

PERFORMING IDENTITIES: WHO IS 'HART-ROUGE'?

COLETTE PATRICIA SIMONOT

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Abstract

The music group Hart-Rouge has generated interest not only with the music that they make, but by who they are as Saskatchewan-born francophone Canadians. In this thesis, I explore the history of the group (who are all siblings in the Campagne family), their life experience as musicians, their music repertoire and style, and how these factors play a role in the Campagnes' cultural identities. Two factors have been chosen for detailed study: the use of French and/or English in Hart-Rouge's repertoire and their use of the breath to create a unique vocal style.

The research for this project focused on the recorded music and film documentaries of Hart-Rouge, including *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us* (1992), *Le coeur de dire* (1992), and a segment from *Adrienne Clarkson Presents* (1995). These three films provided valuable material concerning the group's musical background and career, family, and childhoods on a farm on the prairies. Hart-Rouge's archives in Montreal also provided useful details from the Campagnes' early days as La famille Campagne up to the present. Issues of representation are discussed with reference to the films.

After a brief introduction, I provide the reader with a history of francophones in Saskatchewan, a cursory view of the history of francophone music in western Canada, and a history of the Campagne family, from their ancestry to their experiences forming different music groups (La famille Campagne, Folle Avoine, and Hart-Rouge). I then take

an in-depth look at the band's use of French and English in their repertoire and how it relates to the issue of misunderstanding and the language barrier. Finally, the aspect of breath use is studied. In this section, Hart-Rouge's style is examined, including the claim in the films of the connection between a breathy vocal timbre and the Campagnes' childhoods on the prairie.

In the conclusion, I discuss the cultural identity of Hart-Rouge as an active process incorporating past experience, language use, and creation of musical style. Theories regarding the crafting of identities as negotiations resulting in selves which are open, shifting, and ambiguous is explored in relation to Hart-Rouge.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge several people whose contributions made this thesis a very valuable and useful learning experience. First, I would like to thank Hart-Rouge and the Campagne family—especially Emile, whom I was fortunate enough to interview—for allowing me to use their lives and music as a focus of my research. I would also like to thank Hart-Rouge’s manager, Roland Stringer, for providing me with important details about the group and giving me access to the band’s archives in Montreal. From the several professors and fellow students who aided me in the development of this thesis, I am most grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Beverley Diamond, for faithfully giving me professional guidance, encouragement, and ideas which contributed greatly to my work. Finally, I would like to thank my family, who have been consistently supportive throughout this academic endeavour.

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“Pour moi, être bilingue,
c’est aussi refuser d’ être seulement une chose....”

* * * * *

“For me, being bilingual, it’s also refusing to be just one thing....”

—Suzanne Campagne*

* Claude Couillard, “Hart-Rouge: Authentique, sans pretension,” in: *Clik: Jeune et franco-ontarien* (September 1990, Volume 4, Number 19).

Introduction

In the past five years, interest in the French Canadian, Saskatchewan-born musical group Hart-Rouge has been growing, as evidenced by the flurry of documentary work produced about them. *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us* is an English language documentary produced by M and M Film Productions and Birdsong Communications in 1992. The film is about the lives of the members of the group Hart-Rouge, which is comprised of four members of the musical Campagne family. *Le coeur de dire* is a French language documentary produced by the same company, also in 1992. In February of 1995, the Canadian Broadcasting Company aired a segment of the arts documentary program *Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, which featured Hart-Rouge along with two other Canadian musical groups in a program about musical families.

The interest in Hart-Rouge has been piqued not only by the music that they make, but by who they are as Canadians. The members of Hart-Rouge are francophones who were born and grew up in a musical family near a town called Willow Bunch on the Saskatchewan prairie. The group was even given a political voice during the October 1995 referendum on the separation of Quebec when, as western francophones, they promoted awareness of francophones living outside Quebec in an advertisement aired by CBC television.¹

¹ When aired, this advertisement appeared to support the "non" camp as it was funded by the federal government of Canada. However, early in 1996, when I spoke to Roland Stringer, Hart-Rouge's manager, he said that when the band was approached by francophone groups about the project, they were not

As a person of French heritage who grew up in Saskatchewan, my initial reaction when exposed to Hart-Rouge's music and films was one of identification. I identified with Hart-Rouge's experience growing up on the prairies; I identified with their French heritage; and lastly, I identified with their love of music. I have undertaken this thesis in order to explore in more detail the relationship between the history of the Campagne family, their life experiences as musicians, and the music repertoire and style of the band Hart-Rouge.

Objectives

My objective in this thesis is to investigate a facet of the phenomenon of Canadian cultural identity by looking closely at the lives, music repertoire, and musical style of the band Hart-Rouge. In order to clarify my theoretical stance, it is important to first discuss the meaning of the phrase "cultural identity," by exploring various definitions of the words "culture" and "identity" offered by several writers.

Stuart Adam, in an article on broadcasting and Canadian culture, quotes Raymond Williams when he says that culture is "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language."² Adam postulates that there are two domains in which the word "culture" is normally used. The first is the area of the arts, and the second, which may

informed about the source of funding and they were given the impression that they would be maintaining a neutral stance on the referendum question. This, in fact, was not the case as Hart-Rouge discovered when the ad went to air and, according to Stringer, it resulted in some negative feedback for the band in Quebec. (Stringer did not elaborate further.)

² Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1983), p. 87.

encompass the first, is the domain of society, or, as the author phrases it, “a way of life that constitutes a unique society.”³ Adam illustrates how culture as defined in the areas of the arts and of society can be connected by presenting Clifford Geertz’s idea that “the arts are a storehouse of a society’s memory, experience, and aesthetic sensibility, and thereby a source and expression of its way of life.”⁴ Also in Adam’s article, the anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn are cited for their definitions of culture in the following fashion:

[Culture is a concept]...consisting of patterns...of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional.....ideas and...their attached values.⁵

Novelist and cultural critic Neil Bissoondath portrays culture as a broad, animated concept—almost a living organism—in his book, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of*

Multiculturalism in Canada:

Culture is life. It is a living, breathing, multi-faceted entity in constant evolution. It alters every day, is never the same thing from one day to the next. Stasis is not possible. A culture that fails to grow from within inevitably becomes untrue to itself, inevitably descends into folklore...Culture is a complex entity shaped in way small and large....nothing is inconsequential.⁶

3 Stuart Adam, “Broadcasting and Canadian Culture: A Commentary,” in: David H. Flaherty and Frank E. Manning (eds.), *The Beaver Bites Back? American Popular Culture in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), p. 76.

4 Clifford Geertz, “Art as a Cultural System,” in: *Modern Language Notes* 91 (1976), p. 1473-1499.

5 Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), p. 357.

6 Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, ON: Penguin Books Canada, Ltd., 1994), p. 81.

Victor Turner proposes that culture is not merely a reflection of a society and its structures, but that it *is* the identity of a society and its structure, by virtue of culture being a matter of repeating and copying traditions. In his book *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Turner says:

We have been too prone to think, in static terms, that cultural superstructures are passive mirrors, mere reflections of substructural productive modes and relations or of the political processes that enforce the dominance of the productively privileged. If we were as dialectical as we claim to be, we would see that it is more a matter of an existential bending back upon ourselves: the same plural subject is the active superstructure that assesses the substructural and structural modalities that we also are.⁷

Turner also theorizes that art and life are reflexive of one another—art mirrors life and life mirrors art. That is, artistic activity can use ideas, themes, and symbols from everyday life; then, everyday life subsequently incorporates facets of art, and so on until art and life are inextricably intertwined. In other words, the actions each person takes on a day-to-day basis are part of an ongoing dialogue through which culture and identities are constructed.

The Funk and Wagnalls *Standard Desk Dictionary* defines “identity” as “the state of being a specific person or thing and no other” and “the distinctive character belonging to an individual.”⁸ In her book, *Crafting Selves*, however, Dorinne Kondo describes identity as the product of an individual’s everyday actions, which she refers to as complex, power-fraught negotiations between ‘self’ and ‘other’, taking place within both shifting and specific contexts. Kondo also claims that identity is not a fixed thing, but rather, it is

⁷ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 38.

⁸ Funk and Wagnalls, *Standard Desk Dictionary* (U.S.A.: Lippincott and Crowell, 1983), p. 318.

open, shifting, and ambiguous.⁹ This concept of identity is similar to Turner's reflexive model of art and life in that it suggests a dynamic and instrumental aspect.

According to Stuart Adam, various definitions of culture raise certain conceptual problems. On one hand, the anthropological definition suggests a tradition-based, organic notion of culture; while a managed, dynamic definition is also presented. In application to Canadian society, this means that on one hand, a reverent attention to Canadian history and tradition is emphasized, while on the other hand, a collaboration between the bureaucracy of the modern state and the media in the *production* of culture is emphasized.¹⁰

Two types of definitions are prevalent in writings referring to both the concept of culture and of identity. Not only do the meanings of "culture" and "identity" discussed previously share similarities and overlap in meaning (perhaps even to the point of making the phrase "cultural identity" redundant), but theoreticians have also suggested definitions that have aspects of both passivity and activity in reference to the two words. That is, some recent writers, such as Kondo, Turner, and Bissoondath, choose to define "culture" or "identity" in a way that focuses on an active process of creation, while earlier scholars, such as Kroeber and Kluckhohn, emphasize the product of the process. The first approach is dynamic, instrumental, and managed, while the second is more tradition-based, organic, and static. A grossly oversimplified restatement of the definition of culture and/or identity

9 Dorinne Kondo, *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 24.

10 *Ibid*, p. 77.

may be “something we do” or “something we are.” In effect, it is my opinion that both types of definitions are important and valid, as production (or process) is not independent of product, and vice versa.

Specifically, the cultures and identities I explore in this thesis are those of the members of Hart-Rouge. I discuss how Hart-Rouge, made up of musicians of French origin from Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan, are creating and performing their identities through their career in music. In a broader sense, the cultures of the “fransaskois” (the name officially given to those people of French or francophone descent who live or have lived in Saskatchewan)¹¹ and Canadians as a whole may be considered.

Scope

In this investigation I will focus on the lives and music of the three sisters and brother who make up Hart-Rouge and on certain characteristics of their music which are effective in actively defining their own cultures, a part of the culture of the fransaskois, and of other Canadians. I have chosen two factors to explore in depth: the use of French and/or English in Hart-Rouge’s music in their repertoire and their use of the breath to create a unique vocal timbre and vocal effects in their music. I have chosen these two factors because of the frequency and depth of discussion they received in the documentaries.

¹¹ For the purpose of this paper, I am using terms such as “French,” “francophone,” “French-speaking,” “French Canadian,” and “fransaskois” in their widest sense possible. I use them to refer to people who speak French as their first language and/or whose ancestors come from France or another francophone country.

I do not intend to explore in any systematic way any comparison between Hart-Rouge's music and other French Canadian music, including mainstream Québécois pop music. I will examine Québécois pop music only insofar as the interviews and media regarding Hart-Rouge make reference to it. During the course of my research, I have also kept the cultural implications of the Québécois separatist movement in mind but, once again, I have not examined these further unless the information regarding Hart-Rouge has referred to nationalist politics. I intend for this thesis to be a detailed view of a very small thread of the fabric of Canadian musical culture and any investigation of other issues would be far beyond the scope of this paper.

Methodology

Background for my research was obtained by travelling to Saskatchewan to interview community members, gathering data about the francophone community in general (government publications and information on French song books and recordings available in Saskatchewan), researching the francophone newspaper from Saskatchewan (*L'Eau Vive*), doing a study of French folk song collections in Canada—especially folk song collections from Western Canada, and visiting the fête francophone (annual festival of francophone culture) in 1994 and 1995. At this festival, I was able to interview Emile Campagne, the father of the members of Hart-Rouge, and I made an ethnographic film comprised of the musical performers at the festival. Hart-Rouge made a surprise appearance at the festival so, although I was unable to get a personal interview at that

time, I filmed their entire live performance. In the course of the following year, I conducted further interviews with francophone musicians and community members. The focus of the project, however, is the recorded music and film documentaries of Hart-Rouge.

My research for this project began with the viewing of *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*. This introduced me to Hart-Rouge and inspired me to delve into their music further, although at the beginning of my research I intended to do a project more generally concerning the musical culture of the francophone. I also viewed the films *Le coeur de dire* and *Adrienne Clarkson Presents* (segment from February 15, 1995). These three films provided valuable material—concerning Hart-Rouge’s musical career, their family, childhoods, musical backgrounds, and their lives growing up on a farm—that would have otherwise only been available through hours of personal interviews with the members of Hart-Rouge. I also analyzed the three films to assess whether and how the choice of material presents a consistent image of the band or whether their image is constructed or invented a bit differently in each of the films.

During the course of the project, I made contact with the band’s manager to clarify details about Hart-Rouge. I was also fortunate to be allowed access to the band’s archives (which was comprised of several boxes of material collected over the past several years, that had not yet been formally sorted and arranged) in Montreal, where I found information on the Campagnes from their early days as La famille Campagne up until the

present, in the form of various recordings, photographs, and newspaper and magazine clippings.

I begin the thesis with a short introduction that provides an outline of the work and explains my objectives and methodology. After the introduction, I include a chapter outlining the history of francophone people in Saskatchewan. In chapter two, I present a story of the Campagne family, from their start in music as La famille Campagne to their present success as the band Hart-Rouge. Chapter three is an in-depth look at Hart-Rouge's use of French and English in their repertoire. In chapter four, I try to show how the aspect of breath is important to Hart-Rouge's musical style. In this section, music transcriptions with lyrical, rhythmical, or tonal cues are included to serve as a type of "map" for the reader to use while listening to the recorded examples. Finally, I conclude with a chapter discussing theoretical issues which emerge from my analyses.

Significance

I have threefold hopes for the significance of this project. The first is that I hope to provide the reader with a detailed insight into the lives and music of the band Hart-Rouge. Secondly, I want to promote awareness of the music and culture of French Canadians outside of Quebec and perhaps spark a more extensive investigation of the multi-faceted nature of the identity of French Canadians and the role of music performance in the individual's search for identity. I am excited about continuing to broaden the scope of French Canadian cultural studies to extend further into Western Canada. I intend to

disrupt the picture of French Canada as a homogenous culture located in Quebec by indicating factors which create diverse and heterogenous communities in Saskatchewan. Finally, as well as contributing to the continuing challenge of defining ourselves as “Canadian” and defining our music as “Canadian,” I, as a person of French descent originally from Saskatchewan, hope that my study of Hart-Rouge and their music will shed some light on my own personal struggle to define my cultural identity.

Chapter One: A Brief History of French Canadians in Saskatchewan

In this and the following chapter, I intend to provide the reader with a basic historical context from which the band Hart-Rouge emerged. In chapter one, I will provide a brief background of the francophones in Saskatchewan and a short history of francophone popular song in Canada. In chapter two, I will give a more detailed history of one of these francophone families—the Campagnes, by offering a critical appraisal of the issues of representation which the film documentaries raise.

Several sources, most of which were recent governmental publications and pamphlets, have proven to be valuable to me in writing this chapter. The most informative volume dealing with the history of francophones in Saskatchewan has been Richard Lapointe and Lucille Tessier's *The Francophones of Saskatchewan: A History*.¹² Lapointe and Tessier, themselves fransaskois, spoke within the book of facets of francophone life before 1885, settlement of the prairies, the Roman Catholic clergy's promotion of French immigration, and points of origin of the francophones who came to Saskatchewan and how they adapted to neighbours from several different countries. Finally, the authors examine the fransaskois' realization that they would not be a strong presence in the

12 Richard Lapointe and Lucille Tessier, *The Francophones of Saskatchewan: A History* (Regina: Campion College, 1988).

province without solidarity and their subsequent banding together to found different cultural associations and institutions.

Historical Outline of French Canada

History of francophones in the area that is now Canada began in 1534, when Jacques Cartier landed on the east coast of the continent and travelled up the St. Lawrence River. Cartier and other French explorers established relationships with the aboriginal people and built a flourishing fur trade. In 1604, colonists began arriving from France to settle on the eastern coast of what is now Canada. Following in 1608, Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec City, which launched the beginning of settlement along the St. Lawrence as far west as the Red River region (today's Manitoba) and throughout what is now known as the province of Quebec. The explorer Pierre de La Vérendrye (1685-1749) established forts where Winnipeg and Edmonton now stand, encouraging the building of French communities in the Red River Valley and different areas of what is now Western Canada.¹³ Earliest reports of fur-trading in this area are from the writings of Henry Kelsey in 1690, although the trade was thought to have started as early as 1640.¹⁴

The settlement of francophones in the region which today comprises Saskatchewan occurred in three stages. The first stage was during the exploratory era and the era of the fur trade, from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. During this

13 "Official Languages: Basic Facts" (published by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, September 1993), pp. 7-8.

14 J. Howard Richards (ed.), *Atlas of Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: Department of Geography, University of Saskatchewan, 1969), p. 16.

time, trading posts were established on the river systems by *voyageurs*, *coureurs de bois*, and commissioners of the fur trading companies.¹⁵ These men, along with their counterparts of various ethnicities (including British, Irish, Scottish, and others) carried the fur trade deep into the interior of the west, where they met and married native women. The children born of these relationships became known as the Métis.¹⁶

The second stage in the settlement of francophones in the area now known as Saskatchewan was from the mid-nineteenth century until the Northwest Rebellion in 1885. At this time, many small Métis communities were founded. Some of these communities were old river routes and others were widely scattered across the southern prairies. It was also in this time period, in 1867, that the British North America Act recognized official status for English and French in Parliament and the federal courts, as well as in Quebec's courts and legislature.¹⁷

Finally, the third stage of francophone settlement lasted for approximately half a century after the rebellion (1885), when the Dominion of Canada decided to implement its national policy. Part of this policy was settling the area now encompassing the prairie

15 Alan B. Anderson, *French Settlements in Saskatchewan: Historical and Demographic Perspectives* (Research Report #5, Research Unit for French-Canadian Studies and Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, October 1985), p. 1.

16 "Batoche National Historic Park" (published by authority of the Minister of the Environment, Minister of Supply and Services, 1986), p. 10. The definition of Métis has been and still is contested in Canada in the 1990s. Ontario Métis contest the definition of the "historic" Métis of Western Canada as the descendants of the Red River community, arguing that all people of aboriginal and "other" descent should be included, not just those on the prairies. Many people who affiliate with First Nations are partly European, and some nevertheless resent Métis organizations which tend to homogenize differences among different Nations. In Saskatchewan, the Métis maintain separate political and social organizations apart from groups such as the *fransaskois*.

17 Anderson, p. 1.

provinces.¹⁸ During this time, French-speaking immigrants (encouraged to move to the west by the Roman Catholic church) from Quebec, Europe, and the United States arrived in large numbers to establish primarily agricultural settlements across the prairies. Of course, francophones were not alone in settlement, especially during this third stage. A wide variety of other ethnic groups also established their own settlements, and soon people of non-British and non-French origin were in the majority in Saskatchewan, which had officially become a province of Canada in 1905.¹⁹

*Demographic and Linguistic Data*²⁰

The map in Appendix A shows the regions of francophone settlement in Saskatchewan. The large map on the right side of the diagram displays the southern half of the province, indicating francophone communities. The smaller map on the left shows the three main regions of French settlement in Saskatchewan. The southeast area of settlement comprises a triangle whose corners are Forget in the west, Oxbow in the south, and Pipestone Valley in the northeast, with extensions out to Sedley, Montmartre, the Qu'Appelle Valley, and a cluster of families around Radville. The southwest area of francophone settlement is arranged in a vast arc from Lisieux and Willow Bunch to near Shaunavon, reaching Coderre to the north and Ferland to the south. The third area of

18 Lapointe and Tessier, pp. 1-2.

19 Anderson, p. 1.

20 In this section, I refer to language only as an aspect of individual cultural identity. I do not intend to imply that Saskatchewan, or Canada, has a bicultural nature; but rather, I see these statistics as a reflection of the dominant language used in education and business, not the dominant culture.

settlement is located north of the 52nd parallel, dispersed in an area sweeping across the width of the province, from Paradise Hill in the west to Hudson Bay in the east.²¹

In 1969, the Canadian parliament adopted the Official Languages Act, confirming English and French as official languages for all purposes of the parliament and federal government. The 1991 census data shows that approximately 73% of Canadians are able to speak English (for educational and commercial purposes), 25% are able to speak French, and about 1.4% are unable to speak either official language. Though Canadian society has become multicultural and multilingual, only English and French will allow nearly 100% of Canadians to communicate with each other.²² In Saskatchewan, 99.4% of the population is able to speak English, 5.2% is able to speak French, and 0.6% can speak neither English nor French. 2% of the province's population has French as its first language.²³

Although most francophone Canadians now live in Quebec, there are almost 969,000 French-speaking people living outside of Quebec, all across Canada. Approximately 243,000 francophones live in New Brunswick, the only province which is officially bilingual. About 510,000 francophones live in the northern, eastern, and southwestern parts of Ontario. The remaining 216,000 live in the rest of Canada.²⁴

To highlight the ethnic diversity of Saskatchewan, I have chosen to include information about the ethnic origin of the population from the 1961 census. People of

21 Lapointe and Tessier, p. 107.

22 "Official Languages: Basic Facts," pp. 8-9.

23 Statistics Canada, 1991 Census, Catalogues 93-318 and 94-320.

24 *Ibid*, p. 8.

British origin (including Irish, Scottish, and Welsh) made up about 40.3% of the population; German and Austrian, 19.2%; Ukrainian, 8.5%; Scandinavian, 7.3%; French, 6.5%; Russian and Polish, 5.5%; Native, 3.3%; Dutch, 3.2%; and other ethnicities, 6.2%.²⁵ In comparing the proportions of different ethnicities of various years since 1900, it is apparent that, although the numbers have changed, percentages have remained relatively stable. In terms of the francophone population, Alan B. Anderson states that although the proportion of French-speakers has fallen slightly, the absolute number of them greatly increased during the period of immigration to 1935.²⁶

Cultural Clash

The relationship of the fransaskois with their provincial co-habitants has not always been without conflict. I have chosen, therefore, to include a short section on the fransaskois' efforts to maintain the French language and Roman Catholic religion. I believe that their cultural identity and the ways in which they promote it have evolved largely because they have continuously had to work through clashes with the anglophone majority (itself comprised of people from varying ethnic backgrounds) throughout their history. As well, I think that the theme of clashes between cultures due to misunderstanding is a theme common to the experience of the fransaskois, the Campagne family, and Hart-Rouge themselves.

25 J. Howard Richards, p. 33.

26 Anderson, p. 1.

The linguistic rights of the French-speaking population, which were guaranteed by the British North America Act (1867), were reaffirmed in 1877 by an amendment to the North-West Territories Act. It stated that either English or French could be used by any person in debates of the local council and in the proceedings before the courts, both of the languages would be used in the records and journals of the council, and the ordinances of the council would be printed in both languages.²⁷

In 1885, Canada's federal government wanted to settle the west as quickly as possible and attract agricultural immigrants to the area because they needed western suppliers to sustain the development of eastern industries. French-speaking Catholics thought that in order to respect linguistic duality of the area, a stable and even immigration with at least half the settlers coming from francophone areas would be desirable. The government, however, was less concerned with the ethnic origin, language, and religion of the people than with their ability to work the land, and so people of many different ethnicities moved to the North-West, with large numbers of British, German, Scandinavian immigrants, and Russian (e.g., Ukrainian) immigrants.²⁸

The Catholic clergy claimed that the federal government did not make an effort to attract Catholic settlers, especially francophone Catholics. In 1907 in the House of Commons, French Canadian nationalists openly accused the government of genocide of francophones in the West by "plotting to flood the prairies with immigrants of every

²⁷ Lapointe and Tessier, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 44.

nationality.”²⁹ Francophone nationalists were convinced that the immigration office, dominated by Protestant Anglo-Saxons, practised favoritism towards the British, German, and Scandinavian colonists and discouraged immigration from France and Belgium. In fact, from 1904 to 1905, \$42,673 was spent on immigration from Great Britain and \$111,000 on premiums to the North Atlantic Trading Company, an unofficial group of maritime agents operating in northern and Eastern Europe; while only \$13,000 was spent to recruit from France and Belgium.³⁰ The 1905 annual report of the Superintendent of Immigration serves to strengthen the claim of the French Canadian nationalists because it shows a distinct preference for British settlers (see excerpt in Appendix B).

In actuality, Canada’s immigration policy at the start of the twentieth century classified immigrants into the following categories, primarily according to their presumed ability or inability to work the land: desirable, acceptable, and undesirable. In the ‘desirable’ category, the most desirable were, in order, British, German, Scandinavian, Finnish, Dutch, Belgian, French, and French-speaking Swiss immigrants. Lapointe claims that French-speakers were included in this category partially for fear of displeasing the French-Canadian nationalists, but principally because those who had already settled on the prairies had generally been very successful. In the ‘acceptable’ category were Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, and Hungarians. The ‘undesirable’ class was composed of Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Italian, Bulgarian, Syrian, and Oriental immigrants.³¹

29 Lapointe and Tessier, pp. 70-71.

30 *Ibid*, pp. 90-91.

31 *Ibid*, pp. 96-101.

Aside from the favoritism apparent in immigration policies, the *fransaskois* also experienced opposition in the educational system. When French Catholics immigrated to Saskatchewan, they were promised the freedom to educate their children in francophone schools (in the aforementioned amendment to the North-West Territories Act in 1877). In 1916, the Saskatchewan School Trustees passed resolutions condemning the use of languages other than English in schools in the province. At first, the hours during which French instruction was allowed were reduced. Ultimately, francophone Catholics were denied Québécois teachers, official francophone curriculum, approved textbooks and library books, catechism in French, and religious habits and symbols.³² Certain tumultuous incidents took place because of the changes, such as the occurrence at the annual congress of the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association held in Saskatoon in 1918, at which delegates spoke against all 'foreign elements' in the province and voted against instruction in French. This incident is described at length in Appendix C.

The *fransaskois* were also persecuted by extremist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), who had gained a considerable following in Saskatchewan, especially in the south. They demanded the linguistic unity of Canadian people. The group was violently anti-French and anti-Catholic, in addition to their prejudice against Jews and Blacks. In 1927, the KKK organized a protest campaign against religious habits and crucifixes in the classroom and the teaching of French.³³

³² Lapointe and Tessier, p. 201.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 211.

Early in the twentieth century, the fransaskois began to develop strategies for resisting assimilation by publishing newspapers, broadcasting French radio programs, and organizing Catholic groups and initiatives, such as *L'Association catholique franco-canadienne*. These and other such projects are discussed further in the following section.

Development of Francophone Institutions and Interest Groups in Saskatchewan

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the francophones in Saskatchewan decided to band together to protect their faith, language, and culture. Since then, several organizations have been formed to promote different aspects of the French culture in Saskatchewan.

The French-speaking colonists' descendants who presently live in Saskatchewan are now known by the name "fransaskois." Guy Tourigny, a representative of *La Commission culturelle fransaskoise* (CCF), says that being fransaskois means "...we have French background and origins but are prairie people.....Some of us have been here for four or five generations." Tourigny goes on to say that the fransaskois are made up of people whose ancestors came from France, Belgium, Switzerland, the United States, and Quebec and he states that they are in the process of developing a culture that is unique from other francophones in Canada, and definitely prairie based.³⁴ The fransaskois group may also include the significant francophone Métis population in Saskatchewan, but most

34 *Saskreport* (Vol. 4, No. 2: February 1991), p. 2.

often the Métis consider themselves a separate cultural nation because of their native heritage.

As stated earlier, the fransaskois people have formed several organizations in order to promote and perpetuate the French language and francophone culture in Saskatchewan. Since the proclamation of Canada's official bilingualism in the 1960s, these groups have been increasingly active, especially through the educational system, where they were previously not legally allowed to promote the French language. *L'Association des artistes de la Saskatchewan* encourages the artistic growth and development of French-speaking artists in Saskatchewan. *L'Association culturelle franco-canadienne* (formerly *L'Association catholique franco-canadienne*) de la Saskatchewan promotes the vitality and development of the fransaskois community to insure its participation within the province and in Canada. *L'Association jeunesse fransaskoise* represents the fransaskois youth and coordinates special events and local networking. Its goal is to instill awareness in the youth of francophone culture, language, and identity. *L'Association des juristes d'expression française de la Saskatchewan* works towards equality of both official languages before the courts and sees that the judicial system allows the use of French in Saskatchewan. *La Fédération des aînés fransaskois* represents Saskatchewan's francophone senior citizens.³⁵

35 "National Francophone Week/Semaine nationale de la francophonie: March 20-26 mars," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, March 22, 1994.

La Commission culturelle fransaskoise is presently the leading group promoting fransaskois development. It was founded in 1974 to coordinate the efforts of French cultural and artistic organizations in Saskatchewan. Its first concern is to facilitate the overall cultural and artistic development of French artists, communities, and designated schools in the province. The CCF has, in recent years, increased their youth work because of concern over the 60% assimilation rate of Saskatchewan francophones. The CCF is involved in a school program involving tours of local and nationally known artists, a drama program, and a province-wide school newspaper. CCF also hosts the annual fête fransaskoise, a weekend cultural and artistic festival held since 1980 in a different French community in Saskatchewan each year.³⁶ In the past, the festival has been held in St. Laurent, St. Victor, Bellevue, Gravelbourg, Prud'homme, St. Denis, Prince Albert, Ponteix, Zenon Park, and Willow Bunch. After several years in which francophone artists had to be imported to perform at the festival, more and more local artists are now participating.³⁷

Apart from these groups promoting fransaskois culture, there is a CBC francophone radio station in Regina (CBKF-FM), which is rebroadcast from several other locations throughout the province. The CBC francophone television station is also broadcast from Regina (CBKFT), and rebroadcast from other locations.³⁸ A province-

36 "Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations" (pamphlet published by the Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations, updated in 1993).

37 "Statistics on Official Languages in Saskatchewan" (published by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, June 1993).

38 "CBC French Radio: Stations and Rebroadcasters" and "CBC French Television: Stations and Rebroadcasters" (published by Communication Services, CBC Head Office, March 1992).

wide francophone newspaper, *L'Eau Vive*, is published weekly from Regina by the CCF. There is also a new francophone music distribution company called *PEP Musique* (Prévost Entertainment Productions, Inc.) which started in 1990. It is the only effective company in the distribution of francophone music in the Canadian West.³⁹

In the education field, the francophones have recently gained permission to set up their own school boards after a law was passed in 1994 that approved the formation of parent-run boards to operate the francophone school districts. Previously, French schools were under the public school board jurisdiction.⁴⁰

These and other organizations, such as the francophone publishing company in the prairies, *Éditions Louis Riel*, are the result of the work of many people who have struggled for the freedom to express their culture throughout the past century.

Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan

The Campagne family, from which Hart-Rouge emerged, grew up on a farm near Willow Bunch. Willow Bunch is a small town in southern Saskatchewan that was founded by Quebec-born Jean-Louis Légaré (1841-1918) in 1880. Légaré travelled to the western plains of the United States in 1865, and in 1871, he moved north and opened a trading camp in the area of "Montagne de bois" (Wood Mountain), as several Métis families had recently moved there from Manitoba. This is the area in which Willow Bunch was founded

³⁹ *Saskreport*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ "Fransaskois ready to set up school boards," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 1994.

in 1880, when Légaré settled in a valley in the region and opened a store. Later, he became a rancher, built a cheese factory, and acted as postmaster for twenty years.⁴¹

The area in which Willow Bunch was founded was originally named “Talle de Saules” (thicket of willows) because of the shrubs that were found there in abundance. They also nicknamed the town “Hart-Rouge”⁴² because the small twigs of the shrubs could be put in tobacco and smoked. Later, anglophones gave the town the name “Willow Bunch,” which was a corruption of the original name.⁴³

The historical publication, *Willow Bunch*, is written from a clerical and missionary perspective, declaring that Christianity amalgamated the variety of citizens of Willow Bunch into a unified whole. The preface states that the town of Willow Bunch had its origin among the Indians and Métis of La Montagne de bois with the early missionaries. At first, the native people, from the Cree, Blackfoot, Assiniboine, and Montagnais tribes, were still nomadic, but with the coming of Europeans, they gradually abandoned the nomadic way of life and settled in the region of Willow Bunch. The native people, especially the Cree, were friendly with the Europeans who arrived at the beginning of the 1800s. They welcomed the white men into their tribes and offered their daughters in

41 *Centenaire de la paroisse St. Ignace des saules (1870-1970)/Centennial of St. Ignace des Saules Parish* (Willow Bunch, SK, 1970), p. 11, 36-37.

42 This is the origin of the band's name. Translated literally, “hart” refers to a rope or a tough twig that can be used to tie things together. When this rope was smoked, it was red with heat, hence the name “rouge.”

43 “Vers la vallé du géant Beaupré,” (information pamphlet from the 15th annual fête fransaskoise), p. 10. The “géant Beaupré” refers to Édouard Beaupré, the first baby baptized in the church at Willow Bunch. Beaupré grew to a fantastic height and subsequently brought fame to the town of Willow Bunch.

marriage. Willow Bunch's founding was due in great part to the Métis, who acted as guides, hunters, and interpreters for companies, explorers, and missionaries.⁴⁴

In the 1700s the *coureurs de bois* opened up the west for trading, and missionaries soon followed. In 1868, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate Fathers had taken over the mission of the area, and in 1870, a priest named Fr. Lestanc travelled to the area of Willow Bunch and built a rugged chapel called the Coulée Chapel. Sunday Mass was sung by the whole congregation, and soon, one of the best musicians of the parish, Mrs. Angus McGillis, became a leading member of the Métis choir for the church. McGillis had been a singing student of Sr. Marie-Éulalie Lagrave of Ste.-François-Xavier, who was one of the founders of the Order of the Grey Nuns in the west. McGillis, a talented musician, also taught her son to play the violin.⁴⁵

The church was considered by many people to be a centre for the community, and much of the musical activities subsequently took place there. Usually, the priest held a daily morning Mass and sang evening Vespers every day. In 1884, a new chapel was built to replace the Coulée Chapel, and then a wooden church was finally built in 1907.⁴⁶

The *Société Ste.-Jean-Baptiste* began in Willow Bunch in 1911. Its aim was to maintain the Catholic and French mentality in the forefront of the community and develop interests in all that could make it more Christian and promote the intellectual and physical culture. The society formed committees for music, education, gymnastics, recruiting, and

44 Rev. Clovis Rondeau, PME and Rev. Adrien Chabot, *Willow Bunch* (Winnipeg and Gravelbourg: Canadian Publishers Ltd., 1970, translation from French), pp. 3, 11.

45 *Willow Bunch*, pp. 13, 33-35, 278.

46 *Ibid*, pp. 112, 167.

L'Association Catholique franco-canadienne in 1916. The music committee concentrated its activities on the Willow Bunch parish. They started a choir, under the direction of Dr. Arsène Godin, which added to the holiday ceremonies and reaped much-deserved credit. As well, a band of twenty instruments, mostly brass, was organized.⁴⁷

A large celebration was held to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the parish and town of Willow Bunch in 1930. The celebration included a Mass, a performance by the brass band, musical and oratorical programmes, the benediction of a monument, a parade, a display of decorations, outdoor amusements, and a banquet. The performance of the choir, still under the direction of Dr. Godin, so impressed the public that the following statement appeared in a newspaper, *Le Patriote de l'Ouest*, to describe the event:

The Willow Bunch choir really amazed all....Under the expert direction of Dr. Godin, the polyphonic Mass was so well performed as to surpass in perfection what is heard even in important cities.⁴⁸

In 1925, Father Kugener became the priest of Willow Bunch parish. He was an advocate and connoisseur of Gregorian chant, and it was he who presided over the blessing of the three new church bells of Willow Bunch. The bells were so prominent in the community that they were given names. The 865 lb. bell ("do") was named "Marie-Reine, Betha," the 635 lb. bell ("re") was named "Marie-Thérèse-Lorette," and the 465 lb. bell ("mi") was called "Marie-Ange, Yvone, Roberta."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Willow Bunch*, pp. 181, 183-184.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 263.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 318-321.

The Willow Bunch parish reached a high point in its presentation of socials and spectacles in the 1930s in order to raise the spirits of the people, who were suffering from the drought and a poor economy. Theatrical productions became very popular at this time. From the 1930s until 1970 (at which point information becomes scarce), music was part of celebrations in the town of Willow Bunch for several events in the community—visits from the bishop, priests' birthdays, ordinations, and town anniversaries, as well as other special occasions. In 1959, the church that presently stands in Willow Bunch was finally built.⁵⁰

French Musical Heritage in Canada

Little is known about francophone music in Canada before the nineteenth century, although there are references to *voyageur* songs and other music in French communities in early travel literature and in the Jesuit Relations. One of the first collections of French popular song in Canada was Ernest Gagnon's collection of French folk songs entitled *Chansons populaires du Canada* (1865), which is exceptional due to its complete textual and musical renditions with selected variants.⁵¹

Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) was engaged by the Canadian government in the early 1900s to conduct research concerning the native peoples. He began collecting native tales and folk songs while working on the Huron Indian reserves. Because he was the son

⁵⁰ *Willow Bunch*, pp. 355-356, 404.

⁵¹ Ernest Gagnon, *Chansons populaires du Canada*, second edition (Quebec: Bureaux du foyer canadien, 1880).

of a *violoneur* and noticed French influence on the music of the native people, he believed that there were more French folk songs than those previously collected or published by Gagnon. Barbeau subsequently travelled through Quebec, recording as many as 3,000 songs. Later, he began working with other interested researchers, such as E.-Z. Massicotte, and eventually recorded 1,400 songs.

Barbeau's first major collection, *Romancero du Canada*,⁵² is composed of fifty French songs found in Canada. It also includes rhythmic formulae and musical analyses. Other publications of Barbeau's include *Alouette*, *L'arbre des rêves*, *Le rossignol y chante*, *En roulant ma boule*, and *Le roi boit*.⁵³

Other researchers have also added to the body of French folk song collections in Canada. Marguerite and Raoul d'Harcourt published *Chansons folkloriques françaises au Canada* in 1956.⁵⁴ Luc Lacourcière, through the Archives of Folklore at Laval University, collected and recorded over 2,000 folk songs in Charlevoix and New Brunswick. In 1943, Conrad Laforte undertook research with the intent of cataloguing French songs in North America and French-speaking Europe. Among the resulting publications are *Poétiques de*

52 Marius Barbeau, *Romancero du Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1937).

53 Barbeau, *Alouette: Nouveau recueil de chansons populaires avec mélodies, choisies dans le répertoire du Musée national du Canada* (Montreal: Éditions Lumen, 1946).

L'arbre des rêves (Montreal: Éditions Lumen, 1948).

Le rossignol y chante (Ottawa: Musée national de l'homme, 1979).

En roulant ma boule (Ottawa: Musée national de l'homme, 1982).

Le roi boit (Ottawa: Musée canadien des civilisations, 1987 posthumous).

54 Marguerite and Raoul d'Harcourt. *Chansons folkloriques françaises au Canada: leur langue musicale* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1956).

la chanson traditionnelle française and the complete edition of *Le catalogue de la chanson folklorique française* (1977-1987), of which there are six volumes as of 1997.⁵⁵

French folk song has been collected and studied in other provinces aside from Quebec. In 1942, the first volume of *Chansons d'Acadie* (there were seven volumes by 1990) was published by Father Anselme Chiasson and Brother Daniel Boudreau of New Brunswick. Also, Helen Creighton worked in Nova Scotia collecting folksongs—some of which are French—and Kenneth Peacock has collected songs in Newfoundland. Gerald Thomas published a volume titled *Songs Sung by French Newfoundlanders* (1978). *Chansons de Shippagan*⁵⁶ and *Complaintes Acadiennes de L'Île du Prince Edouard*⁵⁷ are two other Maritime collections. Germain Lemieux, working out of Sudbury, collected over 3,000 songs from the French-speakers of Ontario and compiled some of them into a volume called *Chansonnier franco-ontarien* (1974-1975). Collections were also compiled from the French communities of Manitoba, one publication of which is *Chansons à répondre du Manitoba* (1979).⁵⁸ Folksong collectors active in English Canada have often included French repertoire in their publications, e. g., Edith Fowke's *The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs* (1973).⁵⁹

55 Conrad Laforte, *Poétiques de la chanson traditionnelle française: classification de la chanson folklorique* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1976).

Le catalogue de la chanson folklorique française (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1977-1987).

56 Dominique Gauthier, *Chansons de Shippagan* (Les Archives de Folklore 16, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1975).

57 Georges Arsenault, *Complaintes Acadiennes de L'Île du Prince Edouard* (Ottawa: Les Éditions Leméac, 1980).

58 Marcien Ferland, *Chansons à répondre du Manitoba* (Ste.-Boniface, MB.: Les Éditions du Blé, 1979).

59 Conrad Laforte, "Folk music, Franco-Canadian," in: Helmut Kallmann et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, second edition), pp. 477-481.

In Saskatchewan, little research has been undertaken in the field of French folksong except where it pertains to the Métis people. Barbara Cass-Beggs compiled a short anthology of songs entitled *Seven Métis Songs of Saskatchewan* (1967).⁶⁰ There are also two short anthologies of francsaskois music. The first, *Chantons la vie* (1988),⁶¹ is a volume compiled by members of the Fédération des aînés francsaskois. The anthology is made up of 101 songs, most of which have no indications of origin. *Chants que les anciens m'ont donnés: vieux chants français de la Saskatchewan* (1989)⁶² is the other francsaskois anthology. It was produced under the direction of Simone Verville, with research by Marie-Louise Perron and musical transcriptions of Martin Thibault. Perron indicated in her article for Conrad Laforte's book, *Ballades et Chansons Folkloriques* that she intended this anthology for a scholarly audience, as opposed to a readership geared towards performance.⁶³ Nearly one hundred songs are in this volume, including multiple versions of some of them. The collections have a regional focus with the addition of a few Métis songs, including some about Louis Riel, to a repertoire similar to Gagnon and Barbeau. This and other research on French folk song in Canada has been preserved and protected in collections in the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies and the Marius Barbeau Documentation Centre in Montreal.

60 Barbara Cass-Beggs, *Seven Métis Songs of Saskatchewan* (Don Mills, ON.: BMI Canada, 1967).

61 Fédération des aînés francsaskois, *Chantons la vie* (Regina, SK.: Éditions Louis Riel, 1988).

62 *Chants que les anciens m'ont donnés: vieux chants français de la Saskatchewan* (Regina, SK.: La Commission culturelle francsaskoise, 1989).

63 Marie-Louise Perron, "État de la recherche sur la chanson folklorique en Saskatchewan," in: *Ballades et chansons folkloriques: actes de la 18e session de la commission pour l'étude de la poésie de tradition orale* (Quebec: CELAT, Université Laval, 1989), pp. 29-44.

Thus far, I have described the activities of academics with regards to French folk song in Canada. The repertoire also played, and still plays, a role in popular culture and pedagogy. It was a common view that teaching these songs to others was a good way to perpetuate the French language in Canada. Monsignor Camille Roy, the president of the Committee of the Survival of French in America, declared in Quebec in 1937 that:

...l'un des meilleurs moyens de conserver et de cultiver l'esprit français, c'est de chanter et de faire chanter le plus possible nos belles chansons canadiennes et françaises.⁶⁴

With this end in mind, publication of the series of volumes called *La bonne chanson* was initiated. These volumes were composed of French folk songs from sources previously mentioned, such as those of Gagnon, Barbeau, and Massicotte. They were intended to be used in schools, in the home, and at community gatherings. The company *Les Éditions musicales la bonne chanson* produced several different volumes and collections which were distributed in the French communities of North America, mostly in the 1940s and 1950s. Radio programs and song books brought French folk song into millions of francophone homes and schools across Canada.⁶⁵

Naturally, as Canadian people learned and sang traditional French folk songs, they were also composing new songs of their own. Denis Bégin, in *La chanson québécoise*,⁶⁶

64 *Les 100 plus belles chansons* (St. Hyacinthe, Que.: Les Éditions musicales la bonne chanson, 1956), p. 3. English translation: "...one of the best methods of preserving and cultivating the French culture is to sing and to have our beautiful Canadian and French songs sung as much as possible." N.B. All of the translations from French to English are mine, unless otherwise specified.

65 Janice Seline et al., *L'illustration de la chanson folklorique au Québec des origines à 'La bonne chanson'* (Montreal, Que.: Musée des beaux arts de Montréal, 1980), p. 33.

66 Denis Bégin, *La chanson québécoise* (Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Que.: Les Éditions du Réseau U Inc., 1987), pp. 5, 37-53.

asserts that the transformation of folk song accompanied the transformation of French Canadian society from 1920 well into the 1980s. He says that La Bolduc, a popular Québécoise singer, helped popularize the folk song when she toured Quebec in the first half of the twentieth century. Her song style included the rhythm of reels and jigs.

During the first half of the twentieth century, country and western music in French was also popular. It was inspired by the American country and western tradition and began with mostly sad songs, including wartime songs and yodeling. The popularity of such singers as Willie Lamothe, Paul Brunelle, Roger Miron, and Marcel Martel grew until the advent of rock and roll in the 1950s.

Bégin goes on to describe another French song style that grew under the influence of American and French popular song styles. The *chanteurs de charme* were the French equivalent of “crooners,” who became known in the 1930s. They were influenced by television and became famous again in the 1950s and later with Michel Louvain, Pierre Lalonde, Donald Lautrec, and then René Simard in the 1970s.

In the last half of the century, two different streams of French song are apparent in Canada—pop and *chansonnier*. The pop style, similar to the rock and roll English style, was influenced by Elvis Presley in the 1950s and the Beatles in the 1960s, and as it grew in popularity, different variants, such as intellectual rock and symphonic rock, have emerged. Renée-Berthe Drapeau, in her article, “Le yéyé dans la marge du nationalisme québécois,” says that the French rock and roll music of the 1960s, which was influenced by the many “revolutions” operating in society then, is called “yéyé,” an onomatopoeic term that

imitates the nonsense syllables often found in the lyrics of these songs. *Yéyé* reflects a period in Quebec's history that was filled with economic, ideological, and cultural overhaul. Drapeau states that this "mostly quiet revolution"⁶⁷ was born from the fatigue of an 'inferior' nationalism."⁶⁸

The *chansonnier* style was and still is more of a singer/songwriter tradition, similar to the folk tradition of English music. Felix Leclerc was an important French Canadian artist in this field. By 1973, bands such as Séguin, Beau Dommage, and Harmonium were producing complex French Canadian music that shared a theme of liberating humanity from the chains of consumerist society. Much of this music has a nationalistic, political, or revolutionary tone. Later, many different styles were combined with one another to create new styles of music, but the big names like Leclerc, Fernand, Léveillé, Vigneault, and Charlebois remained popular.⁶⁹

Conclusions: Personal Sides to the History

This chapter functions as a brief history of the *fransaskois* as a whole; whereas I would like to sharpen my focus in the following chapter in order to examine the

67 In Robert Bothwell's *Canada and Quebec: One Country, Two Histories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995), the author describes the "quiet revolution" as a period (1945 to 1965) of reform, technological advance, and modernization in Quebec. During this period, the framework of Quebec society—provided primarily by the Roman Catholic religion—shifted dramatically. The people of Quebec began to question the assumptions upon which their society was founded. By the end of this period, divorce was flourishing, the birthrate was dropping, convents were empty, and some churches had been turned into bingo halls (pp. 75-83).

68 Renée-Berthe Drapeau, "Le yéyé dans la marge du nationalisme québécois," in: Giroux, Robert (ed.). *Les aires de la chanson québécoise* (Montréal: Éditions Triptyque, 1984), pp. 173-208.

69 Bégin, *La chanson québécoise*, pp. 55-57.

experience of one fransaskois family—the Campagnes from Willow Bunch. In doing so, I believe it may be valuable to first explain where I stand as the author.

In this paper, the voices of many different people must be taken into consideration, and it is important to know where the authorial voice is coming from. French-speaking Canadians, English-speaking Canadians, fransaskois, Québécois, Hart-Rouge, and my own voice all have a role to play in this thesis. Many of these groups overlap and intersect through the lives of individuals. For instance, I feel at once an insider and an outsider in the fransaskois group, the French Canadian group, and the English Canadian group because I am a Canadian of French background who was raised in Saskatchewan as an anglophone.

Many fransaskois have French roots and were raised in a francophone setting; however, many also have francophone roots but were raised in an anglophone setting, perhaps because they did not live in an area where there was a strong francophone presence, or because discrimination led to the denial of their language and history, also experienced by many others of differing ethnicities. These supposed “inconsistencies” in identity (i.e., having a French background and not being able to speak French) are familiar to me and not uncommon in the experience of being Canadian and living in Canada. The following excerpt from the Acadian play, *La Sagouine* by Antonine Maillet, poignantly expresses the struggle for identity of one Canadian woman from New Brunswick. In this scene, *La Sagouine* is relating an experience that she and her husband Gapi had when they were approached by census takers. She says:

That ain't all. Cause they got in their lists a question a lot tougher. Ah! there too, even Gapi didn' know what to answer. Yer nationality, they ask you. Citizenship 'n nationality. Hard to say.

...We live in America, but we ain't Americans. Nope, Americans, they work in'em factories in the States, and in summer, they come around, visitin' our beaches in their white trousers 'n speakin English. 'n the're rich, them Americans, 'n we ain't. Us, we live in Canada so we figure we mus' be Canadians.

...Well, that ain't true either, cause the Dysarts, 'n the Carrolls, 'n the Jones, they just ain't like us, and they also live in Canada. If the're Canadians, we sure can't be the same. Cause the're English, 'n us, we're French.

...Nope, we ain't completely French, can't say that: the French folks is the folks fr'm France, les Français de France. 'n fer that matter, we're even less Français de France than we're Americans. We're more like French Canadians, they told us.

Well, that ain't true either. French Canadians are those that live in Québec. They call'em Canayens or Québécois. But how can we be Québécois if we ain't livin in Québec? Fer the love of Christ, where do we live?⁷⁰

Some of the issues brought forth in this excerpt concern classification and identification and questions of citizenship and nationality. These are issues which resonate in my own life and are pertinent in the dialogue of Canadian identity. These issues are important to francophone Canadians, and, as will be explored in the following chapters, also important to the Campagne family.

70 Antonine Maillet, *La Sagouine*, English translation (Toronto: Simon and Pierre Publishing Company, Ltd., 1979), pp. 164-165.

Chapter Two: Representations of the Story of the Campagne Family

In this chapter, I will discuss issues in the life histories of Suzanne, Paul, Annette, and Michelle Campagne, the members of Hart-Rouge, as I believe their life experience has influenced their music in many ways. As well, I think that the issues the Campagnes faced as a family have become familiar themes in the career of the band Hart-Rouge.

The title of this chapter—"Representations of the Story of the Campagne Family"—is significant, not only because the chapter is my own interpretation of the story of the lives of the Campagne family, but also because the bulk of the information with which I put this chapter together was obtained from other representations of the Campagne story, i.e., the films *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*, *Le coeur de dire*, and excerpts from *Adrienne Clarkson Presents*.⁷¹ There are subtle differences between the ways in which Hart-Rouge is represented in these three films. *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*, for example, endorses their use of both languages as an element of their identities. *Adrienne Clarkson Presents* focuses primarily on Hart-Rouge as a family band, and presents their bilingual repertoire as problematic in that it creates an unclear image for the band. *Le coeur de dire*, although it uses much of the same material and format as *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*, places more of a stress on the band's independence and on the economics of

⁷¹ *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us* and *Le coeur de dire* were filmed in Saskatchewan, Quebec, and Europe before 1992 (when the films were released); while the footage for *Adrienne Clarkson Presents* was filmed in Saskatchewan in 1994.

language choice. I have chosen to incorporate many quotes directly from the videos in order to create a text made up of many voices, and not just my own. I also rely on my interview with Emile Campagne.

Both *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us* and *Le coeur de dire* trace the growth of Hart-Rouge—from their early performances making music as a family at local folk festivals and on local television stations to their subsequent move to Montreal in an attempt to further their music careers. The paths of the Campagne family from France to Saskatchewan to Quebec are explored, giving a sense of a search for identity. The excerpts from *Adrienne Clarkson Presents* deal with bilingualism, discrimination, the importance of culture, rural life on the praires, and musical style in a thematic, rather than chronological way, unlike the other two films.

Origins of the Campagne Family

The Campagne family is originally from a community in northern France called Aire-sur-la-Lys. Their ancestors immigrated to Canada in 1905, moving to a farm near Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan. Mrs. Marguerite Campagne, the band members' mother, was born into the Giraudier family,⁷² who were also from the Wood Mountain area; however, the film documentaries ignore her for the most part.

⁷² *Centenaire de la paroisse St. Ignace des saules (1870-1970)/Centennial of St. Ignace des Saules Parish*, p. 65.

In *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*, the family describes a recent trip they took to France to explore their roots. Michelle speaks about meeting an old woman who remembers the day their ancestors left for Canada:

The Campagnes were from northern France, a place called Aire-sur-la-Lys. We still have relatives there, and recently, we went over with our parents to see them. My dad was very excited to go see them and to go see the farm where his grandfather grew up. We even met a 102-year-old woman who remembers the day that my great-grandfather left with his sons for Canada, and she talked about this auction that was held and how everyone was very sad to see them off to Canada. (*Hart Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*, 0940)⁷³

It is notable that the family met someone who still remembers their ancestors in France, as the cultural metamorphoses the Campagne family went through and is still going through has occurred during the course of one woman's lifetime—a phenomenon not unusual in the personal histories of many Canadians, especially those from the prairie provinces.

The Campagne family remained in Willow Bunch until the generation of Hart-Rouge. Emile, the band members' father, explains:

My grandad came from France in 1905, and when he came here he was seventy years of age. He came in with the four boys. My dad took over the farm after my grandad passed away, and I took it from him when he retired in 1947. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0107)

Although all of the Campagne children have left the area where they grew up, they are very proud of their heritage, as Adrienne Clarkson states in the following excerpt:

They make a point of telling people they're from Willow Bunch because they are proud of their Western francophone background. The farm where they grew up is quite isolated, particularly during a prairie winter, but there was always lots of warmth and music in the Campagne home, which meant that in all kinds of

⁷³ The counter numbers act as a reference to specific locations in the films. The machine used in this case was a Hitachi VHS HQ model.

weather, friends would make the trip out to the farm house to soak up some good feelings. The parents encouraged their seven children to value their roots, insisting on French being spoken in their home and musical evenings would always include French folk song. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0121)

As they were growing up, their parents (Emile and Marguerite), were very conscientious about passing on the French language and traditions—which included folk songs—to the Campagne children. However, by the second half of the twentieth century, Willow Bunch had developed into a dominantly anglophone town, so it was a constant struggle to continue French traditions.

Keeping the French Culture Alive in Saskatchewan

In the film documentaries, the Campagnes describe their father, Emile, as someone who fought very hard to keep the French language and traditions alive in his family and community. When I conducted an interview with Emile Campagne, he spoke extensively about assimilation and the efforts he has made and is still making to keep the French language alive in Willow Bunch. About the community he says:

...Here it's been a fight all the way...French and English, especially with the school. The school we had...we were one of the first communities....I think the second community, to go for immersion in school, or I guess that would be in the system, and we had a whale of a fight because we were already learning two kinds of French here. We were learning core French and we were learning L'A.C.F.C. (*L'Association culturelle franco-canadienne*) French....What we were noticing too was that the coming of television changed the whole perspective of the home itself. They got stuck to the TV there..that's another way of assimilation. Before we got French TV, French radio was the same thing. We had French radio back in the

1950s...and that's good...but we had English radio back in the 1920s.... (interview with Emile Campagne; tape 2, side B, counter number 567)⁷⁴

In Willow Bunch, Emile Campagne was likely the citizen most dedicated to keeping French traditions alive. His children, although they value their French language and culture now, did not always understand why their father fought so hard for their heritage.

Michelle comments:

The people in Willow Bunch have always regarded my father as the fanatic, and you know, I don't like to hear him being regarded as such, but I know that he is. He always has been very adamant about speaking French, and to me growing up, yeah, he was a fanatic. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1087)

Emile Campagne felt strongly about, and fought for, the right to have French schools to the point where he was considered overzealous. Suzanne says:

He's still so involved in trying to maintain a French educational system in Willow Bunch when nobody wants it. Let's be real. Nobody wants it anymore...or very few people want it. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1293)

If this quote is indicative of the general feeling of francophones in Saskatchewan, it would seem that few people are still fighting to keep their culture alive, in terms of the language at least. Suzanne seems to think that keeping the French culture alive in Saskatchewan is a lost cause. Emile, however, is still very adamant. He says:

I would like every Canadian to be able to speak two or more languages. There's no reason why the Indian in his own majority shouldn't be able to learn his languages and his culture too, and you know when it came to the settlement of the country too, you had centres where ethnic groups got together. Well, they were of the same faith or the same language. And I don't see why we didn't encourage that. You know, you look at Yorkton, you have a preponderance of people of

⁷⁴ Emile Campagne agreed to speak with me in English for the interview, as I was not completely comfortable with my ability to speak in French at the time.

Ukrainian descent—wonderful people. Why shouldn't they have learned their language at school? (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1240)

Perhaps the reason for Emile's zeal lies in his own situation growing up in Willow Bunch, where he was treated as a second-class citizen for speaking French, even though the town itself was primarily francophone at that time. He explains:

We were put down a little bit like the Métis was. We weren't called 'worthless savages' as the Métis, but we were looked upon as stubborn, anti-Canadian people that don't want to assimilate and become the 'real guys'. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1298)

This quote indicates that, according to Emile, the general feeling was that it was considered nationalistic and patriotic for Canadians to speak English. Mr. Campagne also said:

Outside of Quebec...it's pretty hard to have the necessary rights to be *what you are*. (my emphasis; *HR: So Many Miles...*, 1313)

Marguerite Campagne commented on how difficult it was to keep the French tradition in a primarily anglophone province. She stated that it would have been easier for her family had they just changed to English. That way, they may have been more accepted by everyone in the community. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1212)

The Campagne family has obviously experienced some discrimination and much opposition, especially in terms of the education system. In his public life, Emile Campagne fought, and still fights, for a French education system in Willow Bunch, even though his daughter Suzanne believes it is hopeless, according to one interview. At home, however, the Campagnes were free to instill in their children the cultural values they wished to perpetuate.

Growing Up: Early Bilingual Experiences in Music and Everyday Life

Hart-Rouge sings in both English and French. Their bilingualism is a reflection of their early experiences living in Saskatchewan, where they learned the value of their French culture and language at home while living as anglophones in the larger context of their community. Emile told me in an interview that he had a similar experience growing up which he passed on to his children. He says:

Dad sang folk songs, but they [Emile's parents] weren't particularly musical, and....they didn't have degrees and all that but they had a high degree of culture and education, and they both came from the old country so there was a similarity there. Being from the old country too, they had probably more knowledge of culture, which helped too. The fact that the community here once upon a time in Willow Bunch was ninety percent French....there were several elements that encouraged this community in French. (interview with Emile Campagne; tape 2, side B, counter number 348)

As Emile's parents spoke French and sang French folk songs to their children, he and Marguerite decided to do the same with their family. Emile also says that his strong love of folklore inspired him to teach his children songs so that they could sing together as a family (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0143). Marguerite, when asked for a comment on her husband's influence on the early music experience of her children, says, matter-of-factly, that the family "has always sung." She says that the children started out very young with their father, who just had "the voice and the love of singing and the love of music" (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0136). In fact, every year at Christmas, Emile sings "Minuit Chrétien" (a popular French carol) at the local Willow Bunch Catholic church.

Despite his efforts to promote music and culture in his family, Emile did not realize the extent to which his children would eventually take the song that they learned at home, as he says in the following quote:

When we were teaching our children about the French culture and living it at home here, and of course that involved the singing, I never realized that one day they would go professional. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0088)

Growing up, Paul says that although it was difficult to get French albums in small town Saskatchewan, his father used to encourage him and his sisters to listen to singers such as Claude Léveillée and Nana Mouskouri. He goes on to say:

....He used to make an effort to get French albums and French music into the house because that was, it was very difficult to do that, especially living in small town Saskatchewan, where it's difficult to get albums, period, let alone to get them in French. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0161)

Suzanne agrees, saying:

Claude Léveillée for us was sort of a real legend. We grew up listening to his music as a compromise because my father would say, 'You can listen to your Beatles' stuff, and you can listen to all that...stuff, as long as you temper it with a little bit of good French music,' and Claude Léveillée for us was somebody who was a little bit ahead of his time, in terms of arranging. He also had beautiful melodies. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0466)

Emile also made a comment about the availability of French recordings in Saskatchewan when I interviewed him. He recognized how difficult it was and still is to locate French language music in Western Canada, but when asked how he felt about the situation, he stated:

It's understandable when very few people speak French or are of French culture, it's very hard for the fellow that sells records to get a stock and it stays on his hands. I don't think it's prejudice at all; it's just business. (interview with Emile Campagne; tape 2, side B, counter number 396)

Emile and his children played and sang music together in their home from a very early age. They began performing together in their community quite early as well, with a repertoire made up of traditional French folk songs such as “Monsieur le curé” and “À la claire fontaine.”

Folle Avoine

In their earliest professional days as a musical ensemble in the 1970s, the Campagne family performed as La famille Campagne (the seven Campagne children and their father) at folk festivals, schools, concerts, assemblies, conventions, variety nights, carnivals, and festivals across Saskatchewan and the other prairie provinces. For the first several years, the Campagnes concentrated on the Western Canadian market, with limited success. Emile Campagne also encouraged his children to be active in the community where they grew up. He said:

We were always encouraging the children in any project in town. Here it was the idea too to keep our cultural identity, so we had to do it by song and by speaking French at home. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0330)

The Campagnes eventually decided to expand their market and move to a larger, more central location—St.-Boniface, a suburb of Winnipeg with a large francophone population. Annette, one of the band members, comments on living in Western Canada and in Willow Bunch, specifically:

I don't know if I could go back to live in Western Canada, in Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan, partly because if I wanted to keep singing, I couldn't do it from there. I couldn't live my language there anymore, because most of the French-speaking people there, they've lost their language, they've been assimilated and they're, I wouldn't say that they're hostile towards French Canadians, but like I

said, they just don't understand. They don't understand why a language would be so important to keep. I mean I wouldn't be able to speak with any of my generation in French. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1223)

With the move to Winnipeg, around 1979, La famille Campagne decided to change their name and update their style. As "Folle Avoine," (meaning "wild oats" in English) more musical opportunities were open to the seven Campagne children. The group was made up of the Campagnes and sometimes, outside musicians. As La famille Campagne, the Campagnes concentrated on traditional French folk songs, but Folle Avoine added contemporary French Canadian folk music and lively original compositions—some written by the Campagnes themselves—to their repertoire, sometimes even singing in English.

Folle Avoine has performed across Canada, primarily in folk festivals. Between 1980 and 1984, they performed at many music festivals in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Ontario, including the Winnipeg Folk Festival, the Festival franco-ontarien in Ottawa, La fête francosaskoise in Saskatchewan, the Festival du voyageur in St.-Boniface, Folklorama in Winnipeg, and the Regina Folk Festival. In 1986, they performed at the Festival acadien in Caraquet and the Festival sur mer in St. John, New Brunswick. They also did musical shows for francophone schools, such as the "Je l'avais sur la bout de la langue/I Had It on the Tip of My Tongue" tour, in which the group performed an historical account of French-speaking Westerners to music, using a variety of percussion instruments.

In 1983, Folle Avoine toured France with the Saskatchewan French folk dance troupe, Les Danseurs de la Rivière Rouge. The two groups together were known as Fusion. In the spring of 1985, Folle Avoine released their first and only LP, *Au rythme du*

courant. It was co-produced in Regina and Winnipeg with CBC Enterprises. The album was a varied musical offering, including the single “Le grand jeu,” a song inspired by the story of Louis Riel. The music of Folle Avoine, in general, is characterized by rich harmonies, varied musical arrangements, and the use of several different combinations of instruments, including guitar, mandolin, violin, flute, electric bass, piano, harmonica, spoons, feet, and various different instruments of percussion.⁷⁵

In 1986, Folle Avoine completed another European tour, this time performing at venues in France, Belgium, England, Germany, and the Canary Islands. After the tour, they spent a month in Vancouver performing at Expo ‘86.

Early in the Campagnes’ musical career, music critics and journalists began describing the music of Folle Avoine as having a “natural” sound. In an article in *L’Eau Vive*, the Saskatchewan-based francophone newspaper, Folle Avoine’s music is described as sounding as natural and easy as breathing.⁷⁶ A writer for the *Winnipeg Free Press* notes the changes he has seen in the Campagne family’s style since the late 1970s:

La famille Campagne has abandoned its grassroots, traditional presentation for a more contemporary style, which includes a common designer costume.... The changes are most noticeable in the sextet’s music. Folle Avoine’s recently released single ‘Le grand jeu’ is a genuine pop tune, recorded specifically to support the group’s new image while in Europe....Folle Avoine has been quietly moving away from folk music, which it found limiting. Its 1985 debut LP *Au rythme du courant*

75 The information in this section is from a publicity pamphlet for Folle Avoine that was located in the band’s archives.

76 *L’Eau Vive* (Regina, May 1980): “Chez eux, la musique semble être quelque chose de congénital; chez eux, on chante comme on respire... Pas étonnant donc que Folle Avoine ait poussé, grandi, et fleuri sur cet humus qu’il faut appeler par son nom: le patrimoine culturel des francophones de l’Ouest.” English translation: “With them, music seems to be something congenital; for them, singing is like breathing....It’s not amazing, then, that Folle Avoine has pushed on, grown, and flourished on that soil that has to be called by name: the cultural heritage of the francophones of the West.”

showed off the group's versatility with country-gospel, reggae, blues and folk numbers but the group realized there was a need to become more musically focused.⁷⁷

Although this journalist claims that Folle Avoine found folk music limiting and states that the group has been "quietly" moving away from it, the article also emphasizes a certain assumed polarization of identities, rather than a gradual alteration of style. Grassroots and traditional are traits that are seen as inconsistent with a contemporary style. There is also an assumption that the group's previous album, with its country-gospel, reggae, blues, and folk is unfocused and somehow not as "genuine" as the pop music they had moved towards.

Folle Avoine's decision to modify their repertoire from primarily traditional French folk songs to a broader-based, bilingual, pop-oriented repertoire is connected to artistic, economic, and political issues. The establishment of Folle Avoine initially had political overtones: the group wanted to perform in French throughout Western Canada, promoting their culture and expressing their experience as francophones living in the west. Artistically, the traditional French folk song repertoire seemed the most appropriate vehicle for the group's goal. The following quote is part of an interview Janice Lavallée of the *Canadian Press* did with Suzanne Campagne:

Lead singer Suzanne Campagne said the group has also moved away from making the political statements that characterized its earlier works.... 'The reason that I started to sing was not because of my love for music but because it was a very easy way for me to give my opinions about what it was like being French Canadian

⁷⁷ Kevin Prokosh, "Slicker Folle Avoine off to invade Europe," *Winnipeg Free Press* (March 29, 1986). N.B. The majority of the newspaper sources were obtained from collections of press clippings in Hart-Rouge's archives. Page numbers, exact dates, and sometimes newspaper names are unavailable because they were not recorded.

from the West.....but now I would say we've come to realize that just being up on stage is sort of a statement in itself".⁷⁸

Since Folle Avoine's repertoire was traditional French folk music, they were labelled an 'ethnic' act and thus had restricted exposure and were in a smaller market, economically. This frustrated the group politically as well, because they reasoned that, since "French is supposed to be one of the official languages of Canada,"⁷⁹ French music should not be called 'ethnic' (as the word 'ethnic' can imply a sense of being an 'outsider' or an 'other'). Economically, the group decided that generating a larger audience was necessary, so they decided to change their repertoire to appeal to more people. As a result, they opted to pursue a contemporary pop style. This move also had artistic benefits, as the Campagnes were given more room to display their talent and versatility with a more varied repertoire. As well, the group took advantage of the chance to write and arrange more of their own compositions. Terry Shatner, from the *Vancouver Sun*, discusses some of these issues in the following quote:

The French-singing family from Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan...is working hard to erase the 'ethnic label'..... Nowadays, the group is pursuing a new image as a bilingual pop group.... To avoid being called the cute French-singing 'Osmond Family from Saskatchewan', the family act, ranging in age from 19 to 31, developed a more instrumental sound and started singing contemporary songs dealing with everyday life.... They have travelled the folk festival circuit across Canada, but have yet to make a dent in the Quebec market..... 'Quebec is very protective of its artists and tends to keep its borders closed to outsiders,' Suzanne said...Group members said that although their concerts in Canada are enjoyed by English and French Canadian alike, Folle Avoine still has trouble being accepted by Anglophones.⁸⁰

78 Janice Lavallée for the Canadian Press (April 3, 1986).

79 Kevin Prokosh, "Slicker Folle Avoine off to invade Europe."

80 Terry Shatner, "French charm from Saskatchewan," *Vancouver Sun* (July 12, 1986).

Shatner concludes by introducing yet another issue that the group has had to contend with—their bilingual repertoire. Folle Avoine changed the style of music that they performed, but, although their repertoire had always been primarily French, they decided to continue including English pieces as well. Economically, this was problematic because there is no officially bilingual market in North America in which the group could sell an English/French album. The French Canadian market, which is dominated by Quebec, is not open to English music and rarely welcomes artists from outside Quebec. The English market is similarly closed to francophone music. This problem has continued to plague the Campagnes further in their careers. Kevin Prokosh comments on Folle Avoine's quandary:

Unlike French singing star Daniel Lavoie, a franco-manitobain who left home to make his name as a Québécois performer, Folle Avoine wants to be known as French-speaking Western Canadians.... Folle Avoine has been tabbed as an ethnic act which has restricted its exposure. Campagne (Suzanne) complains there is too much ethnicity attached to French Canadian music. 'I guess it's the only way to sell it but it's discouraging for people who have a place here where French is supposed to be one of the official languages of Canada'.⁸¹

The above quote reiterates the negative effect of the 'ethnic' label, which in fact, takes on racist tones in the way that it emphasizes the otherness of those labelled and implies that they are outsiders to contemporary culture.

Prokosh continues his article by explaining that part of Folle Avoine's style will not be deliberately altered—their trademark *a capella* harmonies:

While what they sing has evolved in a new direction, how they sing will not. Their trademark *a capellas* and harmonies will remain. In fact, Folle Avoine would like

81 Kevin Prokosh, "Slicker Folle Avoine off to invade Europe."

to lead a revival of respect for the human voice. Says Suzanne, 'It would be wonderful if we were known for putting the voice back up on the pedestal'.⁸²

The repertoire was not the only major change for Folle Avoine in the mid 1980s. It became increasingly difficult for the seven siblings to remain together as a group as they grew older and pursued separate goals. Carmen Campagne was the first of the sisters to step down from the group. She says:

I was the first to leave in '86 because I was pregnant and it was going to be a year of touring for Folle Avoine. It was awful...it was just the worst....well, I don't know if it was the worst year of my life....but it was very tough and I felt really very very alone because I knew that they were all together and that I wasn't part of the group anymore. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0277)

Eventually, Aline and Solange Campagne also left the group. The remaining siblings—Suzanne, Annette, Paul, and Michelle—were left to decide whether or not they wanted to continue making music together. There were initial doubts, as Michelle explains:

When the three other sisters left, I personally didn't think that it was going to continue. For me, Folle Avoine, and music, for me was the seven of us and I really didn't envision at all going on with the 'bare bones' four of us. I was really devastated when the whole thing happened because it wasn't only a group breaking up, it was a family breaking up. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0282)

The four remaining Campagne siblings did decide to venture out on their own. They formed a new group and named themselves Hart-Rouge.

⁸² Kevin Prokosh, "Slicker Folle Avoine off to invade Europe."

Hart-Rouge

Hart-Rouge was officially formed in October of 1986 in Winnipeg. The group continued to sing primarily contemporary pop music, as Folle Avoine had, but with the new name, they were free to create a new image for themselves, rather than being associated with Folle Avoine. They also intended to keep their bilingual repertoire, but avoid the marketing problems they had in Canada by concentrating on the French market.

Morley Walker comments on the new group:

Known for five years as Folle Avoine, the francophone pop group changed its name last fall to Hart-Rouge after two of its six members, Aline and Solange, decided the performing life wasn't for them.... (Suzanne) 'Hart-Rouge has a better bilingual sound to it'Hart-Rouge would rather crack France, with its huge population, than la belle province.⁸³

Since the band members had gained a great deal of experience arranging, orchestrating, and performing from their past work, they hoped that as Hart-Rouge, their repertoire would include a large percentage of original material. The following excerpt, based on an interview with Suzanne, describes this:

Suzanne says, as Folle Avoine, they sang mainly French folk songs and were known as a folk band.... As Hart-Rouge, their songs have become more dynamic and pop-oriented, reflecting some of the growth and development band members themselves have experienced..... 'In the past we did a lot of old French songs, with modern arrangements. But I think we needed to be heard more', Suzanne says. 'So we decided we wanted to do more of our original material'.⁸⁴

In 1987, Hart-Rouge released the single "Double Take" with the flip side "Je peux plus te supporter." These songs reflected the band's new pop style, as do their singles

83 Morley Walker, "Band plots conquest of France," *Winnipeg Free Press* (June 3, 1987).

84 "Song from the Hart: Winnipeg French group off to Europe," *Montreal Gazette* (August 12, 1987).

released in 1988 by Traffic Records, “On s’aime (mais pas complètement)” and “The Heart of the Matter.” By this time, Hart-Rouge had secured the services of Roland Stringer, also a native of Saskatchewan, as their manager. Previously, the business end of the Campagnes’ music career had been handled casually by their mother, Marguerite. Their father, Emile, acted as a sort of “artistic director.” In a group interview, the band describes their parents:

Suzanne: Our father is the type of guy that’s a real philosopher-dreamer and he sort of like, plucks these ideas out of the clouds and says, ‘We should do this.’ Our mother is the one who does..... (*they all nod*)

Annette:does the ground work...

Paul: ...to make sure it happens. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents, 0574*)

Their present agent, Roland Stringer, is familiar with the whole family. This is what he has to say about Mrs. Campagne:

Their mother is the one who kind of gave them a good kick in the butt and made them go up there and sing and look good....and she was their first manager. You know, in fact...sometimes when I see her I still kind of feel like I’m reporting to her. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents, 0577*)

Soon after the formation of Hart-Rouge, the group received several recording grants and a record deal. As well as having a new manager, they had also secured the help of some outside musicians. Mitch Potter explains:

In a matter of months, the newly-named Hart-Rouge soared with a succession of breaks, involving seemingly countless recording grants and prizes and a bona-fide record deal (they signed to Montreal’s Traffic label, owned by Manitoba-born Daniel Lavoie and distributed by CBS records).... (Suzanne) ‘It’s tough, because the people who’ve tried recording in both languages have failed. But we write in both, we don’t translate one to the other. I think the point is to show what we can do live to prove ourselves’ The current tour features the supplementary services of guitarist J. Knutson, formerly the driving force of Vancouver celtic-folk

group Spirit of the West until he met and fell in love with the youngest Campagne, Michelle, at the Winnipeg Folk Festival.... Having twice toured Europe and in the midst of planning a third, extended visit this summer, Hart-Rouge has secured full-time manager Roland Stringer to blaze new markets for the group's upcoming vinyl releases.⁸⁵

As the previous quote mentions, Hart-Rouge planned a European tour early in their career. Having been there twice as Folle Avoine, it was natural for them to continue their connection to the European market. In 1987, Hart-Rouge did a summer tour consisting of performances in Canada, the United States, and Europe. They began in Winnipeg, then moved to Gravelbourg, the Alberta North County Fair, the Asia Pacific Folk Festival in Vancouver, the festival franco-ontarien in Ottawa, Quebec City, the Louisiana Festival international de la musique, the Festival de Nantes in France, Sables d'Olonne in France, France's largest song festival—Francofolies—held in Larochele, Bordeaux, Nice, Saskatchewan's fête fransaskoise, a concert in Regina with Glass Tiger and Red Rider, and the SOPOT popular song festival in Poland, where Hart-Rouge received the Sponsor's Special Prize for the best song at the festival.

In 1988, the group decided to move to Montreal, despite some criticism from Western Canadian francophones for turning their backs on their culture. Emile and Marguerite, the parents of the band members, were disappointed to see their children move so far away from Saskatchewan, as Emile says in the following excerpt:

When they left for Montreal, I could see that they were going further away, and that aspect of it I....was saddened a little bit. But I can see the reason why they are doing it. There are more opportunities in Montreal. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0369)

85 Mitch Potter, "Folkies have a change of 'Hart'," *Winnipeg Free Press* (1987).

Although the move to Montreal may seem to signify the band's break with their bilingual work and an attempt to concentrate solely on their French material, Hart-Rouge continued to sing in both French and English. This perpetuated some of the categorization problems of the group's audience, as the next quote explains:

It's getting harder all the time to classify bands by the type of music they play. Hart-Rouge is called a rock band by their own manager, but they can also drop their instruments and knock you over with their four unaccompanied voices. They're hardly what you'd call a traditional rock group..... You mean they perform equally well to both French and English rock audiences? Right! Which makes them a hit everywhere they go, but so far, no one's figured out how to handle their double identity. 'Everyone wants a part of us, but they're not sure what to do with the rest', smiles Suzanne.... 'We never learned to depend on hometown support. While every artist should have it, it's not a complete disadvantage when you don't.... One of the reasons we're able to generate so much energy on stage is that we're all so different. Paul is serene, Annette is raw power, Michelle is sensuous, and I keep us moving ahead'.... As for their dual identity, the Campagnes have found a way to be true to it. Not by sitting on the fence, but by regularly jumping over it.⁸⁶

Hart-Rouge's debut album is a self-titled bilingual album that was released in 1988.

Hart-Rouge's second album, entitled *Inconditionnel*, is a French album that was released in 1991. The 1991 album was a great success, especially notable because it gained the group acceptance in Quebec. The following quote explains:

Hart-Rouge is busier than it's ever been, frequently appearing on TV in la belle province and becoming a regular fixture on the music scene there.... Earlier this year, 'Inconditionnel', the title track from its second recording, was named one of Quebec radio's 10 most requested radio songs of 1991, one of three Hart-Rouge tunes to hit the Top 5 that year.... 'And yet', says singer/keyboardist Michelle Campagne, 'in some ways the group is no more at home in Quebec than it was during several years spent in Winnipeg..... We don't really fit in anywhere..... We're accepted in Montreal, but are still considered outsiders..... We have a little bit of an accent, and at first they thought we were anglophones. I don't know how

⁸⁶ Pam Tougas, "Double Entente," *Midcontinental* (Winnipeg: October 1988).

Saskatchewan can be exotic, but it's true—there's a little bit of mystery to us' it's less of a leap for the group to put out an English recording.....than a native Quebecer like, say, Celine Dion..... 'It was a bold political move for her', Campagne said. 'A lot of people took it to mean that she was leaving them. But, if anything, we're being truer to ourselves. We come from an anglophone world—it's part of us'.⁸⁷

Just previous to the great success of the *Inconditionnel* album, Hart-Rouge won the attention of some Quebec artists. The group was invited to collaborate on the *Long Courier* album with Daniel Lavoie, an album with Claude Léveillée, and a project with Gaston Mandeville. Hart-Rouge also provided back-up vocals for Robert Charlebois' *Immensément* and fellow Saskatchewanian, Connie Kaldor's *Gentle of Heart*. Also, the band is involved as writers, singers, musicians, and producers for their sister Carmen Campagne's children's albums, which have been highly successful throughout Canada.

As well as the honors mentioned in the quote on the previous page, the 1991 album's title track won a SOCAN Prize and "C'est elle" (another single) was in first place on Quebec's charts for five weeks in the fall of 1991. The video for "C'est elle" is composed of clips from Hart-Rouge's tour of Estonia, where they took part in the Rock Summer Festival in the city of Tallin.

In 1992, the video documentaries *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us* and *Coeur de dire* were released. The filmmakers won a silver medal at the Houston International Film Festival for the films. Finally, they released a third album called *Le dernier mois de l'année*, which features French Christmas songs.

⁸⁷ Stephen Ostick, "Hart-Rouge big in Quebec," *Winnipeg Free Press* (December 18, 1992).

After recording one bilingual album and two albums with only French music, Hart-Rouge decided it was time to produce an all-English album. *Blue Blue Windows* was released in 1993 and has met with limited success, according to a short conversation I had with their agent. Because Hart-Rouge had been concentrating on the French market and succeeding, they hadn't built up their English audience, and as a result, when the English album was released, they were virtually unknown in the anglophone market. Despite the economic pitfalls of trying to compete in two different markets, Hart-Rouge considers it important to continue recording in both languages because it reflects who they are.

Brendan Kelly states:

....they've always written in both of Canada's official languages..... 'I don't write lyrics in French', Michelle says. 'I just write in English. For me, it's a whole other thing doing an English album because I had a lot more creative input, whereas, on the French records, I just write music'.⁸⁸

Hart-Rouge recorded their English album at a time when other francophone singers, like Celine Dion and Roch Voisine were also recording in English, so it was not an unusual move. However, after *Blue Blue Windows*, Hart-Rouge decided to produce an all-French album called *La fabrique*, which was released in 1994. With this, a fifth album, Hart-Rouge quit the Traffic Record label to create its own— "Folle Avoine"—to take its destiny into its own hands. For distribution, the group signed with Musicor.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Brendan Kelly, "English album is a natural for Hart-Rouge," *Montreal Gazette* (October 16, 1993).

⁸⁹ Claude Dornier, "La fabrique," *Paroles et Musique* (published by SOCAN, June 1994), Volume 1, Number 6.

After the release of Hart-Rouge's fifth album, they toured extensively throughout the United States, appearing at such places as the North Eastern Presenters Conference in Baltimore and Arts Mid-West in Kansas City. It was during this tour that the Campagnes received the inspiration for their next musical project. Allen Howie explains, detailing their 'official American concert debut':

Rocking much harder than the 'folk pop' label would suggest, their sound was at once tough and pretty, recalling the best of fellow Canadian Robbie Robertson's moody, melodic rock..... Stylistically, Hart-Rouge knows no bounds, wandering from lilting country ballads to stormy funk and bracing rock without missing a beat.... And those voices. Each member of the group has a voice that can carry a song by itself. Put them together, and they circle one another in a dizzying, melodic dance that can leave the listener breathless.... The second set built on the first, with a few more French-language numbers and a helping hand from Keith Hunter and the Witness for Christ Choir, a fitting way to round out an especially heavenly performance.⁹⁰

While touring the United States, not only was Hart-Rouge concentrating more on their anglophone audience, but they were paired together in performance with a gospel choir from Kentucky. The results were so favorable that the group decided to collaborate with Keith Hunter and his choir for their next album, *Bonsoir Québec*⁹¹. Hart-Rouge's sixth album was recorded live in July 1995 at the Quebec City Summer Festival. This album contains English and French songs, which was a return to an original idea of the group—they had not released a bilingual album since their first one in 1988. An article in *The Sherbrooke Tribune* describes the new recording:

90 Allen Howie, "Hart-Rouge in concert last night," *Kentucky Courier* (Louisville, November 19, 1994).

91 Some readers may interpret the album title, *Bonsoir Québec*, as a statement that Hart-Rouge is moving away from its Quebec audience. Instead, I suggest that the title was chosen because the first sound heard on the album is Keith Hunter (recorded live) shouting out "Bonsoir Quebec!" at the beginning of his performance with his Kentucky choir and Hart-Rouge at a music festival in Quebec.

The English/French album offers songs ranging from gospel to pop-rock, from traditional to contemporary..... As for Kentucky's Keith Hunter and the Witness for Christ Choir... 'They're American, they're Black, they're Anglophone, and they're Baptist. We found ourselves moved by their culture' (Suzanne) The result: an unbelievable mix with such songs like the well-known Québécois composition by Fiori-Séguin, 'Ça fait du bien', originals by Mr. Hunter and by Hart-Rouge, and the wonderful 'Réveille' by Zachary Richard, not to mention Bob Dylan's 'Sign on the Window' [which Hart-Rouge introduced to the choir].....⁹²

With the *Bonsoir Québec* album, Hart-Rouge has redirected their energies towards a more eclectic style, using different languages and a mixture of cultures to make their music. In terms of their future plans, it is not possible to predict what type of project they will undertake next.

Each Member's Role

Within the group, each member of Hart-Rouge has a different role to play. Together, the Campagnes have moved towards creating their own original songs with input from each member. Suzanne, the main lyricist of the four, comments on the importance of writing her own texts after being frustrated by the limitations put on her songs by outside forces:

It has become most important, no matter what, for me to write my own songs. So much of what I sang was controlled...so the only way I could do what I wanted was to create....to write my own lyrics. (translation of quote from *Le coeur de dire*, 0010)

⁹² Rachel Lussier, "True Independence" (translated from a French article), *The Sherbrooke Tribune* (December 6, 1995).

Out of the four members of Hart-Rouge, Suzanne is by far the most active lyricist. She has taken a role in writing a large portion of the text for Hart-Rouge's material, whether on her own or in collaboration with her brother and sisters or another lyricist.

Each of the four members of Hart-Rouge brings something different to their music. Suzanne, in an interview in *Clik: Jeune et franco-ontarien*, says that Michelle brings a jazz influence to the group, Annette gives more of a rock influence, while Suzanne likes songs that convey an ambiance of emotion, and Paul is the group's most important technician:

Je pense qu'au départ, la variété sur notre album, c'est plutôt des influences musicales. Je remarque que dans le cas de Michelle, par exemple, ce sont des accords plus jazz, des arrangements plus compliqués, rythmés. Annette est plus celle qui pense rock, mais qui a des influences très folk aussi. Moi, je préfère les chansons d'ambiance qui vont te permettre d'aller chercher un sentiment qui tu n'arriveras pas à écrire. Et Paul, c'est notre technicien, il donne beaucoup dans le folk. Mais.....le mot clé, c'est le compromis.⁹³

There are misunderstandings within the group, as well as without, so compromise has become a key concept in the working relationship between the members of Hart-Rouge. As the previous quote explains, each person brings something different to the music, and often, each song is "adopted" by one of the group because of a special connection, whether that person is the lyricist, composer, lead vocalist, or he or she just likes something about the piece. Suzanne and Paul explore this issue in an interview:

93 Claude Couillard, "Hart-Rouge: Authentique, sans prétension," *Clik: Jeune et franco-ontarien* (September 1990, Volume 4, Number 19): "I think that, at the start, the variety on our album, it was rather the musical influences. I mean, in this case, take Michelle for example, she was more into the jazz styles, some more complicated arrangements, rhythms. Annette is more someone who thinks rock, but who has some folk influences also. Me, I prefer songs with ambiance that will allow you to find a sentiment not written in the lyrics. And Paul, he's our technician, he gives a lot in the folk styles. But....the key word, it's compromise."

'It's quite democratic', says brother Paul. 'There's always a consensus in terms of whether a song is moving in the right direction or not. Usually a song is one person's baby even though we all work on it, so that person has a bit more say. The original writer ultimately has the veto even though we negotiate a lot'..... 'The toughest ones are the a cappella songs', adds Suzanne, 'because they can go anywhere and each of us has our own vision. We slammed a lot of doors when we were recording 'Helpless' [the Neil Young classic included on the *Blue Blue Windows* album]. It was two immense days and then we didn't see each other for a week. But when we did come back to the studio, we decided, Hey, it sounds pretty good'.⁹⁴

On the four albums used as a research base, there are 43 songs, 27 with French lyrics, 13 with English lyrics, and 3 with a mixture of English and French lyrics. These bilingual songs are especially interesting. The first one, "Double Take," is included on the 1988 album, along with six French cuts and two English. "Double Take," with lyrics by Hart-Rouge's manager Roland Stringer, is actually not only the title, but also the only non-French phrase in the entire song. It is not meant to be an English phrase, however, as "double" is pronounced in the French way— "doobl." "Take" is pronounced in the regular English fashion, so the phrase "double take" is really a bilingual play on the pronunciation of English and French. The bilingual song from the 1993 album (which is Hart-Rouge's all-English album except a few phrases from this song) is called "I'm a Dream," written by Sharon Ryan, Jean-Pierre Bonin, and Marie Philippe. This song gives the listener the impression that the singer is referring to memories of the past. Four French phrases are interspersed throughout the song. These phrases are sung quietly, sounding as if they come from the background, which could be thought of creating an ambiance of "long ago

94 Christopher Jones, "Moving in on the English market," *SOCAN Probe* (December 1993).

and far away.” Finally, on the 1994 album (which is also exclusively French apart from sections of this particular song), Hart-Rouge includes James Taylor’s “La fabrique,” which is an English song that has been translated into French, except for the first verse and the final refrain, which have been left in English.

As mentioned earlier, Suzanne is the most prolific lyricist of Hart-Rouge. From the previously delineated repertoire, Suzanne has written 23 of the 43 songs, either alone or with others. The most fruitful lyric partnership Suzanne has experienced has been with fellow writer, Bernard Bocquel. Other song lyrics on the four albums have been credited to Annette, Michelle, Roland Stringer (Hart-Rouge’s manager), Christine Angot, Claude Léveillée, Sharon Ryan, Jean-Pierre Bonin, Marie Philippe, Alison Mayer, Pete Glenister, William Topley, Mark Cawley, Bill Baker, Véronique Sanson, James Taylor, and Neil Young (all are francophone and/or anglophone song writers).

It is interesting to note that of Hart-Rouge’s French repertoire (27 songs), only 3 of these songs were not written (including both text and music) by Hart-Rouge (one on each of their 1988, 1991, and 1994 albums); whereas of the English repertoire (13 songs), 4 songs were not written by Hart-Rouge (all were on the 1993 album); and of the bilingual songs (3 songs), 2 were not written by members of Hart-Rouge (one on the 1993 album and one on the 1994 album). This information implies that the Campagnes are more likely to write and perform in French. This may be nothing more than a result of their decision to move to a primarily francophone milieu—Quebec—to further their careers.

In comparison to the lyricists, a hazier picture resulted when I researched the composers for Hart-Rouge's music. Much of the music for the group's repertoire is composed by all four of the members or a combination of two or three of them, sometimes with the contribution of outside composers. Annette has written the music for many of the songs on her own, but she has also collaborated with, besides her brother and sisters, J. Knutson, Dan Donahue, and André Lambert. Michelle has composed music for some songs by herself, but she has also collaborated with (besides Annette, Paul, and Suzanne) J. Knutson (guitarist formerly with Spirit of the West), Norman Dugas, Dan Donahue, and André Lambert. Paul has one song from the albums to his credit alone, as well as partnerships with his sisters, J. Knutson, and Dan Donahue. Suzanne has composed music with her brother and sisters, J. Knutson, Dan Donahue, and André Lambert. Composers who have written music performed by Hart-Rouge without any collaboration from the members are Norman Dugas, Connie Kaldor, Daniel Lavoie, Claude Léveillée, Marie Philippe, Alison Mayer, Pete Glenister, William Topley, Mark Cawley, Bill Baker, Neil Young, James Taylor, and Véronique Sanson.

In order to better understand how Hart-Rouge functions as a group, I will briefly summarize the role of each of the members. Suzanne, Paul, Annette, and Michelle sing in all of the songs, whether three of them are singing backup and one is singing lead or all four are singing in a choral style. Apart from that, Suzanne's role is quite clearly the lyricist and generally, the leader in performance (whether or not she is singing lead vocals). As previously stated, she has written the lyrics for many of Hart-Rouge's songs,

in both English and French, whether on her own or with other lyricists. Sometimes, she has collaborated with others to write the music as well. She sings lead vocals for some of the songs, but she does not play any instruments on any of the recordings.

Paul has a very limited role in terms of writing lyrics and music—he has written music for a few of the pieces, usually in collaboration with his sisters. However, he is very active in performing on musical instruments and singing. He has played the bass guitar for many of the recordings, as well, he has programmed the percussion, played acoustic guitar and, on occasion, played the keyboards.

Of the four members, Annette has probably the most diverse role. She has written lyrics and music for some of the songs, usually collaborating with the other members or outside artists. She sings lead vocals on some of the tracks and she plays acoustic guitar and mandolin for some of the songs.

Michelle is most active in writing music for the group, often in collaboration with other artists. She has written or co-written lyrics for a few of the songs. She often plays keyboards, which include synthesizer, piano, Hammond B3 organ, and accordion, as well as singing lead vocals and occasionally playing acoustic or electric guitar.

This chapter provides histories on several different levels and the introduction of issues in the lives of the Campagnes. The music of the Campagne family has shifted and changed direction in similar ways to that of French popular music in Canada. La famille Campagne began with a well-known French folk song repertoire and, as *Folle Avoine*,

began altering their repertoire according to artistic, economic, and political concerns. As Hart-Rouge, the Campagnes continue to change their repertoire for similar reasons. However, the most recent work, *Bonsoir Québec*, is very similar to the Campagnes' earliest music in that both English and French repertoire is used, including some folk song. This may be indicative of a return to the group's original ideas. In other aspects, such as the great diversity of musical style and the use of a choir (from the American south, no less), the album is quite different from anything they have ever done. In the following two chapters, I will explore further and in more depth the connections between Hart-Rouge's music, their lives, and their identities.

Chapter Three: Hart-Rouge's Repertoire—French or English?

Emile Campagne: "Language is nice but it's also a handicap."⁹⁵

In this chapter and the following, I will examine two aspects of Hart-Rouge's music and how they are connected to the band's life histories, their experience as musicians, and their identities. In order to do this, I have chosen two issues that are repeatedly discussed in the documentary film material. The first is the issue of which language to sing in. Hart-Rouge has consistently chosen to sing in French *and* English, but this choice has had its advantages and disadvantages.

This chapter begins as an exploration of how Hart-Rouge makes use of English and French in their music. As the members of Hart-Rouge grew up speaking French and English (French in the home, English at school), it became second nature to them to communicate in two different languages, and they carried this skill over into their art by performing in both English and French.

Hart-Rouge's experience using two different languages throughout their career has borne mixed results. For example, although their first album included both French and English material, in the second, third, and fourth albums they separated their French and English material so that each album they released would be geared directly towards either

⁹⁵ This quote is from an interview I did with Emile Campagne in July of 1994. The quote is located on tape 2, side B, at counter number 479.

the French or the English market. This decision to separate their material changed Hart-Rouge's bilingual image somewhat (i. e., francophone audiences may not be aware of their English material, and anglophone audiences may not be aware of their French material).⁹⁶ Their original image of being a bilingual group shifted because of their need to gear their work towards specific markets to be successful in the music business. For various reasons, which may include economic, artistic, and political factors, Hart-Rouge uses language to present themselves in different ways to the public.

For research purposes, I have made use of four of Hart-Rouge's albums—*Hart-Rouge* (1988), *Inconditionnel* (1991), *Blue Blue Windows* (1993), and *La fabrique* (1994). I did not use the Christmas album, *Le dernier mois de l'année* (1992), because, being a seasonal collection, the repertoire does not reflect Hart-Rouge's usual material. I did not use the 1995 album, *Bonsoir Québec*, due to its late release in relation to my research.⁹⁷ As well, I have omitted any collaborative efforts with other artists, such as Claude Léveillée's album *Enfin Revivre!* (1995), for which Hart Rouge arranged and sang the backup vocals.

⁹⁶ I say this because the availability of Hart-Rouge's material varies depending upon geographical location. I could not find any of their French albums in any record store in Saskatoon (and this is probably true throughout Saskatchewan, except for the specialty French book and music store in Gravelbourg, Bouquinerie Gravel), although their English album, *Blue Blue Windows*, was in most stores. This is a similar situation to other bilingual artists, such as Celine Dion and Roch Voisine. Their English material is readily available in Saskatchewan, but the French material is not. The situation is not quite so bleak in Ontario, but it is still quite difficult to find Hart-Rouge's French albums, even in Toronto.

⁹⁷ Hart-Rouge, *Hart-Rouge* (Trafic, 1988).

Inconditionnel (Trafic, 1991).

Le dernier mois de l'année (Trafic, 1992).

Blue Blue Windows (Folle Avoine Music, 1993).

La fabrique (Folle Avoine Music, 1994).

Bonsoir Québec (Folle Avoine Music, 1995).

In this chapter, I do not intend to study the use of the languages in the sense of semantics, pronunciations, and so forth, but more generally, I intend to explore correlations such as those between Hart-Rouge's choice of English or French and their life histories, language barriers, the problem of being misunderstood, and different ways in which the group has attempted to resolve that problem.

Growing Up with French and English

I will first review what has been said by members of Hart-Rouge about communication in French and English in the documentaries and interviews. Each of the documentaries stresses that the Campagne family made a point of speaking in French at home, even though many of the people in their traditionally francophone town—Willow Bunch—had previously opted to switch to English. In *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*, Emile Campagne comments on how important it is to him to keep the French culture alive in his family:

We can say that many facets of our culture can be integrated into one English language. You can learn how to make galoushkas in English too, but there's more than that. There's the soul of a country, there's philosophy and the way of looking at things that you can't change into another language. It's really hard to put Shakespeare into French or to put Bossuet into English....because some of it is lost. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1098)

Marguerite Campagne, the mother, commented on how difficult it was for her family to hold on to their French language:

It's been very hard to hold on to the French tradition. It would have been so much easier for us, and so much easier for our children to say, like many others, 'We'll just change to English and live our life and maybe be more accepted by everyone'." (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1040)

Annette made a similar comment in the same film:

Well, French is my first language, but it was rather difficult to keep my language in a place where most people were English speaking. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0012)

The Campagne family always chose to speak French at home, and each member of the family considered being fluent in both French and English quite important, in spite of the fact that many members of their community in Saskatchewan had adopted English as their first language. In the segment of *Adrienne Clarkson Presents* aired on February 15, 1995, Suzanne and Annette commented on their ongoing struggle, within themselves and from outside pressures, with choosing a language in which to express themselves:

Suzanne: We refer to ourselves often as schizophrenics.

Annette: We've always had to defend ourselves a little bit....defend the fact that we still wanted to speak in French. We always spoke in French in the home, with our parents...and when we went to school it was always English with the friends, so that's where I guess the schizophrenic comes from. I don't consider that we sing either in French or in English. I just consider that we do music and it doesn't really matter what language we're singing in. It's just a part of us....a part of who we are. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0148)

Although choosing to speak French with each other, it was natural for the Campagnes to speak—and sing—in French *and* English in order to interact with people in the communities around them, whether it be their town of Willow Bunch, the province of Saskatchewan, the country, or even internationally. As Annette said in the previous quote, she just considers that she makes music and is not concerned with what language she's singing in. This is perhaps because, from an early age, the Campagne children were taught to sing in both French and English, not necessarily thinking that there should be any segregation of the two repertoires. Emile Campagne, their father, spoke in *Hart Rouge*:

So Many Miles and Words Between Us about the experience of singing in English in their community of Willow Bunch:

When it came to singing in our community we did a lot of it in English too. I remember Paul singing 'Thank God I'm a Country Boy', and he did it pretty good. And I myself performed and once sang a song with a Scottish accent. That wasn't easy, but I did it, and even the Scottish people there really told me that I had done a good job. So there wasn't exclusively French because there's such lovely folklore in English as well as French. Unfortunately, I didn't learn it—the English folklore, but folklore....that's the soul of culture. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0201)

The Language Barrier: Being Misunderstood

As a struggling professional singing group, Hart-Rouge encountered problems with their choice to sing in both English and French. Adrienne Clarkson described Hart-Rouge in this way:

Hart-Rouge performs songs in both languages, equally comfortable singing in French in Calgary and English in Chicoutimi. But at times their image suffers from the perception that they are too English for Quebec and too French for the rest of the country. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0121)

Hart-Rouge's original choice to sing in both French and English (although French has always dominated their repertoire) was perhaps to alleviate the problem of being misunderstood, partly due to a possible language barrier between the group and their audiences. They can communicate easily with both their French and English listeners, but with either language, the potential of being misunderstood is present. Suzanne, the most prolific lyricist of the four, addressed the problem of not being understood when she was interviewed. She states:

I write a lot about the difficulty in communication...the pain of, I think, being misunderstood, the pain of having something to say, but because you're saying it in a different way, it's not understood. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0031)

In an interview for *L'Actualité*, she speaks further about difficulty in communication and the ambiguity of her lyrics. Suzanne says that she tries to create something poetic and convey emotion in her text, so that a listener must feel the emotions before he or she understands the message. She states:

'Beaucoup de nos chansons parlent de la difficulté de communiquer. On a parfois critiqué nos textes, mais je soutiens qu'il y a un charme dans l'ambiguïté des paroles. C'est plus près de la poésie, ça te demande de ressentir avant de comprendre' Les fans d'Hart-Rouge estiment qu'une de ses harmonies vaut mille mots....chantant l'amour, la compréhension, la liberté. On est fort, mais on n'est pas dur. On n'est pas des rebelles, pas des intellectuels. Tout ce qu'on veut, c'est transmettre une émotion.⁹⁸

Difficulty in communication and the pain of being misunderstood are themes that can easily be identified in Suzanne's lyrics. In fact, most of Hart-Rouge's songs can be classed under the general heading of "relationship/communication problems" of some kind. The English song "Hit and Run," from Hart-Rouge's first album, *Hart Rouge* (1988), contains several references to communication problems in relationships. Some excerpts⁹⁹ from the text are as follows:

I ask myself
 Why I put up with it all
 That mean streak
 That stone cold wall
 You're so nice
 When you feel that you've won
 You think it's your turn

98 Geneviève Picard, "La Couleur de l'Ouest," in: *L'Actualité* (November 15, 1992). Translation into English: "Many of our songs talk about difficulty in communication. Sometimes, our lyrics get criticized, but I still think that there is a charm in the ambiguity of words. It's more like poetry, it asks you to feel before understanding' Hart-Rouge fans estimate one of their harmonies to be worth a thousand words....singing about love, understanding, and freedom. They're strong, but not hard. They're not rebels, nor intellectuals. All they want is to express emotion."

99 Lyrics for this song were taken from liner notes for Hart-Rouge's first album, *Hart-Rouge* (1988).

To just hit and run
You play the one word game
In a one way lane
The only way you see it
Is straight ahead
You play the one word game
In a one way lane
The only time you stop
Is when the lights turn red

I ask myself
Why I just could not see
Your crazy notion
Of what friends should be
Accusations to the third degree
And all in the name of honesty

You play the one word game...

***Lyrics for "Hit and Run" by Suzanne Campagne. Music by Dan Donahue, Annette, Michelle, Paul, and Suzanne Campagne.**

Phrases in this song, such as "that mean streak," "stone cold wall," playing "the one word game," "crazy notion of what friends should be," and "accusations to the third degree...all in the name of honesty" refer to communication problems. Also, the terms "hit and run" and "one way lane," when considered as part of the metaphor comparing the relationship to a traffic situation, indicate a type of misunderstanding and lack of communication.

The French song, "C'est fini," from Hart-Rouge's 1991 album, *Inconditionnel*, also refers to problems in communication, ultimately because it is about the breakup of a relationship. Excerpts¹⁰⁰ with translation (in italics) are as follows:

Ça suffit, j'ai tout compris Je viens d'apprendre que tu me médis	<i>That's enough, I understood everything I'm beginning to see that you're slandering me</i>
Et tes mots tendres, je m'en méfie	<i>And your tender words, I don't trust them</i>
Tant pis, c'est fini Ça suffit, tu m'ennuies	<i>Too bad, it's over That's enough, you're bothering me</i>
Attention, tu vas trop loin Je reste froide devant ton dédain Et tes conseils, j'en ai plus besoin	<i>Watch out, you're going too far I am cold in the face of your disdain And your advice, I don't need it anymore</i>

*Lyrics for "C'est fini" by Suzanne Campagne. Music by Michelle, Suzanne, Annette, and Paul Campagne.

In this song, references to slander, mistrust, coldness, and refusing someone's advice are signals of serious communication problems. The theme of anger in a breakup is common to "Hit and Run" and "C'est fini," but the following song reveals more of a sad feeling in reference to misunderstanding and lack of communication.

¹⁰⁰ French lyrics for this song were taken from liner notes for Hart-Rouge's 1991 album, *Inconditionnel*. The English lyrics are my translation.

“Le coeur de dire” is another song from the *Inconditionnel* album. References in this song pertaining to communication difficulties include fear to say certain things, “wall of silence,” and failure to listen. The text¹⁰¹ follows, along with a translation (in italics):

Encore une nuit devant le miroir Avec des pensées qui tournent au noir Ma vie me glisse des mains J'ai peur de dire Les bras qui me manquent Sont les tiens	<i>Another night in front of the mirror With thoughts that turn dark My life slips from my hands I'm afraid to say The arms that I miss Are yours</i>
Contre le mur de ton silence L'écho de mes cris résonne Mais toi quand tu n'entends rien Tu coupes les ailes De ce qui vole en moi le plus haut	<i>Against the wall of your silence The echo of my cries resonates But you, when you don't listen You clip the wings Which fly me the highest</i>
Mais si j'avais pas peur de dire Que c'est toi que je veux Toi que je respire Et si j'avais le coeur de dire Tous les mots Tous les cris de tendresse Que j'ai dû retenir J'ai peur de dire	<i>But if I weren't afraid to say That it's you that I want You that I breathe And if I had the heart to say All the words All the cries of tenderness That I had to hold back I'm afraid to say</i>
Comme je voudrais raconter La belle histoire au parfum d'été	<i>As I would like to tell The beautiful story of the perfume of summer</i>
Mes yeux retrouvent leur éclat Quand je m'imagine À l'abri de tes bras	<i>My eyes regain their shine When I imagine myself In the refuge of your arms</i>

*Lyrics for “Le coeur de dire” by Suzanne Campagne and Bernard Bocquel. Music by Daniel Lavoie.

101 French lyrics for this song were taken from liner notes for Hart-Rouge's *Inconditionnel* album (1991). The English lyrics are my translation.

“Rhythm of Your Heart,” from Hart-Rouge’s all-English album *Blue Blue Windows* (1993), is a rewritten or altered version of “Rhythm of My Song,” a primarily English song with some French phrases interspersed throughout. Suzanne spoke about “Rhythm of My Song,” which is not on any of Hart-Rouge’s four albums, but is on the video *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*. She said:

‘Rhythm of My Song’ was really an attempt to be understood...to be understood by people who didn’t necessarily understand the words I was saying, but was trying to get to the heart of things. It was an attempt to say to an audience, whether they be a French-speaking audience who are listening to English...to our English material...or an English-speaking audience who are listening to our French material, that we’ve got to be, even though there are a million miles between us and there are a million words between us, can’t we go beyond these borders, can’t you see in our eyes what we’re trying to say? That was what ‘Rhythm of My Song’ was about. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 1184)

“Rhythm of My Song” and “Rhythm of Your Heart” have nearly identical music and the two songs share the key phrase, “There’s silence and a million words between us.” The general theme of both songs is misunderstanding and barriers between people. Excerpts¹⁰² from the text of each song is as follows. A verse of “Rhythm of My Song” is lined up with a verse of “Rhythm of Your Heart” that shares the same music:

102 The lyrics for “Rhythm of Your Heart” were taken from the liner notes of Hart-Rouge’s album *Blue Blue Windows* (1993). I transcribed the lyrics for “Rhythm of My Song” from the film *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*.

“Rhythm of My Song”

There’s silence
 And a million words between us
 There’s meaning
 That you can’t understand
 What right do you have
 To tell me that I’m wrong
 Until you move
 To the rhythm of my song

“Rhythm of Your Heart”

Well, there’s silence
 And a million words between us
 And a part of you
 That I can’t understand
 Something in my heart telling me
 That’s all part of the plan
 Something telling me
 That you understand

Too many rivers never make it to the sea
 Too many lovers never meant to be
 Something in my heart telling me
 That’s part of the plan
 Something telling me
 That you understand

•Lyrics for “Rhythm of Your Heart” and “Rhythm of My Song” by Suzanne Campagne. Music by J. Knutson, Annette, Paul, Suzanne, and Michelle Campagne.

Finally, from Hart-Rouge’s most recent all-French album, *La fabrique* (1994), the song “Pyramide” is full of ideas of misunderstanding and problems in communication. “Pyramide” is concerned with isolation, as can be seen in phrases such as “so much space, so much emptiness,” “silent lying,” “daring heartlessness,” “why I search for a soul there, where all remains cold,” “alone in your pyramid house,” and “drown all your weaknesses, all your promises.” The following lyrics and included translation (in italics)¹⁰³ are

¹⁰³ French lyrics for this song were taken from liner notes for Hart-Rouge’s album *La fabrique* (1994). The English lyrics are my translation.

excerpted from the song "Pyramide":

Tu vis dans une maison pyramide
Fenêtre en triangle de lumière
Ouverte
Comme un appel au ciel
Rayon mystère
Entre le coeur et la terre

*You live in a pyramid house
Triangle windows of light
Open
Like a call to the sky
Mysterious beam
Between the heart and the earth*

Perdu dans ta maison pyramide
Tant d'espace tant de vide
Tout ce monde fiévreux qui s'adule
Ces histoires sombres qui basculent
Vers des rêves impossibles

*Lost in your pyramid house
So much space, so much emptiness
All the world feverishly adores
The dark stories that fall over
Around impossible dreams*

Décidément menteur silencieux
Décidément sans-coeur audacieux
Pourquoi je cherche une âme
Là où tout reste froid

*Certainly silent lying
Certainly daring heartlessness
Why I search for a soul
There where all is cold*

Seul dans ta maison pyramide
Mur de verre face à la mer
Entends-tu la marée
Noyer
Toutes tes faiblesses
Toutes tes promesses
De grand large oublié

*Alone in your pyramid house
Wall of glass facing to the sea
You listen to the tide
Drown
All your weaknesses
All your promises
Tall wide forgotten*

*Lyrics for "Pyramide" by Suzanne Campagne and Bernard Bocquel. Music by Michelle Campagne.

The difficulty in communication and the pain of being misunderstood is a common theme in much of Hart-Rouge's music on many different levels. In some songs, the lyrics themselves express this idea; whereas, in Hart-Rouge's repertoire as a whole, their manipulation of language is an attempt to overcome their own difficulty in communicating to their chosen audience through their music.

French and/or English?

Choosing to perform in English or in French, or in both languages, has advantages and disadvantages. For Hart-Rouge, being actively bilingual in performance means that audiences do not know how to define the group's identity. Rachel Lussier explains:

They've been part of the musical scenery for the past ten years and have just released their sixth album. Yet, they are still asked by radio why they sing in French.... 'Because our first language is French!' responded Paul Campagne. He and his sisters quit many moons ago waiting for others to define their identity, while admitting that their public image isn't easy to grasp.... 'Being marginal isn't a problem for us. We just go forward, doing what we like to'.... 'I guess it's called self-respect', says Suzanne, who co-produced with her brother the album *Bonsoir Québec*, a chapter in the odyssey with an American choir they consider to be magical.¹⁰⁴

Hart-Rouge chose to sing in both languages originally not only as a result of their upbringing—they used French and English in their everyday lives, so it was natural to carry that over to their music—but also because it gave them an opportunity to reach more people and knock down the language barrier. Paul says that he prefers to be able to sing in both languages in the following quote:

If you're singing in French you have a different outlook, a different view. It's a different feeling than if you're singing in English. I have a totally different, well it's a totally different emotion, but it's a different perspective when you're singing in English than in French. I like both. I like singing in both because you've got an even larger base to express yourself. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0511)

Paul expresses his idea of having a different outlook in different languages again in the video:

¹⁰⁴ Rachel Lussier, "True Independence."

When it comes to singing...in whatever language—English or French—I think you just have to put yourself in a certain mode for whichever language you're singing in. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0021)

Emile said, in a quote included earlier in the chapter, that the soul of a country, the philosophy and way of looking at things cannot be changed into another language. He claimed that something is lost in translation. Paul has the same sentiments. The Campagne family, having grown up with French and English, have experienced the 'feeling' of communication and music in both languages and they choose to sing songs in French and English because both languages are part of them.

There are disadvantages to choosing to use both French and English in the recording industry. Probably the most obvious disadvantage is that the industry is set up with several markets, and French and English material fit into different markets. As a result, artists who choose to record in both languages have to try to sell in two separate markets at once, instead of putting all their energies towards one market. In the following translation of a quote from the film, *Le coeur de dire*, Paul says that communication is a little easier for him in French and he feels more at ease conducting business in French.

Despite that, Hart-Rouge has both the English and the French markets to contend with:

Having a job in French, that was normal. I feel more at ease in the business and besides, I think when you speak of different markets...the English market—Canadian, American—versus the French market—Quebec, France...for me, I was more at ease...despite the fact I didn't write much of the lyrics...I write a little of the music...communication is a little bit easier in French. (translation of quote from *Le coeur de dire*, 0606)

When I asked Emile to speak about Hart-Rouge's attempt at using both French and English in their music and the changes in the French Canadian culture brought on by the further assimilation of English into everyday life, he said the following:

Emile: ...it's mostly American. Americans are the epicentre of the world's English culture. It may alter a little bit but you'd have to keep and use both languages, maybe. Like Folle Avoine or Hart-Rouge...they've got an English album but it hasn't had too much success, but I think they're going to try again.

Interviewer: Have they had much success with their French albums?

Emile: Yes, they have. They're more known in Quebec..... Had Hart-Rouge sung exclusively in English probably they'd be better known in English Canada. So there's always a price to pay if you make a choice. But we have no regrets and....I wouldn't have encouraged them really to choose that. (interview with Emile Campagne, tape 2, side B, counter number 427)

As Emile said, there is always a price to pay if you make a choice. Had Hart-Rouge sung exclusively in French or English, they would not only be reaching fewer people, but they may not be doing what was true to their life experience (i. e., being active in both French and English). However, since they have decided to sing in both languages (although compromising somewhat by segregating the different repertoires on different albums), they are perhaps facing limited success in some areas of their career, such as in the English market, as Emile stated.

This chapter has been a discussion of how the aspect of language has played a part in the music of Hart-Rouge and is connected to their life histories and their identities. Singing in both French and English came to Hart-Rouge through their life histories. It had an effect on their music careers when it caused—or resolved—problems with language

barriers and being misunderstood. I will continue an exploration of the group's functioning in the following chapter by discussing how the four members work together as a unit, creating their own unique style.

Chapter Four: Style and Hart-Rouge's Use of Breath

*Neil Bissoondath: "Culture must be measured in its minutiae.
The very breath of a people must be appreciated..."¹⁰⁵*

When discussing style, the members of Hart-Rouge invariably speak of the prominent vocal quality of their songs, the blending of their voices as a result of singing together since childhood, the influence of folk music, the chansonnier style, blues, jazz, and the prominent breathy quality of their music. The most popular and somewhat intriguing topic discussed in the film documentaries, in particular *Hart-Rouge: So Many Miles and Words Between Us*, is the aspect of the use of the breath to create a unique vocal timbre in Hart-Rouge's music. Though this feature of their music is fascinating in itself as an aspect of style, the Campagnes themselves have made a connection, in the films, between their history together as a musical family growing up on the prairie and the open, breathy, whispering quality of their songs.

In order to explain the concept of the breathy style, I have included an audio cassette of taped examples from Hart-Rouge's repertoire. I will refer to this later in the chapter. This resource material may be found in the Ethnolab at the Department of Music (Room 029, Winters College, York University), collection number 66. I will refer to this audio tape later in the chapter.

105 Bissoondath, p. 81.

Talking About Style

The members of Hart-Rouge often refer to their backgrounds—their childhood, early family musical experience, and the place where they grew up—when referring to their musical style. Quite simply, Annette says: “Our music is a blend of our roots and what we’re living now” (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0096). The members of Hart-Rouge believe their life experience has played and still plays a big part in the music that they make. Suzanne talks about the music that she and her brother and sisters listened to while they were growing up:

Our music is really a fusion of so many styles, all the styles that we listened to as we were growing up. I’d say a fusion of the Motown stuff that we listened to, the French chansonnier style, the Québécois...trying to sound American yet still respecting the French chansonnier style, a bit of blues, jazz.....but I think what really ties it all together is that emphasis, the strong emphasis on the vocals, on the arranging of the vocals, on the feeling of what four voices together can give. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0534)

Suzanne’s comment explains that many different influences have affected Hart-Rouge. It seems also that prominent vocals are more central to their style than any other quality.

Hart-Rouge generally does their own arranging, and when the Campagnes performed more traditional French folk songs together as *La famille Campagne* and *Folle Avoine* they sometimes changed songs to add their own personal touch. At *La fête fransaskoise* (1994) in Willow Bunch, Hart-Rouge performed together with their other three sisters and their parents, singing, among other standards from their *La famille Campagne* and *Folle Avoine* days, the folk song “À la claire fontaine.” The family used a melody that varied greatly from the traditional melody, and I have concluded that, since no

well-known sources include the Campagnes' melody in their repertoires, it is either a very rare rendition of the folk song, or the Campagnes altered it on their own.

I have included a transcription of the melody that the Campagnes sang at the festival, as well as a transcription of the traditional melody,¹⁰⁶ lined up beneath it:

"À la claire fontaine"

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the song "À la claire fontaine". It is organized into three systems, each with two staves. The top staff of each system is labeled "Hart Rouge" and the bottom staff is labeled "familier version". Both staves in each system are in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written in French and are aligned with the notes. The first system contains the first line of the song, the second system contains the second line, and the third system contains the third line. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs.

Hart Rouge
familier version

À la clai-re fon-tai-ne, m'en al-lant pro-men-er,

Hart Rouge
familier version

J'ai trou-vé l'eau si bel-le que je m'y suis bai-gné.

Hart Rouge
familier version

Il ya long-temps que je t'ai-me, ja-mais je ne t'oublie-rai.

Hart-Rouge's arrangements of cover versions of songs are quite interesting. The most striking example is Neil Young's "Helpless" on the *Blue Blue Windows* (1993)

¹⁰⁶ From *Les 100 plus belles chansons*.

album. The Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young version of “Helpless”¹⁰⁷ features Young singing the lead vocals with backup singing by Crosby, Stills, and Nash. A guitar is being played, which not only provides the harmonic base, but gives the song a steady, although lethargic, pulse. “Helpless” is characterized by repetition, especially in the refrain, in which very little is altered at each repetition. Hart-Rouge’s version of “Helpless” (from *Blue Blue Windows*, 1993—the title is actually taken from the phrase “blue blue windows” in Young’s song) is *a cappella*, which removes the rhythmic element of the guitar and allows for a more elastic rendition. Hart-Rouge has given the song a jazz choir type of treatment, with sliding harmonies throughout. At the beginning, the group sings in a fairly straight fashion and does very little differently from CSNY (other than the exclusion of guitar) but at each repetition of the refrain, they add something or make an alteration so that by the last refrain, the singing has climaxed to a gospel-type strain.

The fact that Hart-Rouge is a family band is a major factor in their sound, as the members have been singing together for their entire lives, giving them a more intimate performing relationship with each other than another non-family band might have.

Adrienne Clarkson had a comment on families that make music together:

Family bands tend to have started out early in life, so music is second nature to them, and they are comfortable on stage. It gives them an aura of warmth and intimacy. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0009)

This warmth and intimacy that a family band conveys was mentioned by Michelle later in the same documentary:

¹⁰⁷ Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, *So Far* (Atlantic, 1974).

There's a warmth within the family members that attracts people and I think that going to one of our shows, you get the feeling of that 'complicité' between brothers and sisters. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0259)

Apart from the warm and intimate atmosphere created by a family band, the fact of singing together since early childhood lends itself to a strong blending of voices. Michelle says:

I think the fact that we blend, our voices blend together so well is not only the genetics, it's mostly just the fact that we've been singing together for so long. In a way, when we started singing together, our voices were still developing and I think that in a way, the frequencies that are missing, let's say in Annette or Suzanne's voice, I'll automatically find in mine... (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0478)

Hart-Rouge's ability to blend so well together and their ability to know each other's voices has been exemplified in their singing for other artists. Paul relates a story that illustrates this point:

We were once singing backup for someone else's album and so we're all four around one microphone and we have our headphones on and we're all singing...we're all figuring out the parts that we're supposed to do but we're not telling each other. It's sort of like eye contact.....and I can remember looking at the producer and the artist and they were both looking at each other and saying, 'How do they know what they're doing?'and it just sort of came together and for us it's just kind of like....it's just natural. We sort of know where everybody's voice goes and we just kind of blend it in so in that sense there is definitely that contact, that unspoken thing. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0467)

The intimate knowledge the Campagne brother and sisters have of each other's musical sense has affected Hart-Rouge themselves, not only the audiences for which they perform.

Annette has spoken a few times in the film documentaries about how important the intimacy of her family is to her. She says:

There are things that I understand in my sisters and my brother that can't really be explained. I mean there's really a deep, something very, very deep that happens when we sing together and I don't think I want to do anything else. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0597)

Annette also states:

It was always so natural for us to sing. It was, I mean, when the seven voices...when our seven voices...because we have three other sisters, and my father too....when we would sing together, it would always be such a natural thing...such an instinctive thing. It was magical...it is still magical when we're able to sing because it seems like it's one voice, oftentimes....and it's something that I know I'll never be able to find with anybody else. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0045)

The Campagnes grew up together with the same musical experience, resulting in the profound closeness expressed in the previous quotes. They would also contend that living on a farm influenced them in their music making. Emile talks about how living in an isolated community helped his children to learn to work together:

I think the fact that we were living on the farm too...there was more isolation and I think the children learned to live among themselves and work themselves more together...Every time we performed, we seemed to make a hit, and that kind of helps, because encouragement is the greatest thing you can give anybody in any situation. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0174)

Besides helping the Campagne family to learn to live, work, and make music together, the farm also gave the children a special way of life and a unique perspective on the land and their surroundings. Annette considers the farming lifestyle so important to her upbringing that she says the land itself was part of her culture:

My father has a great affinity with his land...we lived off the land, and the land was as important as our language and our culture...I mean the land was part of our culture. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0122)

Paul has similar sentiments about the way of life on a farm. Although he never realized his childhood expectation of becoming a farmer, he notes that the countryside still has special significance to him. He says:

I always thought that I would do that (*become a farmer*).....it's something that's in me, living in the countryside, whether it's in country Saskatchewan or whether it's fifty kilometres out of Montreal. (*italics mine; HR: So Many Miles...*, 0288)

Michelle also had a strong connection to the Campagne farm. She describes her feelings about first leaving the farm to move into the town of Willow Bunch:

It was great to grow up on the farm. I didn't want to leave the farm. I remember when my parents told me that, 'Well, we're moving to town because for you it's better for school.' My sister Annette and I just went up to the hayloft with all our cats and dogs, because that's what we used to do. We used to take a rope and with a box we used to bring them up there and we just cried because we thought, 'How can they bring us to town? We love the farm, and we don't want to move'. (*HR: So Many Miles, 0972*)

Although I do not intend to argue for a connection between musical style and lifestyle or geographical surroundings, I cannot ignore the comments by the band members themselves, attributing their style of music to the prairies, where they grew up. In the following quote, Suzanne hints at a sort of geographical factor that has contributed to the shaping of her family and their music:

It may be the country, it may be the space where we grew up, it may be where my parents come from, but there's just something that permeates generation after generation and I feel that our music...that's what it sounds like. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents, 0403*)

Roland Stringer, Hart-Rouge's manager, commented on how the group's music seems to give an aura of the prairies. He states:

We do a lot of TV work in Quebec and I always find it so interesting to see how, when the band walks in and they're almost unknown and then slowly, over a half an hour or so, there's this chemistry and then everyone just seems to be back on the farm in Willow Bunch. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents, 0264*)

Stringer talks about a “chemistry” that inspires a feeling of the farm and the prairie, while the members of Hart-Rouge often refer to an openness or a light or a way of breathing that the prairie has inspired in them. Annette speaks of the openness of the prairie giving their music a living, breathing quality. She states:

I think that living in Western Canada really influenced our music very much. Living on the farm, there was this kind of openness. People in Quebec say that our music breathes a lot, and I think that it’s because we could see very far. We could see all the horizons and we could feel the wind. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0404)

Paul attributes this spacious, open air quality to the light of the plains:

There’s something about the prairies that you always miss and I think what it is is the light...the light and the space, you never seem to find that in other places. You always take the elements that you grew up with and incorporate them in your songs. We’ve often had people tell us that, ‘There seems to be a space with your songs...’ and for some reason they feel that in the song itself. I guess it’s just the way we...the voices and the way it works but they say they even feel that in the songs. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0396)

Another Western Canadian francophone who moved to Quebec to become a musician is Daniel Lavoie, who has been linked with Hart-Rouge, professionally and by music critics. Lavoie, a former Manitoban, acknowledges the similarities by saying:

There are a lot of points where I could say we resemble each other but I suspect that just this fact of leaving a small prairie town and trying to make it in the big city puts us in the same club.....Being from a small town, you have that much more need to prove to the others, the big city people, that you can do it, and maybe that little inferiority complex kicks us in the ass and gets us working, I suspect that probably Hart-Rouge and I had a bit of that. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0483)

As well as working with Daniel Lavoie, Hart-Rouge worked with Claude Léveillée on his revival album *Enfin Revivre!*. Léveillée has talked about the living, breathing quality of the group’s music. In a translation from French to English subtitles in the film, Léveillée says:

It's in the way they breathe....the special sound Hart-Rouge breathes into their music. It really signifies 'life' itself. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0428)

Suzanne reinforces the idea of this 'special sound' that they breathe into their music. She says:

People think that it's strictly the harmonies, but it's actually the breathing way and the breath that you take with each word that I think we're more together on. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0464)

When listening to Hart-Rouge, their unique sound does stand out, and oftentimes, as is mentioned in the films, the harmonies are credited. The harmonies are notable, as sometimes the group employs only two parts, a fifth apart. This adds to the open, spacious feeling of the music; however, the way Hart-Rouge breathes and uses their breath is a more prominent feature of their sound. Annette also talks about the openness of the prairie and says that their music is the soul of where she grew up. She says:

Hart-Rouge is the soul of this place...it's the soul of where we grew up. I always thought I was the luckiest person to be able to grow up in such an openness, in such a vastness. I've never been in a place where you can feel so small and yet so big at the same time. (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0391)

The following comment by Claude Léveillé about Hart-Rouge's sound being unique from anyone else's in Quebec or France lends credence to the idea that perhaps their style was influenced by their childhood on the prairies. In a translation from French to English subtitles, Léveillé states:

There's no one in Quebec or in France that has that sound. Hart-Rouge is unique and that's because their sound has not been created. It comes from within, it's something that has been a part of them since they were very small. (*HR: So Many Miles...*, 0462)

Hart-Rouge's style has been greatly influenced by their childhood, early musical experience, and the rural life on the prairies where they grew up. Their long history making music together (since they were children) means that musically, they know each other extremely well. They are familiar with each person's vocal range and personal singing style because they have sung together for several years and they have the same musical past and similar training. The fact that they grew up on a farm helped the Campagnes learn to work together because they were used to being isolated out in the country. As well, they adopted a more active relationship towards the land than perhaps an urban family would have, as it was part of their rural culture. The Campagnes themselves suggest that the open, spacious quality of the prairies translates into their music as a breathy, whispering quality.

Using the Breath

The breathy, whispering quality that is a significant stylistic component of Hart-Rouge's music can be explained acoustically, as Ray Kent, Charles Read, and Johan Sundberg have in their work. Ray Kent and Charles Read, in their book, *The Acoustic Analysis of Speech*,¹⁰⁸ have suggested several specific characteristics that, *in general*, women's voices have in contrast to a typical man's voice.¹⁰⁹ This is significant for Hart-Rouge, as three of the four members are women, and the women in the group tend to play

108 Ray D. Kent and Charles Read, *The Acoustic Analysis of Speech* (San Diego, CA: Singular Publishing Group, Inc., 1992).

109 The experimental group was not delineated by age, language, nationality, class, or any such factor apart from gender.

a larger role in the vocals than their brother. Kent and Read suggest, in a quote from Klatt and Klatt, that women's voices have, in comparison to men's, such characteristics as breathiness, more air escaping through the glottis even during its "closed" phase, a gradual flow termination (as opposed to an abrupt one), a larger open quotient (which means that the vocal folds are open longer during each glottal cycle), more symmetric vocal pulses, shorter pulses, a higher fundamental frequency, a different range of fundamental frequency, a lower sound pressure level, and a more dominant fundamental frequency.¹¹⁰ Despite the fact that this is largely an ethnocentric viewpoint, the aspect of breathiness in women's voices comes up repeatedly in the acoustical literature, according to Kent and Read.

Johan Sundberg, in *The Science of Musical Sounds*, explains how different timbres are created with the voice:

The voice source can be varied not only with respect to the fundamental frequency and vocal loudness. Also the relative amplitude of the fundamental can be varied. This results from a variation of the force by which the vocal folds are pressed together. If they are forcefully closing the glottis, a high pressure is needed, and the voice sounds *pressed*, tense, or strangled. In extreme cases, the voice sounds as when one speaks while lifting a very heavy burden. In the other extreme, when the glottal closure is very loose, the resulting voice is *breathy*, as in a voiced whisper. On the way from normal to voiced whisper, there is a voice type that has been called *flow phonation*, because it demands a particularly generous air flow. The vocal quality of flow phonation is characterized by a high amplitude of the voice source fundamental and a great number of higher overtones. Flow phonation was typically practiced in the old days on theater stages and can also often be heard when first-rate opera singers sing, and sometimes also when they speak.¹¹¹

110 D. H. Klatt and L. C. Klatt, "Analysis, synthesis, and perception of voice quality variations among female and male talkers," in: *Journal of the Acoustic Society of America*, 87 (1990), pp. 820-857.

111 Johan Sundberg, *The Science of Musical Sounds* (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc., 1991), p. 118.

The most prominent characteristic of Hart-Rouge's style in terms of their "breathiness" is their use of aspirate vocables. That is, the use of syllables that are only a combination of certain sounds or letters with no lexical meaning that are pronounced with or accompanied by aspiration, such as the sound "hah."

In the musical examples to follow, I will illustrate several instances of the use of aspirated vocables in Hart-Rouge's music. The following transcriptions are to be used only as "maps" to the accompanying taped examples. As a result, I have transcribed a minimum of lyrics, rhythms, and/or tones so that the listener will be able to follow the audio examples and clearly pick out the aspirated vocables I choose to indicate. These vocables are printed with bold italic type.

*Musical Examples*¹¹²

In the first example, which is a brief excerpt at the beginning of the final chorus of the song "Rosa," Suzanne, Paul, and Michelle use the vocable "hah" in a rising tonal pattern as a lead-in to the chorus. This sound is particularly aspirated as the singers emphasize the "h" to initiate the sound and then, rather than end it with a hard "a" sound, they use extra air to make it into more of an "ah" ending.

112 In order for the listener to understand the effect of the "breathiness" of Hart-Rouge's style, I would recommend listening to the taped musical examples on a high quality sound system in stereo. Otherwise, the listener will not get an accurate idea of the full range of vocal timbres used.

Example 1: "Rosa" (1988)

hak → Oh Rosa

hak ↗

hak ↗

hak ↗

*Lyrics for "Rosa" by Christine Angot and Roland Stringer. Music by Norman Dugas.

The second example is taken from the middle of a verse in the song "Double Take." Following the printed lyrics in example 2, the first line ends with a very breathy "hahhhh" sound that overlaps into the next line. Michelle's rendering of the second line is so aspirate that it could be considered to end in a whisper. The third line, although more tonal than breathy itself, leads into a series of "hah"s that sound like heavy breathing in rhythm with an echo effect.

Example 2: "Double Take" (1988)

Tu t'es fauflé *hahhhhhh* (overlaps to next phrase)

Je voulais te toucher (aspirate)

aaaaaaaaaaaaahhh

hah hah hah hah hah hah (echo effect)

hah hah hah hah hah hah

ai yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi yi

ah!

oh! (male voice)

*Lyrics for "Double Take" by Roland Stringer. Music by Norman Dugas and Michelle Campagne.

In example 3, the aspirate element is the series of “hah” syllables that alternates with the syllables “ai yi yi yi.” This example is taken from the middle of a chorus of “Je retiens le rythme,” leading into a verse.

Example 3: “Je retiens le rythme” (1988)

Qu’est-ce que c’est ce nom

ai yi yi yi

hah-hah-hah hah-hah-hah hah-hah-hah

ai yi yi yi

hah-hah-hah hah-hah-hah hah-hah-hah

oooooooo.....

Je cherche la musique...

*Lyrics for “Je retiens le rythme” by Christine Angot. Music by Paul, Michelle, and Annette Campagne.

The following example is taken from the introduction of the song “Raconte-moi une histoire.” Not only are there breathy “hah”s interspersed throughout the piece, but there are also instances of whispered phrases, such as in the next example, beginning with “Imagine que tous cauchemars...”

Example 4: "Raconte-moi une histoire" (1988)*hah hah**Imagine que tous cauchemars sont
hah hah**effacés par un regard (whispered)
haaaaaah**Raconte-moi une histoire*

*Lyrics for "Raconte-moi une histoire" by Christine Angot. Music by Michelle Campagne.

The next example is from the opening introduction to "Entre la neige et l'été."

Each repeated phrase, consisting of "ah hah ah," begins with a guttural sounding "ohm."

The "ah hah ah" figure is characteristically breathy, with excessive use of air flow.

Example 5: "Entre la neige et l'été" (1991)

		<i>ah</i>		<i>hah</i>	
		<i>hah ↗</i>		<i>ah ↗</i>	<i>↘</i>
<i>ohm ah ↗</i>			<i>ohm</i>		<i>ah</i>

		<i>ah</i>		<i>hah</i>	
		<i>hah ↗</i>		<i>ah ↗</i>	<i>↘</i>
<i>ohm ah ↗</i>			<i>ohm</i>		<i>ah</i>

J'entends....

*Lyrics for "Entre la neige et l'été" by Annette Campagne and Roland Stringer. Music by Annette Campagne.

The sixth example, consisting of the first verse of “Dis-lui” is slightly different than the previous examples in that it does not make use of the syllable “hah.” The main feature of this sample is the vocable “awh,” which is sung in such a way as to sound groan-like, but airy at the same time.

Example 6: “Dis-lui” (1991)

Dis-lui

awh

je l'attendrai

Je l'aimerai au plus profond de mes forces

Dis-lui que je me sens délaissée

awh

Sans lui, sans ses pensées

*Lyrics for “Dis-lui” by Suzanne Campagne. Music by Suzanne, Paul, Annette, and Michelle Campagne.

Example 7, from the introduction to “C’est fini,” is one of the most interesting samples of Hart-Rouge’s music, because it is completely comprised of vocals and vocal effects. In the following transcription, I have chosen to highlight the underlying rhythmic structure, which is created by alternating triplets of “hee”s and “hah”s. The vocables are very aspirate in this case and sound like they are made up completely of air, with no voiced quality to them.

Example 7: "C'est fini" (1991)

H=hee

h=hah

haaaah

6 _____ I _____ I _____ I _____ I
 8 **HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh**

6 _____ I _____ I _____ I _____ I
 8 **HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh**
 Ça suf - fit j'ai tout com - pris

6 _____ I _____ I _____ I _____ I
 8 **HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh**
 Je viens d'ap - prendre que tu me mé - dis

6 _____ I _____ I _____ I _____ I
 8 **HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh**
 Et tes mots tendres je m'en mé - fie

6 _____ I _____ I _____ I _____ I
 8 **HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh**

6 _____ I _____ I _____ I _____ I
 8 **HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh HHH hhh**
 tant pis c'est fi - ni

*Lyrics for "C'est fini" by Suzanne Campagne. Music by Michelle, Paul, Annette, and Suzanne Campagne.

In the following example, the syllables “ah” and “hah” are once again used in an aspirate manner, in order musically to “punctuate” the chorus of “Inconditionnel.”

Example 8: “Inconditionnel” (1991)

Je veux cacher mon coeur *ahh ahhh*

ahhhhhhhh

Inconditionnel *ha haah*

Il y a toi et moi

Et il n’y a pas de frontières

Inconditionnel *ha haah*

Tu es toujours mon éclat de lumière

*Lyrics for “Inconditionnel” by Bernard Bocquel, Annette and Suzanne Campagne. Music by Annette Campagne.

The following example, from “Laisse-moi te découvrir,” is another instance in which Hart-Rouge uses the vocable “hah.” In this case, the singers use a quick, forceful breath of air to lean on the first of the two vocables, and then a sustained, tonally-focused, second vocable.

Example 9: “Laisse-moi te découvrir” (1991)

Laisse-moi te découvrir

hah haah

hah haah

Fallait.....

*Lyrics for “Laisse-moi te découvrir” by Suzanne Campagne and Bernard Bocquel. Music by Michelle Campagne.

Example 10 is at the climax of “Mon pays.” This is a fascinating example, as Hart-Rouge creates an ethereal, other-worldly sound with whispered, barely comprehensible words of the text of the song under harmonized, breathy-sounding “aaaaah”’s.

Example 10: “Mon pays” (1991)

Et les forêts

aah aaaaaah.... (continues throughout excerpt with whispering underneath)

... gens se taisent... tellement.. tellement... loin... shhhhhh..... endurent... taisent..... ils endurent... se taire..... se taire.... (whispered, mostly incomprehensible)

Dans mon pays...

*Lyrics and music for “Mon pays” by Claude Léveillée.

The following excerpt has three different examples of aspirate vocalizing. In the second line, the phrase “will you be” is different from the first line in that it is breathy, but not a whisper because it still has a tonal quality. Whispered phrases are used as indicated in the text. Finally, the vocables “oo-oo hoo hoo” are sung with an airy quality.

Example 11: “I’m a Dream” (1993)

Child what will you be

Will you be (close to a whisper)

oo-oo hoo hoo, hoo hoo oo-oo hoo hoo, hoo hoo
whispered: *J’aimais le vent quand il chantait pour moi*

Ooooooh, I’m a child

oo-oo hoo hoo, hoo hoo oo-oo hoo hoo, hoo hoo
I’m a child I’m a child (whispered)

*Lyrics for “I’m a Dream” by Sharon Ryan, Jean-Pierre Bonin, and Marie Philippe. Music by Marie Philippe.

The next example is similar to example 7 in that Hart-Rouge uses their voices to provide the rhythmic underlay for the song. There are two elements to this. The first is an easily heard “hah hah.” The second is a percussive vocal line that fits in with the guitar line. This line is comprised of the vocables “chicka chucka ah hah,” which provide a percussive sound due to the hard “ch” and “k” sounds.

Example 12: “Rise Above” (1993)

Darkness crawls towards the
light

vocal effects:
4 I I

4 chicka chucka ah ah hah chicka chucka ah hah chicka chucka ah ah hah chicka chucka ah hah
hah hah hah hah

vocal effects:
4 I I

4 chicka chucka ah ah hah chicka chucka ah hah chicka chucka ah ah hah chicka chucka ah hah
hah hah hah hah

If you could

**Lyrics for “Rise Above” by Suzanne Campagne. Music by Annette Campagne.*

The next example, from “I Was a Child,” contains several samples of aspirate vocables. The syllables “doo doo doo duh” are sung as backup in a whispery tone, while the underlying “aaah” begins as a soft whisper and crescendos with increasing air to create

more of a tonal sound. The “huh huh” vocables sound similar to quick exhalations of breath.

Example 13: “I Was a Child” (1993)

I started to cry

I don't know why

doo doo doo duh doo duh doo duh doo duh
AAAH.....

huh huh huh huh

huh huh huh huh

AAAAAH.....

huh huh huh huh

huh huh huh huh

doo doo doo duh doo duh doo duh doo duh
AAAH.....

huh huh huh huh

huh huh huh huh

doo doo doo duh doo duh doo duh doo duh
AAAH.....

He was an old man....she was a child...

*Lyrics and music for “I Was a Child” by Michelle Campagne.

Example 14 contains two different aspirate vocables. The first, “ah” is sung in such a way that it sounds staccato-like, yet still with a very breathy timbre. The “oooh” is vocalized in a similar way to the “aah” in the previous example.

Example 14: “Rien n’est si doux” (1994)

ah ah ah ah ah ah ah

oooooooooh.....

do dn da doo.....

*Lyrics for “Rien n’est si doux” by Suzanne Campagne and Bernard Bocquel. Music by Michelle Campagne.

Example 15 is part of the first verse of the song “Soulève-moi.” This particular song makes use of a series of “ha”s throughout, which act almost as another instrumental part. These syllables are voiced but not pitched, so they sound mostly like the expulsion of air in rhythm.

Example 15: “Soulève-moi” (1994)

guitar

ha ha ha ha ha

Mon âme a couru sur le fil du temps

A dansé sur les aurores boréales *ha ha ha*

A fait ce voyage astral

Pour te retrouver *ha ha ha*

J’ai exaspéré les anges gardiens

*Lyrics and music for “Soulève-moi” by Annette Campagne.

The final example is also from the previous song. This time, the chorus is studied. Again, a series of “ha”s is featured; however, it is easier to hear in this example that, as well as being aspirated, these vocables are not sung by the same person in succession, which gives them a more energetic feel because a fresh burst of air is heard in each syllable. The vocables are produced in a way that is reminiscent of bubbles bursting, in the sense that they often overlap each other, and the listener never knows which singer the next burst of air is going to “pop” from.

Example 16: “Soulève-moi” (1994)

....se décevoir

ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

ha ha ha ha ha ha oooooooooahhhh

Soulève-moi plus haut que les nuages

ha ha

Soulève-moi

Je voudrais boire toute l’eau de ce mirage

ha ha

Soulève-moi

J’en ai trop révélé

J’ai trop insisté pour ne pas y croire

Pour te décevoir

ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha (repeat)

Interpretations

What significance does the unique, breathy vocal timbre in Hart-Rouge's music have in relation to the Campagnes' history together as a musical family growing up on the prairie, their experience as musicians, and their identities? First of all, I chose to examine this aspect of Hart-Rouge's music because, in the documentaries, the Campagnes claim over and over that there is a connection, not because I necessarily recognize a relationship myself. Earlier in this chapter, I explained why the Campagnes think there is a connection between their breathy vocal style and their history. At this time, I will now explore whether or not a relationship can be found to exist between the unique vocal effects and the life histories and identities.

Why does Hart-Rouge use this particular vocal technique as an aspect of their style? Part of the reason may stem from the fact that the Campagnes grew up together and have been singing as a group for many years. Early on, they may have picked up the idea of using aspirate vocables and through the years, developed it as their own voices were maturing. Since Hart-Rouge has been singing together for so long and from such a young age, their singing, and thus, their breathing, has become very synchronized over the years. The group speaks of the importance of the breath used for each word, so it is something they are consciously aware of doing.

As I discussed earlier, Hart-Rouge's sound is sometimes associated with the prairies. Although I do not intend to say that a particular geography inspired the Campagnes to sing in a certain way, the connections that have been made by the

Campagnes and their listeners are interesting. In a statement cited earlier, Suzanne commented that there is a feeling in their music that is reminiscent of the country, the space where they grew up, or where their parents come from (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0403). Paul said that the elements he grew up with have been incorporated into his songs, and he feels that the light and space of the prairies are two important parts of his past, having grown up in the West (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, 0396). The wind of the prairies, the openness, and the distant horizons are other factors that have been mentioned in connection with Hart-Rouge's sound.

Is the breathiness and the use of aspirated vocables in Hart-Rouge's work common, or is it unusual and noteworthy? The answer is yes to both questions. The timbre Hart-Rouge produces is not unique. Many singers, (e.g., jazz singers), use a soft, breathy vocal style, especially for quiet, ballad-type songs or for a special effect on occasion, but rarely does it become a noted feature of their style. However, the use of aspirated vocables is somewhat unusual, although even in Hart-Rouge's music, it might not be noticed until a listener consciously listens for it and then discovers the great extent to which the group employs this stylistic feature.

The use of an aspirate vocal timbre results in a specific "feel" to Hart-Rouge's music. Most of all, it suggests an intimate setting because of the quietness of the voices. The intimacy also suggests the warmth and closeness of a family, which is appropriate since the singers are family members. The echoey, cavernous sounds, along with the breathiness and harmonies imply a "long ago and far away feeling" and an idea of the

sacred, with a connection to ancestors. Finally, the breathing sound of the music has inspired listeners, such as Claude Léveillée, to describe the sound as “living,” as well as “whispery” and “natural.” Other appropriate descriptive words for the sounds Hart-Rouge employs in their music are sighing, groaning, lulling, panting, yawning, mumbling, murmuring, and humming. No other reviewers or commentators that I am aware of have attempted to describe the breathy style of Hart-Rouge in any great detail in the past.

I conclude that the breathy, unique vocal timbre in Hart-Rouge’s music has no significant relation to the Campagnes’ life histories. However, since Hart-Rouge’s style is a performative expression of their culture, this unique vocal timbre does play a part in their identities.

Summary and Conclusions

My goal in this thesis was to investigate a facet of the phenomenon of Canadian cultural identity by exploring the relationship between the history of the Campagnes, their experience as musicians, and the music repertoire and style of Hart-Rouge. By reaching for this goal, I hope that I have provided insight into the lives and music of Hart-Rouge, promoted awareness of francophone Canadians outside of Quebec, and contributed to the challenge of defining ourselves as Canadian. I also intended to examine the concept of “cultural identity” on a more theoretical level, as an active process of creation and performance in which Hart-Rouge has taken part in order to characterize their cultural identity. In this chapter, I intend to put forth my conclusions.

I will first reiterate and elaborate the concept of cultural identity that I presented in the introduction to this thesis. Following that, I will discuss the steps I took within the body of the work in order to clarify how Hart-Rouge’s cultural identity is the result of an ongoing dialogue between the process of their music and lives and the product of the same.

Cultural Identity and Kondo

I described cultural identity earlier in this thesis as a sort of dialogue between the process and the product of creation and performance. These two types of definitions of cultural identity (and of both the words “culture” and “identity”) are conceptually different

in several ways. The definition of cultural identity as process suggests “something we do” that is managed, instrumental, and dynamic; whereas, cultural identity as product implies “something we are” that is static, organic, and tradition-based.

It is my opinion that both the process-oriented and the product-oriented definitions of “culture” and “identity” are important and valid, as process is not independent of product and vice versa. However, I have chosen to emphasize the active, processual model in my conclusions because I have concentrated on the relationship between the history of the Campagnes, their experience as musicians, and the music repertoire and style of Hart-Rouge in the body of the thesis. In order to more fully explore the issue of the process of cultural identity, I will draw from Dorinne Kondo’s *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. This book results from Kondo’s extensive field research in Japan, which was dedicated solely to examining the construction of identities.

As Kondo’s field work in Japan progressed, she began to see terms such as “the Japanese” no longer as fixed essences, but rather as strategic assertions that inevitably suppress inner differences, tensions, and contradictions. Kondo’s main concern was how people craft themselves and their lives within shifting fields of power and meaning, and how they do so in particular situations and within a particular historical and cultural context. The author details the dynamically engaging, everyday contests over the meanings of business and family, the two most prominent sites of symbolic struggle, and the ways identities are asserted in those struggles. In order to understand another (an “other”) and

to be in a relationship with that person, Kondo states that one must constantly try to force the other into categories that are comprehensible to oneself. This power struggle usually takes place at the sites of race, gender, and age—some of the most important features of identity.¹¹³

Kondo also states that selves which are coherent, seamless, bounded, and whole are illusions strained against one another. She thus describes her theory of the crafting of identities:

My 'personal' account of the emergence of the problematic of selfhood is thus the product of a complex negotiation, taking place within specific, but shifting, contexts, where power and meaning, 'personal' and 'political' are inseparable. Identity is not a fixed 'thing', it is negotiated, open, shifting, ambiguous, the result of culturally available meanings and the open-ended, power-laden enactments of those meanings in everyday situations. The crafting of this text, the crafting of my identity, and the crafting of the identities of my Japanese friends, relatives, coworkers, and acquaintances as represented in this book, are the complicated outcomes of power-fraught negotiations between 'Self' and 'Other'—the Western cultural baggage of the terms themselves being highly problematic.¹¹⁴

Each individual crafts him or herself and negotiates a meaning from the conflicting definitions of self he or she is given. The Western world's assumptions about the primacy of the individual and the boundedness and fixity of personal identity necessitate a resolution to these conflicts; however, in Japan, selves are contextually constructed and relationally defined. In Japan, a person is not an 'I' touched by context, rather a person is *defined* by the context so the 'I' is constantly shifting. The Japanese have many ways of referring to each other in their language, as different pronouns are used according to

¹¹³ Kondo, pp. 9-11.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 24.

formality, kinship, occupation, and many other contextual factors. Thus, the contextual definition of the self is inherent in the language. Kondo believes that it is plausible to argue that identity and context are inseparable, calling into question the distinction between the two. In Japan, the identity of a person is considered a continuum, not a fixed point. The English language, on the other hand, encourages the assumption that “the self” is a whole.¹¹⁵

Though it is common in North America, according to Kondo, to define identities as fixed, seamless, coherent, bounded, and whole, the Japanese model is likely more accurate and useful. It promotes identity as an active process and a phenomenon that is fluid, pluralistic, shifting, ambiguous, contextual, negotiated, open, asserted, tense, and contradictory.

Hart-Rouge: A Dialogue of Cultural Identity

In this section, I will discuss the steps I took within the body of the work in order to clarify how Hart-Rouge’s cultural identity is the result of an ongoing dialogue between the process of their lives and music and the product of the same. In effect, I attempt this by exploring the relationships between the history of the Campagnes, their experience as musicians, and the music repertoire and style of Hart-Rouge.

In chapters one and two, I provided several different histories that are in some way connected to Hart-Rouge. First, I briefly outlined the history of French Canada, then the

115 Kondo, pp. 26-32.

town of Willow Bunch itself, francophone music in Canada, the musical culture of Willow Bunch, the Campagne ancestry, the Campagne family itself, and the history of the musical group, from La famille Campagne to Folle Avoine and Hart-Rouge. Within these histories, I describe some events and issues that act as catalysts for change, such as the fransaskois' experience of discrimination, Folle Avoine's dilemma of having some of their members leave the group, and the language barrier the Campagnes have faced in their careers. It is through these catalytic events that I hope to have shown how Hart-Rouge's music has been shaped by products of their histories and processes of their lives.

The fransaskois' experience of discrimination, particularly against the French language and the Roman Catholic faith, was a key component promoting activism. This cultural "clash" led to the development of francophone groups whose primary purpose was to promote the francophone culture in a variety of ways. Through these various groups, francophones have been somewhat successful in providing a French education for their children, they have created a few different collections of French songs, the growth and development of fransaskois artists has been aided (along with the encouragement of a whole body of new artistic projects), the legal rights of francophones have been upheld, the special needs of both youth and seniors have been taken into consideration, the fête fransaskois has developed into an annual celebration, a fransaskois newspaper has been in circulation for several years, francophone publishing and music distribution companies are active in the province, and French radio and television stations have been established. On a more personal level, discrimination led Emile Campagne towards a personal fight for

French education in his community, while at home, he was teaching his family French and English through music.

Another issue that has acted as a catalyst for change for the Campagnes is the limited success in their music careers. As *La famille Campagne*, the group decided to expand their market by moving to a larger centre (Winnipeg), “update” their style by incorporating more lively, contemporary tunes into their repertoire, employing a wider variety of instruments, composing some of their own work, and adding more English songs to their repertoire. This issue had artistic ramifications, in that the Campagnes broadened their musical repertoire and began to do more of their own composing and arranging; the economic ramifications were that the group’s more contemporary style helped them to move towards the mainstream market and away from the “ethnic” label; and finally, the group took a political stance in that they claimed that francophone music should not be labelled “ethnic” in Canada, and thus be sold in a limited market. Limited success has been a deciding factor in the Campagnes’ careers from the time they were *La famille Campagne* until their present arrangement as *Hart-Rouge*.

Another situation that was a catalyst for change in the Campagnes’ careers were some of the members of *Folle Avoine* quitting the group and going their separate ways. When this happened, the four remaining members decided to go on as *Hart-Rouge*. This resulted in a new arrangement for the music ensemble, and also provided an opportunity for the group to reconsider their goals, adopt a more contemporary style and take advantage of the increased artistic freedom that is possible with a smaller group.

In chapter three, I address the issue of misunderstanding and the language barrier. This issue has been a continual struggle for the Campagnes, and has provided an incentive for them to experiment with different identities, especially that which includes their bilingualism. This brings to mind Kondo's theory that in order to understand another person and to be in relationship with him or her, one must constantly try to push the other into categories that are comprehensible to oneself. This power struggle is what Hart-Rouge experiences when faced with misunderstandings and the language barrier. First of all, the group chose to sing in both French and English, which confuses people who are trying to understand and define them. Also, the record markets in Canada are not set up to accommodate artists who cross the boundaries between French and English; rather, they are constructed to fit people into strictly defined categories, which include either English or French. Critics have often referred to Hart-Rouge's confusing public persona, and audiences do not always appreciate their bilingual performances. Although the group has had some degree of success in Quebec, they do not "fit in" as a Québécois artist would because they are from out of the province and are considered outsiders. In fact, Hart-Rouge has most recently found American audiences more receptive to their bilingualism than Canadian audiences perhaps because many Americans define Canadians as French *and* English speakers, while Canadians may be more inclined to define themselves as French *or* English speakers. Instead of being labelled by where they are from and the accompanying assumptions, as well as which language they speak, according to Kondo's model, Hart-Rouge takes their identities from how they choose to perform at a given

moment. Rather than trying to fit into the boundaries of predetermined identities, the Campagnes can be perceived as performing their identities continually. Their identities are on a continuum that shifts, depending on the context. For example, when abroad, Hart-Rouge is considered a Canadian or French Canadian group; and when in Canada, they are considered Westerners or Québécois, since they are from Saskatchewan but live in Quebec.

The Campagnes have expressed their frustration at the media for trying to pigeonhole them and have spoken about their desire for freedom in their music in the past.

The following quotation explains:

‘Frankly, we’re sick of asking ourselves if the guitar solo in a song will prevent it from going to radio. Music is about freedom, is it not?’ pleads Suzanne...And the next thing you know, Paul is talking about upcoming concerts with Keith Hunter and about very diverse projects, distant from the pop world, and with individuals that would surprise us again. ‘We want to go all over the place, left and right, away from where people have stopped listening to music, in the ditch if we have to!’...When you grow up speaking French in southern Saskatchewan and your cultural heritage isn’t that straightforward, why not have your own valley of dreams? Yes, that must well be true independence.¹¹⁶

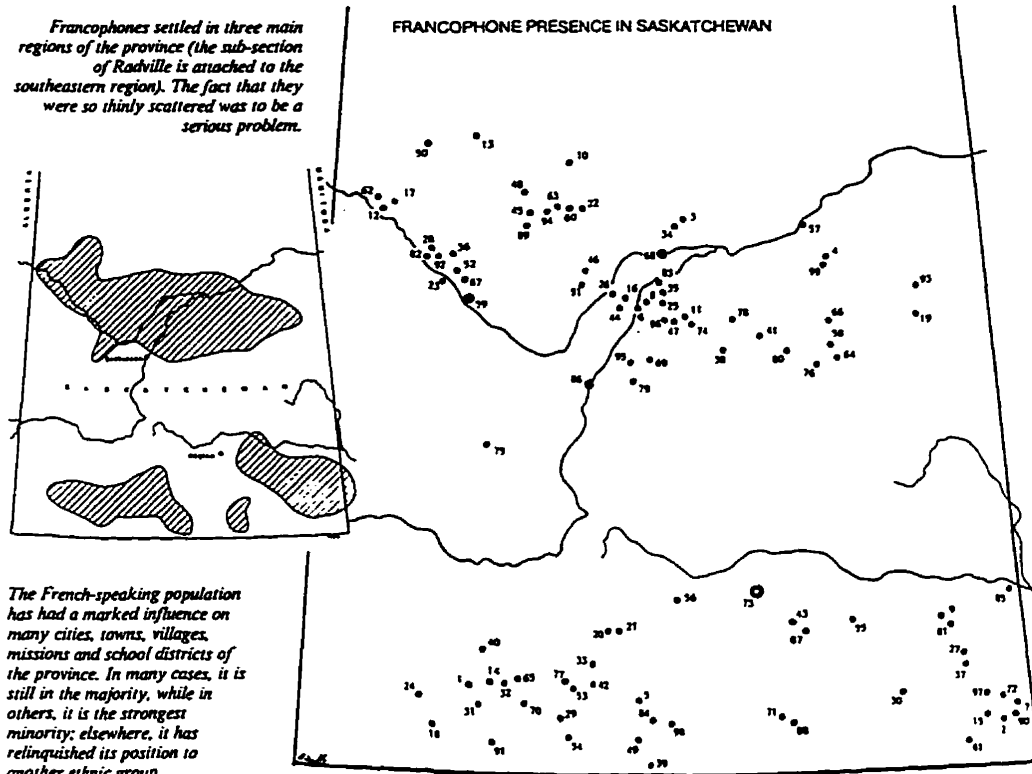
Although I concluded in the fourth chapter that the breathy, unique vocal timbre used in Hart-Rouge’s music has no intrinsic relation to the Campagnes’ life histories, I explained that the members of Hart-Rouge *do* see a connection. Perhaps then, in this case, the geography could be considered a catalyst for change in the group’s music, as they believe that the prairie, the wind, the open space, and the light played a large part in the development of their sound. As I stated earlier, I cannot verify any connection of this sort.

116 Rachel Lussier, “True Independence.”

In Canada (and surely many other countries around the globe), this process of mediation between various societal and individual factors has resulted in a counterpoint of cultural ensembles, made up of individuals who are continuously involved in the process of performing their identities. On an individual level, identity is most accurately conceived of as a fluid state. Throughout the course of this thesis, I hoped to suggest that identification of oneself or of another is an activity contingent upon several factors. Identity is an open, pluralistic, contextual, contradictory, shifting, ambiguous, and negotiated phenomenon in actuality, not coherent, seamless, bounded, and whole. This suggests that each individual engages in an indefinite creative process of self-crafting, rather than living out a prescribed, fixed role throughout one's life.

Appendix A¹¹⁷

Francophones settled in three main regions of the province (the sub-section of Radville is attached to the southeastern region). The fact that they were so thinly scattered was to be a serious problem.



The French-speaking population has had a marked influence on many cities, towns, villages, missions and school districts of the province. In many cases, it is still in the majority, while in others, it is the strongest minority; elsewhere, it has relinquished its position to another ethnic group.

1. Admirat	26. Duck Lake	51. Marcelin	76. Rose Valley
2. Alida	27. Dumas	52. Meota	77. Royer
3. Albertville	28. Edam	53. Meyronne	78. St. Brieux
4. Arborfield	29. Ferland	54. Milly	79. St. Denis
5. Assiniboia	30. Forget	55. Montmartre	80. St. Front
6. Batoche	31. Frenchville	56. Moose Jaw	81. St. Hubert
7. Bellegarde	32. Gouverneur	57. Nipawin	82. St. Hippolyte
8. Bellevue	33. Gravelbourg	58. Nobleville	83. St. Louis
9. Beynes	34. Henribourg	59. North Battleford	84. St. Victor
10. Big River	35. Hoey	60. Ormeaux	85. Rocanville
11. Bonne Madone	36. Jackfish Lake	61. Oxbow	86. Saskatoon
12. Butte Saint-Pierre	37. High View	62. Paradise Hill	87. Sedley
13. Cabana	38. Lake Lenore	63. Pascal	88. Souris Valley
14. Cadillac	39. Lacordaire	64. Pengord	89. Spiritwood
15. Cantal	40. Lac Pelletier	65. Ponteix	90. Storthoaks
16. Carlton	41. Lac Vert	66. Prè Sainte Marie	91. Val Marie
17. Celtic	42. Lafleche	67. Prince	92. Vawn
18. Chambéry	43. Lajord	68. Prince Albert	93. Veillardville
19. Clemenceau	44. La Plaine	69. Prud'homme	94. Victoire
20. Coderre	45. Laventure	70. Quimper	95. Vonda
21. Courval	46. Leask	71. Radville	96. Wakaw
22. Debden	47. Lepine	72. Redvers	97. Wauchope
23. Delmas	48. Leoville	73. Regina	98. Willow Bunch
24. Dollard	49. Lisieux	74. Reynaud	99. Zenon Park
25. Domremy	50. Makwa	75. Rosetown	

*Appendix B*¹¹⁸

The following is the annual report of 1905 from the Superintendent of Immigration. In the document, he discusses the arrival of a large number of English-speaking immigrants, which warded off any “fear that the national character can ever be impaired”:

The past year has been the most successful one in the history of the country, in so far as immigration is concerned. The total number of arrivals has been 146 266, the largest on record, and not only are these results satisfactory from a numerical point of view, but when it is considered that 98 902 of these immigrants, or more than two-thirds of the total arrivals, come from the British Isles and the United States, and that our agents throughout the west are unanimous in their appreciation of the class of settlers who have located in Manitoba and the new provinces during the past season, I think that this is an achievement on the part of those who have been instrumental in framing our present immigration policy for which every Canadian should feel grateful. In a young country like Canada, with its small population, its extensive territory, and unlimited natural resources, it is of paramount importance, from a national standpoint, that the assimilation of the foreign elements that are brought in should proceed gradually, but, under present conditions, when nearly one hundred thousand Englishmen, speaking the same language, and having the same aspirations as ourselves, are added to our population in the short space of twelve months, there is little ground to fear that the national character can ever be impaired. All danger in this respect, if danger there ever was, has now disappeared, and it is to be hoped that the methods followed in the past in this relation will not fail to have the same beneficial results in the future.

¹¹⁸ Lapointe and Tessier, p. 95.

*Appendix C*¹¹⁹

The following is an account of an incident at the annual congress of the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association held in Saskatoon in February, 1918. The delegates, embittered by World War I and the conscription crisis in Quebec, railed against all 'foreign elements' in the province, demanding that they be anglicized:

The most tumultuous session of the convention, however, followed the presentation of resolutions requesting that all trustees be British subjects, able to read and write English, that no language other than English be used as a language of instruction, and that no language but English be taught during school hours. Speaking to the resolution calling for English as the only language of instruction, president-elect J. F. Bryant stated that it was necessary to forge the cosmopolitan population into a unified whole. Dr. J. M. Uhrich of Hague stated that the knowledge of an additional language did not affect one's loyalty and he urged the assembly to act as Canadians and find a common ground. The audience burst into laughter when he referred to Belgium as 'a radiant star in a storm swept sky'. Father J. Libert, recently returned from the war and wearing the horizon blue uniform of a French soldier, pleaded the cause of the French language in the name of the French and Belgians who were fighting overseas to defend civilization and liberty and who, upon their return to Canada, would be shocked to learn that an attempt had been made to prevent their children from learning French. 'In the name of Belgium and France, I ask you to table this resolution'. The audience laughed. Another delegate spoke enthusiastically in favour of English only and was applauded loudly.

Discussing Libert's motion to table the resolution, L'abbé Sinnett of Lanigan stated that a country could speak more than one language and still be united. He contrasted bilingual Belgium, which had shown a high degree of patriotism, to Australia which had only one language and yet could be considered disloyal because she had refused to enact conscription. Pandemonium broke loose in Knox church with cries of 'Retract', 'Put him out', 'Get off the platform', and 'Three cheers for Australia'. Sinnett offered to retract the term 'disloyal' if it had displeased the delegates but he was not given the opportunity to do so. At this point, Emile Gravel of Gravelbourg asked the assembly if it would not make a distinction between the teaching of French and the teaching of foreign languages. From all corners came cries of 'No!' 'No difference'. The original resolution calling for English as the only language of instruction was carried almost

119 Lapointe and Tessier, p. 202.

unanimously 'to the accompaniment of loud cheering and sustained applause'.
Canada had been saved.

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