

'Damned If They Do And Damned If They Don't':
The Inferiority Complex, Nationalism,
and *Maclean's* Music Coverage, 1967-1995

By

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as required by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This thesis critically analyses music coverage in *Maclean's* between 1967-1995, and reveals that the magazine continually stressed Canadian music as inferior to that produced by foreign artists. Only during times of intense nationalism were Canadian musicians positively received in its pages. More generally, domestic productions were seen as deficient. The historical components of this investigation reveal an essential irony in the perception of Canadian music during the last four decades of the 20th century. Despite nationalist rhetorics and *Maclean's* self-appointed title of "Canada's National Newsmagazine," its critics consistently emphasised that Canadian music was of poor quality in the 1967-1995 period.

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'Damned If They Do And Damned If They Don't': The Inferiority Complex, Nationalism, and *Maclean's* Music Coverage, 1967-1995

0.0: Preface:

This thesis grew out of my twin loves of music and Canadian history. Early attempts at combining these interests, however, resulted in unwieldy and unfocused thesis outlines concerned with the history and popularity of Canadian music that either badly reproduced previously established findings or more properly belonged in the fields of Canadian, music, or cultural studies rather than Canadian history. Advised that the thesis needed to be more firmly situated in history, and cautioned that ascertaining what music was most popular among Canadians was beyond the capacity of a Master's thesis (if indeed, it was at all accomplishable), I grew frustrated until my discovery of Kembrew McLeod's "'1/2': a critique of rock music criticism in North America." Motivated by his statement that "by understanding the ways in which evaluations are made within the communities that rock critics are a part of, we can gain a better understanding of the communities themselves," I decided to dedicate a small section of one chapter to the mass media reception of Canadian music between 1967-1995.¹

Maclean's was chosen not only because I am familiar with it (I have been a reader since my teens) but because of its position as Canada's only national newsmagazine. As a continuous chronicle of the nation's politics, business, and culture since 1905, Peter C. Newman's 1971 editorial comments confirmed the magazine's purpose: "The distinguishing characteristic of *Maclean's* in its best times has been an uncompromising attempt to record and authenticate the Canadian experience for the Canadian reader."

¹ Kembrew McLeod, "'1/2': a critique of rock music criticism in North America," *Popular Music* 20.1 (2001), 47.

Newman elaborated that:

In a country with 10 provinces, five regions, two languages, and no possibility of a truly national newspaper, only a magazine like this one has the facilities, the time, the space and, hopefully, the talent to pull together for a national audience the essential interpretations of a world that seems to be changing as we walk in it.²

As Newman implied, *Maclean's* principle focus as a newsmagazine was to report on events important to Canadians, including popular music. By examining this coverage, I have acquired a better understanding of what the writers and editors viewed as most important, and what they believed Canadians should be interested in.

The use of *Maclean's* rather than *The Globe & Mail*, *Toronto Star*, or Canadian music publications was also deliberate. An assessment of twenty-nine years of a major newspaper's music coverage was considered unmanageable for even the most seasoned historian, while music magazines were viewed as primarily promotional devices. This does not imply that Canadian music periodicals such as *RPM*, *Chart*, or *Exclaim!*, are inferior publications; indeed, music magazines were utilised as a valuable resource in the development of this study. It was *Maclean's* principal focus as a newsmagazine that covered events significant to Canadians, including popular music, which made it appropriate for this thesis.

Even at this point, however, I still viewed *Maclean's* music coverage as a tool to argue a preconceived hypothesis rather than a body of work to be examined, and not realising what I had committed myself to, I proceeded to review every single music article *Maclean's* published from 1967 to 1995. For this naïve historian, the experience was frustrating, illuminating, and fun. Believing this process would take only a few

² Peter C. Newman, "The View From Here," *Maclean's*, May 1971, 3.

weeks to complete, I was astonished to discover that two months of research had resulted in a daunting eight 3" binders filled with photocopies of every music feature, column, review, cover story, or mention of music that *Maclean's* made over the course of three decades. Overwhelmed at times by the task of analysing all these documents, my frustration was offset by the enjoyment produced by the research. Notwithstanding comically inappropriate language in liquor and travel advertisements, diverting critiques of personal favourites like *The Road Warrior*, *Alpha Flight*, and *Dungeons & Dragons*, and the humorous fashion choices my fellow Canadians made during the years of this study, this process was undeniably joyful as it allowed me to fully immerse myself in the history and concerns of an era.

The passions, fears, and what entertained Canadians over the course of three decades was exciting to behold but, moreover, the research exposed a history counter to all my preconceived notions about the culture Canadian music developed, and forced me to perform an abrupt about-face regarding my thesis. Coupled with pride in not wanting to waste all the hard work I had spent in this evaluation (all told, the process took a semester to compile and read), I realised that the rich, nuanced, history shown in *Maclean's* 1967-1995 music coverage could not be contained within a minute section of a single chapter. I told my thesis advisor my discoveries and he was ecstatic. First, I was finally composing history rather than a work that belonged in another discipline, and second, the *Maclean's* research forced me to contemplate my own presumptive biases. I was informed that this was the best thing to happen to a young academic; by allowing the primary research to tell the history, rather than grafting on preconceived theories about what had transpired, I would make a grounded contribution to knowledge.

Although revitalised at this point in the thesis process, the analysis was often confusing as the *Maclean's* articles repeatedly centred on notions of what success meant for domestic musicians that conflicted with concepts of Canadian nationalism. These contradictory perspectives, combined with repeated reference to an inferiority complex that surrounded Canadian music, at last led me to my thesis question: Did *Maclean's* magazine' music coverage of the Canadian music industry from 1967-1995 support or refute the notion of a Canadian inferiority complex towards its musicians?

0.1: Introduction

"'Damned If They Do And Damned If They Don't': The Inferiority Complex, Nationalism, and *Maclean's* Music Coverage, 1967-1995" details through a census analysis that *Maclean's* magazine consistently emphasised Canadian music as inferior to that produced by foreign artists and that only during times of intense nationalism were Canadian musicians positively received in its pages. Supported by additional resources that included popular histories, journal articles, and academic theses and dissertations, this analysis is not simply a chronicle of rock and pop music in Canada, but a rather ironic examination of the popular music coverage in the nation's foremost newsmagazine during a tumultuous time in Canadian history.³

The first chapter chronicles the Canadian music scene from 1967 to 1995 beginning with an introduction of the Canadian Content Regulations and provides an overview of major themes and trends in the music industry. Chapter Two argues that *Maclean's* constant insults toward domestic musicians, surprise at their achievements, questions of their originality, and emphasis on international (most often American) success as the absolute measure of achievement, enforced an inferiority complex

³ This thesis explores popular rock and pop music in English-Canada specifically. This is not an attempt to dismiss French-Canadian music or other popular musical forms but rather a way to delimit the scope. French-Canadian culture is its own entity, one that is, regrettably, unfamiliar to the author. By composing a paper that dealt with both the English and French aspects of Canadian rock and pop as well as the cultural dynamics of Canadian culture would be well outside the breadth of this thesis. Similarly, this thesis is also restricted by solely addressing the popular musical forms of rock and pop and does not cover other musical forms produced by English-Canadians such as jazz, classical, or opera. For more on the development of popular Quebecois music see: Susan M.S. Blodrey, "La Chanson Quebecoise: Reflet Social d'un Peuple. [The Quebec Song: Social Reflection of a People], (Volumes I and II)," (PhD Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1991); Christopher M. Jones, "Song and Nationalism in Quebec," *Contemporary French Civilization* 24.1 (2000): 20-36; Carrie A. Kuehl, "Songs, Society, and Identity in Contemporary Quebec," (PhD Dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 1997). For more on the differences between Francophone and English-Canadian musical cultures see: Will Straw, "In and Around Canadian Music," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35.3 (2000), 173-183.

surrounding Canadian music. Chapter Three contends that when *Maclean's* reported positively on domestic music, the coverage paralleled nationalist trends in the wider culture. The magazine praised Canadian music during the Centennial Era, ignored and derided it during the period of depressed nationalism of 1975-1986, and lionised it with the resurgent patriotism of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

0.2: History of *Maclean's*

Begun in 1905 as *The Business Magazine*, *Maclean's* eventually adopted the name of its founder Lieutenant Colonel John Bayne Maclean in 1911. In their retrospective for the magazine's 100th anniversary, Suzy Aston and Sue Ferguson remarked that *Maclean's* had a national, and nationalist, perspective since the beginning. "Maclean saw in his magazine an opportunity to provide writers in this country with a medium of their own," they observed, "through which they could forward a uniquely Canadian perspective."⁴

Under the editorships of Thomas B. Costain, J. Vernon Mackenzie, H. Napier Moore, W. Arthur Irwin, and Ralph Allen, *Maclean's* reported on the most important issues facing the country through the twentieth century. From the Great Depression to the Baby Boom, through shifts in government from Liberal to Conservative, the French/English debate and the emerging cultural mosaic, *Maclean's* writers and editors approached the stories of the day from a Canadian context.⁵ *Maclean's* published contributions from prominent Canadians through this era including works by authors Robert Fulford and W.O. Mitchell, activist June Callwood, sportswriter Scott Young,

⁴ Suzy Aston and Sue Ferguson, "*Maclean's*: The First 100 Years," *Macleans.ca*, available from: http://www.macleans.ca/article.jsp?content=20050523_106218_106218, accessed 15 August 2007.

⁵ Aston and Ferguson.

photographer Yousuf Karsh, and renaissance man Pierre Berton, who also served as managing editor in the 1950s.⁶ A succession of editors stewarded the magazine in the late 1960s, including Borden Spears, Charles Templeton, and Peter Gzowski, before Peter C. Newman took over the helm in 1971. Newman, former editor in chief of the *Toronto Star*, member of the nationalist Committee for an Independent Canada, and chronicler of Canadian history through his books *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*, *The Distemper of Our Times: Canadian Politics In Transition 1963-1968*, and *The Canadian Establishment*, brought great change to *Maclean's*. Under Newman, the magazine's format was altered to highlight a Canadian outlook on domestic and international news, and its formerly monthly publication schedule increased to weekly by the late 1970s. Newman's tenure was often seen as a highpoint in the publication's history, with Robert Lewis noting that his "years saw the magazine transform itself from a general interest magazine that was losing millions to a money-making entity that proved there were enough Canadian stories to sustain a weekly newsmagazine."⁷

Kevin Doyle took over in 1982 and made few changes to his predecessor's formula, save for the creation of new domestic offices and the opening of international bureaus in New York, Washington, London, and Moscow. He was replaced in 1993 by long-time managing editor Robert Lewis who presided over the magazine to the end of the century.⁸ Another long-time *Maclean's* staffer, Anthony Wilson-Smith, oversaw the

⁶ Aston and Ferguson.

⁷ Robert Lewis, "Preface," in *Maclean's Canada's Century*, Carl Mollins, ed., (Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited, 1999), 9.

⁸ Datta Pillay, "The Retirees' Newsletter," Vol. XVII.1, March 2006, Windsor: University of Windsor, available from: [www.uwindsor.ca/.../54ef3e94e5fe816e85256d6e0063d208/10bf987f2451ab6985256dd400696654/\\$FILE/Newsletter61.doc](http://www.uwindsor.ca/.../54ef3e94e5fe816e85256d6e0063d208/10bf987f2451ab6985256dd400696654/$FILE/Newsletter61.doc), accessed 15 August 2007.

magazine from 2001 until former *Saturday Night* and *National Post* head Kenneth Whyte became editor in 2005.

Although each of the editors' biases were reflected in the magazine, from the nationalism of influential managing editor Berton to the current conservatism of Whyte, Newman argued that each separated themselves from their own inclinations in favour of providing the Canadian viewpoint on news, events, and culture. "The men and women who have occupied *Maclean's* editorial perches have had widely different backgrounds, interests and perceptions," he wrote for the magazine's 100th anniversary in 2005," but the good ones treated their positions less as a job than a calling."⁹ Although Newman admitted that, "the score of strong-willed individuals who have edited *Maclean's* since its inception regarded their mandate as nothing less than to set the national agenda," he noted that this was always offset by the magazine's efforts to resonate with the widest possible national audience.¹⁰ "At its best, *Maclean's* has reflected the heart and soul of the nation," Newman's counterpart Robert Lewis agreed, "whether it was muckraking to challenge the establishment, as it did so many times through the century or, during the celebrated runs of editors Arthur Irwin, Ralph Allen and Peter Newman, unabashedly promoting the Canadian identity."¹¹

Maclean's quest for greater national appeal resulted in increased coverage of rock and pop by the early 1970s. Music reportage in the late 1960s included brief record reviews and several feature articles, before Newman increased the number of music stories and accorded music a regular column. By the late 1970s, *Maclean's* further

⁹ Peter C. Newman, "Dreams and Appetites: For a nation under construction, a magazine that strove to capture, and to shape, its times," *Maclean's*, 10 October 2005, 12.

¹⁰ Newman, "Dreams and Appetites," 12.

¹¹ Lewis, "Preface," 9.

enhanced its music coverage through the creation of the tabloid-style entertainment column "People" and the expanded "For The Record" reviews section. As much as *Maclean's* provided the first major publication for nascent Canadian writers such as Barbara Amiel, Michael Enright and Barbara Frum, many of the music critics went on to prominence after writing for the magazine.¹² In addition to his duties as entertainment critic for *Maclean's*, Brian D. Johnson pursued a career as a professional musician and wrote for *The Globe and Mail*, *Saturday Night*, *Toronto Life*, *Chatelaine*, *Flare*, *Equinox*, *Take One* and *Rolling Stone*, and hosted the CBC program *On the Arts*; Roy MacGregor won awards for his work with *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, *The Toronto Star* and moonlighted a successful career as a children's author; David Livingstone's career as a fashion writer blossomed after his stint at *Maclean's*, as he scripted pieces for *The Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Star*, *Toronto Life*, *Saturday Night*, *Chatelaine*, *Flare*, *Elle*, *FQ*, *Elm Street* and became editor in chief of *The Look*; Jack Batten contributed to *The Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, *Chatelaine*, *Rolling Stone*, and the CBC; and before his stints as associate and then executive editor for *Maclean's*, John MacFarlane was entertainment editor for both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star*, and later became the editor of *Toronto Life* and a member of the board of directors for the Royal Conservatory of Music.¹³ This group of commentators provided *Maclean's* with

¹² Aston and Ferguson.

¹³ Banff Centre Press, "Brian Johnson," Banff Centre Press, available from: http://www.banffcentre.ca/Press/contributors/jkl/johnson_b/, accessed 15 August, 2007; The Globe and Mail, "Roy MacGregor," The Globe and Mail, available from: <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinions/columnists/Roy+MacGregor/Bio.html>, accessed 15 August, 2007; Toronto Life, "The Trial of Conrad Black Authors: David Livingstone," Toronto Life, available from: <http://www.torontolife.com/blog/conrad-black-trial/authors>, accessed 15 August, 2007; McLelland.com, "Books: *Silent in an Evil Time: The Brave War of Edith Cavell*," McLelland.com, available from: <http://www.mcellelland.com/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9780887767371>, accessed 15 August, 2007; The Royal Conservatory of Music, "John MacFarlane," The Royal Conservatory of Music, available from: http://www.rcmusic.ca/ContentPage.aspx?name=John_Macfarlane, accessed 15 August, 2007.

consistent, high quality music coverage which, under the watchful eyes of the editorial staff, tried to appeal to the widest possible national audience.

0.3: The Ironic in Canadian Culture and History

The arrangement of the chapters by theme rather than through strict chronology was deliberate to illustrate the inherent irony of Canadian music coverage in *Maclean's* from 1967-1995. Chapter One provides context while subsequent chapters reveal that, while the magazine's nationalist focus was labile and reflected the domestic mood, the most consistent aspect of *Maclean's* music coverage was the enforcement of an inferiority complex towards Canadian artists.

"We are an ironic people," Canadian author Robertson Davies once remarked, "irony and some sourness is mixed in our nature."¹⁴ From members of French separatist political parties sworn in as Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, through deep-seated anti-Americanism found alongside genuine relish for our neighbour's trade, defence, and friendship, the ironic is intrinsic not only to Canada's history but also to the nation's popular culture. Geoff Pevere and Greg Dymond's *Mondo Canuck: A Canadian Pop Culture Odyssey* was singularly focused on the ironic, with the duo joyously voicing how study of *Trivial Pursuit*, National Film Board cartoons, the career of William Shatner, and other popular domestic oddities, communicated the essentials of Canadian culture. Pevere and Dymond allot considerable space to Canadian humour. Although the ironic is visible in much of the domestic culture, it is palpable within the plethora of comedic talents the country has produced. These humorists included Wayne & Shuster, Leslie

¹⁴ J. Madison Davis, ed., *Conversations With Robertson Davies*, (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1989), 7.

Nielsen, Jim Carrey, and the *Kids in The Hall*; the storied SCTV alumni of John Candy, Eugene Levy, Martin Short, Dan Aykroyd, and Catherine O'Hara; and *Saturday Night Live* creator Lorne Michaels, alongside many of that show's most famous stars such as Dan Aykroyd, Phil Hartman, and Mike Myers. "Comedy is practically a late century Canadian birthright," Pevere and Dymond explained, "it is our most successful and influential pop-cultural export, and something which seems to come as effortlessly to Canadians as skating in circles clutching wooden sticks."¹⁵

Barry K. Grant observed in his 1986 work "'Across the Great Divide': Imitation and Inflection in Canadian Rock Music," that irony was not limited solely to comedy but was also visible in the works of domestic musicians. Grant noted that rock bands The Guess Who and Steppenwolf used irony in their lyrics to distance themselves from comparable American bands, while Paul Anka's success, as shown in a 1961 National Film Board documentary, was seen as paradoxical, with the subject depicted as an isolated, lonely, "tragic figure."¹⁶ The specific irony explored with this thesis -- that while nationalism waxed and waned the only constant was the perception that aspects of Canadian culture were regarded as being of poor quality -- differs from that explored by Grant, but has nonetheless been observed by previous academics, most notably in the David H. Flaherty and Frank E. Manning edited collection *The Beaver Bites Back?: American Popular Culture in Canada*.

In his preface, Flaherty wrote that Canadians' response to their mass absorption of American entertainment, sport, and cuisine resulted in the most consistent feature of the

¹⁵ Geoff Pevere and Greg Dymond, *Mondo Canuck: A Canadian Pop Culture Odyssey* (Scarborough Ontario: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1996), 205.

¹⁶ Barry K. Grant, "'Across the Great Divide': Imitation and Reflection in Canadian Rock Music," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21.1 (1986), 122-123.

domestic culture, that of "the sense of an uncertain, ironic, ambivalent and self-contradictory identity."¹⁷ Manning continued his colleague's thoughts and compared Canadian culture to that of the 'Cargo Cult' religious phenomenon observed in late 19th century New Guinea. Initially thought to be "an escapist attempt to mimic and achieve the 'cargo' that the Europeans had introduced," Manning explained that the Cargo Cults were actually an ironic act of resistance against colonialism.¹⁸ This analogy was apt, Manning suggested, because Canadians' consumption of American culture did not result in its duplicate, but rather its antithesis. "Americans are assured believers in their popular culture, bearing it as aggressive publicists and conspicuous consumers, who know that their product is as good for the rest of the world as it is for themselves," he wrote. "Canadians, however, are everything opposite with respect to their popular culture - ambivalent, embarrassed, smugly protective, yet comically self-parodic."¹⁹

As Reid Gilbert explained later in the volume, Canadians have felt forced to create the heroic type of images that exist for other nations, but due to the many disparate regional and individual identities that comprise the country's makeup, as well as Canada's proximity to the cultural behemoth of the United States, these representations have been viewed as failures.²⁰ Rather than be ashamed of this culture, however, Canadians embraced it ironically. "Canadians do not destroy their culture by laughing at it," Gilbert wrote, "instead, they affirm it in a complex, inverted manner."²¹ Other contributors to

¹⁷ David H. Flaherty, "Preface," in *The Beaver Bites Back?: American Popular Culture in Canada*, David H. Flaherty and Frank E. Manning, eds., (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), xii.

¹⁸ Frank E. Manning, "Reversible Resistance: Canadian Popular Culture and the American Other," in *The Beaver Bites Back?*, 7.

¹⁹ Manning, "Reversible Resistance," 9.

²⁰ Reid Gilbert, "Mounties, Muggings, and Moose: Canadian Icons in a Landscape of American Violence," in *The Beaver Bites Back?*, 183.

²¹ Gilbert, 192.

The Beaver Bites Back? did not see the embrace of the ironic by Canadians as a drawback, but simply as an aspect of the Canadian character, possibly even a positive one. "It is as if, through a paradox of its cultural absorption," Andrew Wernick explained in the collection's conclusion, "Canada, not the United States, is the most contemporary - that is, the most post-modern - of nations; and this because, precisely in that subordinated context, its national identity is founded in the determined absence of any such thing."²²

The irony apparent in *Maclean's* 1967-1995 music coverage, wherein the only constant in an era of fluctuating nationalism was the consistent emphasis that Canadian music was of poor quality, conforms to the model illustrated in *The Beaver Bites Back?* and the presence of these two contradictory streams provides the bulk of the succeeding analysis of secondary sources on Canadian rock and pop.

0.4: Literature on Canadian Rock and Pop

Previous works on Canadian music were often outside history, although dissertations and theses in fields such as sociology and anthropology, law and diplomacy, communication studies and the various disciplines of music, provided good historical overviews and insight into Canadian music in the latter part of the 20th century.²³ The few histories

²² Andrew Wernick, "American Popular Culture in Canada: Trends and Reflections," in *The Beaver Bites Back?*, 297-298.

²³ Michelle Carol Dumas, "Punk in Drublic: Gender, Politics, Resistance and Producing Punk Rock in a Small Canadian Town," (Master's Thesis, University of Guelph, 2001); Rebecca D. Goldfarb, "Canadian Protection and Promotion of Broadcasting: A Public Policy Constrained by Global Realities," (PhD Dissertation, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1997); Tina Siegel, "Gotta Get A Message To You: The Politics of Canadian Independent Music," (Master's Thesis, University of Windsor, 2004); Samantha Mary Morris, "Much More Than Music Video: An Examination of Canadian Response to American Paradigms," (Master's Thesis, McGill University, 2001); Sean Ebare, "The Computerization of Practice in Peripheral Music Communities," (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1998); Karen Ann Pegley, "An Analysis of the Construction of National, Racial, and Gendered Identities on Muchmusic (Canada) and MTV (US)," (PhD Dissertation, York University, 1999); Joel Kroeker, "Targeting Utterances through the Liminal Mist: An Investigation into the Cultural Practices and Worldview of the Western Canadian Singer/Songwriter," (Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 2001);

produced were either generic chronicles that praised or derided their subjects, or academic pieces that alternated between those that utilised aggregate statistics and governmental reports to investigate public policy and the domestic music industry, and more anecdotal approaches that compartmentalised Canadian music into various genres, individuals, and locales.²⁴

The comprehensive histories were primarily antiquated or diffuse, and either failed to offer a deeper analysis of rock and pop in Canada or did not address issues pertinent to this thesis. Although Ritchie Yorke's *Axes, Chops, & Hot Licks: The Canadian Rock Music Scene* provided the earliest coverage of Canada's music culture and the development of the Canadian Content laws, the work, published in 1971, is outdated. Similarly, Nicholas Jennings 1997 book *Before the Goldrush: Flashbacks to the Dawn of The Canadian Sound* examined domestic music from the 1950s to the early 1970s, but offered only a cursory examination of events after the introduction of CanCon. Other general pieces included Martin Melhuish's *Heart of Gold: 30 Years of Canadian Pop Music* and *Oh What A Feeling: A Vital History of Canadian Music*, the latter a companion chronology to a music compilation of the same name produced by the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences; Peter Goddard and Philip Kamin's *Shakin' All Over: The Rock 'N' Roll Years in Canada*, wherein various Canadians

Brian M. Walsh, "Structure, Function, and Process in the Early Song Cycles and Extended Songs of the Canadian Rock Group Rush," (PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002); Christopher J. McDonald, "Grand Designs: A Musical, Social & Ethnographic Study of Rush," (PhD Dissertation, York University, 2002); Durrell Scott Bowman, "Permanent Change: Rush, Musician's Rock, and the Progressive Post Counterculture," (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2003).

²⁴ Stuart G. Adam, "Broadcasting and Canadian Culture: A Commentary," in *The Beaver Bites Back?*, 75-87; Michel Filion, "Radio," in *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies and Prospects*, Michael Dorland, ed., (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, Publishers, 1996), 118-141; Line Grenier, "Radio Broadcasting in Canada: The Case of 'Transformat' Music," *Popular Music* 9.2 (1990), 221-233; Jody Berland, "Radio Space and Industrial Time: Music Formats, Local Narratives and Technological Mediation," *Popular Music* 9.2 (1990), 179-192.

associated with the music scene including Bernie Finklestein, Terry David Mulligan, and Carole Pope penned articles; *On a Cold Road: Tales of Adventure in Canadian Rock*, a memoir by Rheostatics member Dave Bidini that also contained interviews with a wealth of Canadian musicians; and Pevere and Dymond's *Mondo Canuck* which examined aspects of Canadian music, albeit in an anecdotal and superficial manner.

Most notably, the findings of two academic studies devoted to governmental and commercial aspects of Canadian music closely related to those of this thesis. Although Will Straw's extensive work on Canadian music was influential, it was observations from his "In and Around Canadian Music" - that histories of domestic music were divided along cultural and economic lines - that most reflected the findings of this study.²⁵ Straw illustrated that two models of Canadian music history existed and that, with the first, "music works to nourish and transform collective, public discourse, creating or renewing forms of language and tradition." With the second, Straw wrote, "music is primarily a token of social and economic exchange -- the pretext for small-scale commerce, regularized social interaction and new connections between actors in a wide range of industries and institutions." Thus, Straw's work illustrated that domestic music histories were divided along lines that emphasised what made an artist successful and what made them Canadian.²⁶

²⁵ Straw, "In and Around Canadian Music," 179-181; Will Straw, "Sound Recording," in *The Cultural Industries in Canada*, 95-117; Will Straw, "The English-Canadian Recording Industry Since 1970," in *Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies, Institutions*, Tony Bennett, Simon Frith, Lawrence Grossberg, John Shepherd and Graeme Turner, eds., (New York: Routledge, 1993), 52-65.

²⁶ Straw, "In and Around Canadian Music," 181.

Ostensibly an examination of public and private efforts to promote Canadian music, Darrin R. Keene's 1997 thesis "Regional Representation Versus Hit-Making: Canadian Music Policy at the Crossroads," stressed the prosperity of domestic music. More important, however, Keene concluded that regulations and programs designed to assist Canadian musicians resulted in the promotion of internationally-appealing stars at the expense of domestic music directed at local and national markets. This dualism was influenced by government and industry involvement, was present in academic studies (as Straw illustrated), and resonated deeply with the findings of this thesis. The focus of *Maclean's* 1967-1995 music coverage was equally divided between considerations of success and delineations of what made music Canadian.

Other works on Canadian music supported Straw and Keene's assertions as they alternated between studies that confirmed the inferiority complex established in Chapter Two or substantiated the findings of Chapter Three related to nationalism in domestic productions. Greg Potter's *Hand Me Down World: The Canadian Pop-Rock Paradox*, for example, validated the findings of Chapter Two. "The Canadian pop-rock paradox is simply stated," Potter wrote in 1999, "in a quest to win international celebrity, Canadian musical artists have gradually and unwittingly lost their Canadian identity."²⁷ *Maclean's* music coverage from 1967-1995 was compatible with the first part of Potter's examination as the magazine repeatedly featured domestic artists that appealed to foreign audiences and stressed that international success was paramount. Unlike Potter's conclusion that nationality was forfeited by Canadian artists seeking fame, however, *Maclean's* coverage demonstrated that domestically-specific music was created during

²⁷ Greg Potter, *Hand Me Down World: The Canadian Pop-Rock Paradox*, (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1999), 3.

the period but that only during times of intense nationalism were these productions emphasised.

Similarly, both Robert A. Wright and Ryan Edwardson confirmed that nationalism was a key factor in the music produced by artists of the Centennial Era, David J. Jackson illustrated that domestically-specific music had been produced by more recent Canadian musicians, while Grant's work additionally provided a model for later studies that attempted to define what qualified music as Canadian.²⁸ Studies that built on Grant's included articles that defined Canadian music as that produced by artists Bruce Cockburn, Blue Rodeo, Stan Rogers, Ian Tyson, and Stompin' Tom Connors; essays that explored what made East Coast Celtic, country and western, and music created by Black Canadians distinct to the country; and works that identified the hard rock of the late 1970s and early 1980s and the indie culture of the late 1980s and early 1990s, as inherently Canadian.²⁹

²⁸ Robert A Wright, "'Dream, Comfort, Memory, Despair': Canadian Popular Musicians and the Dilemma of Nationalism, 1968-1972," in *Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, Beverly Diamond and Robert Witmer, eds., (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press Inc., 1994), 284-301; Ryan Edwardson, "'Of War Machines and Ghetto Scenes': English-Canadian Nationalism and the Guess Who's 'American Woman'" in *American Review of Canadian Studies* 33.3 (2003), 339-356; David J. Jackson, "Peace, Order, and Good Songs: Popular Music and English-Canadian Culture," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 35.1 (2005), 25-44; Grant, 116-127.

²⁹ Timothy Rice and Tammy Gutnick, "What's Canadian about Canadian Popular Music?: The Case of Bruce Cockburn," *Taking a Stand: Essays in Honour of John Beckwith*, Timothy McGee, ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 238-256; Gillian Lindsay, Turnbull, "We Are Lost Together: Blue Rodeo and the Construction of Identity," (Master's Thesis, University of Alberta 2003); Nick Baxter-Moore; "Popular Music, Myth-Making and Identities: the Songs of Stan Rogers," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 10.2 (1995), 306-329; Terrance Cox, "'Cowboyography': Matter and Manner in the Songs of Ian Tyson," in *Slippery Pastimes: Reading the Popular in Canadian Culture*, Joan Nicks and Jeanette Sloniowski, eds., (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002), 279-295; William Echard, "Forceful Nuance and Stompin' Tom," in *Slippery Pastimes*, 243-261; Nick Baxter-Moore, "Reelin' 'n' Rockin': Genre-Bending and Boundary Crossing in Canada's 'East Coast Sound'," in *Slippery Pastimes*, 217-242; John Lehr, "As Canadian as Possible...Under the Circumstances: Regional Myths, Images of Place and National Identity in Canadian Country Music," in *Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, 269-281; Rinaldo Walcott, "It's My Nature: The Discourse of Experience and Black Canadian Music in *Slippery Pastimes*, 263-277; Bart Testa and Jim Shedden, "In the Great Midwestern Hardware Store: The Seventies Triumph in English-Canadian Rock Music," in *Slippery Pastimes*, 177-216; Michael Barclay, Ian A.D. Jack and Jason Schneider. *Have Not Been The Same: The CanRock Renaissance, 1985-1995*. (Toronto: ECW Press, 2001).

While correct in their assertion that the music produced by their subjects was Canadian (their subjects were all nationals, with the majority having created music in Canada), these anecdotal approaches did not highlight the success of domestic artists and failed to critically assess how the mass media received and defined Canadian music during the 1967-1995 period. Even the most cursory examination of *Maclean's* 1967-1995 music coverage supports that Canadian artists consistently created domestically specific music. Chapter Three differs from the previous studies that favoured the compartmentalisation of domestic productions and instead evaluates what music *Maclean's* delineated as Canadian in the late 20th century.

Although each of the secondary sources provided valuable insight into Canada's musical past, most interesting about both the comprehensive and academic histories was their inadvertent affirmation of the findings of this thesis. For example, Nicholas Jennings' conclusion to his general history, *Before the Gold Rush*, which compared the Canadian music boom times of the Centennial Era and the early 1990s but skipped over the rock and pop produced in the interim, substantiates my assessments of *Maclean's* coverage. Regardless of the quality of the musical output of Canadian artists of the 1970s and 1980s, Jennings' negation of this era, combined with his concentration on music produced during times of heightened patriotism supported both the inferiority complex established in Chapter Two and the nationalism explored in Chapter Three.

Likewise, Michael Barclay, Ian A.D. Jack and Jason Schneider's examination of the indie culture of the late 1980s and early 1990s confirmed my findings. Beginning with a caption below a picture of Celine Dion and David Foster that read "Missing," the

authors made plain that their book ignored mainstream music and celebrated the alternative:

This book is not about the Juno Awards. This book is not about record sales. It's not about major labels. Or rock radio.... This book is about a time and a place that deserves to be celebrated. Even more so because the music in question was created in a climate of cultural bulimia, in a country with a nasty habit of eating its young and its old and leaving them for dead, where the people believe nothing of any great historical importance ever happens here.³⁰

The heightened nationalism of the late 1980s and early 1990s was apparent in Barclay, Jack, and Schneider's argument that the era's alternative music should be extolled, while the inferiority complex was inadvertently established in their disregard of popular artists.

One of the most revealing aspects of the secondary sources was that, in addition to the writers' disregard of much of the rock and pop produced by Canadians, many had a dismissive, if not downright offensive, attitude towards domestic musicians. Greg Potter's inference that Canadian music was culturally irrelevant, and Pevere and Dymond's description of the 1980s as "a grim time to be a Canadian pop music nationalist," underscored the common attitude held by many of those writing about Canadian music.³¹ Potter for one, did not apologise for his attitude: "This is not a survey book. It is an autopsy. Part condemnation, part vindication for choices made. Chances are, you won't agree with me even half the time. That, of course, is the point."³² However, the routine insults towards domestic music that Potter and his contemporaries produced serve as a none-too-subtle reinforcement that much of the music created by Canadians was of poor quality.

³⁰ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, viii, 2.

³¹ Pevere and Dymond, 158; Potter, 6.

³² Potter, 7.

The academic works emphasised that Canadian music was defined through its hybridity, thus contributing to the inferiority complex. Academics' concentration on defining Canadian music as a hybrid of international (primarily American), rock and pop, underlined that, like the *Maclean's* contributors and the general histories, scholars viewed domestic music as unoriginal and placed paramount importance on foreign influence.³³ All of the works that highlighted Canadian music must be seen as nationalist documents. Any study that centred on how individual artists, genres, or scenes made them inherent to the country, in lieu of address of universal styles, artists, trends, or music produced by other nationalities, marked the composition as affected by Canadian nationalism. Beyond this initial emphasis, however, many of the secondary sources -- from the earliest general history, Yorke's *Axes, Chops & Hot Licks* -- are unadulterated celebrations of Canadian music. Academic histories are no different, with confirmation of nationalist boosterism found with Ryan Edwardson's praise for the anti-Americanism of the Guess Who's "American Woman," David J. Jackson's applaud for the Canadian content of Blue Rodeo, and Nick Baxter-Moore's adulation of East Coast Celtic music as a Canadian form.

The secondary resources are significant to this thesis not only because they confirmed the themes and findings, but because of who composed them. A plurality of the histories were composed by Canadian music critics.³⁴ The authors of *Have Not Been The Same* wrote for the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, Toronto's *Eye Weekly*, *Exclaim!* and the CBC; Potter penned articles for *The Vancouver Sun*, *Vancouver Magazine*, and *The*

³³ These included Robert A. Wright's conclusion that the domestic folk music of the late 1960s and early 1970s was a co-option of American models; Bart Testa and Jim Shedden's determination that the hard rock of the late 1970s and early 1980s was the only truly Canadian form due to its amalgamation of British art-rock and American heavy metal; and Barry K. Grant's observation that Canadian music was a subversion of American forms.

³⁴ Other Canadian music historians that were primarily academics included David J. Jackson, Nick Baxter-Moore, Darrin R. Keene, and Jody Berland.

Georgia Straight; Dymond worked for the CBC, CTV, and *Shift*; and *The Toronto Star* employed both Pevere and Peter Goddard, while the latter, alongside Bart Testa and Nicholas Jennings, were long time music critics for *Maclean's*.³⁵

The knowledge that many of the historians were themselves music columnists, writers, or reviewers, suggests that the existing secondary literature on Canadian music should be evaluated with the same critical eye that I have cast at *Maclean's* as a primary document. This is not meant to imply that these works improperly assessed Canada's rock and pop past, or that critics with valuable first-hand insight and desire to write about Canadian music should refrain from composing history. Indeed, my love of and familiarity with Canadian music was what drove me to conduct this study. Rather, it supports Kembrew McLeod's admonition that "by understanding the ways in which evaluations are made within the communities that rock critics are a part of, we can gain a better understanding of the communities themselves," could also be directed at Canadian music histories.³⁶ Beyond this, however, that many of these scholars were the same music critics whose work, both academic and newsworthy, was repeatedly informed by the preoccupation with nationalism and the inferiority complex, suggested that these twin themes permeated any examination of Canadian music.

Canadian music historians through their choice in subject matter, attitude towards domestic rock and pop, and what they emphasised with their studies, reflected the context provided by Chapter One, validated the inferiority complex detailed in Chapter Two, and

³⁵ Other Canadian music historians connected to music journalism included Martin Melhuish, biographer and writer of various specials for the CBC and CTV, and G. Stuart Adam, who, in addition to his position as professor of Journalism at Carleton University, wrote for *The Toronto Star*, *Ottawa Journal*, and the CBC.

³⁶ McLeod, 47.

confirmed the findings related to nationalism revealed by Chapter Three. Further evaluation of the scholarly responses to Canadian music is left for the conclusion, however, as these studies are best understood in the context provided by these three chapters.

Chapter 1: Canadian Music 1967-1995

This chapter chronicles major themes and trends in the Canadian music industry from 1967-1995 and is provided as a framework with which to analyse and differentiate what *Maclean's* music coverage emphasised. Beginning with an introduction and history of the Canadian Content laws, this section is an outline of important individuals, genres, and events in music, and although international happenings are examined, the stress is on the Canadian scene.³⁷

1.1: The Canadian Radio-Television Commission and the Canadian Content Regulations 1967-1995

The Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC) was formed in 1968, becoming the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission in 1976. The CRTC is "an independent public authority constituted under the *Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission Act* (R.S.C. 1985, c. C-22, as amended) and reports to Parliament through the Minister of Canadian Heritage."³⁸

Its mandate is:

to ensure that programming in the Canadian broadcasting system reflects Canadian creativity and talent, our linguistic duality, our multicultural diversity, the special place of aboriginal people within our society and our social values. At the same time, we must ensure that Canadians have access to reasonably priced, high-quality, varied and innovative

³⁷ This paper does not cover in-depth changes to the Canadian Content laws as this was previously covered by Darrin R. Keene's 1997 Master's thesis, "Regional Representation Versus Hit-Making: Canadian Music Policy at the Crossroads." However, their development, implementation, and evolution is important, and understanding key features within them is necessary in order to comprehend much of what will be discussed herein.

³⁸ Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, "About the CRTC: Mandate," Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, available from: <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/about.htm#mandate>, accessed 7 May 2007.

communications services that are competitive nationally as well as internationally.³⁹

Elsewhere, the mandate states that the organisation "was designed to strengthen restrictions on foreign ownership; requires the predominant use of Canadian creators and talent" and that the development of the CRTC "reaffirms a vision of the broadcasting system as a means of strengthening Canada's cultural, social and economic structures."⁴⁰

The CRTC proposed to implement stringent regulations concerning content on Canadian broadcast radio to address the fact that, until the early 1970's, with rare exceptions, the music played on Canadian radio was of American or British origin.⁴¹ The laws were proposed to ensure Canadian talent and Canadian social values were represented on radio and thus to quell the perceived threat to Canadian culture of American cultural expansionism.

On 12 February 1970 the CRTC proposed new regulations requiring that at least 30 percent of the musical compositions broadcast between 6 a.m. and midnight should qualify as "Canadian."⁴² Whether or not any musical composition was considered "Canadian" was a matter of passing two out of four requirements: "that the performers are Canadian, that the music was written by a Canadian, that the lyrics were written by a Canadian, or that the performance was recorded in Canada."⁴³

³⁹ Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, "The CRTC," Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, available from: <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/BACKGRND/Brochures/B29903.htm>, accessed 7 May 2007.

⁴⁰ Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, "The CRTC's Origins," Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, available from: <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/BACKGRND/Brochures/B19903.htm>, accessed 7 May 2007.

⁴¹ Timothy J. McGee, *The Music of Canada*, (Markham, Ontario: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1985), 110.

⁴² Ritchie Yorke, *Axes, Chops & Hot Licks: The Canadian Rock Music Scene*, (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1971), 9-10; Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, *Canadian Broadcasting and Telecommunications: Past Experiences, Future Options*, (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1980), 7-8.

⁴³ Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, 7.

This system was eventually known as the MAPL system - an acronym for "Music, Artist, Performance, and Lyrics" - and can be found on any recording that met two out of the four requirements. The major exception to this rule regarded recordings made before January 1972; in this case a recording was considered Canadian if it passed any one of the four MAPL qualifications.⁴⁴ These proposed changes met with both approval and fierce opposition from camps inside the Canadian music industry, and hearings were held in Ottawa from 14-20 April 1970, to discuss what effect Canadian Content would have on radio and indeed whether the changes should be enacted at all.⁴⁵

The main contingent wishing to quash the legislation was the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), an influential body representing 248 Canadian AM radio stations who argued that exclusively negative consequences would ensue from the proposed Canadian Content laws.⁴⁶ Their objections were predicated on the belief that "there isn't enough Canadian music available, by which we mean available and playable,"⁴⁷ and that if the CanCon regulations were enforced, broadcasters "would be forced to play a number of works whose performance is poor...since Canadian material, as we know it, varies widely in quality."⁴⁸ As businessmen, the CAB feared the loss of profits that would arise from playing "poor" Canadian music, with one member contributing this succinct statement:

'It is our belief that the implementation of the new proposals will raise the cost of broadcasting to the advertiser, lower the attractiveness of the stations to the listeners and thereby, for both these reasons, raise the cost

⁴⁴ The National Campus and Community Radio Association, "The MAPL System," The National Campus and Community Radio Association, available from <http://ncra.ca/CRTC/MAPL.htm>, accessed 3 May 2007.

⁴⁵ Yorke, 10.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Jennings, *Before the Gold Rush: Flashbacks to the Dawn of the Canadian Sound* (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1997), 229-230.

⁴⁷ Yorke, 11.

⁴⁸ Jennings, *Before the Gold Rush*, 230.

per listener to the point where many stations will cease to be competitive in the advertising market and their incomes will drop significantly.⁴⁹

Even among Canadian artists, the people intended to benefit most from the changes, the reaction to the CanCon regulations was mixed. Their objections were varied, but many artists did not wish to be used as national symbols, to have their success viewed as the byproduct of government meddling, or worse, to have their independent creative work seen as government-sanctioned.⁵⁰ Conversely, support for the changes attracted an equally diverse groundswell of people, including both musicians and music critics. Likewise, author Pierre Berton and actor Bruno Gerussi thought their prominent names might lend weight to those lobbying for the passing of the CanCon legislation.⁵¹ Skip Prokop of the Canadian rock band Lighthouse voiced his optimism over the enacting of the Canadian Content regulations:

[the quota] will set up a chain reaction. If Canada can get behind this whole thing, there will be a lot more kids who will make it worldwide. First of all, the kids who are recording will start getting hit records. Then Canadian kids will start paying a certain amount of money to go and see them in concert. This creates the beginning of an industry - you start creating stars within your own country. This is something that Canada has never really had.⁵²

Music critic Ritchie Yorke opined that the lack of a stronger music industry in Canada was "the direct result of the lack of exposure of the Canadian product," as "most Canadian record companies are foreign owned and they cannot be bothered sinking valuable profits into records that few stations will play."⁵³

⁴⁹ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 24.

⁵⁰ Wright, 286

⁵¹ Yorke, 10.

⁵² Jennings, *Before the Gold Rush*, 232.

⁵³ Jennings, *Before the Gold Rush*, 230. Yorke further noted that "the extreme reluctance of Canadian radio stations to program anything by local artists as if there were something wrong with them," before blasting the quality concerns of the CAB: "Any broadcaster who played *Yummy Yummy Yummy (I've Got Love in*

The CRTC's Canadian Content laws were approved on 22 May 1970.⁵⁴ When announcing that the laws would be enacted on 18 January 1971, Pierre Juneau, the CRTC chair, predicted that once the CanCon laws were adopted:

The prophets of doom, the messengers of mediocrity will be overwhelmed by the new generation of competent, creative, confident artisans and by all those of the preceding generations who have already demonstrated their freshness of mind, their talent and their capacity for inspired leadership.⁵⁵

Although opposition continued to come from broadcasters and some musicians, the Canadian Content rules not only stayed close to their original intent over the course of the next three decades: they were, if anything, strengthened.⁵⁶ Most of the changes during this time involved newer technologies. FM radio, still considered a new medium in the early 1970s, was originally exempt from the CanCon requirements. The growth in its popularity soon prompted attempts to bring this format in line with the content AM radio stations were required to play. This was an incremental process that began in the mid-1970s and stretched into the 1990s, which gradually shifted guidelines until AM and FM radio stations were at rough parity for the amount of Canadian Content each required.⁵⁷ Similarly, music videos, an innovation introduced after CanCon was first passed, had specific sections of the regulations devoted to them after the fact.⁵⁸

My Tummy), that memorable hit by the Ohio Express, should never get himself involved in a discussion of quality." Jennings, *Before the Gold Rush*, 230-231.

⁵⁴ Yorke, 10.

⁵⁵ Barclay, Jack, and Schneider, 23, 24.

⁵⁶ Martin Melhuish, "Music: The Solution: Still Music To A Lot Of Ears," *Maclean's*, 9 February 1976, 53; Bob Levin, Chris Wood, Bruce Wallace, Ken Macqueen, Doug Smith, Kerry Diotte and Mark Budgen, "Music: Bucking for Stardom in Country's Corral," *Maclean's*, 7 April 1986, 52; Brian D. Johnson and Ruth Atherley, "People: The Juno Awards: The Stars of Music," *Maclean's*, 16 November 1987, 62; Keene, 37. In addition to the Canadian Content regulations, between 1967-1995 the federal government, often alongside the music industry, was involved in several other efforts to help promote Canadian music. The list of organisations involved is extensive, and as Keene already provided an exhaustive survey of all the public, private, and joint programs, that census will not be repeated here.

⁵⁷ Keene, 49-67.

⁵⁸ As Keene described it, a music video was considered Canadian if it provides the following: "As well as meeting at least two of the four MAPL criteria, a video had to satisfy at least one of the following

Another significant change to the Canadian Content laws was made in 1993 in the aftershocks of controversy following the release of Bryan Adams's *Waking Up the Neighbours*. Adams released the album in 1991, and propelled by the success of singles "Can't Stop This Thing We Started," "Do I Have To Say The Words," "Thought I'd Died And Gone To Heaven," and "There Will Never Be Another Tonight," as well as "(Everything I Do) I Do It For You" (which appeared on both the original album and the soundtrack for the popular *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves*), it eventually rocketed to sales figures exceeding 10 million copies worldwide.⁵⁹ Adams, however, had co-written many of the songs with his British producer, Robert 'Mutt' Lange, so the CRTC denied the album Canadian Content status. This angered Adams not only because the ruling "stood to severely restrict its rotations, and theoretically its royalty making potential, on Canadian radio," but also due to hypocrisy within the legislation, and because it called into question Adams' nationality.⁶⁰

Adams was then Canada's most popular rock star and, given the timing of the controversy during the country's 125th anniversary, the ruling generated widespread discussion over the stated purpose of the Canadian Content laws. This debate called into question the very definition and meaning of the term "Canadian" as it applied to musicians and their artistic output.⁶¹ When the laws were changed in 1993 to allow a

requirements: 1) The video director or production company is Canadian, and/or; 2) The video production facilities are in Canada." Keene, 67.

⁵⁹ Bryan Adams Official Website, "Biography," www.bryanadams.com, Bryan Adams Official Website, available from: <http://www.bryanadams.com/onlineshop/library/biography.htm>, accessed 14 February, 2007.

⁶⁰ Pevere and Dymond, 1-2; Brian D. Johnson and Pamela Young, "Rock On A Roll; Bryan Adams Brings His Tour Home To Canada in Triumph - and Controversy," *Maclean's*, 27 January 1992, 47. Adams anger at the CRTC led to his memorable, if not entirely eloquent, outburst of invective towards the regulators: "Fuck you! That's all I've got to say to those guys. Fuck you, man!" Recounted in Pevere and Dymond, 2.

⁶¹ Pevere and Dymond 0-3; Potter 122-150; Keene 62; Testa and Shedden, 207; Kevin Doyle, "From the Editor's Desk; Rules to Sing About," *Maclean's*, 27 January 1992, 2; Johnson and Young, 46-49.

recording to be given a point in the MAPL system if a performer contributed 50% to the combined music and lyrics of a song, it was widely perceived to be a direct response to Adams and his role in the "Can-Controversy."⁶² Though this slight change in Canadian Content wording may appear minor, it addressed the greatest controversy surrounding the regulations since their introduction decades earlier.

1.2: Major Events and Trends in Music 1967-1995

Canadian popular musicians emigrating to the United States is a long-established phenomenon, with notable artists such as Guy Lombardo, Paul Anka, and Robert Goulet having done so prior to the late 1960s. The border also proved porous in the other direction with touring American artist Rompin' Ronnie Hawkins arriving in the 1950s, Bob Dylan cherry-picking Hawkin's former group the Hawks to back him up on tour, and Rick James performing with Neil Young in the Toronto group The Mynah Birds.⁶³ During the pre-CanCon era, Canadians were also heavily involved in behind-the-scenes capacities within international music: Galt MacDermot composed the music for *Hair*, Paul Anka and Buffy Sainte-Marie were celebrated for their musical contributions to other artists, while Gordon Lightfoot had more songs recorded by other artists than any other North American musician except Bob Dylan.⁶⁴ By the late 1960s, however, it was

⁶² Keene, 62; Testa and Shedden, 207.

⁶³ Jennings, *Before the Gold Rush*, 19, 90; Martin Melhuish, *Oh What a Feeling: A Vital History of Canadian Music* (Kingston, Ontario: Quarry Press, 1996), 72.

⁶⁴ Melhuish, *Oh What a Feeling*, 74, 80; Marjorie Harris, "Gordon Lightfoot: Folk Singer With a Message," *Maclean's*, September 1968, 34.

clear a mass exodus of Canadians was in progress, with musicians Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, Leonard Cohen, and members of The Band, Blood, Sweat and Tears, The Lovin' Spoonful, The Mamas and The Papas, Steppenwolf, and others leaving their native country for the United States.

Much like their American and British counterparts, Canadian popular musicians concentrated around the major metropolitan areas. Thriving music scenes in Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Toronto provided much of the rock and pop talent that Canada became associated with in the late 1960s and early 1970s, while rural musical communities were largely dominated by the traditional forms including Celtic, folk, and country and western sounds. Canadian musicians during the late 1960s and early 1970s followed the major musical trends of the era, pop and rock. Both Anne Murray with "Snowbird" and the Guess Who with "American Woman" succeeded in securing popularity both domestically and internationally. However, it was within the swelling field of folk music that Canadians made many of their most memorable contributions, with Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, and Leonard Cohen achieving enormous international acclaim, while Stompin' Tom Connors, Bruce Cockburn, and Murray McLauchlan, found success at home.

The 1971 introduction of the CRTC's Canadian Content regulations had an immediate and undeniable effect on the domestic music scene. Radio stations were suddenly forced to increase the amount of Canadian Content on the airwaves. Pevere and Dymond likened it to "a shot of pure adrenaline to a national recording industry that had otherwise barely registered a pulse," and observed that while artists such as Anne Murray and The Guess Who had been popular before the introduction of CanCon, "their careers

were vaulted into another dimension entirely by the legislation."⁶⁵ Alternately, Terry David Mulligan, a deejay at the time, explained that rather than leading to an explosion in the development of domestic talent, the CanCon laws had merely led broadcasters to adopt inventive ways in which to circumvent the regulations:

When CanCon came into effect, we were absolutely desperate for crossover, anything that could be considered Canadian in content. When we found out that Zal Yanovsky from Lovin' Spoonful was Canadian, all Lovin' Spoonful records suddenly became Canadian. Even though Gene Cornish left Hamilton as a child, all The Rascals became Canadian. Same with Steppenwolf, The Buffalo Springfield, The Mamas and The Papas. We had to find records that included at least one Canadian artist to meet the regulatory standards.⁶⁶

Notwithstanding Mulligan's anecdote, the sheer amount of Canadian popular music did increase during the initial years of the Canadian Content laws, with newer artists bursting onto the scene while established musicians grew in popularity. Designed to fill the 30 per cent gap left in the wake of the CanCon laws, newer Canadian recordings were produced in abundance in the early 1970s. The regulations have often been pinpointed as a major factor accounting for the success of Canadian solo musicians Terry Jacks and Ian Thomas, and bands BTO, the Stampeders, Edward Bear, Five-Man Electrical Band, April Wine, Crowbar, A Foot in Cold Water, and the Defranco Family.⁶⁷

The music business was also affected as scouts from the U.S. record companies were dispatched to Canada to find new talent and recording studios were opened and better equipment purchased for existing ones.⁶⁸ Studios that had their genesis in the 1970s eventually led to Canadian producers and studios being considered among the best

⁶⁵ Pevere and Dymond, 168.

⁶⁶ Potter, 130.

⁶⁷ Pevere and Dymond, 168.

⁶⁸ Yorke, xi, 15; Edwardson, 339-356.

in the world, a status attracting both domestic and foreign talent to their doors. For example, Canadian Bob Ezrin, arguably the most prominent producer of the 1970s, helped create best-selling, influential albums for Alice Cooper, Kiss, Pink Floyd and Lou Reed.⁶⁹

Coming at a time of recession in the US music market, Canadian hard rock bands flourished internationally in the late 1970s and early 1980s.⁷⁰ Bart Testa and Jim Shedden depict this era as the pinnacle of Canadian musical achievement, with the sounds pioneered by Bachman-Turner Overdrive and Rush, and expanded on by Trooper, Loverboy, and Max Webster, becoming successful in and outside of the country. Indeed, Testa and Shedden contend that the hard rock sounds produced by domestic bands during the late 1970s and early 1980s represented the only distinctly Canadian musical rock form ever created.⁷¹

Much of the Canadian music culture from the late 1970s and 1980s has been lambasted by critics and scholars for lacking originality, for encouraging mediocrity, and for not following more progressive contemporary developments then-appearing in the U.S. and the U.K. This blanket assessment of the 1980s as an artistic black hole is baldly evident within the magazine's 2004 commemorative centennial issue, *Maclean's 100:*

Leaders and Dreamers. Therein, Shanda Deziel's history of music in Canada nearly

⁶⁹ Martin Melhuish, *Heart of Gold: 30 Years of Canadian Pop Music* (Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1983) 45, 51, 122.

⁷⁰ Bart Testa, "Music; Workingman's rock," *Maclean's*, 17 March 1980, 56; Thomas Hopkins, "Music; Canadian rock Rolls South," *Maclean's*, 14 June 1982, 44.

⁷¹ Testa and Shedden, 189, 205-207. Canadian musicians during this time were less successful with other international trends, scoring few disco hits, and punk and new wave having little impact except in the major urban centres. Canadian punk and new wave produced few stars, notably Rough Trade, Martha and the Muffins, and the Parachute Club, with the influence of artists DOA, NoMeansNo and Shadowy Men On A Shadowy Planet, cited by later musicians and critics as seminal. Pevere and Dymond, 169-170; Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 9.

skips the entire decade, with the following remark written to encapsulate ten years worth of artistic output across the country:

In the 1970s, CanCon rules helped not just Lightfoot, but also Anne Murray, the Guess Who and others. But in the '80s the idea seemed to be backfiring as material of dubious artistic merit crowded the airwaves to fill the quotas. The '90s marked a turnaround, with Canada's music industry excelling at fostering stars at home, then letting them loose on the world.⁷²

Later critics often viewed Canada's pop musicians of the 1980s as copycats of better-known British and American performers. Pevere and Dymond reflect this attitude:

Platinum Blond was the Bi-Way version of the Police, Luba a pocket-size version of Stevie Nicks, Bryan Adams was low-cal Bruce Springsteen, Loverboy the hoser's Van Halen, Corey Hart the pre-teen Sting, The Spoons a faded Xerox copy of Depeche Mode.⁷³

This effort to duplicate foreign competitors, in part to lose the provincial associations of the label "Canadian," was a conscious one on the part of at least one band, with Gordon Depe of The Spoons proud that his group was indistinguishable from American acts.⁷⁴

Similarly, Robert A. Wright placed both praise and blame on the measures of the early 1970s:

As the CRTC and others had hoped, Canadian content rules opened the doors of the music industry to many Canadians in the 1970s and 1980s. From Bachman-Turner Overdrive to Bryan Adams, however, this legacy has been largely one of conformity to American pop standards.⁷⁵

Canadian musicians did have a presence internationally, however, with the country being the only other nation, other than the United States and the United Kingdom, to contribute a concerted national musical effort dedicated to the cause of

⁷² Shanda Deziel, "Finding A Voice; Canadian-content rules helped build a strong and vibrant music industry," in *Macleans' 100: Leaders and Dreamers, Canada's Greatest Innovators and How They Changed the World*, (2004), 128.

⁷³ Pevere and Dymond, 158.

⁷⁴ Grant, 122.

⁷⁵ Wright, 296

African famine relief. In 1985, Northern Lights For Africa brought together a disparate group of Canadian musicians to produce the single "Tears Are Not Enough." Among them were Joni Mitchell, Corey Hart, Burton Cummings, Neil Young and Bryan Adams; the latter two also appeared at the Live Aid concerts in Philadelphia and London. Despite sales of this single providing millions of dollars for Bob Geldof's African Famine Relief project, both critics and scholars have dismissed and derided these efforts. The gallery of insults included Barclay, Jack, and Schneider's comment that Northern Lights For Africa unveiled "the dismal status of Canadian celebrity;" Greg Potter's caustic remark of the artists, "Good Christ, could you imagine inflicting that rabble on the international community as cultural ambassadors?;" and the song ending up on *Mondo Canuck's* "Maple Sap: The Worst Canadian Singles of All Time" list.⁷⁶

While artists including Bruce Springsteen, INXS, and U2 were still producing rock, these heavier sounds were often co-opted into the popular heavy metal acts of the late 1980s such as Guns & Roses, Metallica, and Aerosmith. Canadian musicians were no different as pop acts Honeymoon Suite and Glass Tiger, as well as rockers Bryan Adams, Kim Mitchell, and the Jeff Healey Band, found welcoming audiences at home and abroad. Around the world, however, the music styles of the late 1980s and early 1990s were focused primarily in pop music, with dance, rap, and R&B increasingly popular, and artists like Madonna, Michael Jackson, MC Hammer, and the New Kids On The Block finding instant success.

⁷⁶ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 21; Potter, 175; Pevere and Dymond, 81. The authors of *Have Not Been The Same* continued: "One can't argue with the earnest song, the spirit of intergenerational and cross-Canada camaraderie and charity. But artistically, was this song really what Canadian music was all about?"

An expanding nostalgic quality was also present in the musical trends of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Many musicians popular in the 1960s and 1970s found renewed audiences among the baby boomers and their children. The Beach Boys, Tina Turner, Paul Simon, and former Beatles Paul McCartney and George Harrison all experienced resurgent success.⁷⁷ The Rolling Stones, though never actually outside the public spotlight since the 1960s, benefited from the managerial input of Canadian Michael Cohl, who elevated them to "biggest band in the world" status through his successful marketing of their concerts and tours.⁷⁸

Other Canadians found success in a behind-the-scenes capacity during the 1980s and 1990s, and producers who followed Bob Ezrin's lead helped to create some of the most successful recordings of all time. These included Bob Rock's recording of popular heavy metal albums by The Cult, Motley Crue, Metallica, and Bon Jovi; Daniel Lanois behind the controls for critically-acclaimed and popularly-received recordings by Peter Gabriel, U2, and Robbie Robertson; and David Foster's stunning output of number one singles for Whitney Houston, Chicago, Celine Dion, and others. This streak put Foster in

⁷⁷ Kevin Doyle, "From the editor's desk: Rock of Ages," *Maclean's*, 2 March 1987, 2; Nicholas Jennings, Catherine Redden, Ruth Atherley, and Pamela Young, "Rock Goes Gold," *Maclean's*, 2 March 1987, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; Celina Bell, "The Rock Revivalists," *Maclean's*, 2 March 1987, 35; Nicholas Jennings, "The Fight Over Golden Oldies," *Maclean's*, 2 March 1987, 36-37; Bob Levin, "The Magic of a Rearview Mirror," *Maclean's*, 21 March 1988, 42, 43; Rae Correlli, Anne Gregor, Larry Black, and Jane O'Hara "Nostalgia Trips," *Maclean's*, 21 March 1988, 44-47; Jane O'Hara, "A Collector's World," *Maclean's*, 21 March 1988, 47; Anne Steacy, "Rocking Chair Rollers," *Maclean's*, 21 March 1988, 52; Brian D. Johnson, Karen Bliss, Anne Gregor, "Yabba dabba déjà vu: Pop culture reverts to the Flint/Stones Age," *Maclean's*, 30 May 1994, 34, 35, 36, 37.

⁷⁸ Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Rock of ages; The Rolling Stones begin a major tour," *Maclean's*, 11 September 1989, 50, 51, 52; Tim Powis and Nicholas Jennings "Music; The music man; Michael Cohl gets the Stones rolling," *Maclean's*, 11 September 1989, 53, 55, 60; Brian D. Johnson, "Some boys!," *Maclean's*, 8 August 1994, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43; Brian D. Johnson, "High Roller: Michael Cohl is the most successful pop promoter on the planet," *Maclean's*, 8 August 1994, 44, 45.

esteemed company with Quincy Jones and Phil Spector among the most successful producers of all time.⁷⁹

One of the biggest changes to Canadian music came in 1984 with the launch of MuchMusic. Though MTV was an obvious antecedent, MuchMusic was no mere copy of the American video network. As Karen Ann Pegley wrote in her 1999 dissertation, "MTV has always *seemed* more 'slick,' faster, more aggressive and more hyper-current than MuchMusic; Much *seemed* more familiar, more untidy, more 'Canadian.'"⁸⁰ A number of factors influenced MuchMusic's genesis as a distinctly Canadian video station, not least of which were the CanCon laws that kept MTV off domestic airwaves.⁸¹ With no template to follow and no competition, the network was allowed to explore what it meant to be the nation's sole provider of videos: "In 1984, no one in Canada had any idea what a 24-hour music network would be like."⁸² Pegley points to a variety of factors that helped MuchMusic to distinguish itself from its American counterpart, including the ethnic diversity among the "VJs" as well as the fostering of a unified Canadian identity through the use of the network's *Canada Concert Listings*.⁸³

Although *RPM* magazine and *The New Music* television show predated MuchMusic, Bart Testa and Jim Shedden stated that the most important aspect of the station was it provided "Canadian rock with something it always lacked, an equivalent to

⁷⁹ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 107-110, 313-351; Fred Bronson, *Billboard's Hottest Hot 100 Hits Updated and Expanded 3rd Edition*, (New York: Billboard Books, 2003), 118. Greg Potter jokingly suggested that had Robert 'Mutt' Lange, winning producer for AC/DC, Def Leppard, Billy Ocean, Foreigner, and The Cars been married to his eventual wife Shania Twain, that it could have eased the Can-Controversy that erupted over Bryan Adams music in the 1990s. Potter, 123.

⁸⁰ Pegley, 127.

⁸¹ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 52.

⁸² Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 52

⁸³ Pegley, 153, 165.

a rock press."⁸⁴ This helped to foster the fame of Canadian musicians by connecting them to the station's viewers:

MuchMusic allowed Canadian youth to see reflections of themselves in their compatriot musicians, which did a lot to increase the importance of Canadian celebrity. Videos made Canadian musicians look much more interesting than they were previously perceived to be.⁸⁵

While MuchMusic obviously bolstered the careers and even made stars of many Canadian and foreign musicians, the station's biggest influence was on the burgeoning Canadian alternative music scene. Much like the American and British music cultures, Canada in the late 1980s and early 1990s developed a diversity of new rock styles that were collectively referred to by the catch-all title of 'alternative,' ostensibly representing a diversion from the popular musical choices of the day. Helped along by both the station's express need for Canadian content and diversity in programming, MuchMusic bolstered the careers of alternative musicians who produced inexpensive videos to gain a popular foothold with the domestic viewing public.⁸⁶

Of course, MuchMusic was not the only reason for the popularity of these acts. Alternative music had become wildly popular in both the US with the Seattle grunge scene and in the U.K. with the Manchester indie scene. In tracing the causes of "The CanRock Renaissance" the authors of *Have Not Been The Same: The CanRock Renaissance, 1985-1995* cite the Canadian Content laws, the success of independent record labels, the rising patriotism surrounding homegrown productions, increased

⁸⁴ Testa and Shedden, 211.

⁸⁵ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 56.

⁸⁶ Barclay, Jack, and Schneider, 52-58.

prosperity for musicians without leaving the country, and the artistic strength of the actual music produced.⁸⁷

Avant-garde musicians such as Shadowy Men on a Shadowy Planet, Jaymz Bee and the Look People, and Meryn Cadell gained public acceptance, while other musicians such as Crash Test Dummies, Barenaked Ladies, and Sloan, - still unusual given the prevailing pop acts of the day - contributed to alternative becoming mainstream. Though often lumped in with alternative, artists with mostly traditional rock and roll sounds such as Blue Rodeo, Big Sugar, 54-40, and the Tragically Hip also gained popularity, while artists unconnected to alternative at all, such as Bryan Adams and Tom Cochrane, contributed to Canada's rock presence.

The domestic popularity of the Tragically Hip has been attributed to several factors, among them the dearth in rock music of the era, their sound and live show, and their efforts at helping out newer talent.⁸⁸ It is generally recognized, however, that the group's many references to Canadiana played a key role in allowing them to be a "touchstone for loud Canadian nationalism"⁸⁹ during a period of heightened patriotism, with the result that as Barclay, Jack and Schneider wrote, "Whether they accept it or not, The Tragically Hip are and forever will be, Canada's band."⁹⁰

One notable trend was the strong contingent of Canadian female musicians who rose in popularity in the 1990s. Canada has had a long history of popular female musicians beginning with Buffy Sainte-Marie and Sylvia Tyson in the 1960s, through

⁸⁷ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 2-28.

⁸⁸ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 653-654; Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Rock 'n' roll loyalists; A Canadian group may be the Great Rock Hope," *Maclean's*, 1 April 1991, T5; Pevere and Dymond, 166-167; Potter, 193-194.

⁸⁹ Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright, "Here's Where We Get Canadian: English-Canadian Nationalism and Popular Culture," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32.1 (2002), 11-34.

⁹⁰ Barclay, Jack and Schneider, 652.

Joni Mitchell, Anne Murray, and Carole Pope in the 1970s, and Kate and Anna McGarrigle, k.d. lang, Jane Siberry, and Margo Timmins of the Cowboy Junkies in the 1980s. By the 1990s, with many of these musicians still performing, Canadian women represented an influential force within the international music scene. During the closing decade of the millennium, they were joined by a veritable flood of new vocal talents: Alannah Myles, Michelle Wright, Sarah McLachlan, Jann Arden, and of course, three of the world's most popular musicians: Shania Twain, Alanis Morissette, and Celine Dion.

Besides the alternative and rock music popular during the early 1990s, Canadians enjoyed and produced within numerous other genres: new country stars George Fox, Prairie Oyster, Charlie Major; a promising rap scene emerged in Toronto with Maestro Fresh Wes, the Dream Warriors, and Snow at the vanguard; Ashley MacIsaac, the Rankin Family, and Spirit of the West continued to popularise the Canadian Celtic tradition; and even children's music saw stars with Raffi, Fred Penner, and Sharon, Lois & Bram, finding success within and beyond the border.

Although *Maclean's* documented all the artists, trends and episodes detailed in this chapter, the magazine's response to Canadian music during this three-decade span was far different than a mere chronicle. *Maclean's* contributors did not only report significant Canadian rock and pop events but provided commentary, context, and criticism of domestic artists that, when examined critically, provide a more nuanced Canadian music and cultural history. The following chapters analyse the tone, presentation, and emphasis of *Maclean's* writers in music articles from 1967-1995.

Chapter 2: The Inferiority Complex and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage 1967-1995

Has Canada brought something original and fresh to all this? Is there a new quirky rhythm in the air over Toronto? What is it that's different about rock in Toronto? Is there a sound to capture? Does Toronto Rock actually exist?

Maclean's writer Jack Batten (1968)⁹¹

Jack Batten's February 1968 article, "Canada's Rock Scene: Going, Going...", illustrated the inferiority complex in *Maclean's* music coverage from 1967-1995. "A rock capital in *Canada?!"* Batten asked incredulously. "The concept, hype or no hype, is staggering." Batten concluded that Canadians copied foreign rock and pop musicians and produced only derivative styles: "Too many bands, leaving aside the occasional flashes of originality, such as The Kensington Market, pattern themselves mirrorlike on proven American or English sounds." He continued with obvious disfavour, "Thus, the Sugar Shoppe do the Mamas and the Papas, Jackie Gabriel sings Aretha Franklin or Fontelia Bass at her whim, the Staccatos exist as Xeroxes of the Four Seasons." Batten illustrated foreign influence of another kind when he emphasised the importance of international success, including a disc jockey's comments: "'American interests...are already looking around the Toronto scene.'" Insultingly, Batten implied that Canadian musicians were merely provincial rubes incapable of producing rock and pop:

Gradually, the Toronto rock scene begins to take on a look and feel of naivete: There's an atmosphere about it, even now, of converted hockey rinks and dance pavilions left over from the summer nights long ago when Claude Thornhill [an American pianist and bandleader popular in the 1940s and 1950s] came through town.

Dismissing the efforts of Canadian musicians, Batten wrote, "The notion begins to grow

⁹¹ Jack Batten, "Canada's Rock Scene: Going, Going...", *Maclean's*, February 1968, 34.

irresistible that Toronto has so far struck out in its attempts to create its own rock." The Canadian rock scene was meek and provisional: "How tentative it feels, as if this, of all the rock in the world, will blow away tomorrow. It isn't real. It never happened. And so maybe it was, last year, a lot of hype after all."⁹²

Music coverage in *Maclean's* from the late 1960s to the mid-1990s consistently portrayed Canadian produced rock and pop as inferior to foreign (particularly American) music. This 'inferiority complex' manifested itself in various ways. Authors expressed surprise that Canadian artists could actually produce financially successful or critically appraised music. They placed paramount importance on foreign success, and regularly insulted Canadian artists, often for not being as good as foreign artists. Furthermore, Canadian productions were derided as unoriginal copies of foreign artists, with artists often referred to as 'Canada's answer to' established foreign musicians and Canadian cities considered the northern equivalent of American ones famous for their musical output.⁹³

⁹² Batten, "Canada's Rock Scene: Going, Going...", 34, 44.

⁹³ Though comparisons between Canadian individuals or locales and their foreign counterparts may seem a minor point, it was one consistently present throughout the three decades of *Maclean's* music articles covered by this thesis, and the inference that the Canadian scene was a mere copy of a foreign one - that Canadian musicians were 'poor man's versions' of foreign artists - clearly acted as a none-too-subtle reinforcement of the entrenched inferiority complex.

2.1: The Inferiority Complex and Canadian Music in the Pre CanCon Era 1967-1970

'It's number one in Detroit and it's the Canadian station. It's the only place in Canada to break a record in the U.S. I'm not asking for a hype. I've accommodated myself, played their clubs, their hops, - and nothing. I'm Canadian, man, and they won't even listen to me.'

Gordon Lightfoot to *Maclean's* on his lack of airplay on Windsor radio station CKLW (1968)⁹⁴

Batten was not alone in revealing the inferiority complex surrounding Canadian music. Reference to "the all-important U.S. pop charts" in a story on Anne Murray, and descriptions of Gordon Lightfoot's frustration at not achieving American success, reinforced *Maclean's* emphasis on international recognition.⁹⁵ "A strange streak of sanity has run through Gordon Lightfoot's career so far," Peter Goddard wrote in June 1970, "But as much as Canadians have loved him for it, it hasn't helped him in the States record-biz-wise."⁹⁶ A 1969 profile of The Band revealed shock that Canadians could produce critically acclaimed music. "Its influence, seven months after the album's release," Alexander Ross wrote of their album *Music From Big Pink*, "now dominates the rock scene, and its practitioners, to a quite amazing extent, are Canadians."⁹⁷

Other derisive articles appeared during the pre-CanCon era. One asserted that "For all their diverse hairdos, most Canadian rock performers are as derivative as forged paintings and as interchangeable as bottle caps,"⁹⁸ while another was titled "How to become an American without really trying; Your first move? Get with the 'Canadian'

⁹⁴ Harris, "Gordon Lightfoot: Folk Singer With a Message," 60.

⁹⁵ Jon Ruddy, "The Pit And The Star," *Maclean's*, October 1970, 43; Harris, "Gordon Lightfoot: Folk Singer With a Message," 60.

⁹⁶ Peter Goddard, "Reviews, Records: Gordon Lightfoot: Sit Down young Stranger," *Maclean's*, June 1970, 75.

⁹⁷ Alexander Ross, "Color Them Big Pink: Pioneers? In a Way. They're the band from Big Pink, and they have launched the new 'Canadian sound' in rock," *Maclean's*, February 1969, 57.

⁹⁸ "Canadians you should know at Expo70," *Maclean's*, July 1969, 30.

music scene: it's as Yankee as Dylan and drive-ins." Although Jon Ruddy insulted Canadian musicians when he wrote that attempts at producing a folk festival to match Woodstock in Orangeville, Ontario had ended in predictable failure, it was his comment on the artists' lack of originality that illustrated the foremost trend of the inferiority complex during the pre-CanCon era.⁹⁹ Ruddy stated that Canadian listeners followed American trends and that the majority of chart-topping Canadian musicians were "indistinguishable in content and style" from US artists.¹⁰⁰ Other articles likened Leonard Cohen to Bob Dylan and mentioned Anne Murray's appearance on the CTV show *Nashville North*, while Peter Goddard's 1970 preview of the Canadian Content laws compared Gene MacLellan to Glen Campbell, Lighthouse to Blood, Sweat & Tears, and referred to Mashmakhan "as Canada's answer to everything that's hip and progressive."¹⁰¹ "The shouting now and then about some new rock group notwithstanding, the Canadian music industry has enjoyed its privacy," Goddard remarked. "With few exceptions, its function has been to mirror the parent industry in the United States. You could be guaranteed that whatever song was big in Los Angeles soon would be big in Kamloops." The article also continued the tone of faint insult by referring to the Canadian music industry as "cozy, in a minor-league sort of way."¹⁰²

Goddard also implied that the Canadian content laws would eliminate many of the factors of the inferiority complex, as the legislation would facilitate the production of popular and innovative music and that U.S. success would no longer be considered a

⁹⁹ Jon Ruddy, "How to become an American without really trying; Your first move? Get with the 'Canadian' music scene: it's as Yankee as Dylan and drive-ins," *Maclean's*, November 1969, 61.

¹⁰⁰ Ruddy, "How to become an American without really trying," 61,

¹⁰¹ "Checklistings, Records: *Songs of Leonard Cohen*," *Maclean's*, February 1968, 72.

Ruddy, "The Pit And The Star," 43.

¹⁰² Peter Goddard, "Reviews: A Maple Leaf On Every Turntable Means Made-In-Canada Pop Stars," *Maclean's*, November 1970, 91.

necessity. That Goddard reinforced the inferiority complex yet promoted attempts to eliminate it was both ironic and telling of the presence of the inferiority complex in the pre-CanCon years. More interesting was that even after the Canadian Content laws were adopted, *Maclean's* continued to encourage the inferiority complex and even blamed the legislation for damaging Canadian music culture.

2.2: The Inferiority Complex and Canadian Music Immediately after the introduction of the Canadian Content Laws 1971-1976

"Is all this made in Canada music we're listening to distinguishable in any way from the imported product? Has the Poppy family really enriched our musical experience?"

John MacFarlane on Ritchie Yorke's *Axes, Chops & Hot Licks* (1971)¹⁰³

John MacFarlane's surprise that Canadian musicians were making a living in Canada rather than leaving to pursue fame abroad reflected a continuation of the inferiority complex immediately after the introduction of the CanCon laws. MacFarlane wrote that the regulations had "created such a demand for Canadian music that our branch-plant recording industry is suddenly opening its studio doors to anyone who can hum *O Canada*." Although this comment implied insult to Canadian musicians, more explicit was his amazement that this had occurred at all. He continued, "It's a nice change: for too many years the Joni Mitchell's and Neil Youngs of this country have followed their careers across the border and then, there being no reason to return, have forgotten the way back."¹⁰⁴ This type of surprised commentary remained throughout the early part of the decade, with Gordon Lightfoot described as a "uniquely Canadian" star for achieving

¹⁰³ John MacFarlane, "Music: Dear Ritchie, Oh How I Hate To Write," *Maclean's*, December 1971, 94.

¹⁰⁴ John MacFarlane, "Music: What if Anne Murray Were An American?" *Maclean's*, May 1971, 78.

success abroad while remaining at home during the pre-CanCon era, and shock that Murray McLauchlan would willingly return to Canada to seek his livelihood.¹⁰⁵

Journalists expressed similar amazement whenever Canadian musicians produced interesting or progressive music. Between voicing shock experimental band Rough Trade could come from Canada, and statements such as "In a country whose music scene has rarely been known to be ahead of the times, the sound of Syrinx is exceptional," the general assumption of *Maclean's* writers was that cutting-edge music was beyond the normal creative capacities of Canadian musicians.¹⁰⁶ The notion implicit in these examples - that Canadians were somehow less capable of producing experimental or cutting-edge sounds - becomes far more obvious when considered in light of *Maclean's* statements on the originality of Canadian artists after the CanCon laws. MacFarlane's quoting of American music critic Richard Goldstein's question "'How come you (Canadians) clap your hands raw over an albino bluesman from Texas (Johnny Winter) and tap politely when your own man comes on? How come you treat an imitator like a patriot and an original like a foreigner?'" reinforced *Maclean's* author's bias that Canadian artists were unoriginal copies of foreign artists. The question was made all the more striking by MacFarlane's response: "The answer is simple: We haven't produced enough Canadian originals to be able to tell the difference."¹⁰⁷

Much of the criticism in *Maclean's* focused on the idea that Canadian-made music was indistinguishable from the American product. This is best summarised by Melinda

¹⁰⁵ John MacFarlane, "Music, On The Street Where You Live," *Maclean's*, January 1970, 70; Melinda McCracken, "Street Singer: Murray McLauchlan: city kid, artist, metaphor," *Maclean's*, March 1973, 80, 83.

¹⁰⁶ Marci McDonald, "Style; Chick Picks Sick Shtick," *Maclean's*, August 1975, 7; David McCaughna, "Music: Electronic Pop That Borders On Just About Anything," *Maclean's*, May 1972, 89.

¹⁰⁷ John MacFarlane, "Music: What if Anne Murray Were An American?," 78

McCracken's question, "What does Anne Murray do that couldn't originate in Los Angeles?" "Nothing," she answered, "But she has the quality necessary to be Canada's one and only female superstar, that is, universal appeal." Though this popularity could have been described positively, McCracken wrote of it as a drawback: "the doubts one has about her are based on the same universal appeal - anybody that is all things to all people can't be that interesting."¹⁰⁸ McCracken's comments illustrate the primary manner in which Canadian musicians were insulted in *Maclean's*, that is, damning with faint praise. *Maclean's* writers tended to extend a grudging compliment to the subject of their articles, only to follow it up with some immediate rebuke and then scorn. This was the case with a June 1971 story on the Guess Who, wherein Jack Batten's effusive opening turned first ambivalent, questioning the band's respectability, then to outright insult towards "the creative banality of their lyrics."¹⁰⁹ Further, Larry Leblanc praised the efforts of several Canadian musicians, but he quickly became dismissive of Canada's music community as a whole: "But it must be obvious to everyone by now that the style and content of Canadian music holds few surprises or innovations; there's no energetic eclecticism, none of rock's customary audience-rousing snap and punch." Leblanc further criticised the lack of charisma, talent, and innovation of Crowbar, The Stampeders, Edward Bear, and Lighthouse, and described Bachman-Turner Overdrive as "desperately needed," for they had "arrived on the scene at precisely the moment when Canadian rock finds itself in the most dismal state in years."¹¹⁰ Echoing these criticisms of Canadian musicians, Dennis Duffy wrote "So many of the truly talented people I'm writing about

¹⁰⁸ McCracken, "Music: The Voice, It's The Voice, That Warm Soothing Alto," *Maclean's*, June 1972, 86.

¹⁰⁹ Jack Batten, "Here it is, the big noise in Bubblegum music, Canada's richest and raunchiest rock band The Guess Who," *Maclean's*, June 1971, 28, 29, 54.

¹¹⁰ Larry Leblanc, "Music: Selling hard rock in a bubblegum world," *Maclean's*, May 1974, 98.

need to push in the direction of their deepest strengths, however crude it seems, and leave virtuosity to better men."¹¹¹

Although *Maclean's* credited the Canadian Content laws for helping create an environment in which Canadian artists could succeed at home financially, the magazine continued to place paramount importance on foreign success.¹¹² This was most apparent with coverage of Anne Murray. *Maclean's* highlighted the singer's appearance in *Rolling Stone*, placed her achievement of a U.S. Gold Record for "Snowbird" as number 4 on Canada's list of "50 Reasons For Feeling Better," and in a November 1974 cover story stated: "The most important consideration right now is to make it very, very big in the United States. And if that means giving up her image as queen of the high-school prom, that's just part of the price she has to pay."¹¹³ *Maclean's* emphasis on US success was not limited to Murray; the magazine highlighted that Neil Young had performed at famous American venues, mentioned the Downchild Blues Band's focus on Stateside success, and included Gordon Lightfoot's comments on his "huge American audience."¹¹⁴

Though Canadian music was cast as inferior during the early 1970s, foreign artists were not immune to criticism. Though these mentions were brief and few, *Maclean's* pointed out lacklustre internationally produced music as well. This included Heather Robertson's observations in September 1972 that "Commercial radio is only as good as

¹¹¹ Dennis Duffy, "Music: Competence In Place Of Brilliance," *Maclean's*, April 1973, 94.

¹¹² McCracken, "Street Singer: Murray McLauchlan: city kid, artist, metaphor," 80, 83; Roy MacGregor, "Music: Any More Messages Maestro?," *Maclean's*, February 1973, 86; Martin Melhuish, "Music: The 30% Solution: Still Music To A Lot Of Ears," *Maclean's*, April 1973, 53.

¹¹³ "Canada Report: Good News: 50 Reasons For Feeling Better," *Maclean's*, February 1971, 1; "Parade," *Maclean's*, February 1974, 10; Larry Leblanc, "The flip side of Anne Murray: Everyone knew it was there, but who would have guessed it would get full play?," *Maclean's*, November 1974, 95.

¹¹⁴ Bob Young and Jon Ruddy, "Neil Young: My Brother The Folk Singer," *Maclean's*, May 1971, 41, 42. Robert Markle, "Early Morning Afterthoughts: Gordon Lightfoot and the Canadian Dream," *Maclean's*, December 1971, 28; Jack Batten, "Music: blues for Mister Donnie," *Maclean's*, August 1975, 68; Leblanc, "Music; Selling hard rock in a bubblegum world," 98.

the music it plays. Last year it was playing the Beatles, seven years ago Dylan, 15 years ago Elvis. Right now it is playing Wayne Newton, Elton John, David Cassidy and the *Osmond Family*. Bubblegum rock." Robertson continued: "After a creative explosion, commercial radio is slipping happily back to the homogenized sound of the Fifties. Good rock has become too technically sophisticated for primitive AM radios: radio is drifting back to pop."¹¹⁵ Musician Gene Lees insulted American music after *Time* magazine criticised the Canadian Content laws in 1972. In defence of the regulations, Lees wrote that other countries had far stricter content laws and observed that these laws were designed, in all countries, "to protect their culture from immersion in a flood of American popular music, most of which has in recent years been a turgid, viscous, vulgar, illiterate, aesthetic sludge."¹¹⁶

As Lees' guest column demonstrated, derision of foreign artists often appeared alongside criticism of the CanCon regulations and of the Canadian music that developed in their wake. John MacFarlane's review of Ritchie Yorke's seminal book on Canadian music, *Axes, Chops & Hot Licks*, was highly critical of that work, foreign and domestic music, and the development that year of the Canadian Content regulations. "Most of the music we're making in Canada these days is no better than what spills over the border from the United States," MacFarlane wrote in December 1971. "And I refuse to be persuaded that I am showing something less than true patriot love if I say so." MacFarlane ended his column with Bruce Cockburn's statement from the book: "The

¹¹⁵ Heather Robertson, "Radio: Clogging The Air Waves With Noise And Drivel," *Maclean's*, September 1972, 82.

¹¹⁶ Gene Lees, "Music, Producing great sounds in spite of ourselves," *Maclean's*, August 1972, 70.

Canadian music business...is not yet as rotten as the U.S. scene. But it's showing signs of catching up."¹¹⁷

MacFarlane's statements revealed the substantial doubt that *Maclean's* writers had about the cultural benefits of the Canadian Content laws in the years following their introduction. The magazine often blamed the regulations for helping to foster the creation of poor quality music. Roy MacGregor wrote in 1973 that "the CRTC concerned itself with the quantity of Canadian music aired, not the quality, and as a result second and third-rate performers are cleaning up by restricting their productions to two-minute 'quickies.'" Consequently, radio stations could report that they had aired, however briefly, Canadian content, "then shelve them to allow additional time for the already proven hits from America and England."¹¹⁸ The results were doubly detrimental for Canadian musicians, *Maclean's* emphasised. First, Canadian musicians were forced to compromise because, "groups with protean, volatile talent, listening to Canadian radio and deriving from it an impression of what it takes to 'make it,' are likely to change their own styles to embrace the values radio feels safe with."¹¹⁹ If Canadian musicians failed to change their style, however, it was far worse, as they would receive no airplay at all. This had the effect that

You'd hardly know that Canadian groups such as Lighthouse, Mainline, Crowbar, and the Perth County Conspiracy existed if you listened only to AM radio. These groups have loyal followings, but they refuse to compromise their standards by adhering to a two-minute deadline when they record.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ MacFarlane, "Music, Dear Ritchie, Oh How I Hate To Write," 94.

¹¹⁸ MacGregor, "Music: Any More Messages Maestro?," 86.

¹¹⁹ Leblanc, "Music: Selling hard rock in a bubblegum world," 96.

¹²⁰ MacGregor, "Music: Any More Messages Maestro?," 86.

Further criticising the CanCon laws, *Maclean's* repeated Gordon Lightfoot's comment that the legislation hurt the careers of established musicians, Ian Tyson's resentment of the nationalism inherent in the rulings, and Burton Cummings reference to them as "a joke."¹²¹ However, it was Terry Jacks (whose 1974 single, "Seasons In The Sun" was one of the biggest-selling of all time) who was most damning of the CanCon laws. "'The legislation was lobbied for by a bunch of crybabies who couldn't get their records sold,'" Jacks asserted. *Maclean's* also reported that the Canadian Content laws had affected the credibility of Canadian music internationally, as some American broadcasters believed that their Canadian counterparts were forced to play inferior music.¹²² This type of criticism had a dual effect; *Maclean's* reinforced the inferiority complex through implication that Canadian music was inferior to the foreign product, and it continued to emphasise that American success was paramount.

2.3: The Inferiority Complex and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage 1976-1984

They say: 'You can't be Canadian - that sort of thing is only for Hollywood.' As if it can't be done in Montreal.

Gino Siccio on people's reaction that he is Canadian (1979)¹²³

Pat Travers and Sylvia Tyson lamented the inferiority complex that surrounded Canadian music in the 1976-1984 period and *Maclean's* coverage did little to allay their concerns.¹²⁴ *Maclean's* continued to refer to Canadian musicians as unoriginal copies of foreign artists, with Patsy Gallant compared to Cher and Melissa Manchester, and punk

¹²¹ Markle, "Early Morning Afterthoughts: Gordon Lightfoot and the Canadian Dream," 28; Melhuish, "Music; The 30% Solution: Still Music To A Lot Of Ears," 53.

¹²² Melhuish, "Music; The 30% Solution: Still Music To A Lot Of Ears," 53.

¹²³ Robin Green, "Music; Dancing to the dance," *Maclean's*, 27 August 1979, 40.

¹²⁴ "People," *Maclean's*, 18 September 1978, 45; Maureen Piercy "People," *Maclean's*, 26 May 1980, 34.

band Teenage Head called "the Ramones of the North."¹²⁵ Most telling was the 5 September 1977 story in which Ron Base criticised the state of country music in Canada. Although Canadian country music once had a distinctive style, Base asserted that this had been discarded "in the rush to imitate American singers broadcast straight into Canadian living rooms via WSM's *Grand Ole Opry*, and all-night disc jockey on WWVA in Wheeling, West Virginia." The country music critic complained that, "Canadian performers believe they can become big stars by their damndest to *sound* as if they were born within spitting distance of the Mason-Dixon line." For example, Tommy Hunter, "certainly the most popular country singer on television," had grown up in London, Ontario, yet in his performances he "affects a drawl he surely developed listening to the recordings of his boyhood idol, Roy Acuff."¹²⁶ A more curious example of Canadian musicians who were considered unoriginal copies of foreign artists came in the story of the group Klaatu. The Toronto band's debut album sold a modest 15,000 copies before rumours began circulating that the group was the reincarnation of the Beatles. Attributing the sales of 500,000 copies by mid 1977 to their Fab Four-sounding music, *Maclean's* writers opined that "almost before you could say 'Is Paul McCartney dead?' fans, 13 to 33, deprived of new Beatle music since 1970, snapped up copies of the disc, and began finding Beatle references in everything from song lyrics to the cover art." The high sales figures did not last for Klaatu *Maclean's* noted - after it was revealed the group "were in fact a quartet from Toronto, sales dropped to a trickle."¹²⁷

¹²⁵ David Livingstone, "For The Record," *Maclean's*, 4 February 1980, 46; David Livingstone, "For The Record: Rowdies and Rhetoricians," *Maclean's*, 31 May 1982, 56.

¹²⁶ Ron Base, "Closeup/Music; Sex in the heartland: What makes Carroll Baker different? Listen to the words," 5 September 1977, 32.

¹²⁷ John Sakamoto, "Music: And the beat goes on," *Maclean's*, 22 August 1977, 63; Ken Waxman, "Music: Hearing is believing," *Maclean's*, 16 May 1977, 78.

Insults towards Canadian music continued when *Maclean's* coverage of the 1983 Juno Award repeated Rough Trade's Carole Pope's insults toward Anne Murray, while columnist Barbara Righton faulted Burton Cummings for being fat.¹²⁸ In an effort to understand Gino Vanelli's lack of domestic fame, Marni Jackson speculated that in an era of progressive sexuality typified by Rod Stewart's girlishness and The Village People's satire, Vanelli's un-ironic machismo and sex symbol status were seen as shallow and empty.¹²⁹ Other insults included reference to the "the stuffy little world of Canadian pop," statements like "Canada's track record in folk, blues, and rock keep improving, but there are entire strains of pop music sorrily undeveloped," and a feature article that, although praising of the efforts of the Nylons, damned the output of other Canadian performers: "Until now, such pizzazz has rarely been glimpsed North of the 49th."¹³⁰ Such comments revealed that *Maclean's* continued to view Canadian artists as producers of inferior music in the 1976-1984 period.

Maclean's continued to view American success as paramount. In a 6 September 1976 story, the musician Valdy stated to *Maclean's* he was comfortable with domestic-only success. Writer Jean Reed implied through a description of the cover art for his album *Valdy And The Home Town Band*, however, that this was not the case. Reed described the album as depicting "a trailer truck superimposed on a topographical drawing of the west coast. The caption reads: 'Folksinger Deluxe with Side of Fries' - Valdy's mischievous self-description." Reed concluded that the "The message is cocky

¹²⁸ Barbara Righton, "People," *Maclean's*, 18 April 1983, 37.

¹²⁹ Marni Jackson, "Frontlines: High-flying Gino Vanelli: More than meets the eye," *Maclean's*, 28 May 1979, 4, 5, 6.

¹³⁰ Tom Hopkins, "Closeup/Music; Gordon's Song: Portrait of the artist as a no-longer young man," *Maclean's*, 1 May 1978, 31; David Livingstone, "For The Record," *Maclean's*, 22 February 1982, 44a; David Livingstone, "Music: Seamless songs from the street," *Maclean's*, 8 March 1982, 66.

and cryptic: the truck is headed south."¹³¹ A 1981 article on Bruce Cockburn acknowledged that he had remained in Canada while other folksingers of the 1960s and 1970s departed for the US, but the writer emphasised the need for Canadian artists to be legitimised by foreign sources through reference to his sold-out Italian tour, reviews of his work in *Rolling Stone* and *Melody Maker*, and through note that Cockburn had attracted interest from West German jazz label ECM Records.¹³² This perceived need for foreign legitimacy also arose with coverage of Toronto's El Mocambo, which *Maclean's* described as "a magnet for the best rock acts in the world and a much-needed sign of legitimacy for the fledgling Canadian music industry," but only after an appearance by the Rolling Stones.¹³³

The magazine also emphasised that the newest medium of the era could be utilised by Canadians to gain foreign success. Though *Maclean's* stressed that MuchMusic would allow Canadian audiences to watch domestic videos, the magazine stressed the advent of the network as a vehicle for international prosperity. "We are going to make regional bands national, the Canadian video industry is going to explode," Gillian MacKay quoted program director John Martin, "and there is no way the Americans can ignore us now."¹³⁴ Videos could be used to gain American success and the magazine reported that Canada's video producers were focused primarily on the U.S. market. *Maclean's* authors highlighted that Canadian videos played on MTV would facilitate lucrative U.S. record deals, and noted that this had already resulted in a lack of

¹³¹ Jean Read, "Show Business; Valdy crack corn, but he don't care/It's money in the bank," *Maclean's*, 6 September 1976, 66.

¹³² Ian Pearson, "Music: Dancing in the jaws of change," *Maclean's*, 7 September 1981, 54.

¹³³ Ken Waxman, "Music: The house that Mick built," *Maclean's*, 17 April 1978, 76d.

¹³⁴ Gillian MacKay, "Television; Panoramic screen changes," *Maclean's*, 24 September 1984, 49.

Canadian style due to conformity to American models. Paul McGrath stressed that this would result in a positive financial and creative outcome for Canadian video producers, but he reinforced the Canadian inferiority complex nevertheless. "For video-producing Canadians that will lead to more jobs, wider markets, larger audiences and a new creative challenge," he wrote in a September 1984 piece on music and television. "Still, no matter how original or intelligent those videos become, their producers know that to be successful they must keep tuned in to their southern neighbour's TV screens."¹³⁵ That international success was essential was furthered by *Maclean's* consistent reference to foreign sales, chart appearances, magazine coverage, and tours with established musicians being considered marks of achievement for Canadian artists.¹³⁶

2.3.1: The Inferiority Complex and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage of Hard Rock 1976-1984

"Aging rock critics, weaned on the erratic and explosive rock legends of the 1960s, dismiss it as franchise rock, the bands as faceless and standardized as McDonald's restaurants."

Maclean's Rock Critic Thomas Hopkins (1982)¹³⁷

Canadian hard rock bands achieved international success during the 1976-1984 period, and *Maclean's* coverage of the genre was substantial, with the magazine featuring several stories dedicated to the genre and profiling many individual musicians. *Maclean's* stressed the high American record sales and chart positions of Rush, Loverboy, Triumph

¹³⁵ Paul McGrath, "Television; Makers of the illustrated hit parade," *Maclean's*, 24 September 1984, 52.

¹³⁶ Judith Timson, "Music; If they don't like Murray McLauchlan, then they can go to hell," *Maclean's*, 31 October 1977, 80; Jackson, "Frontlines: High-flying Gino Vanelli: More than meets the eye," 4; Tom Hopkins, "Music: The Great McGarrigles," *Maclean's*, 4 April 1977, 77.

¹³⁷ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 46.

and April Wine, and primarily focused on hard rock bands that achieved American success.¹³⁸ This emphasis consistently reinforced all aspects of the inferiority complex.

Thomas Hopkins observed in 1982 that "Canadian rock musicians are riding a wave of pop success that has become the entertainment story of the year," and related that there was an "unprecedented concentration of Canadian rock bands making it at home, and especially abroad."¹³⁹ Hopkins' surprise that Canadians could achieve international success became even more apparent in *Maclean's* coverage of Rush and Loverboy.

David Livingstone admitted his confusion about Rush's appeal and popularity in his review of their *Permanent Waves* album. Roy MacGregor wrote that success was unexpected as early critics had roundly dismissed the band. Furthermore, Ken Waxman stated of their American fans that "it's safe to say that few knew they were cheering a band of well-adjusted all Canadian boys from the suburbs of Toronto."¹⁴⁰ Hopkins echoed these thoughts when he wrote of the success of another Canadian hard rock group in the United States. "For the mid-American moppets standing on their chairs, the members of Loverboy are tonight's rock 'n' roll heroes," he noted. "Ironically, many don't realize Loverboy is Canadian or that much of the good mainstream North American rock they have been hearing and buying in the past year is being made north of the border."¹⁴¹

Moreover, *Maclean's* reported that the sales of 1.2 million copies of Loverboy's self-titled

¹³⁸ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 44; "Images of '81: Entertainment," *Maclean's*, 28 December 1981, 40.

¹³⁹ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 44.

¹⁴⁰ David Livingstone, "For The Record," *Maclean's*, 3 March 1980, 43; Roy MacGregor, "Closeup/Music: To hell with Bob Dylan: Meet Rush. They're in it for the money," *Maclean's*, 23 January 1978, 30; Ken Waxman, "Music: All hail the heirs apparent!," *Maclean's*, 12 July 1976, 56.

¹⁴¹ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 44.

debut caught CBS off guard, with the record label originally shipping just 20,000 copies.¹⁴²

Maclean's credited "the demoralized, recession-dampened U.S. music scene" of the late 1970s and early 1980s as the driving force behind the success of Canadian hard rock bands, but also cited the high cost of touring Canada and the lucrative U.S. market as reasons why Canadian musicians turned their attention outside the country.¹⁴³ Beyond these factors, however, *Maclean's* continued to place paramount importance on American success, and repeatedly highlighted that Canadian bands had scored gold and platinum records, and referred to U.S. exposure, releases, and sales as essential, coveted, and dazzling.¹⁴⁴ Livingstone compared Max Webster to Guy Lombardo, "a Canadian performer who managed to crack the American market," and noted that "while no one is saying that Max Webster wants to shift its party from Toronto to Times Square, it is bent on establishing its name beyond the border."¹⁴⁵ *Maclean's* reinforced the importance of American success by recalling the Guess Who's status as the first Canadian band to top U.S. charts, noting that Rush's Canadian tour was "almost an afterthought," and remarking that for Canadian hard rock musicians "an invasion of the American heartland has always been the formula for success."¹⁴⁶

The surprise international success of Canadian hard rock bands did not lead to praise from *Maclean's*. The magazine repeatedly insulted them for being derivative,

¹⁴² Bart Testa, "Music: Rock without roll," *Maclean's*, 10 August 1981, 47.

¹⁴³ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 44; Jean Read, "Music: The girls in the band," *Maclean's*, 1 November 1976, 78; Testa, "Music: Workingman's rock," 56.

¹⁴⁴ Read, "Music: The girls in the band," 78; Testa, "Music: Workingman's rock," 54; Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 44; Testa, "Music: Rock without roll," 47.

¹⁴⁵ David Livingstone, "Music: High school heroes leading the pack; Max Webster's years of playing the bars are paying off," *Maclean's*, 26 January 1981, 53.

¹⁴⁶ Hopkins, "Music: Randy Bachman, BTO, and the fine art of pandering," *Maclean's*, 9 August 1976, 69. Waxman, "Music: All hail the heirs apparent!," 56; Testa, "Music: Workingman's rock," 56.

banal, and identical to foreign musicians, with Hopkins the most vociferous critic.¹⁴⁷

"Canada's strength is straight, uncomplicated beverage-room fare - hoser rock," he wrote, and the derivative style angered veteran rock and roll critics. He furthered this by quoting former *Maclean's* (and then-current *Toronto Star*) rock critic Peter Goddard's comments on Loverboy that "the rocker once saw his role to intimidate. These rockers want to ingratiate," as well as a *Billboard* editor's reference to the genre as "Bland s--t."¹⁴⁸ Peter C. Newman decried the harder sounds as well, and compared John Lennon's 1969 Woodstock North concert "dedicated to peace, love, and international understanding," to a recent Toronto hard rock festival. "Nine years later," Newman wrote, "the Canada Jam rock festival at Mosport was distinguished only by the amount of beer consumed."¹⁴⁹ The most damning comments were directed at personal appearances, and included one which compared the comedy duo the McKenzie brothers with Canada's hard rockers:

Sniffing the rarefied air at the summit of pop sales along with Canada's surprising rockers are SCTV spin-offs Bob and Doug McKenzie. Their album, *The Great White North*, is on its way to platinum in the United States. The match up is appropriate. Bob and Doug symbolize the cement-head look and feel of the current wave of Canadian pop.¹⁵⁰

Finally, *Maclean's* referred to Carole Pope's fashion sense as being "entirely atypical of Canadian rock 'n' rollers," before including her outright belittlement of the appearances of

¹⁴⁷ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 47; Testa, "Music: Rock without roll," 47; Hopkins, "Music; Randy Bachman, BTO, and the fine art of pandering," 69.

¹⁴⁸ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 46. Hopkins was not alone in his criticism, however, as a year-end entertainment report called Canadian hard rock groups "ear-bleed bands," while Bart Testa referred to Streethart as "a gutbucket Regina bar band" that was "A perfectly terrible group by the 'state of the art' standards of corporate rock." "Images of '81: Entertainment," 40; Testa, "Music; Workingman's rock," 56;

¹⁴⁹ Peter C. Newman, "The Seventies: A witch's brew of a decade," *Maclean's*, 29 January 1979, 39.

¹⁵⁰ Hopkins, "Music: Canadian rock Rolls South," 44-46.

Canada's hard rock musicians: "Who wants to see a bunch of ugly men with long hair?"¹⁵¹

2.4: The Inferiority Complex and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage 1985-1995

It's nice to have this recognition in Canada...but people are always asking me, 'Are you a millionaire yet?' And I have to say, 'I may be a pop star, but I'm a Canadian pop star.'

Steven Page of the Barenaked Ladies (1993)¹⁵²

All aspects of the inferiority complex continued after 1985, with direct insults to Canadian musicians as pointed as ever. *Maclean's* inferred that Geddy Lee's irritating voice was the reason Rush had never been critical favourites, highlighted a *Billboard* story that called the Barenaked Ladies "a novelty act," and "Barney for teenagers," and in a single article called Celine Dion's work contrived, derivative, banal and overproduced.¹⁵³ *Maclean's* also published the results of a January 1988 Decima research poll that found that 25 percent of Canadians believed Canadian musicians were worse than American musicians, compared to only 20 percent who believed they were better.¹⁵⁴ This was hardly a surprising result, however, given the vituperation that *Maclean's* writers heaped on Canadian performers. Canadian musicians continued to be viewed as unoriginal copies of foreign artists, with Candi and Molly Johnson of Alta Moda compared to Madonna, Barney Bentall likened to Bruce Springsteen, the Tea Party mentioned as being "pigeonholed as Led Zeppelin fronted by Jim Morrison," while

¹⁵¹ David Livingstone, "Music: A sound track for flesh and fashion," *Maclean's*, 8 November 1982, 77.

¹⁵² Nicholas Jennings, "No more class clowns; Barenaked Ladies get dressed for American Success," *Maclean's*, 22 August 1994, 53.

¹⁵³ Nicholas Jennings, "Rock 'n' Roll Royalty; Rush is a thriving - and lucrative - entity," *Maclean's*, 30 September 1991, 66; Jennings, "No more class clowns; Barenaked Ladies get dressed for American Success," 53; E. Kaye Fulton, "Queen Celine; The Former Child Star From Quebec Is Conquering The World," *Maclean's*, 1 June 1992, 42.

¹⁵⁴ Andrew Philip and Cindy Barrett, "Patriotism: Defining Identity," *Maclean's*, 4 January 1988, 45.

Alanis Morissette was called "a populist answer to Courtney Love."¹⁵⁵ Toronto's country music scene continued to be labelled as "Nashville North," while *Maclean's* noted that independent music in Halifax garnered that city the title of "the next Seattle," an allusion to the American city that spawned the popular grunge movement.¹⁵⁶

Surprise that Canadians could produce commercially successful and critically appraised music did not dissipate in *Maclean's* coverage after 1985. This included shock that Toronto had become a country and western hotbed, that Halifax was hailed for its indie rock, and that rap music could emerge from Canada. *Maclean's* was floored by the international success of Snow's "Informer" and remarked that Willowdale, Ontario - the home of the Dream Warriors - "seemed an unlikely base for two of the fastest-rising stars in rap music, a musical style more associated with U.S. ghettos than Canadian suburbs."¹⁵⁷ Authors expressed similar shock with Jane Siberry's ability to achieve hits with her quirky music; John McDermott's popular folk sounds; the level of excitement

¹⁵⁵ "People: Canadian Material Girl," *Maclean's*, 17 December 1990, 46; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Sirens of Queen Street," *Maclean's*, 16 November 1987, T8; Pamela Young, "People," *Maclean's*, 15 August 1988, 46; Johnson, Bliss, and Gregor, "Yabba dabba déjà vu: Pop culture reverts to the Flint/Stones Age," 37; Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Adventures of Alanis in Wonderland," *Maclean's*, 11 December 1995, 64. The Tea Party also compared with the Doors and Led Zeppelin: Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record: Star turns, stumbles; veterans have mixed success; newer acts shine," *Maclean's*, 24 April 1995, 82.

¹⁵⁶ Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Even Cowgirls Sing the Blues," *Maclean's*, 17 April 1989, 59; John Demont, "Lifestyles: Read all about it: Halifax is hip! A new music scene in the old provincial capital is suddenly winning rave reviews," *Maclean's*, 25 October 1993, 52; John Demont, "Special Report: The Last Best Place - Halifax has rediscovered a lost youth to go with its sense of history," *Maclean's*, 19 June 1995, 24.

¹⁵⁷ Jennings, "Music: Even Cowgirls Sing the Blues," 59; "People: Smear campaign," *Maclean's*, 6 September 1993, 51; Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Blazing musical trails; The Dream Warriors top the British charts," *Maclean's*, 29 April 1991, T8; Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Snow Business: An Irish-Canadian is all the rage in rap," *Maclean's*, 3 May 1993, 48-49. The surprise that rap could be produced by a Canadian was not limited to *Maclean's* writers as a 1994 'People' section mentioned that Maestro Fresh Wes had just released his appropriately titled fourth album, *Naah, Dis Kid Can't Be From Canada?* "People: Street Rap," *Maclean's*, 18 April 1994, 70.

surrounding soon-to-be superstars Celine Dion, Shania Twain, and Alanis Morissette; and the Cowboy Junkies low-tech approach which brought unexpected international fame.¹⁵⁸

Much of the amazement surrounding the success of Canadian performers related to the perceived uniqueness of the entertainers: their appearances, subject matter, or approach to their craft. *Maclean's* writers consistently treated k.d lang's success as a curiosity, and questioned her blend of musical styles, the lower-case spelling of her name, cowpunk look, and her claim that she was a reincarnated Patsy Cline. Later articles emphasised the singer's revelation that she was a lesbian and a staunch vegetarian, but still touched on how her unique appearance and approach helped elevate her to fame.¹⁵⁹ *Maclean's* also found the Crash Test Dummies' success surprising and called multi-platinum sales figures for their debut record *The Ghosts That Haunt Me* astonishing, meteoric, and "a rare achievement for any new Canadian act."¹⁶⁰ These achievements were all the more unexpected due to the esoteric subject matter of philosophy, art, and literature that the group regularly tackled. Nicholas Jennings made this clear in his November 1993 description: "Oddball is the word that sums up this Winnipeg band, from

¹⁵⁸ Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Bound for glory; Jane Siberry reaches for greater heights," *Maclean's*, 9 October 1989, 63; Pamela Young, "Music: Sweet laments: John McDermott's singing touches the heart," *Maclean's*, 29 March 1993, 45; Fulton, "Queen Celine: The Former Child Star From Quebec Is Conquering The World," 40-42; Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Country Princess; rising star Shania Twain fought hard for her newfound success," *Maclean's*, 28 August 1995, 54-55; Jennings, "Music: Adventures of Alanis in Wonderland," 64; Jennings, "Music: Even Cowgirls Sing the Blues," 59; Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Melancholy mavericks: Cowboy Junkies chart their own course," *Maclean's*, 19 March 1990, 52-53; "*Maclean's* Honor Roll: Shyly into the Limelight: Margo Timmins: A quiet voice that sounds as if it is trying to take the melancholy chill off a Canadian winter," *Maclean's*, 31 December 1990, 20-21.

¹⁵⁹ "Opening Notes: A Stench that is Skin Deep," *Maclean's*, 16 July 1990, 6; "People: Gentleman Stompin' Tom," *Maclean's*, 8 July 1991, 37; Brian D. Johnson, "Music: A Lighter Side Of Lang - All aglow with a new album, k. d. is feeling no pain," *Maclean's*, 6 November 1995, 68.

¹⁶⁰ Nicholas Jennings, "Crash Test Smarties: The Dummies Win Top Grades For Clever Songs," *Maclean's*, 27 March 1995, 46; Nicholas Jennings, "Cover: Domestic Bands Win Acclaim: Rock Stars Seek A Wider Stage," *Maclean's*, 27 January 1992, 52.

its incongruous name to its unlikely hits about death and superheroes."¹⁶¹ The success of the Barenaked Ladies was also surprising, particularly because of their less-than-rock-star-looks and geeky, humorous lyrics about their suburban upbringing. "An oddball success story, the Ladies...have defied music industry norms from the start," Jennings wrote, echoing his description of the Crash Test Dummies.¹⁶² The Barenaked Ladies business approach was most shocking. *Maclean's* called sales of 80,000 copies of their independently-produced self-titled debut album "the sort of quantities that make record company executives drool," and noted that these figures helped lead the group to sign with U.S.-based Sire Records.¹⁶³

When Canadian musicians did sign foreign recording contracts, *Maclean's* heralded the achievement a key measure of success. Nicholas Jennings stressed the importance of an international major label deal: "Indeed, without the backing of a major, foreign-owned label, breaking into the highly competitive American market is almost impossible."¹⁶⁴ When Canadian musicians Luba, Jane Siberry, Colin James, and Celine Dion, signed with a major international label, *Maclean's* enthusiastically reported it.¹⁶⁵ When Halifax's Sloan signed to the American Geffen label, *Maclean's* quoted Chris

¹⁶¹ Jennings, "Crash Test Smarties: The Dummies Win Top Grades For Clever Songs," 47; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; The Defiant Ones: Canadian artists strike out in new directions," *Maclean's*, 1 November 1993, 74.

¹⁶² Nicholas Jennings, "Music: Naked ambition: The Barenaked Ladies blend rock and satire," *Maclean's*, 8 March 1993, 54.

¹⁶³ Nicholas Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes! There is a Bold New Beat Across the Country," *Maclean's*, 27 March 1995," 42.

¹⁶⁴ Jennings, "Domestic Bands Win Acclaim; Rock Stars Seek A Wider Stage," 52-53.

¹⁶⁵ Anthony Wilson Smith, "Music: A Bashful Candidate For Pop Stardom," *Maclean's*, 4 August 1986, 46, Jennings, "Music: Bound for glory; Jane Siberry reaches for greater heights," 63; Nicholas Jennings "Music; Vancouver's rock 'n' roll explosion," *Maclean's*, 21 March 1988, 62, 63; Jennings, "Cover; Domestic Bands Win Acclaim; Rock Stars Seek A Wider Stage," 53.

Murphy as saying "It's all so retarded"...This is the classic lucky-duck American deal."¹⁶⁶

Maclean's also stressed the principal importance of international success in other ways, such as highlighting when Canadian musicians were featured in foreign magazines. These mentions were not limited to high profile popular music magazines such as *Billboard*, *Rolling Stone*, *Spin*, or *Melody Maker*, but any publication that gave coverage to Canadian music, including *Elle*, *Entertainment Weekly*, *People*, *USA Today*, *The Village Voice* and *The New York, London, and Los Angeles Times*. *Maclean's* also highlighted when Canadian musicians appeared on American television including Alanis Morissette on *Saturday Night Live*, *The Late Show With David Letterman*, and the *MTV Video Awards*; Michelle Wright on the Nashville Network and Country Music Television; Barenaked Ladies on *Late Night with Conan O'Brien*; and k.d. lang and Blue Rodeo on *The Tonight Show With Johnny Carson*, which the magazine referred to as realising "an entertainer's dream."¹⁶⁷ Presumably intended to reflect the worldwide success of Canadian performers, *Maclean's* emphasis on foreign respectability reinforced the inferiority complex.

There were myriad other ways that *Maclean's* stressed that foreign success was paramount. The magazine noted the sales of Canadian records in international markets; reported that Canadians had received American music awards; and related when Canadian artists recorded, appeared in concert with, or were praised by established

¹⁶⁶ "People: Smear campaign," 51.

¹⁶⁷ Jennings, "Music: Adventures of Alanis in Wonderland," 64; Anthony Wilson-Smith, "Music: The queen of country; A smoky-voiced star sings from the heart," *Maclean's*, 20 July 1992, 51; Jennings, "No more class clowns; Barenaked Ladies get dressed for American Success," 53; Nicholas Jennings and Anne Gregor, "Music; A bracing breeze from Western Canada," *Maclean's*, 30 May 1988, 58, 59; Nancy Wood and William Lowther, "The Arts: Cultural Road Blocks," *Maclean's*, 26 August 1991, 47.

foreign musicians. *Maclean's* contributors observed that tours by Canadian artists often neglected homegrown audiences. Although American successes were emphasised and considered as the pinnacle for domestic musicians, *Maclean's* stressed Canadian achievements in Great Britain, France, Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines as well. *Maclean's* devoted minor coverage to the idea that Canadian musicians could succeed without foreign success, but the sheer volume of repeated references to magazines, awards, record signings, and all other manner of foreign recognition, emphasised that *Maclean's* overwhelming - and, for the most part, sole - definer for Canadian achievement was success outside the country.¹⁶⁸

The pressure to succeed internationally was most apparent from the *Maclean's* writers themselves. Ruth Atherley devoted her entire July 1987 profile of Canadian artists, "Seeking Pop's Promised Land," to American success, and reiterated her message in a separate column on Canada's highest music prize. "Although the Junos honor Canadian talent," she wrote, "they serve a pop music industry that thrives on American recognition."¹⁶⁹ After Shania Twain's performance at the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York City, Brian D. Johnson called her a "Canadian guest star carving her name in the American Dream," while Nicholas Jennings underscored that even for well-respected, long established Canadian musicians, domestic success was not enough. "For more than 20 years, Bruce Cockburn has established himself as the conscience of Canadian pop music, a passionate artist who has won over critics and listeners with songs

¹⁶⁸ Johnson and Atherley, "People: The Juno Awards: The Stars of Music," 62; Barbara Wickens, ed., "Homegrown Platinum," *Maclean's*, 13 February 1995, 46; Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes!," 40, 41, 42; Stephen Ostick, "Letters: Success at home," *Maclean's*, 24 April 1995, 6.

¹⁶⁹ Ruth Atherley, "Seeking Pop's Promised Land," *Maclean's*, 6 July 1987, 36; Johnson and Atherley, "People: The Juno Awards: The Stars of Music," 62.

about nature, spirituality and social injustice," he wrote. "Yet outside the country, Cockburn is a cult figure with only a cult following," Jennings continued, and predicted that the singer's catchy *Nothing but a Burning Light* would see his international breakthrough.¹⁷⁰ Brian D. Johnson's 7 December 1992 interview with Leonard Cohen underscored how inherent, pervasive, and longstanding, this aspect of the inferiority complex was. "We're all America-watchers, Canadians," Johnson quoted Cohen. "We're brought up to watch America the way women are brought up to watch men."¹⁷¹

2.4.1: The Inferiority Complex and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage of Bryan Adams 1985-1995

'When I look back on how hard I pushed to get those records played in Canada, it didn't make any difference...It wasn't until my record was enormously successful overseas and in America that back home they said, 'Mmmm, maybe it's good.'

Bryan Adams (1992)¹⁷²

Maclean's writers initially praised Bryan Adams. Anthony Wilson-Smith called him "Canada's most recognizable rock star," and David Livingstone wrote that "There is perhaps no male in Canadian music better equipped to sing rock 'n' roll." By August 1985, even articles on Adams revealed the pervasiveness of the inferiority complex, which invariably dominated later articles.¹⁷³ That month, Brian D. Johnson highlighted that *Heaven* had become the first Canadian single since 1978 to become number one on American charts, and noted that Adams' touring schedule focused on the U.S. and

¹⁷⁰ Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Rock with a twist; Three Canadians span a multitude of styles," *Maclean's*, 9 October 1991, 101, 103.

¹⁷¹ Brian D. Johnson, "Music: Life of a Lady's Man," *Maclean's*, 7 December 1992, 64.

¹⁷² Johnson and Young, "Rock On A Roll; Bryan Adams Brings His Tour Home To Canada in Triumph - and Controversy," 47.

¹⁷³ Wilson-Smith, "Music: The Ambitions of a Relentless Rocker," 66; David Livingstone, "For The Record: From Slugs to Muffins," *Maclean's*, 14 February 1983, 60.

neglected most Canadian cities. His comparison, of course, was with foreign artists: Englishman Rod Stewart and one of *Maclean's* favourite subjects in the 1980s, American Bruce Springsteen. The article also repeated derisive comments from a *Rolling Stone* review of the artist: "Vancouver-bred Bryan Adams has typically produced the closest thing yet to generic rock 'n' roll, long on formal excellence but short on originality."¹⁷⁴ *Maclean's* readers were critical of the lack of coverage given Adams. One letter to the editor scolded the publication for only providing this story while Springsteen was allowed both the cover and a lengthy article a mere month later.¹⁷⁵ Another letter writer noted that the 'Images of '85' section failed to recognise the foreign success of Adams' *Reckless*.¹⁷⁶

Maclean's critics were unmoved by popular pleas with subsequent articles continuing to infer the inferiority of Adams' music. A cover story by Nicholas Jennings, "The Superstar," published in 1987, continued to refer to Adams' music as unoriginal, reiterated some of the more insulting criticisms he had suffered from American magazines, and called into question the artist's credibility to speak on political and social issues.¹⁷⁷ The release of Adams' popular *Waking Up The Neighbours* album garnered a second cover appearance, which furthered all aspects of the inferiority complex. An October 1991 review noted his international popularity but questioned his originality and provided another instance of damning by faint praise: "Although he is no artist, Adams is

¹⁷⁴ Brian D. Johnson and Jane O'Hara, "Music, The Master of Rock 'n' Roll Romance," *Maclean's*, 5 August 1985, 54-55.

¹⁷⁵ Heather Roberts, "Letters," *Maclean's*, 7 October 1985, 8.

¹⁷⁶ Julie Gold, "Letters: Looking for Bryan Adams," *Maclean's*, 6 January 1986, 4.

¹⁷⁷ Nicholas Jennings, "Cover: The Superstar," *Maclean's*, 6 July 1987, 34.

clearly one performer who is mastering the craft of rock 'n' roll."¹⁷⁸ "The universal appeal of Adams is not immediately obvious," wrote Brian D. Johnson and Pamela Young for Adams' cover appearance on 27 January 1992. "As a rough-voiced rocker who writes infectious hits, he could be called a lighthearted Bruce Springsteen, a clean-cut Rod Stewart or a Sting without the venom--all contradictions in terms." Further, Johnson and Young described Adams' music as banal, cliched, and devoid of intelligence. By including an American critic's statement that "'if John Mellencamp had his brain removed, he'd sound like Bryan Adams,'" they asserted that other critics - particularly all-important American ones - agreed with their harsh assessment.¹⁷⁹

Adams' fight with the CRTC dominated coverage of this performer in the early 1990s. *Maclean's* writers took umbrage over Adams' comments that the Canadian Content laws were hypocritical, unnecessary, bred mediocrity, and ought to be abandoned.¹⁸⁰ Both Nicholas Jennings and Brian D. Johnson highlighted that industry insiders and musicians other than Adams believed that the regulations should be kept because they had helped create a successful Canadian recording industry. "The regulations are not perfect," concurred editor-in-chief Kevin Doyle in the 27 January 1992 issue. "But they have been largely responsible for creating an atmosphere of confidence in which the music business was willing to take chances and eventually become strong."¹⁸¹ Doyle's comments, as well as those made by Jennings and Johnson,

¹⁷⁸ Jennings, "For The Record; Rock with a twist; Three Canadians span a multitude of styles," 101.

¹⁷⁹ Johnson and Young, "Rock On A Roll; Bryan Adams Brings His Tour Home To Canada in Triumph - and Controversy," 47.

¹⁸⁰ Doyle, "From the Editor's Desk: Rules to Sing About," 2; Johnson and Young, "Rock On A Roll; Bryan Adams Brings His Tour Home To Canada in Triumph - and Controversy," 47; Nicholas Jennings "For The Record: Rollicking Sounds: New albums prove the vibrancy of Canadian rock," *Maclean's*, 13 July 1992, 46.

¹⁸¹ Doyle, "From the Editor's Desk: Rules to Sing About," 2; Johnson and Young, "Rock On A Roll; Bryan Adams Brings His Tour Home To Canada in Triumph - and Controversy," 47; Jennings, "Cover; Domestic

belie that *Maclean's* reinforced all manner of the inferiority complex towards Adams, and all other Canadian musicians, during the 1985-1995 period. Ironically, these same articles emphasised the inferiority complex, as the writers distorted the original intentions of the Canadian Content laws to help foster a healthy, autonomous, indigenous music culture, and instead highlighted that the regulations had been utilised by Canadian musicians as a springboard for international success.¹⁸²

2.5: Conclusion

'I don't mean to sound cool, but I'm a citizen of the world. This country has an inferiority complex.'

Canadian musician Pat Travers (1980)¹⁸³

Largely celebratory of recent efforts by Canadian musicians, Nicholas Jennings' March 1995 article "Canadian Rock Explodes! There is a Bold New Beat across the Country," nonetheless encapsulated all of the aspects of the inferiority complex inherent in *Maclean's* music coverage since 1967. Jennings' surprise at the achievements of Canadian musicians is apparent in the title of the article. His amazement that the stunning independent sales of Barenaked Ladies and Loreena McKennitt had netted both artists major label deals, his shock that the success of Canadian artists had come from playing original material, and his mention that the previous year saw unprecedented sales for Canadian records, demonstrated that even in 1995 *Maclean's* writers were still surprised by the achievements of Canadian musicians. Although Jennings remarked on

Bands Win Acclaim; Rock Stars Seek A Wider Stage," 52-53; Jennings "For The Record; Rollicking Sounds: New albums prove the vibrancy of Canadian rock," 46.

¹⁸² Johnson and Young, "Rock On A Roll; Bryan Adams Brings His Tour Home To Canada in Triumph - and Controversy," 47; Jennings "For The Record; Rollicking Sounds: New albums prove the vibrancy of Canadian rock," 46.

¹⁸³ Piercy "People," *Maclean's*, 26 May 1980, 34.

the originality of some Canadian performers, he reminded readers that Halifax had been dubbed "the next Seattle," and insultingly dismissed the accomplishments of two superstars: "the country still produces its fair share of derivative pop stars, including Bryan Adams and Celine Dion." Finally, although Jennings concluded that domestic-only prosperity was possible for some musicians, he illustrated the continued desirability of American success by emphasising the achievements of The Crash Test Dummies, Barenaked Ladies, and Sarah McLachlan. The Tragically Hip were successful at home, but Jennings stressed that they had "failed to crack the U.S. market," although he anticipated that the release of their album *Day for Night* "may provide that breakthrough."¹⁸⁴

That Jennings' article so heavily mirrored Jack Batten's from twenty-seven years previous is a profound indicator of how endemic the inferiority complex was in *Maclean's* music coverage. Despite government involvement, changes in styles, technology and media, and the popularity of musicians, *Maclean's* constantly reinforced the inferiority complex surrounding Canadian music by insulting artists, expressing surprise at their achievements, questioning their originality, and emphasising that foreign success was the absolute measure of achievement.

Although there was praise for Canadian musicians during this time, it was overwhelmed by *Maclean's* critics' constant indication of Canadian inferiority. Accolades were directed at Canadian musicians who composed music with domestically-specific signifiers, the next chapter reveals, but *Maclean's* author's admiration for explicitly Canadian music was neither consistent nor without complication.

¹⁸⁴ Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes!," 40, 41, 42.

Chapter 3: Nationalism and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage 1967-1995

'Getting into a patriotism bag'.

Musician Ian Tyson on lyrics during the Centennial Era (1970)¹⁸⁵

The December 1971 *Maclean's* cover story, "Gordon Lightfoot: At Home in the Heart of the Country," epitomised the magazine's reporting of Canadian music during times of intense nationalism. Composed by noted painter Robert Markle, the article appeared during the fervour of the Centennial Era and used the writer's friendship with Lightfoot for an exegetical, and largely celebratory, exercise on what it meant to be Canadian. Featured alongside several stories on nationalism in that issue, Markle's piece touched upon the urban/rural divide, problems with Quebec, differences between Canadian and American culture, and other subjects recurrent in discussions of Canadian identity. Further, the article implied that the musician's lyrical subject matter was distinctly Canadian; inferred that he represented Canadian traits such as reserve, hard drinking, love of nature, and difficulty with hero worship; and noted that as a folksinger, Lightfoot was representative of a Canadian phenomenon.¹⁸⁶

Maclean's 1967-1995 Canadian music coverage reflected nationalist trends present in the parent culture. Canadian music was celebrated by *Maclean's* in the Centennial Era (1967-1974), ignored and derided during the period of depressed nationalism of 1975-1986, and lionised with the resurgent patriotism of the late 1980s and early 1990s. During periods of heightened nationalism, *Maclean's* positively reported domestically-specific music produced by Canadians, included stories on

¹⁸⁵ Courtney Tower, "Canada Report: The Heartening Surge Of A New Canadian Nationalism," *Maclean's*, February 1970, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Markle, "Early Morning Afterthoughts: Gordon Lightfoot and the Canadian Dream," 78.

Canadian music alongside articles or within issues with a patriotic focus, and frequently highlighted artists, genres, styles, and sounds as being uniquely Canadian. These aspects were reversed during times of weakened Canadian nationalism, when *Maclean's* insular music coverage disregarded, insulted, and denied there being anything distinctly Canadian about domestically-produced music.

3.1: Nationalism and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage 1967-1974

Ah, and you, know, you look out these windows into the wide and long of my country, and you know, you sense that Gordon Lightfoot, my friend, is just fine, just fine. And we'll use his music at all the right moments. And we'll score. His songs, somehow, have something very real to do with all our futures.

Maclean's rock critic Robert Markle (1971)¹⁸⁷

The years following Canada's Centennial were a time of intense nationalism. In addition to the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, created in 1968 to facilitate the development of the Canadian Content laws, other new organisations with a nationalist agenda included Hockey Canada in 1969, the Committee for an Independent Canada in 1970, and the Canada Development Corporation in 1971.¹⁸⁸ As Stephen Azzi remarked, organisations such as the Canadian Council of Filmmakers, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Actors, and the Public Petroleum Association of Canada all advocated strong policies "to limit foreign influence in Canada."¹⁸⁹ Further evidence

¹⁸⁷ Markle, "Early Morning Afterthoughts: Gordon Lightfoot and the Canadian Dream," 81.

¹⁸⁸ Michael Hawes and Donald Macintosh, *Sport and Canadian Diplomacy*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 24; Stephen Azzi, *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian Nationalism*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 176, 180.

¹⁸⁹ Azzi, 179.

of the patriotic fervour included the introduction of the Maple Leaf flag in 1965, the country's celebration of Expo '67, and Trudeaumania.

Canadian nationalism, much like every aspect of the country's history, has often been driven by outside factors: the independence created by the British North America Act and the Statute of Westminster, and episodes such as Vimy Ridge during World War I and the nation's autonomous entry into World War II were precipitated by links with Canada's European forebears. The influence of Great Britain and France upon Canada had waned by the mid-twentieth century, however, and was superseded by that of the United States. Initial difficulties arising from the formation of the two countries was supplanted by an appreciation of their shared heritage, continent, and interests, and by the 1960s Canada and the United States shared the world's largest trading partnership, co-operated extensively on defence, and produced cultures that frequently overlapped.

"The constant in Canadian policy has been the United States," Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein wrote in an overview history of Canadian foreign affairs. "The great power to the south historically has been a military and economic menace, a magnet attracting the best and brightest, a staunch ally, and a good trading partner."¹⁹⁰ As these authors implied, relations between the two countries were generally positive, but Canadians often perceived their neighbours to be a political and cultural threat. Coupled with the Centennial fervour and both governmental and societal opposition to the Vietnam War, Canadian nationalism during the late 1960s and early 1970s contained an air of anti-Americanism.¹⁹¹ Exacerbated by difficulties between both Prime Minister

¹⁹⁰ Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire*, (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, Ltd., 2000), 348.

¹⁹¹ Hillmer and Granatstein, 276, 284; Robert Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada*, (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2006), 407.

Lester Pearson and President Lyndon Johnson, and carried forward by their successors Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Richard Nixon, Canada-US relations during this era were cool.¹⁹²

Maclean's was not aloof from the burgeoning Canadian nationalism of the Centennial Era. The magazine frequently carried stories and devoted cover space to Canadian themes, and the writers acknowledged a conscious effort to contribute to this patriotic tone. Courtney Tower's introduction of a February 1970 article made plain how *Maclean's* saw their role:

No one knows exactly when it began. Nor can anyone guarantee it will last. But there is no doubt that it's all around now, from the lyrics of pop music to the caucus rooms of Ottawa. And more and more it is forcing people to choose sides. Either you're *for* Canada, or you just don't care. Editorially, *Maclean's* cares immensely. We present this report, frankly, with an ulterior motive. *Maclean's* wants to fan the flames of what we take to be The Heartening Surge Of A New Canadian Nationalism.¹⁹³

Maclean's reportage during the Centennial Era was admittedly heavily patriotic, and this attitude affected every aspect of the magazine, including their popular music coverage. This is no more evident than with a subsection of that article which embraced Ian and Sylvia, The Band, Gordon Lightfoot, and Neil Young for their production of music with Canadian themes.¹⁹⁴ Further issues continued to connect popular music to Canadian nationalism, including a section on the favourite vacation destinations of celebrities that featured Randy Bachman and Gordon Lightfoot alongside Pierre Berton, W.O. Mitchell, and Jean Beliveau, an article on "The New Canuckism" that enthused about David Clayton-Thomas, Robert Goulet, Gordon Lightfoot, and Stompin' Tom Connors, and an

¹⁹² Bothwell 416-418; Hillmer and Granatstein, 296-300.

¹⁹³ Tower, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Tower, 4.

early piece that speculated that the popularity of patriotic music would be fleeting.¹⁹⁵ Entitled "Some records to throw away next January," Elmo Ciprietti's March 1967 review of albums with nationalist overtones recognised the current Canadian patriotism as momentary.¹⁹⁶ Although the nationalism of this era was temporary, it lasted well after the Centennial celebrations, and continued in *Maclean's* music coverage until 1975.

Between 1967-1974 *Maclean's* repeatedly profiled Canadian musicians while it rarely featured articles dedicated entirely to foreign musicians. The magazine's coverage during this period further reflected this nationalist emphasis because, with the exception of the June 1968 issue, featuring the Beatles, no other foreign artists appeared on the cover of *Maclean's* between 1967-1974.¹⁹⁷ Leonard Cohen, Murray McLauchlan, and Joni Mitchell appeared on the cover, while Anne Murray and Gordon Lightfoot were both featured twice. That the nationality of Canadian artists was stressed is even more apparent when consideration is given to the titles of some of these articles, including Lightfoot's aforementioned second cover and the May 1972 story "What Upper Canada has done to Anne Murray."

Maclean's further stressed the connection between nationalism and music through frequent inferences that artists were representative of Canadian ideals. Artists such as

¹⁹⁵ Cathy Wismer "21 Great Canadian Holidays by 21 Canadians who know and love their land," *Maclean's*, April 1970, 78, 80. The other famous Canadians featured in the article were: Stan Leonard, Nancy Greene, Allan King, Ma Murray, Len Marchand, Mel Gerry Gallagher, Philippe Beaubien, Ed Mirvish, Elaine Bedard, John Bassett, Susie Kosovic, Pauline Julien, Max Ferguson, and Dalton Camp. "Left With ourselves, How a people triumphed: the emergence and celebration of the New Canuckism," *Maclean's*, August 1972, 26.

¹⁹⁶ Elmo Ciprietti, "Ciprietti on records; Some records to throw away next January Except one. The Canadian Centennial Breakdown may become a big hit in '68," *Maclean's*, March 1967, 78-79

¹⁹⁷ The focus of that story was less on the Beatles, however, and rather on writer Paul Saltzman and his exploration of transcendental meditation with the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. This article was a rare and strange one and may be *Maclean's* only attempt at gonzo journalism. Paul Saltzman, "My Three Weeks with The Beatles, Mia, the Maharishi and Transcendental Meditation," *Maclean's*, June 1968, 26-29, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48.

Gordon Lightfoot and Stompin' Tom Connors were noted for compositions that contained Canada-specific references, but more often the *Maclean's* writers provided other reasons why musicians were distinctly Canadian. Robert Markle's article was typical of this coverage, but Marjorie Harris's September 1968 cover story, "Gordon Lightfoot: Folk Singer With a Message," also inferred the musician was a consummate Canadian artist. Harris touched on Lightfoot's domestically-specific lyrics, and wrote that a recent overseas trip had inspired him to compose songs on Canadian history, but it was her inclusion of a concert organiser's thoughts on the musician's "The Canadian Railroad Trilogy" that underscored the nationalist focus of the article. "It makes you want to go across Canada and have this song in your mind as you travel," Peter Bryson stated to the magazine. "I'm proud he's a Canadian. I'm proud a famous folk singer sings about Canada."¹⁹⁸

Stompin' Tom Connors, an admitted nationalist, regularly appeared in *Maclean's* throughout the early 1970s, and one of the first pieces on the artist set the patriotic tone present in every subsequent article written about the man. "Stompin' Tom Connors is a local, indigenous, authentic, folk and culture hero," *Maclean's* reported in 1972. "He's proved that no one outside Canada has to hear about you. You are and can be what town you come from."¹⁹⁹ Although the domestically specific content of Connors' compositions was recognised, the articles focussed on Connors as representative of patriotism. The magazine included him in issues dedicated to nationalism, noted his focus on touring in

¹⁹⁸ Harris, "Gordon Lightfoot: Folk Singer With a Message," 58.

¹⁹⁹ "Left With ourselves, How a people triumphed: the emergence and celebration of the New Cancuckism," 26.

Canada, and recorded his thoughts on the country. "My ambition?" Connors said in 1972. "I guess you could say it's to sing Canada to the world."²⁰⁰

This manner of reportage that connected music to nationalism was also evident in the magazine's coverage of The Band, Bruce Cockburn, Murray McLauchlan and Joni Mitchell. Unlike the Lightfoot and Connors articles, however, *Maclean's* concluded that the musician's emphasis on universal topics such as natural and rural themes personified Canadian culture. Mitchell was connected to her prairies background while a rustic image was created for The Band. "The group's entire lifestyle is a sort of updated analogue of their Upper Canadian grandfathers'," Alexander Ross wrote in February 1969. "When they pose for photographs...they manage, without affectation, to look like the sort of ancestral tintype you'd find in a farmhouse attic."²⁰¹ The magazine identified McLauchlan with the Canadian city, and emphasised that Cockburn's music had much to do with nature: "The association with the Canadian wilderness is lengthy, intimate and, as a recurring theme in many of his songs, crucial to any understanding of his music."²⁰² That *Maclean's* viewed the two musicians as representative of the Canadian rural/urban divide was apparent with the magazine's conclusion that, by the early 1970s, "Bruce Cockburn became identified in the minds of young Canadians with the country scene; Murray with the big bad dirty city."²⁰³

In addition to this focus on individual folk artists, *Maclean's* also claimed the genre as an intrinsically Canadian form. "It isn't a coincidence that this country has more

²⁰⁰ Alden Nowlan "What's More Canadian Than Stompin' Tom? The beaver, maybe," *Maclean's*, August 1972, 31.

²⁰¹ Ross, "Color Them Big Pink," 57.

²⁰² Jack Batten, "From Bruce Cockburn To Youth - A Very Private Message," *Maclean's*, January 1971, 39.

²⁰³ McCracken, "Street Singer: Murray McLauchlan: city kid, artist, metaphor," 83.

folk singers per capita than any other country in the Western world," Robert Markle wrote in 1971. "A lot of local dreamers running around with local poems in private hearts."²⁰⁴ Musician Gene Lees implied as much in his guest column response to an American publication's criticism of Canadian music in the wake of CanCon. Lees took umbrage at the suggestion that Canada had failed to produce quality songwriters, and was incredulous in his defence of the country's folk musicians: "I don't know how *Time* could so lightly pass over the work of Gordie Lightfoot and Joni Mitchell. (In point of fact, there is a real shortage of lyricists *in the United States*.)"²⁰⁵ Ralph Cox elaborated that the most famous of Canada's musicians were folk artists with gifts for both music and lyrics that reflected the country. "There's a poetic quality to this big, empty country that has meant more to musicians than to other artists - in terms of monetary success, anyway," Cox wrote in 1974. "It gives them a shared loneliness, a wistful and haunting taste to their music that audiences hunger after: it's as if they have somehow learned to give pleasure through a delicate sharing of pain."²⁰⁶

In addition to *Maclean's* nationalist claim to folk, the magazine also asserted that music from the Maritimes represented a fundamentally Canadian form. Although East Coast music included traditional Celtic styles passed down from the original Scottish, Irish, and English settlers, it grew to include any music produced in the area.²⁰⁷ John MacFarlane's expansive, eclectic, and undiscerning list of Eastern Canadian musicians included Brian Ahern, Stompin' Tom Connors, Gene MacLellan, Don Messer, and Anne

²⁰⁴ Markle, "Early Morning Afterthoughts: Gordon Lightfoot and the Canadian Dream," 78.

²⁰⁵ Lees, "Music, Producing great sounds in spite of ourselves," 70.

²⁰⁶ Ralph Cox, "Music; For our singers sadness spells success," *Maclean's*, April 1974, 88.

²⁰⁷ Bill Howell, "The thinkin' man's Stompin' Tom; That's Cape Breton's John Allan Cameron, Aquinian philosopher turned folk hero," *Maclean's*, December 1973, 32, 33, 74, 76, 78, 80, 81.

Murray, but offered scant rationale for their grouping. "There is a sense in which Maritime music is the most authentically Canadian music this country produces," MacFarlane wrote in 1972. "It is a simple music, created by and for a rural people who do not share Canada's misgivings about identity."²⁰⁸

That Anne Murray was heavily featured by *Maclean's* as an example of Canadian culture is curious. The music she produced, and the image she cultivated, rarely touched upon nationalist elements. *Maclean's*, however, repeatedly emphasised Murray as a Canadian symbol, much to the artist's chagrin. "I don't like being used by journalists," Murray told *Maclean's* in May 1972. "You know, as some kind of national symbol. I'm an entertainer. I just want to share some joy with other people. That's all."²⁰⁹ Despite her protest, *Maclean's* adopted Murray as a national symbol, and compared her to hockey star Bobby Orr, highlighted her East Coast upbringing, noted her reception in the United States, and referred to her Toronto neighbourhood as "the Upper Middle Class Upper Canadian Centralist Romantic Love Story Dream."²¹⁰ *Maclean's* writers acknowledged that Murray had become a default Canadian icon and offered her popularity, inoffensiveness, and her position as the country's lone superstar as justification.²¹¹ The most compelling explanation came late in the period, and provided insight into why Murray and other Canadian musicians were exalted as national icons. "She was a mail-order package from the Maritimes and she arrived when Canada was turning on to its own worth. She became our permanent high-school sweetheart," Larry LeBlanc reasoned

²⁰⁸ John MacFarlane, "Music, In The Beginning There Was Don Messer," *Maclean's*, February 1972, 86.

²⁰⁹ Bill Howell, "Upper Canada romantic; Another Goin' Down The Road smash hit, starring Anne Murray, the Maritime Mafia and a host of other swell folks," *Maclean's*, May 1972, 66.

²¹⁰ Howell, "Upper Canada romantic," 29.

²¹¹ McCracken, "Music, The Voice, It's The Voice, That Warm Soothing Alto," 86.

in November 1974. "This image was groomed by her staff, who were largely inexperienced themselves, and she soon found it impossible to shake. People loved her for the *goodness* she projected on *Singalong Jubilee*, *Let's Go* and her specials. In some ways she became part of the Canadian nationalism movement."²¹²

3.2: Nationalism and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage 1975-1986

Canadian music and music played in Canada are not the same thing.
Musician Bob Bossin in a guest column for *Maclean's* (1981)²¹³

1975-1986 was a tumultuous time, overshadowed by economic crises including recession, rising debt, inflation and unemployment; the challenge of Quebec sovereignty; rising Western alienation; and political turmoil. The late 1970s marked a change in relations with the United States, however, as diplomatic problems surrounding Vietnam dissipated, and the election of Jimmy Carter, whose Democrats were "historically attuned to Canadian Liberals," helped to re-establish cordiality between the two nations.²¹⁴

Canada's role in the Iranian hostage crisis helped further warm the relationship, while Ronald Reagan's view of Canada as a trusted continental friend grew as a personal friendship was cultivated between the President and Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.²¹⁵ As diplomatic relations improved, Canadians became increasingly wary of Mulroney's closeness with the American administration. After the Prime Minister and President, along with their wives, proceeded to sing "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" at the 1985 Shamrock Summit in Montreal, the electorate grew even more suspicious of

²¹² Leblanc, "The flip side of Anne Murray," 90.

²¹³ Bob Bossin, "Podium; A dissonant note for pop music: 'Canadian music and music played in Canada are not the same thing'," *Maclean's*, 31 August 1981, 8.

²¹⁴ Hillmer and Granatstein, 302.

²¹⁵ Hillmer and Granatstein, 305, 306, 331-334; Bothwell, 477-48; J.L. Granatstein, *Yankee Go Home? Canadians and Anti-Americanism*, (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 1996), 251.

Mulroney's pro-American leanings, an attitude that would increase among Canadians through the last years of his government.²¹⁶

The patriotic fervour surrounding the Centennial celebrations dissipated by the mid-1970s, and the decline in nationalism was evident in *Maclean's* reporting from 1975-1986. Issues devoted to Canadian themes, so prevalent in the previous period, were gone, replaced by articles that highlighted the anxieties of the era, while interviews with famous critics and politicians reflected a renunciation of nationalism. Peter Ustinov called Canadian nationalism boring and regrettable, Margaret Atwood objected to being regarded as a symbol of the country, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau revealed his rejection of nationalism on economic, cultural, military, and religious grounds, while then-opposition leader Joe Clark denied the existence of a national identity.²¹⁷

Waning nationalist sentiments were also evident in commentaries made by *Maclean's* contributors of the period. Charles Gordon chastised Canadians for being reserved in their patriotism, Robert Lewis doubted and Barbara Amiel mocked national unity attempts, while editor-in-chief Peter C. Newman acknowledged that even the most fervent of Canada's patriots had begun to question their fealty.²¹⁸ "Instead of dreaming about the promise of the Canadian experiment," Newman wrote in 1979, "even the post-Expo optimists have begun to debate its foreclosure." Newman concluded that the "Me Decade" had slowly eroded the collectivism developed during the Centennial Era, leaving

²¹⁶ Hillmer and Granatstein, 332-333.

²¹⁷ John Muggidge, "Interview With Peter Ustinov," *Maclean's*, 17 October 1977, 4; Helen Slinger, "Interview With Margaret Atwood," *Maclean's*, 6 September 1976, 7; Peter C. Newman, "Interview With Pierre Elliott Trudeau," *Maclean's*, 20 October 1975, 6, 8; Robert Lewis, "We began to lose our national identity when we began to seek it," *Maclean's*, 30 October 1978, 21.

²¹⁸ Barbara Amiel, "Laugh as the world laughs with you, frown and they'll know you're Canadian," *Maclean's*, 26 June 1978, 60; Robert Lewis, "The Referendum Debate: Where there's a national will, there's a way-but is there a national will?," *Maclean's*, 6 February 1978, 12; Charles Gordon, "In search of a reason to celebrate," *Maclean's*, 4 February 1985, 9.

Canadians with considerable doubt surrounding the future of their country. "As stealthily as a thief in the night whose silent passing leaves a sense of disquiet rather than the grief of stolen treasures," he stated, "the decade robbed us of the natural optimism which once anchored the Canadian character."²¹⁹

Although Newman decried the absence of nationalism in this era, his magazine's 1975-1986 music coverage reinforced it. Contrary to the enthusiasm for Canadian music present during the Centennial Era, *Maclean's* patriotic bias diminished during this period. When *Maclean's* did highlight Canadian music, the magazine derided the artists' domestically specific lyrics, denied Canadian status to performers, and questioned whether previous genres, once considered distinctly Canadian, could still be regarded as such. Further, music articles were not presented alongside issues that celebrated nationalism, and cover appearances by Canadian artists declined while reportage of international music was dramatically expanded.

Despite circulation increases to 23 times a year in 1975, biweekly through 1977, and weekly after September 1978, *Maclean's* rarely featured Canadian musicians on the cover. 1975-1986 saw only four cover appearances by Canadian artists, one of which was a memorial issue dedicated to Glenn Gould. Canadian musicians were absent from the cover for nine of these years, while foreign trends and movements were prominently featured for the first time. Cover stories on New Wave, Live Aid, the Rolling Stones, and John Lennon appeared; musical trends like disco, punk, reggae, and Christian rock were highlighted; music columns were devoted to Chris DeBurgh, Peter Tosh, Bryan Ferry, David Bowie, Prince, and Madonna; interviews were conducted with Bob Dylan, John

²¹⁹ Newman, "The Seventies: A witch's brew of a decade," 37.

Lydon, Yoko Ono, and Bianca Jagger; and feature articles were given to Anton Kuerti, the Police and Michael Jackson. *Maclean's* frequently highlighted American musician Bruce Springsteen: in addition to his November 1986 cover, the magazine promoted him in a 1978 feature, reviewed his *Born in the USA*, and provided a 1986 music column that announced with a cover by-line "Springsteen - The Boss is Back."²²⁰

Maclean's likewise disregarded Canadian artists within issues devoted to nationalist themes, as the writers did not connect musicians to the focus of the edition or denied them coverage altogether. Although the 26 April 1982 issue devoted to the signing of the Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms contained music articles, they were brief and the only connection between music and nationalism was David Livingstone's condemnation that the satirical McKenzie Brothers were more popular than the McGarrigle Sisters. The grossest example of the lack of coverage of Canadian music was the mid-1980s Canada Day issues. Music coverage in the 1983 edition was limited to a review column and a cursory mention of Buffy Sainte Marie's Oscar win, neither of which touched on nationalism. 1985 saw an article on English musician Sting while the lone music essay in the 1986 issue was dedicated to the revival of the saxophone in popular music.

When *Maclean's* addressed Canadian music the focus was on established artists from the previous period, but the coverage of Anne Murray, Gordon Lightfoot, Bruce Cockburn, and Murray McLauchlan was limited, and the patriotic emphasis had changed

²²⁰ Ashley Collie, "Frontlines; Springsteen: here comes the knight," *Maclean's*, 18 December 1978, 5, 6; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; A radical and a rocker," *Maclean's*, 11 June 1984, 58; Kevin Doyle, "From The Editor's Desk; The irresistible star," *Maclean's*, 2 September 1985, 2; Brian D. Johnson, Ann Walmsley, Ruth Atherley, "The Boss," *Maclean's*, 2 September 1985, 24, 25, 26-29; Brian D. Johnson, Ann Walmsley, "The Boss is Back -- With Vinyl Vengeance," *Maclean's*, 24 November 1986, 58-59.

to reflect the diminished nationalism of the era. *Maclean's* continued to intimate Murray as a national symbol, despite the abiding lack of Canadian signifiers in her music, as an October 1980 feature highlighted her female artist of the decade award from the Canadian Recording Industry Association as well as her star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. "To complete the iconography," *Maclean's* David Livingstone reported of the latter honour, "a piper piped and Mounties attended her at the ceremony."²²¹ The only other article on Murray during the era highlighted her foray into country music and her international achievements.²²² Reportage devoted to Gordon Lightfoot and Bruce Cockburn was limited to just one article apiece; a far cry from the multiple stories and cover appearances granted them during the Centennial Era. The articles focused on the musician's past achievements, their success despite remaining in Canada, and an inference that both artists were symbols of the country. Lightfoot was called "a codifier, a scribe and in a land of harping factions and endless miles, a link between tribes," and the singer was compared to both Pierre Berton and Mordecai Richler. *Maclean's* inferred that a shift in Cockburn's musical style from rural to city themes mirrored a similar transition in Canadian culture, and compared the musician's *Inner City Front* to works by fellow Canadians author Margaret Atwood, playwright Erika Ritter, and filmmaker Clay Borris. Nevertheless, Cockburn continued to resist identification as a Canadian symbol, a stance he had held since the Centennial Era, and offered thought on Canadian culture during the 1975-1986 period. "What part I have in that culture, I couldn't venture to

²²¹ David Livingstone, "Cover/Show Business; The prime of Ms. Anne Murray," *Maclean's*, 20 October 1980, 42.

²²² Bob Levin, "Music; The Snowbird's New Song," *Maclean's*, 7 April 1986, 54.

say," Cockburn reflected, "but what seems to be going on in this country is a very slow and only semiconscious development toward cultural nationhood."²²³

The only other musician from the previous era that *Maclean's* emphasised who had continued to create music with Canadian-specific content was Murray McLauchlan, twice highlighted in 1984 for his work. These articles focused on a CBC program and a corresponding album wherein McLauchlan interviewed Canadians and wrote songs about them. *Maclean's* noted that "His subjects range from figures connected with history or nostalgia to personal heroes," and included a northern Ontario engineer, a Japanese family interned during World War II, as well as famous Canadians Margaret Trudeau, painter Robert Markle, and Avro Arrow test pilot Jan Zurkowski.²²⁴

One patriot heavily celebrated by *Maclean's* in the Centennial Era was noticeably exempt from the magazine's 1975-1986 music coverage. Although Stompin' Tom Connors independently-produced recordings were briefly credited alongside other folk musicians' as representing "something uniquely Canadian in the American controlled record business," little coverage was given to the musician between 1975 and 1978.²²⁵ The lack of articles on Connors after 1978 may be explained by the artist's retirement from the music industry that year. But Connors' public, and very angry, exit from the Canadian music business was not referenced by *Maclean's*, nor was the artist mentioned in the magazine until he emerged from retirement in 1989.²²⁶

²²³ Pearson, "Music; Dancing in the jaws of change," 54.

²²⁴ "People," *Maclean's*, 20 February 1984, 52; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Maturing musically," *Maclean's*, 5 November 1984, O5. These articles were the only time *Maclean's* connected the artist's music to nationalism, however, as stories from 1977 and 1979 did not relate McLauchlan to Canadian issues. Timson, "Music; If they don't like Murray McLauchlan, then they can go to hell," 80; Arthur Fuller, "Music; Up, up and away and changing gears," *Maclean's*, 23 April 1979, 56-57.

²²⁵ Ken Waxman, "Music; the song's great, kid, now try your sales pitch," *Maclean's*, 30 May 1977, 59.

When *Maclean's* highlighted newer artists composing music with Canadian-specific content, these references were few and often highly critical. The magazine gave brief mention to Paul Schaeffer and Mary Ann McDonald's production of an updated version of "O Canada," Stan Rogers' lyrics about the Great Lakes and Atlantic regions, and credited Martha & the Muffins for "passing insightful comment on the Canadian experience."²²⁷ Although Ray Griff's album *Canada* was noted for its multiple references to his homeland, writer Marsha Boulton described him as "sounding like an amorous leftover from a Canada Day sound stage," and was suspicious of the singer. "Trouble is," Boulton wrote, "though raised in Calgary, Griff, 37, moved to Nashville 15 years ago, so his vinyl 'expression of my love affair with this country' stretches the credibility of most native sons."²²⁸ *Maclean's* was critical of reggae band Messenjah for their attempts at incorporating Canadian themes into their music. "Although its product is slick," Nicholas Jennings wrote in a 1983 review, "Messenjah suffers from banality in the extreme: tiresome rasta praises (Rock On Jah) and RCMP jokes (Dudley Do-Right) are as stale as yesterday's Royal Commission."²²⁹ Although editor-in-chief Peter C. Newman praised Stringband, critic John Pearce found fault with their patriotic music. The group's 1979

²²⁶ It should be noted that Connors was mentioned in an insert to the May 1975 *Maclean's* Toronto Region Edition devoted to the popularity of country and western culture in that city. That article highlighted Connor's Canadian subject matter, the mocking reaction of American audiences to his performances, and the popularity of the singer's music among Maritimers and Torontonians. However, with that section unavailable to Canadians outside the Toronto area, this article on Connors' music does not reflect the nationwide focus of *Maclean's* and cannot be included in an evaluation of the magazine's 1975-1986 music coverage. If considered, *Maclean's* publishing experiment with regional editions, begun in October 1974, suggests a lessening of the magazine's national focus. Lynda Hurst, "No More Slumming At The Horseshoe; The new clientele's so straight, the bouncer had to go on short hours," *Maclean's Toronto*, May 1975, Toronto 5-6.

²²⁷ "Preview; Listen, they're playing our song - as it's never been played before," *Maclean's*, 13 June 1977, 17; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Anthems of commitment," *Maclean's*, 26 March 1984, 49; Livingstone, "For The Record; From Slugs to Muffins," 60.

²²⁸ Marsha Boulton, "People," *Maclean's*, 9 July 1979, 26-27.

²²⁹ Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Humanizing electropop," *Maclean's*, 12 September 1983, 52d.

record *The Maple Leaf Dog* was described as "a blend of Dan Hicks and Don Messer with words by Pierre Berton." Pearce wrote that "songs about the affairs of the heart and Canada, bent on being sincere, funny and egalitarian, are mawkish and patronizing." Pearce further reflected the decline in *Maclean's* nationalist focus when he concluded, "This band, like this country, sometimes seems to take pride in being out of touch."²³⁰

Despite *Maclean's* earlier adoption of genres and scenes as examples of Canadian culture, articles denied that any grouping could be considered distinctly Canadian.

Maclean's did not reference cities and regions as producers of uniquely Canadian sounds, while the magazine rejected hard rock having any Canadian connection. Bart Testa dismissed the genre having any nationalist associations and wrote "it probably matters little whether the new rising hard rockers are Canadian, British - like Judas Priest or Motorhead - or American," while Thomas Hopkins was more blunt with his judgement.²³¹ "Not surprisingly, hoser rock is controversial," he wrote in 1982.

"Nationalists argue it is as Canadian as a Kansas City Exxon station."²³²

Maclean's continued to emphasise folk music as a Canadian form, as demonstrated in the coverage of Lightfoot, Cockburn and McLauchlan. Nevertheless, even the legitimacy of folk and Celtic music, so prominently featured as domestically-specific forms in the Centennial Era, were questioned as representing anything fundamentally Canadian. 1975-1986 coverage was often contradictory, with some writers emphasising that the genres were distinctly Canadian while others denied them

²³⁰ David Livingstone, "For the record; Creating an industry to praise the Lord," *Maclean's*, March 1979, 47.

²³¹ Testa, "Music; Rock without roll," 46.

²³² Thomas Hopkins, "Music; Canadian rock Rolls South," 46.

this status. "Their melodies are pitched to the nation's vibrations,"²³³ editor-in-chief Newman wrote of folk musicians in 1981, and contributor Nicholas Jennings agreed. Jennings praised newer efforts by Murray McLauchlan, Ann Mortifee, Mendelson Joe and David Wilcox, musicians whose heyday was the Canadian folk scene of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and noted "Having refined what they do best onstage, their recordings at last reveal the essence of their distinctly Canadian sounds."²³⁴ However, an August 1982 article on Canadian folk festivals cautioned against the ownership of folk and Celtic music as national forms. "'There's no border when it comes to music,'" offered Mitch Podolak, producer for Stan Rogers and director of the Winnipeg Folk Festival. "'Philosophically, I'm an internationalist and I resist the pressure to hire only Canadians. I defy you to show me a Canadian guitar lick.'"²³⁵

Paul McGrath reported that a definition of Canadian folk music was difficult as the form was an amalgamation of many styles. Given the country's immigrant history, Celtic-influenced music could only be considered Canadian music if Metis, Inuit, Ukrainian, Japanese, Jewish, and Jamaican styles were also granted national status. Furthermore, music historian Edith Fowke admitted that Canadian folk music had a lineage in British and Irish music, but she denied anything domestically-specific about the form other than lyrics that touched upon Canadian subjects. "'What is specifically Canadian about them are the themes and lyrics that were added when the old ones lost their relevance,'" Fowke told *Maclean's*. "Logging songs, fishing songs, sealing songs, songs about the Great Lakes shipwrecks - that's what Canadian folk music is all about.'"

²³³ Peter C. Newman "Editorial: From Moonwalker wake-ups to a sundown serenade," *Maclean's*, 27 July 1981, 3.

²³⁴ Jennings, "For The Record; Maturing musically," O6.

²³⁵ Paul McGrath, "Music; A summer celebration of folk music," *Maclean's*, 12 July 1982, 54

McGrath, however, downplayed even these connections and implied that Canadian folk was derivative and that domestic audiences only accepted music as indigenous if there was a foreign antecedent:

If the song is at least 100 years old and nobody can remember the name of the composer, then you're in business. If it was borrowed from the folk tradition of another country and rejigged in Canada, it stands a better chance of being assured a place in our oral tradition.²³⁶

Stringband's Bob Bossin, accorded a guest column in August 1981, was the most strident defender of folk music as Canadian music. However, even his boisterous article reflected the lessened nationalism of the era. For Bossin, folk music performed by nationals was the only form he gave the title of "Canadian music" with everything else merely "music played in Canada." He dismissed Paul Anka and Anne Murray as Canadian musicians and blamed the CRTC and Central Canadian media for constructing an environment where artists were ignored in their own country while helping to create "an upsurge in the Canadian production of American culture." Bossin defined Canadian music as "songs and tunes with a sense of place; music that, however indirectly, reflects some aspect of life between the U.S. border and the Beaufort Sea," and highlighted a long list of Canadian performers. Bossin's cross-country retinue included Ferron, Pied Pear, Bim, Connie Kaldor, Don Freed, Nancy White, the McGarrigle Sisters, Stan Rogers and Jarvis Benoit, but neglected established folk musicians. "Of course there are also Sylvia Tyson, Gordon Lightfoot, Ian Tyson, Bruce Cockburn and Murray McLauchlan," Bossin wrote, "but it is that first list - the 'unknowns' - that is the exciting one, for it represents a flowering that has grown unattended by our cultural custodians."²³⁷ Although Bossin's

²³⁶ McGrath, "Music; A summer celebration of folk music," 54.

²³⁷ Bossin, "Podium; A dissonant note for pop music: 'Canadian music and music played in Canada are not the same thing'," 8.

column highlighted that *Maclean's* recognised musicians had produced Canadian-specific material, his definition of Canadian music - unknown, unsuccessful, unappreciated in Central Canada or outside the country, produced by only a select few, and concerned with purely domestic themes - was not only a narrow and unattractive delineation, but reinforced both the inferiority complex examined with the previous chapter as well as the lessened nationalism of *Maclean's* 1975-1986 music coverage.

3.3: Nationalism and *Maclean's* Canadian Music Coverage 1987-1995

In a country that has offered slim pickings in mythology, music has drifted across the airwaves and spun an invisible thread. Canadians may never have come up with an equivalent of the thumping patriotism of America the Beautiful. But unintentionally, haphazardly, singers have knit a collective aural memory.

Maclean's Marci McDonald on Canadian music for the magazine's Canada Day Issue (1994)²³⁸

Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright point to 1987-1995 as the genesis of a boisterous, aggressive, more typically American-style patriotism that the trio referred to as "loud Canadian nationalism." They proposed a variety of private and public causes that led to its development. Private factors included advertisements that used national symbols to sell goods, the devotion of domestic audiences to performers who broadcast their Canadian identity, and the development of the internet. An increased Canadian presence in world politics, repercussions contingent with the development of the Constitution, and insecurities that surrounded Quebec separation and the creation of the

²³⁸ Marci McDonald, "Community of dreams: A quest for the heart, soul and meaning of Canada," *Maclean's*, 1 July 1994, 12.

FTA and North American Free Trade Agreement, were all public factors that led to the prominence of Canadian nationalism in the late 1980s and 1990s.²³⁹

The Mulroney government continued to move Canada closer politically and economically to the United States in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but this new closeness was increasingly unpopular. Canadians continued to view Americans as valuable friends, allies, and trading partners, but the Mulroney government's adoption of free trade, and the Prime Minister's own personal friendships with Presidents Bush and Reagan, made Canadians uneasy.²⁴⁰ Coupled with the unpopular reception given the introduction of the GST and unsuccessful attempts at constitutional reform, Mulroney suffered politically during his last years in office and resigned in 1993, with his Conservatives suffering a crippling defeat in that year's general election.²⁴¹ Mindful of his predecessor's legacy, Liberal Prime Minister Jean Chretien vowed that relations with the Americans would be kept cordial but stressed a more businesslike approach that consistently asserted Canadian independence.²⁴²

Outpourings of nationalism were evident in *Maclean's* coverage of the period, as the magazine made a concerted effort to not only reflect the patriotic fervour of the time, but to actively contribute to it. 1988-1990 saw the production of Canada Day specials that featured both the American Independence Day and the Canadian holiday before *Maclean's* focused solely on Canadian celebrations with editions that orbited the 125th anniversary of Confederation.

²³⁹ Millard, Riegel, and Wright, 11-34.

²⁴⁰ Hillmer and Granatstein, 332-333, 340-341, 343-344.

²⁴¹ Bothwell, 483, 493-494.

²⁴² Hillmer and Granatstein, 347.

It also introduced research polls in 1988 that illustrated issues important to Canadians, including patriotism, which were subsequently joined by the most apparent example of the magazine's nationalist focus: the *Maclean's* Forum on National Unity. In 1991 *Maclean's* gathered twelve citizens from across the country to discuss a vision for Canada. Produced solely by the magazine, substantiated by Decima polling data, and overseen by a conflict resolution team led by Harvard professor Roger Fisher, this effort resulted in a platform that focused on the correction of economic problems, the resolution of constitutional issues, and the development of further understanding between ethnic groups and regions. All of this emphasis established the magazine's nationalist focus between 1987 and 1995.

Regular cover appearances by domestic artists and a renewed focus on Canadian musicians stressed the nationalism in *Maclean's* music reportage during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Canadian musicians were heavily featured on the cover as Celine Dion and Michelle Wright both appeared, Bryan Adams was highlighted twice, and a 27 March 1995 story proclaimed "Canadian Rock Explodes!" In addition to these stories, Anne Murray, k.d. lang, Margo Timmins, Celine Dion, Loreena McKennit, Raffi, and Shania Twain were also included on covers for *Maclean's* annual Honor Roll editions.²⁴³ Begun in 1986, the Honor Roll highlighted achievements by prominent citizens, with these musicians profiled alongside actors, politicians, athletes, business people, and others who *Maclean's* deemed had contributed to Canadian culture.

²⁴³ Although the magazine provided covers for John Lennon and twice featured the international trend towards nostalgia, the coverage of other foreign music was different than the previous era. Articles on Madonna and Cher focused less on their music than on their movie careers and superstar fame, while *Maclean's* offset an August 1994 Rolling Stones story with coverage of their Canadian manager Michael Cohl.

Maclean's also connected nationalism to music as artists were featured in issues that focused on Canadian domestic and international concerns. The most conspicuous examples were produced at times of national celebration. Articles from Canada's 125th anniversary year, for example, highlighted a modern version of "O Canada" that featured Maureen Forrester, Rita MacNeil, Alannah Myles, Tommy Hunter, Choeur de Montreal, and Patsy Gallant, while the Canada Day issue celebrated Stompin' Tom Connors.²⁴⁴ The 1993 Canada Day issue's "100 Canadians to Watch" included Julie Masse, Holly Cole, Natalie MacMaster, and Ian McKinnon, while the 1994 edition contained an essay that stressed that Anne Murray, the Rankin Family, Rita McNeil, Buffy Sainte-Marie, Leonard Cohen, k.d. lang, Bryan Adams, Edith Butler and Roch Voisine, were all distinctly Canadian artists.²⁴⁵

Other articles highlighted performances by Canadian musicians during the Calgary Olympics and Bryan Adams and Celine Dion's production of a duet for national unity, but the most notable nationalist connection the magazine made to Canadian music involved political and economic matters.²⁴⁶ *Maclean's* reported Mendelson Joe's protest of the Goods & Services Tax, stressed the vibrant East Coast's indie and Celtic music scenes during the 1995 G-7 Summit, and used Canadian music to illustrate controversies that surrounded the adoption of the Free Trade Agreement.²⁴⁷ The 19 October 1987 issue

²⁴⁴ Tom Fennell, "Canada Speaks Out; Many Citizens are responding to the country's unity crisis with public displays of patriotism," *Maclean's*, 13 January 1992, 12, 13, 14; Victor Dwyer, "Special Report; The Storied Land; Poetry and patriotism; Stompin' Tom chronicles the national dream," *Maclean's*, 6 July 1992, 72.

²⁴⁵ "100 Canadians to Watch; For Love or Glory; The Artists," *Maclean's*, 5 July 1993, 52; "100 Canadians to Watch; Betting it All; The Risk-Takers," *Maclean's*, 5 July 1993, 48; "100 Canadians to Watch; Catching the Torch; The Heirs," *Maclean's*, 5 July 1993, 31; McDonald, "Community of dreams: A quest for the heart, soul and meaning of Canada," 12-13.

²⁴⁶ Pamela Young, "The Artists of Winter," *Maclean's*, 22 February 1988, 14; "People; A Vocal Appeal To Unity," *Maclean's*, 13 July 1992, 23.

²⁴⁷ Pamela Young, John Howse, and Diane Turbide, "The Arts; Taxing Culture," *Maclean's*, 14 January 1991, 48-49; DeMont, "Special Report; The Last Best Place; Halifax has rediscovered a lost youth to go

focused on the development of the FTA and noted that the Canadian cultural community, including musicians, were afraid that the legislation would dismantle established protectionist measures.²⁴⁸ The magazine noted that by 1992 the FTA had become subject matter for Canadian musicians and hailed songs "The Last Spike" by the Cowboy Junkies and "Mighty Trucks of Midnight" by Bruce Cockburn as denunciations of the Mulroney government's economic policies.²⁴⁹

Maclean's most blatant coupling of nationalism and music came with an April 1990 story on the Toronto Blue Jays home-opener against the Texas Rangers. The article focused on a meeting between Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and U.S. President George Bush who, after their discussion of economic, environmental, and international issues, threw the game's ceremonial first pitch. Toronto band Blue Rodeo had likewise been invited to the event to sing the countries' national anthems but the group's decision to sing part of "O Canada" in French was met with stark condemnation from the crowd. "The booing seemed to come from all around us," singer Jim Cuddy stated, "It sent a shiver of fear through my body." *Maclean's* noted one saving grace for the band, however. Once Bush and the unpopular Mulroney walked onto the field, "the crowd displayed even more hostility." The Prime Minister's low poll figures were noted and the article proceeded to critique the Progressive Conservative government, including the GST and crises that surrounded the constitution. The juxtaposition of the crowd's condemnation of both Blue Rodeo's performance of "O Canada" and Mulroney's political record, in addition to the

with its sense of history," 22-28; John DeMont, "Canada; The party zone: Halifax celebrated as the G-7 leaders met," *Maclean's*, 26 June 1995, 15.

²⁴⁸ Val Ross, Nicholas Jennings and Lisa Rochon, "Skepticism in the arts," *Maclean's*, 19 October 1987, 21.

²⁴⁹ "Opening Notes; Singing the Blues," *Maclean's*, 13 January 1992, 9.

magazine's repeated connection of Canadian artists to political and economic issues, was further indication of the nationalist focus of *Maclean's* 1987-1995 music coverage.²⁵⁰

Maclean's use of Blue Rodeo to illustrate national issues was expanded with other articles, as the magazine compared the group to fellow Canadians The Band and included an anecdote from singers Jim Cuddy and Greg Keelor about Pierre Berton.²⁵¹ The magazine provided similar treatment with their coverage of other new musicians when it emphasised Canada-specific music and stressed how the artists' behaviour, actions, and backgrounds made them distinctively Canadian. In this manner the magazine revived the Centennial Era trend of inferring that domestic artists were representative of the country's ideals. *Maclean's* mentioned the production of albums *Naah, Dis Kid Can't Be From Canada?* by Maestro Fresh Wes and *South at Eight, North at Nine* by Colin Linden, and songs "Remembrance Day" by Bryan Adams, "k.d. lang" by Rusty, and "Chunk (Port Dover)" by Junkhouse.²⁵²

Two bands were repeatedly stressed as inherently Canadian. Nicholas Jennings highlighted The Rheostatics' songs about Toronto sports heroes Wendel Clark and Roberto Alomar, their cover of "The Wreck of The Edmund Fitzgerald," and referred to them as a "passionately nationalistic pop group," while *Maclean's* presented the Tragically Hip as distinctly Canadian from the beginning of their coverage of their 1991

²⁵⁰ Ross Laver, Hilary Mackenzie, and Bruce Wallace, "Canada; Ball Park Diplomacy," *Maclean's*, 23 April 1990, 12, 13.

²⁵¹ Jennings, "For The Record; The Defiant Ones: Canadian artists strike out in new directions," 74. Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Urban cowboys; Canada's Blue Rodeo is riding high," *Maclean's*, 17 April 1993, 59.

²⁵² "People; Street Rap," 70; Nicholas Jennings, "For the Record; The rocks of ages; Four Canadian acts aim for staying power," *Maclean's*, 21 August 1995, 59; "People; History Rocks On," *Maclean's*, 7 November 1988, 23; Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes!," 42; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Soul-to-soul songs; new albums reveal the range of Canadian pop," *Maclean's*, 19 October 1995, 66.

album *Road Apples*.²⁵³ "Everyone in Canada knows what road apples are and we thought that it was a real funny Canadian thing," *Maclean's* quoted band member Gord Sinclair. "We want the album to reflect that we grew up in Canada."²⁵⁴ Later articles examined the content of the band's songs "Fifty Mission Cap" and "Three Pistols" and reflected: "The Hip's dark and edgy songs dealing with forgotten hockey hero Bill Barilko and drowned Group of Seven painter Tom Thomson are pure Canadiana."²⁵⁵ The repeated references to Canadian-specific content demonstrated that during this time of heightened nationalism *Maclean's* contributors placed music directed at domestic audiences in a position of paramount importance.

Maclean's also proposed that things unrelated to the content of the music created by Canadian artists reflected the country. The Tragically Hip's assistance to up-and-coming bands Change of Heart and The Odds, for example, was indicated as an aspect of the national character: "Such supportiveness seems quintessentially Canadian."²⁵⁶ These inferences were frequently related to the musician's backgrounds: the Barenaked Ladies' comedic style was specific to their Scarborough upbringing; the members of Sloan were nationals as they were polite, boring, middleclass, and university educated; and even Shania Twain's choice of underwear at the 1995 Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade marked her as Canadian: "When you are from Timmins, you know about thermals."²⁵⁷ The Crash Test Dummies' Brad Roberts middleclass suburban Winnipeg background was

²⁵³ Nicholas Jennings, "Rock in a literary groove," *Maclean's*, 3 October 1994, 53; Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes!," 42.

²⁵⁴ "People; Some Scat Singing," *Maclean's*, 14 January 1991, 35.

²⁵⁵ Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes!," 42.

²⁵⁶ Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes!," 42.

²⁵⁷ Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Naked ambition: The Barenaked Ladies blend rock and satire," *Maclean's*, 8 March 1993, 54; John DeMont, "Lifestyles; Rocking the Atlantic," *Maclean's*, 25 October 1993, 51; Brian D. Johnson, "*Maclean's* Honor Roll 1995; Cinderella of Country," *Maclean's*, 18 December 1995, 50.

likewise emphasised, while the magazine implied the group's biggest hit was typical of the country: "perhaps only a Canadian could have written a ballad like Superman's Song, which whimsically mourns the loss of a socially committed superhero with a mild-mannered alter ego."²⁵⁸ The inference that domestic artists' upbringing, conduct, and temperament indicated that they were distinct to the country, as well as the volume and consistency of the references to music with Canadian content, served to highlight that *Maclean's* 1987-1995 coverage of newer musicians mirrored the heightened nationalism of the era.²⁵⁹

Established musicians were not immune to this style of coverage, however, as *Maclean's* regularly cited the explicitly Canadian content of older artists and claimed them as distinct to the country. *Maclean's* referenced Gordon Lightfoot's "The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald," "Spanish Moss," and "The Canadian Railroad Trilogy," as classic Canadiana; listed Rita MacNeil's "She's Called Nova Scotia," "Working Man," "Reason To Believe," "Old Man," and "The Music's Going Round Again," as nationalistic songs; highlighted Bruce Cockburn's *Nothing But a Burning Light* and Randy Bachman's "Prairie Town" as evidence of the musicians' continued domestic focus; and repeatedly mentioned Stompin' Tom Connor's patriotic tunes.²⁶⁰ This coverage of Connors was not limited to audience favourites "Big Joe Mufferaw," "Bud

²⁵⁸ Jennings, "Crash Test Smarties: The Dummies Win Top Grades For Clever Songs," 48.

²⁵⁹ *Maclean's* even claimed Canadian ownership over the era's most celebrated fictional metalhead, Wayne Campbell. "Wayne's sort of like everybody I grew up with in Scarborough," the magazine quoted Mike Myers' about his *Saturday Night Live* character. "It's just the suburban, adolescent, North American, heavy metal experience, as I knew it." Brian D. Johnson, "Party On, Mike! On the set of Wayne's World II, Canada's Mike Myers Just Wants to Have Fun," *Maclean's*, 26 July 1993, 41.

²⁶⁰ Brian D. Johnson, "A Troubadour's Tracks into the Heartland," *Maclean's*, 16 March 1987, 52; Ann Finlayson, "Music; The Sweet Sound of Success: Cape Breton's Rita MacNeil Takes Flight," *Maclean's*, 7 November 1988, 64, 65; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Three Strong Winds," *Maclean's*, 7 March 1994, 61; Jennings, "For The Record; Rock with a twist; Three Canadians span a multitude of styles," 101; Nicholas Jennings, "For The Record; Rock 'n' Growl: Four new albums range from agony to ecstasy," *Maclean's*, 29 April 1993, 59.

the Spud," and "Sudbury Saturday Night," however, as recent efforts "No Canadian Dream," "Margo's Cargo," and a song dedicated to his friend and fellow artist "Lady k.d. lang," were also featured.²⁶¹

Maclean's continued to stress that established musicians were representative of Canadian ideals but what was most striking about the 1987-1995 coverage was the magazine's elevation of them to the status of national icons. In addition to his mention of Gordon Lightfoot's rural Ontario background, his many cross-country trips, and allusion to nature in his work, Brian D. Johnson placed the singer in high regard with his reference to Lightfoot as "the master craftsman of the Canadian song."²⁶² Bruce Cockburn was placed in equally high regard when Nicholas Jennings remarked that "his music is deeply woven into the fabric of Canadian culture," and applauded compositions from his 1991 album *Nothing But a Burning Light* that dealt with Free Trade and native issues. "For more than 20 years," Jennings wrote, "Bruce Cockburn has established himself as the conscience of Canadian pop music, a passionate artist who has won over critics and listeners with songs about nature, spirituality and social injustice."²⁶³

As with the coverage of Lightfoot and Cockburn, Anne Murray was also revived by *Maclean's* as a national symbol. Unlike those artists however, Murray's work continued to lack Canadian signifiers, and *Maclean's* emphasis that she was an example of the country indicated the heightened nationalist focus of both the era and the magazine's music coverage. *Maclean's* featured Murray in the 1989 Honor Roll in an

²⁶¹ Nicholas Jennings, "Music; A rebel's return; Stompin' Tom Connors goes back to the stage," *Maclean's*, 14 May 1990, 62, 63; "Opening Notes; Singing the Blues," 9; "People; Gentleman Stompin' Tom," 37; Dwyer, "Special Report; The Storied Land; Poetry and patriotism," 72.

²⁶² Johnson, "A Troubadour's Tracks into the Heartland," 52.

²⁶³ Jennings, "For The Record; Three Strong Winds," 61; Jennings, "For The Record; Rock with a twist; Three Canadians span a multitude of styles," 101.

article titled "A Milestone in Music for a Laureate of Song," called her "a genuine Canadian icon" and "a Canadian institution," and repeatedly referenced the creation of the Anne Murray Centre in her hometown of Springhill, Nova Scotia.²⁶⁴ Like the 1967-1974 period, Murray's status as national icon continued despite her protests, and *Maclean's* offered the same scant reasons from the earlier era as to why this adoption had occurred. "Anne Murray by her talent, in her manner, and by just having fun in her music," the 1989 Honor Roll described, "has clearly secured a special place in the hearts of the nation."²⁶⁵

Lightfoot, Cockburn, and Murray were not alone in being emphasised by *Maclean's* as Canadian icons as myriad other established musicians were referenced the same way. The magazine called Ian Tyson "a grand old man of Canadian song," referred to Art Bergman as Canada's "punk laureate," reported that "Maritimers have said for years that Cape Breton's Rita MacNeil deserved to be designated a national treasure," while Rush were called Canadian for the first time.²⁶⁶ *Maclean's* veneration of Rush was significant as the magazine had vehemently denied that the band, and any other hard rockers of the 1975-1986 period, were characteristic of anything Canadian. "Relatively quiet offstage, and self-conscious - sometimes to a fault - in their music and lyrics," Nicholas Jennings remarked in 1991, "the members of Rush are perhaps the quintessential Canadian musical heroes."²⁶⁷ *Maclean's* promotion of established rock and pop musicians as Canadian icons indicated more than the patriotic fervour of the period.

²⁶⁴ McDonald, "Community of dreams: A quest for the heart, soul and meaning of Canada," 12; "Honor Roll; A Milestone in Music for a Laureate of Song: Anne Murray," *Maclean's*, 25 December 1989, 36.

²⁶⁵ "Honor Roll; A Milestone in Music for a Laureate of Song: Anne Murray," 36.

²⁶⁶ Finlayson, "Music; The Sweet Sound of Success: Cape Breton's Rita MacNeil Takes Flight," 64, 65; Jennings, "For The Record; Three Strong Winds," 61; Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Rock and a hard place," *Maclean's*, 20 February 1995, 61.

²⁶⁷ Jennings, "Rock 'n' Roll Royalty; Rush is a thriving - and lucrative - entity," 67.

The strengthened emphasis that Lightfoot and Cockburn were domestic heroes, renewed focus on Anne Murray as a national institution, the incorporation of myriad other musicians as symbols of the country, and the elevation of a band heretofore denied 'Canadian' status, demonstrated that *Maclean's* was an active and complicit contributor to the heightened nationalism of the era.

In addition to *Maclean's* assertion that individual musicians were distinctly Canadian, the nationalist focus was further evident with the magazine's consideration of genres as specific to the country. Contributors to the magazine insisted that the children's music performed by Raffi, Eric Nagler, and Sharon, Lois & Bram was intrinsic to Canada; that the comedic pop performed by the Barenaked Ladies, Moxy Fruvous, and Corky & the Juice Pigs was specific to the country; while Nicholas Jennings suggested that myriad forms produced by nationals - from the Dream Warriors' hip hop style to the Walton's Saskatchewan rock - could be considered distinctly Canadian.²⁶⁸ *Maclean's* reasserted Celtic music was Canadian through repeated feature articles on the form; profiles dedicated to individual artists Ashley MacIsaac, Ian McKinnon, Natalie MacMaster, Loreena McKennitt, and Spirit of the West; and by connecting the genre to national concerns such as the magazine's coverage of the opening ceremonies of the Halifax G-7 meeting wherein the Rankin Family and the Barra MacNeil's were called "homegrown Celtic music stars."²⁶⁹ This inclusive reportage, whereby *Maclean's*

²⁶⁸ Patricia Chisholm, "Music; Itty-bitty kiddy ditties: New Canadian albums go for the funny bone *Maclean's*, 6 November 1995, 72; Jennings, "Naked ambition: The Barenaked Ladies blend rock and satire," 54; Jennings, "Canadian Rock Explodes!," 42.

²⁶⁹ John DeMont, "The Arts; The Gaelic Revival," *Maclean's*, 6 December 1993, 58, 59, 60, 62; Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Rock with a Celtic Roll," *Maclean's*, 12 September 1988, 121; John DeMont, "Music; Fiddler on the hoof: Ashley MacIsaac stomps new life into the Celtic hoedown," *Maclean's*, 2 May 1994, 62, 63; "100 Canadians to Watch; Betting it All; The Risk-Takers," 48; "100 Canadians to Watch; Catching the Torch; The Heirs," 31; Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Celtic dreams," *Maclean's*, 28 March 1994, 58, 59; McDonald, "Community of dreams: A quest for the heart, soul and meaning of Canada," 12-13; Nicholas

claimed a wide variety of genres as Canada-specific, combined with the insinuation that a majority of both new and established musicians were distinct to the nation, constructed a notion that all music produced in the country could be considered Canadian.

Maclean's coverage of folk and female artists during the 1987-1995 era extended this idea as the magazine's contributors granted them the further boon of pedigree. Newer musicians including Blue Rodeo, The Rheostatics, and the Crash Test Dummies were cast as the heirs of a proud Canadian folk tradition created by the likes of Gordon Lightfoot, Bruce Cockburn, and Stompin' Tom Connors. "Canada seems to keep turning out a disproportionately large share of the world's singer-songwriters," Jennings wrote in 1994. "From Neil Young and Joni Mitchell to Daniel Lanois and Jane Siberry, Canadian solo artists have long dominated the pop genre that consists of evocative stories told through songs."²⁷⁰ *Maclean's* also insisted that newer women performers were part of a long Canadian tradition with Anne Murray, Joni Mitchell, and the McGarrigle Sisters considered matriarchs. The magazine noted the McGarrigle's impact on Jane Siberry and Mary Margaret O'Hara, recorded k.d. lang's appreciation of Joni Mitchell, observed that both Mitchell and Murray still influenced music decades after their first hits, and even considered the names of contemporary musicians Rita MacNeil, Mae Moore and Alannah Myles to be specific to Canada.²⁷¹ "Carrying on in the tradition of Murray and Mitchell,"

Jennings, "Music; Rock 'n' Reel," *Maclean's*, 19 March 1990, 53; DeMont, "Canada; The party zone: Halifax celebrated as the G-7 leaders met," 15.

²⁷⁰ Nicholas Jennings, "For the Record; Soulful sounds: Four fine releases from singer-songwriters," *Maclean's*, 25 July 1994, 52.

²⁷¹ Nicholas Jennings, "Music; Sisterly harmony; The McGarrigles return after a long absence," *Maclean's*, 8 October 1990, T6; "People," *Maclean's*, 28 November 1994, 70; Nicholas Jennings, "For the Record; Snowbird Harmony; Three singers continue a female tradition," *Maclean's*, 2 November 1992, 68.

Nicholas Jennings wrote in 1992, "--right down to the alliteration of their last names-- MacNeil, Moore and Myles are the latest snowbirds to take flight."²⁷²

Preceded by an era that denied its existence, *Maclean's* boosterism of Canadian music in the 1987-1995 period was dramatic. Through expanded reportage of Canadian music, its application to national issues, placement of increased importance on domestically-specific content, envelopment of all genres as distinct to Canada, and adoption of newer artists as representative of the country's ideals while mythologising established singers as cultural icons, *Maclean's* 1987-1995 music coverage not only reflected but amplified the intense nationalism of the era.

3.4: Conclusion

He helps to keep us all a little more Canadian...So many people are wanting so badly to warm up to feeling patriotic, but there are very few moments they can do that. Tom's music provides those moments.

Country and western musician George Fox on Stompin' Tom Connors (1992)²⁷³

Maclean's celebrated the 125th anniversary of Confederation with their 1992 Canada Day edition, which contained myriad stories devoted to Canadian history and heritage including articles on The Constitution and the Charter of Rights, the 1972 Summit Series, the Underground Railroad, and profiles of Emily Carr, Tommy Douglas, Terry Fox, Nellie McClung, and Stompin' Tom Connors. *Maclean's* Victor Dwyer recounted Connors' career and highlighted his nationalistic compositions "Big Joe Mufferaw," "Sudbury Saturday Night," "The Ketchup Song," "(You May Think It's Goofy but) The Man in the Moon Is a Newfie," and the release of his 37th album *Believe in Your Country*.

²⁷² Jennings, "For the Record; Snowbird Harmony; Three singers continue a female tradition," 68.

²⁷³ Dwyer, "Special Report; The Storied Land; Poetry and patriotism," 72.

"Wearing his patriotism on the fringed sleeve of his leather jacket," Dwyer remarked, "Connors writes of the nation's heroes, the offbeat charm of its cities and towns, and the dignity of its working men and women." Although he addressed Connors' twelve-year retirement from the music industry to protest the dearth of coverage of "identifiably Canadian music," Dwyer's account ignored *Maclean's* failure to cover the artist's retreat and their own complicit negative reportage of Canadian music during the 1975-1986 era. Dwyer reported that Connors' return to music was motivated by his belief that an increase in the production, distribution, and broadcast of Canadian music would help generate pride and fellowship among Canadians. "I want to entertain people, sure," Connors stated, "but that's nothing if I can't make them as proud of their country as I am."²⁷⁴

Connors's appearance in the 1992 Canada Day edition typified *Maclean's* Canadian music coverage during the 1967-1995 period. A positive emphasis on his patriotic music in an issue dedicated to Canada's 125th Birthday mirrored the same nationalist partiality established in Jack Batten's Gordon Lightfoot essay from twenty years previous. The article also alluded to *Maclean's* inclination toward insult, ignorance, and denial of anything domestically-specific about Canadian music during times of depressed nationalism. Chapter Three demonstrates that *Maclean's* 1967-1995 music coverage was influenced by the nationalist attitudes in the parent culture. This information, combined with the findings of the previous chapters, facilitate critical reflection on *Maclean's* reception of Canadian music from 1967-1995, but also provide greater insight into three tumultuous decades in the national and cultural history of the country.

²⁷⁴ Dwyer, "Special Report; The Storied Land, Poetry and patriotism," 72.

Conclusion

Maclean's music coverage from 1967-1995 depicted Canadian music as inferior to that produced by foreign artists, and only during times of intense nationalism were Canadian musicians positively received. From a strictly reductionist viewpoint, *Maclean's* music criticism reflected only the contributors', editors', and magazines' perspectives on Canadian music. Reminded of Peter C. Newman's quote that "the distinguishing characteristic of *Maclean's* in its best times has been an uncompromising attempt to record and authenticate the Canadian experience for the Canadian reader,"²⁷⁵ and mindful of Kembrew McLeod's hypothesis that "by understanding the ways in which evaluations are made within the communities that rock critics are a part of, we can gain a better understanding of the communities themselves,"²⁷⁶ however, the magazine's music coverage was more than a theatre for individual critics' opinions. In their capacity as Canada's National Newsmagazine, *Maclean's* music coverage acted as a microphone for cultural issues: not only did it broadcast the irony of the Canadian inferiority complex / nationalism dichotomy -- it amplified it.

This does not suggest that the music coverage of a single magazine over a thirty-year period provides definitive insight into Canadians' perceptions of domestic music. However, *Maclean's* 1967-1995 coverage, when combined with the accepted chronology and the information found within the comprehensive and academic histories, indicated that the inferiority complex and preoccupation with nationalism was pervasive and affected any investigation of Canadian music.

²⁷⁵ Newman, "The View From Here," 3.

²⁷⁶ McLeod, 47.

Previous scholarship has asserted that both an inferiority complex as well as nationalism informed government and industry involvement with Canadian music. As protectionist measures, the Canadian Content laws affirmed that the government believed that Canadian music required federal support in order to be competitive. Combined with the CRTC's definition that Canadian music was that produced by nationals, the Canadian Content laws mirrored the twin themes of this thesis. Success for Canadian musicians was a key factor of the inferiority complex discovered with the *Maclean's* research, while the magazine demonstrated that its own elastic definition of Canadian music was contingent to the nationalism of the parent culture.

Although the steady strengthening of the CanCon laws pointed to a continual link between the inferiority complex and Canadian nationalism, this connection was most evident when the regulations came under public scrutiny. The CanCon laws and the role of the CRTC in defining Canadian music were hotly debated when they were introduced during the Centennial Era and in the years that surrounded the 125th anniversary of Confederation. It was significant that both the development of the Canadian Content laws and the Bryan Adams Can-Controversy coincided with nationalistic eras. The CRTC's regulations underlined that only through extensive government involvement, ironically, even during these boom times for domestic music, could Canadian artists be successful.

The CRTC cannot be entirely faulted for the inferiority complex, however, as the creation and strengthening of CanCon was a reaction against a broadcasting culture that never believed in Canadian music. The Canadian Association of Broadcasters' continual lack of faith in Canadian music was an obvious example of the inferiority complex but

the CRTC's nationalistic response revealed that the federal government, despite their protectionist actions, consistently viewed domestic music as an important part of Canadian culture.

Between 1967-1995, Canada's musicians succeeded internationally as solo artists or part of various groups, achieved positions at the forefront of genres, and produced and managed foreign superstars, while composers with a Canadian focus attracted domestic audiences. Nevertheless, Canadian music was frequently criticised for being of poor quality, with the Canadian Content laws blamed for facilitating the creation of mediocre copies of foreign artists, providing airtime for substandard music, and encouraging banality, despite the regulation's help in advancing domestic musicians' careers.

Although the regulations stemmed the mass exodus to the United States, Canada's most popular post-CanCon musicians, including Rush, Bryan Adams, Celine Dion, Shania Twain, and Alanis Morissette, continued to gain their superstar status outside the country. Musicians such as Bruce Cockburn, Stompin' Tom Connors, The Rheostatics, Blue Rodeo, and The Tragically Hip, although national favourites, never achieved the same level of fame either domestically or internationally. Notwithstanding references to domestic subject matter, the music of the former group was largely bereft of Canadian content, while much of the work of the latter was directed at domestic audiences. That music with Canada-specific references should be popular abroad is unreasonable; naturally, music aimed at a particular nationality is designed to harmonise with that group at the exclusion of others. However, that the country's favourite musicians received validation from abroad before they were accepted by domestic audiences, combined with the knowledge that composers that littered their work with Canadian signifiers were

always less popular, produced an image of Canadian music that placed international approval ahead of nationalist concerns.²⁷⁷

As seen with the established narrative, secondary resources, and the primary research, Canadians were not good enough to compete internationally; those that attempted, but did not find, foreign audiences and came back to Canada were deemed failures; musicians that achieved world-wide success only did so through the production of generic pop; while those who composed domestically specific material, and by definition did not widely appeal to a foreign audience, could never even enter into the debate that those internationally-appealing artists faced. Combined with the knowledge that the era saw increasingly protectionist measures, broadcasters who never believed in the country's artists, and a fickle public more concerned with internationally popular acts than domestically-specific artists, it leaves little wonder that *Maclean's* 1967-1995 music coverage reinforced an inferiority complex towards Canadian music which even during times of intense nationalism was not superseded.

The seeming contradiction apparent in *Maclean's* 1967-1995 music coverage, wherein the only constant in an era of fluctuating nationalism was the consistent emphasis that domestic music was of poor quality, conforms to the model of the ironic in Canadian culture illustrated in the *Beaver Bites Back?* As the contributors to that volume note, this irony need not be considered a deficiency, but simply an aspect of the Canadian identity. Under their standard, substantiated in this thesis by the established narrative and secondary resources, *Maclean's* music coverage from 1967-1995 indicated that ironically,

²⁷⁷ This analysis concurred with other historians' as Edwardson pointed to much of the music of the 1970s and 1980s as being largely devoid of national references while Potter's analysis stated that since rock and pop emerged in Canada there had been a gradual dwindling of Canadian identity in domestic music.

more essential to the Canadian character than any expression of nationalism was the consistent subtext that domestic music was inferior to that produced by other groups.

Famed cultural critic Mavor Moore's July 1968 arts column, "That all-Canadian vanity - the fear of being thought square - is stunting our artistic success abroad," epitomised *Maclean's* music coverage in the last four decades of the twentieth century. Written during the intense nationalism of the Centennial Era, Moore noted that Canadian artists frequently copied foreign styles, considered international success paramount, and that domestic critics routinely chastised them, while productions focused on Canadian concerns, although prevalent, were considered trivial. "Our protestation is based, it seems to me, on pique at this homely image of ourselves, and on that besetting Canadian vanity, fear of being thought square," Moore complained. "We want desperately to break into the big league, but we're ashamed of our home-made bat - not because it can't hit homers but because it's not in style." Evident with the established chronology, apparent with the comprehensive and academic histories, and palpable within *Maclean's* music coverage from 1967-1995, Moore's prescient assessment recognised the paradox all domestic musicians of the period faced. No matter the level of national or international success, be it monetary, critical acclaim, or celebration as a cultural hero, Canadian music would, ironically, always be considered inferior. As Moore put it, "Canadian artists may justifiably feel they are damned if they do and damned if they don't."²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ Mavor Moore, "the Lively Arts: That all-Canadian vanity - the fear of being thought square - is stunting our artistic success abroad," *Maclean's*, July 1968, 80.

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