial network broadcasting in this period, has observed that,

The high cost of distributing any program by network across the vastness of Canada was prohibitive. The small Canadian market could not make a regular Canadian network an economic success (1969:18).

Thus, Canada's small population and the nature of its distribution initially made network advertising uneconomical (Blakley, 1979:30). As such, it should be noted that although network arrangements were being developed in these years, they were used only on a very limited and irregular basis through the end of the 1920s.

As previously noted, the American networks formed in 1926 and 1927 considered the Canadian market to be a natural extension of the American one. Toward the end of the decade these networks began to make affiliation arrangements with Canadian broadcasting stations. In 1929 NBC made its debut in Canada, enlisting CKGW, Toronto (owned by Gooderham and Worts and closely associated with the Toronto Evening Telegram:see Prang, 1965:16) as its first Canadian affiliate. Shortly after this arrangement had been made, the editor of the Telegram took part in a broadcast and used the occasion to announce the newspaper's policy on Canadian broadcasting, saying in part that,

For the sake of better broadcasting in Canada, the Toronto Evening Telegram entered into an alliance with the National Broadcasting Company which...is able to put programs on the air which it

would bankrupt any Canadian station to provide. Of its part in sponsoring the entry of the National Broadcasting Company into Canada, through such a powerful and modern station as CKGW, the Toronto Evening Telegram is very proud. Could there be a finer way of promoting international good-fellowship? (Toronto Evening Telegram, 1930:1).

By 1932 American networks had five affiliates in the cities of Toronto, Montreal and Windsor (Blakley, 1979:32). These stations were operating in Canada's largest markets (in 1929 the number of radio-receiving licenses in Ontario was 145,735, or 49% of the total for Canada [5]; see Appendix C) and relied on the American parent company for half of their daily programming (Toogood, 1969:18).

Furthermore, the power of American broadcasters and their coverage of Canada through the latter 1920s was increasing rapidly. By 1928, forty United States stations were licensed at a power from 5000 to 25,000 watts while at the same time only two stations in Canada had a power of 5000 watts (Peers, 1969:21). By the year 1932, Toogood writes that the total power of American stations penetrating Canada was,

...Twenty-one times greater than the total wattage of Canadian stations. While every radio receiver in Canada could pick up a United States station, only three in five could hear a Canadian one. The Canadian station was offering, on the average, only six hours of programming a day (1969:30).

The broadcasting situation in Canada during this period however, is perhaps best summarized by Margaret Prang who, in her study of the origins of public broadcasting in Canada, has written,

Canada could not compete with Amos 'n Andy or the Chicago Symphony, and even when they could get Canadian programs, most Canadians preferred American broadcasts. The net result was that at the end of the 'twenties at least 80% of the programs listened to by Canadians were of American origin (1965:4).

In summary, we have attempted here to outline the development of the private broadcasting situation of the Canadian 1920s, from the first broadcasts intended for public consumption in 1919 to the establishment of affiliation arrangements between a number of Canadian broadcasting stations and the American networks.

While originally in Canada private broadcasters were not allowed to gain revenue through advertising, the Department of Marine and Fisheries reconsidered this position in 1923 and began allowing both direct and indirect advertising on an 'experimental basis'. This decision improved the commercial basis for private broadcasting in Canada and some limited networks began to be formed at this time. By 1926, however, the Department of Marine and Fisheries decided that it would return to its earlier position and prohibit the use of direct advertising by commercial broadcasters. The precise reasons behind these decisions by the Department of Marine and Fisheries, first to disallow advertising, then to allow it, and then, once again to disallow it, remain open to empirical scrutiny [6]. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that the government's decision to restrict advertising severely hampered the ability of private broadcasters in Canada to compete with the (relatively) large and growing commercial broadcasting networks from the United States. This coupled with the economic difficulties involved in connecting widely separated and relatively small

population centres left Canadian private broadcasters in a weak state as compared to their American counterparts at the beginning of the 1930s.

We have also endeavored to depict the general contours of the rapid development and growth of the American commercial broadcasting structure through the 1920s, insofar as this exerted a powerful influence upon the Canadian broadcasting landscape. From the earliest days of the establishment of the American commercial broadcasting networks, the Canadian market had been perceived as a natural extension of the American market. Through the numerous high-powered broadcasting stations in the northern United States, Canadian listeners were able to receive a great deal of American broadcasting and comparatively very little programming from Canadian sources through the middle and latter 1920s. As such, by the end of the 1920s and into the early 1930s, as the American networks began establishing Canadian affiliates in Canada's largest urban centres, the commercial broadcasting situation in Canada was coming to be increasingly shaped and powerfully influenced by the activities of American commercial broadcasters.

ii) Public Broadcasting in Canada:

The Early Years

In 1923, when the only two stations in the province of Manitoba closed down, the provincial government offered to operate its own station if the federal government could be persuaded to give the province some direct remuneration. As such, in that year, a bill was enacted which gave the Manitoba government one half of the license fees collected in that province. Thereby, in 1923, the Province of Manitoba began operating CKY, Winnipeg through its provincially-owned telephone system from the University of Manitoba, and Canada had begun to experiment with public subsidization in the field of radio broadcasting (see Peers, 1969:27-28)[7].

A few years later, in 1927, in the province of Alberta, the University of Alberta would purchase a broadcasting station, CKUA, which was operated out of the University Extension Department and which would become, in the decade of the 1930s, the primary (if not

only) source of theatre for many Albertans as well as one of the province's major purveyors of education during that decade (see Fink, 1983).

However, without a doubt the most significant and far-reaching development in the realm of public broadcasting in Canada in the 1920s came from a government department; the newly nationalized Canadian National Railways (CNR). It would be through the CNR that the concept of broadcasting as a public service would be most strongly supported and developed.

In 1922, having been invited by Mackenzie King's new Liberal government to become the President of the newly-formed CNR, Sir Henry Thornton arrived in Ottawa on December 1 and assumed that position. Almost immediately, Thornton set out on his first cross-country tour of inspection, shortly after which he created a Department of Colonization and Agriculture in an effort to attract immigrants to Canada and to settle them along CNR lines.

Truly, Sir Henry was a man of vision and imagination. Held to be the "father of network broadcasting" (Weir, 1965:4), Thornton is said to have

been one of the first individuals to recognize not only the commercial value inherent in radio, but also its political possibilities. His biographer writes,

He saw radio as a great unifying force in Canada; to him the political conception transcended the commercial, and he set out consciously to create a sense of nationhood through the medium of the Canadian National radio service (Marsh, 1935:116).

Not only did Thornton deliberately attempt to use radio broadcasting as a means of 'creating a sense of nationhood', in the minds and hearts of the people of Canada, but he appears to have been sensitive to the importance of the individual's inner world and its relevance to daily life; In an early broadcast address, Sir Henry once said,

The psychological condition of a nation is just as important as its economic condition. A downhearted people never attained success. A scared army never won victories (PAC R.G. 30:3106; December 29, 1926).

On June 1 1923, merely six months after Thornton had assumed the presidency, a Radio Department was set up within the CNR at its Montreal headquarters, under the Vice-President in charge of Telegraph, Express and Colonization, W. D. Robb. Negotiations were entered into with companies in Montreal already operating broadcasting stations, several trains were equipped with receiving sets, and on New Year's Eve, 1923, the radio operations of the CNR became an established fact with a broadcast of music and messages from Thornton and other CNR officials which linked a Montreal station and an Ottawa station by telephone wires. This was the first occasion in Canada that a simultaneous broadcast was made from two stations which were more than one hundred miles apart (CNR Magazine, January, 1924). It was during this broadcast that the CNR's plans for radio development were announced. These included,

The building of a chain of radio broadcasting stations from coast to coast; the equipping of all transcontinental trains of the CNR to receive radio messages; the placing in all hotels of the CNR the finest receiving sets; the development of plans for putting within the reach and means of every employee of the system radio apparatus: These are a few of the details of the wonderful plans for

the development of radio in connection with the National system...[T]hey call for the broadcasting of programmes of entertainment, news and messages not merely to one or more sections of the country, but across the entire continent (CNR Magazine, January, 1924:7).

Under construction, at this time, was the CNR's first broadcasting station, CNRO, Ottawa, which began operations on February 27, 1924. Following this, the CNR built CNRA in Moncton which commenced operation in November 1924, and then CNRV in Vancouver which opened in August of 1925. Each of these broadcasting stations had a power of 500 watts. Further, during this period, the CNR Radio Department negotiated arrangements with a number of stations across the country which enabled it to use its own call letters while operating over broadcasting time which it rented from these stations (these were known as "phantom stations"). Such arrangements added Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto, London, Montreal and Quebec as links in the CNR's radio chain (see Weir, 1965:19-25; Peers, 1969:22-27).

The policy which was guiding the development of the CNR's radio activities, and the results which it hoped to achieve through these actions are clearly articulated in a speech which Thornton made during the opening of the CNR's Toronto radio operations, during which he said,

Bringing the world to the armchair through the air is proving to be the most powerful force yet conceived for the colonization and settlement of the empty spaces upon the map of Canada... And it is not only bringing men and women to those vacant acres, but it is proving the most effective means to hold them there and the tighter we can persuade them to cling to the country the greater the prosperity bestowed upon the citizens of Canada as a whole,

and further,

We are proud of our radio and I think this feeling is justifiable because thereby the CNR are playing a more intimate part in the complex social and industrial life of the community. We feel that we are not only assisting materially in the peopling, but in the stabilization of the country, and this must rebound to the general benefit of the Dominion and to the railway system... (PAC R.G. 30, 3103:May 16, 1924).

It should be noted that in the earliest years of the CNR's radio involvement, from 1924 to about 1928, the promotion of the CNR's broadcasting activity was conducted exclusively by Thornton and his chief executive officers and delivered in the form of talks and discussions around the subjects of the services of the railway and national development (Weir, 1965:15). For Thornton, as for the CNR, these two issues were inextricably linked, and their importance was fundamental. E. A. Weir, who worked for a number of years under Thornton as Director of Radio for the CNR, has written,

Thornton considered radio a complementary part of the great communications complex which he headed. Radio was geared to serve the national interest. Encouragement to that end, within the means available, was basic. Radio has never been more purposefully directed, even under the CBC... To him radio was essentially a prestige medium, and the CNR consistently strove to reflect in its programs the standards of service set for the railway as a whole. As the nation's largest organization, it could only hope to prosper as the nation grew and prospered. It was the main physical link uniting all the provinces, and to the President

the use of radio to join them in thought and purpose was equally natural.

Sir Henry's addresses constantly reflected this national ideal (Weir, 1965:16).

During these years, CNR stations stressed public service broadcasting consisting of information, cooperation with governmental and other representative institutions, livestock and other farm market reports, children's programmes, school broadcasts, time signals (for ships at sea as well as for trappers, hunters and fishermen), entertainment (usually musical) and some drama (Weir, 1965:28). Furthermore, there were no sales of time or programmes for sponsorship; all of the CNR's programmes were in effect sustaining and the service nature of its programming reflected this fact (see Fink, 1981:227-232). In 1925, an article written by W. H. Swift, the Chief Radio Engineer for the CNR at the time, and published in the American periodical Radio, had this to say:

...the building of stations and the equipping of trains with receiving sets was only one feature of the work. There had to be a directing policy if the service was not to prove a hit and miss affair. It

had to be, moreover, a policy of real service not merely to the company and its patrons, but to the country at large, if it is to justify itself and to retain its popularity. That policy, as it was conceived and as it has been followed, is a policy of service (Weir Papers, v. 2, f. 8).

The quality of the CNR's programming, and the care with which this was executed, was noted by the Radio News Editor of the United States and was quoted in many newspapers throughout the U.S. saying that,

The programmes offered by Canadian stations are well worth turning to, if the listener is interested in hearing things which are seldom given attention by American broadcasters. The CNR programmes are singled out for particular notice because they are the only ones which have been scheduled in the minutest detail (PAC, R.G. 30, 3112:quoted by W. D. Robb in an address prepared for the second anniversary of CNRT, Toronto, May 14, 1926).

It should be further noted that until 1929 all CNR stations were programmed and broadcast locally (with very few exceptions which shall be discussed presently), and as such, under the CNR, local

production units in Moncton, Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg and Vancouver were developed, and were encouraged to develop community based cultural groups. As a result, the CNR Radio Department is responsible for inaugurating some of the earliest indigenous sound dramas. In 1925 the first live radio play in the CNR's radio schedules, entitled "The Rosary", was produced and broadcast locally by CNRA, Moncton (Fink, 1981:232). Moreover, in Vancouver there developed a very active radio drama group, the CNRV Players, under the direction of Jack Gilmore. This group was responsible for locally broadcasting many original dramas, although for the most part, its productions were adaptations.

As noted above, until 1929 CNR radio broadcasting was largely a local affair. There are, however, a few noteworthy exceptions. There were occasional network shows between Montreal and Toronto in 1928, and in that same year the first network programmes to encompass all three Prairie Provinces were undertaken. Network programming, however, took its largest step, to that point in Canadian broadcast history, for the sake of celebrating the sixtieth birthday of Canada's confederation.

To honour the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, the government sought ideas for a fitting national tribute, in response to which the Association of Canadian Clubs proposed a national network radio broadcast (Weir, 1965:35). It was actually Graham Spry, then the National Secretary of the Association (who would later lead the lobby to have broadcasting nationalized in Canada), who had made the initial suggestion (Peers, 1969:64). The broadcasts were then planned by a committee appointed by the government, using the CNR's Ottawa station, CNRO, as the originating station, and on July 1, 1927, the first national network broadcasts in Canada were conducted.

These broadcasts were the result of the cooperation of several partners including the CNR, the CPR, the Bell Telephone Company of Canada, provincial telephone companies from Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, New Brunswick, as well as others; eleven telegraph and telephone companies in all combined to provide the necessary wire service (Weir, 1965:36). These and the facilities of Ray Ashcroft's Transcanada Broadcasting Company (TBC) were

combined for the Diamond Jubilee broadcasts and the programmes were carried by 27 stations (Blakley, 1979:29)[8].

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who, of course, took part in the broadcasts, had been extremely impressed by the emotional power and, indeed, the political potential of a national broadcasting linkage. Speaking of the Diamond Jubilee broadcasts a few weeks after their occurrence, at the Canadian National Exhibition, King said:

It is doubtful if ever before, at one and the same moment, the thoughts of so many of the citizens of any country were so concentrated upon what was taking place at its capital, or whether those in authority were brought into such immediate and sympathetic personal touch with those from whom their authority was derived... All Canada became, for the time being a single assemblage, swayed by a common emotion, within the sound of a single voice,

and as a result,

...there will be aroused a more general interest in public affairs, and an increased devotion of the individual citizen to the commonwealth (McNeil and Wolfe, 1982:190).

By the end of 1928 the CNR had installed, almost completely across Canada, a new system of transmission which increased by ten the channels of communication afforded by a pair of telegraphic wires, which was known as "carrier current". With the installation of carrier current, it was no longer necessary for the CNR to delay messages which had been filed in the late afternoon until the evening hours. Regardless of the volume of business each day by 6:00 p.m. the circuits were clear and thereby became immediately available for broadcasting (see Weir, 1965:33-40). As such, on December 27, 1928, the CNR became the first single organization to produce a nationally distributed network broadcast.

Given what was happening in the Canadian parliament, the timing of this achievement was spectacular; the Aird Commission (of which we speak in more detail in the following chapter) had just been appointed for the purpose of investigating the entire Canadian broadcasting situation and to make recommendations as to how broadcasting in Canada could best be (re)structured to serve both the national interest and the interests of Canadian listeners.

After ten months of investigation and hearings, in September of 1929, the Commission would recommend the nationalization of broadcasting in Canada.

In April of 1929, while the Aird Commission was still investigating the Canadian radio situation, E. A. Weir who, since 1924, had been in charge of Colonization Publicity and Advertising for the CNR in London, was transferred to Montreal to become the Director of Radio for the CNR because "immediate and radical improvement in our programs was imperative" (Weir Papers, v. 17, f. 4).

Almost immediately Weir was able to arrange a contract with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra for a series of twenty-five symphony broadcasts to be carried nationally on Sunday afternoon. This series, entitled the All-Canada Symphony Concerts, was the first transcontinental symphonic series in America. The inaugural broadcast of the series took place on October 20, 1929, barely one month after the presentation of the Aird Report (see Time Line in Appendix F). E. A. Weir has written of this series, saying that,

Each program opened with forty-five seconds of chimes and the striking of five by the great clock in the Peace Tower. This was followed by

the strains of "O Canada"...[T]hese
sounds [were] emblematic of
national unity (Weir, 1965:45).

While opening the series Sir Henry Thornton, once more, articulated very clearly the nationalistic sentiments which were the driving force (or, at the very least, the accompanying rhetoric) behind the CNR's radio activities, and thereby demonstrated the considerable overlap between the CNR's broadcasting aims and the recommendations of the Aird Report. I therefore quote him at length:

The Toronto Symphony Orchestra serves a dual purpose. It brings us the world's finest music and helps to cultivate our taste for better things. It will also help to foster our national musical consciousness...

It is only through these nation-wide broadcasts that we can accomplish what we regard as most important - encouraging a feeling of vital relationship between all parts of the country. This medium can accomplish more to that end than any other scheme that has been advanced, for is not communication the force that tears down barriers of isolation..?

and further,

By association of ideas the linking together of a group of broadcasting stations has come to be analogous to the binding by steel links of cities and of nations...

We regard the use of radio as a national trust and shall always so regard it. It is essentially both a national and a local service institution. As such, it adds to the social and economic life of the nation...

We speak of the "Spirit" of Canada, and our sacrifice is the dedication of our personal powers and desires to upbuilding our country. It is the aim of the CN to develop that spirit and through radio to link up all the far-flung parts harmoniously, building up the different parts of Canada into one great Dominion (PAC, R.G. 30, 3103:October 20, 1929).

Once the early installations of the CNR's carrier current transmission lines had proven successful, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) began its own carrier current installations using Bell Telephone's engineers. As soon as the CPR's national installation was completed, in 1930, it also began broadcasting programs nationally (Weir, 1965:41). As such, until the Canadian government would respond decisively to the Aird Report's recommendations, Canada would have two national broadcasters; one private and the other public.

In summary, then, we have provided a somewhat detailed outline of the development of public broadcasting in Canada through the activities of the CNR during the 1920s, from the creation of its Radio Department in 1923, through its role in the first national network broadcast in Canada and its achievement of becoming the first single organization to produce a nationally distributed network broadcast in Canada, to its production of the first transcontinental symphonic series - the All-Canada Symphony Concerts - in America.

With the impetus provided by Henry Thornton, who saw radio as a potentially powerful unifying force and set out consciously to create a sense of nationhood in the Canadian population through the broadcast medium, the CNR Radio Department had pursued, from the very beginning, a policy of broadcasting as a public service and had geared radio to serve the interest of national development (i.e., colonization, settlement and stabilization of the country). The CNR Radio Department also played a central role in the production of the Diamond Jubilee broadcasts of 1927 (a cooperative effort between several public and private

bodies), which did much to convince Prime Minister Mackenzie King (and, no doubt, many others) of the emotional and political potential of a national broadcasting linkage.

The CNR Radio Department became the first organization which was technologically capable of distributing a broadcast nationally itself (with the installation of carrier current) just weeks after the Aird Commission had been appointed to examine the Canadian broadcasting situation to determine how broadcasting could best be organized in Canada so as to serve the national interest and the interests of Canadian listeners. Shortly after the presentation of the Aird Report, which would recommend the nationalization of broadcasting in Canada, the CNR Radio Department, under the directorship of E. A. Weir, produced its All-Canada Symphony Concerts. The presentation of this series, and its accompanying introduction by Henry Thornton, attested to the considerable overlap between the broadcasting policy of the CNR and the views and recommendations expressed in the Aird Report; both maintained that broadcasting

ought to be used as a means of unifying Canada and of developing a sense of Canadian nationhood and a Canadian spirit.

In conclusion, then, we have attempted to provide a somewhat detailed treatment of the early development of broadcasting in Canada, from its inception, through the decade of the 1920s. As we have seen, the nature of the broadcasting landscape in Canada by the end of the decade had been shaped by both public and private forces including those of the American commercial broadcasters. While the former conceived of the medium as a public service and an instrument of national development, the latter pursued broadcasting as a burgeoning commercial enterprise to be financed by the advertiser's dollar. Until the Canadian government could be brought to some decision as to the policy direction it would take with regard to the broadcast field, these forces were to continue to function in Canada and, indeed, to vie for the attention of a rapidly growing Canadian audience.

Chapter Four
Toward the Development of a Canadian
Broadcasting Policy:
The Aird Commission and Report

It is evident that the Parliament of Canada asserted firmly its jurisdiction over the new medium of communication at an early date and has continued to do so ever since (Royal Commission on National Development in Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1951:11).

The above-quoted observation made in the Massey Commission's report is noteworthy. Seven years before the United States would make similar provisions, the Canadian government passed the Wireless Telegraph Act in 1905. Indeed, as noted by Toogood, the fact that the federal government asserted its position of control at this time demonstrated an early appreciation of the medium and serves as a beacon for all future legislation (1969:10).

The Act of 1905 provided for the licensing of all wireless telegraphic apparatus through the Department of Public Works (Peers, 1969:15). In contrast, radio regulatory responsibilities in the United States, once assigned, fell to the Department of Commerce (see Zinman and Jackson, 1984:6). This initial legislation became a major part of the Telegraph Act of 1906. Neither of these pieces of legislation included voice transmission, however, and as such were replaced by the Radio Telegraph Act of 1913, which explicitly stated that the term "radio telegraph" included "any wireless system for conveying electrical signals or messages including radio telephones" (Peers, 1969:15). While the regulatory responsibilities had been transferred to the Department of Marines and Fisheries in 1909, with the prospect of war in 1914 all radio responsibilities were transferred to the Department of Naval Service. In July of 1922, a new Department of National Defense was established, and at this time the responsibility of administration of the 1913 Act was returned to the Department of Marine and Fisheries (Toogood, 1969:10).

The regulatory control of the Department of Marine and Fisheries through the early and mid 'twenties, as per the 1913 Radio Telegraph Act, was limited to the granting and renewing of licenses. In the early 1920s the Department had granted licenses freely, boasting that Canada was "the only country in the world in which amateurs are allowed to operate broadcasting stations" (Canada, 1923:142). By 1925, however, given the limited broadcasting frequencies available to Canadian broadcasters and the increasing number of broadcasters (notably, in the large urban centres), the Department of Marine and Fisheries had found it necessary to begin restricting the number of licenses in different areas (Canada, 1925:138). Although a policy basis upon which the decision to disallow (or not renew) a given license application had yet to be established, it would be a few years before the issue of censorship would embroil the government in the first broadcast policy controversy and force its first thorough examination of Canadian broadcasting policy.

It should be noted that, as the 1913 Radio Telegraph Act had been intended to regulate point-to-point transmission (radio telegraphy or telephony) and not broadcasting, the federal government

enjoyed licensing power but could exercise no control over program content. As such, broadcasting stations were left with full discretion as to what was broadcast. In the spring of 1928, however, the government of Canada revoked the licenses of four broadcasting stations (in the cities of Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Toronto) which were owned and operated by the International Bible Students Association (a Jehovah's Witness organization) because an increasing number of complaints had reportedly been received by the Department of Marine about the content of the station's broadcasts. The Minister of Marine, P. J. A. Cardin, told the House that,

The matter being broadcast is generally described as having become intolerable and the propaganda carried on under the name of Bible talks is said to be unpatriotic and abusive to all our churches. Evidence would appear to show that the tone of the preaching seems to be that all organized churches are corrupt and in alliance with unrighteous forces, that the entire system of society is wrong, and that all governments are to be condemned. The Department is persuaded that in the general public interest the licences of the Bible Students should not be renewed (Debates, June 1 1928:3661-2).

The controversy which ensued in the House of Commons led to a questioning of the entire Canadian broadcasting pattern. The problem of censorship was succinctly raised by J. S. Woodsworth (the founder of the CCF) when he asked the House,

When did we appoint a minister of this government as a censor of religious opinions?... Our forefathers won to a considerable extent freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly; surely it is strange that a Liberal government should seek to deny people freedom of the air (Debates, May 31, 1928:3618).

Woodsworth went on to raise the much broader issue of the control of Canadian broadcasting stations by American commercial interests which, as we have noted above (see chapter three), would begin occurring just months later. Woodsworth stated,

It is only a comparatively short time before these small broadcasting stations will be bought up by big American companies,

adding that the nationalization of Canadian broadcasting could provide a defense against American encroachment. He continued,

I may be afraid of handing power to any one government, but I would rather trust our own Canadian government with the control of broadcasting than these highly organized private commercial companies in the United States.... [T]he government itself should take the responsibility and decide upon a comprehensive national policy...leading to public ownership and control of this new industry (Debates, May 31, 1928:3621-3622).

After further debate Cardin finally announced that,

We have made up our minds that a change must be made in the broadcasting situation in Canada. We have reached a point where it is impossible for a member of the government or for the government itself to exercise the discretionary power which is given by the law...for the very reason that the moment the minister in charge exercises his discretion, the matter becomes a political football... We should change that situation and take radio broadcasting away from the influences of all sorts which are brought to bear by all shades of political parties (Debates, June 1, 1928:3659-3661).

As such, the Minister proposed the appointment of a royal commission to study the state of Canadian broadcasting and to make recommendations as to how the situation might best be managed. In the process of having the House of Commons approve a vote of \$ 25,000 to provide for the expenses of a commission, Cardin explained that,

We want to inquire in England, the United States and Canada as to the best means for Canada to adopt in dealing with radio broadcasting. We want to have this information before coming to parliament with a bill nationalizing the system, or some such method (Debates, June 2, 1928:3706).

It would appear that the position of the Minister of Marine and his department had become increasingly difficult given the laissez-faire policy which had been pursued in the area of broadcasting in Canada for more than six years (see Peers, 1969:34-35). Both the British and American governments had already formulated and passed decisive legislation which would frame the development of two vastly different broadcasting systems. The United States had just sanctioned the development of American broadcasting as a private

commercial enterprise by its passage of the Radio Act of 1927 (see chapter three), while the British had, in that same year, formally established its publicly-owned British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which was to be governed by a publicly-appointed board and financed by the license fees paid by listeners. Canada, however, had allowed broadcasting to drift until this point, giving way to a mixed system involving both public and private broadcasters. Now the Canadian government would be forced to come to some decision as to what sort of broadcasting system would be best suited to the Canadian context.

Soon after approving the broadcasting investigation, Parliament prorogued and for a number of months the King government delayed further action. On December 6, 1928, however, Mackenzie King finally appointed a three-man Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Aird who was, at that time, the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. The other members of the Commission were Charles A. Bowman, the Editor of the Ottawa Citizen, and Dr. Augustin Frigon, the Director of L'Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal and Director-General of Technical Education

for the Province of Quebec. Donald Manson, the Chief Inspector of Radio for the Department of Marine, was named Secretary.

For a number of months before the Commission had even been conceived, C. A. Bowman had pursued a campaign to establish a system of national ownership and national control of broadcasting, and thus his views on broadcasting were publicly known at the time of his appointment. Sir John Aird was a Conservative in politics and was predisposed to favour the private-enterprise system in broadcasting. Aird was on record as having publicly stated in 1925 that,

One of the great hindrances to progress in the world today is the tendency to increased government regulation or control. Even in its most modified form this leads to the enactment of an excessive amount of legislation (Toogood, 1969:23).

As to any predisposition which Augustin Frigon may have had, it was Bowman's impression that Dr. Frigon tended to mistrust any form of public ownership. As

such, altogether the Commission does not appear to have been a partisan body, and its appointment did not cause a disturbance (see Peers, 1969:37-38).

The explicit purpose of the Commission's inquiry was,

...to determine how radio broadcasting in Canada could be most effectively carried on in the interests of Canadian listeners and in the national interest of Canada (Canada, 1929:5).

According to the terms of reference of the Order in Council appointing to Commission (P.C. 2108), the Commission was required to,

...examine into the broadcasting situation in the Dominion of Canada and to make recommendations to the Government as to the future administration, management, control, and financing thereof (Canada, 1929:3).

The Commission began work right away and for the next nine months it toured extensively, beginning in the United States and then on to Great Britain and a number of European countries. When the Commission

visited the NBC's headquarters in New York it was informed by NBC representatives that the company was planning to expand its system to cover the whole of North America. C. A. Bowman reported years later that the frank assumption of the American broadcasters that Canada was within their orbit had disturbed Aird (Peers, 1969:38).

The Commission then travelled to London where, the Director-General of the BBC, Sir John Reith, placed the entire organization at the Commission's disposal so that it might examine the Corporation thoroughly. After this, the commissioners investigated the broadcasting operations of Ireland, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, all of which had either already implemented nationalized broadcasting systems or were contemplating this pattern of operation (Toogood, 1969:20).

By April of 1929 the Commission was back in Canada and beginning the first of its public hearings in British Columbia. The Commission would go on to hold sessions in 25 Canadian cities in all. After touring the country, it had heard 164 verbal presentations and had received 124 written statements. The Commission also met with the representatives of each of the

provincial governments and, while drafting its report, received formal assurances from each province as to their cooperation in organizing broadcasting.

There are some records of the Commission's hearings in eastern Canada in the Public Archives (there are, however, none from the West), and these reveal something of the diversity of views which were expressed before the Commission. Support for private-ownership and operation of broadcasting came, perhaps predictably, from the owners of radio stations and radio dealers who took care to express the benefits of competition upon programming. This view was supported by the Canadian Manufacturer's Association (CMA), as well as by Edward Beatty, the President of the CPR. Both of these organizations, however, expressed the view that they were in favour of federal control and coordination of broadcasting activities in Canada but thought that government ownership was unnecessary and would be detrimental to the quality of programming.

In contrast, strong support for government ownership and control of Canadian broadcasting came from the Canadian Legion, the All-Canadian Congress of

Labour, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, the United Farmers of Alberta, the National Council of Education, as well as the CNR (see Peers, 1969:40-41).

A statement made before the Aird Commission by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, on behalf of the National Council of Education, serves well to illustrate the view which was apparently shared by most educators:

If left to private enterprise like the magazine and moving picture, it is bound to cater to the patronage that will reflect in dividends for the stockholders. That is sound commercially, but it will never achieve the best educational ends... The amount of fodder that is the antithesis of intellectual that comes over our radio is appalling while the selection of material for broadcasting remains in commercial hands (Plaunt Papers, v. 93, f. b; quoted in pamphlet, Canadian Radio League, 1931).

E. A. Weir, the Director of Radio for the CNR, in his presentation to the Aird Commission, pointed to the nationalistic purposes and the public service nature of CNR radio broadcasting. Reminding the Commission that the CNR was "the nation's largest, best established and only national broadcaster", Weir reiterated that the CNR's broadcasting aims were not merely to publicize

the CNR but to advertise Canada and to assist in the settlement of remote communities. Weir also went on to argue that, regardless of what policy was finally recommended by the Commission, the five years of broadcast pioneering by the CNR ought to be recognized and rewarded by some means (Peers, 1969:41).

The last hearings were held in Ottawa on July 3, 1929, after which the Commission began to work on the writing of its report. After each of the Commission's members had written outlines, it became apparent to Aird that all were thinking along the same lines (Peers, 1969:42). As such, he suggested that if Bowman and Frigon could agree on a draft he would be willing to sign it. After a period of haggling over the degree of provincial control (Frigon insisted on more than Bowman was willing to recommend), each finally submitted separate drafts. From these, the Commission's secretary, Donald Manson, constructed a single version which received Sir John Aird's full approval (O'brien, 1964:52-53).

The final report, formally handed to the Minister of Marine on September 11, 1929, was a slim volume; nine pages in all (excluding appendices) of which two pages were a summary of the Commission's

recommendations (Canada, 1929). While acknowledging that it had heard a "considerable diversity of opinion" about the Canadian radio situation, the Commission reported that,

There has...been unanimity on one fundamental question - Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting (Canada, 1929:6).

The verity of this assertion is questioned by scholars such as Blakley who claims that the statement "can be seen as a nationalistic hypothesis by those who feared the spectre of American domination of Canadian airwaves" (1979:33). Whether or not the statement was an hypothesis, it is clear that the Commission was concerned with the extent to which the medium was coming under the control of American commercial broadcasters. Furthermore, the Commission believed strongly that in broadcasting lay an extremely powerful political and cultural force which carried profound national implications. The Commission reported that,

At present the majority of programs heard are from sources outside of Canada. It has been emphasized to us that the continued reception of

these has a tendency to mold minds of the young people in the home to ideas and opinions that are not Canadian. In a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering national spirit and interpreting national citizenship (Canada, 1929:6).

Moreover, the Commission's report recognized the potential which broadcasting held for educational purposes, and this potential was also interpreted as having national application. The report speaks of,

...education in the broad sense, not only as it is conducted in the schools and colleges, but in providing entertainment and of informing the public on questions of national interest (Canada, 1929:6).

Private enterprise was commended for its efforts to provide entertainment for the benefit of the public with no direct return of revenue, however the report claimed that,

This lack of revenue has...tended more and more to force too much advertising upon the listener. It also would appear to result in the crowding of stations into urban centres and the consequent duplication of services in such

places, leaving other large populated areas ineffectively served (Canada, 1929:6).

Thus, the Commission concluded that the interests of the Canadian listening public and the Canadian nation,

...can be adequately served only by some form of public ownership, operation and control behind which is the national power and prestige of the whole public of the Dominion of Canada (Canada, 1929:6),

and recommended the formation of one national broadcasting company,

...vested with the full powers and authority of any private enterprise, its status and duties corresponding to those of a public utility (Canada, 1929:7).

The public company would own and operate all radio stations and would build seven 50,000 watt stations spaced across the country which would form the core of a national network and would be capable of providing service to all Canadians. The cost of operation for the entire system was estimated at \$ 2,500,000.00, which was to be financed through a combination of the

receiving license fees (to be raised from \$ 1.00 to \$3.00), rental of broadcasting time for programs employing indirect advertising, and a subsidy from the Dominion Government (Canada, 1929:9). The company was to be governed by a board composed of twelve members, including three representatives of the federal government and one representing each of the provinces (Canada, 1929:7).

In conclusion, while the Canadian government had allowed broadcasting to drift without a clear policy direction through the early and mid-1920s (giving way to a mixed system involving both public and private broadcasters), the political controversy which followed the governments's decision to revoke the broadcasting licenses of the IBSA gave rise to a questioning of the entire Canadian broadcasting pattern in the House of Commons. It was during this debate that fears of American domination of the Canadian broadcasting field were first articulated in the House, and the notion that nationalization of broadcasting in Canada could provide a defense against American encroachment in this field was argued.

This debate and discussion around the nature of the Canadian broadcasting situation gave rise to the formation of a Royal Commission to study the state of broadcasting in Canada and to make recommendations as to how the situation might best be managed in the national interests and the interest of Canadian listeners. The fact that the proposed commission's enquiry and recommendations were so framed (i.e., in the national interests and the interest of Canadian listeners, rather than, say, in the interests of Canadian broadcasters) can be read as an indication of the direction in which the Liberal government of the day was leaning on this issue.

The Commission, which does not appear to have been a partisan body and whose appointment caused little disturbance, toured the U.S., Great Britain and a number of other European countries, before returning to Canada and holding public hearings across the country. Support for private-ownership and operation of broadcasting before the Commission came from the owners of private commercial broadcasting stations, radio equipment dealers, the Canadian Manufacturers Association, and the CPR, while support for government ownership and control of broadcasting came from the

Canadian Legion, the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, the United Farmers of Alberta, the National Council of Education, and the CNR.

The Aird Commission's report held that Canadian radio listeners wanted Canadian broadcasting. Moreover, the Commission believed strongly in the political and cultural potential which the broadcast medium carried, and as such, expressed concern at the extent to which Canadians were being exposed to the programming of American commercial broadcasters. By virtue of the political, cultural, and educational potential which the Commissioners perceived in broadcasting, the medium was seen as having profound national implications and application. The efforts of private commercial broadcasters though commended, were held to force too much advertising on the listener and to result in a concentration of broadcasters in large urban centres, leaving other areas ineffectively served. Thus, the Commission recommended the formation of a public national broadcasting company which would own and operate all broadcasting stations in Canada, as well as the building of a network which would be capable of providing service to all Canadians.

Such were the recommendations of this commission in September of 1929 and with the presentation of this report it must have appeared to informed observers that the nationalization of Canadian broadcasting was very nearly an established fact. It was, however, to be two and a half years before this plan (with slight modifications) would actually come to fruition; Within weeks of the publication of the report came the great stock market crash (in October of 1929) and, in the face of more urgent matters of public policy, considerations surrounding Canada's broadcasting policy were placed on the back burner. A federal election campaign, a change in government, and a constitutional dispute between Ottawa and Quebec as to whether broadcasting was under federal or provincial jurisdiction, would occur before the nationalization of Canadian broadcasting would become a reality.

Chapter Five
Organized Pressure For and Against
a Nationalized System;
The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB)
and The Canadian Radio League (CRL)

Prime Minister King was pleased with the work of the Aird Commission and with its report, however, he believed that it would be unwise to introduce the recommendations of the report in the House of Commons at the next session because national elections were pending (O'Brien, 1964:58). In December of 1929, when the government had still not made any movement toward implementing the Aird Report recommendations and was questioned as to whether or not the government would adopt those recommendations, the Minister of Marine, P.J.A. Cardin would not answer the question directly but said only that he favoured a form of radio control modelled after the CNR where there was no political interference (Toronto Daily Star, December 17, 1929).

While public response to the Aird Report's recommendations cannot be gauged with any precision, the Commission's secretary, Donald Manson, reported the

initial editorial reactions of the press in a memorandum dated October 2, 1929; twenty-two newspapers were strongly in favour of the Report, four were against it and eleven were noncommittal (see Appendix D for a listing of the various newspapers and the position which each adopted).

The strongest opposition to the Report came from La Presse, a Montreal daily which owned and operated Quebec's most powerful broadcasting station, CKAC (which had recently become a CBS affiliate). Immediately after the presentation of the Aird Report, La Presse began a series of page-one editorials headed "En Garde Contre l'Etatization", shortly after which it published a pamphlet in French and English entitled "Aird Report Menaces the Trade and Commerce of Radio" (PAC, letter from Donald Manson to John Aird, December 30, 1929; cited in O'Brien, 1964:59). Toward the end of December 1929, Bowman wrote a series of four editorials in the Ottawa Citizen (which were also published in other Southam papers) in direct response to the La Presse publications (Ottawa Citizen, December 27, 28, 30, 31, 1929). The agitation for and against a nationalized broadcasting system had begun.

Broadcasters in Toronto did not leave the campaign against the Aird proposals entirely to La Presse. Shortly after the report was tabled, R.F. Combs, former station manager of CKNC (owned by the Canadian National Carbon Company) and now Director of the Canadian Radio Trades Association, spoke on behalf of most stations when he said:

Once you eliminate competition in the matter of programs, broadcasting gets into a rut... If this scheme goes through, our programs are bound to get worse until nobody will listen to anything but American programs. I don't think it will ever become law because I don't think the public will stand for it. We knew from the start what the Commission was aiming at, and before it is put into effect I think the Canadian Association of Broadcasters will ask for the views of the public (Evening Telegram, Sept.12, 1929).

The Toronto station, CFRB (owned by Rogers-Majestic), which had joined the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in April of 1929, had recently made arrangements to have its newscasts originate in the editorial rooms of the Toronto Globe. Together the Globe and CFRB joined in the campaign

against the Aird recommendations warning of the dangers of "civil service broadcasting" which would seriously interfere with the "democracy of radio" (Globe, March 7 and 22, 1930).

However, the key figure in Toronto among the opponents of a public broadcasting system was R.W. Ashcroft, an officer of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), Manager of the most powerful radio station in Ontario, CKGW, and Canadian representative of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) of New York. CKGW and the Toronto Evening Telegram had earlier joined in the arrangement to bring NBC programmes into Toronto, and they now joined forces in opposing the Aird proposals. The Telegram ran something in the order of eight editorials in four weeks (from February 25 to March 22; see Peers, 1969:59) opposing the recommendations and these were backed up by broadcasts on CKGW. Ashcroft made numerous speeches that were reported in full in the Telegram; Irving Robertson, Telegram Editor, was invited to broadcast speeches over CKGW. Both Ashcroft and Robertson used these opportunities to attack C.A. Bowman and his Ottawa Citizen editorials as well as the Aird Commission's report and recommendations.

Shortly after Parliament had resumed in January of 1930, the government announced that it intended to appoint a special committee to consider the recommendations made by the Aird Commission. At the beginning of April the Royal Commission's report was referred to a Special Committee comprising twenty members, whose Chairman was to be J.L. Isley. The Committee never met. Indeed, the creation of the Special Committee had been for appearances only, since King announced in the third week of March that he was calling an election. It would appear that there was no intention of proceeding with the broadcasting proposals for fear that the matter would become a political football and all efforts, instead, went into the election campaign (see Peers, 1969:57-62).

The election was held on July 28, 1930 and brought the Conservatives into government under the leadership of R.B. Bennett (who entered office on August 7, 1930; see Timeline in Appendix F). While both the Liberals and the Conservatives had used radio extensively in the election campaign (both CKGW, Toronto and CKAC, Montreal had identified themselves with one of the parties; the Conservatives and the Liberals respectively), broadcasting itself did not become an

issue. What the Conservative policy on broadcasting would be was uncertain, although the opposition of the new Prime Minister to public ownership in general was well known. Moreover, it was now known that the Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR) (which had entered broadcasting for the first time in February of 1930 sponsoring a series of musical programs broadcast over stations CKAC in Montreal and CKGW in Toronto) was itself interested in heading a private radio monopoly, and that Bennett, a former CPR solicitor, was a personal friend of CPR President E.W. Beatty. As such, it is not surprising that the period following the election of Bennett's Conservative government saw the organization of concerted agitations both for and against the Aird Commission's recommendation of a nationalized broadcasting system.

The chief body of organized expression opposing the formation of a nationalized system would come in the form of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), a trade association ultimately representing private broadcasters across Canada, while organized support for a public broadcasting system was to come from what would become one of the most powerful and influential factors on the Canadian broadcasting scene

at that time, namely, the Canadian Radio League (CRL). The primary concern of the present chapter is toward depicting something of the histories, the competing visions and the activities of these two organizations as each attempted to shape the form which broadcasting policy in Canada would take.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB)

The CAB had been originally organized in January of 1926, following the introduction of a bill in Parliament amending the Copyright Act to include "radio communication" in those categories of performance requiring payment of copyright fees (Allard, 1976:1). This bill was the result of agitation by the American Society of Composers and Publishers (ASCAP), in the U.S., and its Canadian counterpart, the Canadian Performing Rights Society (CPRS), who began demanding that broadcasters make compensation for the use of their property [9]. As a result of the passage of the copyright amendments a group was formed by the leading broadcasters of the time to deal with the demands of the CPRS; thus was born the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB).

The objects articulated in the CAB's Letters of Incorporation were to.

...foster and promote development of the art of aural and visual broadcasting in all its forms, to protect the members of the Association in every lawful manner from injustice and unjust exactions, and to do all things necessary and proper to encourage and promote customs and practices which will strengthen and maintain the broadcasting industry (Weir, 1965:114).

The original members of the CAB included Jacques Cartier of CKAC owned by La Presse of Montreal; Main Johnston of CFCA owned by the Toronto Star; A.R. McEwan and C.J. Hanratty both of the CNR; R.H. Combs of CKNC, Toronto; A.L.W. MacCullum representing Marconi; M.K. Pike of Northern Electric and G.W. Bell of CKCK owned by the Leader Post of Regina. The guiding legal mind behind the CAB in these earliest years was Gerard Ruel, a lawyer and Vice-President of the CNR (for various members of this list see Allard, 1979:114-115; Weir, 1965:115).

The CNR's involvement in the CAB ought to receive a special note. Although the CNR was the only public body involved in the Association and would later resign when the CAB began to actively lobby against the Aird proposals for a nationalized broadcasting system (this withdrawal receives further discussion later in this chapter), as one of the major broadcasters in the mid-1920s, the CNR had been a central figure in the formation and the early activities of the CAB. In fact, E.A. Weir asserts that the CNR had "acted as a midwife at the birth of CAB" (1965:114). He does not, however, elaborate upon the details of the CNR's involvement in the Association.

Having met officially once in January and once in June of 1926, the CAB had passed its founding resolution, adopted a company seal and elected its directors. J.N. Cartier was elected President; the CNR's A.R. McEwan was to be Secretary Treasurer; the Vice-President was Main Johnston (Allard, 1979:115). By the time of its second meeting the association was able to turn its attention to the copyright issue, resolving to hire a copyright expert in the person of

Samuel Rogers, K.C., of Toronto (who would continue to represent the CAB's copyright interests until the mid-1950s).

There is no record of any further membership or directors' meeting of the CAB until March 28, 1929 (Allard, 1979:116), when the Association met to discuss its attitudes toward the Aird Commission (which had begun its public hearings one month earlier; see chapter four). The stated position which the CAB would eventually adopt was that of opposition to the formation of a federal government monopoly in broadcasting. T.J. Allard (who was appointed CAB's Public Relations Director in 1946), has written that,

The Association's position should be clearly noted. It was not opposed to a government enterprise in broadcasting, nor to government regulation of broadcasting activities - only to a total state monopoly (1979:17).

The June meeting also authorized the formation of a "Western Committee" (since the difficult economic times made the cost of cross-country travel prohibitive) which very rapidly grew into the Western Association of Broadcasters (WAB) and which originally

included all privately-owned stations in the four western provinces in its membership. The economic crisis, however, appears to have exacted a high toll on both groups. Allard writes,

Between 1929 and 1931, nearly all the energies and very limited resources of the two groups were absorbed in dealing with the issues raised by formation of the Aird Commission. Both Associations were chronically poor... The events of those years were singularly discouraging for entrepreneurs and by the end of 1931 the CAB really consisted of CKAC, CFRB and CFPL [the London Free Press station]... [T]his group carried the main burden of the Association's activities (1979:116-117) .

By this time the CNR had ceased its involvement in the Association. The key figures upon whom the responsibility of representing the Association's position in the broadcasting debate were R.W. Ashcroft of CKGW (now Vice-President of the CAB), H.S. Moore of CFRB (President of the CAB), and J.A. Dupont of CKAC.

While the CAB may not have been a wealthy organization during these years and while its membership and organizational structure had virtually disappeared, the combined efforts of Ashcroft and

Dupont (backed up by the Toronto Globe and La Presse) on behalf of private broadcasters presented formidable opposition to the lobbying efforts of the Canadian Radio League (CRL) who were, by contrast, very well financed and extremely well organized. Furthermore, with the CPR's entrance into broadcasting, the cause of private broadcasting in Canada had gained an important and influential ally.

In February of 1931, however, any decisions as to the direction which the federal government would take in terms of its broadcasting policy had to be delayed since it was at this time that the Province of Quebec presented a constitutional challenge to the federal authority as to whether legislation in the field of broadcasting lay within provincial or federal jurisdiction. Although this development may have been a source of anxiety for the CRL (see Prang, 1965:22), members of the CAB, in particular CKAC, welcomed the contestation (La Presse held that nationalization would seriously reduce the number of French-language programmes and that, in this respect, the present system of ownership best served the people; see Peers, 1969:70). In any event, although government policy decisions would have to await the Supreme Court's

decision in this matter neither the CRL or the CAB (nor the CPR) would reduce its lobbying efforts during the period of the legal debate.

During this period it appears that the CAB made some concessions to criticisms raised by the Aird Report vis-a-vis the activities of private broadcasters. It will be remembered that the Report charged, in part, that due to the size of the markets in which private broadcasters had to operate in Canada, a lack of revenue,

...tended more and more to force too much advertising upon the listener (Canada, 1929:6; see chapter four).

At its annual meeting in February of 1931 the CAB recommended to its members that all direct advertising be excluded from Sunday programmes produced in Canada and on weekdays after seven in the evening that advertising not exceed 5% of the time of any individual programme (Canadian Annual Review, 1930-31:437).

It will also be remembered that the Aird Commission had asserted that in broadcasting lay great potential for education (see chapter four). In the

summer of 1931 the CAB, in association with the CPR, planned a series of educational broadcasts which were to air on a coast-to-coast network during the coming fall (see Timeline in Appendix F). This is how R.W. Ashcroft explained the arrangements to P.M. Bennett:

Mr. E.A. Beatty is providing the transmission, Colonel Wilfred Bovey (Director of Extra-Mural Relations at McGill) is arranging for the speakers, and I have secured the necessary radio facilities. We are hoping that the National Council of Education may be induced to sponsor these educational features, notwithstanding the fact that some of the Council's personnel have apparently been hypnotized by the propaganda that has been instituted by the newspapers under the guise of the Canadian Radio League, which is nothing more or less than a very clever ruse to divert radio advertising expenditures to newspaper columns.

...We intend to pay the various professors for giving the educational addresses...and I am personally contributing one-half of the total amount (Bennett Papers, R.W. Ashcroft to P.M. Bennett, June 24, 1931; quoted in Prang, 1965:23).

In the spring of 1931, moreover, the CAB/CPR alliance would produce an attempt to publicly and directly confront and refute the arguments being expounded by the CRL and its allies. John Murray Gibbon, the general publicity manager for the CPR published an article entitled, "Radio as Fine Art" (Canadian Forum, March 1931:212-213), in which he supported a proposal put forth by R.W. Ashcoft for the establishment of two Canadian transcontinental networks; one to be privately owned and financed by advertising revenue, the other to be government owned and subsidized. The public system would be the one to broadcast,

...the educational and 'uplift' programmes for which the Canadian Radio League is crying (Canadian Forum, xi, March 1931:213).

It is worth noting with Margaret Prang that,

Although there was no mention of his own company in Gibbon's article, it was obvious that he intended the private network to be the CPR's and that the "high brow" or "uplift" network was to be a continuation of the CNR's broadcasting chain (1965:24).

In his article, Gibbon also undertook the task of criticizing and denigrating the achievements of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as it was, he asserted, "the ideal of the Canadian Radio League" (Canadian Forum, March 1931:213). The BBC, he charged, was far from popular in Great Britain. He also expounded, at some length, upon the dangers of political patronage presented by a public broadcasting system.

This attempt at a frontal attack upon the proposals espoused by the CRL, however, was to be turned around by the League and used, instead, to undermine the credibility of Gibbon, the CPR, and the motives underlying its support of a private broadcasting system in Canada.

Having been shown a copy of Gibbon's article by a friendly member of the editorial board of the Canadian Forum before it was published (Prang, 1965:24), Graham Spry, of the CRL, was able to prepare a rebuttal for the next issue. Spry's article, entitled "The Canadian Broadcasting Issue" (Canadian Forum, April 1931:246-249), began with a quotation from the Gibbon article in which it was stated that,

It is from the profits of this advertising sheet [the Radio Times - a BBC listener's weekly] printed on cheap paper with indifferent typography, that the BBC secures most of its revenue (Canadian Forum, March 1931:212).

Spry followed this quotation with a brief exposition on Gibbon's "enthusiastic inaccuracy" by somewhat detailed reference to the BBC's last financial statement showing the profits from the Radio Times to be equal to about one twenty-sixth of the BBC's total expenditures. Having done this, Spry continued:

It is not the intention of this present article to concern itself too much with Mr. Gibbon's absurdities. They need no examination; they condemn themselves by their tone and their palpable inaccuracy (Canadian Forum, April 1931:246).

Spry then offered brief treatment of the Ashcroft-Gibbon proposal of a dual (private/public) broadcasting system, referring to it as,

...this proposal, first advanced by R.W. Ashcroft of CKGW - the key station of the CPR network - and

blessed by Mr. Gibbon...the meaning of which is that the CPR system, shutting out all other private systems, would make the profits, while the taxpayer held the bag for the public service (Canadian Forum, April 1931:246).

The rest of Spry's article was comprised of a forceful presentation of the CRL's arguments for a single public broadcasting system, and ended with a short paragraph stating that,

So weak are the arguments of both Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Ashcroft, that there will shortly appear a pamphlet reprinting Mr. Gibbon's article... It will be issued 'with the compliments of the Canadian Radio League' (Canadian Forum, April 1931:249).

While preparing his rebuttal, Spry also arranged that a copy of Gibbon's article be dispatched to the BBC immediately upon its publication, causing an official spokesperson for the BBC to publicly pronounce the article "a unique combination of inaccuracy and malevolence" (Peers, 1969:74). Spry had also prepared a lengthy memorandum on Gibbon's article which came to

form the basis for newspapers editorials refuting Gibbon from coast-to-coast immediately after the publication of the article (Prang, 1965:24).

The thorough nature of the assault by the CRL upon this attempt by the CAB/CPR alliance to publicly support a private broadcasting system, may begin to give the reader a sense of the League's methods and the opposition which private broadcasters faced in their campaign to resist the pressures toward the nationalization of broadcasting in Canada.

The Canadian Radio League (CRL)

The Canadian Radio League (CRL) had its roots in the many voluntary associations which had formed across the country through the early and mid-'twenties (see chapter two). Margaret Prang, in her article entitled "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada", does well to note that,

Throughout the first post-war decade national organizations were born with a frequency unprecedented in Canadian history, while old ones took on a fresh vitality. Among the host of national bodies formed were the Canadian Chambers of Commerce, the Native Sons of Canada, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs... All were in some measure an expression of the rising national sentiment. So too was the rapid growth of Canadian Clubs, which increased in number from 53 in 1926 to 120 before the end of 1927 (Canadian Historical Review, March 1965:2).

In September of 1926 Graham Spry (then 30 years old), a Rhodes Scholar who had just returned from service with the International Labour Organization in Geneva, was appointed as permanent National Secretary

of the Association of Canadian Clubs (ACC) with its national office in Ottawa. The primary purpose of the Canadian Clubs was expressed positively as supporting and promoting a sense of Canadian nationhood. This guiding purpose, however, typically was hinged upon the negation of the forces of continentalism. The principles upon which the Canadian Clubs were based, were expressed in these early years by Spry himself as being,

...primarily, the all-embracing principle that this people is a nation, and must unite and have a widespread sense of unity, if it is to resist the disintegrating influences of geography, of racial composition, of less worthy Americanism (Faris, 1975:8).

With the number of Canadian Clubs having more than doubled between 1926 and 1927, as National Secretary, Spry reported that,

...the prestige of these clubs is extraordinarily high and they command the support of many intelligent and influential people

and furthermore that,

...through its meetings, its magazines, and its organization of influential, educated citizens, the Association of Canadian Clubs could be a great and healthy influence upon the public opinion on many important national questions (Faris, 1975:8).

Indeed, by 1927, several other organizations with similar purposes were cooperating with the ACC, notably the League of Nations Society and the Canadian League. The ACC's Annual Report of 1927 elaborated in some detail upon the close and active relationship which was developing between itself and the Canadian League (Spry had visited League study groups and, upon finding that the ACC and the Canadian League shared objectives, was instructed by the ACC to organize League groups wherever possible), and noted as well that,

...the Chairman and the National Secretary of the Association are both on the executive committee of the League of Nations Society (Faris, 1975:8).

Writing in his memoirs of the nature of these organizations and the relationships between them during the late 1920s, Brooke Claxton, a Montreal lawyer and founding member of the Canadian League recalls that,

...there were four organizations which especially had a considerable influence on the development of Canadian thinking and policy. These were the Association of Canadian Clubs, the Canadian League, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the League of Nations Society of Canada...[T]o a considerable degree the objectives of these four organizations coincided and their memberships overlapped.... [T]hey had interlocking directorates (quoted in Faris, 1975:1).

It was from within this context, throughout the latter years of the 1920s, that Graham Spry would develop the social contacts and organizing experience which would prove invaluable for the purposes of the Canadian Radio League (CRL) in the early 1930s.

Alan Plaunt, like Spry, was also a Rhodes Scholar. He was also independently wealthy and it is said that he possessed brilliant public relations and organizational talent (Allard, 1979:67). He was, moreover, an early member of the CIIA which Spry had

helped to organize, and he had also done some work with C.A. Bowman (one of the three members of the Aird Commission).

It was during the summer of 1930, the summer which was to bring Bennett's Conservatives to power that Spry proposed to Plaunt that they found a league in an effort to advance the general principles espoused by the Aird Report [10]. Indeed, it does not seem unlikely, though no hard evidence can be cited to support the assertion, that the formation of such a league was deemed necessary precisely because of the election of Bennett's Conservatives whose opposition to public enterprise was well known. In any case, Plaunt accepted Spry's proposal eagerly; that which would become known as the Canadian Radio League (CRL) had been born.

The activities undertaken by the CRL to further its cause of nationalized broadcasting were very numerous, often complex, frequently subtle, and almost invariably orchestrated in a manner approaching political genius. As T.J. Allard has noted,

The Leagues' activities offer a model for the serious student of political manipulation of parliamentary opinion. The range

of these, and its track record are monumental... The League managed to create, in the political world, the impression that the implementation of the Aird Report was the most urgent desire of nearly all Canadians - when many of them were drought stricken, or unemployed, or wondering how soon they would be (1979:68).

Very quickly after Plaunt had agreed to the idea of forming a league plans were being laid for its establishment and, while there is some confusion amongst scholars of the CRL as to the precise date, some time in early October of 1930, following a gathering at Alan Plaunt's Ottawa home of a sub-committee of the CIIA, a few members remained and to these Spry outlined the plan for the League (for a few versions of this meeting see O'brien, 1965:72-77; Weir, 1965:118-119; Allard, 1979,:68-69; Peers, 1969:64-65). The meeting included Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada; C.A. Bowman, Editor of the Ottawa Citizen and past-member of the Aird Commission; Norman Lambert; J.W. Pickersgill; Gladstone Murray, then a senior officer of the BBC who would later become the first General Manger of the CBC; Norman Robertson, who is said to

have been the most influential mandarin on the Ottawa scene at the time, as well as others (Allard, 1979:69). Among those who became most active as members of the executive, there were such individuals as Brooke Claxton (a prominent Montreal lawyer who would later become the Minister of National Defense), K.A. Greene (President of the Ottawa Canadian Club), J.A. McIsaac (Secretary of the Canadian Legion), R.K. Finlayson (a Conservative lawyer in Winnipeg who became R.B. Bennett's Executive Assistant), E.A. Corbett (Director of University Extension at the University of Alberta), Norman Smith (United Farmers of Alberta) and others (for a complete list of CRL support, see O'Brien, 1965:90-105).

The extent to which the CRL would come to be connected to individuals holding influential positions throughout the country was referred to by Spry, a number of years after the fact, while reviewing Margaret Prang's (1965) article. Here he refers to,

...the quite extraordinary pattern or web of personal relationships and friendships extending from coast to coast with a junction or nodal point for most of them in the voluntary offices or staff of the

headquarters of the national
organizations in Ottawa, or
sometimes Toronto and Montreal,

through which,

...it was not merely possible but
often simple to set an idea upon
its course, to have it thrashed out
across Canada and ultimately
expressed either in terms of
voluntary action or government
policy (Spry, 1965:135).

Because of the extent of the CRL's activities we
clearly cannot offer anything which could even approach
a complete description and analysis of those activities
[11]. We can, however, partially depict the nature of
the CRL's 'connectedness' and the manner in which the
League utilized its social relationships, such that the
reader may begin to gain a sense of the CRL's methods
and scope of influence.

The active support of C.A. Bowman, editor of the
Ottawa Citizen and one time member of the Aird
Commission, was extremely useful to the League and its
cause of nationalized radio. Through Bowman, Plaunt
obtained access to the files of the Royal Commission on
Radio Broadcasting (The Aird Commission) as well as to
Mr. Bowman's personal files (O'Brien, 1964:79). These

Plaunt used extensively, during the early autumn of 1930, in preparing the CRL's first promotional pamphlet entitled "Canadian Radio for Canadians - The Canadian Radio League" (Plaunt Papers, vol. 108, f. a). Moreover, as part of a move timed to coincide with P.M. Bennett's return home from an Imperial Conference in London, Bowman allotted a page one, four headline story in the Ottawa Citizen to the CRL's formal formation (Allard, 1979:68).

Indeed, the support of the press in general, and the Southam and Sifton chains in particular, was an integral part of the CRL's campaign (see O'Brien, 1964:101-103). The extent to which this support actually influenced public opinion on the matter of nationalized broadcasting, of course, cannot be gauged. Clearly, however, this support was valuable in terms of creating the impression that the CRL and its cause enjoyed widespread support.

The support of the press in general across Canada for the nationalization of broadcasting, however, was probably more a result of the growing impression amongst newspaper owners that commercial radio presented a serious advertising threat, rather than as a result of any strong commitment to the ideals of

nationalized broadcasting [12]. This assertion finds support in a letter from J.H. Woods, the Editor of the Calgary Herald (a Southam publication), to Margaret Southam (niece of Fred Southam, the President of the company, who was also member of the CRL's National Council) accepting a place on the CRL's National Council. Here Woods stresses that assurance be gained that they were not placing their "names and influence behind a movement which would become an active competitor of the press in the advertising business" (Plaunt Papers, vol. 94, f. 4).

R.K. Finlayson, a Conservative lawyer in Winnipeg, whom Spry had come to know while they were both students at the University of Manitoba (Peers, 1969:71), was one of the CRL's most active executive members when he became Executive Assistant to P.M. Bennett. This relationship became increasingly valuable to the CRL as its campaign progressed and appears to have been a fundamental factor in convincing Bennett of the desirability of nationalized broadcasting. T.J. Allard writes that,

...Bennett originally came from New Brunswick and was of United Empire Loyalist stock. He had an hereditary fear of the Americans.

Finlayson used this to the hilt in advocating nationalization of broadcasting, a principle which ordinarily would have been repugnant to Bennett (1979:72).

Indeed, in an interview with T.J. Allard many years later, Finlayson reported that on one occasion he had,

...worked Bennett up to such a pitch of fear about American domination that he thought the old man would call out the troops (1979:72).

Another important social relationship which was employed by the CRL concerns an Ottawa lawyer, W.D. Herridge. He was one of Bennett's closest advisors and Spry had been associated with him in the work of the Canadian League (Herridge had been one of the founding members of the Canadian League in 1924; see Faris, 1975:9-10). Early in 1931 Herridge became Bennett's brother-in-law (marrying Mildred Bennett) and in that same year was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Washington (serving in that capacity through 1935). Gaining the support of Herridge was an event of

sufficient importance to the CRL's campaign that its occurrence caused a measure of excitement. E.A. Weir remembers it this way:

In the spring of 1931, I was living in Westmount. One evening Graham Spry came to see me. He was elated, and could hardly wait to tell me that he had just ridden from Ottawa to Montreal with the Hon. W.D. Herridge, who was fully convinced of the soundness of the League's policy, and he said he would help sell the idea to the Prime Minister (1965:130).

Commenting in a personal note many years later to J.E. O'Brien (in reference to O'Brien's doctoral thesis entitled A History of the Canadian Radio League; 1930-36), Graham Spry wrote that,

Herridge was crucial... He was a close friend of Claxton's and of myself...[G]etting [his] support was an enormous factor in the Prime Minister's final decision (Plaunt Papers, vol. 93, f. B).

There is one further connection in the CRL's 'web of relationships' which, for the central purposes of this study, must be highlighted and this concerns the

relationship between the CRL and E.A. Weir, the Director of Radio for the CNR. This is how Weir himself has described the CRL's activities during the first few months (the fall of 1930) following its inception:

...friends of the idea were contacted across Canada in the Canadian Clubs. Study groups were established, a constitution was prepared, a pamphlet outlined, several statements and press releases were written... Plaunt's home became an assembly point for the advocates of nationalization, and I had the privilege of attending several meetings there (Weir, 1965:119).

It is clear, then, that Weir was not only supportive of the CRL's cause in a philosophical sense, but was also actively supportive in the organization itself, at least during the fall and early winter of 1930, when the CRL was organizing its coming campaign. In a letter from Graham Spry to Brooke Claxton, dated December 13, 1930, Spry was able to report that the CNR were supporting the Aird proposals and were helping the

League with information (O'Brien, 1964:156). A few weeks later, in further correspondence with Claxton, Spry asserted that,

Mr. Beatty [President of the CPR] is, of course, against the plan of a national radio but I can assure you definitely that the CNR is not. Unfortunately, that assurance cannot be used publicly. I have the document (not to keep) but before my eyes and the CNR supports the Aird System. There is a director on the CNR on our council, as you know. While we cannot say that the CNR will support the system, we can say in conversation that "the CNR is not opposed" (Plaunt Papers, Box 11; Letter from Graham Spry to Brooke Claxton, December 26, 1930; quoted in O'Brien, 1964:159-160).

The precise reasons for the secretiveness surrounding the CNR's support remain uncertain. At the very least, it would have been injurious to the cause of nationalized broadcasting if the CNR, a public body deeply involved in broadcasting, were to publicly and actively support the campaign. Cries of 'empire building' and the like would most certainly have been shouted and would, just as certainly, have damaged the campaign. It is, moreover, worth noting that the

'director of the CNR' on the CRL council remains unnamed in this letter. Indeed, in the numerous official listings compiled by the League of its council membership, there appears no name of any CNR director, nor any other CNR official or employee. As such, it is not at all unreasonable to assert that the unnamed 'director of the CNR' was, in all likelihood, E.A. Weir, the Director of Radio for the CNR.

The closest that the CNR would come to formally and publicly supporting the CRL's nationalization campaign was when it withdrew its support from the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) in April of 1931. Here is E.A. Weir's description of this withdrawal:

Soon after the Aird Commission's Report - and the resulting agitation for public ownership of broadcasting - the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (all of whose members, except the CNR, were private owners) came out strongly against nationalization, for they feared the loss of their licenses and possible expropriation of their property... As a publicly owned corporation, which recognized the inevitability of some form of nationalization, the CNR could no longer continue as a member of the Association and resigned (1965:116 [emphasis mine]).

In fact, the CAB had issued a pamphlet entitled "Radio Broadcasting Under Private Enterprise" toward the end of April 1931 in which the Association attacked the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Radio League, and the concept of public ownership of radio generally (O'brien, 1964:201). The stations of the CNR withdrew from the Association before the pamphlet was issued (Plaunt Papers, Box 11; Letter Graham Spry to R.K. Finlayson, April 11, 1931).

Moreover, the discrepancy between Weir's (above quoted) statement as regards the CNR's recognition of the 'inevitability of some form of nationalization', and the following statement by Weir ought to be duly noted:

"Long before 1932 it [the CNR] had become supreme in Canadian radio... Its programming had become synonymous with national service, and it was...needed to answer various national demands until government policy, perilously in the balance all through 1931, had been finally decided" (Weir, 1965:95 [emphasis mine]).

It would appear that this second statement is a more accurate description of the state of affairs as they actually were. Indeed, the range and extent of the CRL's campaign itself attests to the degree of uncertainty which surrounded its program of nationalized broadcasting. However uncertain nationalization appeared during 1931, it is indeed true, as T.J. Allard asserts, that the CNR and its chief broadcasting officers, notably E.A. Weir, wanted to expand into the "national company" envisaged by the Aird Report (1979:89). Weir himself has written that,

If this [nationalization] could be brought about without delay...the CNR organization, stations, and staff might become the nucleus of the nationalized network. This was our hope (1965:97).

For our purposes it is also extremely important to note that during the same months that E.A. Weir was, by his own admission, actively involved in the planning stages of the CRL's campaign (during the autumn of 1930), he was also busy bringing together the ideas, the people and the technical facilities necessary to construct what most certainly appears to be his own

major contribution to the campaign for the nationalization of broadcasting in Canada; "The Romance of Canada" series comprising twenty-four episodes depicting in heroic fashion the exploits of Canada's early explorers and settlers - the first nationally broadcast series of radio dramas - which would begin to be broadcast over the CNR's national network in January of 1931 [13].

While the CNR may have been unable to publicly support the CRL, the converse was indeed possible and was, in fact, undertaken on a number of occasions throughout the CRL campaign. Although in the earliest promotional pamphlet published by the League its support for the work and policies of the CNR Radio Department was, largely implicit [14], this support became increasingly explicit as the nationalization campaign progressed.

Examples of CRL support for the public service broadcasting model espoused by the CNR, indicative of the overlap between CNR broadcasting policy and the League's vision of a publicly-owned and controlled national broadcasting system in Canada, can be found in the numerous articles, pamphlets and press releases generated by the CRL. For the sake of brevity,

however, we shall quote only one such example; In November of 1930 Graham Spry volunteered to write an article on broadcasting for the Queen's Quarterly and this offer was accepted (O'Brien, 1964:129). The article, entitled "A Case for Nationalized Broadcasting", was completed by December 20, 1930 and was published in the winter issue of the Quarterly [15]. In this article, it was asserted that,

The major developments in the broadcasting of Canadian programmes have come from agencies under some form of governmental or public control (Queen's Quarterly, Winter, 1931:159).

Spry further noted that the first national broadcasts, the Diamond Jubilee Broadcasts of 1927, had been organized by a committee established and financed by the federal government. However, the real development of Canadian broadcasting, he continued, had come from within the CNR:

The first national broadcasting system was established by the Canadian National Railways, and the radio branch of that public system has been the most decisive influence upon Canadian programmes.

It was the first to develop and broadcast on a national scale Canadian symphony concerts, grand opera and radio drama. It will shortly have the largest studio facilities. It has employed more Canadian talent than any other system and in national broadcasting was almost a year in advance of any other. It has broadcast its own programmes without direct advertising and with little more than an announcement of the name of the railways. It served sparsely settled areas with national programmes when no other system did so and does so to-day to a greater extent than any other system. It has eschewed the easy resource of relaying American chain programmes (Queen's Quarterly, Winter, 1931:159).

Spry ended the article by citing the political and cultural importance of broadcasting as contrasted by its commercial possibilities. He writes,

Here is a majestic instrument of national unity and national culture. Its potentialities are too great, its influence and significance are too vast, to be left to the petty purposes of selling cakes of soap (Queen's Quarterly, Winter, 1931:169).

In fact, the importance of broadcasting as an "instrument of national unity and national culture", which Thornton had envisioned a number of years earlier and whose cause had been the primary force which had driven the development of the CNR's broadcasting operation throughout the 1920s (see chapter three), was as central a tenet for the CRL as it had been of the Aird Commission's report. This view of the potential of broadcasting for the development of a distinct Canadian consciousness, the nurturing of a sense of nationhood through the broadcast medium, was the fundamental element which united the aims of the CRL and the Radio Branch of the CNR. In April of 1931, in the Canadian Forum, Spry outlined "The Canadian Broadcasting Issue", in which he referred to,

...the enormous national importance of radio to a sparsely settled, thinly scattered nation of such diverse racial and economic interests as Canada. Here is an agency which may be the final means of giving Canada a national public thought on a national basis, such as provincial school systems, local newspapers, theatres, motion pictures, and even our parliamentary system...have yet to give us (Canadian Forum, xi, no. 127, April, 1931:246).

Indeed, in the CRL's major promotional pamphlet, published in February of 1931, entitled "The Canadian Radio League; Objects, Information, National Support", the question of why the League had been founded was answered in the following manner:

The League, in effect, is the organized expression of people in all parts of Canada who feel that radio broadcasting is not being fully and efficiently used as an instrument for the cultivation of national public opinion, of public entertainment, of the development of musical and dramatic talent: that under existing conditions, with stations dependent upon limited advertising revenue, the Canadian listener is coming increasingly under the influence of American commercial broadcasting, to the detriment of Canadian national interests (Plaunt Papers, vol. 93, f. b, The Canadian Radio League, February, 1931:6).

The opposition to American commercial broadcasting was, for the CRL, the natural corollary of its support for a nationalized Canadian broadcasting system (in much the same way as the nationalism of the Association of Canadian Clubs was hinged upon a continentalist

opposition). Writing after the nationalization of Canadian broadcasting had been instituted, and referring to the CRL's orientation, Spry said that,

The positive aspect of the national motive was the use of broadcasting for the development of Canadian national unity, and the negative aspect was the apprehension of American influences upon Canadian nationality (Plaunt Papers, vol. 93, f. c, "Radio Broadcasting and Aspects of Canadian-American Relations", 1935:4).

In fact, in a letter written during the earliest phases of the League's organization, Spry wrote to Brooke Claxton saying,

This is to invite you to become a member of a provisional executive of the CRL which has as its object the protection of Canada from a radio system like that of the United States (Plaunt Papers, vol. 93, f. 3; Letter from Spry to Claxton, October 6, 1930).

The type of system which the League opposed was, quite simply, a commercial broadcasting system; a system comprised of competing private stations whose

revenue would be generated by the selling of broadcast advertising time. Pointing to the growing affiliation of privately-owned Canadian stations with American broadcasting networks, notably in Toronto and Montreal, the League held that,

The Canadian air is becoming as American as the theatre and motion picture... Canadian stations are depending more and more on relaying broadcasting from American radio stations", concluding that, "Under Canadian private ownership Canadian radio will become an integral part of the American radio field (Plaunt Papers, vol. 93, f. B; The Canadian Radio League, February, 1931:10).

Thus, the League's nationalist orientation appears to have been largely informed by a continentalist opposition which, it would appear, necessarily entailed supporting the creation of a public broadcasting system as opposed to a private system [16]. That is, if the control of this powerful former and informer of public opinion was to remain in Canadian hands, the alternatives, as the League viewed them, were simply, "the State or the United States" (Canadian Forum, xi, 127, April, 1931:247).

As the CRL's campaign appeared to be gaining momentum in the early weeks of 1931 (and the "Romance of Canada" series had completed merely four episodes), a new source of opposition to the CRL's nationalization proposal presented itself in the form of a constitutional challenge made by Quebec to the federal authority as to whether the field of broadcasting lay within provincial or federal jurisdiction. The Federal government submitted the question of jurisdiction to the Supreme Court of Canada on February 17, 1931, and its decision was handed down on June 30, 1931. This decision was then appealed by Quebec to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (and was supported by the Province of Ontario). The appeal was heard in December and on February 9, 1932, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council maintained that the power of legislation in the field of broadcasting fell within the Dominion government's jurisdiction (see Peers, 1969:69-72)[17].

On February 16, 1932, merely one week after the Privy Council had handed down its decision (see Timeline in Appendix F), it was proposed by P.M Bennett that a special committee of the House of Commons be put together to "advise and recommend a complete technical

scheme of radio broadcasting for Canada", adding that, if properly utilized, broadcasting could be "a most effective instrument in nation building with an educational value difficult to estimate". Moreover, the committee was to be encouraged to make use of the "very helpful information" contained in the Aird Report (Debates, February 16, 1932:236).

The language used by the Prime Minister when introducing the formation of the Special Broadcasting Committee is an indication of the extent to which the efforts of the CRL and its allies had gone in the conversion of Bennett. Indeed, Spry had come to have the P.M.'s confidence and met on a number of occasions during this period with Bennett and his closest advisors (Weir, 1965:130).

The Government of Canada was now convinced that broadcasting ought to be immediately handled as a high priority and began assembling the 1932 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting.

In conclusion, with the advent of the stock market crash and with a national election pending, the recommendations contained in the Aird Report were not introduced in the House of Commons after they had been

tabled. Rather than allowing the broadcasting proposals to become a political football, a special committee was appointed to study the Aird Commission's recommendations but never met; all efforts went instead into the election campaign.

The period following the election of Bennett's Conservative government gave rise to the organization of concerted agitation both in favour of the Aird Commission's nationalization recommendations (in the form of the CRL) and against them (in the form of the CAB). The purpose of the present chapter has been to provide an historical background for these two organizations as each attempted to influence the nature of broadcasting policy in Canada.

As we have seen, the CAB represented the interests of private broadcasters in Canada and, through the use of newspaper articles and broadcast addresses, came out in strong opposition to the Aird Report's recommendation of the formation of a government monopoly in broadcasting. The CAB, however, was not opposed to a government enterprise in broadcasting (such as the CNR) nor to government regulation of broadcasting activities. While the CAB's resources had been severely limited during the critical years

immediately following the tabling of the Aird Report, with the CPR's entrance into broadcasting the Association had gained an important ally. In their efforts to oppose the establishment of a nationalized broadcasting system, the CAB responded to some of the specific criticisms made against private broadcasters in the Aird Report; the Association passed a motion to limit the amount of advertising during specific hours and, in cooperation with the CPR, the CAB organized a series of national educational broadcasts. Furthermore, and finally, in its attempt to avert the outright nationalization of the Canadian broadcasting field, the CAB/CPR alliance proposed the establishment of a dual system comprising two transcontinental broadcasting networks, one privately owned and operated (i.e., by the CPR), and the other publicly owned and operated (i.e., through a continuation of the CNR's chain).

In opposition to the CAB, lobbying in favour of the Aird proposals of a nationalized broadcasting system, was the CRL which had its roots in a number of key voluntary associations which had formed across the country during the earlier 1920s and which were all, in some measure, an expression of the rising national

sentiment of the period. Indeed for a number of years before the CRL had been conceived, its co-leader and prime mover, Graham Spry, had been deeply involved in the work of the Association of Canadian Clubs (and other similar groups) which had as its purpose to promote a sense of Canadian nationhood and unity in resistance to the forces of continentalism. The CRL was itself formed for the expressed purpose of lobbying the federal government to implement the Aird proposals for a nationalized system, in order that broadcasting be used to develop Canadian national unity, on the one hand, and to resist or oppose American influences on Canadian nationality, on the other. As such, the national social networks which were established through the work of the earlier voluntary associations were to become very useful to the CRL's cause once the League had been formed.

In an effort to depict something of the specific nature and extent of the CRL's activities, we have sketched a number of the social connections which the League employed in its nationalization campaign. These include relations with C.A. Bowman, of the Aird Commission; the Southam and Sifton newspaper chains; R.K. Finlayson, Executive Assistant to P.M. Bennett;

W.D. Herridge, Bennett's brother-in-law and Canadian Ambassador to Washington; Prime Minister R.B. Bennett; and E.A. Weir, the Director of Radio for the CNR. We have, moreover, attempted to draw out in further detail the alignment which existed between the CRL and the CNR, through noting such things as the CNR's withdrawal from the CAB, the CNR Radio Department's expressed desire to become the national company proposed by the Aird Report, the specific support articulated by the CRL for the nature of the broadcasting activities of the CNR, and the overlap between CNR broadcasting policy and the vision of the CRL, namely, the use of broadcasting as an instrument in the development of Canadian national unity, a sense of Canadian nationhood, a Canadian consciousness and a national culture. We have also noted that E.A. Weir was organizing the production of the "Romance of Canada" series at precisely the same time that the CRL was organizing its nationalization campaign.

The lobbying of the CAB and the CRL, accompanied by the jurisdictional dispute brought before the courts by the Quebec government, convinced the Conservatives that the development of a broadcasting policy for

Canada was imperative. For this purpose it assembled its Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting.

Chapter Six

The 1932 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting; Enter the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC)

By the beginning of 1932, just prior to the formation of the Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, the support enjoyed on each side of the broadcasting issue could be assessed (see Peers, 1969:75-76). Newspapers which owned broadcasting stations and those which had formed close associations with stations were opposed to the formation of a publicly owned broadcasting system. By and large, however, the rest of the Canadian press was in favour of such a system (see Appendix E). Others favouring the private ownership and operation of broadcasting stations included the CAB, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and the CPR (Canada's largest private company). Canadian business as a whole, however, was not united in opposing public ownership. The Canadian Chambers of Commerce, in fact, were too divided to take any stand (Plaunt Papers, Box 11, Letter from Walter McGregor, President of the Canadian Chambers of Commerce, to Plaunt, March 11, 1932) and two of its

past presidents, W.M. Birks and J.H. Woods, were on the National Council of the CRL as were presidents and other officers of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Imperial Bank of Canada, the Bank of Nova Scotia, the Northern Life Assurance Company and Toronto General Trusts (Peers, 1969:76). Indeed, as Prang has noted,

...across the country public ownership had some substantial support from businessmen. Many had hardheaded business reasons for favouring public ownership, reasons most readily seen by national advertisers, but not lost on other business interests... [T]heir view was that the relaying of programmes to Canada sponsored by American producers gave American competitors of Canadian business an unfair advantage (1965:18).

As such, what is evident here and must be underscored is that Canadian business interests were clearly split on the question of the nationalization of broadcasting.

Also on record as supporting a public broadcasting system were the principal national education organizations, the Royal Society of Canada and the Universities' Conference, and educational leaders almost unanimously supported this scheme as well.

Many university presidents were on the CRL's National Council as was the moderator of the United Church of Canada. The Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Primate had given the CRL statements of support. Many of the principal women's organizations, including the National Council of Women, the IODE, the Federated Women's Institutes and Hadassah of Canada, all supported the CRL. Since the Aird Commission hearings the Canadian Legion and the Native Sons of Canada had supported public broadcasting. The United Farmers of Alberta and the United Farmers of Canada, Saskatchewan Section, had passed resolutions favouring a national radio system. The national labour organizations, the Trades and Labour Congress and the All-Canadian Congress of Labour also supported a publicly owned and operated system (Plaunt Papers, vol. 93, f. b, The Canadian Radio League, 1931; Peers, 1969:75).

The composition of the Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting was announced on March 2, 1932. The Committee was comprised of nine members, five of which were Conservative (Dr. R.D. Morand, W.A. Beynon, O. Gagnon, R.K. Smith and D.M. Wright), three Liberal (P.J.A. Cardin, W.D. Euler and J.L. Iles), and one independent (E.J. Garland). As a technical advisor,

the Committee had Colonel W.A. Steel on loan to them from the National Research Council. For their information the Committee had before them the evidence collected by the Aird Commission as well as a statement prepared by the Director of Radio in the Department of Marine, Commander C.P. Edwards. The Committee would hold a total of twenty-two meetings and study 53 submissions in all. It would witness and question presentations by all three members of the Aird Commission, the private broadcasters and their allies, and Graham Spry of the CRL and its allies.

The order of reference for the Committee was,

(1) To consider The Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting dated the 11th day of September, 1929, and, commonly known as the Aird Report.

(2) To advise and recommend a complete technical scheme for radio broadcasting for Canada, so designed as to ensure from Canadian sources as complete and satisfactory a service as the present development of radio science will permit.

(3) To investigate and report upon the most satisfactory agency for carrying out such a scheme, with power to the said committee to send for persons and papers and to examine witnesses and to report from time to time to the House

(Canada, House of Commons,
Proceedings and Report of the
Special Committee on Radio
Broadcasting, 1932:11; hereafter
cited as 1932 Proceedings).

The Committee's first formal meeting was held on March 11, 1932, at which time a resume outlining the Canadian broadcasting situation, prepared by C.P. Edwards reported that few changes had occurred in Canadian broadcasting conditions since 1928 when P.J.A. Cardin, as Minister of Marine, had announced the formation of a Royal Commission to study broadcasting. The license fee for receiving sets was slated to increase from \$1.00 to \$2.00 per annum on April 1, 1932. There were sixty-six broadcasting stations in Canada (three more than in 1928); four stations had been granted significant increases in power (these were CFCN, Calgary; CFRB, Toronto; CKAC, Montreal and CJGC, London). Three broadcasting chains were being operated coast-to-coast; the CNP owned one, the CPR owned one, and the third was a new all Canadian telephone line. The average broadcasting day for Canadian stations was shown to consist of six hours, over three of which were comprised of recordings. Edwards concluded his report by stating that four

Canadian stations (CFCF Marconi) and CKAC (La Presse) in Montreal, CKGW (Gooderham and Worts) and CFRB (Rogers-Majestic) in Toronto) were receiving American network programs on a regular basis and that a fifth station (CFCN, Calgary) was in the process of negotiating affiliation arrangements with an American network (1932 Proceedings:2-16).

Two members of the Aird Commission, A. Frigon and C.A. Bowman, then appeared before the Committee to explain the reasons for their recommendations of 1929. The testimonies of each emphasized that broadcasting tended toward monopoly and that as long as broadcasting was regarded primarily as a business it would not properly serve the nation as a whole (1932 Proceedings:63-100). As Frigon testified (and Bowman later fully endorsed),

If you ask me with what system you would get the best out of radio, I will tell you that it must be public service, because you cannot mix up the interests of the man who wants to make money out of the equipment and the man who wants to render service to his country. You cannot blame the broadcasters for doing as they do. It is their business, and they are quite right in what they are doing. But that is not the question. The question is, should you use that medium for

better purposes in the interests of the country at large? If you decide that you should, after having studied what can be done with radio, then you cannot leave it in the hands of profit-making organizations... We did not recommend state or government ownership of radio broadcasting - we came to this conclusion... if you want to accept the point of view of broadcasting in the interests of the nation, it cannot be left to private enterprise (1932 Proceedings::67-97).

Sir John Aird, testifying four weeks later than the other two Aird Commission members, explained his reasons for having concluded, in 1929, that nationalization of broadcasting was necessary. He said, in part, that,

However friendly one might feel toward private enterprise in the operation of broadcasting stations...one could not close one's eyes to the apparent impossibility of Canadian broadcasting being adequately financed by revenue from private sources such as radio advertising. It seemed plain in 1929, it is plainer still in 1932, that an adequate broadcasting service in this country will need more revenue than private enterprise can gain from operating broadcasting stations for gain (1932 Proceedings:494).

Aird had also rejected the idea of public subsidies since the government would be left in the position of having to decide which private stations ought to receive any such subsidy. He furthermore suggested that small local stations (of 50 watts) could be left to private enterprise, but that they ought not to carry any direct advertising (1932 Proceedings:502-509).

Those who would present testimony in opposition to a nationally owned and operated broadcasting system, who had been mobilized by the CAB, included official CAB representative (R.W. Ashcroft of CKGW and H.S. Moore of CFRB), representatives of private stations (including J.A. Dupont of CKAC and representatives from stations in Regina, Ottawa, Calgary and others), the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (CMA) and the Association of Canadian Advertisers (ACA). These were supplemented by legal and technical personnel. The president of the CPR, E.W. Beatty, would also appear before the Committee to present a plan of his own for a national private broadcasting system.

It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to provide a detailed account of each of these presentations. Suffice to say that the basic elements of the various schemes advanced in support of private-ownership and control entailed a continuation of the existing system with the addition of government subsidies for transmission facilities, expenditures on high-power publicly owned transmitters, departmental or commission supervision of programme control and provision of a limited number of national programmes. Beatty's plan recommended the establishment of a private radio monopoly in which the railway companies and other important radio interests would participate through stock ownership (1932 Proceedings: 656-682).

While it may be true that the testimonies on behalf of a private system were far from well coordinated (Weir, 1965:130) and in marked contrast to the precision and vigour of the CRL's presentations (Prang, 1965:28), the singular element of over-riding importance shared amongst the exponents of private control was the assertion that any national network which could serve the whole nation could not be financed without a substantial government subsidy. The manufacturers and the advertisers advocated a

government subsidy for line charges; the radio manufacturers also asserted that the government should build stations to serve less populated areas and pay for their operation; the CAB's scheme required government subsidies to enable better programmes to be provided to the entire country; and the CPR's proposal entailed an annual government expenditure of a million dollars until the company was self-sustaining (Peers, 1969:82).

The requirement of subsidies for the private operation of a national broadcasting service was one of the most significant factors which shaped the Committee's final recommendations, since the Committee was not willing to ask taxpayers to subsidize the CPR or any other private body (1932 Proceedings:729-731). The proposal which the CRL would present before the Committee, by contrast, depicted a national system which could be financed with a listener's fee of \$3.00 (raised from \$2.00), without further subsidy from the taxpayer (1932 Proceedings:543-588).

The support which the CRL was able to bring before the Committee, for the sake of a public broadcasting system, was overwhelming. As Frank Peers writes,

It is no exaggeration to say that the activities of the Canadian Radio League dominated the proceedings...whether judged by the weight of support from large organizations, the testimony of expert witnesses, the statements made by persons of national reputation, or the comprehensiveness and precision of the briefs presented (1969:84-85).

When the composition of the Committee had first been announced, the CRL had viewed its membership as a favourable omen; each of the Liberal members were thought to be friendly to the Aird recommendations (Peers, 1969:78). The League had moved quickly in commencing its preparations for the hearings and, in characteristic fashion, Spry was able to gain the advice of the Committee's Chairman, R.D. Morand, on such matters as the style and length of the League's brief (Prang, 1965:26).

But this was not the only assistance the League would gain behind the scenes. The confidence of the P.M. which Spry had come to enjoy prior to the Committee's hearings also became extremely useful to the League's cause at this time. In April of 1932 the P.M. telephoned Spry because there had been a discussion on broadcasting earlier in the day in the

House and some members had expressed concern that there was a lack of public support for nationalization in the Prairies. Bennett asked Spry if he could make a quick trip to the West to provide such evidence. Spry did so and the result was a new round of editorials, letters to members of parliament, and unanimous passage of resolutions in support of the public ownership of broadcasting by the Alberta and Manitoba legislatures, as well as a telegram upholding the same position to Bennett from the Saskatchewan cabinet (see Prang, 1965:27; Weir, 1965:130; and Peers, 1969:89).

Moreover, in 1965 a later reincarnation of the CRL, the Canadian Broadcasting League, issued a detailed account of some of its earlier activities. In reference to the 1932 Broadcasting Committee it says,

In preparation of its brief to the Special Committee, the League was able to call on the assistance of three of the most experienced radio men in Canada; E.A. Weir, Director of the Radio Department of the CNR; Col. W.A. Steel, Director of Radio for the National Research Council, and Donald Manson, Chief Inspector of Radio in the ...Department of Marine, who as Secretary of the Aird Commission, had exercised a major influence in determining the character of the Aird Report (quoted in Allard, 1979:79-80) [18].

Such assistance goes a long way in explaining the comprehensiveness of the brief which Spry eventually presented before the Committee on behalf of the CRL. The League was able, in fact, to present a more integrated and detailed plan than had ever been advanced previously either by the Aird Commission or by the League itself.

The CRL plan was comprised of three stages, covered a period of three to five years and included detailed cost estimates and pertinent technical information leading to the establishment of a nationalized system. It advocated the public ownership of high-power outlets, private ownership of low-powered local community stations (echoing Aird's suggestion before the 1932 Committee), the leasing of transmission circuits controlled exclusively by the national company and competition in programme production (1932 Proceedings:566-574).

Spry's presentation before the Committee on April 18, 1932, which lasted roughly four hours, was framed by some introductory remarks about the national potential of the broadcasting medium which, for our purposes, are noteworthy. He said,

Radio broadcasting is palpably the most potent and significant agency for the formation of public opinion... Here is a great agency to be made a dominant and effective influence upon the development of Canadian nationality. The question, indeed, of faith in the existence of a Canadian character, a Canadian spirit, is the essence of the attitude with which to approach, examine and solve this problem. For those little Canadians who believe that Canada has no spirit of her own, no character and soul to express and cultivate, there is no need for change... But for those who have a profound and vivid confidence in the unity and quality of Canadian nationality, radio broadcasting presents a supreme instrument of national welfare and commands the creation of an agency which will ensure its highest usefulness.

For a nation, so widespread in its range and so varied in its racial origin, radio broadcasting, intelligently directed, may give us what provincial school systems, local newspapers, and the political have yet to give us; a single glowing spirit of nationality making its contribution to the world (1932 Proceedings:546).

Spry's testimony also included specific treatment of the "educational" uses of broadcasting which was a matter, he claimed, not for the advertisers or station owners, but for educationalists. Spry first pointed out that,

Almost unanimously, the educational leaders of Canada support the public ownership of radio broadcasting stations and do not consider with favour using commercial agencies for educational purposes (1932 Proceedings:551).

He then submitted a memorandum by Dr. R.C. Wallace, President of the University of Alberta, and E.A. Corbett, Director of the university radio station, which, Spry said, best articulated this position. In its support of a public broadcasting for educational purposes, this short memorandum made specific reference to,

...the splendid historical drama series at present being broadcast by the Canadian National Railways (1932 Proceedings:552).

This series was, of course, the "Romance of Canada".

Spry argued further that,

Radio broadcasting is not to be considered or dismissed as a business only. It is no more a business than the public school system, the religious organiza-

tions, or the varied literary, musical, and scientific endeavors of the Canadian people. It is a public service. As a public and national service it should be controlled (1932 Proceedings:547).

On May 9, 1932 the Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting presented its unanimous report, having been convinced of the national importance of broadcasting 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 greater National and Empire consciousness within the Dominion and the British Commonwealth of Nations (1932 Proceedings:730).

The Committee recommended the formation of a broadcasting commission which would be empowered to regulate and control all broadcasting, lease, purchase, or expropriate any or all existing stations; originate and purchase programmes; control the issuing of

licenses; prohibit privately owned networks and, subject to the approval of Parliament, take over all broadcasting in Canada. It further recommended the formation of a chain of high-powered stations and the use of small local stations for community purposes. The cost of broadcasting would be supported by income from license fees and indirect advertising revenue, and a salaried, non-partisan, Commission of three members would be appointed to administer the national system (1932 Proceedings:730-732).

P.M. Bennett moved quickly in introducing legislation into the House of Commons. The first reading of the bill to implement the Committee's recommendations was given on May 16, and the second two days later. It was Bennett's speech introducing the second reading of this bill which contained a most important statement of policy:

...this country must be assured of complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals, and without such control it can never be the agency by which national consciousness may

be fostered and sustained and
national unity still further
strengthened (Handsard, May
18:3035-3036).

The bill was passed by the House with only one dissenting vote. The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act received Royal Assent on May 26, 1932 and, thereby, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) was born.

The CRL could be quite pleased with the results of the Special Committee's hearings. Graham Spry enthusiastically endorsed the Committee's report once it had been issued, saying,

The public has won a triumph... It is a complete victory for the Canadian Radio League... The report, indeed, appears at first reading to go further than the Canadian Radio League proposal. It recommends a small commission, not only with the powers of a company, but with the additional powers of regulating and licensing. This is a wise measure of economy, it strengthens the directing authority, and it is wholly admirable (quoted in Ottawa Citizen, May 10, 1932).

While the CRL may have scored a "complete victory", it nonetheless remained active in its efforts to influence the direction in which Canadian broadcasting was now moving. In a confidential memorandum, dated June 14, 1932, Spry warned that a large measure of the public approval which the Government had gained by adopting the Radio Broadcasting Act would be sacrificed if some definite action was not taken at an early date. His suggestions as to the specific actions the Government might take included,

That the Commission enter in arrangements with some programme-building organization such as the Canadian National Railways, in order to offer programmes at an early date (Plaunt Papers, vol. 108, f. a).

Spry also took the opportunity to make suggestions concerning possible candidates to be the Commissioners of the CRBC. These included Gladstone Murray (the Canadian-born Deputy Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) who appeared, at the CRL's request, before the 1932 Special Committee to outline the structure of the BBC), as Chairman [19];

Colonel W.A. Steel, the Director of Radio Research with the National Research Council, who had acted as technical advisor to the 1932 Committee and who had aided the CRL in preparing its brief for that Committee; and, finally, Marius Barbeau, an historian and Ethnologist to the Dominion Government, who, as Spry wrote in his appended notes on these recommended personnel,

...has considerable broadcasting experience, and prepared broadcasts on historical and other subjects for the Canadian National Railways (Plaunt Papers, vol. 108, f. a).

In fact, Barbeau had been involved in researching and developing the "Romance of Canada" script outlines (Weir Papers, file 1:memorandum by E.A. Weir, December 21, 1931; see also chapter eight).

Parliament prorogued for the summer, however, before appointing the first CRBC Commissioners and, as such, these appointments were not made until the following autumn. When they were finally chosen the Commissioners were Hector Charlesworth, the Editor of Saturday Night, as Chairman; Thomas Maher of Quebec

City, publisher of Le Journal and Conservative organizer in Quebec, as Vice-Chairman; and W.A. Steel of the National Research Council. The Commission had no legal existence, however, until mid-January when it was formally sworn in.

Early in November of 1932 Charlesworth suggested that E.A. Weir come to work for the CRBC. In his letter of acceptance Weir wrote that he would be pleased to work for the CRBC which,

...probably means more to the cultural development and national unity of our country than any other asset at our command (Weir Papers, vol. 17, f. 4).

He furthermore expressed the fact that the CNR Radio Department had,

...endeavored, in all our programs, to render the greatest public service, a policy for which I was primarily responsible. Indeed the public service character of Canadian National programs is sometimes credited with providing, in substantial measure, the background for nationalization.

Referring specifically to the "Romance of Canada" series, Weir wrote that,

The success of this historical series throughout the entire country, with all classes, need scarcely commented on...,

adding that he believed that the "true and primary purposes of radio" included,

To develop and conserve the latent cultural resources and inherent traditions of our mixed, but versatile population; To unite more closely our scattered provinces and population, thus encouraging national unity, without promoting narrow nationalism (Weir Papers, vol. 17, f. 4).

As such, in the beginning of December 1932, E.A. Weir, formerly Director of Radio for the CNR, joined the CRBC as its Director of Programs. The Farmer' Sun, now being edited by Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt, predicted that Weir would be "the mainstay of the Commission" (reprinted in Ottawa Citizen, January 31, 1933).

As a final note in this context we should note that on March 1, 1933, an agreement was reached whereby the CNR sold its entire radio operation, including its three stations (CNRO, Ottawa; CNRA, Moncton; and CNRV, Vancouver) as well as the studio facilities at Montreal and Halifax, to the CRBC for \$50,000.00 (Debates, April 25:4241-4259). The nucleus of the CRBC's staff came from the radio branch of the CNR.

In summation, our concern in this chapter has been directed toward providing an account of the proceedings of the 1932 Special Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting leading to the tabling of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act which nationalized broadcasting in Canada in the form of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC). Our treatment of these proceedings has included some description of key presentations made before the Committee as well as some description of the Committee's recommendations.

We have noted that the Committee heard first from C.P. Edwards, the Director of Radio for the Department of Marine, who reported that, while affiliation arrangements had been established between the American networks and some Canadian radio stations, there had

been little change in the broadcasting situation since the appointment of the Aird Commission. The Committee, then witnessed the presentations of C.A. Bowman and A. Frigon (and later from J. Aird) who endeavoured to explain their reasons for having recommended the nationalization of Canadian broadcasting in 1929. Their reasons were founded principally on the merits of public service broadcasting as opposed to broadcasting for profit, and on the apparent inability of Canadian broadcasting to be adequately financed by revenue made through advertising.

Testimony presented in opposition to the Aird proposals of nationalization came from CAB representatives, representatives of various private radio stations from across the country, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Association of Canadian Advertisers, and the CPR. Each of these presentations, which aimed at supporting a national broadcasting network in Canada which would be privately owned and operated, depended on varying amounts of government subsidization. This requirement was apparently a significant factor in shaping the Committee's recommendations.

We have demonstrated further that in preparation for its presentation before the Committee, in support of a nationalized system, the CRL gained the assistance of R.D. Morand (Chairman of the Committee); R.B. Bennett; Col. W.A. Steel, of the National Research Council; D. Manson, Secretary of the Aird Commission; and E.A. Weir, Director of Radio for the CNR. We have also made note of references made in the CRL presentation to a Canadian Spirit and the importance of broadcasting for the development of that spirit, as well as references to the educational potential of broadcasting and specific references to the "Romance of Canada" series. The CRL presented a comprehensive brief which outlined the development of a national public broadcasting system for Canada to be financed solely from a listener's license fee to be raised from \$2.00 to \$3.00.

Further, we have depicted how, following these presentations, the Committee reported that it had become convinced of the fact that radio broadcasting represented a most efficient means for developing national (and Empire) consciousness in Canada, and how it recommended that a government commission be formed to take over all broadcasting in Canada. We have also

noted that P.M. Bennett's speech, which introduced the broadcast bill to the House of Commons, referred to broadcasting as a great agency for the diffusion of national thought and ideals and as an important means in the development of national consciousness and national unity.

It can be argued here that the decision to nationalize broadcasting can be seen to have resulted from the state having had to compromise on its basic functions, namely capital accumulation and legitimization. These two basic functions of the state do indeed appear, in this case, to have been in conflict, if not mutually contradictory. Thus, rather than legislating and subsidizing the formation of a private national broadcasting network (which would have maintained and, indeed, enhanced the broadcasting conditions within which profitable capital accumulation would have been possible), the government opted for the formation of a nationalized broadcasting system, in order that broadcasting might be used in the 'diffusion of national thought' and in the development of 'national consciousness and national unity'. In other words, broadcasting was to be employed in such a way as to serve the state's legitimization function--to

maintain and/or create the conditions for social harmony within the country--as opposed to serving the capital accumulation function.

Finally, we have made note of the fact that the recommendations made by Graham Spry, as to possible commissioners for the CRBC, included Marius Barbeau who had been involved in the planning and research of the CNR's "Romance of Canada" series, and that E.A. Weir was asked to join the CRBC as its Director of Programs, shortly after it had been established. In Weir's letter of acceptance he spoke of the prime purpose of radio as being to promote national unity, and of the "Romance of Canada" series as having provided the background for the nationalization of broadcasting in Canada.

Chapter Seven

Toward Forming the Creation;

The Creative Formation

It will be recalled that in the spring of 1929, while the Aird Commission was in the midst of its investigation of the Canadian broadcasting situation, E.A. Weir was transferred from London (where he had been in charge of Colonization Publicity and Advertising for the CNR) to Montreal to become the CNR's Director of Radio (see chapter three). As part of an effort to quickly and radically improve the CNR's programming, Weir was successful in arranging the first transcontinental symphonic series in America - the All-Canada Symphony Concerts - which began to be broadcast in the fall of 1929 (following the presentation of the Aird Report) and continued through April of 1930 (see Timeline in Appendix F).

Shortly after the completion of the symphonic series, in May of 1930, while "rambling through old Fort Chambly on the Richelieu River", Weir was apparently struck by the idea of dramatizing stories of early Canadian discoverers, adventurers and explorers

(Weir, 1965:51). Although he does not spell out precisely why, Weir writes that,

In 1930, it became increasingly important for the CNR to develop something else besides the musical programs on the network. This would have to be instructive and inspiring, yet essentially Canadian (1965:51).

While it was indeed true, as Weir argues, that these were the dismal days of the Great Depression and as such listeners badly needed something to cheer their spirits (1965:51), it is also true that , at that time, it was entirely uncertain as to what would become of the Aird Report's recommendations for the nationalization of broadcasting; the 1930 election campaign was in mid-stream.

Weir's next move was to contact Mabel Williams of the National Parks Bureau in Ottawa, an old and trusted friend "thoroughly steeped in Canadian history" who then helped Weir compose a list of possible episodes (Weir, 1965:51). Williams agreed to think about additional subjects and to begin the factual research on the most promising episodes. She was shortly thereafter joined by Dr. Marius Barbeau, historian and

Ethnologist to the Dominion Government, and together they researched the proposed subjects and prepared outlines for the original scripts (Weir Papers, f. 1:memorandum by E.A. Weir, December 21, 1931). In addition, Barbeau and Williams recommended Merrill Denison as a possible writer for the series. Denison was well known, at the time, as a journalist and he had also published a collection of short plays in 1923 which were sympathetic to pioneers and woodsmen.

When Weir approached Denison with the idea of presenting episodes from Canadian history over the air, Denison was skeptical;

I was highly dubious about my, or indeed anyone's, ability to discover in Canada's history, as I knew it, the material out of which half a dozen, let alone twenty-five romantic dramas could be written (MacDonald, 1973:70).

Moreover, Denison rarely listened to radio and didn't even own one. He did, however, accept the commission which was, as his biographer notes, far too remunerative to turn down; \$250.00 per script (twenty-four of which were actually broadcast) (MacDonald, 1973:70). Weir's own recounting of events

notes that when Denison agreed to undertake the commission, it was "an ambition not entirely unrelated to the economic conditions then existing" (Weir, 1965:52)[20].

The fact that Denison was commissioned to dramatize the series must be underscored here. He was not hired as a writer with free reign to create a number of self-inspired radio dramas. Far from it. He was, rather, hired as a dramatist who could "prepare presentable Canadian dramas" (Weir, 1965:51) from scripts whose subjects had already been chosen, researched and outlined (Weir Papers, file 1:Letter from E.A. Weir to M. Denison, February 24, 1932). While basking in the success that the 'Romance' series gave him, Denison himself said,

I have rarely written a play of my own volition; it has nearly always happened that a play was needed to fill out some bill, somewhere (Radio Weekly, October 8, 1932).

The fact that this 'bill' - the "Romance of Canada" series - had been conceived and clearly delineated before Denison began to work on it is

critical, particularly once Denison's own views on Canadian culture and nationalism are recognized. Denison's biographer has written,

Merrill Denison often has referred to himself as a "mugwump". Mugwump? It's a person or beast which sits on a fence with its mug on one side and its wump on the other... Which is to say he has never been very sure of his roots in terms of nationality, but has comfortably straddled both sides of the sometimes -hazy cultural line which separates Canada and the United States... He is, essentially a continentalist and dismisses overt patriotism as irrelevant (MacDonald, 1973:4).

Indeed, in a letter to Weir in 1931, Denison wrote,

No one, heaven knows, is less nationalistic than I am (Weir Papers, file 1:Letter from M. Denison to E.A. Weir, March 18, 1931),

and in an article entitled "Nationalism and Drama", written in 1928, Denison wrote of Canada saying, in part,

Having no distinct culture, we naturally lack a cultural centre...[O]ur culture is one of two kinds. Either it is colonial or American... Life in Cleveland and Toronto is identical (New, 1972:67-68).

Clearly, Denison was not a Canadian cultural nationalist looking for an outlet through which to express and promote a vision of a distinct Canadian tradition and consciousness. Nevertheless, he agreed to write the series as proposed to him by Weir, and as Denison was said to have been able to "give to the local and native the aura of universality" (MacDonald, 1973:5), Weir had enlisted the right man for his purposes.

When Weir approached Sir Henry Thornton with the idea, which was not until August of 1930 (as Thornton had been on a trip to Western Canada), Thornton is said to have,

...listened not more than three or four minutes to a recital of the purpose and possibilities of the series, then promptly seized the idea and proceeded to enlarge upon it. He envisioned its scope instantly, showed an astonishing

grasp of its significance to Canada and the CNR, and gave his approval there and then (Weir, 1965:52).

When Weir explained that, since no experienced radio drama producer was then available in Canada, there would be a need to go outside of the country for a competent producer, Sir Henry's only qualification was that Weir not go to New York for him (Weir, 1965:52).

It was Denison who recommended to Weir that Tyrone Guthrie be engaged as producer for the series [21]. Denison had come across two radio drama scripts in a New York bookstore which Guthrie had written for the BBC and which had recently been turned down by NBC [22]. Upon reading the scripts Denison became convinced that Guthrie had completely mastered radio as a dramatic medium. He telephoned Weir from New York and urged that Guthrie be located and engaged as producer for the series (MacDonald, 1973:70-71; Forsyth, 1976:99).

In October of 1930, Weir sailed for London in search of a producer for the series. Weir's previous five years of experience in London, from 1924 to 1929, were useful at this time. Gladstone Murray, who was

then the BBC's Director of Public Relations, was especially helpful and supplied Weir with a selected list of possible producers. After a number of prospects had been interviewed, Weir became convinced that Guthrie was the producer that he wanted. An arrangement was reached; Guthrie would arrive in Montreal in early December (Weir, 1965:53-54).

On December 10, 1930, while sailing to New York en route to Canada, Guthrie wrote to a personal friend:

I am going to be on a 6 months contract to produce a series of quite dire, dim, dewdy, dubious dramas for radio under the auspices of the Canadian National Railways. It's doosid [sic] well paid and I've always wanted to see Canada (Forsyth, 1976:97).

It would appear that Guthrie had not been greatly impressed by the possibilities of the CNR series as described to him by Weir but, not unlike Denison, the opportunity and especially the rate of compensation offered was enticement enough. Indeed, much like Denison, Guthrie had initially been more than a little

skeptical of the merits of producing historical episodes. When Weir first described the CNR's idea to Guthrie,

...he explained in detail the weaknesses of historic episodes as dramatic material. They were bounded by all the limitations of fact, with more or less fixed characterizations and factual conclusions... This he demonstrated and much more (Weir, 1965:54).

Nevertheless, Guthrie agreed to take the assignment. When he arrived in New York in mid-December Denison and Weir were on the pier to welcome him (Forsyth, 1976:99; MacDonald, 1973:71; Weir, 1965:55) [23].

Shortly after returning to Montreal from London, Weir received a letter from an old business associate in England which serves well as an early indication of the nature and purpose of the series which Weir was envisioning. It reads:

I hope that you will be successful in your choice of a dramatic producer... I wish you every success in pushing forward the Canadian idea. If you have got good support, you should have a

very wonderful opportunity with such an organization as your own, spreading right across Canada, for developing Canadian nationalism and of stemming the flow of Americanism (Weir Papers, f. 3; Letter from A.D.G. West, the Gramophone Co. Ltd, Middlesex, to E.A. Weir, November 28, 1930).

Weir returned from London not only having secured Guthrie's services; He had also obtained the plans for the recently-completed multiple-studio control panel of the BBC's Belfast studio. Despite objections voiced by some of those higher up in the CNR, Weir managed to negotiate \$5,000.00 for sound-proof studios and the control panel which were to be constructed in the King's Hall building at 1231 St. Catherine Street in Montreal (Weir, 1965:55). Merrill Denison remembers:

There were no studios in the city sufficiently large to accommodate an orchestra, sound effects equipment, and casts which often would number fifty persons, including principal actors and crowds. Guthrie promptly took over an entire floor of the King's Hall building...and proceeded to install the first multiple broadcasting layout ever used in North America (MacDonald, 1973:71).

Once completed, the multiple-studio facility allowed for the production of rather sophisticated broadcasts. The numerous studios enabled Guthrie to place lead actors in one studio, a crowd in another, sound effects in another (this studio included a huge tank of water), the orchestra in another, etc. The control panel required three engineers and contained nineteen microphone lead-ins. The engineers were cued by Guthrie who stood behind them with a long pointer in his hand and those in the various studios were cued by a red-amber-green traffic control system which Guthrie had devised (MacDonald, 1973:71).

Not only was it necessary to build a studio for the production of the series, but also to hire technicians, engage musicians, and indeed, develop an entire cast. Guthrie was put in touch with Rupert Caplan of the Montreal Repertory Theatre who not only became Guthrie's principal cast recruiting aid, but also took a large majority of the leading roles in the series [24]. Guthrie notes the importance of Caplan:

Caplan introduced me to most of the principal amateur actors in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. These formed a nucleus, to whom I

added as occasion demanded... We unearthed some splendid talent (Guthrie, 1959:67).

It was under Guthrie's expertise and guidance that a virtual school in radio drama was begun. Several of those who had been given their start in radio drama under Guthrie in Montreal at this time went on to play leading roles in radio, television and National Film Board productions (i.e., Alex Baird, George Alexander). Rehearsals were conducted from 6:30 to 10:30 p.m. and sometimes later, five or six days a week. The average amount of time spent in rehearsal for the first sixteen 'Romance' dramas was sixteen hours per episode. The first play, "The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson", required twenty and a half hours of rehearsal time (Weir, 1965:56).

The episodes would be broadcast live from Montreal every Thursday at 10:00 (e.s.t.), thereby airing at 11:00 p.m. in Halifax and at 7:00 p.m. in Vancouver [26]. The length of the dramas would range, for the most part, between 30 and 45 minutes, the average broadcast length being almost 44 minutes [24]. This

odd length was in contrast to the practices of commercial broadcasters. Advertising the series, Donald Lapham wrote,

By not confining the dramatization to an arbitrary half hour, as is the custom with most such broadcasts, it will be possible to develop each historic incident fully without sacrificing clarity, or interest, to the need of having to go off the air on a split second (CNR Magazine, November, 1930:12).

The remaining minutes of the one hour time period allotted to each episode of the series would be "devoted to music in harmony with the preceding play" (Canadian Home Journal, November, 1930:18).

The cost of production averaged just over \$ 713.00 per episode, including an average of approximately \$ 190.00 for actors and actresses; \$ 105.00 for musicians; \$ 116.00 for Guthrie and \$ 250.00 for Denison as dramatist. The first sixteen productions cost the CNR just over \$ 11,410.00; the most expensive single production was the first drama, "The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson", which cost roughly \$ 1,170.00; the

least expensive episode was "David Thompson" which aired for just over \$ 516.00 (CNR Papers, PAC, R.G. 30:M584)

The working relationship which developed between Denison and Guthrie appears to have been a strained and difficult one. Denison's biographer writes,

Denison and Guthrie go along well, though there was some friction as to who was boss. As a member of the American Dramatist's Guild, Denison thought he should have complete control over his material. Guthrie, working as director-producer naturally had an opposite view. They struck a balance of antagonistic harmony (MacDonald, 1973:72).

It would appear that, although Denison resisted, Guthrie exercised quite a strong influence over the dramatizations which Denison developed and re-developed. It should be noted that Guthrie's biographer maintains that Guthrie would have liked to have written much of the series himself (Forsyth, 1976:106). Indeed, the fact that the Denison-Guthrie relationship worked at all appears to owe much to Weir, as this letter from Denison to Weir indicates:

I devoted more than a month to revising plays to suit Guthrie - not because I always agreed with him nor because I thought his judgement superior to my own - but because I felt that your interests would be served better by me deferring to the guest and transient", and this is "a personal tribute to yourself. For no other person or company would I have rewritten work once accepted (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8; March 18, 1931).

Very shortly after Thornton had agreed to the idea of the series (and months before a producer would be secured), the CNR began a large publicity campaign which included newspaper advertisements, articles in magazines and public announcements on network radio by Thornton (see Timeline Appendix F). On September 27, 1930 announcing the coming series nation-wide, Thornton said,

We intend in the coming season to provide broader diversity in our national programs. We hope to kindle in Canadians generally a deeper interest in the romantic early history of their country. No country has a richer background of achievement than Canada. The tales of courage, heroism, fortitude, and valour are legion... Among other peoples such incidents furnish the source of national folklore... it

is our purpose to provide a series of dramas depicting some of these historic incidents (Weir, 1965:53).

The publicity campaign for the series would continue throughout the autumn of 1930, and would make clear the aims of the series. In November of 1930 there appeared a promotional article, entitled the "Romance of Canada", in the Canadian National Railways Magazine by Donald Lapham. Its author wrote of the inspiration and the intentions of the series in the following manner;

The inspiration for the series...originated with E.A. Weir...he is intensely devoted to making radio serve the broad program of creating national consciousness and considers the time for doing so was never so important as now..." [and] "The purpose of the "Romance of Canada" series is to make better known to Canadians some of the little known but nevertheless glorious episodes which French and English share in common... The super-human courage, heroism and fortitude that has gone into the making of the country is too little known... As they are heard week after week it will become evident that there is one quality common to each of the men and women, whose stories are re-told in the radio dramas. All are great adventurers, and each

follows his, or her, quest to the very end (CNR Magazine, November, 1930:12).

Denison himself wrote an article entitled "The Romance of Canada", to advertise the series, which appeared in the Canadian Home Journal of November 1930. In this piece, Denison explained the central theme which would bind the 24 episodes:

The aim of each of the aural dramas is to bring to life again one of those greatly pioneering spirits whose unalterable fervour to see the job through to the end not only laid the material foundations of Canada but the spiritual essence of what ought to be recognized as the great Canadian tradition: - To adventure fearlessly, and remain steadfastly true to the quest... To take a chance and see it through to the bitter end (Canadian Home Journal, November, 1930:18-19).

Denison's assertion that these pioneering spirits were purveyors of 'what ought to be recognized' as the great Canadian tradition should be duly noted. Indeed,

the fact that this great tradition, so characterized, was not already common knowledge amongst Canadians is acknowledged by Denison. He writes,

It is questionable if the fact of this tradition is even recognized in Canada today. I have never seen it stated anywhere. It has no place in the Canadian consciousness as has "playing the game or muddling through" in the Englishman's, or "one man can lick a regiment" in the American's (Canadian Home Journal, November, 1930:19).

Indeed, the 'great Canadian tradition' had yet to be invented, a 'Canadian consciousness' had yet to be developed and shaped. This was the principal objective of the series - to create such a tradition - to promote, through these nationally distributed broadcasts, a shared vision amongst Canadians of a character reputedly shared amongst all Canadians (past and present) themselves. As the headline of Denison's article announces,

"Over the Air" will come this season...a notable contribution to the building and development of a Canadian consciousness (Canadian Home Journal, November, 1930:19).

Moreover, the role of the CNR in distributing these broadcasts was held to reflect its participation in this great Canadian tradition. Denison writes,

In sponsoring this series of programmes based on historical incident, the Canadian National Railways...following its own tradition of venturing boldly may help awaken some larger appreciation of the splendid tradition which brought this country into being (Canadian Home Journal, November, 1930:54).

The fact that Denison characterizes the plays as having been "based on historical incident" should be underscored here. While it is true that, in the preparation of the script outlines, Mabel Williams and Marius Barbeau had endeavoured to flesh out the factual foundations surrounding the chosen subjects, a number of the dramas were, in fact, based upon novels and short stories (see Appendix H). In a forward to a collection of the plays published in 1931, Denison would explain,

I believe the plays to be reasonably accurate from the standpoint of historical veracity, but I confess to having been more

interested in dramatic development than with historical minutiae (Denison, 1931:ix).

Furthermore, while much would later be made of the educational nature and value of these broadcasts (by Weir himself to representatives of the CRBC as well as by the CRL before the 1932 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting; see chapter six), publicity announcements for the series emphasized its entertainment value:

The object of the broadcasts is to furnish inspiring entertainment, but if Canadians learn something more about their country, so much the better, though this latter of necessity will come as a by-product (Lapham, 1930:12).

Denison himself wrote that,

[The broadcasts] will not attempt to teach, but to entertain. If they are informative it will be as a by-product. Their purpose is to stir the emotions and to hold the interest (Canadian Home Journal, November, 1930:54).

As such, historical veracity was far less important to the purpose of the series than was dramatic development. Moreover, if Denison was correct in what he wrote in an article, entitled "The Broadcast Play" in December of 1931, the 'historical broadcast', regardless of its accuracy, presented a unique opportunity for gaining the credibility of the listener. He writes,

...the broadcast play may become impressively believable. Particularly is this the case in dealing with historical episodes. To such plays the listener unconsciously brings some measure of conviction. He knows the characters have actually existed. They are not fictional creatures" [and that] "...each listener will picture that scene for himself in terms of his education, his experience and his background. He creates as much or as little of the scene as he needs; he peoples it with figures he believes to be true (Theatre Arts Monthly, December, 1931:1008-1011).

Indication of the murky mixing of fact and fiction which would go into the creation of the dramas is, moreover, evident in Denison's curious assertion that,

In point of historical fact,
 Canada, in its history, can boast
 of having as many gorgeously
 colourful and flamboyant characters
 as have trod any stage in history.
If this be hyperbole, Canada should
 have more of it (MacDonald, 1973:74
 [emphasis mine]).

A further key element of the series' aims concerned a deliberate attempt to counteract the considerable overlap between Canadian and American cultural heroes. Denison's response to his self-posed question indicates this intention:

Why should Canada suffer a lack of national heroes?... Given a more discerning, and hence affectionate, knowledge of their past, Canadians will trade the Daniel Boones, Lewis and Clarkes and Davey Crockets for their own Pierre d'Ibervilles, La Verendryes and David Thompsons or match...an Alamo with a massacre at St. Eustache (MacDonald, 1973:74).

Indeed, the fostering of a Canadian identity as distinct from the American, coupled with the threat of American cultural domination (echoing what would become a central component of the CRL's argumentation in

support of nationalized broadcasting), receives rather pointed treatment in Denison's "Romance of Canada" promotional article. He asserts:

Unless the Canadian fosters some spiritual differentiation from the American, there is no point whatever in the two peoples remaining longer separate (Canadian Home Journal, Novemeber, 1930:54).

Thus, the series would attempt to construct, from Canada's history, national cultural heroes which Canadians would, it was hoped, come to view as their own and as distinct from those of the United States. Moreover, these heroes would be presented as purveyors of a unique spirit which, it was also hoped, would come to be held as 'the great Canadian tradition'.

The "Romance of Canada" series began on January 22, 1931 with the episode entitled "The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson" (CCBS, M002209; For a complete play list see Appendix G). The series had originally been publicized as beginning on January 15 but was postponed, one week before its scheduled debut, when,

according to Weir, Guthrie and Denison requested more time in order to perfect the first episode (Weir, 1965:55).

Once the first episode had aired, it would appear that it did, indeed, generate a measure of excitement across the country. Denison sent a telegram to Weir from Toronto on January 23, saying,

Really great enthusiasm here in Toronto over Hudson. Large number of people have phoned and all seem agreed that play best dramatic production ever heard on American air (CNR Papers, PAC, R.G. 30:M715).

Likewise, Guthrie wrote home on January 26 saying,

First performance a huge success - such a relief. Flow of telegrams from all over the country (Forsyth, 1976:103).

Weir notes that the first telephone call received at CNRO, Ottawa, following the 'Hudson' drama, came from Sir Robert Borden, who extended his congratulations and expressed pleasure that the CNR had undertaken a series of this character (1965:61).

For our purposes, however, the most noteworthy reactions to this first production came from Graham Spry, of the CRL, and Marius Barbeau, who had helped research the series' subjects. More important than the actual substance of their appraisals (although these cast some light on the series' aims and apparent weaknesses) is the fact that these two gentlemen listened to the 'Hudson' broadcast together in Spry's Ottawa apartment and, at Weir's request, wrote rather lengthy and detailed critiques which they then sent to him (Weir Papers, vol.19, f. 2). This cooperation and correspondence - this connection - between Spry, Barbeau and Weir in gauging the success of the series is further evidence of the alignment which existed between the CRL and key members of the creative formation which constructed the 'Romance' series.

While Spry and Barbeau each wrote that their impressions of the 'Hudson' episode had been arrived at independently (they agreed not to discuss their impressions until each had written Weir), both appear to have been somewhat disappointed by the episode. Furthermore, the source of each man's disappointment was the same; the episode was not Canadian enough. Barbeau wrote in part,

...[the play] ended in England from whence we really never had departed... Never for a moment had we experienced the blasts of the Arctic, known the coming of the polar night, the sight of seals and white bears, the presence of Eskimo visitors, or anything of that cosmic panorama that brought terror to those men... Really we had never left the Thames... Your writer and producer in Hudson showed that they did not possess the one thing that mattered - a knowledge of the Arctic... the north, the Eskimos and all were left out... This achievement is indeed far from the fine scheme which we discussed and planned last year (Weir Papers, vol.19, f. 2; Letter from M. Barbeau to E.A. Weir, January 28, 1931).

Spry, for his part, wrote,

Was the play too English? Was there too much Guthrie and not enough Denison? Too much Cambridge and not enough Toronto? These questions are not meant to make comparisons or to be rude, but did the play reflect Canada or England? ...Was the audience, in the mind of the dramatist, more English than Canadian?

...[T]here is a danger that there may be a sense of strangeness if the plays are too palpably English, and that reaching for quality may mean reaching for English quality, of applying English standards rather than Canadian.

If this should occur, an enormous opportunity would be missed, and the central purpose of the broadcasts defeated, namely, to give Canadians some conception of their past and through that some conception of their own character...

But these comments...do not alter the outstanding fact that the first radio drama was a great success and that... the conception of the play and its execution form an achievement and mark an epoch in the development of Canadian broadcasting (Weir Papers, vol. 19, f. 2; Letter from G. Spry to E.A. Weir, January 28, 1931).

As noted, the 'Romance of Canada' series began its broadcasts on January 22, 1931. Sixteen of the planned twenty-four episodes were produced and broadcast between that date and May 14, 1931, when the series was rather abruptly discontinued (see Timeline in Appendix F). The reason(s) for which the series was interrupted at this point in time is (are) not altogether clear. In Weir's recounting of events, the series was simply "discontinued for the summer" (1965:57). A letter from Denison to Weir, however, indicates that this 'summer break' had not been planned, nor had it been openly discussed. Denison writes,

My efforts were put forth under the impression that I was engaged on a work of national importance and national significance which must by reason of that importance and significance continue unbroken to its conclusion [27], [and with regard to] ...breaking into the series... I am both hurt and astonished that I was not consulted (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8; Letter from M. Denison to E.A. Weir, March 18, 1931).

Indeed, the series had been advertised throughout the previous fall as comprising twenty-four programmes. Moreover, from twenty-four to twenty-six weeks had, for sometime, been considered by the CNR Radio Department as the normal run of a season. This had been the case with its Toronto Symphony Orchestra broadcasts as well as with other programmes (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8; memorandum by E.A. Weir, December 21, 1931). Furthermore, Guthrie had been engaged for six months - the normal length of a complete season - adequate time to produce twenty-four weekly episodes even given the one week delay of the first broadcast. The question remains: why was the series discontinued?

In Denison's above-quoted letter to Weir, he also noted that,

The Canadian radio audience knows programs in terms of unbroken continuity. Series are announced and carried through to their conclusion. Breaks occur only when a program is going down hill (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8).

But Denison had received many assurances, even from J.M. Gibbon (the General Publicity Manager of the CPR), that the 'Romance' was an "unqualified success". Indeed, the CNR itself had received numerous letters of support for the series including those from various historical societies, Women's organizations, University groups and others (CNR Papers, PAC, R.G. 30:M715). As for himself, Denison asserted that the success of the series even rivalled the hugely popular NBC programme "Amos 'n Andy". As such, the break in the series was, in Denison's mind, completely unjust.

Guthrie's explanation for discontinuation of the series after only sixteen episodes had been broadcast runs as follows:

It [the series] fell sick of a disease to which all serial undertakings are liable: gradual exhaustion of the author... Poor Merrill was in trouble. He would deliver the current script just in time for the first rehearsal and

then, exhausted, with no ideas, no enthusiasm, he would have to sit right down and beat his brains afresh (Forsyth, 1976:106).

Denison, however, had a very different view of the situation:

The true explanation...that the most popular program ever on the Canadian air has been broken in mid-flight [is] so that a guest director might have an opportunity to do his stuff (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8; Letter from M. Denison to E.A. Weir, March 18, 1931).

It is not clear as to precisely what 'stuff' Denison was referring, but before Guthrie left Canada plans for several programmes were drafted with his help, and Guthrie enjoyed an all expense paid tour of Canada by the CNR as a sort of bonus to his 'Romance' salary (Weir, 1965:57-58).

Although these conflicting accounts of the reasons behind the break in the series perhaps serve well as indication of the animosity which seems to have existed between Denison and Guthrie, they do not move us any

closer toward determining the true cause(s) for the halt in production. Perhaps each explanation is partially correct; perhaps neither is correct.

While the precise answer to the question of the series' break seems destined to remain forever obscured, a third explanation presents itself. It can be noted that merely weeks after the 'Romance' series commenced, the jurisdictional challenge as to whether broadcasting lay within provincial or federal authority was submitted by Quebec to the Supreme Court (see Timeline in Appendix F). By the middle of May this dispute had been in the courts for a few months and was showing no signs of reaching resolution, nor of what the nature of that resolution might be. As such, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that, insofar as the series had been conceived as part of the campaign to have broadcasting nationalized, Weir may have decided that the remaining episodes might be more profitably aired at a later date (if at all), depending on the court's decision.

This suggested explanation would, perhaps, appear less reasonable were it not for the fact that merely two days after the February 9, 1932 decision of the Privy Council as to the federal jurisdiction of

broadcasting - on February 11, 1932 - the "Romance of Canada" series resumed (after rather hurried preparation) with the first of its final eight episodes. These final installments were aired, moreover, while the 1932 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting began its hearings (see Timeline in Appendix F).

We should note, furthermore, that Denison appears to have been surprised by the series' resumption. In a letter to Denison from Weir, dated February 24, 1932 (just prior to the broadcasting of the third episode of the final eight), Weir wrote,

I thought I indicated that since we were buying the additional plays we expected to produce them and this could not long be delayed. As we wish them to terminate by April 1st, if at all possible, it became necessary to commence without delay. I had hoped to produce one each alternate week...but circumstances outside my control has required that we move faster (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8).

Weir does not bother to offer any reasons as to why it was deemed desirable that the series finish by April 1 [28], nor does he explain what circumstances may have caused the pressures of time.

It is important to note that, by 1932, the deepening economic depression was having a profound effect on CNR operations overall. Between 1928 (the CNR's best year in this period) and 1933, operating revenues for the CNR were to drop by over 45% (Weir, 1965:125) and these drastic reductions, naturally, were to have an impact on the CNR's radio operations. In June of 1931 the CNR Radio Department was merged with the Publicity Department. The radio budget for 1931 was 25% less than what it had been in 1930, and in 1932 the budget was reduced to one third of what it had been in 1931. The radio staff, which had totalled 105 in January of 1931 (as the "Romance of Canada" first commenced), was cut to 75 in June 1931, and by the beginning of 1932 had been reduced to 22 (Weir, 1965:94-95). To these individuals was left the chore of operating the network, the three CNR-owned stations and the Montreal studios.

By the time of the resumption of the 'Romance' series then, in February of 1932, the CNR was functioning within a somewhat strained atmosphere (both economically and politically) and its broadcasting operations were rather severely handicapped in comparison with its relative health while broadcasting the first portion of the series. As such, Weir was in no position to search for and engage a producer from outside of the CNR as he had done one year earlier (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 1).

To produce the remaining episodes of the series Weir engaged Esme Moonie who had joined the CNR Radio Department in 1929 and had been producing musical programs for the CNR since that time (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8). This decision met with objection from Denison who, on February 19, 1932, wrote,

I have waited to hear two productions...before writing you in connection with their direction...after I had learned by accident that you intended to resume broadcasting the series... Moonie has not shown that she is equipped to produce these plays...[and] the series will suffer if you insist on retaining her (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8).

Denison proposed that Rupert Caplan be given the opportunity to produce the remaining plays as he had professional theatre experience which Moonie lacked, but Weir did not agree (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 1). It is possible however that, as time passed, Caplan did cross over and work as an actor-producer in the series (this would be in accordance with Caplan's claim that he had produced the second series of the 'Romance' in an interview with Howard Fink of Concordia University in 1977) but there is no hard evidence of this having occurred.

It should be noted here that during the second set of broadcasts Denison made repeated complaints about 'those in control tampering with the plays', saying such things as,

An author's interest does not end with the sale of the rights of publication... I am selling the right to broadcast them as they have been written; not as they have been modified by you or someone in your employ (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8: Letter from M. Denison to E.A. Weir, February 29, 1932).

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the nature of the changes which Denison claimed were being made to the scripts, nor why such changes had been deemed necessary. We can only say that Denison does not appear to have been pleased with the changes, to the point where Weir suggested that, if Denison wanted, his authorship could be removed from the plays (Weir Papers, vol. 2, f. 8). This suggestion, however, was rejected by Denison.

The series was completed on March 31, 1932 with the broadcasting of the final episode entitled "The Fathers of Confederation". Weir himself introduced this final broadcast. Apparently feeling it was necessary to explicate the purpose of the series once more, he said,

We have tried ...to awaken a deeper national consciousness and pride in the accomplishments of those daring spirits, who ventured into the great unknown to blaze trails over half a continent which we now inherit and which it is our responsibility to develop and consolidate into one united nation", and that, "We trust that this effort of the CNR may prove a very real inspiration to the development of a Canadian tradition and consciousness, as well as

Canadian individuality (from the introduction to "The Fathers of Confederation", CCBS:M009642) .

Although Weir did not personally appear before the 1932 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting (which had been conducting hearings only hours before the broadcasting of this episode and its accompanying introduction), it is difficult to imagine what more Weir could have said in support of the CRL's arguments concerning the national importance, application and potential of a Canadian public broadcasting system were he actually standing before the Committee making a formal presentation. Indeed, as Weir would assert in 1933, after broadcasting had been nationalized in the form of the CRBC (and he had been made its Director of Programmes), referring to the 'Romance',

...such an impression was made with these plays and allied efforts by the Canadian National Railways that they were very definitely instrumental in helping to establish nationalization of radio in Canada (Address delivered on May 5, 1933 before the Institute for Education by Radio at Ohio State University, published in the University of Toronto Monthly, May, 1933:255-259) .

The entire 'Romance' project had, in fact, dovetailed very nicely with the League's campaign. With its final broadcast completed, however, Weir was still committed to offering whatever last minute support he could muster for the League's cause. He writes,

Early in April of 1932, during the radio hearings, a detailed five-year plan for national network coverage was prepared by a small group in the CNR that hoped it might be presented before the Parliamentary Committee. It was entirely a night job, covering several weeks of desperately hard work... Unfortunately, its production coincided with the hearings of the Railway Committee of 1932, when the concentrated political persecution of Sir Henry Thornton had reached its most destructive phase. The plan was never presented; indeed, the President never even knew of its existence.

However, in order that all the effort put into it would not be lost, a copy was placed at the disposal of the Radio League (Weir, 1965:136).

The extent to which the League was able to make use of this document in its presentations before the 1932 Committee is unknown and the precise contents of

the 'plan' remain undiscovered. What is clear, however, is Weir's strong support of, and active commitment to, the cause of the CRL (namely the development of a nationalized broadcasting system for Canada), on the one hand, and to the nurturing and development of a Canadian national consciousness through the broadcast medium through such programming as the "Romance of Canada" series, on the other [29].

In summation, this chapter has described how the idea for the "Romance of Canada" series originated with E.A. Weir; how he engaged Mabel Williams and Marius Barbeau to research and develop outlines for the proposed episodes; how Barbeau and Williams recommended that Merrill Denison be commissioned as dramatist for the series. We have also noted that although Denison was skeptical about the proposed series he found the rate of remuneration which was offered to be too attractive to turn down. Denison's 'continentalist' views on Canadian culture have also been noted.

Furthermore, we have reported that, while Henry Thornton was not approached with the idea of the series until it had been developed to this point, he

envisioned its potential national significance immediately and gave his approval to the project with the qualification that the producer not be sought in New York. The chapter has described how Denison recommended Tyrone Guthrie to Weir as producer for the series and his reasons for doing so, as well as how Weir travelled to London in search of a producer and engaged Guthrie. It has been noted that Guthrie was also skeptical about the potential of the proposed series but that the opportunity to see Canada and the rate of compensation offered was inducement enough to undertake the project.

Having obtained the plans for a multiple studio control panel from the BBC, Weir secured the funds from the CNR to construct a state of the art multiple studio facility specifically for the production of the 'Romance' broadcasts. These studios would enable Guthrie to exercise a large measure of technical control over the quality of the productions. Upon his arrival to Montreal, Guthrie began to run a virtual school in radio drama with a troupe of actors in which Rupert Caplan was a prominent force. It has been noted

that the relationship between Denison and Guthrie was a strained and antagonistic one and that its working was, in some measure, due to the mediation of E.A. Weir.

We have further described how the publicity campaign for the series began in September of 1930 and continued throughout that autumn (and early winter) providing a sort of pretext for the series to come. Through the publicity campaign Canadians were told that E.A. Weir was devoted to using radio to create a national consciousness, that he had been the source of the series' inspiration, and that the series itself was to be a notable contribution to the development of a Canadian consciousness. The various publicity pieces also introduced and outlined the characteristics of 'the great Canadian tradition', as well as arguing the need for Canadians to achieve some spiritual differentiation from Americans through the establishment of Canadian cultural heroes as distinct from those of the United States.

The chapter has also demonstrated that Graham Spry, of the CRL, and Marius Barbeau listened to the first broadcast together and, at the request of Weir,

wrote of their impressions of the episode to him; Each of these gentlemen had been disappointed that the episode had not be 'more Canadian'.

Moreover, the chapter has discussed the break which occurred in the series and presented the various conflicting explanations for its occurrence as maintained by Guthrie, Denison and Weir. We have hypothesized that, insofar as the series was conceived as part of the campaign to have broadcasting nationalized, the cause for the break may have been tied to the jurisdictional dispute over broadcasting which was then tied up in the Supreme Court, noting that the series resumed merely two days after the Privy Council had ruled in favour of federal jurisdiction.

We have noted further that due to the economic crisis and the 1931-32 Railway Committee, with the resumption of the series under the direction of Esme Moonie, the CNR Radio Department was functioning within a politically and economically strained context. We have noted Denison's objections to the decision to have Moonie produce the remaining plays and his complaints about unauthorized changes being made to the scripts during these remaining broadcasts.

Finally, we have noted that E.A. Weir provided an introduction to the final drama in the series in which he recounted the intentions of the series as being to contribute to the development of a national consciousness and tradition. Upon the completion of the series, without Thornton's knowledge, a small group (which included, and was likely led by, E.A. Weir) within the CNR prepared a detailed plan for national network coverage which it hoped would be presented before the Special Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting, but which was instead placed at the disposal of the Canadian Radio League to use before the Committee in arguing on behalf of a nationalized broadcasting system for Canada.

Chapter Eight

Shaping the 'Air':

The "Romance of Canada" Scripts

Through the air now comes to you the [play number, i.e., first] play of the Romance of Canada series - [play title] - written for the microphone by Merrill Denison, produced by Tyrone Guthrie and broadcast by the Canadian National Railways over a network of thirteen Canadian National and five associated stations.

Along the 23,000 miles of track which make the Canadian National America's largest railway system, the past and present meet at countless points. If you know but where to look the faded imprints of history may be seen from you car windows and half forgotten voices heard above the hum of speeding wheels ('programme logo' used to introduce each of the first sixteen episodes of the "Romance of Canada" series;CCBS, M002210:1).

As the "Romance of Canada" series' scripts were, in fact, broadcast as radio dramas, ideally one would wish to analyze not only the scripts, but also sound reproductions of the plays as broadcast. However, as the series was broadcast live and was not recorded

(recording techniques did exist at the time of broadcast, but did not gain wide usage until World War II), sound reproductions of these radio dramas do not exist. As such, the scripts were considered the next best thing. The scripts used in our study are those which had been used by the sound effects person, R.H. Roberts, and therefore include, in free hand, all directions for the sound effects employed (A production list appears in Appendix G and includes the order and date of broadcast).

Because there are twenty-four episodes in the series it is clearly not feasible to offer an indepth content analysis of each drama [30]. Moreover, in the light of the evidence presented in the previous chapters, with regard to the role which nationalism played in the political, organizational, social and creative contexts from which these plays emerged, one need not present an elaborate or sophisticated content analysis in order to demonstrate the presence of a nationalist discourse contained in the series itself. As such, the following chapter is intended, firstly, to provide the reader with a sense of the series such that the general nature of the scripts might be apprehended and, secondly, to draw out the rhetorical devices which

are employed by the series in its attempt to create Canadian national heroes and, through these characterizations, to construct a national tradition and a national consciousness or imagination.

It will perhaps have been noted that the language used by individuals such as Sir Henry Thornton, E.A. Weir, and Merrill Denison in describing and/or promoting the series (as quoted in the previous chapter) had a great deal in common. Indeed, in some instances, the words used to characterize the actions and/or nature of the central individuals represented in the dramas were exactly the same; words such as "heroism", "fortitude", "(super-human) courage", "valour", and "unalterable fervour". These dramas, it was said, were to present tales of the "prodigious deeds" of the "great adventurers" and "daring spirits" who "blaze trails into the great unknown". Clearly, the series was intended to depict its subjects in a glowing and heroic light; Even a cursory reading of these scripts would reveal that the dramas do precisely this.

For our purposes, however, what is of critical importance to note in this context is that the glorious achievements and attributes of the series' subjects

were consistently framed within a national context. Not only does the series' title have the effect of 'nationalizing' its subjects, but promotional materials held that the series would tell the heroic stories of those who "laid the material foundations of Canada"; "those daring spirits who ventured into the great unknown to blaze trails over half a continent which we now inherit"; the series was to depict "the glorious episodes which French and English share in common"; "the super-human courage, heroism and fortitude that has gone into the making of this country"; "the splendid tradition which brought this country into being" which could "furnish the source of national folklore" and demonstrate that "No country has a richer background of achievement than Canada", and so on (see chapter eight). That is, then, the intention of the series was not just to present the stories of inspiring and heroic individuals but, more specifically, to construct Canadian national heroes from those stories.

Furthermore, the central figures in the dramas were held to be national heroes not only because of the specific achievement of this or that individual in the founding or development of the nation, but also because these individuals were deemed to be guided by and,

indeed, to have embodied a single spirit - the spirit which, it was held, had built Canada and had, therefore, come to define it. These individuals were some of the founders and early carriers of 'the great Canadian tradition' which was 'to adventure fearlessly and remain steadfastly true to the quest'. These figures were presented as representative of the spirit of the nation which was Canada.

As such, each drama tells of courageous, and/or fearless, and/or visionary characters, each of which is willing to sacrifice and suffer any hardship in an effort to achieve various goals. For Hudson the goal is the North West Passage; for Drucour it is the delay of the inevitable fall of Louisberg; for Mackenzie, a passage to the Pacific, etc. The specific goals differ, the circumstances change, but each heroic character remains ever determined, confident and faithful in the face of any and all opposition.

We would do well at this point to refer to a work, entitled Essays on Nationalism, by J.H. Hayes, who has written that,

With the garnering of historic traditions appears the tendency to personify the group, to view the nationality as an historical

personage. Sometimes the personification is symbolized by means of a flag or other emblem signifying the life or spirit of a nationality. More often it is a mental image derived from the hearing of legends or the reading of tales in which scientific facts have been consciously or unconsciously subordinated to the purposes of art or romance. All such personification operates emotionally upon individuals, presenting them with a glorified picture of the spirit, the principle, the ideal of their group and thereby persuading them to a deeper loyalty to their common nationality (1926:17-18).

Whether or not Weir had been reading Hayes when the idea for the series struck him, of course, cannot be ascertained. It does appear, at any rate, that the design of the series as developed had been conceived along similar lines of reasoning. Weir's introduction to the final episode indicates something of this similarity:

We have been able to dramatize only a few of the thousands of heroic incidents in our history that stand as beacon lights to Canadians and serve as examples of matchless courage, fortitude and endurance. We have tried...to give life to the skeletons of history; to make the dry stones of our school books

breathe reality; to awaken a deeper national consciousness and pride (from the introduction to "The Fathers of Confederation", CCBS:M009642:1).

We have already noted the 'nationalizing effect' of the title of the series by reference to the manner in which it frames the episodes within a national context. However, the romantic element of the series' frame need also receive note. The series clearly employs elements of romanticism and the romantic genre.

Romanticism, as a literary, artistic and philosophical movement (which originated in the late 18th century) is characterized by (among other things, i.e., its reaction against neoclassicism) an emphasis on the imagination and the emotions coupled with an exaltation of the common man, an appreciation of nature, and an interest in the remote (Abrams, et.al., 1979:12-20).

These elements are, indeed, key components of the general contours of the series. The plays do engage in an exaltation of the common man (see "The Land of Promise", CCBS:M009651), presenting these in heroic light, emphasizing the imagination, vision and emotion (i.e., fortitude, courage, valour, endurance)

of these heroic figures. Furthermore, a number of the plays (i.e., "The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson"; "Pierre Radisson"; "The Great Race of John Baptiste Lagimoniere") demonstrate an appreciation of nature (particularly in its harsh and frozen forms) as can be found in the Canadian landscape(s). The series also conveys an interest in the remote, insofar as it tries to give 'life to the skeletons of history'.

It should clearly be noted here, then, that to the extent that these dramas are romantic, the 'historical' accounts which they present are more than the simple recounting of historical facts (insofar as these can be discovered and understood). We would do well to note that the word 'romance' also refers to a medieval tale based on legend, chivalric love and adventure; or to a prose narrative treating imaginary characters involved in events remote in time or place and usually heroic, adventurous, or mysterious; or to something (as an extravagant story or account) that lacks basis in fact; to 'romanticize' is to treat something in an idealized or heroic manner (Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, 1986). As we have noted above, the dramas do most certainly depict heroic and adventurous events (based, in at least one instance, on legend; see

Appendix H) which are remote in time. While the series' central characters were not, for the most part, imagined (i.e., fictitious), virtually all of the dialogue, most of the depicted scenes, acts and events clearly were. Thus, it is in these senses also that the series is 'romance'.

Moreover, by Denison's own admission, the stories were indeed extravagant and/or exaggerated (see Chapter seven) and insofar as the plays were "reasonably accurate" in their historical acuity, they were also, in many instances, clearly lacking any factual basis. It will be recalled also that Denison asserted that the series would not attempt to teach, but to entertain and that the purpose of the broadcasts was to stir the emotions and hold the interest. The contrast between these assertions and those made by E.A. Weir, in reference to the purpose of the series, is rather marked. Weir maintained that the purpose of the series,

...was to teach history, to inspire confidence, to develop national consciousness and to serve as an introduction to radio drama (1933:256).

The presentation, then, of the series as 'historical', on the one hand, and as 'romance', on the other, ought to be carefully noted. The dramas do, in fact, romanticize the historical events and characters with which they deal. The historical representations put forth by the series must be seen as having been comprised of a rather murky mixture of fact and fiction; a mixture which is commonly referred to today as 'docu-drama' [31]. The precise proportions of each of these elements (the documented and the dramatic) in the 'mix', of course, cannot be clearly discerned by those consuming such products.

Such a format, combining the historical and the romantic, would appear to have been ideal for the purposes of the series insofar as it enabled the creative formation to combine, in an imperceptible manner (to the listener), its intention of teaching history, on the one hand, and of inspiring confidence and developing national consciousness, on the other. Indeed, we would argue that the presentation of the series as "teaching history" - as depicting historical fact - functions in a manner which increases the ability of the dramas to inspire confidence and develop national consciousness. That is, the persuasive

ability of a particular drama's discourse can only be improved if presented as credibly representing or reconstructing events as they actually occurred.

Before turning our attention more specifically to the scripts themselves, we would do well to recall a promotional article for the series which announced that,

The purpose of the...series is to make better known to Canadians some of the little known but nevertheless glorious episodes which French and English share in common (CNR Magazine, November, 1930:12).

This is a telling description of the series and its attempt to construct a Canadian national imagination. The unification of the French and English elements of Canadian society through the construction of a common national identity was one of the key forces behind the overall structure and design of the series.

On this point, it is worth noting that after the CRBC had been created, in a letter to CRBC Chairman Hector Charlesworth, E.A. Weir wrote of the 'Romance' series, saying that,

There never was any broadcast which so glorified Quebec and the exploits of the French to the rest of the country (Weir Papers, file 6; Letter from E.A. Weir to Hector Charlesworth, March 13, 1933).

The exploits of Dollard des Ormeaux (CCBS:M009658), for example, which, on the basis of the available evidence could, arguably, be held to have been those of a homicidal-suicidal maniac, are glorified and depicted along the lines developed by Quebec historians who have postulated that Dollard deliberately sacrificed himself to fend off an attack on Montreal.

Moreover, the series would not only glorify the French to the rest of Canada, but it would present the French and the English as sharing together in 'the great Canadian tradition' of 'adventuring fearlessly'.

Indeed, the creators of the series might well have been guilty of over-compensating for the French fact in Canada [32]. In point of fact, fifteen of the

twenty-four dramas comprising the series have central figures who are of French origin, while seven employ an English protagonist, and one has as its central figure a native Indian (the final episode, "The Fathers of Confederation", employs both French and English protagonists) [33].

It is important to note here, however, that while the series glorifies and, indeed, gives prominence to the role of the French in the development of the country, there is no french in the scripts (with the exception of the play which deals with Dollard des Ormeaux; the only french words used are "mort au champ d'honneur"; CCBS, M009658:18). That is, at least as far as the scripts are concerned, all of the series' French characters speak clear and grammatically correct English [34]. Thus, while the series may evidence a profound appreciation for the French contribution it must be underscored here that the series was by no means bilingual. Rather, the scripts super-impose the English language upon its representations of french-speaking characters.

This fact may be an indication of the manner in which the CNR envisioned its audience (i.e., as English-speaking). It may also be that the creators of

the series were consciously making a symbolic statement regarding the imposition of British rule in Canada. Perhaps this fact merely reflects that aspect of the colonial experience in which the Empire, consciously and/or unconsciously, imposes itself upon all which it beholds. None of these possible explanations can be verified. What is clear is that although the series sought the unification of French and English in Canada by the construction of a common national identity, it expressed this identity entirely in English. The national consciousness which the series was designed to foster and develop, therefore, would appear to have been English-speaking.

The attempt to foster a common national identity between French and English would not only be sought through simply glorifying the exploits of the French over a national network and presenting them as participants in 'the great Canadian tradition'. In fact, the subjects of three of the fifteen dramas depicting the heroic French would also revolve, to some extent, around relations between members of the French and English regimes (these are "Drucour at Louisberg", "Montcalm", and "Pierre Radisson").

In each of these three dramas the relations between French and English are presented in a manner which tends to unify the two groups. One need only refer to the introductory and/or concluding remarks made by the narrator or announcer of the series, which have the effect of framing the events of each drama, in order to demonstrate something of the unifying features of these episodes.

The play, "Drucour at Louisberg", for example, is introduced, in part, by the following statement:

The fall of Louisberg in 1758 is remembered for two things - the dash of Brigadier-General Wolfe who was mainly responsible for its capture and the hopeless gallantry of two of its defenders, the Governor, Chevalier Augustin de Drucour and his wife, Madame Drucour (CCBS, M009656:1).

The drama entitled "Montcalm", in which the attempt to foster a common nationality between French and English is best exemplified and perhaps most directly addressed, is concluded by the narrator reading the following lines:

And so began the battle which was to decide the fate of Canada and in which her two great heroes gave their lives... And today we are less concerned with the fact that one was the conqueror and one the vanquished than with deep pride for the lion-hearted valour of both of them (CCBS, M002211:22).

And finally, the story of "Pierre Radisson" was clearly suited to the unifying purposes of the "Romance of Canada" series; as the announcer introduced this episode,

Of the tales of valiant men whose lives were dedicated to the service of the Gentlemen Adventurers none is more stirring than that of the first and greatest of them all - Pierre d'Esprit Radisson, pathfinder, adventurer and fur trader.

Tonight's play deals with some of the astonishing events of his early career which go to explain how one of greatest of British trading companies came to be founded by a citizen of New France (CCBS, M002210:1).

It should be evident from the excerpts above, then, that with reference to the manner in which the dramas treat the issue(s) of French/English relations, the

discourse(s) contained by these three dramas entail, in one form or another, a unifying construction; "Pierre Radisson" depicts and glorifies the events leading up to a specific instance in which individuals of both groups combined talents and resources in the development of a successful enterprise; the "Drucour at Louisberg" script and, especially, the "Montcalm" script function in a manner which minimizes the differences and conflict between the French and the English by holding up the leaders or representatives of both groups and glorifying each of them. As such, the discourse(s) within these three dramas, as they pertain to the issue of French/English relations in Canada, must be recognized as an important element in the series' attempt to foster the unification of French and English in Canada.

There are a number of key 'nationalizing' elements or devices which occur and recur throughout the various episodes of the series. The recognition of these devices and the explication of their function is important in order to make clear the specific means in which the series attempted to affect the construction

of a national consciousness (and the nature of the national consciousness which it was attempting to construct).

Although we have yet to demonstrate the specific manner by which this is achieved, we have already made general mention of the fact that the series constructs its subjects in heroic light, as embodiments of the same spirit, as participants in a single tradition ('the great Canadian tradition'), and as historically accurate representations. All of this takes place within the nationalized context provided by the series' title (not to mention the national distribution of the broadcasts). We have also discussed the relative prominence, in numerical terms, of episodes devoted to the construction (in English) of French heroes as well as, in somewhat more specific terms, the unifying manner in which particular episodes (which deal with the issue) treat the issue of French/English relations in Canada.

These elements perhaps comprise the fundamental 'nationalizing devices' employed by the series and some episodes (i.e., "Alexander MacKenzie", "David Thompson", "Valiant Hearts - Fort la Reine") involve simply these: an heroic construction of a particular

figure (whether French or English), around a certain historical foundation, within which the particular personage(s) involved is (are) depicted as embodying the characteristics of that spirit which is 'the great Canadian tradition'.

There are, however, a number of dramas in the series which employ, to varying extents, one or more of a set of secondary devices whose function can be seen to have contributed to the series' ability to engender or strengthen a sense of national unity and a national consciousness in its listeners [35]. These devices include the widespread use of Christian symbolism; the 'paralleling' of the dramatic depictions and the listener's situation; and the establishment of a (sometimes sacred) trust between the listener and the hero(es) (or events) depicted by the drama.

While various episodes of the series employ one or more of these other elements, as we have said, there is an episode of the series which utilizes each of these three secondary devices; "The Land of Promise". For this reason, this drama has been chosen as the subject of a more detailed content analysis in which we will demonstrate the nature and use of each of these secondary devices, as well as describing the manner in

which the script achieves its heroic construction, around its particular historical foundation, and the way it establishes its central character as a carrier of the Canadian spirit.

A Content Analysis:

"The Land of Promise"

Broadcast in two parts [36], on February 12 and 19, 1931 (see Appendix G), "The Land of Promise", (originally entitled "The Selkirk Settlers") is a drama constructed around the first migration of crofters from the Highlands of Scotland to the Canadian prairie and the 74 million acre Red River land grant obtained by Thomas Douglas, Lord of Selkirk, in the early 1800s. The drama unfolds as it follows the Scots from their homes in Sutherlandshire, across the Atlantic, into Hudson's Bay where they wintered (at the spot where Churchill now stands), down what are now the Nelson River and Lake Winnipeg, to the forks of the Red River (where Winnipeg now stands) and their new home [37].

The "Land of Promise" script is a good example of the mixing and combining of the dramatic and the documented - the romantic and the historical - which is

characteristic of the series as a whole. The announcement following the end of the first episode, which entails the journey from Scotland to Churchill, referred to the drama as having been,

...based on Professor Chester Martin's historical study: "Selkirk's Work in Canada" and on the novel "The Men of Kildonan" by J.H. McCulloch to whom the author particularly wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness (CCBS, M009651:31).

Moreover, the second episode ends with the announcement that it had been,

...based largely on the novel "The Men of Kildonan" by J.H. McCulloch, to whom the author acknowledges his indebtedness (CCBS, M009652:18).

As such, it is clear that the dramatization, though to some extent grounded historically, is something more (or perhaps less) than a purely historical account.

The opening scene of "The Land of Promise" is set in the year 1813, in the castle of the Duchess of Sutherland in the Highlands of Scotland. Here we find the Duchess sitting at a desk busy with paperwork pertaining to the eviction of her tenants, just as she is disturbed (despite her expressed orders that she not be) by her servant. When asked to explain the interruption, the servant responds,

It is Donald MacTavish from Kildonan and he will not be sent away until he has seen your grace (CCBS, M009651:2).

The construction of the drama's central character begins immediately; MacTavish is not one of those being evicted from his landholdings, but he has come before the Duchess "to plead for those who have" (CCBS, M009651:2). In his attempt to persuade the Duchess to reconsider the evictions, MacTavish argues, in part,

I can know nought of your grace's affairs. I do know that loyal men and women whose only crime is poverty have been turned out to starve (CCBS, M009651:3),

and further,

Surely it is a concern of yours when your course sends men and women and little children forth to starve. When their homes are burnt that they may not return to them for shelter from the cold. When nought is left to them but ashes and a hearthstone bared to the sky. Your grace! Come out among your people. See their sore distress for yourself. They are yours, your grace. Take pity on them, and contrive some other means whereby the revenues may be made greater (CCBS,M009651:4-5).

The first scene serves, then, to introduce MacTavish and quickly establish him as an outspoken and altruistic champion of 'the common folk'. The Duchess, of course, refuses to heed MacTavish's supplications and dismisses him. The scene ends.

The next scene occurs in MacTavish's cottage. Donald has just explained to Jean, his wife, and friends that he was unsuccessful in persuading the Duchess to reconsider the evictions. Having heard the news, Jean utters that "there's no heart nor reason in the woman", to which MacTavish replies,

None whatever, Jean. But 'twill do little good to call her names. We'd better look facts clearly in

the face, men. We are all to be driven forth from the hills of our fathers (CCBS,M009651:7).

As such, we begin to witness a propensity in MacTavish's character toward the practical, and an ability and desire to confront the nature of his situation in a straightforward manner. These are character traits which, though first displayed here, are to be further developed throughout the script.

When MacTavish is reminded by one of the group that he does not have to leave his landholdings, MacTavish responds,

Think you I'd remain when old friends and neighbours are drifted to the four winds like sheep without a shepard?... 'Twere better to hold together and find some new land (CCBS,M009651:8).

Clearly, then, MacTavish establishes himself here as one who will sacrifice his own security and well-being for the good of the community. Although he properly could, he is not willing to quit the dispossessed community particularly when it is in need of leadership. Here the image of sheep and shepherd is

a telling one; it is MacTavish who will take it upon himself to watch over his people and care for them - to 'tend the flock' - as they take up the journey to the Land of Promise.

MacTavish next tells the group of friends and neighbours about the new land of Lord Selkirk's which is available ("'Tis said the soil's so rich and deep one needs but scratch it to catch a crop"; CCBS,M009651:8) and of the opportunity which the Land of Promise presented ("...a new country where there's land for all and a fair future to fight for"; CCBS,M009651:10). In doing so, MacTavish is able to rally the group around him ("...there's room for men with stout hearts and a pride too great to remain where there's no place for them"; CCBS,M009651:10), and the group unanimously decides to have MacTavish write to Lord Selkirk to secure the necessary approval ("Then all are agreed? (Murmur yes somberly) And the choice is the only one free men could make": CCBS,M009651:11).

The next scene occurs on board the Hudson Bay Company's ship, the Prince of Wales, on which the group of Scots is set to sail for Canada. Jean, MacTavish's wife, is crying at the thought of "never looking on the

hills again" (CCBS,M009651:12), when she asks MacTavish whether or not he has any feeling at all on this occasion. He replies,

Aye, lass, plenty, but I try to
keep my mind on the land we're
going to (CCBS,M009651:12).

This disclosure by MacTavish serves to further develop the nature of his character; while he is not insensitive to the painfulness of his situation, he is able to control these feelings and to look forward to the future with hope. Having made a decision (in this case, the decision to leave), MacTavish does not - will not - look back sentimentally at what is being left behind. Rather, he turns his mind to the task now before him (this trait is well displayed in MacTavish's statement "Our minds are made up and our ploughs are set to the furrow"; CCBS,M009651:15). This is an important element of MacTavish's character which also is further developed throughout the script.

Having set sail, the next scene of the drama takes place on the Prince of Wales which is "wallowing in heavy seas off Greenland" (CCBS,M009651:17). Typhoid, the "fearful ship's fever", has broken out on board

leaving eight dead (the most recent victim being the ship's doctor) and many extremely sick and disabled (including Donald MacTavish). Discussing the situation, Captain MacDonnel (Selkirk's agent) and Captain Turner (the ship's captain) have the following exchange:

Turner:...Go below decks and its hard to tell the dying from the sick nor the sick from well. 'Tis fearful to see them burning up with fever and weak from the blood letting.

MacDonnel: Thank God for the women.

Turner: And what food are the women without [Doctor] Leserre to guide them?

MacDonnel: Captain, our Highland women are long accustomed to ministering to the sick and suffering. They'll play their parts, you'll see (CCBS, M009651:19).

MacDonnel, indeed, turns out to be correct. Seconds after this exchange occurs Jean MacTavish comes knocking on MacDonnel's cabin door in search of the doctor:

Macdonnel: The doctor's dead.

Turner: God help us all, Mrs. MacTavish,

for I don't know what we're going to do. It's hopeless, hopeless...

Jean: Do? There's but one thing we can do... Those of us who live must take up the surgeon's task (Jean's voice fading as she goes out). There's nothing else to do.

Turner: She's gone!

MacDonnel: Aye, gone back to the sick. Thank God, Turner, for our women (CCBS, M009651:21).

These exchanges clearly serve in the construction of an heroic representation of (Scottish) women, in general, and of Jean MacTavish in particular. Here Jean demonstrates that she too shares (with her husband) the ability to courageously confront the nature of her situation and then to act toward bettering that situation. While the image of women presented here is one of supportiveness and nurturing, it is also one of strength and sacrifice. This scene ends with narration which begins,

Following the death of the ship's doctor, typhoid fever took its deadly toll of crew and settlers. But for the unremitting self-sacrifice of the Highland women many more would have perished

from the disease (CCBS,
M009651:21).

Having reached Fort Churchill, Captain Turner insists on landing the colonists despite instructions from Selkirk to deliver them to York Factory at Port Nelson where supplies await them. This we are told by the narrator (CCBS,M009651:21).

The next scene is set in Captain Turner's quarters, on board the Prince of Wales, anchored in Churchill harbour. A knock is heard at his door and in walk Captain MacDonnel and Donald MacTavish. When MacDonnel announces that he and MacTavish have rowed out to tell Turner their opinion of his action, Turner responds by saying that he doesn't want to hear their opinion. MacTavish interjects,

'Tis the opinion of all decent men.
Captain Turner, you were ordered by
the Earl of Selkirk to land these
people at York Factory (CCBS,
M009651:22).

Even though MacTavish and MacDonnel apparently know, share and, indeed, stand before Turner as representatives of "the opinion of all decent men",

they are unable to convince Turner to continue to York Factory. The scene develops around MacDonnel and MacTavish's persuasive arguments which are repeatedly rebuffed by Turner. The scene includes the following exchanges:

Turner: I know my duties, sir. I'm a sailor, first, and a sailor's task is to take his ship out and to bring his ship home.

MacDonnel: A sailor's duties are like any other man's. To obey the orders of those he serves. You were to land us at York Factory... (CCBS, M009651: 22).

[and]

Turner: Your plight is no concern of mine. I'm a sailor and I know a sailor's duties. My first duty's to my ship.

MacTavish: Does your duty set floating timbers above human lives? Captain Turner, 'tis but three days sail to York Factory (CCBS, M009651: 23).

The argumentation of MacDonnel and MacTavish, however lofty (based, in MacDonnel's case, on a respect for authority and, in MacTavish's case, on a respect for the value of human life) is rejected by Turner.

When he announces that he is sailing for Glasgow and that "no whining" by MacDonnel or MacTavish will cause him to change his mind, the following exchange occurs:

MacDonnel: By God, Turner, you're not fit to command a row-boat, you low, miserable hound...

Turner: No insults, sir. I'll...I'll...

MacTavish: (Quietly to MacDonnel) Come, come now, MacDonnel. 'Tis useless talking to him. Let's begone out of this. (Door opens...) Good day, Captain Turner, and its a wonder my hands are not at your throat this minute (CCBS, M009651:23).

Here, MacTavish displays more control, leadership and diplomacy than even MacDonnel (as an agent of Lord Selkirk's) can muster. While acknowledging the desire to become violent (a desire which MacDonnel apparently shares and wishes to pursue), MacTavish recognizes that further confrontation with Turner can be of no practical use. He, therefore, ceases control of the situation, calms Captain MacDonnel, and bids 'good day' to Captain Turner. This occurrence, then, goes to further develop MacTavish as a noble and peaceful character who, while not emotionally insensitive to its

desperateness, faces his situation directly and is interested only in action which will make a practical difference in improving the nature of those circumstances.

The second to last scene of part one of "The Land of Promise" is set on the "sterile rocks of Sloop's Cove near the south of the Churchill River" from whence the Scots have observed the departure of the Prince of Wales. Captain MacDonnel has journeyed to near-by Fort Churchill to plead for help. The manner of his return from the Fort serves, as does the entire scene, to further reinforce the leadership of MacTavish. The narrator describes MacDonnel's approach:

He reaches the waiting colonists
and those strong enough to walk
follow him as he makes his way
toward MacTavish, who is standing
in the centre of the scattered
group with Jean (CCBS, M009651:24).

When it is discovered by the group, as MacDonnel reports, that the fort can spare it neither supplies nor shelter for the coming winter, some of the group's members are enraged:

James: ...We've got muskets. Come men.
Are you going to rot here on these
rocks and see your families starve?

Voices: No!

James: Then bring your muskets and let's
march on the fort, now.

MacDonnel: Stay, stay men! Hold, I command
you.

James: Well, what have you to say?

MacDonnel: Be calm, men! It will avail you
nothing to march on the fort.

MacTavish: Put down your muskets, men.
James, you too. And keep your
temper.

MacDonnel: MacTavish is right, men.
Firearms will do no good.
(CCBS, M009651:27).

We should note here that it would appear, from this exchange, that MacDonnel may not have been able to control the group at this critical moment without the aid of Donald MacTavish. Of greater importance for our purposes, however, is MacTavish's speech which immediately follows the above exchange. He says,

Come, men. We'll get nowhere by
blustering. Let's put our heads
together and face the facts. We've
set our faces to the Land of

Promise and we'll keep striving
till we reach it (CCBS,
M009651:27).

Further, when the group decides, under the combined guidance of MacTavish and MacDonnel, that it must establish a campsite and to wait well towards spring before attempting to trek over the frozen land to Fort York, MacTavish exclaims,

The time's gone by for talking. We know our plight. Let's get to work and mend it. We are not beaten yet (CCBS,M009651:28).

It is clear that these short speeches by MacTavish serve to further establish those traits of character whose development we have been noting. He plainly shows himself here to be a practical and realistic man, who is courageous in the face of difficulty and is determined to steadfastly endure whatever hardships are necessary in order to achieve his goal. Here is the courage, fortitude and unalterable fervour which marks MacTavish as a hero in 'the great Canadian tradition'.

The last scene of part one of "The Land of Promise" takes place at the primitive campsite which the group has constructed for itself. The narrator's following words locate the action:

Lacking almost everything they need save courage, the settlers face undaunted the fast approaching northern winter... As the winter months draw by, the petty irritations of close confinement have their effect... A band of malcontents develops and by February discontent had given way to talk of mutiny (CCBS, M009651:29).

Throughout the script the narrator's speech appears to serve two principal purposes. Its first purpose, of course, is to function as a bridge between the action of one scene and the next; it serves to frame and locate the action of each scene. The second function performed by the narration is to contribute to the drama's heroic construction; throughout the script, as in the above-quoted passage, the narration serves the function of evaluating and appraising, almost invariably in glowing and heroic terms, the actions and reactions of the drama's key characters

(i.e., "Highland fortitude", p. 17: "unremitting self-sacrifice", p. 21: "miraculous...indomitable Highland folk", p. 12-13 (part ii), etc.).

The fact that this last scene of part one of "The Land of Promise" is set in February ought also to be duly noted. It will be recalled that the broadcast dates of "The Land of Promise" were February 12 and 19, 1931. By setting the final scene in February a potentially powerful parallel is set up between the dramatic presentation and the listener's actual situation. This 'paralleling' contributes to the script's ability to draw the listener into a stronger relationship with the dramatic depictions; the ability of the listener to relate him/herself to the situation of the drama's characters is clearly facilitated by this element of the script.

The scene opens with the sound of the group's mutterings. Snow has fallen during the night and the group is cursing their lot anew as they "wade through it" in search of firewood (CCBS, M009651:30). We hear this exchange between MacDonnel and MacTavish:

MacDonnel:(Quietly) Speak to them,
MacTavish. They're restless.

MacTavish:(Quietly) I do not fear them, man

(CCBS,M009651:30).

This exchange serves at once to further reinforce the courageous quality of MacTavish's character, and to indicate that he is, indeed, the real leader of the group upon whom its cohesion depends.

The narration informs us,

Donald MacTavish strides to a high, flat topped boulder that lies near the centre of the camp. Standing there, he takes off his bonnet and holds high his hand (CCBS, M009651:30).

The closing speech of part one is by MacTavish and is delivered in the form of a sermon. As noted earlier in this chapter, the use of Christian religious practice and symbolism is an important element in the unifying ability of the scripts. This is due, we would argue, to the fact that the large majority of Canadians (whether English or French) share a common Christian heritage (whether Catholic or Protestant). As such, Christian religious symbolism has the ability to unify a great proportion the various regions and cultures which make up the country. Thus, however else the

dramas portray 'the great Canadian tradition', it is important to note that it is depicted as a Christian tradition. The use of Christian symbolism, then, can be seen as another element of the scripts which serve to set up a parallel between the past and the present, between the dramatic depictions and the world of the listener.

Although MacTavish's speech is somewhat lengthy, it is noteworthy insofar as it demonstrates the manner by which the script merges the steadfast endurance, courage, fortitude, etc., which characterizes the 'great Canadian tradition' with the Christian tradition. MacTavish exclaims,

(In a ringing voice) I hear ye, men. Aye, and know full well the meaning of your mutterings. you have striven and suffered. We have assuredly been given a bitter cup to drain. But, people, we must drain it to the last drop. We have come through great tribulations and many more may compass us. But we have put our hands to the plough, people, and there is no turning back.

I could complain bitterly, people, for I have feelings... And yet I have stilled the complaints that rise bitter in my throat. I have not inclined my ear to talk of mutiny.

O! Men, will ye not be bearing your cross in patience, for has the Lord not said: When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee. Fear not, for I am with thee. For I am the Lord thy God, thy Saviour.

Oh, men, we are now cast into darkness and the deeps, but we have passed through worse times together and the time of our deliverance from this place draws nigh. Have courage, men, the courage that made ye leave the Highlands and seek another land (CCBS,M009651:30-31).

At this point, as beckoned by MacTavish, the group joins and "raises the tune of the old 46th" psalm (CCBS,M009651:31). Upon its completion, MacTavish continues:

(Praying) O God, hear now the voice of thy suppliant. We are far-wandered and homeless, and to thee, O God, we turn for strength... Keep us, O God, in thy loving care and give us the courage and fortitude to continue on our journey to the Land of Promise, for with thine aid all obstacles are overcome and peace cometh in the end. Amen (CCBS,M009651:31)!

Thus ends part one of "The Land of Promise".

The second episode opens at the Scot's campsite as the final preparations are being made to begin the 150 mile journey overland to Fort York. Once all is ready for the group's departure, Captain MacDonnel asks MacTavish if it would not be appropriate to ask for God's blessing before starting out. MacTavish whose leadership role now clearly includes priestly functions, responds,

Aye, a prayer were seemly now.
I'll take my place on the flat rock
overby (CCBS,M009652:3).

Having taken his place, MacTavish addresses the group:

People! There's smiling faces and
stout hearts amongst us this
morning but the road lies long
before us and many will know
weariness and pain before we come
to the journey's end. Let us pray,
people, that the Lord will watch
over us as he has in the past and
that He will give us the strength
and courage to continue on our way
though it lies over snowy
wastes...Oh, God...lead us on our
way and give us strength of limb
and spirit to follow it to the end.
As thou didst guide the people of
Israel through desert places to the
Land of Promise will Ye, Lord not

guide us likewise... Stay by us on our pilgrimage, oh Lord, that we may know at last our own roof trees and lands from which no man may drive us (CCBS,M009652:4).

We should note the direct parallel which is drawn here between these colonists and 'the people of Israel' insofar as this lends biblical proportions to the 'pilgrimage' of the Selkirk settlers. Moreover, this parallel carries the implication that the Canadian 'Land of Promise' is a holy and sacred land granted by God Himself to His chosen people. We should note also that the "strength" and "courage", or the "strength of limb and spirit", which is held throughout the series to be characteristic of the Canadian tradition, is depicted here as having its foundation in the Christian god.

While the opening narration to the first scene of this episode informs the listener that the month is April, the settlers snowshoe trek is across "frozen rocks and muskeg" and a "waste of glittering white" (CCBS,M009652:5). Throughout the trekking scenes are heard "the characteristic crunch of snowshoes and...the

squeal of sleigh runners in the snow" (CCBS,M009652:4).

The narration which opens the second scene includes this description:

A blizzard is blowing on the heels of a long line trekking across the plain. The driven snow hides the land in a white smother. A muffled figure, eyebrows and beard caked with snow, passes up and down the line of toiling colonists (CCBS,M009652:5).

It should be recalled that this broadcast took place in the middle of perhaps the most dismal month of the Canadian winter (on February 19) and, as such, the setting of the scene serves to maintain a parallel (set up initially by the final scene of part one) between the nature of the environment in which the listener finds him/herself (except, perhaps, listeners of the West Coast) at the time of the broadcast and the dramatic setting.

The drama continues to trace the group's journey and continues its heroic construction through exchanges such as the following:

MacTavish: Whatever waits us must be less
than we've gone through.

MacDonnel: And were it worse you'd still
 go through with it, I'll swear...
 Put some more wood on the fire
 there, heroes, and we'll have a
 reel (CCBS, M009652:12).

Winter finally gives way to spring, and the colonists begin their river journey inland. In view of the winter parallel between the listener and the dramatic depiction as mentioned above, it is noteworthy that the arrival of spring and the journey on the now thawed rivers is recounted entirely through narration rather than through dramatic portrayal. As the narration describes the journey, it also continues its heroic construction:

The arduous river journey of the colonists across Northern Manitoba was begun... Considering their difficulties, the portages they had to make and the heavy nature of their gear, an average of twenty-five miles a day seems well nigh miraculous...and one year less seven days from the day on which they sailed from Scotland, the indomitable Highland folk came in sight of their Land of Promise (CCBS, M009652:12-13).

The narration continues by describing the joy of the moment of arrival and its accompanying festivities. As the days pass the settlers begin to adjust themselves to their new surroundings. But very quickly the group of settlers begin to meet, once again, with serious difficulty. The narration explains:

Each settler is given one hundred acres of land, two Indian ponies, arms and ammunition. But no provision has been made to house the people, there are no implements to till the soil, and no seed grain were there any means of sowing it. Above all else the settlers begin to learn that farmers are not wanted on the Red River either by the servants of the Hudson Bay Company or the Northwesters, the rival traders up the river. The latter's agents go among the colonists sowing discord...[S]ome listen to the offers of free land in Upper Canada and transportation thither by the Northwest Company (CCBS,M009652:13).

Predictably, the settlers come to Donald MacTavish to discuss the situation. The final scene of the drama takes place on the river bank where Donald and Jean MacTavish are sitting "with their neighbours round about them" (CCBS,M009652:13). The dispute between those who are in favour of leaving the settlement

(represented by the character James) and those who wish to remain (represented by MacTavish) allows for a few final exchanges of dialogue which serve to complete the heroic construction of the character of MacTavish. These include the following:

James: ...this colony is the hairbrained scheme of one man...it has not chances whatever of success.

MacTavish: It will be no success surely unless we stay and make it one (CCBS, M009652:14).

[and]

James: Then we're to become hunters instead of farmers are we?

MacTavish: Man, man, have you no willingness to make the best of things whatever (CCBS, M009652:15).

[and]

James: Donald! Its folly to stay here when the chance to leave is offered, can't you see it?

MacTavish: I will not turn my back on any goal I've set my face towards. I've suffered sore to reach this Land of Promise and in this Land of Promise I remain (CCBS, M009652:16).

[and]

James: I tell you there's no hope whatever here.

MacTavish: And I tell you I'm not the man to

be scared like a stray cur off my own land...There will be lean years, I grant you. There will be hard work on end. The Northwesters may disturb us for a space. They may drive us out perhaps. But we shall return and each year more settlers will arrive to strengthen us and more land will be broken to the plow (CCBS,M009652:16).

Once James announces that he has decided to leave the settlement, and is to be joined by a number of others, this exchange occurs:

MacDonnel:MacTavish? What of you?

MacTavish:What of me? Is there any need to put the question? Am I the man to turn back in the middle of the road?

MacDonnel: I thought not (CCBS,M009652:17).

The drama's last lines of dialogue serve to finally underscore the heroic courage and determination that is Donald MacTavish:

Jean: Donald? It is the Land of Promise, isn't it?

MacTavish:Aye, lass, it's for us to make it so.

(The pipes swell and fade)
(CCBS,M009652:18).

But the episode is not quite finished; there remains a short speech by the narrator who, as he does throughout the entire series, caps off the episode with some concluding remarks. In "The Land of Promise" script, it is here that the attempt is made to establish a form of trust between the listener and the hero(es) and/or events depicted by the dramatic episode [38]. The narration reads,

The story of the Selkirk Settlers does not end here but continues down to our day, for had it not been for those heroic Highland people who would not turn from the path they had set their faces to, it is doubtful if the Great Northwest would have been part of Canada today (CCBS,M009652:18).

It should be noted that, in this case, the trust which the script forges between the world of the listener and the events and characters of the dramatic episode is constructed in terms of the participation of a particular region in the national structure which is Canada. Framed in this way, the drama becomes not only

a recounting of an heroic journey by a small group of Scots in search of a new land; it is the story of an heroic journey which contributed to the settlement of a specific region of the country which, thereby, layed the foundations for that region's inclusion in the present national structure. As such, the relationship which the script attempts to establish between the listener and the individuals depicted is one of gratitude and indebtedness for having steadfastly endured hardship and, thereby, having contributed to the shape of the country as it stands today.

Through this detailed treatment of "The Land of Promise" scripts, then, we have attempted to demonstrate the way(s) by which the scripts achieve the heroic construction of the drama's central figure. We have shown how the script principally uses the speech of its central character, as well as the narration, to achieve the construction of an heroic figure who embodies the spirit of 'the great Canadian tradition' (precisely as this tradition was described by the promotional materials which announced the series, i.e., "To adventure fearlessly, and remain steadfastly true to the quest... To take a chance and see it through to

the bitter end"; Canadian Home Journal, November, 1930:19). The "Land of Promise" scripts depict Donald MacTavish as a man who confronts his situation honestly and courageously, who makes decisions and acts upon those decisions in a fearless and committed way, and who is determined to make the best of things and to work toward achieving his goal regardless of the hardship involved. He is, therefore, clearly a carrier of 'the spirit of Canada'.

We have also endeavoured to explicate the manner in which secondary devices such as the use of Christian symbolism, the establishment of a trust between the historical depiction and the present (or between the dramatic hero(es, and the listener), and the 'paralleling' of elements of the dramatic situation and the listener's situation can be seen to have contributed to the script's ability to engender in its listeners a sense of connection to, continuity with, or participation in, the history of Canada (as depicted) and 'the great Canadian tradition'.

The heroic construction of Donald MacTavish which we see in "The Land of Promise" script is, indeed, very similar to that which is to be found throughout the "Romance of Canada" series. Throughout the series it

is the speech of the central figure, coupled with the narration and evaluations of the central figure by supporting characters, which combine to achieve the heroic construction of that central figure. Developed upon the basis of a certain historical foundation (such as the date of departure, length and route of the Selkirk settlers' journey in "The Land of Promise" episode), the creation of the series' heroes involves the use of these elements in the construction of each drama's central figure as an embodiment of that spirit which (the series tries to establish) is characteristic of 'the great Canadian tradition'. It is this which is the rule, the guiding principle, which binds each episode of the "Romance of Canada" [39]. It is this common root, then, which must be seen as characterizing the project as a whole - as defining the series - as it is this which makes a unit of what might otherwise be merely twenty-four separate radio dramas.

The twenty-fourth and final instalment of the "Romance of Canada" series, entitled "The Fathers of Confederation" (CCBS,M009642), should receive some

specific treatment since it represents something of a special case and indicates something of the nature of the series as a whole.

The main action of this drama is set in September, 1864, in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where for the past week "...delegates from the Maritime Provinces and from Canada have met in conference behind the closed doors of the legislative chamber to discuss the union of the scattered British provinces in North America" (CCBS,MO09642:1).

The script is comprised, largely, of speeches made by the delegates delivered at the closing function (a ball and banquet arranged by the leading citizens of Charlottetown) following the conference's adjournment. The listener witnesses these speeches from the press table at the banquet where reporters are busy recording the speeches with pencil and paper. Situated as such, the reporter's comments to one another and their evaluations of the speeches and speakers serve in the construction of the drama's central figures. Here are a few examples:

(Applause)

Reporter 2: (across) They're giving John A a great reception.

Reporter 1: So they should. If Union comes
he'll be the one who swings it
(CCBS, M009642:5).

[and]

Reporter 2: Get that? Trust John A to get
'em laughing.

Reporter 1: (laughs) It's a gift
(CCBS, M009642:5).

It should be noted, however, that the "Fathers of Confederation" script does not pursue the heroic construction of its central figures in the focused and single-minded fashion which is characteristic of the series generally. There is but one speech by John A. MacDonald which may be seen to reflect his participation in 'the great Canadian tradition' of enduring hardship while remaining steadfastly true to the quest. He says, in part,

For twenty long years I have been
dragging myself through the dreary
waste of Colonial politics. I
thought there was no end...but now
I see something which is well
worthy of all I have suffered in
the cause of my country.
(Applause) There may be
obstructions, local difficulties
may arise, disputes may occur,
local jealousies may intervene, but
it matters not; the wheel is now
revolving, and we are only a fly on

the wheel, we cannot delay it - the union of the Colonies of British America, under one sovereign is a fixed fact (CCBS,M009642:5).

While the evaluations and comments by the reporters combine with the speeches of the various government officials (including George Etienne Cartier, Charles Tupper and George Brown) to depict these gentlemen as noble-minded, committed and, indeed, visionary, apart from the above-quoted speech by MacDonald, the drama does not engage in the heroic construction of its central personage(s) as participants in 'the great Canadian tradition'.

For our purposes, however, what is particularly noteworthy about this script is, firstly, the general subject of the drama itself and, secondly, its placement in and relationship to the overall structure of the "Romance of Canada" series.

Presumably because "The Fathers of Confederation" is the final episode of the series, it is accompanied by an introduction provided by E.A. Weir. In his introductory remarks, he says in part,

Tonight we present the last of the Romance of Canada plays featuring episodes in the early history of our country. Commencing with the fateful voyage of Henry Hudson...we have come down through the centuries to the Confederation of the several provinces into that Dominion from which has grown one of the foremost units in the great British Commonwealth of Nations... It is with great regret that we bring this brilliant series of all-Canadian broadcasts to a close and trust that this effort of the Canadian National Railways may prove a very real inspiration to the development of a Canadian tradition and consciousness, as well as a Canadian individuality.

Tonight's play fittingly deals with the steps leading to Confederation and to the formation of the Dominion as it exists today (CCBS, M009642:i-iii [emphasis mine]).

These remarks by Weir, particularly that the last play of the series "fittingly" deals with the steps leading to Confederation, indicate clearly that the entire series was, in a fundamental way about the development of Canada as a nation. Thus, Weir frames the series as a whole ("Commencing with the fateful voyage of Henry Hudson...we have come down through the

centuries to the Confederation...") as leading up to the event of Confederation and the establishment of the present national structure.

Moreover, the construction of this drama around the speeches of these individuals on this occasion, allows for the repetition of the persuasive argumentation which was used in support of the notion of unifying Upper and Lower Canada and the various provinces in the form of a Confederation and the accompanying formation of a central (national) government. A few excerpts from these speeches will illustrate the nature of this argumentation:

John A:...[W]e have arrived unanimously at the opinion that the union of the provinces is for the advantage of all... Here we are, a group of states, paying allegiance it is true to one great central authority, but lacking political connection among ourselves... We must have one common organization - one political government. It has been said that the United States Government is a failure. I cannot agree. On the contrary; I consider it a marvelous exhibition of human wisdom...but being the work of men it had its defects... The mistakes that have arisen from their system we will avoid if we can agree upon forming a strong central government" (CCBS, M009642: 6).

[and]

Cartier: It is a gratifying fact for the British American provinces, sir, that they can claim, as their ancestry, two of the greatest nations in the world... We are Frenchmen as to race but Frenchmen of the old regime and we owe the preservation of our nationality to the free institutions we have received from England... Can there not be devised some means whereby the national fragments... may be brought together and made into a great nation... administered by a strong central government? It must be obvious to everyone that in separation there lies weakness while in union there lies strength... In urging union upon you we believe we are doing that which will be for your happiness and prosperity (CCBS, M009642:7-8).

[and]

Tupper:... I feel assured that all will endorse the sentiment that it is our duty and interest to cement the colonies together by every tie that can add to their greatness... I have the proud satisfaction of being able to state that a more harmonious, or more united, or more cordial body of men, without a single exception, never were brought together in an endeavour to benefit their common country (CCBS, M009642:9-10).

[and]

Brown:... a due consideration of the matter must satisfy everyone that the more united we are, the stronger we will be... [U]nion of the British American Provinces

would be highly advantageous to every one of the provinces... I am persuaded that when the facts are before the country, it is a conclusion that will be cordially endorsed by the people of the provinces" (CCBS,M009642:11).

Given the nature of these speeches, then, it should be clear that in constructing the episode around a supportive presentation of these addresses, the drama carries a strong unifying and nationalist discourse. While further support for this assertion is, perhaps, unnecessary, we can note also that the episode opens with an orchestra performing the Canadian national anthem.

Thus, while "The Fathers of Confederation" is an exception to the heroic construction which is found throughout the series generally, its inclusion in the series and its presentation as the concluding episode of the "Romance of Canada" is important insofar as it acts to frame the entire series within the context of the national development of Canada, while also serving to support and reinforce the notion of Canadian national unity.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that in Weir's introductory remarks to the "Fathers of Confederation" he reported that,

The response to this historical series has shown clearly the deep interest of Canadians in the history of their own country, and in educational broadcasts which pertain to it...

Most illuminating of all was the evidence a year ago of a young Finn, who, out of a job, thoroughly depressed, and on his way back to Finland, heard the two Canadian National broadcasts depicting the desperate plight of the Selkirk Settlers. Speaking of those broadcasts he said, "Well, if those people could go through what they did, I can see it through too - and stick I will in Canada". And he did (CCBS, M009642:ii).

Given this account, and recalling that one of the avowed purposes of the "Romance of Canada" series was to "inspire confidence" (Weir, 1933:256), it should be noted that the inspirational and/or motivational message carried within the series appears to have been very well-suited to the demands facing listeners in the midst of the severe economic crisis of the period. Intrinsic to the series' attempt to foster a national tradition and a national consciousness through these

heroic depictions is the message of courage, fortitude and endurance in the face of hardship, steadfastness in the face of difficulty, and of sticking through hard times to the bitter end. These were the characteristics which were held to define 'the great Canadian tradition'. These were also characteristics which, if instilled within listeners, would be extremely useful in the abatement of the social and psychological stress which characterized the period. As such, the message carried by the "Romance of Canada" to its national audience appears to have been: 'Share in the great tradition - be strong and have courage in the face of your hardships; be true Canadians'.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion: Text and Context

Following our theoretical orientation as outlined (see chapter one), Williams' sociology of culture requires that the specific social formations of individuals involved in cultural production must be analyzed in terms of the specific relations to economic, political, social, organizational and cultural institutions and practices, through which, and within which, specific cultural practices are realized. Each of these dimensions, or levels of practice, have to be accorded a specific weight in determining the particular form and content of specific cultural products.

Within this theoretical orientation, we view cultural practices as processes, and the products of such practices as artifacts of those processes which arise out of a complex of social, political, cultural and economic forces. It is, therefore, the nature of the particular complex, the manner in which specific cultural practices are 'situated', and the relationship

between the specific contexts of cultural practice and the cultural product itself which a sociology of culture must elucidate.

Following Williams' general theoretical orientation, then, any cultural analysis which seeks to understand and/or explain the form or content of a particular cultural product is incomplete if it does not include investigation and elucidation of the individuals, groups, pressures, hierarchies and power relations within the organizations involved in the process(es) of the production of that specific product. Such an orientation is directed toward developing a means by which to relate a 'text' to its productive 'context', to relate a cultural product to the specific social relations and structures by which it is produced.

As such, the focus of our concern has been directed toward an examination of the specific conditions and practices which constitute the specific processes of cultural production involved in the creation of the CNR's "Romance of Canada" national radio drama series as these overlap with other dimensions such as political, social, cultural, economic and technological. More specifically, our

study constitutes an attempt to demonstrate the manner and extent to which the nature of the "Romance of Canada" series - the kinds of meanings which it entails, the discourse which it carries - can be seen to have been affected by the specific way in which the practices which gave rise to the work were situated and structured or organized within these various dimensions.

More specifically, our investigation has been directed toward examining the manner by which the nationalist discourse within the "Romance of Canada" series can be demonstrated to have flowed from specific interactions between factors such as the general socio-historical context within which these broadcasts occurred; the nature of the broadcasting situation in Canada at the time; the state of broadcasting technology; the state of the Canadian economy; the CNR organizational base with its inherent economic nationalism; the lobbying of a number of individuals and groups at the centre of which stands the Canadian Radio League (CRL); as well as the personal/professional interests of particular individuals involved in the specific creative formation which produced the series. As such, our study attempts

to situate the "Romance of Canada", as text, within these elements of its productive context in order to explain or account for the nationalist dimensions of this cultural product.

It will be recalled that Williams' theoretical formulations call attention to the role of the 'mediating cultural producer' in the creation of specific cultural products since it is he/she who is responsible to the corporate body involved in the creation of a given cultural product and has responsibility over the production group. As such, the 'mediating cultural producer' can be seen as the link between positions of power and control, on the one hand, and the creative practices which actually produce a work, on the other. With regard to the "Romance of Canada" series this role is played by E.A. Weir, since it was he who, as Director of Radio for the CNR, was at once responsible to the CNR and had responsibility over the creative formation which produced the series. As such, his role in the creation of the "Romance of Canada" is pivotal and requires close examination.

E.A. Weir had joined the CNR Radio Department, as its Director of Radio, in the spring of 1929. From its inception, under the guidance of Henry Thornton, the

CNR Radio Department (like the CNR itself) had been developed as a public service serving the interests of national development. In fact, Thornton had set out consciously to create a sense of nationhood through the activities of the CNR Radio Department. Its broadcasting activities (like those of the Canadian commercial broadcasters), however, remained largely local in nature throughout most of the 1920s. But by the end of 1928, just prior to Weir's arrival to the Radio Department, the CNR became the first single organization capable of distributing a national network broadcast.

At almost the precise time at which the CNR was completing the establishment of its national broadcast linkage, the Aird Commission was gathering to begin its investigation of the Canadian broadcasting situation in order to make recommendations as to how broadcasting could best be structured in the national interest. E.A. Weir himself would appear before this Commission and would point out the national purpose and the public service policy which guided CNR radio broadcasting.

Having determined that the activities of Canadian commercial broadcasters had resulted in a concentration of broadcasters in large urban centres (leaving other

areas ineffectively served), and having viewed with concern the extent to which Canadians were being exposed to programming by American commercial broadcasters, the Commission recommended the formation of a public national broadcasting company which would own and operate all broadcasting stations in Canada and which would build a network which could provide service to all Canadians.

It is worth noting that the finding upon which the Aird Commission based its recommendation, namely that "Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting" (Canada, 1929:6), is viewed by some researchers as "a nationalistic hypothesis by those who feared the spectre of American domination of Canadian airwaves" (Blakley, 1979:33). It is, in fact, clear from its report that the Commission was concerned with the extent to which the medium was coming under the control of American commercial broadcasters and that, due to the broadcast medium's ability to "mold minds" (Canada, 1929:6), the Commission viewed the medium as carrying profound national potential.

These observations by the Commission and its ensuing recommendations, we would argue, need to be viewed (as, indeed, must the "Romance of Canada" series

itself) in the context of the overall broadcasting situation of Canada in the late 1920s, on the one hand, and in terms of the general socio-historical context of the period viz-a-viz the widespread growth of English Canadian nationalist sentiment, on the other.

We have noted with regard to the general broadcasting situation in Canada during this period that due to the economic difficulties involved in connecting relatively small population centres separated by long distances, and with the restrictions which had been placed on the advertising activities of Canadian commercial broadcasters, the nature of Canadian broadcasting remained largely a local affair throughout the 1920s. This was contrasted by the rapid development and growth of the commercial broadcasting networks in the United States which, quite naturally, viewed the Canadian market as an extension of the American one. As such, through the numerous high-powered broadcasting stations across the northern United States, Canadian listeners had been able to receive a great deal of American programming and comparatively little from the Canadian sources throughout the decade of the 1920s.

The fact that the Commission viewed this situation with concern, however, and indeed, the fact that it looked upon the broadcast medium as carrying profound potential for "fostering national spirit", may have had much to do with the surging English Canadian nationalist sentiment which so characterized the period. As we have argued, the period between the end of the First World War and the early 1930s in Canada witnessed a variety of developments which can be seen as having contributed to and/or reflected a significant growth in English Canadian nationalist sentiment. The precise impact of such developments upon the recommendations of the Aird Commission (or upon the nature of the "Romance of Canada" series itself), of course, cannot be specified. Such relationships (i.e., between the Zeitgeist and the specific actions of individuals) are elusive and may only be alluded to. Our intention here is merely to note that the period which gave rise to these recommendations by the Aird Commission (and which would give rise to the "Romance of Canada" series) was one which entailed the widespread growth and variable use of Canadian nationalist discourse and sentiment. Thus, the 'nationalistic hypothesis' of the Aird Commission and

the nationalist discourse which the "Romance of Canada" series carried were expressions of a sentiment or articulations of a discourse which was prevalent in English Canada at the time.

By the time of the presentation of the Aird Commission's report, then, we can situate E.A. Weir in the following manner: He was the head of the newly established and only national broadcasting link (with the new technological potential to provide regular programming on a national scale), which was itself a department within the nationally owned and operated railway system (whose central purpose was national development). A Royal Commission had just recommended the nationalization of broadcasting through the formation of a publicly-owned national company (likely to be established around the core provided by the CNR Radio Department) which would own and operate all broadcasting stations in the country, and the country in general was in the midst of (in social, political and cultural terms) a rather profound growth in its nationhood.

One month after the presentation of the Aird Report, Weir would employ the CNR Radio Department's national broadcasting link in the production of the

first series of transcontinental broadcasts in America; the All-Canada Symphony Concerts, comprising twenty-six coast-to-coast broadcasts by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. The use of the CNR's national radio linkage for the purpose of fostering a national consciousness had begun.

As we have noted, however, although E.A. Weir and the CNR Radio Department were busy demonstrating the potential of national public radio immediately following the publication of the Aird Report, the recommendations contained therein for the development of that system of broadcasting would not be implemented for about two and a half years. The stock market crash, a federal election campaign, a change in government, and a constitutional dispute between Ottawa and Quebec as to broadcasting jurisdiction would occur before Canadian broadcasting would actually be nationalized. This intervening period would see the rise of organized campaigns both for and against the nationalization proposals of the Aird Report.

Following the election of a Conservative government, under the leadership of R.B. Bennett, the Canadian Radio League (CRL), which had its roots in many of the national voluntary associations which had

formed across Canada in the early and mid 1920s, began organizing its campaign to support the recommendations contained in the Aird Report. As we have demonstrated, not only was there overlap between the CNR's broadcasting policy, the Aird Commission's recommendations, and the CRL's vision for Canadian broadcasting (insofar as each held that broadcasting ought to serve as an instrument in the development of national unity and national culture), but E.A. Weir himself was actively engaged in the organization of the CRL's nationalization campaign through the fall of 1930. It was precisely during this period, moreover, that Weir was at work organizing the production of the "Romance of Canada" series, and that the CNR was advertising and promoting the coming radio drama series nationally. During its campaign, the CRL would publicly support the CNR's broadcasting activities, and the CNR would withdraw its support from the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) which it had helped to form but which had come to actively lobby, on behalf of private commercial broadcasters, against the CRL and the nationalization proposals.

As Weir's role as 'mediating cultural producer' put him in a position to decisively characterize, define and limit the nature of the external relations (i.e., the relationship between the creative formation and the CNR) within which the production group had to work, his relationship to the CRL and the specific nature of his position (viz-a-viz the CNR and the CNR Radio Department with its policy of public service; the new technological capacity for a regular national broadcasting link; the unresolved state of Canadian broadcasting policy) must necessarily be accounted for insofar as these factors may have exerted a profound influence over the nature of the "Romance of Canada" broadcasts themselves. That is, the nature of the relationship between the creative group which realized the dramas and the CNR was controlled by E.A. Weir; as mediating cultural producer he was in a position to constrain and control the cultural formation and, thereby, to powerfully influence the nature of the cultural product itself. As such, the nature of Weir's relations on these other dimensions become potentially significant factors in the shaping of the dramas themselves. The recognition of the influence of these factors upon the cultural form, moreover, becomes

essential to a full understanding of the "Romance of Canada" broadcasts once the precise nature of the external relations of the cultural formation are elucidated.

Following Williams' direction, the investigation of the external relations of specific cultural formations should, in particular, examine the extent to which that formation may (or may not) be seen to have operated in a relatively autonomous manner. Our investigation of the specific cultural practices and processes which went into the creation of the "Romance of Canada" has demonstrated rather clearly that the creative formation which actually produced the series operated with very little autonomy indeed.

In fact, from its inception, the "Romance of Canada" had been the brain-child of E.A. Weir, and at each stage of its development (particularly the earlier stages) he had directed its course. It will be recalled that it was Weir who originated 'the idea' of the series; the idea being to construct Canadian heroes from historic figures and, thereby, to foster the development of a Canadian national tradition. In cooperation with an old friend, Mabel Williams, Weir composed a list of possible subjects for the series.

These were then researched by Williams and Marius Barbeau, who then wrote outlines for the series' scripts. As such, when Denison was engaged it was as a dramatist who could construct dramatic episodes around subjects which had already been chosen, researched and outlined. It is clear, then, that Denison was granted virtually no autonomy at all in the creation of the scripts except in the manner which he chose to pursue the dramatic development of each character. In his own words he was 'filling out a bill' and, given Denison's views on nationalism and Canada, this fact goes a long way in explaining how one with views such as his could 'write' a series such as the "Romance of Canada". Further evidence of Denison's lack of autonomy in determining the nature of the script is found in Weir's response that Denison's authorship could be removed from the series if the changes being made to the scripts during the second part of the series were not to his liking.

It will further be recalled that Henry Thornton, the president of the CNR, had not been approached about the idea of the series until it had been developed to this point. As such, it would appear that Weir himself was operating within the CNR with a relatively high

degree of autonomy. Upon Denison's recommendation that Tyrone Guthrie be sought as producer for the series, Weir travelled to London and, having interviewed several producers, engaged Guthrie. Weir also obtained the plans for a BBC multiple studio control panel while in London and upon returning to Montreal, managed to negotiate the funds needed to construct the state-of-the-art broadcasting studio from which the dramas were to be broadcast.

Having brought together these basic elements of the "Romance of Canada" productions Weir could relax somewhat. He had a list of proposed subjects; he had researchers to investigate the factual backgrounds for these subjects; he had a dramatist who understood 'the idea' of the series and who had agreed to write the series as proposed; he had a highly qualified and experienced producer to direct the series; and he had a first-class studio from which to broadcast the series. These were the fundamental elements which were to shape the series and each had been put in place under Weir's careful direction. It remained only to recruit and develop a cast and in this task Guthrie was granted a high degree of autonomy; under his guidance a virtual school in radio was begun.

It will be recalled, however, that the working relationship between Denison and Guthrie was antagonistic and difficult, and that its working was, in some measure due to the mediation of E.A. Weir. While it is somewhat difficult to document precisely, it appears that Denison was reluctant to make changes in the scripts to suit Guthrie, but that he did make revisions when he felt that Weir's interests would be best served by so doing. It would appear, then, that Weir exercised some degree of influence over the nature of the working relationship between Guthrie and Denison. What is perfectly clear, however, and must be emphasized here is that Weir exercised a profound influence and had a very large measure of control over the key stages of the development of 'the idea' and , thereby, over the shape and nature of the series as a whole.

It has been demonstrated, moreover, that the "Romance of Canada" scripts themselves comprise an attempt to construct Canadian national heroes out of historic figures from the country's past and, through these characterizations, to foster the development of a national tradition and a national consciousness. As such, the scripts do indeed carry a demonstrable

nationalist discourse. The construction of these dramatic figures as heroic involved the depiction of each as embodiments of the spirit which defined 'the great Canadian tradition'; to adventure fearlessly and remain steadfastly true to the quest.

While the series was written and broadcast entirely in English it involved, furthermore, an attempt to unify the French and English-speaking peoples of Canada within this national tradition. We have argued that the presentation of the series as 'historical' increases the persuasive ability of the script's message, and that the characteristics which were held to define 'the great Canadian tradition' appear to have been designed in such a way as to inspire confidence in listeners in the context of severe economic hardship.

In conclusion, we have attempted to situate the "Romance of Canada" series, as text, within specific elements of its productive context in order to explain or account for the nationalist dimensions in this particular cultural product. That is, we have attempted to demonstrate that the nationalist discourse in the "Romance of Canada" was a result of the specific nature of the complex social relations involved in the

creation of the cultural product as these overlapped with political, social, economic, cultural and technological forces. The nationalist discourse in the "Romance of Canada" flowed from specific interactions between the cultural formation (which actually realized the series); the series' 'mediating cultural producer'; the CNR Radio Department with its policy of national public service; the CNR organizational base with its inherent economic nationalism; the lobbying efforts of the Canadian Radio League (CRL) in its campaign to have broadcasting in Canada nationalized; the state of the Canadian government's policy as regards broadcasting; the state of the Canadian economy; that state of broadcasting technology; the nature of the broadcasting situation at the time (viz-a-viz the increasing American influence); and, finally, the broad socio-historical context (viz-a-viz the widespread growth and influence of English Canadian nationalist sentiment) from which these broadcasts emerged.

Having demonstrated that the nature of the "Romance of Canada" series was directly affected - in terms of the discourse which it carried - by the specific way in which the practices which gave rise to the series were

situated and structured or organized, we can begin to approach, in an empirical way, the question of whose interests the "Romance of Canada" series was intended to serve. That is, questions around whether to construct 'this' or 'that', and the specific responses to such questions - the particular choices which were made and the reasons for those specific choices - were tied to the social relations of production and clearly, therefore, implicate the issue of ideology.

It will be recalled that, following Giddens, we have defined 'ideology' as the mode in which discourses (or systems of signification) are incorporated into the existence of sectional forms of domination so as to sanction their continuance. That is, while discourses permeate throughout the entire social system, some forms of signification are mobilized and employed in such a way as to legitimate the sectional interests of particular groups. Ideology is that which occurs when specific discourses become linked to the maintenance of specific systems or relations of power.

As our study has documented, from the inception of the CNR Radio Department, there had always existed an ideological relationship between the CNR and the broadcasting activities of its Radio Department. As

early as 1924 Henry Thornton spoke of this alignment, saying,

Bringing the world to the armchair through the air is proving to be the most powerful force yet conceived for the colonization and settlement of the empty spaces upon the map of Canada... We are proud of our radio and think this feeling is justifiable because thereby...we are not only assisting materially in the peopling, but in the stabilization of the country, and this must rebound to the general benefit of the Dominion and to the railway system (PAC, R.G. 30, 3103:May 16, 1924; see chapter four).

The CNR Radio Department's broadcasting policy of public service and its broadcasting activities were designed specifically to serve the interests of national development. Such interests were viewed by the CNR as being inextricably linked to the health and prosperity of the railway itself. Weir writes,

As the nation's largest organization it could only hope to prosper as the nation grew. It was the main physical link uniting the provinces, and to the President the use of radio to join them in

thought and purpose was equally natural (1965:16).

Clearly, the 'public service' nature of the CNR Radio Department's broadcasting activities were designed to serve the interests of the CNR itself, to sustain and, indeed, strengthen its own position. Moreover, it is equally apparent, and should be clearly noted here, that the CNR's 'public service' broadcasting was designed to serve the Canadian state--specifically in its legitimization function. That is, as the above-quoted comments by Thornton and Weir demonstrate, while the CNR itself operated in the service of the State's capital accumulation function (maintaining and/or creating the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation would be possible by providing the transportation infrastructure, aiding in the colonization and settlement of the country, and providing large-scale employment, etc.), the CNR's broadcasting activities were designed so as to help stabilize the nation--to unite the country 'in thought and purpose'--and, thereby, to maintain and/or create the conditions for social harmony and cohesiveness.

As such, if our analysis of the relations of production of the "Romance of Canada" were to stop at the CNR's Radio Department, the nationalist discourse within the dramas would, indeed, appear to be simply an instance of the content of a cultural product being determined by its economic base. As our analysis has demonstrated, however, the case of the "Romance of Canada" is more complex. This is not to argue that the inherent economic nationalism of the CNR organizational base did not exert a strong influence in determining the content of these cultural products. Given its broadcasting policy and its broadcasting activities prior to the "Romance of Canada", it is clear that this indeed was a powerful influence upon the nature of the dramas.

It is equally clear, however, that this economic dimension was not the sole determinant of the nature of these cultural products. As we have attempted to demonstrate, the existence of the nationalist discourse in the drams was the result of a complex interlocking of economic, political, social, cultural and technological dimensions or considerations. That is, the nationalist discourse of the "Romance of Canada" series resulted from the specific social relations of

production of the cultural formation which created the series which were powerfully shaped by the formation's 'mediating cultural producer', E.A. Weir. Weir was, as Director of the CNR Radio Department, concerned with developing programming which would optimally employ the CNR's new technological capacity to provide a regular nationally distributed broadcast. He was also actively involved in the Canadian Radio League's campaign to have broadcasting nationalized; an association which had its roots in the widespread nationalistic impulses of the period, and a campaign which was tied to the unresolved state of the Canadian government's broadcasting policy. The CRL campaign was directed at convincing the Federal government of the national potential of a publicly-owned broadcasting system.

As such, rather than having resulted purely through the influence of the economic dimension, the nationalist discourse of the "Romance of Canada" arose through the structured sum of the effects of these various levels of social practice. Indeed, we would argue that of over-riding importance in determining the content of this specific cultural product was not the economic dimension, but rather the political. That is, as ideology, the nationalist discourse in the series

was employed more for the purpose of convincing the State of the national potential of a nationalized broadcasting system than for sustaining and strengthening the position of the CNR itself. The economic base of the CNR and the broadcasting policy which it developed upon that base was conveniently aligned to the purposes of the CRL. It was this alignment which enabled the CNR Radio Department to be employed for the purposes of the nationalization campaign. As such, the "Romance of Canada" series engaged a nationalist discourse principally for the purpose of legitimizing the nationalization campaign in the hope that by so doing, the CNR Radio Department might itself become the core of the proposed nationalized broadcasting system. As we have seen, this is precisely what was to transpire.

Therefore, the question of who's interests the nationalist discourse in the "Romance of Canada" series served cannot be answered in any simple, one dimensional fashion. The discourse itself overlapped with and combined the interests of various individuals and groups including the personal/professional interests of E.A. Weir, those of the CNR, the CRL, the national system of government, as well as English

Canadian nationalists across the country. As such, it is no wonder that the series successfully layed the background for the nationalization of broadcasting in Canada.

Our investigation of the "Romance of Canada" points toward the usefulness of the general theoretical framework for the sociology of cultural production as espoused by Williams, with its emphasis upon investigation and elucidation of the specific social processes of cultural production as these overlap with other dimensions such as political, social, cultural, economic and technological. Such an orientation sensitizes the researcher to the variety of factors which may effect the specific nature of specific cultural products, and offers a means by which to begin to relate a 'text' to its productive 'context', a cultural product to the specific social relations and structures through which it is actually produced. As such, it becomes possible to work through the complex interlocking of factors which may influence the form and/or content of a specific cultural product, and to work in an empirical way toward determining the way(s) in which the signifying dimensions of specific cultural

products are affected by the specific way in which the practices which give rise to a work are situated and structured.

Notes

1. There is a third function of the state as outlined by Panitch, namely the coercive function, which, for the purposes of our study, need not receive detailed elaboration. It should be noted, at least parenthetically, that this function refers to the state's monopoly over the legitimate use of force to maintain or impose social order (see Panitch, 1977:6)

2. The government had refused to provide direct grants to the provinces for relief, and while defending this position King had declared publicly that he would not give a single five-cent piece for any Tory government to spend.

3. That is, "the transmission of sound from a transmitter using a certain wavelength (or frequency) to receivers attuned to the same wavelength, without the aid of physical connection by wire" (Robinson, 1943:10).

4. In the beginning the network included CJBC, Sydney; CFCY, Charlottetown; CHNS, Halifax; CNRA, Moncton; CHSJ, Saint John; CFNB, Fredricton; CNRO, Ottawa; CFRB, Toronto; CKOC, Hamilton; CFPL, London; CGCO, Chatham; CKAC, Montreal; and CFCF, Montreal: see Blakley, 1979:28).

5. The economic difficulties of these times does not appear to have greatly dampened the wide-spread interest in radio; According to Radio Industry, which was published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1930, 222,646 standard receivers were sold in Canada. While 95.7% of these were A.C. sets, 15% of these cost less than \$100, 44% cost between \$100 and \$200, and 41% of these cost over \$200 (Weir, 1965:23).

6. It is possible that this vacillation in policy is a reflection of the contradictory pressures Canadian government officials experienced as they looked at the diverging broadcasting structures being developed in Britain and in the United States.

7. Indeed, CKY, Winnipeg constituted Canada's only experiment in government monopoly broadcasting; see Vipond, 1986.

8. Ironically, this first Trans-Canada hook-up depended upon a Detroit station, WWJ, for coverage of southwestern Ontario which would otherwise have been unavailable; see Weir, 1965:36.

9. In fact, from the earliest days of radio, music had been the central element of radio programming and until ASCAP and CPRS began demanding compensation few questions were asked with respect to ownership of rights or payments of royalties; see Weir, 1965:114.

10. It was also during this summer that E.A. Weir's idea for the "Romance of Canada" series began to hatch; see chapter eight.

11. The Plaunt Papers are in Deposit in The Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia and there is a partial collection at the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies archives in Montreal. The Plaunt Papers include the official CRL papers and depict in detail the range of the CRL's activities. For a detailed treatment of these papers and the CRL's methods, see O'Brien, 1964.

12. Indeed, in the spring of 1931, the CRL published a pamphlet entitled "Radio Advertising - A Menace to the Newspaper and a Burden to the Public" whose central argument was that as advertising on radio increased so advertising in the press decreased. This pamphlet achieved its desired effect; Many press editorials across the country began to argue that radio was too important and educational vehicle to be left in the hands of private enterprise (see McNeil and Wolfe, 1982:142).

13. The CRL originally planned to announce its existence early in January of 1931, perhaps in order to coincide with the commencement of the 'Romance' series, in order that each event could gain publicity from the other, as well as mutually reinforcing each other. The CRL plans were revised, however, and the first formal meeting of the League was held on December 8, 1930 in order to coincide with Bennett's return home from the Imperial Conference in London (O'Brien, 1964:105). The "Romance of Canada" series was originally scheduled to begin on January 15 but was delayed until the January 22, when the series' producer and writer both pleaded

to Weir, one week before the scheduled debut, for more time in order to perfect the first episode (Weir, 1965:55).

14. In its first promotional pamphlet the CRL asserted that broadcasting should be a "Canadian National Institution", in part because broadcasting was a "potent instrument of national culture, entertainment and education" and ought, therefore, to be primarily concerned with "the development of Canadian national ideals". Such an institution would, moreover, "act as an instrument of national unity by airing national broadcasts", and would make possible "programs of a distinctly Canadian character". The pamphlet also noted that the CNR, as "Canada's principle broadcaster", was then able to provide only one hour per day of coast-to-coast broadcasts (see Plaunt Papers, Box 22, The Canadian Radio League, 1930:1-5).

15. Coincidentally, the "Romance of Canada" broadcasts were just beginning at the time of this article's publication.

16. This notion is well expressed in a letter to Spry from W.A. Black, a Halifax businessman, and a staunch Conservative, dated January 24, 1931, in which he wrote, "I think most of us have lent our names to the organization [the CRL] from patriotic purposes. On the other hand I am opposed on general principals [sic] to Government interference in business in any form" (quoted in Prang, 1965:18).

17. A rather striking coincidence should receive a note here, namely, that on February 11, 1932 (merely two days after the Privy Council had granted federal jurisdiction of broadcasting), after extremely hurried preparation, the "Romance of Canada" series resumed, having been discontinued in the late spring of 1931 after only sixteen of the planned twenty-four episodes had been broadcast; see Timeline in Appendix F.

18. It should be noted here that at the time of the Committee's hearings, Weir was engaged in completing the "Romance of Canada" series' broadcasts; see Timeline in Appendix F.

19. Murray would later become, in 1936, the first General Manager of the CBC.

20. It would not be until after World War II that a Canadian writer would again receive as much for a radio drama (Jackson, 1966:29-31).

21. It should be noted here that in the context of Canadian radio, producer means director. That is, as in theatre and film production, it is under his/her 'hands-on' direction that a production takes its shape; see Jackson, 1966:7-8.

22. The scripts were "Squirrel's Cage" and "The Flowers are Not for You to Pick".

23. Guthrie would later return to Canada in the mid-1950s and become instrumental in establishing the Stratford Shakespearian Festival.

24. Caplan would later become the leading producer of English language dramatic broadcasts in Montreal for the CBC.

25. The reasons for the choice of Thursday for the broadcasts cannot be ascertained. However, as to the choice of time period, we can note that by 1941, when the CBC was planning a special New Year's national broadcast by its General Manager (Gladstone Murray), the period from 9:30-10:30 p.m. (e.s.t.) was considered the best listening period taking into account the varying time zones across the country (Bushnell Papers, vol. 14).

26. All figures on length and cost of episodes are calculated upon the basis of the first sixteen episodes for which this information is available; CNR Papers, PAC, R.G. 30:M584).

27. It should be noted that this excerpt clearly underlines the national import envisioned for the series as had been impressed upon the dramatist. Further references are made in the same letter to "patriotic opinion" and "the nascent national self-consciousness" as "the very thing you have been attempting to awaken".

28. We can note here only that the cost for receiving licenses was scheduled to rise from \$1.00 to \$2.00 on this date. Whether or not this fact had any impact at all on the setting of the time frame for the second part of the series is uncertain.

29. An interesting addendum to the "Romance of Canada" story, which is perhaps indicative of the series' success, is that Denison was commissioned by the J. Walter Thompson Company to write a similar series of half-hour programs dealing with American history, which aired over NBC during 1932-33, entitled "Great Moments in History", and included the original 'Henry Hudson' play (MacDonald, 1973:103).

30. It should be clearly noted here, however, that while all twenty-four scripts were subjected to content analysis, in the interest of brevity, these analyses are not reported in detail in our study. All statements made with regard to the general nature of the series, however, have been made on the basis of analysis of the entire series.

31. On this point, the assertion by Livesay (1971) that the documentary may itself have become a Canadian genre clearly finds support. Furthermore, while her thesis is constructed as pertaining specifically to the longer Canadian poem, or 'storytelling in verse', much of her argument finds resonance in the "Romance of Canada" series itself. Particularly is this the case when she argues that, "Our narratives... are not told for the tales's sake or for the myth's sake: the story is a frame on which to hang a theme" (1971:269). It is clear that this is precisely what occurs with the "Romance of Canada" dramas.

32. This point might well have relevance to events which occurred later but which are beyond the scope of the present study. After E.A. Weir had been working for the CRBC for some months as its Director of Programs, he was demoted and made Director of Programs (Western Region) after being charged with having broadcast too many French programs over the national network; see Peers, 1969:117-122.

33. The distribution of the central location of action for each of the dramas is also worth noting: six of the dramas are set on the Prairies, seven are set in

the Maritimes, four in Quebec, one on the West Coast, three in the Northwest, and two in Ontario (the action in the episode on John Baptiste Lagimoniere links Winnipeg and Montreal). While the location of action for the entire series is, then, distributed nationally, this distribution is by no means equal; there is a preponderance of dramas set on the Prairies and in the Maritimes. The reason(s) for the nature of this distribution of the location of the drama's action, however, is uncertain. Whether or not the creator's were attempting to minimize the sense of alienation from Central Canada felt in these regions and to reinforce the fact of their participation in the national life of Canada cannot be ascertained.

34. The only exception to this is in the "Valiant Hearts - Fort La Reine" (CCBS;MO09648) script in which the speech of some of the subordinate characters is written with french accents (i.e., "tink" for "think" and "dat" for "that"). The commander of the fort, Pierre le Gardeur, however, speaks perfect English.

35. The distinction made between what we have termed 'fundamental nationalizing devices' and 'secondary devices' is used simply to distinguish between those rhetorical elements which are unchanging and basic to (virtually) each and every drama in the series, as compared to those elements which are variably employed and which appear in only some of the episodes of the series.

36. While in terms of the series, the broadcasting of an episode in two parts is somewhat of an anomaly, "The Land of Promise" is not alone in this regard; "The Isle of Demons" is part two of "Marguerite de Roberval". As noted, the decision to focus on "The Land of Promise" for our analysis stems from the fact that the drama makes use of all of the 'nationalizing devices'. The somewhat special length of the episode allows for the inclusion of each of these elements.

37. It is interesting to note that, while the central location of the action of all twenty-four dramas in the series is always somewhere in Canada, nine of the dramas, including the first four, begin in Great Britain or France and, therefore, involve Atlantic crossings. Some of these episodes are structured such that the central character is located in the Old World

and is heard to be recounting his American exploits which are then dramatized (examples of such scripts are the episodes dealing with Champlain, Iberville and Radisson). The action, therefore, moves instantaneously and effortlessly back and forth from the Mother Country to the New World several times in these episodes. The first four episodes, however, actually do include depictions of the migration; "Henry Hudson" and "The Land of Promise" treat the journey in some detail.

38. Perhaps the best example of this device is found in "The Founding of Montreal - Maissonneuve" script (CCBS,M009645) which ends with the priest addressing de Maissonneuve and his entourage in the following way: "(rich and cadenced) You are a grain of mustard seed, that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few but your work is the work of God. His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land" (CCBS,M009652:17).

39. There are, perhaps, two exceptions to this rule, however, which should be noted. These are "The Last Stand of Almighty Voice" (CCBS,M009647) and "The Battle of Seven Oaks" (CCBS,M002212).

The "Last Stand of Almighty Voice" tells the story of "...the last futile protest of the Red Man against the all-conquering encroachments of the white race in North America" (CCBS,M009647:1). While the resistance which Almighty Voice sustained against the RCMP's efforts to apprehend him (after he mistakenly killed a steer belonging to the government, was jailed, and then escaped when he was told, jokingly, by a jail-guard that he would be hung for his offence) was spectacular and is somewhat lauded by the drama (i.e., "By gad, Wilson, you can't help admiring his courage even though he has to be exterminated"; CCBS,M009647:25), the character of Almighty Voice does not receive the same heroic treatment which is common to the other episodes of the series. The drama unfolds entirely from the point of view of the RCMP (in contrast to the other episodes of the series which are developed principally through the speech and action of the central figure) and, while Almighty Voice does indeed 'see it through to the bitter end', one is given the sense that the native is not really a part of 'the great Canadian tradition'. The drama ends with the announcer reading the following:

So ended the last stand of Almighty Voice who tried to live according to the white man's ways and failing died according to his own (CCBS,M009647:27).

The episode appears to be directed more toward presenting the RCMP (and by implication the white man) as blameless in its tragic treatment of Almighty Voice (and, indeed, the 'red man'), than with providing an heroic construction of the character of Almighty Voice.

It is perhaps worth noting that E.A. Weir wrote,

The Last Stand of Almighty Voice, owing to its subject and its relatively recent occurrence seemed to me out of place in "The Romance of Canada" series but the determination of the author to prepare this play overcame all my reluctance (Weir, 1965:60).

"The Battle of Seven Oaks" drama was based on "...the most tragic incident of that long feud that was fought between the Hudson Bay Company...and the Northwest Company for the supremacy of the Great Northwest" (CCBS,M009647:21). This, too, is a tragic tale which, rather than constructing any of its core characters as heroic figures, is concerned principally with establishing the blamelessness of the parties involved in the bloody incident from which the drama takes its title. In concluding the episode, the announcer says, in part,

There is no need now to dwell on the ghoulish horrors of that night, save to say that no Indian took any

part in them, nor did the Nor'westers themselves countenance them, but all were powerless to stay the fury they had let loose (CCBS,M009647:20).

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Appendix A

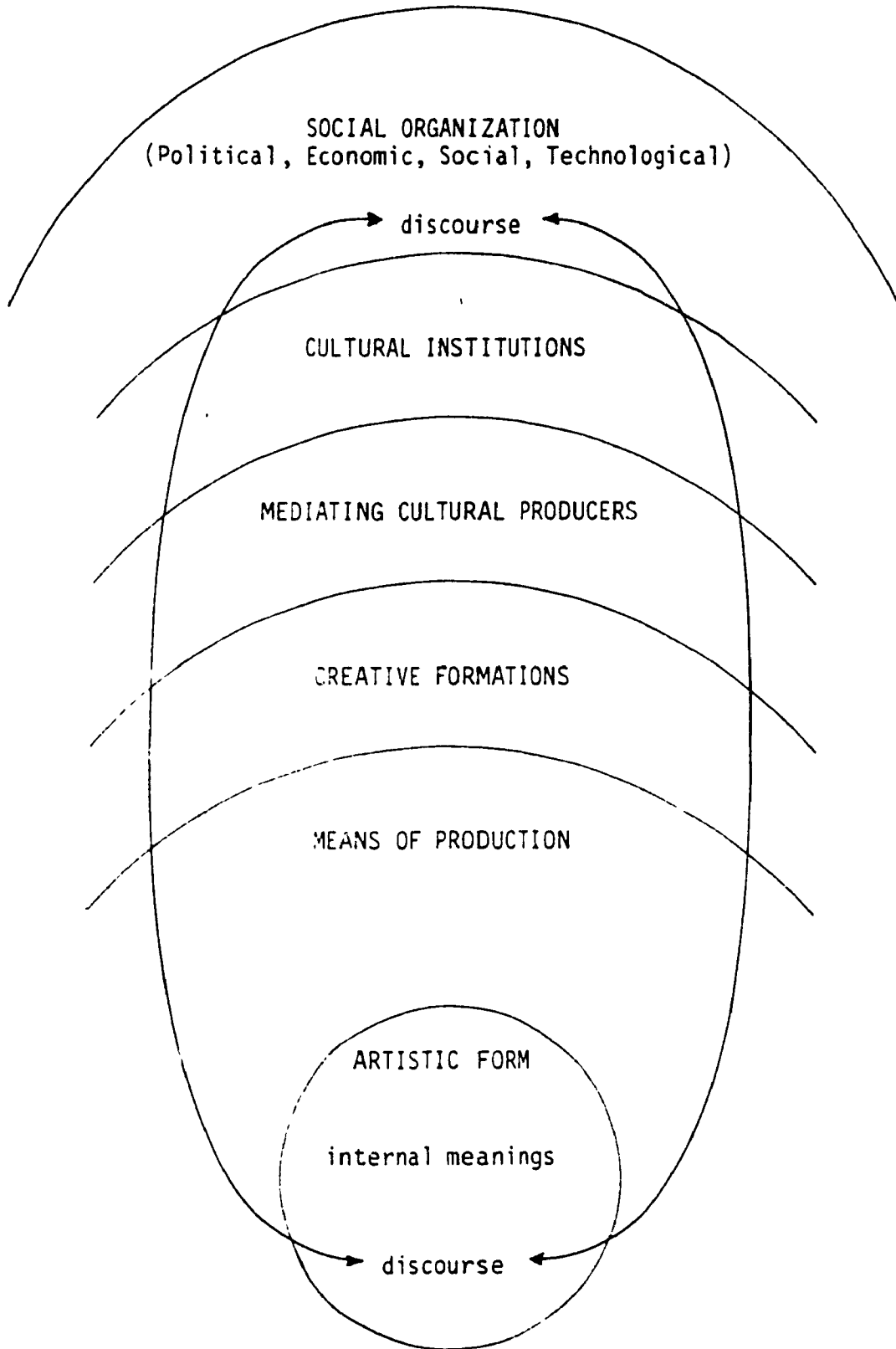


Fig. 1: Model of Culture as a Realized and Related Signifying System
(adapted from Zinman, 1984:208).

APPENDIX B

Number of Stations Licensed and in Operation Each Fiscal Year*

Fiscal Year Ending March 31	Licenses Issued		Licenses Active			
	Private	Amateur	Stations with Physical Plant	Active Phantom Stations	Inactive Stations	Receiving Licenses
	Comm.	Stations				
	Broad- casting stations	Broad- casting Stations				
1923	62	8				9,954
1924	46	22				31,609
1925	63	17	44	12	24	91,996
1926	55	16	43	10	18	134,486
1927	73	23	74	16	6	215,650
1928	84	15	74	19	6	268,420
1929	79	12	71	14	4	297,398
1930	81	10	69	19	3	424,146
1931	80	6	64	18	6	523,100
1932	77	7	65	14	5	598,358

(* Sources:

1923-30, Annual Reports, Department of Marine and Fisheries
 1931-32, Annual Reports, Department of Marine)

APPENDIX C

Number of Receiving Licenses by Province by Year

	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
N.W.T.		4	3	17	46	94	111
Yukon			12	23	31	14	
B.C.		2,769	6,049	9,494	14,776	18,561	23,407
Alta.		1,994	5,843	7,152	10,588	14,936	14,957
Sask.		2,655	9,003	15,944	22,238	26,635	27,358
Man.		1,722	6,553	14,503	18,005	19,288	20,450
Ont.		11,677	41,347	60,110	102,504	125,012	145,263
Que.		9,250	18,211	21,141	39,207	51,347	49,751
N.B.		430	1,240	2,612	2,968	4,475	6,285
N.S.		970	2,772	3,288	4,998	7,106	8,587
P.E.I.		138	163	202	289	567	757
total	9,954	31,609	91,996	134,486	215,650	268,055	296,926

(* Source: Canada, The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting,
(The Aird Report), 1929:27))

APPENDIX D

'Summary of Editorial Comment (by October 2, 1929)
On the Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Political Affiliation</u>
<u>Editorials "Strongly in Favour"</u>		

Daily Times	Victoria, B.C.	Liberal
Daily Province	Vancouver, B.C.	Independent
Daily News	Nelson, B.C.	Conservative
Daily Herald	Calgary, Alta.	Independent Conservative
Tribune	Winnipeg, Man.	Independent
Citizen	Ottawa, Ont.	Independent
Telegram	Toronto, Ont.	Independent
Journal	Ottawa, Ont.	Independent Conservative
Spectator	Hamilton, Ont.	Independent Conservative
Saturday Night	Toronto, Ont.	Independent
Sun Times	Owen Sound, Ont.	Independent
Gazette	Montreal, Que.	Conservative
La Patrie	Montreal, Que.	Independent
Le Devoir	Montreal, Que.	Independent
Recorder + Times	Brockville, Ont.	Independent Liberal
Herald	Prince Albert, Sask.	Independent Liberal
Bulletin	Edmonton, Alta.	Independent
Boarder Cities Star	Windsor, Ont.	Independent
Tribune	Winnipeg, Man.	Independent
Transcript	Moncton, N.B.	Independent Liberal
Leader	Regina, Sask.	Independent Liberal
Daily Intelligence	Belleville, Ont.	(Conservative)

Editorials "Against"

Star	Montreal, Que.	Independent
La Presse	Montreal, Que.	Independent
Beaver	Toronto, Ont.	Independent
Chronicle-Telegraph	Quebec, Que.	Independent

Editorials "Noncommittal"

Colonist	Victoria, B.C.	Conservative
Manitoba Free Press	Winnipeg, Man.	Independent
Mail and Empire	Toronto, Ont.	Conservative
News	Prince Rupert, B.C.	Independent Liberal
Ontario	Belleville, Ont.	Liberal
Star-Phoenix	Saskatoon, Sask.	Independent
Record	Kitchener, Ont.	Independent
Journal	Edmonton, Alta.	Independent Conservative
Canadian Observer	Sarnia, Ont.	Independent

(PAC, Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting,
 Vol. 1, No. 227-14-1 in O'Brien:61)

APPENDIX E

Editorial Position of Newspapers on Broadcasting, 1931Opposed to Public Ownership and Operation of Stations:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| * <u>Calgary Albertan</u> | <u>Toronto Globe</u> |
| * <u>Edmonton Journal</u> | <u>Toronto Telegram</u> |
| <u>Brandon Sun</u> | * <u>Montreal La Presse</u> |
| * <u>London Free Press</u> | * <u>Halifax Herald</u> |

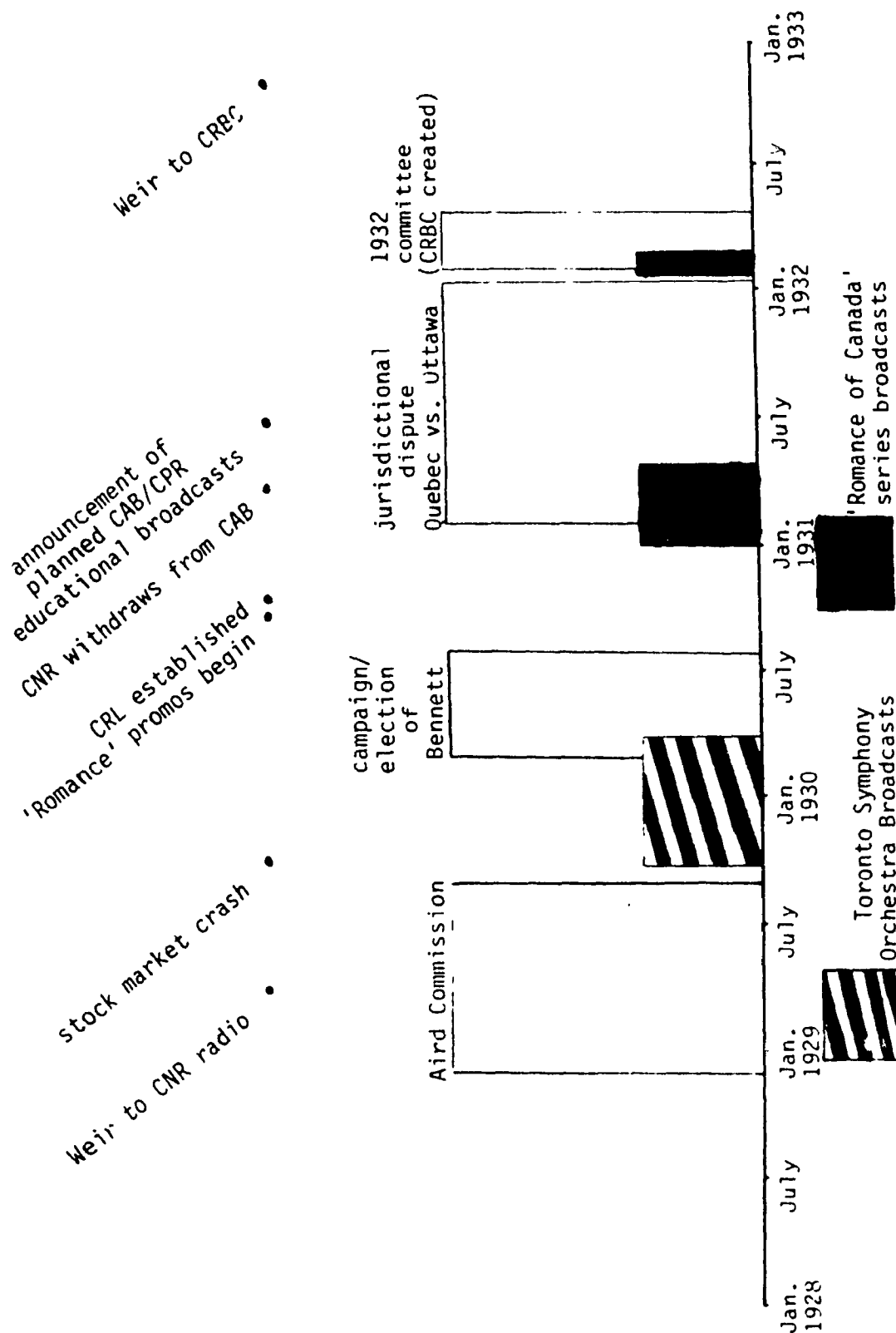
Favouring a publicly owned national system:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <u>Victoria Daily Times</u> | <u>Toronto Mail and Empire</u> |
| * <u>Vancouver Province</u> | <u>Toronto Daily Star</u> |
| <u>Vancouver Sun</u> | <u>Ottawa Citizen</u> |
| | <u>Ottawa Journal</u> |
| * <u>Calgary Daily Herald</u> | <u>Ottawa Le Droit</u> |
| <u>Edmonton Bulletin</u> | <u>Montreal Gazette</u> |
| <u>Lethbridge Herald</u> | <u>Montreal La Patrie</u> |
| <u>Saskatoon Star-Phoenix</u> | <u>Montreal Le Devoir</u> |
| <u>Prince Albert Herald</u> | <u>Chicoutimi Progres du Saguenay</u> |
| | <u>Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph</u> |
| <u>Winnipeg Free Press</u> | <u>Quebec L'Evenement</u> |
| <u>Winnipeg Tribune</u> | <u>Quebec Le Soleil</u> |
| <u>Windsor Border Cities Star</u> | <u>Moncton Transcript</u> |
| <u>Hamilton Herald</u> | |
| * <u>Hamilton Spectator</u> | <u>Halifax Chronicle</u> |

* newspapers that owned stations

(Source: Peers, F., 1969:77)

APPENDIX F

Time Line of Events

APPENDIX G

The Romance of Canada Play List

Location (CCBS) _____	Title	Broadcast date
M002209 1)	The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson	Jan. 22, 1931
M009649 2)	Madame de la Tour	Jan. 29, 1931
M009650 3)	The Plague of Mice	Feb. 5, 1931
M009651 4)	The Land of Promise (part i)	Feb. 12, 1931
M009652 5)	The Land of Promise (part ii)	Feb. 19, 1931
M002212 6)	The Battle of Seven Oaks	Feb. 26, 1931
M009653 7)	The Raid on Grand Pre	Mar. 5, 1931
M009654 8)	Marguerite de Roberval	Mar. 12, 1931
M008800 9)	The Isle of Demons	Mar. 19, 1931
M002213 10)	Laura Secord	Mar. 26, 1931
M009656 11)	Drucour at Louisberg	Apr. 9, 1931
M002210 12)	Pierre Radison	Apr. 16, 1931
M002214 13)	Alexander Mackenzie	Apr. 23, 1931
M009657 14)	David Thompson	Apr. 30, 1931
M002211 15)	Montcalm	May 7, 1931
M009658 16)	Adam Dollard	May 14, 1931

(Series #1: Produced by Tyrone Guthrie)

M009644 17)	Pierre D'Iberville	Feb. 11, 1932
M009643 18)	The Founding of Kingston - Frontenac	Feb. 18, 1932
M009645 19)	The Founding of Montreal - Maisonneuve	Feb. 25, 1932
M009615 20)	Quebec - Samuel de Champlain	Mar. 3, 1932
M009646 21)	The Great Race of John Baptiste Lagimoniere	Mar. 10, 1932
M009647 22)	The Last Stand of Almighty Voice	Mar. 17, 1932
M009648 23)	Valiant Hearts - Fort la Reine	Mar. 24, 1932
M009642 24)	The Fathers of Confederation	Mar. 31, 1932

(Series #2: Produced by Esme Moonie)

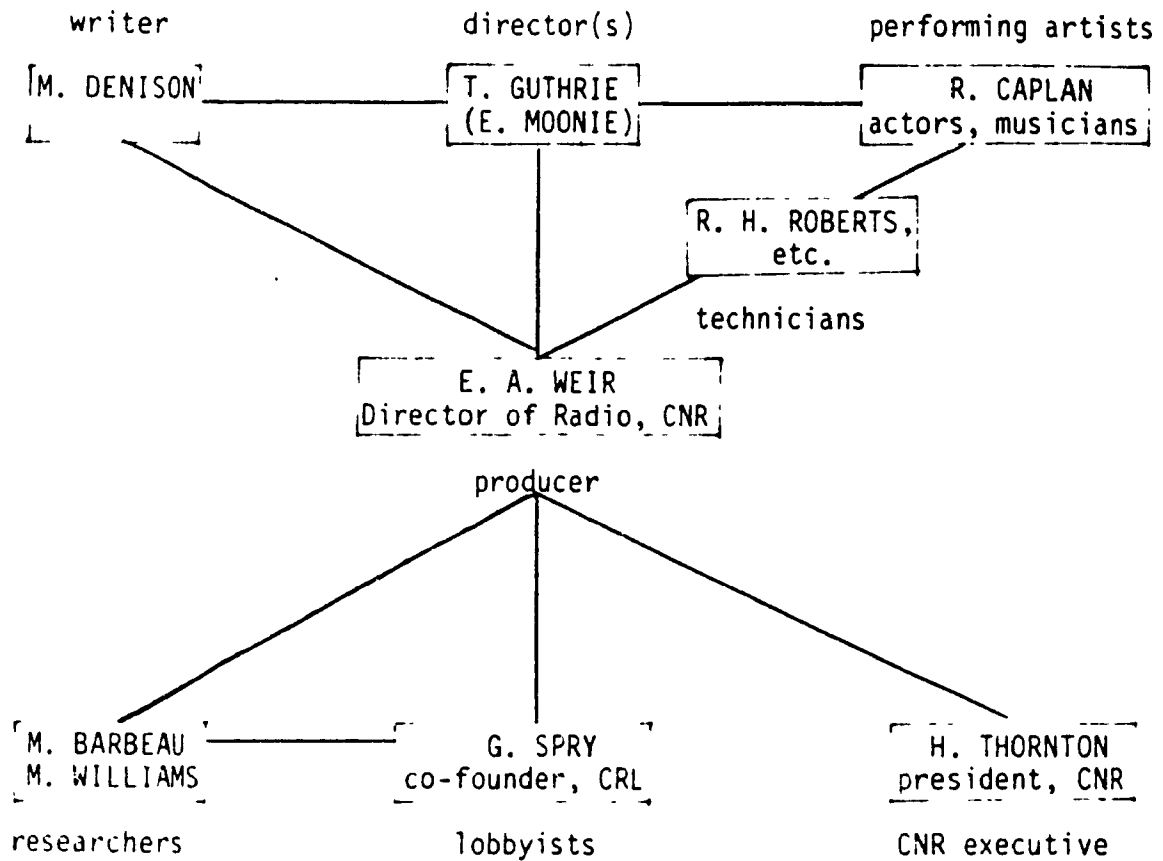
APPENDIX H

Basis Attributed to Plays

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) <u>The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson</u> | based on one of the mutinous crew members' (Mr. Prickett) account |
| 2) <u>Madame de la Tour</u> | basis unattributed |
| 3) <u>The Plaque of Mice</u> | based on an old legend of P.E.I. reported to M. Denison by Maurius Barbeau |
| 4) <u>The Land of Promise (part i)</u> | based on Prof. C. Martin's, <u>Selkirk's Work in</u> |
| 5) <u>The Land of Promise (part ii)</u> | <u>Canada</u> and largely on the novel <u>The Men of Kildonan</u> , by J.H. McCulloch |
| 6) <u>The Battle of Seven Oaks</u> | basis unattributed |
| 7) <u>The Raid on Grand Pre</u> | based on research by Prof. A. MacMeohan published in the <u>Dalhousie Review</u> |
| 8) <u>Marquerite de Roberval</u> | based on 'The Voyages of Jacques Cartier' by the Public Archives of Canada and the novel <u>Marquerite de Roberval</u> , by T.G. Marquis |
| 9) <u>Isle of Demons</u> | based on the record left by the Abbie Thevet and the novel, <u>Marquerite de Roberval</u> , by T.G. Marquis |
| 10) <u>Laura Secord</u> | basis unattributed |
| 11) <u>Drucour at Louisberg</u> | basis unattributed |
| 12) <u>Pierre Radisson</u> | based on Radisson's journals |
| 13) <u>Alexander MacKenzie</u> | basis unattributed |
| 14) <u>David Thompson</u> | based on Thompson's own narrative |
| 15) <u>Montcalm</u> | basis unattributed |
| 16) <u>Adam Dollard</u> | based on the publication, 'Dollard Des Ormeaux and His Companions', by <u>Le Comite du Monument Dollard des Ormeaux</u> , 1920 |
| 17) <u>Pierre D'Iberville</u> | basis unattributed |
| 18) <u>The Founding of Kingston - Frontenac</u> | basis unattributed |
| 19) <u>The Founding of Montreal - Maisonneuve</u> | basis unattributed |
| 20) <u>Quebec - Samuel de Champlain</u> | basis unattributed |
| 21) <u>The Great Race of Jean Baptiste Lagimodiere</u> | basis unattributed |
| 22) <u>The Last Stand of Almighty Voice</u> | based on the biography of Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, adopted brother of Almighty Voice |
| 23) <u>Valient Hearts - Fort La Reine</u> | basis unattributed |
| 24) <u>The Fathers of Confederation</u> | basis unattributed |

(Source: The "Romance of Canada" scripts)

APPENDIX I

The Creative Formation:A Diagram of Relations

Note: The above diagram is provided merely as an illustration of the basic structure of the connections between key individuals of the creative formation, in particular the central role played by Weir.