

**MARKETING TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY FOLKLORE:  
HOW MICROBREWERIES AND COMMUNITY EVENTS PROCESS LOCAL  
LEGENDS AND FOLKLORE IN QUÉBEC**

by

© Julie Marie-Anne LeBlanc

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“C’est ça une bière de folklore...ça goûte la babiche!”  
(That’s what folk beer is about...it tastes like rawhide!)

— Marie-Paul Lagüe, 2006  
Unibroue beer tasting session, Fourquet Fourchette  
Chambly, Québec



## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the commodification of culture pertaining to re-imaginings of historical Québec, New France colonies, political rebellions, imagined communities, shared cultural traits, and romantic heroic associations as seen in beer product placement, advertisements and reenactments from theme-restaurants to organized community events. Because folklore is often used to sell products and tourism packages, these products become transmitters of the selected folk items whether they are legends, figures, or the knowledge of occupational folk trades, as seen and constructed by the population creating these products.

While much of the folklore scholarship surrounding the uses and misuses of folklore in consumption focuses on concepts of “authenticity,” I focused the lens on how companies view utilizable items of folklore, from packaging to public relations, and how the selection and rejection of vernacular heritage is used for cultural pride and identity. This research challenges theories on legend dissemination in form as well as perceived “shared common traits” used in commodified objects. I conducted fieldwork using various methodologies, from individual session interviews to market focus groups and also included an online survey to examine the process of using folklore in selling products and how this influences and produces community events. These different approaches to collecting and analyzing data by combining the traditional one-on-one interviews in folklore with the focus group sessions and surveys found in marketing studies has proved not only useful but necessary when researching a hybrid form of folk-consumer studies. The outcomes of this research are relevant for business studies notably in how marketing

models and their studied interpretations bring folklore perspectives in the use of targeted mass media planning.

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<sup>1</sup> “Fortune Presents Gifts Not According to the Book” – song by *Dead Can Dance* from the *Aion* Album (1990).

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# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

Folklore represents the means of expression for the soul of the French-Canadian people. They, unlike most of their countrymen, especially the Anglophones, have delved into their folk memory for reasons of cultural survival. In so doing, they have preserved their heritage, studied it, and made it available to the world.

— Carole H. Carpenter, *Folk Tales of French Canada* (1979, 263)

La bière, c'est bien connu, joue un rôle de lubrifiant social depuis des siècles. [Beer, it is well known, plays the role of social lubricant for many centuries].

— Sylvie Daigneault, *Histoire de la bière au Québec* (2004, 11)

Ask any historian and they will tell you that to properly understand who you are and what you wish to become, you must first learn from where you came. As a historian and soon to be professional folklorist, I can attest to the fact that this is quite pertinent in folkloristics as well. I have undertaken to discuss the commercialization of folklore, the marketing of traditions and political representation, each a very challenging and fascinating topic of discussion but all of which warrant specific multi-disciplinary assessment. As written by Michael Owen Jones (1994) in his introductory word to *Putting Folklore in Use*:

Folklorists consciously seek evidence of continuities in what people do and think. They document the stories that people tell, the figurative language they use, the rituals they engage in, the songs they sing. Folklorists interpret these traditional, expressive forms and examples according to one or more of several perspectives. Viewing folklore as an index of historical processes, some researchers use examples of folklore to reconstruct the past or to examine historical events and movements.



Others treat folklore as an aspect or manifestation of culture, and as an index to cultural processes. They examine how aspects of workers' culture, say, reflect work-view, socialize newcomers to an occupational setting, enculturate values, or mirror social and cultural change; or they investigate cultural identity expressed through folklore, or ways that examples of folklore help immigrants adjust to a new culture or sometimes hinder intercultural communication and understanding. (Jones 1994, 3)

The main theme of this research thesis is the commercialization of folklore, the marketing of traditions and political representation, notably in relation to brewing advertisements and beer labeling. I specifically look at the commodification of culture pertaining to re-imaginings of historical Québec, New France colonies, political rebellions, imagined communities, shared cultural traits, and romantic heroic associations as seen in beer product placement, advertisements and reenactments from theme-restaurants to organized community events. Because folklore is often used to sell products and tourism packages, these products become transmitters of the selected folk items whether they are legends, figures, or the knowledge of occupational folk trades, as seen and constructed by the population creating these products. I also provide historical and cultural backgrounds of popular knowledge and folk history concerning Québécois nationalism.

The literary review throughout this thesis complements the fieldwork interviews and analyses I bring forward. The scope of the research was refined to develop a folkloristic vision of commercial and advertising culture through the lens of “drinkways,” that is, the structural and functional aspects of drink in society, from its manufacture to ritualistic customs, ceremonies and identification. While this term “drinkways” has been used by “foodies” and foodways academics alike examining the cultural and folk aspects tied to drinking (c.f. ref. Yoder 1972, 340-341), I use it in the same way as semiologists

like Paul Manning (2012) who looks at the how, what, why, and when relevant to “drink.” More to the core of this thesis however, I look at “drinkways” as the actual culture and folklore tied to drink that makes and states one’s identity from belonging to rejection (for the producer, drinker and, at times, non-drinker).

There has been considerable interest on the matter of using folklore for branding over the years. Authorities on nostalgia, rebuilding nations via commercializing culture, heritage market and displaying it, such as David Lowenthal (1985), Robert Hewison (1987), John Corner and Sylvia Harvey (1991), and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) were particularly ground-breaking on the matter. Earlier studies on the commodification of folklore into “Folklore” or using folklore in advertising and the marketing of tradition (Julian Mason 1954; Priscilla Denby 1971; Teri Brewer 1994; Robert M. MacGregor 1981, 1992, 1995, 2003) have since at least the 1950s drawn attention to the aspects of culture being used to sell products.

However, I define *folklore branding* as identity based on an item or element of folklore that people recognize and utilize through products. Consumer studies have looked at this phenomenon through the lens of nation branding and using culture to brand products (Arlene Dávila 2001; Tanya Vannoy 2009; Arthur Asa Berger 2004, 2005; Neva R. Goodwin, Frank Ackerman and David Kiron 1997; Grant McCracken 1988, 2005; Kim Sheehan 2004; Colin Campbell 1997) but no substantial combination of the commercial discipline and its methodology within folkloristics (other than combining media, popular culture and minor genre research) has been particularly examined.

The purpose of this thesis is based on filling part of this gap in addition to examining the folklore that is selected and rejected to sell products. This thesis builds on

the aspects of consumer culture, the history of brewing, concepts of identity, belonging and imagined communities and then focuses the lens on legendary tradition and how events are created to promote a sense of belonging through “product.”

In 2003, I began to study the impact and role of commercialization as well as the transmission of folklore by focusing on a Québécois microbrewery, Unibroue (Figure 1), and comparing it with other Canadian and international breweries and I conducted fieldwork for three consecutive years. It was during the fieldwork process that I was able to delve into Unibroue’s use of folk narratives, beliefs, and traditions of Québec as they are explicitly portrayed in their beer labelling.



**Figure 1: Unibroue logo prior to the Sleeman purchase, Chambly, QC brewery (photograph taken by author in April, 2003).**

Created in 1991, from a financially strained brewing company by the name of Massawippi Brewery Inc., Unibroue saw its first production of popularly praised crafted beers in that year. The founders of Unibroue, André Dion<sup>1</sup> and Serge Racine, produced

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<sup>1</sup> André Dion was co-owner of Unibroue between 1991-2004 before Sleeman purchased the Québécois microbrewery. Between 1967-1990, Dion was President for Rona, a successful Canadian DIY chain that

and marketed their beers towards young professionals by including parts of Québec's folklore on their campaigns and beer labels. The labels were created in memory of vibrant traditions as well as heroes and historical periods that marked Québec and its people. Their trademark logo, a crested "U" adorned with devilish wings, reminds one of the Devil, a favorite Québécois legend figure. Unibroue, along with other microbreweries, knew that to make its products more marketable, it needed to include a clever appeal that often called upon cultural traits. Daigneault writes about this in relation to how larger breweries replied to this marketing tactic by trying their hand in creating folkloric labels to apparently attract the microbrewery consumers (Daigneault 2004, 111). Labatt's *Celtique* and Molson's *La Rousse* were supposed to evoke microbrewery-like labels and taste to try and compete with small-scale brewers (Daigneault 2004, 111).

Daigneault writes:

Il est curieux de constater que plusieurs microbrasseries ont adopté pour leurs produits des noms et des étiquettes qui incitent les gens à plonger dans le passé et le folklore. Pensons simplement à *La Maudite*, à *La Blanche de Chambly*, à *La Bolduc* (Unibroue), à la *Titanic* (Les Brasseurs R.J.) ou à la *Barbeau* (Broue Chope). (Daigneault 2004, 111-112)

[It is curious to state that many microbreweries chose names and labels for their products inciting people to immerse themselves in the past and folklore. We should be reminded of *Maudite*, *Blanche de Chambly*, *Bolduc* (Unibroue), *Titanic* (Les Brasseurs R.J.) or *Barbeau* (Broue Chope)].

Amongst the younger body of participants for this research, especially those from

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started in Québec (Leduc 2013). A prominent businessman, Dion ventured in many projects believing in their eminent success like with Rona and Unibroue. After discussing with a real estate representative for the relatively new "Bourg Chambly" project in 2003, Dion's spin-off venture restaurant, Fourquet Fourchette, and real estate development (both in Unibroue's hometown), were found to be unviable investments. According to the "Groupe Excel" real estate agent at the time (and based on informal personal discussion in 2003), Mr. Dion thought he was on a winning streak with his Rona and Unibroue success and did not foresee investment problems within the real estate and food industries. It was a defeat to admit on Dion's part but a smart business move in the end.

Québec, the distinct uses of folklore in Québécois microbrewery labelling is part of their culture and how they feel they are represented as a people. For English-Canadians, Molson's "I am Canadian" slogan of the mid-1990s served that more conglomerate description of cultural appropriation and mass "national" identity. I began to query whether or not a large brewer in Québec, like Molson, could use the same cultural markers associated with microbrewers to reach a larger population. To answer this, I made the distinction between micro- and macro-folklore, that is folklore studied from a small and specific group vs. that which ties large sums of population under a general and recognizable category. I then pondered: what happens when a small-scale microbrewer, like Unibroue, is purchased by a larger small-scale brewer, like Sleeman, and when that brewer is then purchased by a multi-national business such as Sapporo? The concept of identity and cultural appropriation is not as clear considering the merge from regional product to multi-national and non-Canadian companies.

When Sleeman (Figure 2) first purchased Unibroue in 2004, articles and blogs from Unibroue-lovers and proud Québécois were immediately concerned about the future of the company in the hands of an Ontarian "outsider" (Jean-Paul Lanouette 2004).



**Figure 2: Sleeman/Unibroue headquarters, Lachine, QC brewery (photograph taken by author in March, 2005).**

There were similar reactions in Ontario when Ontario's beloved Sleeman brewery was bought by the Japanese company Sapporo on August 11, 2006.<sup>2</sup> The reaction reflected how a body of consumers was affected by the representational aspect of their brewery and whether or not it would continue to deliver its "local pride." Ironically, even a small-scale brewer can appeal globally and merge with other companies without its consumers necessarily knowing about it, such as the case with Alexander Keith's. This "Proudly brewed in Nova Scotia. Since 1820" brewery is owned by InBev, a Belgium company that merged with Canada's Labatt and Brazil's AmBev.

When smaller local companies merge with larger global conglomerates, there are perceived disadvantages: just as culture is used to sell products it may ultimately backfire in the marketing process if a small-scale brewery, owned by a large-scale brewery knows that its clientele identifies itself with the small-scale "locally-owned, brewed, and operated" image. It is obviously not in the company's best interest to reveal their association with the "global market." In dealing with such a situation, however, the advantage is for both the consumer and the producer because the producer may feel the need to emphasize local culture as part of the product and at the same time, promote local events.

This culturally-engaging business behaviour is often publicized on the brewers' website and through their active promotional funding of local events. Using folklore to sell a product may bring the producer closer to its consumer and may influence the

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<sup>2</sup> With the 2011 disasters in Japan, the association with Sapporo may hypothetically impact the selling of Unibroue as some consumers may brew up their own mercantile legends of radiation-affected Japanese agricultural products infiltrated in the brewing process (Naoko Fujimura 2011).

producer in being involved locally or regionally. This model of business and marketing behaviour can be applied to how the government foresees promoting and safeguarding traditions. By recognizing what the market (or folk group) wants and transmits to each other, public policies may be developed to benefit the local as much as the global.

It is through this optic that I examine how meaning, intertextuality, and folk knowledge are used, made, and transmitted by a commercialized product. At the beginning of my fieldwork, one of my participants, André St-Georges, summarized what would become the recurrent theme of my research:

Ben, Unibroue c'parce-que quand tu penses à la bière, veut, veut pas, tu dis ben, quand, quand tu penses à Unibroue, pardon, tu penses pas juste à la bière. Habituellement moi j'pense pas juste à la bière, j'pense à qu'chose d'ici. C'est *très* Québécois Unibroue pis il l'évoque. Justement on va en parler des étiquettes, ça évoque toute quequ'chose d'ici, très spécifiquement [...] C'est clair que ça puise dans le folklore. (LeBlanc 2003 [1])

[Well, Unibroue it's because when you think of beer, like it or not, you say to yourself well, when, when you think of Unibroue, sorry, you don't simply think of it as beer. Normally for me I think it's not just beer, I think it's something from here. Unibroue is *very* Québécois and they evoke this. In fact, we'll be speaking of labels, that all evokes something from here, more specifically [...] For sure it draws on folklore.]

During this particular focus group, discussions moved towards esoteric and exoteric (insider/outsider) perspectives of Québécois history and culture and the relevance of using certain aspects of folklore to sell regional products. These commodified aspects of Québécois culture have been the subject of many scholars and literary artists since the twentieth century. The internal colonial gaze of the Québécois by English-Canadians is particularly exploited in advertisements and promotional campaigns for both macro- and microbrewing industries. By colonial gaze, I mean the same stereotypical image

perpetuated in tourism as it was once described by poet and writer Northrop Frye in *The Bush Garden* (1971). Jean O'Grady and David Staines' edition of the Canadian artist's works (2003) quote Frye's statement about colonialism and its commodification:

the French are on the whole the worse off by this arrangement, which has made Quebec into a cute tourist resort full of ye quaint junk made by real peasants, all of whom go to church and say their prayers like the children they are, and love their land and tell folk tales and sing ballads just as the fashionable novelists in the cities say they do. True, I have never met a French Canadian who likes to be thought of as an animated antique, nor do I expect to: yet the sentimental haze in which the European author [Louis Hémon] of *Maria Chapdelaine* saw the country is still quite seriously accepted by Canadians, English and French alike, as authentic. (Frye 1971 [1995], 135; O'Grady and Staines 2003, 30)

Peter van Lent criticized this passage in "La Vie de l'Habitant: Quebec's Folk Culture of Survival" (1985). Van Lent wrote about this phenomenon in the 1980s and how Québec was both victim and abuser of the mass-marketed "fake handicrafts to exporting would-be 'folksingers' who are in reality chansonniers from Montreal's counterculture" (van Lent 1985, 330). The author continues:

There appear to be two general areas of criticism [...] First, that Quebec has been culture-bound, unable and disinclined to transcend provincial themes to see beyond to the universal issues of great literature and the fine arts. Secondly, that Quebec has been only too willing to distort the representation of its folk culture whenever financial gain or political recognition was to be achieved in doing so. (van Lent 1985, 330)

These areas of criticism were in fact part of the way in which Québec's folk culture developed and how the Québécois identified themselves with it and van Lent illustrates this via the "typical Quebecker" Jos Ferrand (more commonly known as Jos Montferrand) who was caricatured on television by a "huge bearded woodsman [...] who poured maple syrup on the pea soup that he guzzled by the gallon" (van Lent 1985, 339). Van Lent's



description of this caricature as a response to the “repression” felt by the French Canadians in Québec was part of an identity reaffirmation and that the “popularization of the Quebec folk image [...] provide[s] the province with an identity, the one thing that all Canadians seem to need most” (van Lent 1985, 339). This trend was perpetuated in the mid-1980s, post-referendum nationalism and cultural identity statements recurrent in ethnological, folklore and political science debates.

While van Lent focused on the stereotyped image of the “habitant” in Québec, Janet McNaughton (1985) examined the birth of folklore studies in Québec as it was strongly tied to French-Canadian nationalism. Indeed, the notion of defining a culture, “distinct” from Canada as it was popularly referred to in politics, was – and still is – particularly important in Québec. The province was shifting from the Quiet Revolution’s heritage towards a future that would be constantly reminiscing about the oppression lived by its ancestors from the fallen Patriotes to the two failed independence referenda. These images continued to shape the nationalist debate in Québec but were also very much present in the popular forum, exploited for the mass media and in advertisements. Using these sentiments and shared items of folklore to reengage and capture the emotional identity of a people is exactly what local producers of goods have done over the past few decades to sell their “home-grown” and “home-brewed” products. Consumers identify with products that claim representational qualities and it is this commodification of folklore and its impacts that I chose to study.

My initial cultural and political appropriation questions about brands and regional identity were then affected by the evolutionary process and very real nature of multinational mergers and the effects of oligopolies on local and regional breweries.

Even from a brand name perspective, mergers affect corporate markets. So it is with this consumer studies perspective that I was able to reexamine the world of consumerism as it fits with the commodification of folklore.

## **1. Methodology**

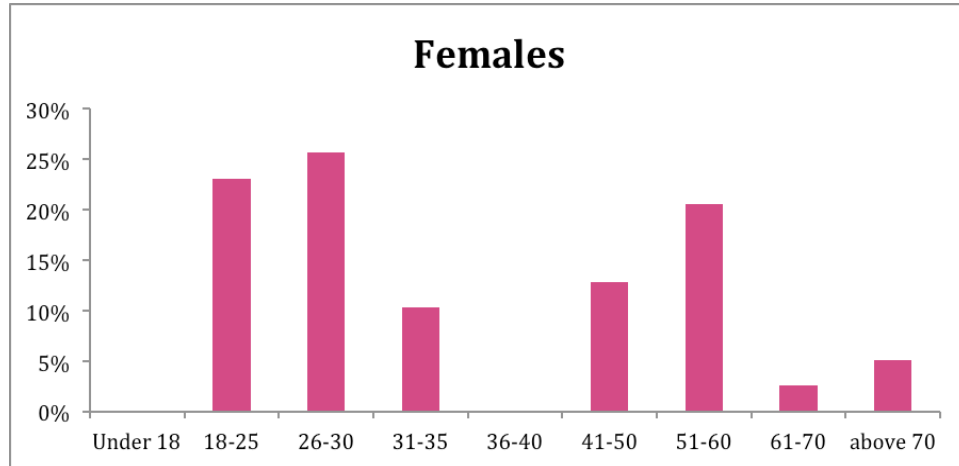
Folkloristically, I reexamine methodologies from the “one-on-one” interview to focus groups such as what are found in marketing research to illustrate how effective simultaneous participation may be, especially when observing narrative sharing. The largest focus group I conducted was with twelve participants at one given time. Generally, a focus group in marketing research varies from four to fifteen participants with roughly a half dozen being the ideal means for conducting discussions on a topic or product to “produce qualitative data (preferences and beliefs) that may or may not be representative of the general population” (Business Dictionary 2014). When referring to “focus groups” within this thesis, I include a minimum of four participants at one given session. Any group session with two to three participants is simply referred to as “group session.” As far as storytelling (and by the same token, legend-telling) is concerned, I examine it in-depth and argue that beer labels are not only the conduits of legends and catalysts to stimulate storytelling but also that they may also act as versions of a legend in narrative study.

Early in the process of this research I conducted interviews and focus groups with Québécois, non-Québécois, Unibroue consumers and non-consumers, brewery representatives and market analysts, beer aficionados and beer experts. I interviewed brewpub owners and craft brewers and participated in a private home-brewing event to

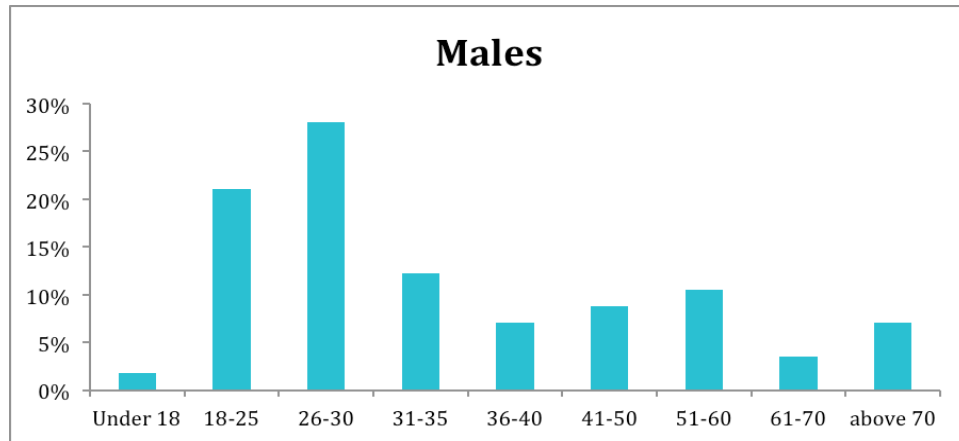
understand the interest in beer-making. My husband, Jean-François Nadeau, for example, appears in this research based on his popular knowledge of regional folklore in the Lower Saint Lawrence River region. Many of my participants, however, were unknown to me prior to this research and with the wealth of networking I had established over the years, I was quickly put in contact with experts and public figures.

I also posted an online survey via SurveyMonkey to reach an international crowd interested in answering various demographic and knowledge questions on political and marketed identities found in brewery advertisements and publicity campaigns (LeBlanc 2005-06). The contribution of each participant, including the 59 international entries via my online survey, provided me with a sample of individuals covering a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds. The survey sample totaled 23 female participants and 36 male participants while the interviews I conducted online and in person totaled 37 female participants and 56 male participants. The overall sample including the online survey totals 60 female participants and 92 male participants aged between less than 18 years old to more than 80 years of age and originate from Canada (British Columbia, Alberta, Northwest Territories, Ontario, Québec, Newfoundland), the United States, Costa Rica, Ireland, Sweden, Finland, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, France, and the former Czechoslovakia.

**Table 1: Female participants only (does not include online survey)**



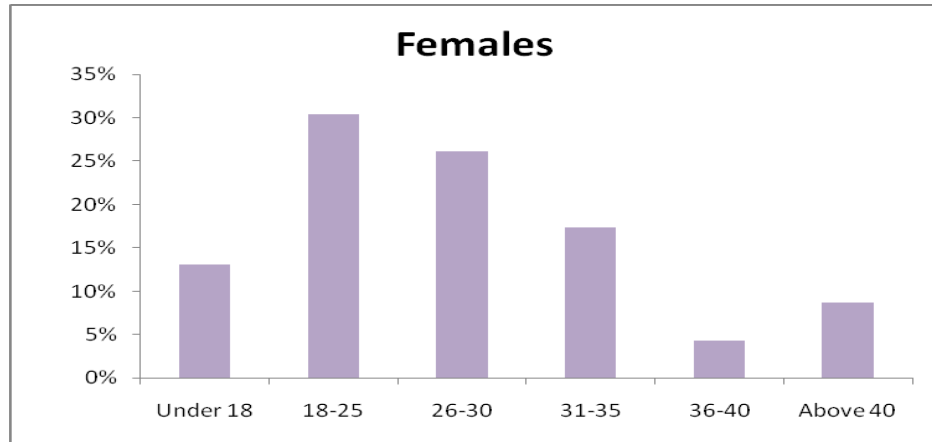
**Table 2: Male participants only (does not include online survey)**



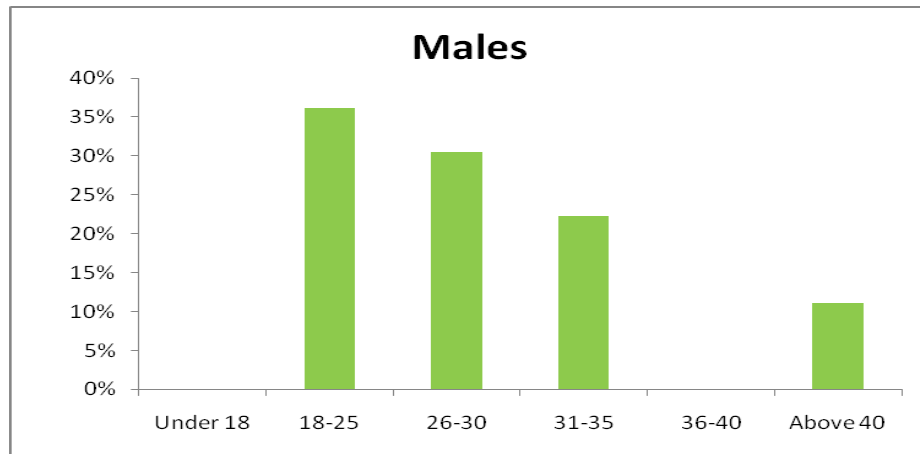
The contributions from “under-age” participants came from one male 17-year-old participant in a focus group session (authority granted by his uncle who also participated in the session) and three from my online survey. Because of the survey’s international and anonymous distribution via online networking, I had no control over this particular age-group’s contribution but had foreseen this possibility and added the underage category in the survey. All three underage survey participants were female (5.10 % of

total respondents, 13.04 % of total female respondents, as seen in Table 3 below).

**Table 3: Female survey participants only.**



**Table 4: Male survey participants only.**



While the 26-30 age group is the highest in both female (25.35%) and male (28%) participants illustrated in Tables 1 and 2, survey respondents illustrated in Tables 3 and 4 were predominantly within the 18-25 age group, shortly followed by the 26-30 age group. The female to male ratio in the online survey is 0.64, while it is 0.66 in the non-survey sample. Given the difference of collection methodologies in both datasets, this

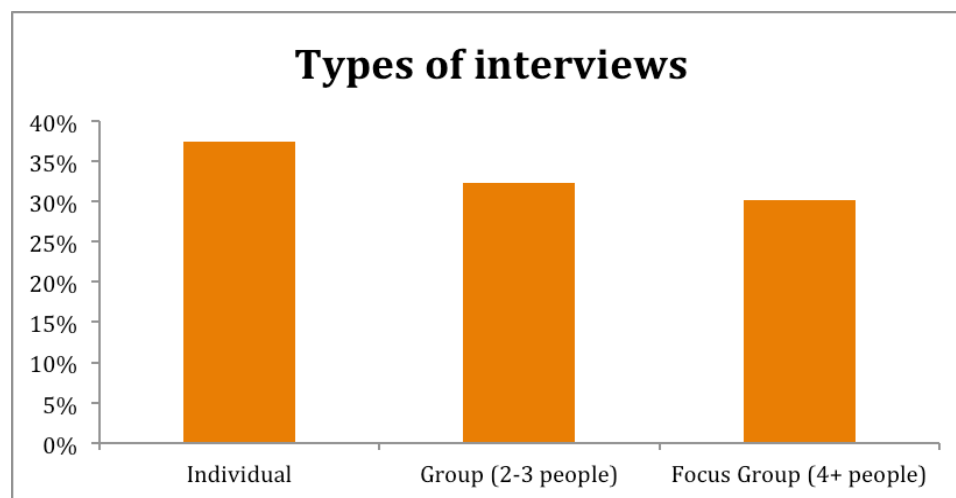
ratio is interesting to note especially in relation to the politics of representation and gender studies illustrating the 18-30 year-old male bracket as the most represented in this study.

An important note to make about surveys, notably in relation to my own experience in the data collection process, was in the types of responses I received. In Martin Evans, Ahmad Jamal and Gordon Foxall's 2006 compilation, *Consumer Behaviour*, I noticed interesting indicators to evaluate the use or process of interviewing (2006, 319). What the authors describe as consumer "misbehaviour" in market research, that is responses that may be skewed, biased, or erroneous based on the mood of the participant (Evans, Jamal and Foxall 2006, 319), was particularly interesting to note in my own survey process. The questions I asked required and elicited, to the best of my knowledge, candid responses.

Because of the anonymity of the online survey, I was fully aware of the possible trend in responses leading to "misbehaviours" such as a) providing biased information based on what was perceived to be the desired answer for the interviewer; b) being rather delinquent in responses stating non-pertinent information or what could be perceived as rudeness; and/or c) neglecting to answer selected questions entirely out of non-interest, lack of time or understanding. This "misbehaviour" is accounted for in survey sampling to avoid skewing statistical outcomes. For the sample of 59 online survey responses, not much can be done as far as "correcting" the data to have a better outcome, but given the nature of the responses and the many interviews I conducted in focus group, group and individual sessions, I was able to move past the "misbehaviour" and have an important set of data to analyze. I kept this in mind when I drafted my statistics and presented the data

in the thesis. I would like to remark that in these types of surveys, the methodology works best with a larger selection of respondents and the 59 that answered helped to gauge the responses I received from participants during focus groups and group sessions and one-on-one interviews. In the research I conducted (excluding the survey), all types of interviews whether individual, group (two or more participants), or focus group sessions (including brewery tours) were relatively evenly distributed with a slight privilege for the more traditional folk interview method (see Table 5).

**Table 5: Individual, group and focus group sessions (including brewery tours)**



Interesting anecdotes to note in reference to one-on-one interviews in public spaces include perceptions and interruptions from members of the public upon hearing the recorded conversation. For example, on December 20, 2004, I interviewed Daniel Bilodeau, a “Conseiller en bière” (Beer Advisor), who generously offered me a collection of beer labels (Figures 3-9) he thought fit perfectly with the “beer and folklore” topic of discussion.

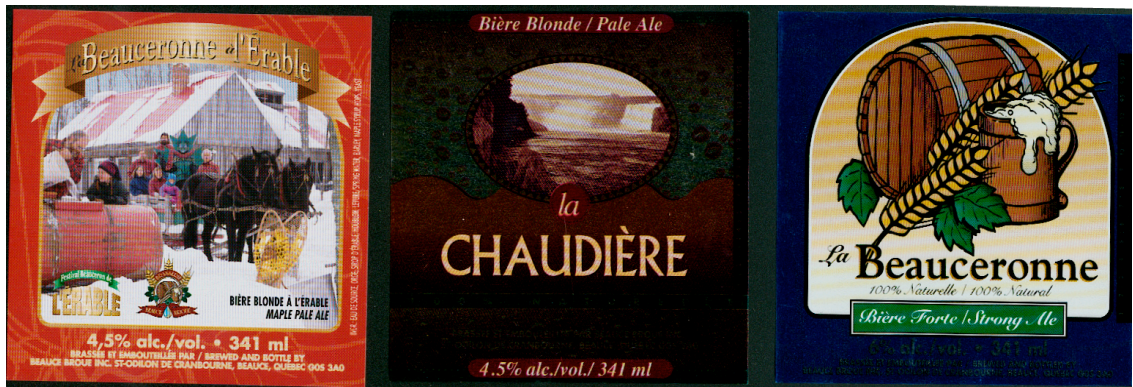


Figure 3: Left to right, “La Beaucerone à l’Érable,” “La Chaudière,” and “La Beaucerone” by Brasserie Beauce Broue, labels courtesy of Daniel Bilodeau’s collection (January 20, 2005).



Figure 4: Left to right “L’infidèle,” “La Nuit Blanche,” and “La Terre Promise” by Brasse Monde, labels courtesy of Daniel Bilodeau’s collection (January 20, 2005).



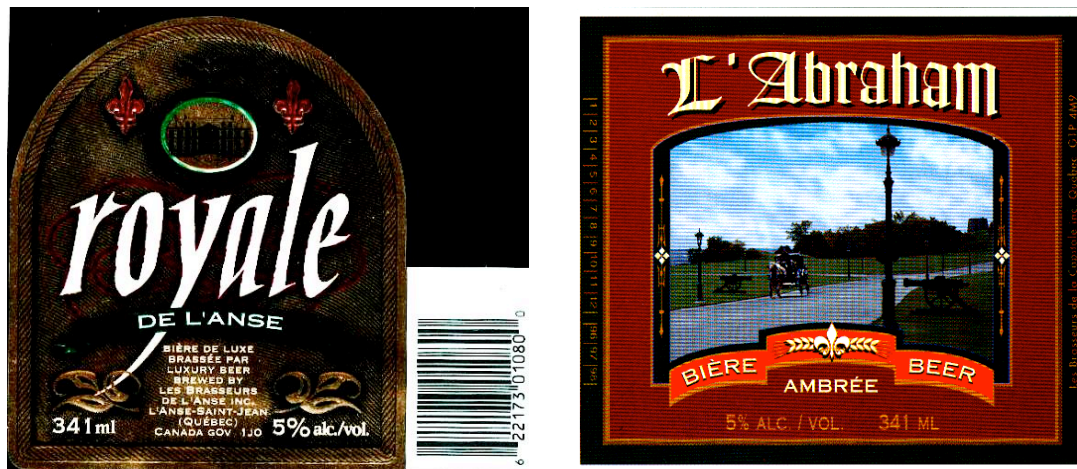


Figure 5: Left to right “Royale de l’Anse,” and “L’Abraham” by Les Brasseurs de l’Anse and Les Brasseurs de la Capitale respectively, labels courtesy of Daniel Bilodeau’s collection (January 20, 2005).

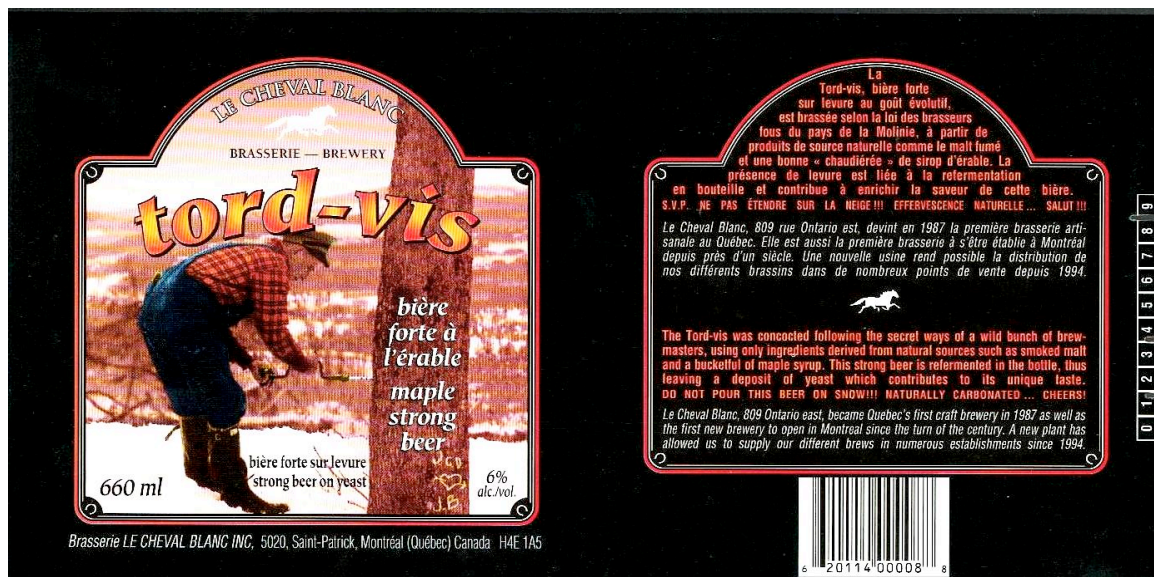


Figure 6: “Tord-vis” by Le Cheval Blanc, labels courtesy of Daniel Bilodeau’s collection (January 20, 2005).



Figure 7: "Snoreau" by Le Cheval Blanc, labels courtesy of Daniel Bilodeau's collection (January 20, 2005).

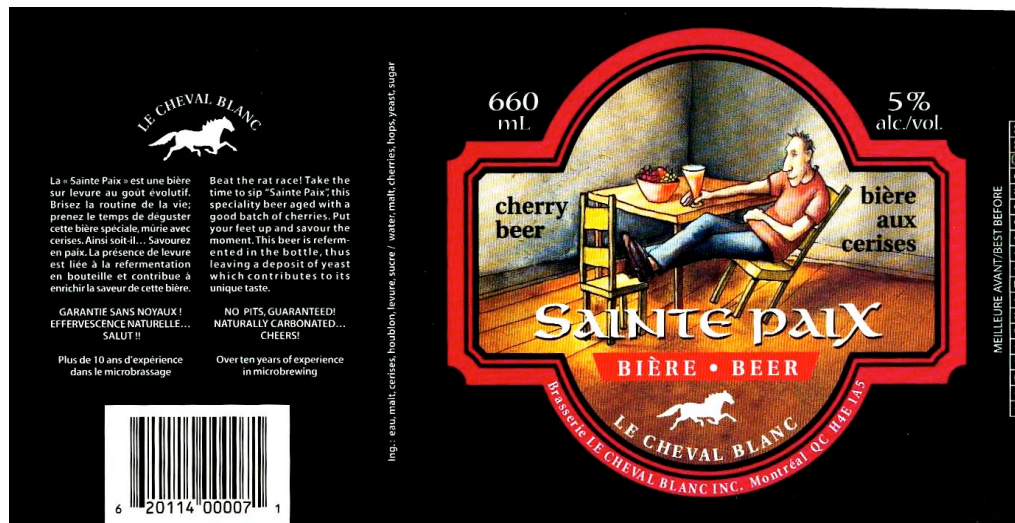


Figure 8: "Sainte Paix" by Le Cheval Blanc, labels courtesy of Daniel Bilodeau's collection (January 20, 2005).





**Figure 9: “Autumn Beer” and “Xmas Extra Strong Beer”  
by Le Cheval Blanc, labels courtesy of Daniel Bilodeau’s collection  
(January 20, 2005).**

During the interview with Daniel, and given the location (the Brûlerie Aux Quatre Vents at the Atwater Market, Montréal, QC), we were interrupted by a production and equipment specialist who was overhearing our conversation. I turned off the audio-recorder as the stranger requested given the nature of some “industry secrets” he was about to share with us, but was ever more fascinated by this amazing network of beer enthusiasts and their genuine interest in my doctoral thesis topic. This passion for beer was especially pervasive at festivals, microbrews, and brewpubs. Local products rely heavily on local events to survive and vice versa. The same could be said with local

folklore and its uses in the brewing industry.

Across the province of Québec (from the Outaouais to the Lower Saint Lawrence River Region), I conducted research on community events and commercial venues that utilize, idealize and produce local legends and folklore. The research was also supported with extra fieldwork in various brewery tours from British Columbia to Newfoundland. I also observed and collected data in various brew pubs and restaurants that featured micro- or craftbrew products, from other parts of the world.

Although my research focuses mostly on Québec, it does not categorize participants in one homogeneous group as they vary in political, social, and cultural milieus even within the province. The analysis contributes to an understanding of the vernacular interpretation of folklore and an understanding of its uses in the mass media. During the interviewing process, interactive discussions revealed traits of legends and narratives placed in context when viewing a company's use of regional folklore to sell a product. The outcomes of the interviews helped reassess the polysemic nature of images, the selected versions of legends, the recurring motifs and their possible function in contemporary Québécois folklore.

What is perceived as regional folklore, what is selected and consequently produced by a company, be it a microbrewery or other, becomes an element of folklore itself as it is transmitted to a group and regenerated through variant forms. This is parallel to Hermann Bausinger and Elke Dettmer's statements about the relationships between folklorism and folklore (Bausinger 1990, 128; Dettmer 1991, 170).

I move from this towards examining and analyzing beer products, the images conveyed by groups and the notions of folklore that are transmittable and usable. Three

goals were set in this research: 1) tracing elements of Quebec's legendary culture exploited through a commercialized product; 2) understanding their representations, connotations, and denotations; and 3), what constitutes meaning and interpretation. I use a quantitative/objective and qualitative/subjective approach to the collection of information in order to discuss what items of folklore are used, why they are used, who are using them, and to whom they are transmitted. Furthermore, I trace the dynamic correlation between the selection of folk narratives in beer labels and the regionalist perspectives of local folklore through form and medium. The denotative and connotative reflections of cultural representation as well as the relationship between signifier and signified in relation to images, their polysemic nature and their (de)construction were examined. I found cultural codes within the transmitted folk items in beer labels that serve as resonant signifiers. The intertextuality of beer labels, folklore selection process, research outcomes, intermingled signs, interpretative study, and poststructuralist notions apply to the pattern relationship between identity, signs, and meanings connected to the images found on beer labels, as manifest uses of folklore. I also approached the content and structure of this study with a representative and interpretative lens providing critical analyses of socio-economic factors related to marketing folklore. This includes a study of products and events, negative/positive reinforcements of the use of folklore in the marketplace, romantic nationalism and heritage as major influences in product advertisement, and the selection process of folklore items for target market sales. As for the customs and traditions surrounding the drinking culture in Québec, I examine the celebration of other festival-oriented events highlighting Québécois culture and products.

During the course of my research that I also became increasingly interested in storytelling events and by the same token, legend-telling, and questioned the necessity for a traditional forum in sharing stories. I also drew the link between marketing and storytelling as they are both very similar in nature when sharing/distributing narratives. When I took a marketing course in 2006, at the École des hautes études commerciales (HEC) de Montréal, given by cultural marketing expert, Mr. François Colbert, he commented that marketing was both a science and an art. Marketing was scientific in that one could collect empirical data, draw statistical conclusions based on surveys and analyze behaviours in a cause and causality perspective. Marketing was an art because you either “got it” or you “don’t.” This statement concerning marketing is the same as storytelling and is shared in folkloristics. Famous Irish storyteller and collector, Séamus Ó Duilearga (James Delargy) wrote that a person could come from a family of well-known storytellers but not necessarily be a great storyteller and that “the art of the folk-tale is in its telling” (Ó Duilearga 1999, 160). Ó Duilearga noted that by putting pen to stories, the art of storytelling changes, “the voice and the *mise en scène* of tradition are gone, the audience must be imagined, for the listener has given place to the reader, the narrator to the writer” (Ó Duilearga 1999, 160). Thus, the “active tradition-bearers” narrate to “passive tradition-bearer(s)” while working with the audience dynamics (Ó Duilearga 1999, 160).

Though generally speaking, this is still the case in Québécois traditional storytelling, with the interviews and research I conducted, more can be said about going beyond the traditional scope of storytelling; that is, beyond the romantic hearth setting, or even stage as such, and even as far as via a commercial product that is being consumed.

With the focus groups and group sessions I recreated settings of story-sharing, by presenting Unibroue's beers, participants reacted to the labels portrayed and provided legends and narratives of heroes in Québec. The beer labels were acting as conduits of legends and storytellers. The consumers were then both passive and active bearers of the narratives portrayed. The exchange of storytelling roles was, as Ó Duilearga stated, "to tell a story is to hear a story" which essentially means that active bearers of tradition can be influenced by other active bearers and passive bearers can eventually be put in an active bearer position (Ó Duilearga 1999, 164). Coming from the perception that storytelling is a mastered art as in contrast to legend-telling, which can be performed by "anyone," as Bengt af Klintberg stated in his 1989 article "Legends Today" (af Klintberg 1989, 70), the notion of a beer label as potential passive bearer of legend is not far-fetched.

The outcomes of this study have provided insight on how target markets for marketing strategies are representative of specific folk groups that respond to identity and ideology branding. The cultural codes interpreted are one of the most important outcomes of the commercialized products. Marketers know that it is important to fully understand their target market. Their approach in learning about target markets is similar to folkloristics in doing research and defining a "folk group." In "Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Folklore," Elliott Oring (1986) writes:

Groups, indeed all categories, result from perceiving some similarity within a broader population of individual elements. Groups exist only if they are recognized and some claim is made for their existence (if only by the members themselves). (Oring 1986, 24-25)

In comparison with marketing research and target/niche markets/consumers, the

American Marketing Association (AMA) defines groups in a similar way. The

AMA's definition of marketing research is similar to folklore research in that:

the function that links the consumer, customer, and public to the marketer through information – information used to identify and define marketing opportunities and problems; generate, refine, and evaluate marketing actions; monitor marketing performance; and improve understanding of marketing as a process. Marketing research specifies the information required to address these issues, designs the method for collecting information, manages and implements the data collection process, analyzes the results, and communicates the findings and their implications. (American Marketing Association 2014)

Furthermore, marketing holds into account folk groups and branding as part of defining identities. As Marianne Lien, in her 2000 article “Imagined Cuisines: ‘Nation’ and ‘Market’ as Organising Structures in Norwegian Food Marketing,” explored further:

Marketing is a system of knowledge which marketing professionals will frequently consult when they make their decisions. In this sense, marketing is an applied branch of the discipline of economics [...] marketing is local practice. As a system of knowledge, marketing is only influential to the extent that it is taken into account by its practitioners in day-to-day decisions. (Lien 2000, 155)

The way folk groups respond to ideological branding, that is, branding appealing to a specific market, is representative of what constitutes their identity within that specific group and what bonds them together. When a microbrewer uses elements of local or regional folklore to sell a product, it evokes specific cultural codes that are picked up by the said folk groups (or target market). These codes are important for the producer because they communicate with their consumers. The codes are usable forms of folklore similar to what Teri Brewer wrote about in the 1994 issue of Folklore in Use on “The Marketing of Tradition.” Brewer wrote that “folkloristics is not just about ways of approaching the description of tradition or the evolution of tradition...rather it should give us ways to approach an understanding of the *uses* of traditions and therefore a more



explicit take on cultural politics” (Brewer 1994, 9). This statement grazes the immense potential of how one can study folkloristics through non-conventional mediums and how these mediums may also serve as case examples of ways to promote and, at times, even safeguard culture and traditions. An additional argument would be to question whether or not a government may use the mechanisms of market economy to promote the survival of culture. Indirectly, the market economy can be a cultural promoter, and this thesis serves as an example.

I have included interviews and survey answers highlighting the global and local markets that microbreweries cater to and how these consumers chose to be represented. The interviewing process and survey answers also provide examples of how the target market deconstructs products, and how they may connect or identify with it. First and foremost a thesis that captures what people think and feel throughout their interviews; the informants have a voice that is present throughout the thesis. Literature is reviewed in each chapter to support the topic of discussion. For editorial purposes, I have also adopted the [...] usage for omitted passages in citations to lighten the editorial context and ... throughout the thesis to indicate pauses in interviews. Apostrophes are also used to mark contractions in colloquial terms (e.g., **c’tait [stɛ]:** verb; contracted form of **c’était (it was)**, the soft “c” with a following apostrophe indicates the contracted form of **c’est, ce or ça**).

## **2. Chapter layout**

In this thesis, I discuss how folkloric markers – that is elements of folklore, pertaining to various genres such as beliefs, legends, blasons populaires or sayings – are

used in a commodified product, the representational attachment towards these markers and the perceived advantages/disadvantages of their use for commercial purposes. In the case of Unibroue, their labelling is a solid example of folklore in use. Roughly a dozen of these labels consciously use Québécois legendary themes that portray and incorporate issues of cultural and political identity. Unibroue, like other industries who use folklore to sell goods, redistributes selective perceptions of what constitutes a provincial, regional or local folklore and this is examined in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three examines how companies such as microbreweries borrow elements of culture and infuse them into their own advertising medium. It is an explicit example of how folklore is selected and used for consumption, notably when addressing what is created versus what is perceived as “authentic” folklore. Moving from the local heroes, strongman narratives and depictions of occupational folklore as represented on beer labels, Chapter Four focuses on the depiction, use and recognition of the Devil in Québécois folklore. By using the image of the Devil, or references to Devil narratives, Unibroue speaks to a target market “in the know.” How this target market identifies with the product is pertinent notably in relation to how it chooses to identify with or reject the branded image because of the stereotyping it may have engendered. Chapter Five examines the “staging” or creation of folklore, specifically through stereotypes and how ethnic branding is tied to using folklore to sell products.

Chapter Six further explores the notions of identity as they relate to nationalism, patriotism and culture in a political manner, from Molson’s “I am Canadian” rant to Unibroue’s “1837” and distinction from other cultural groups. From the national to the local, I examine the promotion of “home-grown” approaches to business ventures

specifically in relation to culinary tourism and breweries, from “souvenir” items to cultural and romantic representations of historical periods, costuming, and settings in Chapter Seven.

Finally, this research brings understanding of meaning, intertextuality, and folk knowledge used and made by a commercialized product and how beer labels could be compared with printed and oral sources, and play the role of active and passive bearers, catalysts and versions of legends themselves. By examining the interdependence created by outside uses of folk items and their outcome in marketing and its targeted public, discussions about cultural and political identities and ideologies, collective representations through images, and their selection process are pivotal in the assessment of the use of folklore to sell beer.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **Folklore in Marketing and Advertising: The Case of Unibroue**

Man lives by his symbols, many of which have been formed in the past. Where can one locate better symbols of man's heritage that are readily recognized as such – at least unconsciously – than in folklore?

– Lutz Röhrich “Folklore and Advertising” (1980 [1978], 115)

Using cultural codes, that is, items that convey messages to its group, microbreweries are able to appeal to a smaller and more local market while telling the said group's story. The product reflects a part of local folklore, a part of shared cultural traits that may unify the consumers together. The process of folklore in use, the perceived cultural representations of particular groups and the interaction between the commercial producer and its political market becomes a form of popular meta-narrative and (perhaps boldly) meta-folklore. To frame this study in the context of its time, place, and to the people it communicates to, one achieves a better understanding of how cultural codes not only have multiple meanings but also lead the way towards an interactive and dynamic example of how the traditional may coexist with the contemporary in a commercial and political climate.

The potential traps in using folklore to sell products are in the “misuses” of folklore because the consumer's perception of the product and its supposed representational aspect is importantly valued in the marketing process. The reshaping or creation of popular conceptions of culture to advertise to a group has been studied by authorities such as Priscilla Denby and Alan Dundes especially in relation to “folklore” or

the folklore that is used to sell for profit through mass media advertisements (Denby 1971, 117; Dundes 1963). Other authors such as Arlene Dávila (2001), Jane Becker (1998), and Judith Williamson (1978) treat the subject of advertising and representational culture as inescapable and sensitive at the same time (Williamson 1978, 11). In “Advertising and Folklore,” Alan Dundes (1963) wrote “advertising is definitely a cultural idiom [...and,] since there is at least a possibility that much of it will continue for some time to come, its presence should be recorded” (Dundes 1963, 144). While Dundes focused on the oral aspect of advertisements and the folklore that stemmed from it, other studies focused on how folklore and advertisement are tied together to sell a product through representational images conveyed/perceived.

Folk notions and explicit use of legends in Unibroue’s marketing campaigns makes them one of, if not *the*, most long-standing and recognizable microbreweries out of the growing microbrewery scene in Québec.<sup>1</sup> Andrée Marcil, Unibroue’s Public Relations officer at the time of the interview (2003), confirmed for me that the choice of labels and the association of legends were explicitly used as a marketing tool. When asked how Unibroue chose the names and legends to be placed on the labels, Marcil answered that there are no folklorists hired to do research on the collection of potential legends to

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<sup>1</sup> Since its inception, Unibroue’s founding member and previous owner, André Dion, advocated extensively to safeguard the microbrewing industry in Québec. In 2001, when appearing at the Standing Committee on Finance at Parliament, Dion provided evidence of the microbrewing industry in Québec and how Unibroue exported “30% of its production worldwide” but was faced with the realities of surtaxes and excise duties that impacted the industry’s success in Québec (Parliament of Canada 2001). Only one third of Québec’s microbreweries survived at that period, including Unibroue (Parliament of Canada 2001). As stated by the former President and Chief Executive Officer of the Brewers Association of Canada, Sandy Morrison: “I think André Dion in Chambly has made an incredible contribution to that community and the area around there with the development of Unibroue and what he's brought to that community” (Parliament of Canada 2001). Consumers recognized this contribution and passion for promoting local economy as much as the province’s lore. Unibroue quickly became a microbrewing leader in Québec and its legacy impacted the creation of more than 60 microbrewers in the province.

exploit in the market. She notes: “nous connaissons cependant suffisamment notre histoire pour savoir (où) y puiser” (we sufficiently understand our history to know where to look) (LeBlanc 2003 [7]). When asked about the selection process and whether they choose particular versions of legends, Marcil referred to the primary concerns of the brewery in creating a label reflecting the recipe and how some legends appear to fit the recipe description regardless of the chosen version. Though there may be a great repertoire of legends to select in Québécois folklore, Unibroue did not deliberately pick a legend to then create a beer; the beer recipe came first and the name and label, second.

McCracken writes about the “selection” process in marketing as:

Members of the advertising profession point out, a “creative” process in which the most appropriate selections of the advertisement are not so much calculated as glimpsed [...] the process of selection, because it is creative, proceeds at unconscious as well as conscious levels. Directors are not always fully cognizant of how and why a selection is made, even when this selection presents itself as compelling and necessary. (McCracken [2] 1988, 78)

As McCracken notes, the directors that make the selection process are aware that it must reflect “cultural categories and principles” to attract consumers towards the product in meaning and context (McCracken [2] 1988, 78-79). This aspect of knowing or recognizing the symbols that would attract consumers is essential for Unibroue and their success was largely based on this marketing mix and quality of product they offered.

In 2004, Sleeman bought Unibroue for \$36.5 million and absorbed the Québécois microbrewery’s \$5.5 million debt (Sleeman Breweries Ltd. 2004). One year prior to the purchase, Unibroue was boasting an increase in sales and international market distribution (Business Wire 2004). The company was clearly prepping for an upcoming sale.

In 2005, after the Sleeman purchase, Sleeman moved its Sleeman/Unibroue headquarters in Lachine (QC) and started producing Sleeman Silver Creek in the Chambly plant. John Sleeman marketed his beers under the “family recipe” claiming generations of brewmasters in the family (Fennell 1996, 27). When Tom Fennell published his article featuring Sleeman beers in 1996, there was no foreseeable link between Sleeman and Unibroue at the time, though both were equally successful in their respective provinces. The piece published in *MacLean's* was to promote craft breweries in the country. Fennell writes:

His (Sleeman's) timing could hardly be better. The so-called craft beer and microbrewing sector, spiced with exotic brands ... now accounts for about three percent of the Canadian beer market. But at a time when overall sales of alcoholic beverages are stagnant because of the aging population and increased health concerns, the specialty beer market – dominated by premium beers aimed primarily at well-paid men in their 30s – is expanding by an estimated 25 per cent a year. In response, the giants of the Canadian beer industry, Molson Inc. and Labatt Breweries Ltd., have launched a string of competing products. And now, even some major distillers are trying to break into the business. Last week, Seagram Co. of Montreal began test-marketing several new ales and lagers across the United States, under the brand name Devil Mountain. (Fennell 1996, 26)

This was a pivotal time for microbrewers to garnish their portfolios and prepare for multinational mergers. In addition to benefitting from the Québécois market in brewing and selling their own Sleeman brand through the Unibroue plant, Sleeman/Unibroue was boasting their increase in production. As John Sleeman stated in their 2004 fourth quarter reports:

“We are pleased with our progress in achieving our strategic and financial goals this year. Our premium brands continue to generate increased sales and margins and we delivered strong growth in revenue, net income and core volume,” said John Sleeman, Chairman & CEO. “The Unibroue integration was completed in the quarter as planned. The integration has provided a positive impact on our operations and our relationships with our customers. We are confident that the

integration of that business into our premium portfolio will generate increased revenue and positive returns.” (Market Wired 2005)

This clearly helped in making Sleeman/Unibroue interesting to purchase for Sapporo in 2006, after which time the sense of local was lost from an international perspective, but the Unibroue products themselves continued to appeal to the collective folklore of Québec.

It was after Sleeman’s purchase of Unibroue in 2004, however, that I wanted to examine at what point the effects of an Ontarian company buying a Québécois company would impact marketing local folklore. I wanted to know if the initial response from Andrée Marcil back in 2003 would still be the same two years later after the merger. Stéphane Berranger, the Assistant Director of branding at Sleeman-Unibroue, informed me about the nature of the selection process for beer names and said there was a creative process but no collecting was made from a folkloristic point of view (LeBlanc 2005 [2]). Essentially reinforcing what Andrée Marcil had told me previously. Stéphane Berranger did, however, point out that there were moments where the creative process was not done in-house with marketing experts; rather it “happened by chance” through stories shared by owners and shareholders of the original Unibroue company (LeBlanc 2005 [2]). This was certainly the case with the “Eau bénite” beer.

According to Stéphane, Robert Charlebois (previous shareholder, product promoter, and well-known Québécois folksinger) was at a costume party promoting the beer and mistook two real nuns for costumed laywomen. He insisted they drink the beer even with the “Devil” on it by telling them it was like “Holy Water” emphasizing the



colloquial “eau bénite” to let the “nuns” know this was a harmless drink ((LeBlanc 2005 [2]); Figure 10).



**Figure 10: “Eau Bénite” beer label (personal collection).**

Looking at the versions and short legend descriptions on the Unibroue labels, one sees what seems to be an insider’s perspective of Québécois folklore, an emic corpus. What is found on the label may represent the brewing company’s particular versions of legends known by staff or popular media transmission. Other questions surface regarding the variety of legends and the scholarship surrounding this study.

Some themes are recurrent in Unibroue's legend choices, for example the motifs of selling one's soul to the Devil and the problems in distinguishing between good and evil. These themes are suggestive of what Brewer terms "marketable tradition," that is, "what some agents of change...perceive as the *unique* and *externally presentable* cultural heritage of those societies, the acceptable face of the past [...] and those aspects of it which are not too private to share with outsiders" (Brewer 1994, 6).

The Devil in Québécois culture is a perfect antagonist in legendary narratives to explain the historically significant Catholic mores of its society. With the 18- to 25-year-old focus group, the discussion led to how the Devil may not represent the same image for them as it did and still does for their parents. The image depicted on the labels was perceived as non-threatening, inoffensive and almost mocking, whereas those that I interviewed who were above the age of 50 held reservations towards the use of a Devil on a beer label, regardless of its representation in a French-Canadian narrative. The word choice for naming the beer, however, held more meaning for the older generation of interviewees than the younger ones. "Maudite" or "maudit" (meaning "damned" or "damn") holds a strong meaning as an expletive for older generations in contrast to younger generations who view the term in derision rather than a binding, damning oath (Figure 11).



**Figure 11: “Maudite” beer label (label image courtesy of Unibroue).**

Unibroue also borrows periods and heroes from popular history in Québec. For example, the beer “1837,” depicts a view of the year that marks the political movements and executions of the Patriotes in Québec (Figure 12).



**Figure 12: “1837” beer label, Unibroue.**

A well-known image that has been used on the Patriotes tricolour flag is Henri Julien’s interpretation of the Patriotes (Figure 13). This also illustrates the visual recognition of a Patriote in Québec. One hundred and sixty years after the Patriotes rebellion and shortly after its European introduction at the international beer industry’s marketing show, Eurobière 1997, the “1837” (no longer brewed by Unibroue) beer campaign was launched in Québec. It was launched for the Québécois market from the Governor’s Mansion in Montréal, a provincial heritage residence previously occupied by the Pied-du-Courant prison governor and currently owned by the provincial liquor board, the Société des alcools du Québec (SAQ). The site was highly symbolic as it was the prison where Patriotes were executed (Figure 14, 15).

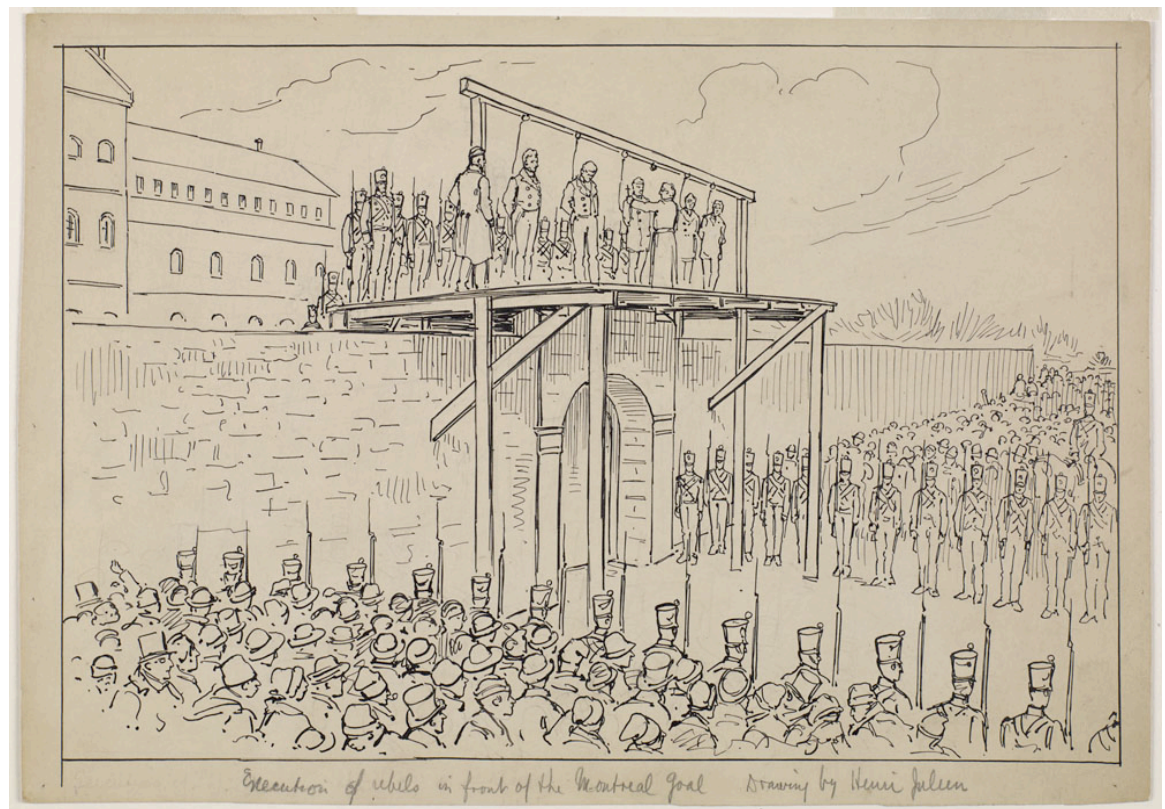


**Figure 13: Henri Julien's Patriote (Grand Québec).**



**Figure 14: Pied-du-Courant prison, Montréal, QC (Observatoire des musées).**





**Figure 15: “Execution of rebels in front of the Montreal Gaol, drawing by Henri Julien” (1839 Patriotes execution, Library and Archives Canada).**

During the beer launching ceremony, the company commemorated the anniversary of the Patriotes’ uprising. As claimed on the label, the beer was “brewed in honour of past heroes who gave their life for country and freedom [...]” (Unibroue [1]). Unibroue strategically chose elements of collective representation such as the “1837” beer.

There is a natural variety of folklore in transmission that occurs. Herbert Halpert writes:

where the legend-making process is alive we get infinite variety that cannot, or rather should not, be standardized. Indeed, if in any area you find only one unchanging version of a legend told by many informants, you may begin to suspect either an extremely dominant informant, or what is more probable, the influence of print. It is well known that if a competent author weaves a pattern out of a mixture

of legends from one region, and his published version becomes popular and ‘feeds back’ to the original area, it may often replace other versions. (Halpert 1971, 48-49)

Because “there is no ‘right’ version for a folklore item” (Halpert 1971, 47), it is possible to analyze the labels as particular versions themselves. The “traditional” versions that we see in books, collected and selected for publication, are from a particular exclusive body of informants. I wanted to learn more about how we select versions and how we tell them by asking my participants (focus groups, group sessions and individually) to understand how this notion of “traditional” version is perceived by consumers and if beer labels could be deemed versions in themselves.

In my research, I asked participants to illustrate: 1) how they have heard the legends used on the labels; and 2) why the legends depicted on the labels are disseminators of versions and how they encourage interactive storytelling amongst groups. In Unibroue’s case, the versions produced are “cherry-picked” by the brewing company to sell their product. This is Denby’s “folklore,” the projection of what one would consider traditional images into a product (Denby 1971, 117). Although “folklore” aims to sell products by using folklore, whether the folklore *per se* is of pure invention or of some rooted tradition, Unibroue has managed to portray Québec’s oral traditions with little or no invention save for the occasional out-of-the-ordinary “theme” beer such as the “Éphémère” portraying a fairy. The recipe for the “Éphémère” used to change every so often, hence the “flighty” depiction of a fairy, toying with the playful trickster theme found in the “*feux-follets*” (“willow wisps”) legends and belief in Québec (Bergeron 1988, 126-127; Fowke 1976, 104). In 2001, the “Éphémère” won a label prize by the Société canadienne des brasseurs (Daigneault 2004, 112). As another form of folklore,

stereotyping cultural traits are also found in beer labeling, just as it is also found in other consumer products and advertising.

Dávila's investigations of Latino-inspired and focused advertisements also reveal the making and breaking of stereotypes. The author discusses how some clichés and cultural misconceptions of a people within a nation may empower minorities into having their voice heard in the consumer market, in ads and the products targeted towards them, thus creating popular discrimination<sup>2</sup> (Dávila 2001, 68, 86-87, 88-152; Fiske 2007, 129-158). As Sheehan writes:

if people in the target audience relate positively to a stereotypical portrayal, the portrayal may help sell the product. If people in the target audience create opinions about groups of people other than the group that they are in, and these opinions put the stereotyped group into a negative light, a stereotyped portrayal could be problematic. (Sheehan 2004, 83)

In the same way that, as Dávila writes, Spanish television networks politically engaged Hispanics (Dávila 2001, 153-180), French in Québec is prioritized and even though Unibroue is no longer Québécois-owned and-operated (from Ontarian to Japanese/US ownership), the beers all kept their French labels, connotations, symbolism, and meaning.

In a chapter entitled "Selling Marginality: The Business of Culture" (2001, 216-240), Dávila writes about the markets that are concerned by making ethnic consumers loyal to a product. Ethnic marketers are faced with selling images of a cultural group positively and building on feedback from the target consumer group; ethnic marketing is, after all, "politicized" (Dávila 2001, 240). Dávila writes:

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<sup>2</sup> Popular discrimination is defined by Fiske as follows: "the people discriminate among the products of the culture industries, choosing some and rejecting others in a process that often takes the industry by surprise, for it is driven by the social conditions of the people at least as much as by the characteristics of the text" (Fiske 1989, 129).



In marketing discourse, “consumers” must prove their value and advertising worthiness through behavior, attitudes, and consumption. Of concern is whether this discourse promotes a “politics of worthiness” and the assumption that people are only entitled to visibility, rights, or services from society after they have proved their marketability and social worth. (Dávila 2001, 237)

For businesses focusing on “ethnic markets” or ethnic niches, meaning submarkets of people with a perceived cultural difference from the received standard culture, the marketer must look at how cultures may be exploited in a way that would profit the business while creating loyalty with this target market. In the brewing industry, trends in advertising have used elements of interest, such as sports, to reach ethnic markets. In much the same way the brewing industry in Canada focused on Hockey in advertisements, Tanya Vannoy notes that the brewing industry in the United States wanting to target the Hispanic market used soccer in advertisements in addition to advertising American Football in Spanish via NFLatino.com (Vannoy 2009, 7-8). But, and as Vannoy notes, expanding the approaches in marketing to ethnic niches is particularly important in the cultural sense and the brewing industry would gain significantly in using “culturally relevant” messages (Vannoy 2009, 18). This is notably relevant when using folklore to sell a product as it is the same process as advertising.

Sheila Douglas writes “the purpose of advertising [is] to sell the product and the advertiser will use as a means to this end, anything that will help him to do this” (Douglas 1987, 11). As stated by Elizabeth Williamson (1980) “advertising is probably the most pervasive form of popular culture” (Williamson 1980, 3). Indeed, from its origins to selling a product, or service, advertising is increasingly a part of everyday life and of mass culture. Williamson’s historiography of advertising culture illustrates the relatively

recent interest marketers and scholars have in psychoanalyzing the effects of advertisements on consumers (Williamson 1980, 14).

The 1950s marked the beginnings of this analytical venture, but the 1970s also revealed new theoretical interests in the matter (Williamson 1980, 14). Advertising became increasingly studied in the media and in socio-economic forums (Williamson 1980, 15). Folklorists also viewed the growing trend of advertisement being tied to folklore and folklorism at this period (Dundes 1963; Röhrich 1980; Douglas 1987; Sullenberger 1974). J.A.C. Brown's (1968 [1963]) historical glance at advertising reveals how the 1880s changed the face of print and mass-targets in advertisements (Brown 1968 [1963], 169). Linda Dégh's (1994) "Magic for Sale: Märchen and Legend in TV Advertising" examined advertisements as tales or legends because of their ostensive nature. The Keebler elves, Pillsbury Dough Boy (strangely resembling a witch's golem) and the Jolly Green Giant (Sullenberger 1974) are symbols of "magical" beings that appear in folktales and legends.

Since the early twentieth-century, theorists have been studying the impacts that advertisements have over populations from micro and macro perspectives. The beer market, having fluctuated since the end of the 1960s, still holds a particularly high place in advertising. Its political and cultural implications have perhaps made beer advertisements even more of a priority in selling the product.

The cultural importance of advertisements is highlighted in Judith Williamson's 1978 *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. Williamson writes about such advertisements that "they are ubiquitous, an inevitable part of everyone's lives: even if you do not read a newspaper or watch television, the images posted over our

urban surroundings are inescapable” (Williamson 1978, 11). Advertisements, as Berger writes, “are generally designed to attract the attention of people with suitable demographics and the proper psychographics – values and lifestyles – for some product or service” (Berger 2004, 4). As seen above concerning the microbrewing industry in Québec, representational advertisements are key in attracting consumers because of the apparent identity factors. Advertising in the persuasive and informing aspect “tries to attract the attention, create the desire for, and stimulate action that leads to the purchase of products and services” (Berger 2004, 4-5; Sheehan 2004, 2, 4-6).

Apart from the obvious functional quality of advertising as stated above, Williamson declares that it may also have “replace(d) that (functional quality) traditionally fulfilled by art or religion” (Williamson 1978, 12). Blasphemous though it may seem to compare advertising with religion (because advertisement and art seems a rather obvious connection), Williamson draws an important point that does, in fact, call upon the traditional form of loyalty-following (or fanaticism). For example, consumers may be loyal towards a particular brand of clothing in a way that is compared to pious Christians adhering to symbolic talismans. Williamson also writes about the symbolic value of advertisements and how they “provide a structure which is capable of transforming the language of objects to that of people, and vice versa” (Williamson 1978, 12). “People are made to identify themselves with what they consume” (Williamson 1978, 13) as Williamson writes, and image is key in advertising both for the product, what, and to whom it represents. In particular, Williamson focuses on the signified/signifier aspects of semiotics to decode advertisements.

Advertisements depend on imagery and symbolism as well as poetic implications to sell a product. If a product advertises to be as “pure as snow” for example, the consumer knows it is not consuming pure snow but that it evokes an imagery that is supposed to reflect purity. Some elements of advertisements may be considered politically important especially in relation to the exploitation of cultural traits, signs, symbols, and representational factors (see Dávila 2001). Henry’s concerns about advertising lie in the consumption patterns and how advertising fulfills its duty as informer of a product or service’s existence and function in society (Henry 1965, 95). The image is key. Labatt, for example, admitted to this by stating that “We didn’t sell beer [...] We just told a picturesque historical story” (Heron 2003, 319). A corporation understands that it may easily fall in the pattern of selling “the sizzle and not the steak.”

Beer product image and its essence are both marketed through various themes, tastes and styles. Representation of a product and knowing to whom it speaks to is vital to its success. As Michael R. Solomon, Judith L. Zaichkowski and Rosemary Polegato note in *Consumer Behaviour: Buying, Having and Being*, “advertisers often place great emphasis on vivid and creative illustrations or photography” to “deliver big impact” (2002, 261). The image, with or without a brief narrative is then crucial for branding identity.

In David Novitz’s (1997) “Art, Narrative, and Human Nature,” we learn about how image is tied to narrative, the way in which we represent ourselves tells a story, “shape(s) and convey(s) our sense of self” (Novitz 1997, 143). Novitz writes: “the stories that people tell about their lives are of considerable importance to us, for there is an intimate connection between the ways in which people construe themselves and the ways in which

they are likely to behave” (Novitz 1997, 146). Unibroue uses elements of what constructs Québec’s folklore and culture and narrates it through their products. To the extent they are successful, consuming Unibroue is like consuming a part of Québec’s culture. The fact that it is advertised through beer makes it all the more interesting because of the sub-culture it penetrates: that of all beer aficionados who may or may not share traits with Québec. Beer as a product has become a source of inspiration for food and culture publications, chemists, and general amateurs over the years. Many beer-lovers and drinkers of the world may tap into the World Wide Web to visit sites dedicated to the drink. Websites are perhaps the easiest and most popular tool of research for the general masses to learn about international macro- and microbrewers. In the case of Québec, many websites are dedicated to its microbrewers.

The online magazine, *BièreMAG*, is an international magazine published in Chambly hosting both European (mostly Belgium) and Canadian editors and chroniclers (Théodore 1999). In the Fall 1999 issue, Pierre Théodore “(P.T.) DE LA BROUE” (punningly means “mad-for-brew”) wrote an article on labels and the “real” essence of beer. Throughout his article, mentions of “folklore” and “Devils” quickly captured my attention; however, I found particularly useful one remark:

Les étiquettes des bières sont trop souvent des projets de marketing visant les faibles de ce monde; elles les incitent à consommer un produit pour ce qu’il représente socialement, parce qu’il répond à la quête d’identité de la masse: ces étiquettes ne sont pas à l’image de leur goût véritable, de leurs qualités et de leur singularité. (Théodore 1999, 27)

[Often enough, the beer labels are marketing products targeting the weaker individuals of this world; they attempt to consume a product for its social representation because it answers to the quest for mass identity: these labels are not representative images of their real tastes, qualities and uniqueness].

How then, does a folklorist attempt to do any research on the marketing of oral traditions through beer labels? Although Théodore's personal reflection, shared by many craft beer consumers, may seem to blame the corporate beer market and the vulnerable beer consumer, it is also possible to examine a deeper meaning to the application of folklore on beer labels. The cultural context of advertising is phenomenal with beer labeling. It appeals to masses and target markets, it reaches out to match the product with the consumer through identity markers and though it may be questionable whether the marketing of the product is actually of the product itself, it is consumed by those to which it appeal largely because of its visual or colloquial meaning. I thus argue that the use of the bottle and label as a signified object, and the legend portrayed as signifier, transmit versions of legends and act as catalysts for discussion amongst groups.

A brewing company using folkloric elements in their labels, intends not simply to attract a large variety of beer drinkers but also to choose a subject matter dear to the population, the folk legends, and to exploit it in a way that will ensure the product's survival. The images used to sell beer and the brief description of legends on the labels attract those who know legends and those who can associate them to collective memories or what they have heard of in the recent past. The beer label as a legend transmitter is perceived differently in the generational groups interviewed. One thing that comes clear from my interviews is the hesitant nature of some participants to recall certain legends. In general, Unibroue has strategically chosen specific legends applied on beer labels and in their campaigns that could potentially reach a large body of consumers. The selected local history, legends, and heroes from Québec recur in my participants' discussions as

they noted familiarity with the items of folklore used in the microbrewery's marketing strategy. Unibroue managed to capture the soul of a people and charm its consumers. As stated by Alan Dundes (1963) in "Advertising and Folklore" and perfectly in keeping with Unibroue and Québec, "within the geographical and cultural area in which a given advertisement is disseminated, chances are that the folklore based upon this advertisement will thrive" (Dundes 1963, 150). The Québécois micro-brewing industry is a perfect laboratory for examining the use of legends, local heroic protagonists, popular strong man narratives, recognizable Québécois supernatural characters, and more explicitly political legendary moments in Québec's history. Out of the numerous microbreweries that have appeared in the Québécois landscape for the past two decades, Unibroue's legacy certainly stands out.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The “Folklure” of Unibroue: Using Folklore to Sell Beer

Although the commercial use of traditional genres and motifs and the commodification of culture are by no means recent developments – it can be successfully argued that many traditional activities have always had an economic aspect – our present era of rapid social, political, economic and technological change has provoked a number of interesting cultural responses including movements to rediscover cultural and heritage tourism, ‘trans-ethnic folk romanticism’ (Blaustein 1993:262)<sup>1</sup>, and various official and grassroots conservation and preservationist movements.

– Patricia Atkinson Wells, “The Marketing of Tradition: A New Approach.” *Folklore in Use* (1994, 53)

Not only is the citation above appropriate to begin this chapter on how folklore is used for commercial purposes, it is also deliberately chosen to exemplify how theories are borrowed and reinterpreted by authors who have made significant contributions in the study of romanticism and exploiting culture for tourism (Richard Blaustein 1993; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

In this chapter, I question past definitions of “fakelore” and “folklorism” and the pop cultural phenomenon that becomes created folklore. Because Richard Dorson attributed a very direct and negative definition to fakelore in his 1969 essay “Fakelore,” its stigmatized approach seems to have left some folklorists wondering about what does or does not consist of folklore rather than studying the effects on populations and the process of distribution.

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<sup>1</sup> Wells notes that the phrase “trans-ethnic folk-romanticism” was “attributed to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett: ‘Voluntary or intentional ethnicity and participation in the expressive traditions of a given social or cultural group into which one was not born’” (Wells 1994, 53).



To borrow Lutz Röhrich (1980 [1978])’s words “not only has folklore had an influence upon advertising, but by the wide dissemination of traditional items, advertising has had its profound effect upon folklore” (Röhrich 1980 [1978], 114). Folklore affecting advertisements and vice versa is also aligned with the concept of folklorism as “cultural reaction to a specific social and economic condition” (Dettmer 1991, 174). Unibroue, as well as other microbreweries using regional and provincial folklore, have generated this cultural reaction through the use of folklore to sell beer products. The commodification of culture, as negatively approached by Richard Dorson in his works on “fakelore” (Dorson 1969), is not the focus of my research, rather, it is used as an opposite example of how, in fact, the beer companies may be producing another version of existing Québécois folklore. Thus, the basic definitions of folklore in use need to be reexamined through this lens from “folklorism” to “fakelore” and “folklure” (Hermann Bausinger 1990, transl. Elke Dettmer; 1971 [1993]; Elke Dettmer 1991; Edith Fowke 1985; Richard Dorson 1969; Priscilla Denby 1971). The invention of folk items as suggested by Dorson is present in marketing products that target particular cultural groups, but the use of folklore to sell beer in Québec through microbreweries such as Unibroue serves as a cultural promotion of local and provincial traditions.

### **3.1 “Folklorism,” “Fakelore” and “Folklure”**

In her 1991 essay, “Folklorism in Newfoundland,” Elke Dettmer defined “folklorism” as a “conscious use and misuse of folklore” (Dettmer 1991, 169) which, in combination with Hermann Bausinger’s definition in his 1990 *Folk Culture in a World of Technology* (translated by Dettmer) as “anything that diverges from what is truly genuine

and original” (Bausinger 1990, 128), has been the subject of inquiry for what is authentic or “real” in cultural studies – a topic reviewed and analyzed by Regina Bendix in her 1997 *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*. Bendix discusses authenticity and its ties with folklorism, or “folklorismus” (“second-hand folklore”) (Bendix 1997, 13), as a problematic case of inquiry when pursuing research in folklore due to the various levels of meaning. What is more, the term *öffentliche Folklore* [public misuse of folklore] has often been characterized as most relevant with all things commercialized from folklore by a group other than its originator or “what *others* do with folkloristic knowledge” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000, 1). With this in mind, and a sample of definitions associated with folklorism, labelling “folklorism” becomes complex.

Throughout Bausinger’s *Volkskunde ou l’ethnologie allemande*, folklorism is illustrated and defined as: “l’activité de certaines associations pour le maintien des traditions ou la commercialisation croissante de certains usages” (“the activity of certain associations for the maintenance of traditions or the growing commercialization of certain uses”) (Bausinger 1993 [1971], 137), politically infused (Bausinger 1993 [1971], 177), taken from its original context and placed in a new setting (such as what is found in the tourism industry) (Bausinger 1993 [1971], 178-200), part of “l’industrie de la culture” (“the cultural industry”) or “culture de masse” (“mass culture”) and an “antithèse du monde réel” (“antithesis of the real world”) or an emotional escapist need to evade from the real world and indulge in nostalgia (Bausinger 1993 [1971], 219-222, 228). Folklorism is also defined as preparing “d’autres identifications transsociales” (“other transsocial identification”) while contributing to snuffing out some social identities

(Bausinger 1993 [1971], 232) as a “conditioned” result of folklore (Bausinger 1993 [1971], 253-254).

In keeping with Bausinger’s and Dettmer’s definitions of folklorism, I explore the “cultural reaction to a specific social and economic condition” (Dettmer 1991, 174), that is, how people perceive their culture, what they perceive from the companies exploiting it, and how they identify with the products from a consumer’s perspective. Because I do not focus on the commodification of folklore as a negative approach to the use of culture, I discuss how the commodification of folklore may become a variant form of folklore.

Dettmer’s understanding of folklorism is based on Hans Moser’s concept of “folklorismus” that is, a selection of “attractive elements of folklore” for redistribution (Dettmer 1991, 169). This redistribution of folklore often relies on nostalgic attempts to rediscover one’s culture (Dettmer 1991, 170). But, as Dettmer noted, the 1960s German approach to folklorism (and thus, Moser’s) “tended to become, especially in its commercial aspects, a negative term, often simply a label applied to all that was supposed to be anathema to the ‘true’ subject of traditional folklore research” (Dettmer 1991, 170).

In discussing Bausinger’s work on folklorism, Dettmer writes that:

he maintained that the process of continuity of traditions should be carefully observed in any case and even the obvious commercialization of customs by the mass media should not deter folklorists from inquiring into the essence and function of such phenomena. (Dettmer 1991, 170)

This is the argument I foster throughout this thesis as a fundamental basis for the study of the commercialization of folklore and how it may be observed, analyzed, and discussed in folkloristics. According to Bausinger, the effects of revivals and tourism on folklore may not accurately represent the group it is supposed to, therefore becoming folklorism.

Folklorism then concerns those wanting to study “pure” forms of folklore (Bausinger 1990). Because folklore (like culture) is mutable, as acknowledged in Bausinger’s work, studying folklorisms is valuable considering the changes made to what is perceived as folklore and that which is created as folklore. The idea of wanting to study a “pure” form of folklore may be moot in certain circumstances, thus, folklorisms may affect more of what is perceived and understood as folklore. Folklorism by definition is tied to revivals, tourism and commodification but may include a larger spectrum of meaning when observing how humans create and for what reasons they do in what they perceive as culture. In the discipline of folklore, according to one of Bausinger’s insights, the “major concerns are to question the relevance of the categories here assigned to the individual expressions and [to] search for preliminary historical stages and regional characteristics” (Bausinger 1990, 4). According to Bausinger, the discipline of folklore thus concerns itself with categorizing when and where culture is created and maintained. By inserting folklorism as the effect of exploitable forms of folklore created to fit a representational perception of a group or region in the equation, the discipline of folklore’s categorization process may be blurred because of the false sense of “authenticity.”

In Bausinger’s work, the quest for “authenticity” in its broadest sense is explored, therefore questioning the very perception of what consists of original folklore, how it varies or how it is used. This is a long-standing interest in folklore studies as well as all areas of politics, nationalisms and revivals. With regard to the questions authenticity engenders in the field of folkloristics, Regina Bendix (1997) noted “we have created a market of identifiable authenticities” (3), something which is permeable in all cultures, whether from consumer or academic perspectives. In some cases, folklore may be

exploited for financial or political gains just as it may be used to reconstruct a withering traditional region for cultural purposes. In tourism, for example, the use of folklore in its advertisements may become “folklorism” if it reshapes or creates popular conceptions of cultural groups, regions and their products. It is the same process used to market cultural products for sale, that is, using culture (or folklore) as a way to lure consumers. This is what Priscilla Denby termed “folklore” in 1971 to describe folklore that is used to sell for profit through mass media advertisements (Denby 1971, 117).

Denby’s essay, drawing on elements of the mass media and its influences and effects on folklore, is essential in the type of study I have undertaken. The folklore categorized in Denby’s work varies from the “folklorism” described by Bausinger and the more political “misuses” Dettmer refers to when using popularly-known folk items for selling purposes. For example, Denby writes about how material culture items of folklore may consist of “folklore,” when stating that “King Arthur’s sword or a piece of Early American furniture, such as a table or spinning wheel” rely on their folkloric nature for advertising and (re)distribution (Denby 1971, 118). Denby writes:

In the 1920’s (sic) and 1930’s (sic) when American society seemed to be in need of some kind of folk image as a means of self-definition and identification, the media graciously obliged; the result was a virtual inundation of the ‘fakelore’ typified by the ‘folk hero’ tradition of a Paul Bunyan or a Johnny Appleseed. Today such figures still inhabit the media. (Denby 1971, 113)

Not only does folklore still “inhabit the media” in the twenty-first century, it is also present in perhaps a more aggressive way appealing to the mass market. From the late ‘60s and early ‘70s, academics focused on concepts of “authenticity” in folklore and Folklorists like Dorson critiqued folklore compilations, such as Benjamin A. Botkin’s

1944 *A Treasury of American Folklore* to be, as described by Dorson, a “scissors and paste job” that “was clearly a commercial rather than an intellectual venture, cleverly packaged for the American mass audience: a lot of book for little money, selections chosen for light bedside reading and appeal to superficial American nationalism” (Dorson 1969, 57). Characterizing Paul Bunyan as a “pseudo-hero of northern lumberjacks” (Dorson 1969, 58), Dorson writes that “fakelore is the presentation of spurious and synthetic writings under the claim that they are genuine folklore” (Dorson 1969, 59-60). Dorson insists that the reshaping of folklore and its redistribution may have been overly exploited and contributed to a mass confusion of the genuine vs. the spurious (Dorson 1969, 60). This exploited reshaping of folklore, he argued, also promotes stereotypes and mass (mis)conceptions of peoples. Nonetheless, fifteen years later, Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin argued:

Traditions are neither genuine nor spurious, for if genuine tradition refers to the pristine and immutable heritage of the past, then all genuine traditions are spurious. But if, as we have argued, tradition is always defined in the present, then all spurious traditions are genuine. Genuine and spurious – terms that have been used to distinguish objective reality from hocus-pocus – are inappropriate when applied to social phenomena, which never exist apart from our interpretations of them. (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 288)

Dorson’s use of the terms “spurious” and “genuine” evidently left a mark in the field, as they were adopted by Handler and Linnekin in their 1984 article “Tradition, Genuine or Spurious” (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 273-290). Handler and Linnekin discuss Dorson’s description in their illustrative comparative case-study of Hawaii and Québec. Moreover, Handler’s 1988 book *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture* devotes an entire chapter to the creation of tradition and its political roots in Québec (Handler 1988, 52-80).

Because national identity may be used as a means of exploitation in commercialized goods, popular conceptions of traditions or groups may be misconstrued or used in stereotypical fashion. The popular discrimination aspect as explored in Fiske's (2007 reprint of [1989]) work is particularly viable in what is perceived as real, fake, created or transformed. Fiske writes:

the people discriminate among the products of the culture industries, choosing some and rejecting others in a process that often takes the industry by surprise, for it is driven by the social conditions of the people at least as much as by the characteristics of the text [...] Popular discrimination is concerned with functionality rather than quality, for it is concerned with the potential uses of the text in everyday life. (Fiske 2007 [1989], 129)

Because, as Fiske writes, "popular culture is made by the people, not produced by the culture industry," (Fiske 2007 [1989], 24) consumers are hierarchically more important in the consumption pyramid – they control the buying market. It is often perceived otherwise when hearing of merging corporations monopolizing the consumer industry. Both the consumer and the producer share a sense of responsibility in the production and consumption of goods, therefore, when a company uses popular discrimination, such as a highly patriotic slogan which is perhaps detrimental to other nations (e.g., Molson's "I am Canadian" campaign), it appeals to specific target markets and the product becomes popularized by the consumer's own perceptions of identity and values. This semantic approach is intrinsic to consumption, commodities and culture. The identifying markers used in advertising as well as the products themselves may not necessarily reflect the ideals of a group and may also stretch, if not invent, elements of their culture in the hopes of creating an artificial bond to the product. When such is the case, using what may be perceived as "folklore" to sell a product may not ensure its success in the consumer

market. How the product is popularized and taken out of context could be a concern not only from a business perspective but also from a folkloric perspective.

Folklore as popularized by commercial products may be seen as new creations *inspired* by original items of folklore. Peter Narváez (1992) noted how:

newly introduced technologies, goods, and texts may affect folkloric elements in culture by: supplanting them; altering or transforming their content and/or structure; modifying their social functions and significance. In addition, they may generate new folkloric forms. (Narváez 1992, 20)

These “new”<sup>2</sup> forms of folklore may not fit in the “authentic” category, such as what is referred in Dorson’s views about real vs. fake lore and this is particularly unclear when dealing with folklore in use and its selling aspects. It seems that in Dorson’s definition, manipulating folklore may include the possible creation of new forms of folklore. Again in the 1969 essay, Dorson reported that the United States seems to be “unparalleled (with) other nations to the fakelore issue” in the “manipulation of folklore” (Dorson 1969, 64). Perhaps it seemed more prevalent with the aggressive marketing of culture in the United States, but it is a very real and very important part of many nations. I argue that where consumer culture is important, Dorson’s “fakelore” appears. Moreover, the new forms of folklore are of particular interest seeing as they were part of Dorson’s “fakelore” phenomenon.

Though Paul Bunyan may have been perceived as a “fakelore” hero by both Dorson and Denby, Jos Montferrand was very much alive in equivalent French-Canadian

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<sup>2</sup> About “new” forms of folklore, Alan Dundes (1963) writes, in “Advertising and Folklore,” “the mass media also provide the bases for the formation of new folklore” (Dundes 1963, 143). The author continues “advertising men do not necessarily expect the public to retain the slogans and jingles permanently [...] The point is that although these commercial inventions are produced only for a limited objective, they often become folklore or a point of departure for jokes and other oral humor” (Dundes 1963, 144).



oral traditions. The strongman's reputation and feats are immortalized in Québec and Ontario local legends. As Fowke (1985) pointed out, the fact that Dorson insisted Paul Bunyan was an invented hero for national sentiment disregards the possibility of the legend migrating from a northern neighbour, altogether discrediting plausible roots in the United States.

When Dorson commented on the ideological manipulation and nostalgic "prettifying" of folklore materials in his 1969 essay, he presumably did not see that this could be perceived as another form of folklore developed for specific profitable markets. This specific aspect of cultural expression is worth investigating because it may characterize the use of folklore for profit as "fakelore." This expression may also consist of mass popularized and popularize-able culture that arises as quickly as it fades with current trends.

For Pierre "Garou"<sup>3</sup> Duguay, a Métis Montagnais-Québécois tour guide and animator working for the Montréal-based "Makwa Aventures" touring company, adapting legends that may qualify as "fakelore" was an important part of his role as adventure guide/animator to entertain tourists (LeBlanc 2004 [8], [9]). He would liberally use French-Canadian folk tales and legends, adapting them to his audiences and shaping the narratives to his preference. The adaptation of legends in this case is characteristic of Robert A. Georges's (1971) definition of legend, that is:

a story or narrative that may not be a story or narrative at all; it is set in a recent or historical past that may be conceived to be remote or antihistorical or not really past at all; it is believed to be true by some, false by others, and both or neither by most. (Georges 1971, 18)

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<sup>3</sup> "Garou," a diminutive for "loup-garou" (werewolf), is Pierre Duguay's professional and personal nickname.

The fact that a legend may be perceived as both “true (or untrue)” (Elliott Oring 2008, 129) is characteristic of Elliott Oring’s arguments on the matter in his 2008 article on “Legendary and the Rhetoric of Truth.” The author questions the very nature of what *is* a legend and argues that “legend is concerned with matters of truth [...] (that it) makes a claim about the truth of an *event* [...] a legend is, or approximates, a narrative” (Oring 2008, 128). This, combined with Sandy Hobbs’ arguments on truth and positive outcomes, that is, telling a “true” vs. a “good” story and the possible conclusions that “people often do not merely tell the truth” depending on the storytelling situation and functions of the narrative per se (Hobbs 1987, 139-141) is part of Garou’s tactic. Garou’s legend-tellings are events as such and he does not claim to retell legends as authentic or “true” narratives of Québec’s lore, but his knowledge of other Québécois narratives feeds into his own creations. The way Garou weaves his narratives fits Herbert Halpert’s description of the “legend-making process,” which is “alive” or organic (Halpert 1971, 48-49).

Garou mentioned that he once created the “legend” of the “Carnivorous Rabbits” and though he characterizes it as a “legend” it appropriately fits the description of a tall tale, that is, a “humorous narrative, usually short, based on exaggeration” (Gerald Thomas 1996, 700). This aspect of legend-telling intersects with tall tales. Herbert Halpert (1982)’s bibliographical notes in *A Folklore Sampler from the Maritimes: With a Bibliographical Essay on the Folktale in English* highlight the many works published on tall tales and the exaggeration factor which is also reiterated in publications by J.D.A. Widdowson, Violetta M. Halpert, and Carl Withers (2010), Gustav Henningsen (1965), Philip Hiscock (2003) and Richard Bauman (1986; 2005). Tall tales are similar to legend

in their short form with experiential exaggerations and “lies,” specifically because “the tall tale relies as much on ludicrous imagery, circumstantial detail, and strategic understatement as it does on exaggeration” (Bauman 2005, 582). Garou admits to inventing the “Carnivorous Rabbits” narrative but he defended it as being an example of the type of possible invention among trappers and the *coureur-de-bois* (LeBlanc 2004 [8]). He has performed the narrative in a Québec city “cabane-à-sucre” (sugar bush) in front of Japanese, French, and Québécois tourists. While performing, Garou wears a checkered shirt and dons a coyote hat. In his “costume” he begins his narrative by describing the provincial animals mounted on the log-cabin walls (LeBlanc 2004 [8]). The “Legend of the Carnivorous Rabbits” occurred as an inspirational narrative after Garou drank many shooters of the local Québécois spirit, “Caribou.”<sup>4</sup> Drinking “Caribou” helped him lose any inhibitions he had in front of the group of ninety tourists and allowed him to say “des niaiseries” (silly remarks). The “Legend of the Carnivorous Rabbits” describes how trappers would invent excuses when they came back to their lodges empty-handed. This is a perfect example of the inventive nature of storytellers.

Garou learned how to tell narratives and where to select them, whether from books or from personal contacts within history and anthropology departments in various universities. He uses selected material to transmit it into the tourism industry as part of Québec’s face of folklore. Here lies an example of Dettmer’s “folklorism” as a “conscious use [...] of folklore” (Dettmer 1991, 169). The “Legend of the Carnivorous Rabbits,” though invented by Garou, is an example of the way in which folk elements or traits are exploited in narratives. This illustrates how the concept of folklore is much

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<sup>4</sup> A traditional blend of potent alcohols, made with port or red wine.

larger in the vernacular sense. What people perceive as their folklore may not necessarily be shared by others of the same group but the elements leading to what was created do in fact tie together. In this sense, even if Garou's invented legend may not have existed prior to what he said on that eventful evening, the structure of the narrative, the characters and the occupations explored in his narrative are characteristic of what may be found in traditional *coureur-de-bois* narratives. The nature of the narratives or the characters are also interesting to observe, but what I wish to illustrate specifically is the selection process being both from an individual's repertoire and influenced by collected methods. The contextual nature of the narrative-telling becomes the setting for distributing a specific type of Québécois folklore.

This is the same rationale for Unibroue's strategy. Selecting regional legends contributes to the general questions tied to transmission, marketing, and folk knowledge in a marketed product. Terms such as "original" and "authentic" become blurred as there is no explicit market research conducted on what version of a particular legend will be used. This is neither good nor bad for multiple versions and variants of narratives exist simultaneously, therefore the selection, or even creation of a specific folk item to be used to sell a beer is characteristic of this reality. The folk knowledge within the industry provokes exciting debates on the outside influences of an industry and the insider's perspective of folklore.

To describe the innate attraction one has towards what is familiar to him/her in advertising, Julian Mason (1954) writes: "folklore is used in advertisements because they are designed to reach as many people as possible, and all of us are 'folk'" (Mason 1954, 58). Mason's 1950s study of Shell Oil's advertisement of Paul Bunyan and the symbolic

strength is a direct example of his statement. If we were to apply this same strategy to a Québécois market, Paul Bunyan would be replaced by lumberjack and strongman Jos Montferrand, a character entering a scene singing a traditional Québécois folksong. The use of the Québécois legend in marketing beer labels is highly profitable. Sheila Douglas's (1987) short essay on the use of folk familiarities to attract potential consumers illustrates the corporate attraction in using folk elements in their advertising (Douglas 1987, 11). It is moot, however, whether the advertisers are extracting folk elements from these narratives to draw on the said "known" familiarities in a way that may not be "accurate" in "fakelore's" definition because of the creative use of cultural signifiers.

### **3.2 "Jos Montferrand" and the "Raftman" Beer Label**

Returning to the element of "fakelore" and Dorson's critique on the nature of Paul Bunyan as well as invented forms of folklore, I previously mentioned the Canadian equivalent known in oral and written tradition, that of Jos Montferrand. The American literary Paul Bunyan is trivialized as "fakelore" instead of a historically potential folk hero, such as Jos Montferrand.

Edith Fowke's 1985 essay "In Defence of Paul Bunyan," is an example of a rebuttal towards the dismissal of the "fakelore" heroes. Fowke states:

Lumberwoods songs and tales form an important part of Canadian folklore and Paul Bunyan is inseparably linked with lumbermen. Unfortunately, Bunyan narratives fell into disrepute among folklorists when a number of popular authors seized upon the tales and published their own elaborated versions [...] These literary treatments led Richard Dorson to condemn Paul Bunyan as a fakelore hero and to cite the stories about him as prime examples of fakelore – a term he created to describe author-composed material using folk themes. (Fowke 1985, 189)

According to Fowke, Dorson believed there may have been a possible oral formation of the hero (Fowke 1985, 190). “Paul Bunyan was not a fakelore invention and he is not a fake folk hero, despite the misuse of his tradition by popularizers” (Fowke 1985, 190). Interestingly, Fowke’s use of the term “misuse of his tradition” is the same as Dettmer’s (1991) and Hermann Bausinger’s (1990, 1993 [1971]) folklorism definition (Dettmer 1991, 169; Bausinger 1990, 109, 126-127; 1993 [1971], x-xi, 137, 177-200, 219-222, 228, 232, 253-254). Bausinger writes:

The concept of folklorism was introduced to folkloristic discussion primarily by Hans Moser. Never strictly defined, the concept indicates not so much clearly circumscribed attributes as a certain process: the process of a folk culture experienced second hand. The concept addresses the widespread fact that folklore – in the widest sense, not limited to oral tradition – appears in contexts to which it originally did not belong. (Bausinger 1990, 126-127)

In this case, Bunyan tales would fit the folklorism definition if only by its contextual appearance. Fowke exemplifies the traceable Bunyan tales from surveys, articles, pamphlets, printed versions, interviews, and booklets (Fowke 1985, 191-199). The author recapitulates “Paul was a folk hero long before the popularizers got hold of him, and he has continued to thrive in oral tradition right down to the present” (Fowke 1985, 199). I would argue that these “popularizers” not only consist of literary artists, but also of corporate marketing divisions using folk heroes as an advertising item. This is key in marketing considering that, as Bausinger explains eloquently, “the forms of folklorism gravitate toward a middle position between actual originality and distant sentimental yearning” (Bausinger 1990, 156). The “distant sentimental yearning” is the main factor for using/manipulating folklore. Emotions are a trigger for folkloristic expressions used and/or misused in context.

Jos Montferrand built his reputation in logging camps and won the famous battle against 150 Irish “Shiners” who competed against French Canadians for timber trade positions in the Outaouais (Michel Prévost 2002, 13-17; Raymond Ouimet 1998, 27; The Canadian Encyclopedia Historica 2014; George Monteiro 1960, 4). The University of Ottawa’s head archivist and local Outaouais historian, Michel Prévost, wrote about the legendary hero in his 2002 article “Joseph (Jos) Montferrand: Roi des forêts de l’Outaouais ou pilier des tavernes?” (Prévost 2002, 13-17). Prévost wrote:

L’Outaouais a le privilège d’être associé à une figure légendaire dont la renommée dépasse largement les frontières du Québec, Joseph Montferrand, dit Fabre, mieux connu sous le nom de Jos ou Joe Montferrand. En Amérique du Nord, le héros porte également le nom de Montferan, Mouffreau, Mufferon, Maufree et Murphy. Bien qu’il soit étroitement lié à la grande région de l’Outaouais, le bûcheron, draveur, contremaître, cageux (raftman) et surtout homme fort n’est pas originaire de cette région. (Prévost 2002, 13)

[The Outaouais has the privilege to be associated with a reputable legendary figure that is not restricted to Québec’s borders, Joseph Montferrand, or Fabre, also known as Jos or Joe Montferrand. In North America, the hero also holds the names of Montferan, Mouffreau, Mufferon, Maufree, and Murphy. Even though he is closely tied to the greater Outaouais region, the lumberjack, log-driver, foreman, raftman and especially strongman is not originally from this region].

Born in Montréal on October 25, 1802, Montferrand found himself in the Outaouais after working in the Upper Canadian town of Kingston (ON) as a carter while regularly frequenting taverns (Prévost 2002, 13-14; Ouimet 1998, 27). Known for his exploits, Jos Montferrand became an important hero added to Québec’s folk repertoire. As a reputable strongman, Montferrand is especially remembered for his “ethnic” battle against the “Shiners” on the Chaudières bridge (then called Union Bridge) linking the towns of Bytown, Ottawa (ON) and Hull (QC) (Prévost 2002, 15; Ouimet 1998, 27). Legend is

told that Montferrand alone fought against all 150 Shiners as a testimony to his strength and perseverance (Prévost 2002, 15, 17; Ouimet 1998, 27). A well-known tippler, Montferrand's tavern frequenting also dubbed him a "pilier de tavernes" (literally a "pillar of the taverns" or barfly), however, the hero's name mostly reflects his positive traits of strength and endurance (Prévost 2002, 17). Montferrand died on October 4, 1864 in Montréal and was buried in the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges cemetery (Ouimet 1998, 27; Figure 16).



**Figure 16: Joseph Montferrand's tomb and family plot, Notre-Dame-des-Neiges cemetery, Montréal, QC (photograph by the author, 2010).**

The "pilier des tavernes," as Prévost writes "mérite bien plus le titre plus glorieux de 'pilier de notre folklore'" (deserves the more glorious title of pillar of our folklore) (Prévost 2002, 17). Montferrand is part of Outaouais's local folklore; his legends continue to be portrayed in various ways as commemorated in the Gatineau (QC) courthouse and through marketed beer products. The Mont-Laurier (QC) Microbrasserie du Lièvre named one of their beers "Jos Montferrand" and had two different labels (as



shown below) each however picturing a lumberjack in a red shirt, blue trousers and holding an axe. While the more recent label focuses on the “strongman” by featuring a muscled forearm, the older label shows Jos resting his right leg atop the “Jos” lettering as though victorious of his labours (Figures 17, 18).



**Figure 17: Jos Montferrand, Microbrasserie du Lièvre beer bottle and label (author's collection).**



**Figure 18: Jos Montferrand, Microbrasserie du Lièvre beer bottle and label (author's collection).**

This explicit use of the folk hero in a marketed product is a testimony to Montferrand joining the ranks of other folk items exploitable in the brewing industry. This specific beer appeared in 2004 and was bottled for the Société des alcools du Québec (SAQ, Québec liquor board) years after Unibroue brewed and bottled its “Raftman,” a beer promoting the occupational tradition of log-driving (Figure 19).





**Figure 19: “Raftman,” Unibroue beer bottle and label (author’s collection).**

“Raftman” highlights main images of the occupational trade, that is, men driving logs down rapids along a riverbed lined with trees and logs rolling down the river. This trade was part of an important economic industry in the Outaouais region as it was in other parts of Québec and Ontario, attracting approximately 16,000 men to work for Canadian milling companies (International Paper Company 1948, 51; Figure 20).



**Figure 20: Rafstmen and log-drivers in the springtime  
(International Paper Company 1948, 50).**

The reason why I particularly focus on the Outaouais region is for both the strongman legend of Jos Montferrand and Unibroue’s depiction of the “Raftman” scenery. Over the years I have been struck with local landscape in the Outaouais, notably the rapids seen from the Alonzo-Wright bridge in Gatineau, QC (named for Philemon Wright, historic lumber baron of the Outaouais). While interviewing in the Outaouais, I took photographs of the scenery while the only missing elements were the raftmen themselves, a traditional element that, according to some of my Outaouais informants, was a part of the local occupational trade before the 1960s (LeBlanc 2003 [1], [3], [6]; LeBlanc 2004 [2]; Figure 21).



**Figure 21: View of the Outaouais river from the Alonzo-Wright Bridge, Gatineau, QC (photograph taken by the author April 2003).**

For the people living in the Outaouais region, this part of their history is still fresh in their collective memories – for some of my participants, it was a scene remembered in their youth and the trade continued to be commemorated locally by name and in decor, such as what was found in “Les Rafstmen” bar a “landmark brasserie” that was re-named and re-themed in 2004 to compete with trendier markets (Dave Rogers 2004; Figure 22).





**Figure 22: Les Raftsmen “Repas traditionnel, spectacles sur scènes, réservation de groupe” (Traditional meals, shows, group reservations) Hull, QC (photograph taken by the author April 2003).**

Through the “Raftman” beer label (Figure 19) I have interpreted the images of the occupational folklife in lumber camps in remote forests. The arduous professions which loggers and lumberjacks maintained were dangerous and inevitably respected amongst the general population. For retired lumberjack, Alphonse Morneau, working in the lumber industry defined him – from the age of seventeen and going to the “Côte Nord” and gaining more than 60 years of experience he continued to cut wood beyond his retirement favouring the traditional axe over the evolved chainsaw (LeBlanc 2004 [4]; Figure 23). His work ethics and pride blend into his everyday life as he stated during the interview “pas travailler, ch’pas ben” ([when I’m] not working, I’m not well) (LeBlanc 2004 [4]).



**Figure 23: Retired lumberjack, Alphonse Morneau and his wife Raymonde Lepage, Rimouski, QC (photograph taken by author on December 18, 2004).**

Having worked in Québec and Ontario, and for the “St. Lawrence” company, he remembers receiving \$3.90 for the “corde de bois” (cord of wood, 6’ x 4’ x 4’) then \$130 per month including food and lodging (LeBlanc 2004 [4]). Up to 300 lumberjacks were lodged in small-quartered dormitories and Alphonse remembered the lack of warm water during the winter months preventing many from taking showers (LeBlanc 2004 [4]). The working conditions were particularly hard for the “real” lumberjack who knew how to cut wood efficiently with traditional technology (LeBlanc 2004 [4]). Alphonse’s wife, Raymonde Lepage, would occasionally contribute to the interview by reinforcing the hardships traditional lumberjacks had to go through for this occupational trade (LeBlanc 2004 [4]). The personal strength combined with the emotional distress of living far away from loved ones would make these rigorous working environments inspirational for strongmen narratives.

Narratives of these logdrivers, lumberjacks and strongmen act as reminders of the men who worked in the forests and drove lumber down the rivers for the economic growth of the country, notably in the province of Québec. In 2003, before the Microbrasserie du Lièvre in Mont-Laurier (QC) came out with their “Jos Montferrand” beer, I asked my participants if they made any connection between the “Raftman” beer label as an occupational example of the local legendary hero in the Outaouais region. Contrary to his controversial counterpart, Paul Bunyan, Jos Montferrand was not an invented character. Jos Montferrand was a real lumberjack, a real foreman, and a real fighter. This strongman has been immortalized through building names and circulating legends in and around the Outaouais region. When Jean-François Nadeau was asked what the “Raftman” beer meant to him, he said:

Je pense également à la bière “Raftman” qui sans mettre en valeur une légende en particulier, honore des personnages qui ont toujours fasciné l’imaginaire québécois à savoir les draveurs qui risquaient continuellement leur vie et qui ont largement contribué au développement économique de la province. (LeBlanc 2003 [6])

[I am also thinking of the “Raftman,” that, without a specific legend in mind, honours those who always intrigued Québec’s imaginary, these lumberjacks who risked their lives continually and who contributed to the economical development of the province].

During the focus group, 18-25 year-old participants engaged in lively discussions on occupational folklore and history in Québec. Annie Langlois, who was studying in Biology at the time of the interview, stated the following about the appropriation of raftmen and the Outaouais:

C’est sûr que la “Raftman,” là, j’m’en rappelle encore, c’était encore la drave sur la rivière, là, ici, juste à côté d’chez nous là [...] pis, tsé... j’vois la tradition d’la région là-bas aussi sauf que c’était comme ça un peu partout au Québec tsé, pis ça



serait l'fun qu'on aie de quoi qui est propre à, à l'Outaouais, à qu'que part là-dedans parce-que y a de ... la tradition qui est ici aussi. (LeBlanc 2003 [1])

[For sure the "Raftman," I remember it again, it was still driving logs on the river, here, right next to where I live [...] and, y'know... I see the tradition of the region there too, but it's a little everywhere in Québec y'know, and it would be fun to have something from and for the Outaouais, somewhere there because .... there's tradition here too]

Another participant, André St-Georges, noted that the label actually depicted a "draveur" with a small raft in the background (LeBlanc 2003 [1]; Figure 24).



**Figure 24: André St-Georges, participant during the 18-30 focus group session in Gatineau, QC (April 21, 2003).**

André stated that the rafts of logs were made to drive logs down rivers and this developed the Outaouais lumber industry (LeBlanc 2003 [1]). The participants then shared their knowledge of strongman narratives, of Jos Montferrand and his legendary

feats in the Outaouais. The participants mentioned how they had learned of this occupational folklore and of legends associated with the region, notably via textbooks and literature taught in their primary and secondary schools. While some of the participants saw the potential trend between Unibroue's "Raftman" beer and the Jos Montferrand legend, Annie answered that she would appreciate seeing the creation of a beer that specifically commemorates Jos Montferrand. Annie stated that the "giant" lumberjack, Jos Montferrand, was an important superhuman figure in Gatineau folklore (LeBlanc 2003 [1]). Though the participants focused on how they had learned their narrative traditions from personal interest or school some noted the distant anecdotes shared by parents and grand-parents on similar folk legends and heroes:

Mon grand-père, St-Georges, le père de mon père, euh, venait de St-Jean-de-Matha, dans Lanaudière, et dans son très bas âge, a connu Louis Cyr. Tsé parce-que, St-Jean-de-Matha, c't'un p'tit village pis Louis Cyr venait d'là-bas, pis quand y avait des, des fêtes comme à Noël pis toute le village se réunissait dans sa commune pis Louis Cyr y était là, fais que j'men souviens d'en avoir entendu parlé euh [...] c'tait un homme fort, là vraiment, très, très fort, y'est mort jeune aussi, mais euh, j'entendu parlé tsé, de certaines petites anecdotes de même mais euh, non [...] mon grand-père est mort quand j'étais très jeune. (LeBlanc 2003 [1])

[My grand-father, St-Georges, my father's father, uh, was from St-Jean-de-Matha, in Lanaudière, and when he was very young, he knew Louis Cyr. Y'know because, St-Jean-de-Matha is a small village and Louis Cyr would go there, and when there were parties like during Christmas and all the village would reunite in its commune and Louis Cyr was there, that's what I remember hearing uh [...] he was a strongman, really, really strong, he died young too, but uh, I heard these anecdotes but uh, no [...] my grandfather died when I was really young]

Even in his very young age, André remembered his grand-father's anecdotes about Louis Cyr, a renowned strongman from Québec. In a special issue of *Cap-aux-Diamants* on the "strength cult" in Québec (2002) authors write about the social contexts of strongmen, including Louis Cyr ("Canadian Samson"), and Jos Montferrand (Yves Beauregard 2002;

Simon Blais 2002; Jean-Noël Dion 2002; Donald Guay 2002; Gilles Janson 2002; Réjean Lévesque and Jacques St-Pierre 2002; Prévost 2002). About strongmen narratives, Herbert Halpert wrote:

There unquestionably are individuals and families notable for their strength, which is described as beyond that of ordinary men. There *are* men who can lift great weights or chop large amounts of cordwood, or with a scythe mow a wheat field single-handed. But in the strong man legends, these extraordinary limits are pushed - rarely to the extremes of the supernatural strong man legend or the tall tale - but well beyond easy plausibility. What is most significant is that when these are told in oral tradition, they are regarded as true - and told with complete seriousness. (Halpert 1971, 51)

In most instances, the strongmen narratives of Québec relate to tensions in the labour market (competing with jobs in the lumber industry) or symbols of resistance between Francophones and Anglophones in Lower Canada. Jos Montferrand's exaggerated feats were generally believed, but who was this man outside of his legendary context?

According to Prévost, at the age of sixteen, the six-foot-four-inch Montferrand won his first fight against three men and was dubbed "le coq du Faubourg Saint-Laurent" (the Faubourg Saint-Laurent rooster) (Prévost 2002, 13). Montferrand left Montréal for Kingston (ON) where he met Western "voyageurs" in taverns and became fascinated by their adventures (Prévost 2002, 13). Rumoured already to have the strength of a horse, Montferrand built a solid reputation as a strongman and became a lumberjack and foreman by trade (Prévost 2002, 13-14).

Montferrand left Kingston in 1827 for the Outaouais region to work in the surrounding forests and rivers (Prévost 2002, 14). At this point in his life, Montferrand's rugged, challenging and raw aggressiveness had already given him legendary status and respect as part of a male hero culture (Prévost 2002, 15). After the 1840s Montferrand's exploits decreased as he grew older.

Montferrand became a legendary hero before his death in 1864 (Prévost 2002, 16). Popularized by Sir Wilfred Laurier, Montferrand joined the ranks of important folk figures such as Papineau and later, Mary Travers (known as “La Bolduc”) to be a part of Québec’s rich folk hero repertoire (Prévost 2002, 16). Even in his peak, Montferrand was considered a legendary hero, surreal to those who had yet to meet him. For my participants, the initial reaction when looking at the beer label was not related to Jos Montferrand, but by examining the depicted occupation, I was told that there might be potential links between the label and the hero. What interested me in this study, however, was how one could perceive the “Raftman” label as a possible conveyer of the Montferrand legends or at least, the memory of the hero. The beer label describes part of this occupational folklife: “La bière la Raftman a été créée en mémoire de ces hommes, à la fois bûcheron, draveurs et raftmen, qui terminaient une journée de dur labeur autour d’une bière et d’un whisky” (The “Raftman” beer was created in the memory of those lumberjacks, who finished their laborious days with a beer and whisky) (Unibroue label).

Jos Montferrand thus figures as one of the known heroes of Québec’s folklore and history, but is not the only striking hero to be at least conceived in Unibroue’s marketing strategy. In comparison to Paul Bunyan, the parallel existence of Jos Montferrand as a real folk hero may be seen as folklorism, for the use of the said character out of context on a consumer good is quite relevant to Bausinger’s conclusive description of folklorism. Bausinger writes :

Folklorism is the means used to protect the allegedly essential folk culture from actual development, and it is done with the help of all of the technology of the culture industry. Folklorism makes it possible to pretend that the issue is the *Kyffhäuser* [legendary mountain], while the real movement of culture is carried by the principle of the *Kaufhäuser* [Department stores], i.e. consumerism. Folklorism

seems to preserve culture in a realm of the original and authentic; it denies the connection between culture and industry, which in reality has given folklorism its weight. (Bausinger 1990, 160)

Thus, in this case, the naming and marketing of Microbrasserie du Lièvre's "Jos Montferrand" beer and Unibroue's "Raftman" are examples of folklorism, that is, folklore taken out of its original context and used in consumerism. These new contexts for perceived misuses of folklore, or folklore used in unconventional ways, are explored and re-fashioned to reach new audiences and prompt a pseudo-collective memory of the occupational trade. Whether used for consumerism or leisure, folklorism may inadvertently be a way to preserve folklore, regardless of the "authenticity" factor – it is folklore nonetheless.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Unibroue's Contribution to Québec's Folk Devil Narrative Repertoire

Ringard, le conte? Vraiment pas. À Montréal comme en région, festivals, soirées et même un premier gala lui sont entièrement consacrés. De nouvelles vedettes émergent, tel Fred Pellerin, dont le succès est fulgurant, ici comme en Europe. Fait inusité, des dizaines de conteurs et de conteuses vivent à présent de leur art, et le public, jeune et urbain, en est friand et en redemande. Comment expliquer ce phénomène? [...] Les Dimanches du conte attirent les foules au Sergent recruteur, microbrasserie du boulevard Saint-Laurent, un soir par semaine depuis 1998. Une réussite spectaculaire!

– Raymond Bertin, “Populaire, le conte!” *Elle-Québec* (2005, 85-86)

[Storytelling out of date? Not at all. In Montréal like in regions, festivals, parties and even a gala have been reserved for this expressive form. New stars emerge, such as Fred Pellerin, for whom success is dazzling, as much here as in Europe. An uncommon fact, tens of storytellers live from their art, and the public, young and urban, is fond of it and asks for more. How should we explain this phenomenon? [...] The Dimanches du conte attracts crowds at the Sergent recruteur, a microbrewery on Saint-Laurent Boulevard, one night per week since 1998. A spectacular success!]

In her article on folklore archives in Québec, Louise Desautels (2001) wrote that folklore was still alive and well in its readapted forms through urban-dwelling musicians seeking material for their songs and storytellers looking for additional pieces to add to their repertoire (Desautels 2001). In fact, well-known artists and bands, such as the Bottine Souriante, Les Batinsés, or storytellers like Michel Faubert have been frequenting les Archives de folklore de l'Université Laval (Laval University folklore archives) for performable material. Desautels notes that since the Archives de folklore opened in 1944 at the Université de Laval, it has continued to acquire a variety of folklore, from songs to stories, to material culture and is considered the second largest recording bank after the

Canadian Museum of Civilizations in Hull, QC (Desautels 2001). For a large repository, it serves its public well, and acts as both catalyst and service centre for folklore enthusiasts. Storytelling and traditional music in Québec continue to thrive and those choosing their art forms are able to make a living out of it. The Regroupement du conte au Québec promotes storytellers in their career choice and encourages the continuity of this oral tradition in the province, even with its urban modifications (Regroupement 2014; Figure 25).



**Figure 25: Les dimanches du conte and Le cabaret des dimanches du conte (L'incroyable odyssee du sergent recruteur) 2004 promotional flyers and programmes (author's personal collection).**

In a collection of essays, *Storytelling: Interdisciplinary & Intercultural Perspectives*, editors Irene Maria F. Blayer and Monica Sanchez wrote “stories are the threads that weave cohesion into our existence” (Blayer and Sanchez 2002, ix). Indeed, from performance to the nature of the stories themselves, scholars agree that stories have and continue to be the link between our past and future: defining identities, shaping

cultural thought and testifying to belief. This is no less true for Québec's narrative core. To understand the sense of cultural appropriation, revivalism, and the successful use of folklore in product placement in Québec, I examined the traditional elements and traits of Québécois folklore as they are explicitly used in Unibroue's labelling concept.

Unibroue's original logo, that of a "U" adorned with devilish wings as portrayed in Chapter One, set a tone for the themes that would be used in their beer labelling. Drawing on the popular and folk narratives of the Devil in Québec's vast narrative repertoire, the decorative appeal, calculated design and marketing strategy went beyond trying to sell a product; the beer became a vessel for disseminating folklore. Created out of folk imagination, legends, histories, and shared notions about one's culture, these labels became folk signifiers transmitting tales and legends of people, places or events, portraying elements of belief in Québécois culture. Folk belief as referenced through the use of the devil on a brewery product is more symbolic and has specific meaning to the group from which it stems. This is characteristic of Timothy R. Tangherlini's (1996) reference to legend as "a symbolic representation of folk belief and [that it] reflects the collective experiences and values of the group to whose tradition it belongs" (Tangherlini 1996, 437).

Recurring themes in Québécois folklore such as the dual relationship between good and evil represented through particular supernatural or human characters are examined in this chapter (see Jean-Claude Dupont 1976; Michel Cusson 2005; Edith Fowke 1976; Bryan Perro 2007, 2012; Julie LeBlanc 2004 [10], [11]; Michel Leblond 2004; Victor-Lévy Beaulieu 1998; Guilbault 2001). The Devil motif is particularly characteristic in Québécois legends and belief and Unibroue explicitly uses the "Cheval



noir de Trois-Pistoles” (“The Black Horse of Trois-Pistoles”) and the “Chasse-galerie” (“Flying/Witch Canoe”) legends to highlight the binary oppositions of heaven and hell and the repercussions of actions taken by particular characters. As stated by one of my 18- to 25-year-old focus group participants:

Le diable revient très souvent dans le folklore québécois, là c’est incroyable [...] D’où le logo d’la “Maudite,” un ‘tit démon a’ec les bras croisés qui a d’l’air super content là [...] Le diable, l’affaire, c’est que c’est, tsé c’est même dans la bible, le diable c’est la tentation, tsé, c’est lui qui va dire ‘en’oye donc ça va êt’ le fun là, tsé, let’s go, let’s go, come on t’es capab,’ là pis là ‘non, non ch’pas sûr, ch’pas sûr,’ ‘ouais, ouais, ouais, ouais, ça va êt’ le fun’ tsé, pis en fin de compte tu t’rammasses dans marde. C’est le diable, c’est, c’est ça. Pis euh, je le sais pas, j’pourrais pas dire pourquoi au Québec on l’utilise autant ou pourquoi on l’a utilisé autant [...] Probablement parce-que le folklore a apparu dans les, les, c’pas apparu à Montréal le folklore, là tsé (LeBlanc 2003 [1]).

[The Devil comes back often in Québécois folklore, there, it’s incredible [...] Hence, the “Maudite” logo, a little demon with arms crossed who looks really happy there [...] The Devil, the thing is, is that, y’know, it’s also in the Bible, the Devil is temptation, y’know, he’s the one who’ll tell you ‘come on, it’ll be fun there, y’know, let’s go, let’s go, come on, you can do it,’ and then ‘no, no I don’t think so, I don’t think so,’ ‘yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, it’ll be fun’ y’know, and then at the end your in shit. It’s the Devil, it’s, it’s like that. And, uh, I don’t know, I couldn’t tell you why in Québec we use him so much or why we used him so much [...] Maybe because folklore appeared in the, the, it didn’t show up in Montréal, folklore, there y’know.]

André hypothesized that perhaps it was in rural Catholic settlements that made for the survival of these legends with the belief in the Devil especially considering the rebellious nature of the Québécois questioning authority and having the Devil as a moral compass (LeBlanc 2003 [1]). For Annie Langlois, the Devil depicted on the Unibroue beer labels looked “plutôt sympathique” (rather sympathetic) and the “mischievous” character is not

a part of her beliefs but her theories are that the biblical Devil took on the same role as the “little people” or fairies in Celtic nations (LeBlanc 2003 [1]).

The “Maudite” (See Figure 11 in Chapter Two) also refers to the colloquial curse word in French meaning to be damned as well as its alcohol content. Roch Theriault told me: “Tsé comme la “Maudite,” là c’est ben beau tsé, ça donne un maudit mal de tête le lendemain” [Y’know like the “Maudite,” there it’s all well y’know, it gives you a damn headache the next day] (LeBlanc 2004 [1]). This play on words gives the beer all the more weight with the consumer that is “in the know.” The devil-reference is more pertinent when conducting synchronic/diachronic structural analyses of the legends used on labels and those collected by participants. For this reason, I use motif and type indices, such as Reidar Thorwalf Christiansen’s (1958) and Barbara Allen Woods’ (1959). I am aware that legends may or may not be narratives (see Gillian Bennett 1989, 9). These indices are used for analytical purpose much like Timothy R. Tangherlini’s performance and context approach (1990; 1994; 1996). Tangherlini writes: “legend tries to reconstruct reality in a believable fashion. Legend narrative is linked to the outer reality, opposed to the inner reality of folktale, making specific allusions to verifiable topographic features or historical personages” (Tangherlini 1990, 372). Within this performance analysis, Tangherlini illustrates how other folklorists managed to “capture” what they could of legend performance and the most striking aspect of this came from the “friend of a friend” (FOAF) prompter which “has essentially no credibility” (Tangherlini 1990, 374). Even if historical facts are fabricated, the legend may be performed in a way that purports truth (Tangherlini 1990, 379). Performance of these legends should be studied in context and the perceived realness or truth is just as important to note in the

legend as it is in the folktale. This is particularly examined in Tangherlini's (1994) *Interpreting Legend: Danish Storytellers and Their Repertoires*. Statements such as Bengt af Klintberg's "the folktale takes place in a fictional world and is not believed by the audience; the legend takes place in the real world and is told as if relating a real occurrence" need to be revised always in context of the legends being studied (af Klintberg 1989, 70). As Tangherlini writes "legend acts [...] as a reflection of folk belief" (Tangherlini 1994, 7). Tangherlini's work on legend repertoires, the raconteur and why legends are transmitted is particularly important in interpreting the form and function of a legend. From a performance perspective, that is the exchange between the narrator and the audience, both active and passive bearers may feed off one another influencing the outcome of the legend from correcting to interrupting each other (Tangherlini 1994, 8).

The argument is one that often poses issues for scholars, that of how narratives are shared, the context and the way in which they are told. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes how "specific social contexts" affect performance and narrative sharing (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1985, 319). This relates to my approach on the use and transmission of specific elements such as belief in the Québécois legend. The main themes that occur in many (but not all) of the Québécois legends that I collected and that have been collected by others since early colonial settlements in the country are the supernatural and belief in the Devil. Though belief in a legend is not necessary, the concept of belief is, at times, mentioned in the narrative. Tangherlini notes this as a "reflection of folk belief" in the legend and its cautionary role (Tangherlini 1994, 7-11).

As Linda Dégh (1971) wrote in “The ‘Belief Legend’ in Modern Society: Form, Function, and Relationship to Other Genres”:

legend types cannot be isolated without a full field study of local beliefs, community attitudes, individual variations, performance, and social roles related to the narration of legends [...] Some are lengthy, well-polished versions; others are independent, loosely connected stories or short accounts of facts and simple statements of knowledge of a fact or belief [...] The greater the popularity of a legend within a group, the more functional it becomes, and the more and more conspicuous its incompleteness becomes. As it spreads almost like a rumor from person to person, it cannot reach a consistent form but often remains incoherent. Those who pass it on do not need to tell it in detail, since the essentials are generally known. (Dégh 1971, 62)

This is in part what Unibroue does with its labels, it does not tell the “Chasse-galerie,” or “Black Horse of Trois-Pistoles” legend in detail, rather, it focuses on the essentials of the legend both visually and through short text.

The use of the Devil, either as image or by name, on and for beer labels is not solely found in Québec. Compared to other provinces in Canada (Vancouver, BC’s “Red Devil Pale Ale” by R&B Brewing), in France (“Fourche du diable” by La Rouget de Lisle), in Belgium (“Duvel” meaning “Devil” in Dutch by Duvel Moortgat; “Lucifer” by Het Anker Brewery), the United Kingdom (“Crafty Devil” by Daniel Thwaites PLC; “Jack the Devil” by Cullercoats Brewery) and the United States (“Folklore” by Stillwater Artisanal Ales; “Arrogant Bastard Ale” by Stone Brewing Co.), other nations also use this character as an inspiration for beer marketing and labeling. What is interesting to note from legends in Québec and references to supernatural interventions is their tie with the Devil motif, especially when the character appears in animal form. Most of the narratives I collected with the Devil involve drinking (boozing), dancing, parties or other sinful events that serve as cautionary narratives for un-Christian-like behaviour. The Devil is,

as referenced by Tangherlini in his interpretations of Danish legends, “a religiously coded symbol of threat” (Tangherlini 1994, 193). In the case of the “Eau Bénite” (Holy Water) the Devil’s playfulness is more explicit: it illustrates a Devil with a crooked halo and false angel wings sitting in a chalice of frothing brew (see Figure 10 in Chapter Two). Hardly threatening as an image, but the reference of evil perturbing holy water is visually and textually expressed.

Michel Cusson’s article “Un ‘six-pack’ avec le diable” (A six-pack with the Devil) relates this in highlighting twelve beers inspired by the Devil as found on the following beer labels: “Maudite,” “Satan,” “Jenlain,” “Duvel,” “Old Nick Barley Wine Style Ale,” “Satan Red/Satan Gold,” “Belzébuth Extra forte,” “Lucifer,” “Arrogant Bastard Ale,” “Eau Bénite,” “Trois-Pistoles,” and “Victory HopDevil Ale” (Cusson 2005, 26). As Cusson writes:

Au-delà des étiquettes, plus d’un fait nous permet d’évoquer le diable et la bière. L’Église a trop souvent repoussé la bière aux portes de l’enfer laissant toute la place au produit de la vigne. Des noces de Cana où le vin a coulé à flots jusqu’à la dernière scène où le Christ l’a associé à son sang, le vin a cité plus de 500 fois dans la Bible. La bière, aucune; à croire qu’elle s’avère une portion diabolique. Au Moyen Âge, les autorités religieuses dénoncent la bière et la qualifient de création infernale. À preuve, en 1581, deux sorcières de Leobuscütz en Allemagne périssent brûlées à la suite de leur tentative de survoler la ville à dos de tonneaux de bière. (Cusson 2005, 26)

[Beyond labels, more than one fact helps us evoke the Devil and beer. The Church often pushed beer towards hell’s gates enabling vine culture. From the wedding of Cana where wine flowed up to the last supper of Christ and the association to his blood, wine was cited more than 500 times in the Bible. Beer is not; it is perceived as diabolical. In the Middle Ages, religious authorities denounced beer and qualified it as an infernal creation. Proof of this is found in 1581 when two witches from Leobuscütz, Germany, were burned to death following their attempt to fly above town on top of beer casks].

Seventeenth-century Fabio Chigni best put it when referring to beer in Dortmund “Adde parum sulfuris et erit potus infernalis” [Add a little sulfur and it will be an infernal potion] (Cusson 2005, 26). The Devil is as much a part of beer folklore as he is in marketing.

Cusson writes:

Une légende du nord de la France écrite par Charles Deulin et tirée des contes d’un buveur de bière tente de nous convaincre que la bière bue sur Terre serait brassée en enfer. L’histoire met en vedette un jeune verrier nommé Cambrinus qui fait appel au diable pour se désintéresser de la belle Flandrine qui ne démontre aucun sentiment amoureux pour lui. Satan conclut le pacte en proférant : « Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Abaddon, Bazuel, Mammon, Méphistophélès et tous les démons de l’Enfer...surgissez du néant! » Du coup, les arbres s’écartent et un champ de houblon et une brasserie apparaissent, permettant à Cambrinus de produire de la bière et ainsi d’oublier la belle. (Cusson 2005, 26)

[A northern French legend written by Charles Deulin and taken from a beer drinker’s tales attempts to convince us that beer drunk on Earth is brewed in Hell. The story showcases a young glassmaker named Cambrinus who calls onto the Devil to no longer be afflicted by the beautiful Flandrine whose love is not reciprocal. Satan concluded the pact by stating: “Satan, Lucifer, Astaroth, Abaddon, Bazuel, Mammon, Mephistopheles and all the demons of Hell...come forth from nothing!” All of a sudden, trees began to spread and a field of hops and a brewery sprung from it enabling Cambrinus to produce beer and forget this beauty].

This translates well into how the hop is perceived as the plant of the Devil, not only the drink and its intoxicating nature (as the temperance movement would advocate in the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century). The supernatural is tied to drink and perfectly partnered in the use of folklore in French-Canadian marketing. Moreover, the belief of one’s soul and its contamination fits with the fear of the Devil in Québécois legends. The supernatural in Québécois legend lore is one of the most important aspects in legend-telling as Aurélien Boivin (2001) writes:

de par sa définition, un récit basé sur un fait réel, déformé par la tradition, mettant en scène des êtres étranges, le diable et ses suppôts, diabolins ou sorciers, les loups-garous, les feux follets et autres bêtes mystérieuses (bêtes à grand-queue, à sept-têtes, hère, lutins[...]), les revenants et les fantômes. Autant de personnages effrayants dont le but est de provoquer la peur et qui ne sont pas étrangers à la pratique du culte. Les conteurs du XIXe siècle empruntent donc pour la plupart à la légende bon nombre de leurs sujets. (Boivin 2001, 9-10)

[by definition, a narrative based on a real fact, reframed by tradition, placing strange people, the Devil and his followers, demons or sorcerers, werewolves, will-o-the-wisps or other mysterious beasts (large tailed beasts with seven heads, deer-like creatures, elves [...]), revenants and ghosts. The goal of many frightening characters is to provoke fear and they are not strangers to cult practices. Nineteenth century storytellers borrowed a good part of their subjects from the legend].

Boivin collected written narratives from the nineteenth century to illustrate the recurring themes of Devils, werewolves, witchcraft and the fantastic. The selection process was based on what the author believed were the most authentic pieces of literature written, but he admits to having edited spelling and grammar mistakes for it to be publishable (Boivin 2001, 22). In attempting to make the stories seem authentic, the edited and written form altogether makes them lose a part of their rustic luster. Nonetheless, the publication holds interesting versions of legends in keeping with those used in popular fora, such as the “Chasse-galerie” or the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” and are particularly noteworthy in analyzing print and oral versions and the role of the raconteur.

#### **4.1 Labels and Legends: What is Culturally Significant**

Some of my participants noted how their repertoires of legends were learned in the Québécois primary and secondary education system, that is, folklore has been a part of the teachable curriculum to promote local, provincial, and national folklore. I found this was particularly the case with participants in the Outaouais region. Whether these

participants were eighteen or eighty, I was told that the bulk of their legendary traditions were shared in school and that very few had learned about local legends through their families, with the exception of my own maternal lineage. It was in 2003 when I interviewed my mother, Micheline Giroux (1950-2004) that I was given an explicit example of the legend-telling tradition in a family setting (LeBlanc 2003 [2]).

In my family's case, my great-grandfather, Edgar Pouliotte (Figure 26), would entertain his grandchildren with tales and legends of local heroes and events in the Outaouais region, notably of “Ti-Jean” the French-Canadian hero and his aboriginal side-kick trapper, “Wap-Wig” (LeBlanc 2003 [2]; 2004 [2]).



**Figure 26: Edgar Pouliotte (year unknown)  
(courtesy of the Giroux family collection).**



My mother, her sisters Marie-Andrée, Suzanne and Chantal and her mother, Agnès, shared with me how their grandfather told stories when they were children growing up in Hull, QC (LeBlanc 2003 [2]; Figure 27).



**Figure 27: Giroux family at the St. Joseph Oratory, Montréal, QC, 1959; front row: Chantal, Bruno, Sylvie; middle: Agnès, Ginette, Micheline, Suzanne, Roger; back row: Denis holding Marie-Andrée (photograph courtesy of the Giroux family collection).**

Micheline said to her sister Suzanne: “Te rappelles-tu quand grand-papa y avait une façon de faire voir les choses quand y racontait ses contes on le voyait tout c’qui disait” (You remember when grandfather had a way to show us things when he told his stories we saw everything he said) (LeBlanc 2003 [2]). Suzanne agreed:

J’vivais dans ses paroles [...] On couchait s’a galerie, sur la galerie, s’a rue De Lorimiers on tombait endo- endormi au clair de lune (all agree), papa, pis maman

r've- arrivaient pis euh, y nous r'transportaient à... l'autre bord d'la rue parce-que...notre maison était l'autre bord d'la rue. (LeBlanc 2003 [2])

[I was living through his words [...] We would sleep on the porch, on the porch, on De Lorimiers street we'd fall as- asleep under the moonlight (all agree) Dad, Mom came and uh, would bring us ... on the other side of the street because ... our house was on the other side of the street.]

The style of narratives and the legend/storytelling information was particularly important when I asked my participants to discuss what they observed on the marketed Unibroue products. Even with the vast range in ages from the body of participants that took part in this study, responses included similar if not identical overall motifs and traits from legends when I showed the visual image portrayed on beer labels. Accounting for the European affiliation of legends found in French Canada (see Thomas 1983, 1993), Breton and Normand influence, for example, would have pervaded in the style of narratives, characters involved and plotlines used in legend/storytelling.

The informative elements shared in the interviews led to questions of selective processes by the bearers and by those who market a generically perceived item of folklore in a product. Motifs (blocks of details to create a narrative), and allomotifs (variant forms in different texts serving the same functions) of specific legend types as they were collected through a series of interviews and a large body of published sources were brought up when I displayed advertising posters from Unibroue illustrating various labels. Contrasts were greater when discussing popular perceptions of the Devil in Québécois folk belief.

Victor Kirallah, originally from St-Gabriel, QC (with Lebanese descent) and age 82 at the time of the interview told me: “Ben, y en parlait beaucoup dans religion hein, pis

l'diable y était vu comme une personne extraordinaire, hein. Alors tout ce que, que le diable pouvait faire de mauvais, hein ils embarquaient d'ssus" (Well, they would talk a lot about it in religion, and the Devil was seen as an extraordinary person, eh. So all, all that the Devil could do that was evil, they would get on it) (LeBlanc 2004 [3]). His wife, Rolande Kirallah (1925-2006), originally from Ile verte, QC and age 79 at the time, continued "Pis les gens croyaient ça ben dût aussi... ah ouin, dans c'temps là, là... aujourd'hui, ben c'est pu comme ça là" (And people believed in this truly too... oh yes, at that time there, there... today, well it's not like that anymore) (LeBlanc 2004 [3]). Though elements of religion were exploited in local folklore, tales and legends were not told in the Church during moral sermons (LeBlanc 2004 [3]; Figure 28).



**Figure 28: Left to right: Rolande Kirallah, Victor Kirallah, Jean-François Nadeau in the Kirallah's kitchen (photograph taken by author on November 14, 2004).**

For Rolande, the image of the Devil on a product would deter her from buying it as she pointed towards the image on the "Maudite" beer label and said: "à cause de cette photo là, vois-tu, ça me dérangerait) (because of that photo there, you see, that would

disturb me) (LeBlanc 2004 [3]). Rolande then proposed that we move from the living room to the kitchen to eat a “galette” (biscuit) and looking at the image of the “Maudite” label I held in my hand said “ramasses ta photo... ah, moi, juste à voir ça, là, pis j’étais jeune, j’avais une peur du tonnerre, du diable. Je l’ai jamais vu, mais moi là” (pick up your photo...ah, my, just seeing that there, and I was young, I was so very afraid of the Devil. I never saw him, but my, there) (LeBlanc 2004 [3]).

For my mother, 52 at the time of the interview, the Devil was an amusing figure that did not correspond to the Church’s image of Lucifer (LeBlanc 2003 [3]). The “tongue-in-cheek” image of the Devil used by Unibroue (a grinning caricature of the Devil) is specifically noted by younger participants between the ages of 18 and 25 who viewed the Devil as a non-threatening character and acknowledged the binary opposition of “evil” vs. “good” and religious authority in Québécois folklore (LeBlanc 2003 [1]).

The varied responses towards the Devil as an important folk character in Québec provided the examples of motif selection in legend telling that would affect the overall study of perceived items of folklore exploited in marketing. Some of my participants were not as familiar as others with the Unibroue products, but each participant had knowledge of the microbrewery’s promotional campaigns focusing on the use of Québécois folklore to sell beer.

By recreating a performance-based environment, I showcased each beer label and asked participants to narrate what they knew about the legends by observing the label’s image. Participants were eager to share their versions of legends and prompted each other when using characters and elements to “tell it right” – an interesting observation

that led to the dynamics of telling stories amongst non-traditional storytellers. In

“Definition and Variation in Folk Legend,” Herbert Halpert stated:

It is one of the clichés of folklore that there is no one ‘right’ version for a folklore item. All variants of a folk song or a folktale have equal validity, assuming that the singer or storyteller is a competent performer in good health and memory. A folk belief may exist in a variety of forms. (Halpert 1971, 47)

I equate a beer label depiction with a legend version in that the image conveyed and short label description is decoded by the consumer. I realize this may give legend scholars pause, for this reason, I explain how the label can be perceived as a version in that the consumer recalls the imagery and description of the label to retell the legend or share in his/her difference performance context. The label has a direct impact on the collective retelling of narratives. The variation of the folk legend occurs in how the consumer “reads” the label as much as how the consumer retells the version. It is through this optic that I propose the beer label as a version of a legend to be compared with oral versions of legends told without the label as catalyst and those collected, selected and re-edited for publication. During my interviews, I would ask my participants, to illustrate: 1) how they heard the legends used on the labels (if these were previously known); and 2) if the legends depicted on the labels could be perceived as disseminators of tradition thus, catalysts for sharing versions amongst consumers. The bottle and label can be both signifier and signified, in that the contents and label image are the signifier (the material object) while the label message (concept and meaning, story it tells) is the signified. The signified perspective is particularly important to note as it is the conceptualization of the legend depicted that the consumer makes meaning and takes in a “version” of a legend.

## 4.2 Legends and Québec: What Needs to be Discussed

Le Québec est un pays fabuleux [...] les accents premiers appointis du Berri, du Poitou, de la Charente-Maritime, de la Bretagne, de la Beauce et de la Normandie, pour ne nommer que régions d'où sont partis ceux qui rêvaient de nouvelle France [...] Avec eux, ils emportaient dans les soutes infectes des navires, avec le scorbut et les rats de cales, les contes, légendes, chansons gaillardes et plaintes méritoires qui deviendraient avant longtemps le seul héritage habitable d'un pays neuf asservi par le Conquérant anglais. (Rivière 2002, 5-6)

[Québec is a fabulous country [...] the first sharp accents from Berri, Poitou, Charente-Maritime, Brittany, Beauce, and Normandy to name but a few of the regions from where those had left dreaming of a new France [...] From the infected boat holdings, they took with them scurvy and sewer rats, tales, legends, drinking songs and meritous complaints that would become the only living heritage of a new country subjugated by the Conquering English].

Robert A. Georges' discussion of a legend in "The General Concept of Legend: Some Assumptions to be Reexamined and Reassessed" is congruent with Québec's legendary tradition. Georges specifically notes that a legend may or may not be a narrative, that its timeline "is set in a recent or historical past that may be conceived to be remote or antihistorical or not really past at all," and that belief may not necessarily be important when tied to the legend's credibility (Georges 1971, 18-19). Tangherlini's definition of the legend as "a traditional, (mono-) episodic, highly ecotypified, localized and historicized narrative of past events told as believable in a conversational mode [...] act(ing) as a symbolic representation of folk belief and [...] reflect(ing) the collective experiences and values of the group to whose tradition it belongs" (Tangherlini 1994, 22, 316-317) is widely accepted in legend scholarship and further explored in works by Paul Smith (1999, 8). Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf (1988) noted "attitudes among participants in a legend performance can vary from belief to disbelief and from a

positive response to aggressive rejection,” while the written form of the legend is “a function of the process of collecting and editing rather than representative of how the legends were told in their natural context” (Kvideland and Sehmsdorf 1988: 18-19). Contributions by Diane Goldstein (1989), David Hufford (1982), Gillian Bennett (1996), Jacqueline Simpson (1988), and Lauri Honko (1989) on the nature and matter of belief and disbelief have been significant in examining the implications of collecting by the folklorist. This is particularly relevant in Québec’s legend-telling today in that credibility by either teller or listener does not matter so much as the importance of including the element of belief in the legend, and of supernatural occurrences with the Devil. From a contemporary perspective, the legend-telling performance mirrors storytelling with the many influences of media, popular culture and printed texts. Martin Laba explored this in “Popular Culture and Folklore: The Social Dimension” (1986):

Modern-day storytellers use printed texts from popular heroic novels as their sources. The printed form of the text is regarded as temporary or preliminary, and is re-shaped and edited to the specific needs of the occasion. Eberhard’s study leads to a logical premise: the folkloric quality of an event is not determined by the content of the verbal text – a text may be traditional or non-traditional – but by the distinctive use that the participants make of that text. ‘Use’ in this view suggests a customary application of a text to an equally customary social occasion. (Laba 1986, 16)

The legends discussed in this chapter have, in a sense, taken a similar form to that of the *Märchen* narrative yet remain legends by structure. A large number of Québécois legends recorded and printed contain a formulaic beginning, much like the renowned “Once upon a time” opening for a fairytale book. These openings are what Georges calls “clues” (Georges 1971, 10) and many of the belief narratives that I had come across as a child were told with the formulaic beginning: “cré-moé, cré-moé pas” (slang pronunciation of

“crois-moi, crois-moi pas” [believe me or don’t believe me]). Today, however, some legend transmitters do not use that “belief” opening. They will nonetheless, often refer to belief in or at the end of the legend by stating that the legend was believed by ancestors or at least, by someone in the past.

Belief in Québécois legends is an important factor to consider, as Nicole Guilbault writes in “Fantastiques légendes du Québec: récits de l’ombre et du sombre” (Guilbault 2001). Guilbault’s collection of legends covers one of the points I wish to illustrate through my research on labels as local legend conveyers. Jacqueline Simpson (1983) writes that local legends have “variations, additions or omissions” (Simpson 1983, 224) and pose challenges for folklorists. Legend traditions are dynamic. I observed how the active bearers can disseminate legends without even telling the legend and leave a simple reference to the title or the commonly known motifs that make references to the insider’s knowledge. This insider’s traditional expression and performance also referred to as a “kernel story” that is, telling the essence of the story as a hook to eventually lead the audience into the rest of the narrative (see Susan Kalčík 1975; Lawrence G. Small 1975, 1979; Moira Smith 1984; and Sandra Dolby Stahl 1989). This has been studied by past folklorists and semioticians (see Emanuel A. Schegloff and Harvey Sacks 1973) as part of conversations, taking turns in speaking and sharing personal narratives. This is pertinent in the context of my own observations, particularly in its relevance as a message conveyed through image, words, and products and how participants interacted in sharing their versions of narratives and “feeding” off their narrative threads.

These legends I collected during my fieldwork refer to events in a near past and are told today to entertain in a storytelling fashion. In French Canada, the most



commonly known and widely transmitted legend is the “Chasse-galerie” (Fowke 1976, 9, 116-124; Bertrand Bergeron 1988, 139-144). Therefore, it was no surprise to see my participants mention their familiarity with the “Chasse-galerie” legend during my interviews. What was interesting, however, was the fact that with this legend that seems to permeate throughout French Canadian lore, there are still many other regional legends that escape the collective folk repertoire, and for a microbrewery like Unibroue to explore these regional legends, the message is one of promoting Québécois folklore. This is the case with the “Trois-Pistoles” beer label that makes reference to the “Black Horse of Trois-Pistoles” legend. With an active storytelling circuit in the town of Trois-Pistoles, this non-traditional promotional forum found in beer labelling contributes in a sense to promoting local culture. For storyteller Michel Leblond (Figure 29), the microbrewery’s depiction of the legend is one of many versions he uses when he tells stories.



**Figure 29: Michel Leblond signing his book, Trois-Pistoles, QC (photograph taken by author on November 16, 2004).**

Michel told me there was a lack of printed material on the many legends of Trois-Pistoles and this inspired him to research and publish his versions of the narratives (LeBlanc 2004 [10]). Though he writes stories, Michel remains an oral storyteller at heart and performs at festivals to live the experience of sharing narratives with his audience.

[ML] C'est important aussi de voir les gens à qui tu parles, si tu les vois pas, euh, c'est pas pareil.

[JL] Mhmm.

[ML] Là, tu t'sens vraiment en retrait, tu racontes c'que t'as à raconter, pis euh, euh, tandis quand t'es vois, moi j'ai vu des, Fred Pellerin un moment donné, euh, à Mont-Joli, y dit euh, c't'un auditorium, place qui est bien straight, un auditorium parce-que le stage est là pis toi t'es assis là, fais que lui y s'était organisé pour être complètement sur le bord de la scène, pis euh, un moment donné y dit: 'pouvez-vous monter les lumières,' y dit 'je vois pas le monde.'... Fais qu'y ont allumé les lumières de la salle, pas super blasté comme là, juste assez pour voir les gens, pis là, 'bon là' y dit 'j'veus vois.' Pis là y nous parlait, tsé...

[ML] It's important too to see the people to whom you are speaking, if you don't see them, uh, it's not the same.

[JL] Uh-huh.

[ML] There, you feel really away, you tell what you need to tell, and uh, uh, whereas when you see them, I saw the, Fred Pellerin at one time, uh, in Mont-Joli, he said uh, it was in an auditorium, a very straight place, an auditorium because the stage was there and you were there sitting, so he made so he would be completely at the end of the stage, and uh, at one time he says: 'Could you make the lights shine brighter,' he says 'I can't see the people.'... So they turn on the lights in the room, not really strong there, just enough to see the people, and then, 'That's good' he says 'I see you.' And then he spoke to us, y'know...]

As a storyteller, Michel told me he was inspired by people and worked with the audience to add elements that would then integrate themselves in the tale "souvent on dit, on va dire un moment donné, euh, c'est pas le, le, le, le conteur qui fait le conte, c'est le conte qui fait le conteur. Moi j'crois à ça." (Often we'll say, we'll say at one time, uh, it's not the, the, the, the narrator that makes the tale, it's the tale that makes the narrator. I believe in that) (LeBlanc 2004 [10]).

At a beer tasting in Chambly, QC (Fourquet Fourchette) and following a group discussion on the origin of legends and “myth” and the notion of fear as the root of telling legends, Yvon Lagüe (age 55 at the time) captured part of the group’s attention with the tone of his voice. He moved his body towards the table and tilted his head towards the sky and said:

Ou est-ce que tu vois pas, t’es, t’es, la nuit, pis là tout à coup t’es dans ton *shack*, dans l’bois hein ... pis t’entends des cris, pis des cris [tilts head towards the sky] qui passent au d’ssus de la tête, fa’que là t’invente pour tes enfants l’histoire de la Chasse-galerie [uses a haunting voice] “c’est les gars ...qui sont dans leu’ canots [mimics rowing a canoe], pis qui s’en vont”... (LeBlanc 2006)

[Or what you don’t see, you’re, you’re, at night, and then suddenly you’re in your shack, in the woods eh ... and you hear screams, and more screams [tilts head towards the sky] that cry out above your head, so then, you invent for your children, the story of the Chasse-galerie [uses a haunting voice] “it’s the men ... that are in their canoes [mimics rowing a canoe], and they’re flying above”...]

The purpose of this explanation was to rationalize why people told stories and to explain the “things that went bump in the night.” His performance was all the more intense as Yvon is visually impaired and knew how to capture the attention of his audience through gestures and voice tone. This performance was enough to recreate the story’s imagery. Yvon’s explanation of narrative sharing in Québec in the “woods” and giving an example of how to tell legends made me all the more interested in performance and the aspect (or lack) of credibility in storytelling and the importance of the Devil in Québécois narratives.

### 4.3 The Devil Legacy

The Devil in Québécois legends is often described as a soul-seeking contract-maker who never shied away from parties, fiddling and dancing (for continental European devil legend types, see ML 3000-3025, 3070-3075; see also Jean-Claude Dupont 1976; Michel Cusson 2005; Edith Fowke 1976; Bryan Perro 2007, 2012; Michel Leblond 2004; Victor-Lévy Beaulieu 1998; Guilbault 2001; LeBlanc 2003 [1]; 2004 [3], [10]).

In nineteenth century published narratives, the Devil would appear as a handsome stranger, sometimes with a fiddle at hand, would trick innocent girls to their death and incite debauchery at parties (Boivin 2001, 75-80, 163-169).

Known in other parts of Canada (notably eastern provinces) and continental European versions, the mysterious wooer Devil can also be the fiddler, fiddling his way into the party making dancers stepdance until their feet burn. Kvideland and Sehmsdorf state the “Devil as a Dance Partner” (ML 3070) as a “didactic legend warning against excessive dancing. It shows Satan’s punitive aspect” (Kvideland and Sehmsdorf 1988: 293). The reference to fiddling and evil doings of the Devil is reiterated in popular culture. An article published in the local Aylmer newspaper in December 2012 promoting “Violons en fête” (a festival of traditional string instrument players) illustrates this point:

si le violon a été un symbole fort du folklore québécois pendant quelques trois cents ans, il a été aussi associé aux mythes et aux légendes canadiennes-françaises qui voyaient l’instrument non seulement comme un instrument folklorique, mais aussi comme une arme employée par le diable ou Satan pour emporter en enfer les âmes de celles et de ceux qui continuaient à ‘stepper’ ou à danser au son du violon plus tard que minuit le soir du mardi gras. (Sylvie Filion 2012, 8)

[if the fiddle was a strong symbol of Québécois folklore for three hundred years, it was also associated with French-Canadian myths and legends that saw this

instrument as not only a folk instrument, but also like a weapon wielded by the Devil or Satan to bring to hell those souls that continued to ‘step’ or dance to the sound of the fiddle later than midnight on Mardi Gras.]

For Francine Cabana, a St-Louis-de-Courville, QC native (age 56 at the time of the interview) she remembered the legend of Rose Latulipe:

C’est comme la légende de la, la Corriveau, là, c’pareille, grand-maman tu y demandais là pis à Boischatel était capable de t’montre la maison qu’a disait sur le plancher la marque du diable qui avait dansé avec, euh, la fille, tsé avant de l’emmener là [...] Latulipe! Rose Latulipe qui était supposée avoir dansé avec le diable! Ma mère était capable de t’montre à Boischatel la maison où c’était arrivé. Mais alors que la légende de Rose Latulipe qui a dansé avec le diable est à grandeur de la province dépendamment tout ça, mais grand-maman a te montrait la maison où c’était... Ah oui, pis très sérieusement à part ça parce-que c’était passé dans, dans les histoires là, a le croyait ben gros. Pis quand j’tais p’tite je le croyais aussi [laughs]. (LeBlanc 2006)

[It’s like the legend of the, the Corriveau, there, it’s the same, you’d ask grandmother there and at Boischatel she was able to show you the house she said where on the floor the Devil’s mark was found where he danced with, uh, the girl, y’know before bringing her there[...] Latulipe! Rose Latulipe who was supposed to have danced with the Devil! My mother was able to show you at Boischatel the house where it happened. But the legend of Rose Latulipe who danced with the Devil is found everywhere in the province depending on all that, but Grandmother would show you the house where it was... Ah yes, and very seriously too because it had taken place in, in the stories there, she believed it thoroughly. And when I was young I believed it too [laughs]].

The culmination of the legend is the bishop’s intervention and his “Petit-Albert” grimoire to counter-attack the Devil’s ways. Finally, when the bishop uttered the last part of the incantation, the Devil shot up through the roof and took with him a shingle which, to this day, is always missing (Boivin 2001, 81-82). This last element is in keeping with the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend.

The Devil, or a creature doing his bidding, marks a piece of land or a building (in many instances, a bridge or a church) by branding a burning hoof mark or taking a piece of stone or other material associated to the building. The missing material is explained through this supernatural occurrence. As Simpson reads the legend, from a structuralist perspective, every component of the legend in this case is an encoded message and explains the supernatural branding. Simpson's article reveals this fact in using variants of Devil interactions and trickster motifs (Simpson 1983, 226-231).

#### **4.4    The “Chasse-galerie” and the “Maudite” Beer Label**

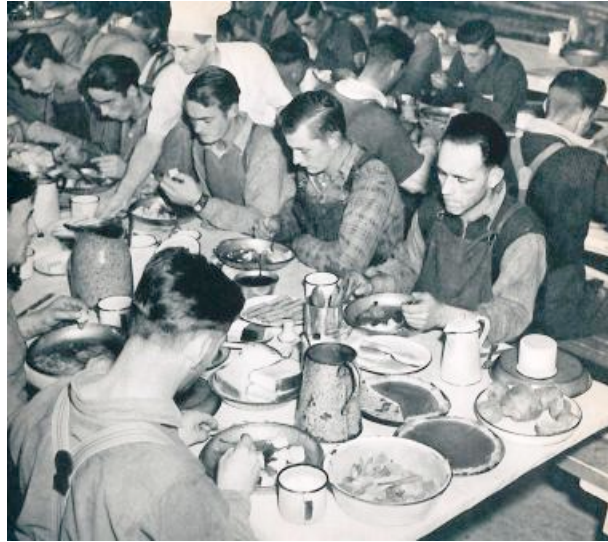
The “Maudite” (see Figure 11 in Chapter Two) beer label illustrates lumberjacks in a canoe, a remnant of the “coureur-de-bois” period in Québec. The Devil on the label looks at the men in the bewitched canoe. The Chasse-galerie legend type is ML 3025: *Carried by the Devil or by Evil Spirits* (Christiansen 1958, 35); no. 200: *Person conjures the devil and he appears* (Woods 1959, 82); no. 210: *Person reads a book of magic: the devil appears* (Woods 1959, 83). A pact is made with the Devil to travel swiftly to another town and be with loved ones during New Year's eve. In the case of no. 210: “Person reads a book of magic: the devil appears” (Woods 1959, 83), the men use a magical formula: “Acabris, Acabras, Acabram” and fly through the air.

In “The Devil in Dog Form,” Barbara Allen Woods provides certain clues to the Devil image, pacts with the Devil and legend types that have chronic Devil themes. Woods describes “two main traditions” of pacts with the Devil that can be summed as: 1) a contract; and 2) an alliance (Woods 1959, 75). The first tradition is found in the “Chasse-galerie” legend where lumberjacks agree to follow the Devil's rules to be able to

visit their loved ones, whereas the second tradition, that of the alliance, can be found in the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend where the priest creates an alliance with the Devil in a black horse form. The origins of the legend should also be noted as remnants or variations of the Chasse-galerie heard in Poitou, France, referring to the expression “Chasse sauvage” (Jean-Loïc Le Quellec 1999, 125).

During the Fall season, when next to a body of water, similar cries by “esprits infernaux” (infernal spirits) were heard (Le Quellec 1999, 126). The term “galerie” derives from ancient Gaulish “alaric” or “alary” meaning a raft with rams and a sail (Le Quellec 1999, 126). This is in keeping with literature describing early Celtic calendar rites commemorating the dead considering the time of year the “infernal spirits” were heard, menacing to take away the souls of the soon to be dead to an ancient and mythical fairy otherworld (Le Quellec 1999, 133-135; Myles Dillon and Nora Chadwick 2003; Nora Chadwick 1997; see also: “The Shoes That Were Danced to Pieces” - AT 306; revenant narratives ML 4000-4050, 4075; the *bag noz* or night raft). The legend could have been modified to fit the early French colonial settlers in Canada and in turn would have been influenced by the religious tenacity of the times. The result would give way to a pact with the Devil for one’s soul in eternal damnation. Though psycho-analytical studies have attempted to rationalize the essence of the Chasse-galerie, as Jean-Loïc Le Quellec notes in his review of the legend, its French roots and multi-cultural borrowings in “La chasse-galerie Du Poitou à l’Acadie” (1998), it is important to note how this legend has remained in the Québécois narrative tapestry. Also, both the “Chasse-galerie” and “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend fit the “pact with the Devil” legend type.

In Boivin's compilation (2001) of nineteenth-century folk narratives from Québec, Honoré-Beaugrand's 1891 (republished in 1900) version of the "Chasse-galerie" begins with the formulaic 'cook-telling-the-story' introduction (Boivin 2001, 175-188; Figure 30).



**Figure 30: Lumberjacks at camp eating, cook serving a meal (International Paper Company 1948: 51).**

The narrative in Honoré-Beaugrand's version (referred to below as CG version 1) begins in 1858 in the Ross lumber yards north of Gatineau, QC (Boivin 2001, 175). The foreman let his cook and lumberjacks drink rum one evening while "ragoût" (stew) was cooking on the stove. All of the men were drunk by the time the cook began his legend telling and he opened by stating that, though a Christian, he enjoys a few sins on occasion and he remembers one particular sinful night when he got drunk with lumberjacks on New Year's Eve (Boivin 2001, 176-177). Young Baptiste woke the cook a little after midnight stating that he wanted to head to Lavaltrie to see his girlfriend and the cook



laughed in Baptiste's face. It would take them more than two months to get to Lavaltrie but Baptiste said there was a swift way by canoe that would allow them to return to camp by daybreak (Boivin 2001, 177).

At this moment, the cook knew that Baptiste meant to "courir la Chasse-galerie" [run the "Chasse-galerie"], that is, to risk his soul "d'aller embrasser ma blonde, au village" [to kiss his girlfriend in the village] (Boivin 2001, 177). It took some convincing before the cook acquiesced to Baptiste's demands, but they soon discussed about the formalities: not to get too drunk, to watch their tongue (not swear) and to keep their oars near them in the canoe (Boivin 2001, 178). The magic formula was then uttered:

Satan! roi des enfers, nous te promettons de te livrer nos âmes, si d'ici à six heures nous prononçons le nom de ton maître et du nôtre, le bon Dieu, et si nous touchons une croix dans le voyage. À cette condition tu nous transporteras, à travers les airs, au lieu où nous voulons aller et tu nous ramèneras de même au chantier!  
Acabris! Acabras! Acabram!  
Fais-nous voyager par-dessus les montagnes! (Boivin 2001, 179)

[Satan! King of hell, we promise to deliver our souls, if from here until six hours from now we pronounce the name of your master and ours, the good Lord, and if we touch a cross during the trip. By this condition you will carry us, across the skies, where we want to go and you will bring us back to the lumber camp!  
Acabris! Acabras! Acabram!  
Make us travel over the mountains!]

The canoe shot through the air, and they crossed the Gatineau (river and region) to Montréal but were warned: "pas un seul verre de Molson, ni de jamaïque" [not one glass of Molson or "Jamaican" (rum)] (Boivin 2001, 179-183). The lumberjacks arrived at their destination, were greeted by family and friends, and danced until the cook noticed that Baptiste was drinking too much (Boivin 2001, 184-185). When it was time to leave, they jumped in the canoe and started for the Gatineau with a drunk Captain at the helm

(Boivin 2001, 185). They crashed the canoe in Montréal and Baptiste began swearing, the cook and the other lumberjacks tied up Baptiste and threw him on the bottom of the canoe after which they sought to direct themselves back to camp (Boivin 2001, 186). The men knew that if they arrived later than 6:00 am they were all damned to hell so they finally made it back to camp, but had a horrible crash landing in the trees (Boivin 2001, 186). It was the next morning that the cook realized they had all drunk too much rum and could have been drunk in the forest and dreamt the whole trip up (Boivin 2001, 188).

This is reminiscent of fairy abduction narratives, as a cautionary legend to tell when drinking heavily in the forest and being “taken” by supernatural forces; as Barbara Rieti noted in “‘The Blast’ in Newfoundland Fairy Tradition” (1997) these types of abduction narratives are tied to “widespread prohibition on eating or drinking, or indeed having any interaction with the fairies” (Rieti 1997, 285-286). Supernatural or fairy encounters are elements comparative to the “Chasse-galerie” in this case because of the heavy drinking and otherworldly party experience. Boivin continues:

Enfin, le principal, c’est que le diable ne nous avait pas tous emportés et je n’ai pas besoin de vous dire que je ne m’empressai pas de démentir ceux qui prétendirent qu’ils m’avaient trouvé, avec Baptiste et les six autres, tous saouls comme des grives, et en train de cuver notre jamaïque dans un banc de neige des environs. C’était déjà pas si beau d’avoir risqué de vendre son âme au diable, pour s’en vanter parmi les camarades; et ce n’est que bien des années plus tard que je racontai l’histoire telle qu’elle m’était arrivée. (Boivin 2001, 188)

[The point is, the Devil did not carry us all and I do not need to tell you that I was not quick to deny those that pretended to find me, with Baptiste and six others, all drunk as skunks (lit. drunk as larks), and storing our Jamaican (rum) in a snow bank. It was already one thing to have risked selling one’s soul to the Devil, to brag amongst friends; and it was only many years later that I would tell the story as it happened to me].

In 1995 Unibroue produced the “Maudite” beer illustrating the legend of the “Chasse-galerie.” All but a few participants in this study knew parts of the legend including the “pact-with-the-Devil” motif and taboo-breaking elements. The “Maudite” label (See Figure 11 in Chapter Two) illustrates a stylized picture of the legend (referred to below as CG version 2). With an orange, red, and burnt sienna sunset (or sunrise depending on the version of legend known by the consumer) outlining the flying canoe and lumberjacks under the devilish tail script “MAUDITE” and the leering Devil on the bottom of the label. “Maudite” is described as follows on the Unibroue website:

The word “Maudite” refers here to the Legend of “Chasse-Galerie” a tribute to the early lumberjacks of Nouvelle-France. The legend tells of eight daring woodsmen who, during winter, yearned to be home for the Holidays. They conjured up the Devil and all of them pledged their soul in return for flying them in their canoe to their village. As they sailed across the moonlit sky, one of them managed to free himself from the pledge by invoking the name of God, which caused the flying canoe to come crashing down to earth. (Unibroue [2])

“Maudite” means “damned” or “to be damned,” and can be taken in the context of eternal damnation or as a vernacular, colloquial curse in Québécois. To control Québécois church-goers, the clergy would evoke the damnation of souls. The beer name evokes this particular trait as the label acts as a form of active bearer, transmitting parts of the legend with its image of the flying canoe.

The well-known “Chasse-galerie” legend is commonly referred to by title or elements found in the legend. The words “Chasse-galerie” alone are known by the Québécois regardless if they are able to tell the legend or not. The beer label acts as a catalyst and triggers the memory of those who know the legend while putting an image to the name that is so well known.

Micheline's memory of her grandfather telling the legend of the "flying canoe carrying lumberjacks," is one of the two examples I came across during the legend-telling session tradition (LeBlanc 2003 [2]). During my sessions with participants, it became clear that tradition-bearing events were considered a "thing of the past" that younger generations were no longer recalling a moment in their youth hearing their grandparents tell them traditional legends of Québec. How do they know these legends? The active bearers read books, view documentaries, films, go to storytelling shows (e.g., to see the younger turk in the field: Fred Pellerin), listen to folk music and are generally influenced by the media. Unless someone or something triggers the bearer into actively sharing their version of the legend, most of the younger Québécois will not disseminate the narratives.

During the focus group with the 18-30- year-olds, the setting recreated an open environment for the transmission of folk narratives. I would ask the students about their knowledge of particular traits found in legend types and one would pick up from another narrating the legend. The participants would feed off of each other. The beer labels that would convey an image and/or a title representing a particular Québécois legend would then be a catalyst for discussion. I also had a video camera at times and always had an audio-recorder. Contrary to what may be perceived as "intrusive" and "unnatural," the result was stimulating, welcoming and natural because of the group setting. Participants felt less pressure in getting it "right" the first time around, being at ease in performing around peers and stating what they viewed as important motifs and taking turns sharing their versions of the legends.

The beer label is a contemporary disseminator, a medium of bearing, because it provokes interactions and version-sharing, but can also potentially be construed as a

narrator when a consumer is alone with the product and reads the image and text (as would be the case when reading a legend in print). When I asked about a particular legend used on one of Unibroue's products, most of my participants referred to the "Maudite" as a generally known legend in Québec and that their own version of the legend corresponds to a generic version common to others. As my study progressed, I found interesting elements appearing and disappearing from the collection of versions I gathered.

For Julien Bisaillon, the legend of the Chasse-galerie (referred to below as CG version 3) was a "radeau qui vole pis la possession du diable" [raft that flies and in Devil possession] (LeBlanc 2003 [1]). The region for which it referred to was not clear for the participants. For Julie Dunn-Cuillier, the legend seemed to place the action around Sherbrooke and Montréal, based on what she had read in Cégep (college) (LeBlanc 2003 [1]); referred to below as CG version 4). In her words:

C'parc-qu'eux autres y étaient dans, dans le bois, tsé, pis euh, pendant l'hiver, pis y trouvaient ça long en maudit, tsé pis que leurs femmes pis leu-, leurs blondes pis toutes, toutes les femmes y restaient comme, tsé, mettons, dans leurs villes là, où est-ce qu'y habitaient pis y s'en ennuyaient beaucoup fais que là, eux autres y avaient trouvé comme un moyen de, d'y aller, euh, comme en une nuit, tsé, fais que là euh, c'est ça là, y avaient, euh, comme en, espèce de, de formule là, magique là qui disaient là, pis là y s'mettaient toute dans un canot mais en tout cas tsé, c'avait l'air imaginaire pas mal là, jusqu'à là, en tout cas. Fais que là, tsé, y embarquaient pis là, le canot s'mettaient à voler pis là, euh, tsé, fallais pas qui s'fissent voir par, j'me rappelles pu de quelle affaire, en tout cas [laughs; other participants try to intervene, Julie continues], c'est vague là, mais j'sais qu'y fallait pas qu'y s'fissent voir parce-que là sinon, euh, tsé, ce serait fini pis là, j'sais pas trop, y tomberaient ou j'me rappelles pu c'tait quoi l'affaire pis, euh. Fais que là, y s'rendaient à destination pis là y fêtaient avec les filles pis chacun allait voir sa femme pis y avaient ben du fun pis là fallait qu'y r'viennent pour une telle heure pis, pis là c'est ça, y, comme dans, ben celle que j'ai vu là, me semble que, comme sont arrivés pis y avait quelque chose de ben bizarre, m'semble qu'y avait comme crashé ou que'que chose du genre pis que là, comme y 'n'avait un qui était à une autre place, mais ça finissait comme mystérieux, genre comme,

‘ben comment ça se fait que lui y est, y est là, pis que telle affaire si ça c’est arrivé là.’ (LeBlanc 2003 [1])

[It’s because they were in, in the woods, y’know and uh, during winter, and they thought it was damn long, y’know and their wives and their, their girlfriends and all that, all the wives were in like, y’know, somehow in their towns there, where they lived and they were lonely so they found like a way to, to go, uh, in one night, y’know, so, that’s it, they, uh, like, uttered a type of formula, magic that they said and then they all went in the canoe but anyways y’know, it looked real imaginary up to then, uh, y’know. So then, y’know, they went in, the canoe started flying and then, uh, y’know, they couldn’t be seen, I don’t remember what it was, anyways [laughs; other participants try to intervene, Julie continues], it’s vague there, but I know they couldn’t be seen because otherwise, uh, y’know, it would be finished and then, I don’t know they fall or I don’t remember what it was, and uh. So then, they arrived at their destination and then they were celebrating with the girls and each of them saw their wives and they had loads of fun and they had to come back for a specific time and, and then that’s it, they, like in, well the one I saw there, I think, like they arrived and there was something bizarre, I think they like crashed or something like that and then, like there was one that was somewhere else, but it ended like mysteriously, like, ‘well how is it that he’s, he’s there, and that this thing if it’s what happened’].

At this point, André St-Georges assumes the role of “expert” allocated to him by other participants and intervenes noting there are many versions to this legend (LeBlanc 2003 [1]; referred to below as CG version 5). He narrates it as:

La plus répandue, ben l-, les lieux géographiques changent une fois à l’autre, c’est officiel, mais euh, euh [Annie intervenes by stating not in the Outaouais, referring to logging camps], pas, pas toujours, dépendemment de quelle région j’ai entendu que, quelqu’un qui me l’a raconté à Lavaltrie, pis lui, ça s’passait chez eux, là tsé, c’est [participants acknowledge and propose jokingly possible locations, André continues] c’est gens là, c’est gens là, comme t’as dit, y étaient au chantier, et euh, là, en tout cas, la version que j’ai entendu, c’tait pour aller passer le réveillon avec leurs familles y ont fait un pacte avec le diable [participants agree, André continues] le, le diable, leur a dit ‘ok, correct, j’vous donne euh, vot’ canot, vous pouvez y aller, à une condition [one participant, who wishes to remain anonymous, mentions “they were very far,” André continues] euh, les conditions varient d’une fois à l’autre, la Bottine Souriante a dit ‘si vous embrassés une fille, vous êtes faites,’ euh, y a d’autres versions ‘si vous accrochés un clocher d’église ou qu’chose [other participants agree, anonymous participant and Julie confirm it is the version he

knows, André continues] mais toujours est-il, pis encore là, même c'qui leur arrive suite à ça, varie d'une fois à l'autre. Dans certains cas, y sont condamné à, à vo-, à parce-qu'y ont brisé le pacte, sont condamné à voler pour l'éternité. Dans d'autres versions y font juste crashé pis 'Uh! Qu'est-ce qui c'est passé?' (LeBlanc 2003 [1])

The most spread about, well, the geographic locations change at one time to the other, for sure, but uh, uh [Annie intervenes by stating not in the Outaouais, referring to logging camps], not, not always depending which region I heard it from someone who told me was in Lavaltrie, and him, it took place where he lived, y'know, it's [participants acknowledge and propose jokingly possible locations, André continues] it's those people there, it's those people there, like you said, they were in the camp, and uh, there, anyways, the version that I heard, it was to go spend New Year's Eve with their families, they made a pact with the Devil [participants agree, André continues] the, the Devil, told them 'ok, that's fine, I'll give you uh, your canoe, you can go, under one condition [Cédric mentions "they were very far," André continues] uh, the conditions vary from one instance to the next, la Bottine Souriante said 'if you kiss a girl, you're done for,' uh, there are other versions 'if you scrape a Church steeple or something [other participants agree, anonymous participant and Julie confirm it is the version he knows, André continues] but always, and then still, even what happens to them afterwards, varies from one moment to the next. In some cases, they are condemned to, to fl-, because they broke the pact, are condemned to fly for eternity. In other versions they just crash and 'Uh! What happened?']

Annie Langlois then adds more to the versions, by telling the following (referred to below as CG version 6).

Tu vois, euh, c'que j'ai entendu c'est que, bon, toute se passe ben, bon pacte avec Satan, la vie est belle pis y s'en viennent, pis faut qu'y évitent les clochers d, d'église, moi, à mon souvenir y 'es évitent, toute va ben, y vont chez leurs blondes et toute, pis y ratent le coup de minuit [participants agree] y ratent le coup de minuit, fais que, le coup de minuit, y étaient s'posé d'retourner dans le canot pour sacrer leur camp au, au, au chantier [some participants agree], y ratent, là, y sont su' l'party eux autres là fais [participants agree] qu'y réussissent pas à retourner fais qu'à cause de d'ça justement sont condamné à, euh ... voler sur Montréal... pour l'éternité. (LeBlanc 2003 [1])

[You see, uh, what I heard is that, well, all goes well, well pact with Satan, life is good and they arrive, and they have to avoid church steeples, me, as I remember it they avoid them, all goes well, they go to their girlfriends' and all, and they miss the call of midnight [participants agree] they miss the call of midnight, so, the clock strikes midnight, they were supposed to go back in the canoe to get the hell out and

go to, to the camp [some participants agree], they miss it, there, they're having fun so [participants agree], they don't get back because of this in fact they're condemned to, uh... fly over Montréal... for eternity.]

Philippe Simard continues by mentioning an element he thought was noteworthy about the taboo placed on the lumberjacks (LeBlanc 2003 [1]; referred to below as CG version 7). He states: “Moi j’avais entendu une affaire, fallait qu’y c’tait pas un d’accrocher un clocher ou rien, fallait pas qu’y comme l’mentionnent” [I heard something, they had to, it wasn’t scraping a Church steeple or anything, they couldn’t mention it] (LeBlanc 2003 [1]). At this point other participants in the focus group agree with Philippe that there is a ‘secret’ aspect to the pact that is considered a taboo in itself, but Philippe continues that it’s a “terme religieux” (religious term) that should not be uttered and participants actively engage in this allomotif and the Devil motif as elements to be noted in the versions told. What is interesting to note during this version-sharing session is how it started with a motif, to give way to the printed version told as a first example of the Chasse-galerie then onto the aural versions to end with another motif. This performance experience was in itself a perfect example of how participants fed off of one another, by stimulating legend-telling and adding pieces that were apparently missing from one another’s legends. It was a very similar observation as that which Thomas had illustrated in his research on the two narrative traditions in French Newfoundland, where Blanche Ozon and Angela Kerfont engaged in a discussion to get a narrative going (Thomas 1993, 63-66).

Though it was not possible to get this same type of experience through online interviews I conducted, I found it interesting to read what participants sent, edited by



themselves as their recognition of the legend. My husband's cousin, Yannick Cabana from Montréal gave her version of the "Chasse-galerie" while associating it with Unibroue's other famous beer: "La fin du monde" (LeBlanc 2003 [6]; referred to below as CG version 8). Yannick's version of the "Chasse-galerie" differs slightly from my other participants in that the protagonists must close their eyes while sailing the skies in a boat, not a canoe. Yannick adds: "Si quelqu'un ouvre les yeux, le diable prendra possession de leur âme. Et malheureusement, quelqu'un regarde..." (LeBlanc 2003 [6]) [If someone opens their eyes, the Devil will possess their soul. And unfortunately, someone looks...]. For Jean-François, other existing versions might differ from his own, but he noted two key elements that seem to recur in the "Chasse-galerie" legend "le canoe volant et le bris du pacte avec le Diable" [the flying canoe and the broken pact with the Devil] (LeBlanc 2003 [6]; referred to below as CG version 9).

As an example of the popular transmission of the "Chasse-galerie" legend, I interviewed a childhood friend and Franco-Ontarian, Tanya Tulipan, for her rendition of the legend and occupational folklore in Québec (referred to below as CG version 10):

Most of us have ancestors who worked the land, were poor and very much at the mercy of whatever work there was to be had. It also shows the importance of family in that they were willing to make such sacrifices, but also they missed their families and loved ones so much that they'd be willing to consider selling their soul to the Devil in order to spend New Year's with them. I think it also reflects the *joie de vivre* in that such occasions were special and joyous to them, as they continue to be today to the Québécois. (LeBlanc 2003 [6])

Although Tanya mentioned that she was unfamiliar with Unibroue products, she displayed knowledge of the "Chasse-galerie" legend. Her participation made it possible for me to assess the generic uses of Québécois folklore, and those legends that are

perceived as commonly transmitted and known throughout French Canada. Jean-François's version of the legend resembles La Bottine Souriante's song: "Martin de la Chasse-Galerie," where the youngest of the lumberjacks curses, condemning them all to fly eternally in the skies of Montréal. Supernatural intervention then is key in Québécois legends, same as what is found in the "Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles" legend examined in the following section.

#### **4.5    "Le cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles" and the "Trois-Pistoles" Beer Label**

In 1997, two years after the "Maudite" beer was launched, Unibroue introduced the "Trois-Pistoles" beer (Unibroue [4]). On the label "Trois-Pistoles," written in a silver Gothic font (Figure 31), rises above three church steeples and a flying black horse. The steeples are depicted exactly as seen coming in from the highway into the town of Trois-Pistoles (Figure 32).



**Figure 31: “Trois-Pistoles” beer bottle and label  
(bottle from personal collection and label image courtesy of Unibroue)**



**Figure 32: Church of Trois-Pistoles (photograph taken by author).**

The black horse's wings overshadow the steeples of the church encouraging the consumer to note the supernatural element of the label's message. Because horses do not fly and the church is overcast with dark colours, the consumer questions the meaning of the label and the regional representation. On the back of the bottle the description reads: "Summoned in a moment of holy despair, the Devil, in the form of a big black steed, appeared to help raise a church that was long overdue in the troubled village of Trois-Pistoles" (referred to below as CNTP version 1). For those who would not know the legend, its artistic representation and brief description call to mind folk motifs in Québec and might, to a certain extent, refer to parts of the legend.

The "Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles" legend type is related to ML 7065: *Building a Church. The name of the Masterbuilder* (Christiansen 1958, 209); ML 3010: *Making the Devil Carry the Cart* (Christiansen 1958, 22); no. 200: *Person conjures the devil and he appears* (Woods 1959, 82); no. 210: *Person reads a book of magic: the devil appears* (Woods 1959, 83); no. 220: *Person with supernatural powers (devil's ally or clergy man) summons devil to show power* (Woods 1959, 84); no. 225: *Person in league with the devil has a familiar spirit to help him* (Woods 1959, 87); and no. 241: *Person in league with the devil always has a black dog as his bedfellow* (Woods 1959, 89). Essentially, the perception of many of my participants is that the priest had consorted with the Devil. Some believe that the horse was actually a gift from God while others believe him to be from the Devil or *the* Devil himself. The permanent mark found on church walls or missing stone and the priest duping the Devil are common motifs reiterated by participants.

Even though these legends circulate in and around the Lower Saint Lawrence River region, not all of the locals are aware of them. Annie Langlois had a vague concept of the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend. Because Annie used to live in Québec City as a child, she knew parts of the local legend of Trois-Pistoles. The fact that Annie used to live closer to Trois-Pistoles compared to the other students in the focus group was an example of how regional folklore is chiefly promoted locally. The further away my participants lived from this region, the more detached they felt towards the legend.

Print sources dating back to the 1920s and 1930s such as Paul A.W. Wallace’s (1923) *Baptiste Larocque: Legends of French Canada* and Edward C. Woodley’s (1931) *Legends of French Canada* continue to be used in reiterating versions of the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend. In Wallace’s account (referred to below as CNTP version 2), “Baptiste” is the protagonist and narrator who tells how the horse and Devil are one in the same (Wallace 1923, 61). Though the narrative is set on Ile d’Orléans, the legend’s motifs and allomotifs are similar. The Devil in Baptiste’s words, turned into a “beeg black horse, an’ come on the pries’ for play some treeck” (Wallace 1923, 62). The priest was able to harness the horse and make him work at building the church, never eating and never drinking (Wallace 1923, 62). When the Church was built a worker sees the thirsty horse tied to a tree and unleashes it to let him drink (Wallace 1923, 63). The horse kicked the church, leaving a permanent hoof mark on the stone (Wallace 1923, 63-64).

In Woodley’s account (referred to below as CNTP version 3), the legend takes place in the village of St. Augustin, QC, but the narrator acknowledges other versions existing in l’Islet, Ile d’Orléans or “on the shore of the St. Lawrence above Quebec” but “in each instance the Devil’s activity was directed to the building of a church” (Woodley

1931, 3). In Woodley's version, the bishop dreams of a grand Church and was too ambitious in his vision and sought divine inspiration and Our Lady of Bonsecours came to him telling him that the Devil will appear to create tension amongst his parishioners but he will be in the shape of a "jet-black horse" and to control him "his bridle has been sprinkled with holy water" (Woodley 1931, 5-6). The horse arrives as was foretold and is put to work with prohibitions by the Bishop never to loosen the bridle (Woodley 1931, 7). It would take one parishioner, Narcisse, to break the taboo, as he loosened the beast's bridle to let it drink at a stream (Woodley 1931, 8). "Then – poof-bang-poof – ! The stream suddenly dried up in the heat of the flames which burst from the mouth of the horse" and both the horse and Narcisse were swallowed by the earth (Woodley 1931, 8). The Church is built in this version but no mark is left on the building (Woodley 1931, 9).

In his printed version of the "Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles" (referred to below as CNTP version 4), Michel Leblond starts off:

Parlant d'église, y a une autre histoire que je veux vous conter sur l'actuelle église de Trois-Pistoles. C'est, je pense, la plus célèbre. Tellement célèbre que tous les villages de la province s'en sont servis pour la construction de leur église. Les vieux de la place vous diront que l'église a été construite par le diable et c'est vrai en partie. C'est une belle légende qui dit que c'est un grand cheval noir, en fait Lucifer, qui a construit l'église. (Leblond 2004, 32)

[Speaking of churches, there's another story that I want to tell you on the actual Trois-Pistoles Church. It's what I think, is the most well-known. So well-known that all the villages in the province use dit for the building of their own churches. The old ones from this place will tell you that the Church was built by the Devil, and it's true in part. It's a beautiful legend that tells of a great black horse, in fact Lucifer, who built the Church.]

Michel then writes that a bishop lent his horse to help for the building of the Church, a great black steed for which prohibitions were imposed: to prevent the horse from drinking

and loosening its bridle (Leblond 2004, 32-35). During the interview, Michel told the same version but added allomotifs, about the horse's origins, how the bishop inherited the beast and the origin of the stones. The church was missing one stone to be complete, the prohibitions were respected but out of pity, a worker took off its bridle to let it drink and the horse disappeared (Leblond 2004, 35). Based on our discussion, Michel also stated that there was indeed a stone missing from the Church which gives credibility to the legend (LeBlanc 2004 [10]). Michel writes:

Ça serait donc pour ça qu'il manque une pierre sur l'église, ce qui est pas vrai pantoute. Oh oui! C'est beau une belle légende sauf qu'y faut des fois dire la vérité. Moi icitte aujourd'hui, je vas vous raconter pourquoi y manque une pierre sur l'église de Trois-Pistoles, pis comment elle a été construite. (Leblond 2004, 35)

[It would be because of this that a stone is missing on a Church, which is not true at all. Oh yes! And it's a beautiful legend except sometimes you have to tell the truth. I will today tell you why a stone is missing on the Church of Trois-Pistoles, and how it was built.]

Michel then writes about three brothers Théodule, Théophile and Théodore who were building Trois-Pistoles' fifth Church and somehow invoked the Devil to help in person (Leblond 2004, 35-42). One of the three brothers duped the Devil at the end when the Church is complete and as the Devil left enraged without his souls, went through a wall and a Church stone fell after him (Leblond 2004, 41). I thought it was interesting to see that in the printed version, no credibility was granted to the black horse, rather to the three brothers involved with the Devil for building the Church. While filming a personal guided tour of Trois-Pistoles, Michel showed me various "hot spots" for legend-telling, relevant to places in particular and the people that used to live there (LeBlanc 2004 [11]).

The Trois-Pistoles Church being the main tourism attraction to the region also promotes the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend.

I found my husband’s contribution interesting as it was influenced by his mother’s narrative (LeBlanc 2003 [1]; referred to below as CNTP version 5). Originally from Rimouski (a city approximately 40 miles north of Trois-Pistoles), Jean-François’ general knowledge of regional folklore was useful and he, along with other participants during the course of my fieldwork noted the “Trois-Pistoles” as a popular beer consumed by the Québécois population. Jean-François offered a more detailed rendition of the legend from what he had heard and read about while he was living in Rimouski. The description on the beer label provided him with motif traits that he used in his version. Jean-François stated that due to Trois-Pistoles’s remote location, not many urbanites would necessarily be aware of the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend, only those that would have been to Trois-Pistoles or who would have lived near this town (such as Rimouski) would have heard about the legend. He also mentioned that he could only recall parts of the legend and narrated the following version:

Elle raconte l’histoire d’un cheval noir qui est apparu de nulle part alors que les paroissiens construisaient l’Église de Trois-Pistoles, qui est je crois unique en son genre au Québec en ce sens qu’elle a trois clochers. D’ailleurs, on peut les apercevoir de très loin lorsque l’on prend la route menant de Rivière-du-Loup à Rimouski. Le cheval noir fut instrumental dans la construction de l’Église, en particulier pour hisser les lourdes cloches au haut des clochers. Lorsque le travail fut accompli, le curé de la paroisse murmura quelque chose à l’oreille du cheval qui disparu de façon toute aussi subite que son arrivée. Le cheval noir était, en fait, le Diable. (LeBlanc 2003 [1])

[It tells the story of a black horse who appeared out of nowhere while the parishioners were building the Church in Trois-Pistoles which is, I think, unique in Québec in that it has three steeples. In fact, you can see them from very far when you are on the road from Rivière-du-Loup to Rimouski. The black horse was



instrumental in building the church, to hoist the heavy bells up to the top of the tower. Once the work was completed, the parish bishop whispered in the horse's ear, and the animal disappeared as quickly as it had appeared. The black horse was, in fact, the Devil].

In this version, the horse does not leave his mark on the church and is helpful by hoisting the bells. The beer label conveys these images as the horse is portrayed flying above the steeples. The fact that Unibroue deliberately chose the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend to depict Trois-Pistoles in contrast to their other legends, like their place-name, haunting or treasure legends, is another direct manifestation of using the Devil as a signifying code representing Québec's folklore. The supernatural intervention is in itself an important motif in the legend.

Is supernatural intervention evil? Woods argues otherwise stating that if the animal is not threatening it must not be the Devil, and that it should be regarded as a helper (Woods 1959, 146). In the 1879 work by Moncure Daniel Conway, *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, belief in “animal demons” associated “with mythological personages or ideas” include the horse and dog (Conway 1879, 121-122). Conway writes “among the many ancient legends of demon-horses there are few which suggest anything about that animal hostile to man. His occasional evil character is simply derived from his association with man, and is therefore postponed” (Conway 1879, 127). This means the symbol of the horse associated with the Devil is more important than its actual wild nature. “The Dog, so long the faithful friend of man, and even possibly, because of the degree to which he has caught his master's manners, has a large demonic history” (Conway 1879, 132). Conway provides cross-cultural references to the Dog as Devil, from Vedic to Greek mythology but all traits point to the “protective” nature of the guard

dog (Conway 1879, 132-134). Conway also illustrates the association between the otherworld and the dog as “seer of ghosts” and also as a grim reaper’s helper (Conway 1879, 136-137). The belief of “hell hounds” is strongly tied to Christian beliefs, the dual nature of good vs. evil, and how Russian “holy pictures” would depict “dog-headed devils” bringing souls to hell (Conway 1879, 140). Overall, animals such as the dog and horse have, at times, associations with the evil supernatural but belief in this association between the animal and the Devil may or may not be important when retelling narratives with this motif.

For the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles,” even if the active bearer does not believe in the Devil, nor his/her audience, the disseminator will not omit this motif for it is the essence of the narrative. The fact that the Devil is seen as a helper in this legend reflects the dual aspects of good vs. evil and expected outcomes or behaviours from characters. To a certain degree, the Devil as helper indicates to the audience that there will be trickery and that a contract will be made and broken. In the case of the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend, some of the priests offer their souls, others seem to consort with the Devil in subtle ways, but as a rule, the priest is shrewd enough to dupe the Devil, manipulating the supernatural.

The effects of making/breaking pacts with the Devil is further explored in Paul Stevens’ “Les trois diables.” Belgian-born, Stevens published his folk narratives between 1857 and 1867. In “Les trois diables,” Stevens writes about a drunk wife who invokes the Devil to support her liquor habit: “Lecteurs, il y a un proverbe qui dit: ‘Lorsqu’on parle du diable, il montre les cornes’, rien n’est plus vrai” (Boivin 2001, 87) [Readers, there is a proverb that states: “When we speak of the Devil, he shows his horns,” nothing could be

more true]. The story of the three Devils is based on a pact gone wrong for the Devils. Every year, one of the Devil brothers comes to claim the soul of the shoemaker's drunk wife. After the drunk wife made the pact, a magical donor appears and offers three wishes to the shoemaker for his kindness: a seat that makes anyone he bids to sit still for days on end, a fiddle that will make one dance non-stop and a bag of plenty that only fills when the shoemaker sees fit (Boivin 2001, 88-89). Every year, the shoemaker tricks the devils into sitting still, dancing fervently or jumping in a bag (as a shapeshifted rat) to be beaten mercilessly by a smith (Boivin 2001, 89-95). The devils were tricked by the shoemaker and offered one last redemption for the drunk wife: to make amends or her damned soul is theirs (Boivin 2001, 95).

The drunk wife narrative is Christian-toned; when she dies she goes to hell while the shoemaker goes to heaven. Upon arrival at St. Peter's door, the shoemaker is refused entry based on his poor judgment when he requested the magical seat, fiddle and bag (Boivin 2001, 95). The shoemaker is refused entry in hell because the three devils are afraid of what he would do to them. In exchange they gave him one hundred souls, including his wife's to bring to heaven (Boivin 2001, 96-97). In this instance, duping the Devils meant saving many souls and offering redemption for the protagonist to go to heaven, illustrating folk belief and religious morale.

In "Légendes," Edith Fowke wrote that Québécois legends were "local legends rather than international folktales and hence reflect more closely the beliefs, traditions, and customs of the rural French Canadians" (Fowke 1976, 58-59). These legends she referred to from early twentieth-century collections "dealt with such subjects as hidden treasures, *lutins* (goblins), *feux-follets* (will-o-the-wisps), the *chasse galerie* (flying

canoe), *loups garous* (werewolves), sorcerers, and encounters with the devil” (Fowke 1976, 58-59). Deals with the Devil and supernatural interventions in a small rural town occur when parishioners want a church to be built.

In sum, while problems arise in the construction process, the priest requests for holy intervention and discovers a mysterious black horse, whispers into the horse’s ear to bind the animal to him and prohibits local workers from removing the horse’s harness. It is only when the Church is near completion that the prohibition is broken, the horse’s harness is unleashed and the animal suddenly vanishes. To this day, the embedded physical mark on the church is explained by this supernatural phenomenon. Some believe the black horse may have been sent by the Devil while others believe that it was holy intervention. In essence, the legend translates into a supernatural event, whether divine or demonic, and closely tied to the religious influence in Québécois folk belief of good vs. evil.

Timothy R. Tangherlini’s definition of a legend is close to what would characterize the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” Legend. Tangherlini defines a legend as a “symbolic representation of folk belief [reflecting]... the collective experiences and values of the group to whose tradition it belongs. Thematically legends often deal with the supernatural or other remarkable phenomena” (Tangherlini 1996, 437; 1994, 15-16). The supernatural intervention is key in the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend.

The supernatural events become explanations of certain physiological traits found on the church building which are either: (a) inexplicable, or (b) to cover up faulty construction. The structural models from which I base my analysis are those of William Labov and Joshua Waletzky (1967), W.F.H. Nicolaisen (1987), Gillian Bennett (1984),

and Bengt Holbek (1978). One of the versions I chose for this chapter, a beer label representing the legend of a black horse in Trois-Pistoles along with a brief descriptor, is an example of a motif and allomotif referring to a specific legend-type.

The “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend may be examined through various levels, notably in time, space, and functional elements in that, versions shift and differ affecting the dissemination process. In *Stories, Community, and Place: Narratives from Middle America*, Barbara Johnstone describes the chronological order of the narrative clauses as “mov(ing) the action from its beginning to its end” (Johnstone 1990, 23), which help develop the “narrative core (a)s the barest outline of the story [...] with information about locations and characters” (Johnstone 1990, 23). By doing this, the reader understands the highlights of the story. Similar to allomotifs, these clauses can be omitted or added to legends, depending on the narrator, situation and audience. In the case of the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend, the response expected from the legend transmission differs by active-bearer. Published sources are transmitters of these legends, but so too are websites and advertisement campaigns. These versions communicate the legend in various ways.

Supernatural events are commonly depicted in Trois-Pistoles to explain place-names, local figures or hauntings. The region prides itself in its oral folklore and promotes it actively. On the town’s religious heritage Website, there are brief links describing the legends found or heard in Trois-Pistoles. Below is the website’s version (referred to as CNTP version 6) (Théberge and Côté 2014):

Lors de la construction de la cinquième église de 1882-1887, on put compter sur un cheval noir d'une vigueur exceptionnelle. Ce cheval apparut sans que personne ne

sache d'où il venait et on s'en servit pour transporter la pierre de l'église d'en bas jusque sur la côte où l'on érigeait la nouvelle construction. Or, c'était le diable lui-même à qui on ne devait jamais enlever sa bride. Malheureusement, quelqu'un passa outre la recommandation et le cheval disparut aussitôt, les travaux n'étant pas encore terminés. D'ailleurs une pierre manque toujours à l'église au sommet d'un des murs. (Théberge and Côté 2014)

[While the parishioners of Trois-Pistoles were building the fifth church between 1882-1887, they counted on an exceptionally strong black horse. This horse appeared without any of the parishioners knowing where he came from, and they used the horse to move stones from the bottom of the hill to the top where the church was being built. However, it was the Devil himself, and they never removed the horse's harness. Unfortunately, someone was passing by and freed the horse from its harness, making it disappear immediately before the church construction was complete. In fact, one stone is still missing from one of the top church walls.]

#### **4.6     Structural and Functional Narrative Analysis**

When interpreting legends, Tangherlini notes that structural analysis based on tales, such as that proposed by Holbek, is applicable in legend analysis but “the question the analysis should strive to answer is ‘Who tells what to whom in the form of a legend, and why?’” (Tangherlini 1994, 30). The teller's function and performance is therefore important to assess when placing the story in context (Labov and Waletzky 1967, 13, 34). In Tangherlini's statistical analysis of Danish legend repertoires, his database sampling is relevant to uncover trends and is an important contribution in legend interpretation methodology (1994). As Tangherlini notes:

the ultimate goal of the folklorist is to present a tenable analysis of the traditional expressions of a cultural group. [...] In the realm of tradition, interpretation is based on a belief that the traditional expressions of a culture through their performance produce meaning relevant to the members of that culture. Therefore, the goal of the folklorist must be to develop a methodology which methodically and consistently presents analysis of meaning relevant to the tradition context. (Tangherlini 1994, 29)

Keeping this into account and, as Tangherlini also points out, understanding the variables in the transmission of legends from the ways in which they are told to the methods used by the narrators are also important in interpreting legends (Tangherlini 1994, 124-135). Holbek's succinct, four-step structural analysis model captures Nicolaisen's (1987) and Bennett's (1984) elements: episode, object, resistance and result (Holbek 1978, 59) while Labov's model, as succinctly noted by Nicolaisen and Bennett, appears to be the best in examining the "Chasse-galerie" and the "Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles" versions (Nicolaisen 1987, 65, 73-75; Bennett 1984, 52-53; Tangherlini 1996, 438). The combination of Labov and Bennett's models is as follows:

Abstract: what was this about?  
Orientation: who, when, what, where?  
Complicating action: then what happened/circumstance?  
Evaluation: so what?  
Result/Resolution: what finally happened?  
Coda: wrapping up the story/explanation and proof.

In the nine versions I illustrated in section 7.4 the allomotifs, or the elements of the narration in between these main motifs, vary as some may or may not be retold in versions of the Chasse-galerie legend. The sequential events and main motifs to be noted in the Chasse-galerie legend are: (1) lumberjacks want to visit their loved ones far from camp; (2) supernatural/Devil intervention; (3) pact is broken or souls are freed. CG version 1 is the only one actually making reference to a storyteller within the legend but CG versions 1, 4, and 5 all mention possible locations where the action takes place as important elements to include in the narrative. CG versions 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10 all make note of the celebration with their loved ones on New Year's Eve as the reason for

making a pact with the Devil. The prohibitions are mentioned in CG 1, 5, 6, 7, and 8 as the marking moment to define the outcome of the narrative where the lumberjacks are either condemned to roam the skies forever or manage to save themselves and crash back at their camps (CG versions 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). CG version 10 actually refers to a pact made with the Devil to sell their souls for a moment with their loved ones but they are not spared. The actual sacrifices made working hard at logging camps were echoed into the rationale behind their pact to sell their souls for one evening. When I interviewed participants, the Devil's intervention was a structural and functional necessity in the telling of the legend.

**TABLE 1 – Summary of the Chasse-galerie legend based on a structural model**

<b>Abstract</b>	Lumberjacks are lonely around New Year's Eve and want to visit their loved ones far from camp, supernatural intervention is needed.
<b>Orientation</b>	Supernatural intervention occurs as a young lumberjack invokes the Devil to strike a deal, souls offered to see their loved ones.
<b>Complicating Action</b>	Supernatural intervention is consolidated with a pact: the Devil grants the wish; taboos/prohibitions are imposed by the Devil (e.g.: cannot curse, drink alcohol, or touch a church steeple), The Devil takes the lumberjacks into a flying canoe to fly across the skies and travel to their hometowns to visit loved ones
<b>Evaluation</b>	The lumberjacks are reunited with their loved ones and must not break taboos/pact or they will pay the consequence.
<b>Result/Resolution</b>	One or all of the taboos are broken; the Devil has either won the souls of the lumberjacks or one has managed to dupe the Devil while in the canoe and manage to free themselves from the deal. If the pact is broken, the souls are to forever roam the skies as an example of striking deals with the Devil; if the Devil is duped, the lumberjacks are freed by crashing back in their camps and wonder if the incident really took place
<b>Coda</b>	The pact is broken. Shrieks or screams may be heard in the sky as proof that the lumberjacks roam forever with the Devil or the lumberjacks wake up in their logging camp wondering if the event actually took place



Following are the motifs and allomotifs of the legend, from A to F: letters defined as part of the Abstract (A), Orientation (B), Complicated Action (C), Evaluation (D), Result/Resolution (E), and Coda (F) and each motif category is subdivided:

At a lumber camp in remote woods (A1), Lumberjacks are lonely (A2) around New Year's eve (A3) and want to visit their loved ones far from camp, heed supernatural intervention (A4). A young lumberjack invokes the Devil (B1). The pact is made (C1), taboos/prohibitions are imposed by the Devil (C2), the Devil takes the lumberjacks into a flying canoe to travel swiftly to visit loved ones (C3). Lumberjacks are reunited with their loved ones (D1). One or all of the taboos are broken (E1), the Devil has either won the souls (E2-a) or was duped (E2-b). The pact is broken (F1), souls are condemned to roam the skies for eternity (F2-a) or the lumberjacks crash in their camps free from the Devil (F2-b) and wonder if the incident really took place (F3).

As with the Chasse-galerie legend, the "Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles" legend contains allomotifs that may or may not be retold in the illustrated versions. Section 7.5 versions illustrate the mysterious horse (Devil) helping to build a Church as the core of the legend. CNTP versions 2, 3, 4, and 6 make a note of the prohibitions, taboos and consequences if broken. This leads to a missing stone or a permanent mark on the church building (CNTP version 2) or the disappearance of the horse before the last stone is set (CNTP version 4, 6). In CNTP version 3, the punishment for breaking taboos was being dragged into hell with the horse which was not the case in any of the other versions illustrated above. The Devil motif, however, along with the notions of supernatural intervention, is recurrent in all the versions.

**TABLE 2 – Summary of the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend based on a structural model**

<b>Abstract</b>	A church needs to be built and supernatural intervention is needed.
<b>Orientation</b>	Obstacles related to building the church; labourers are tired because of the overwhelming project; supernatural intervention occurs and a mysterious black horse arrives.
<b>Complicating Action</b>	Supernatural intervention is consolidated with a pact: only the priest may communicate with the mysterious animal; taboos/prohibitions are imposed by the priest (e.g.: cannot climb on the horse, remove his harness, make him drink water).
<b>Evaluation</b>	The horse has mysterious strength and supernatural prowess (concerns about the horse’s nature as a divine gift or the Devil’s ruse); the priest’s taboos are followed for fear of evil consequences.
<b>Result/Resolution</b>	One or all of the taboos are broken; the priest communicates one last time with the horse; the horse is set free or frees itself from supernatural bondage.
<b>Coda</b>	The horse vanishes; the building/church has a physical mark or a missing stone that proves supernatural intervention occurred.

Following are the motifs and allomotifs of the legend, from A to F, each motif category is subdivided:

In Trois-Pistoles (A1), a church is being built (A2) and the priest is in charge (A3). Problems occur with the construction of the church (B1), a mysterious horse appears (B2). The priest whispers into the ear of the horse, a pact is made (C1), the workers should not take the harness off the horse (C2). The horse is remarkably strong (D1), days get hotter, the horse is parched and while the workers wish to release the horse from his taboo the priest intervenes and tells them not to release it yet (D2). The hottest day of July arrives, the horse is really thirsty, the priest speaks to the horse (E1), and he agrees to take off the harness (E2). The horse vanishes (F1) and the church is completed but with a permanent “mark” or a missing stone (F2).

The sequential events and main motifs to be noted in the “Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles” legend are: (1) building a church; (2) supernatural / Devil intervention; (3) permanent marker on the church (Devil’s branding or architectural mistake). The action relevant to taking off the harness or bridle may be added to make the listener/reader expect a taboo to

be broken. The Resolution illustrates the priest or some other character unleashing the horse either by choice or by accident, causing it to vanish immediately. The Coda then explains the Devil's print on the church or the faulty construction resulting from the supernatural intervention.

In both legends, The Devil motif, along with supernatural events, is recurrent in the versions. In both tables, the abstract "sets the stage for the action" (Johnstone 1990, 27); it is the hook or kernel in each version describing the problem needing supernatural intervention either to travel or build a church. In the case of the Orientation, or temporal and spatial event incorporating characters, supernatural intervention occurs. The Complication or "main body of narrative clauses compris(ing) a series of events or complicating action" (Labov and Waletzky 1967, 32) introduces the supernatural helper (the black horse or Devil) and a conversation between the helper and conjurer (either the Devil with a lumberjack or the horse/Devil with the priest). Taboos are introduced in the form of strict prohibitions, either for the canoe travelling and party behavior or ties to the horse's harness/bridle. The Evaluation of the legend explains why the legend is being told, in the case of the Chasse-galerie, the purpose for getting involved with the Devil is for lumberjacks to see their loved ones. The lumberjacks must follow the taboos and/or prohibitions established by the Devil. In the case of the "Cheval noir de Trois-Pistoles" legend, supernatural intervention in the building of a church is the Evaluation, as is the dubious nature of the animal helper. This leads to the Result/Resolution or climax section of the legend where the audience remembers the taboos/prohibitions that came with the supernatural helper and the inevitable fate of breaking said taboos/prohibitions. The Coda then sets to proving the supernatural intervention either by explaining why one hears

shrieks in the sky or how lumberjacks are found sprawled (sometimes drunk) outside of their logging camps without reason or by illustrating the physical markings on a church as the Devil's branding. Some elements may be omitted in any one performance, in reaction to teller/listener interactions and inferences.

In "Legend: Performance and Truth," Gillian Bennett (1996) illustrates structural schemes applicable in legend performance environments. Bennett writes about performance/narrator evidence with indicators on how the audience should perceive the legend using what the author notes as "devices" which include "formulaic openings" (such as those found in the "crois-moi, crois-moi pas" openings in Québécois legends), insider references,

or other 'in the know' ploys [...], vagueness about persons, places and time [...], a 'distanced' performance strategy [...], the universal present tense [...], narrative velocity [...], lack of oral paragraphing [and,...] internal evidence that the story is a regular part of a narrative repertoire (this may take the form of 'hitting the high spots' only, or of revealing plot elements which for true dramatic effect need to be kept concealed). (Bennett 1996, 28-29)

Bennett suggests that a brief punchline, at times completely off the actual orientation part of the "non-Labovian" structure," could be perceived as a legend transmitter (Bennett 1996, 28) and is noteworthy when attempting to define a beer label in this same way. An image of a legend portrays all the elements to members that are "in the know" and this image reveals the punchline or result so to speak. For the outsider, it is only reading the description on the back label that makes sense of the image portrayed and the narrative it references.

The use of supernatural characters displays a part of Québécois beliefs and religious influences on folk narratives and the Devil fits into this category as a dominant

character. The supernatural interventions are tied with the Devil motif, especially when he appears in animal form and his role is pivotal in the narrative. With contemporary collections of Devil-motif legends, it is feasible to draw links and examine regional tendencies of motif selection and rejection. The Devil is a popular antagonist, but also a satirical character that helps restore balance in a community; an unconventional helper that seldom wins his bargain but has an explicit supernatural function of in the Québécois legendary tradition and thus, a perfect character to use in selling beer.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **Staging, Branding and Stereotyping: Shaping Culture, Identity and Folklore to Sell Beer**

The slogan ‘the personal is political’ came [in the 1990s] to replace the economic as political and, in the end, the Political as political as well. The more importance we placed on representation issues, the more central a role they seemed to elbow for themselves in our lives – perhaps because, in the absence of more tangible political goals, any movement that is about fighting for better social mirrors is going to eventually fall victim to its own narcissism.

— Naomi Klein, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* (2000, 109)

Analysts of consumer society have noted the relationship between consumption and identity and the use of this relationship to sell products by presenting them as ways to achieve self-fulfillment or lay claim to particular statuses or social identities [...]. The same has been documented for ethnic and racial identities, which advertising has associated with or embodied in a number of products and commodities as a means of interpellating people as ethnic, raced, or national consumers [...].

— Arlene Dávila, *Latinos Inc.* (2001, 8)

Naomi Klein’s popular 2000 publication about the politics of branding, *No Logo*, reflects what used to be considered marginalized and cynical perspectives about the mass media’s encouragement of branding advertisements from non-socially responsible corporations. Klein’s excerpt above illustrates how politicized branding can be and that where we concern ourselves with representational issues in marketing we must also acknowledge the impact of these concerns on the very advertising that is criticized. In other words, by the 1990s, many corporations were selling a branded image of themselves rather than focusing on products.

This chapter examines the often contradictory nature of using culture and folklore to sell products by (re)creating an image that speaks to specific representational groups and how these groups choose to identify with or reject the branded image because of the stereotyping it may have engendered. I explain notions of “staging” folklore, or recreating folklore, with the intent of making it seem “authentic” in the same optic as that which was previously discussed in relation to folklorism and fakelore and how invented traditions and created folklore as well as popular conceptions of one’s culture and how consumers associate or identify with and reject brands based on identity. I draw in what is perceived as positive discrimination and popular culture such as Roger D. Abrahams and Susan Kalčík (1978), Peter Narváez (1992) and John Fiske (2007, originally published 1989) as it is used to contextualize identity factors and the sellable or marketable aspects of identity and the use of stereotypes in selling goods. Of particular interest in the field of identity marketing in media and advertising is Arlene Dávila’s 2001 contribution, *Latinos Inc.* This relates to cultural ramifications of folklore in use. Identity (that which people use to frame their belonging to a group or their condition as a person) and marketing are intermeshed and it is through selling an “image” that marketers identify and use local, regional, and national sentiment in advertisements.

The association between product and legend raises questions of the invention of Québécois legends for marketing purposes versus the true body of oral tradition found in publications and collections from selective groups and regions. This study is a different approach to legend scholarship in that it studies the effect of marketing traditions and the use of labels as transmitters of selective legend versions. This approach also includes examinations of the historical past and notions of romantic nationalism still thriving in the

province, helping to understand the marketing of Québécois folklore and beer culture. Dávila's work on Hispanic marketing and advertising is interesting in this context because it discusses the promotion of nationhood, cultural belonging and the political exploitation of identities in corporations (Dávila 2001, 1-2). To be more specific, other works in marketing ethnic niches have also examined this phenomenon in relation to beer, such as Tanya Vannoy's 2009 *Trends in Marketing Beer to Hispanics*. Considering the significant growth of the Hispanic population in the United States, Vannoy examines the brewing industry's approaches and techniques reaching this ethnic niche via advertising and community involvement. This is part of the marketing of folklore, notably in relation to branding image and consumer culture.

This "folklore for sale" becomes a usable trend in advertising aimed at micro-cultural groups and I examine how the brewing industry labels folklore. This chapter focuses on product development as it relates to Unibroue and other Canadian and international breweries.<sup>1</sup> I particularly question: 1) the reasons for which a microbrewery such as Unibroue chooses to use vernacular heritage images for marketing purposes; 2) the process by which Unibroue (and by comparison, other microbrewers) selects the narratives and the versions of cultural characteristics they portray; 3) conversely, the process by which aspects of culture and heritage are rejected; 4) the relationship between narrative and image and the process through which cultural pride, vernacular identification, narrative recognition and shared political ideology are triggered through artistic rendering; 5) the role played by Unibroue and other micro- and macro-brewers in

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<sup>1</sup> For example, on the provincial scale: Nova Scotia's Alexander Keith's, Ontario's Sleeman's; on the national scale: Molson and Labatt; international: Ireland's Guinness and the United States' Anheuser-Busch and Stonebrewing company; and multi-nationals: Diageo and Ambev.



disseminating local legends and conceptions of heritage, particularly that of Québec; and, 6) consumer reactions to the marketing campaigns used by microbrewers like Unibroue or other larger brewing industries. In keeping with approaches to business and culture and the representation of consumer identity via a product (Elizabeth Williamson 1980; Judith Williamson 1978; John Deeks 1993), “*homo consumericus*” or human whose nature is to consume and who nurtures consumption is pivotal in defining identities through brands and appealing to specific markets. All that touches “cultural capital” as defined by Pierre Bourdieu, theories on class and leisure and consumer culture as examined by Daniel Miller will be discussed.

Because this chapter focuses on consumer culture, I include historical and contemporary aspects of consumer culture and the brewing industry in Canada. In a folkloristic approach, I discuss concepts in consumer culture and marketing with specific attention to how folklore is used in packaging and promotion, as well as commercialism. I also examine theories in regional and cultural politics and their relevance in selling images and identity through a consumer product.

## **5.1     Commercial and Consumer Culture**

Consumer Society is not an artificial and catastrophic social invention. It is a culture with its own systematic properties. And we are not devouring beasts who treat with the devil. We are creatures who depend on the meanings contained in the material world. (McCracken 2005, 5)

In Western developed societies culture is profoundly connected to and dependent on consumption. Without consumer goods, modern, developed societies would lose key instruments for the reproduction, representation, and manipulation of their culture. (McCracken 1988 [1], xi)

To place this study in context, I will briefly summarize commercial and consumer culture. Firstly, authors of works on contemporary commercial culture have varied perceptions of the nature of consumer culture and its effects on people. While some are of the opinion that it is destructive of human values, others embrace the notion of consumerism *as* culture, an expression of people in what they produce and consume and how it defines and identifies them in a group.

Kim Sheehan's (2004) *Controversies in Contemporary Advertising* highlights the perceived destructive nature of consumerism. Sheehan writes about how we define ourselves through "what we buy and how these purchases are seen by people external to ourselves" (Sheehan 2004, 18). This definition is quite relevant in cultural studies as an example of that which *is* culture and the symbolic use and display of a product. In

*Business and the Culture of Enterprise Society*, John Deeks (1993) writes of:

books, newspapers, advertisements, television, computers, clothes, travel, and sport. Such things reflect and shape the values of our societies and are intrinsic elements of our culture. In Western societies they are largely the products of business activity. [...] Indeed, so integral is business activity in our way of life that we can play with, and explore, the idea that our culture is a "business culture." (Deeks 1993, 1)

Today, with Starbucks at practically every street corner and brand names that keep popping up through multimedia advertisements, it is impossible to escape the world of advertisement. In writing about the role of advertising in contemporary culture, Berger notes that:

advertising has been of interest to scholars in many disciplines because these scholars see advertising as one of the central institutions in American society. Americans, we must keep in mind, are exposed to more advertising than people in any other society. (Berger 2004, 26)

Berger explains Americans as being more “exposed” to advertising through the use of television and radio, mediums that still dominate American culture. Berger’s arguments towards American culture being bombarded with advertisements may apply in a Canadian context as well. Berger writes, “ordinary people, deluged by commercials, become victims of information overload, which leads them to become confused and turned off, so to speak” (Berger 2004, 165). I would add that with the interactivens of advertisements in the 21<sup>st</sup> century through web-marketing and social media, this overload is even greater than before. But, even with this overload, people continue to be susceptible to the world of advertisements, they do not shut it out entirely, and, alongside companies, share a sense of social responsibility in the marketplace. It is partly through consumerism that consumers identify themselves and through the products or services they purchase that they belong to the greater community that is business culture.

Consumer culture in history could not be described without business culture and further, as Deeks observes, the commercial and profitable operations in business, as well as the ventured interests of stakeholders and business owners, have been defined by the cultures they exploited. Through social, national and economic definitions, Deeks explains how culture was perceived and exploited from the eighteenth century to the postmodern twentieth century (Deeks 1993, 13). From these postmodernist views, stems the analysis of commodities and consumer culture and the systems they belong to or even generate. Essentially, meanings are unequivocally associated with individual cultures, from behaviours to objects and their decoding within groups.

Deeks writes, “consideration of the role of business in society has focused primarily on the place of business in the social structure and the ways in which business activities

impinge on social issues [...] business symbols, business language, business beliefs and business ideologies pervade all aspects of the culture, material, intellectual and spiritual” (Deeks 1993, 19-21).

From a consumption perspective, Arthur Asa Berger (2005) writes, in *Shop ‘Til You Drop: Consumer Behaviour and American Culture*, “all cultures are based on consumption” (Berger 2005, 1) because consumption is based foremost on satisfying needs like eating and shelter, etc. But, consuming is also perceived as a conspicuous hobby, as suggested by Berger as well as those in favour with Veblenian theorists. As Berger notes, our interest in consumption dates not from yesterday but falls back onto much earlier periods, as early as mercantile culture has been recorded. Frank Ackerman asserts this as well in his “Overview Essay” in *The History of Consumer Society* stating that consumption is “as old as human material culture itself” (Ackerman 1997, 109).

Essentially, humans (or *homo consumerici*) are both obsessed and plagued by consumption and its effects on society, a point made by Grant McCracken (2005). He believes that the argument that “marketing and materialism” are “soul-destroying” is “alarmist” and that:

consumer goods are an important medium of our culture. [...] [They] help us make our culture concrete and public (through marketing and retailing). They help us assume new meanings (through purchase). They help us display new meanings (through use). And they help us change meanings (through innovation). (McCracken 2005, 3-4)

Various economic trends and social reforms based on philosophical theorists or political movements have shaped the history of business culture but none so much as to erase its stronghold on culture.

In his earlier *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, McCracken (1988 [1]) writes that “social sciences have [...] generally failed to see that consumption is a thoroughly cultural phenomenon [...] Consumption is shaped, driven, and constrained at every point by cultural consideration” (McCracken 1988 [1], xi). McCracken’s “cultural significance of consumption” relies heavily on symbolic representation (McCracken 1988 [1], xi-xv). Touching on Elizabethans through to theorists such as Durkheim, Weber, Marx, and Simmel, McCracken highlights the consumer revolution as viewed and exercised throughout the centuries (McCracken 1988 [2], 3).

Daniel Miller’s (1997) “The Study of Consumption, Object Domains, Ideology, and Interests” also shares McCracken’s Veblenian views “of consumption as a social phenomenon” (Miller 1997, 52) and is particularly of interest in folkloristics because of the effects of consumerism on groups as a determinant factor in self-expression:

consumption practices have become a form of self-production: witness the return to gardening, home brewing, and do-it yourself activities. Such productive consumption challenges traditional dichotomies between production and consumption as well as Bourdieu’s view that all consumption is social differentiation. (Miller 1997, 57-58)

The reference to Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of “cultural capital” and taste in Miller’s statement continues to be influential. Bourdieu’s legacy in social theory and criticism has influenced many disciplines in social sciences and humanities and in this particular case for cultural capital, Bourdieu relies on Marxist theories in social class and order, that is, access to power gives access to culture. Where Marxist theory is economic-based, Bourdieu takes economics as the power-driver behind culture, a function in cultural

production, intertwined with the social and cultural realm, observing all that touches what is tied to behaviours, “tastes,” symbolism and the creation of “a sense of collective identity and group position” as these are attributed “value” (Bourdieu 1993; Routledge 2011; Nathalie Heinich 2007, 102-105; Chris Wilkes 1990, 109-125; Richard Jenkins 1992, 82). “Cultural capital is a major source of social inequality” (Routledge 2011) and is best explained in the 2011 Routledge edition of *New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives: Social Theory Re-Wired*:

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital comes in three forms—embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. One’s accent or dialect is an example of embodied cultural capital, while a luxury car or record collection are examples of cultural capital in its objectified state. In its institutionalized form, cultural capital refers to credentials and qualifications such as degrees or titles that symbolize cultural competence and authority. (Routledge 2011)

The concept of distinction between classes based on the elements noted above is the guiding principle of cultural capital. For Berger, he believes that “we live in chaotic times in which people switch their identities around endlessly, it seems. In this postmodern world there is a subliminal and constant pressure on people to consume” (Berger 2005, 19). Identities are reshaped according to consumption patterns and marketing tactics fit this behavioural trend. Richard Jenkins (1992) made a specific reference to Bourdieu’s sociology of culture as “a sociology of cultural consumption, the uses to which culture is put, and the manner in which cultural categories are defined and defended” (Jenkins 1992, 82). This makes Bourdieu’s theories in practice all the more relevant to the research I conducted – “works have significance for certain groups and individuals based on their own objective position, cultural needs and capacities for analysis or symbolic appropriation” (Bourdieu 1993, 21). Groups of consumer cultures

are formed from capital culture, and they have been described by Berger as:

(1) Hierarchists (elitists) [...] [are] imbued with a sense of responsibility toward those below them; (2) individualists [...] [are] interested in themselves and want the government to do little, except to protect their freedom to compete with others; (3) egalitarians argue that we all have the same basic needs and tend to play down differences between people [and]; (4) fatalists [...] [who are] ordered around by others and pin their hopes on chance and luck as the means of escaping from their situation. (Berger 2005, 10)

Berger adds that, according to Mary Douglas, these “four political cultures [are] [...] lifestyles” (Berger 2005, 11). However, Douglas uses “*isolates*” instead of fatalists “and *enclavists* for egalitarians” to refer to the same consumer cultures specified by categorical groups (Berger 2005, 11).

Neva R. Goodwin writes: “a salient characteristic of a consumer society is that it is one in which a principal focus of leisure or nonwork time is the spending of money” (Goodwin 1997, xxx). Items that are purchased hold “ostensible functions” that establish “status” and “novelty” as well as “provision of a sense of identity” (Goodwin 1997, xxx). Gary Cross’ (1997) essay “The Consumer’s Comfort and Dream” notes that:

Three widely discussed theories offer overlapping and generally negative explanations of the rise of the consumer society. The first links mass consumption to the cultural degradation of industrial work. [...] The need for fantasy, ostentation, luxury, and distraction, as expressed by workers who are detached from traditional ways of life and excluded from new forms of cultural enrichment, leads to conformist patterns of consumption. [...] A second theory, rooted especially in the American context, identifies two simultaneous trends as the source of consumer society: an emerging mass-production economy produced a need for mass markets, while the erosion of the ascetic Victorian personality created a consumer psychology susceptible to advertising appeals. [...] A third approach stresses the social psychology of spending, as seen in the work of Thorstein Veblen and Georg Simmel. Veblen’s analysis of emulation and conspicuous consumption is well known, [sic] Simmel came to similar conclusions from an analysis of money, the marketplace, and fashion. (Cross 1997, 144)

As Cross writes, “the key to a better understanding of consumption may be found in the linkages between labor productivity, leisure, and consumer needs” (Cross 1997, 145).

David A. Crocker’s “Consumption, Well Being, and Virtue” indicates the emotional comforts of consumption in American consumerism and the leisure class (Crocker 1997, 14-18). Some authors, like Juliet Schor in “New Analytic Bases for an Economic Critique of Consumer Society,” write about Veblen’s theories of the leisure class as having “a tremendous but transitory influence on economic thought” (Schor 1997, 31). It was, according to Schor, Simon N. Patten’s 1889 *The Consumption of Wealth*, however, that had a closer view on consumer society. “Patten had to overcome not only Veblenesque critiques, but also the long standing fear that society might not generate sufficient consumer demand to grow and prosper” an effect that supported Patten’s views on how “society was emerging from an age of scarcity to an age of abundance; and that it was ethically desirable to embrace the new consumer society” (Schor 1997, 31).

Colin Campbell’s (1991) essay “Consumption: The New Wave of Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences,” discusses “trends in cultural analysis that have led to a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of consumer culture” (Campbell 1997, 33).

Until recently, traditional analyses of consumption in the social sciences, such as those of Veblen, Marx, Weber, and others, were largely neglected in fields other than anthropology. Anthropology emphasizes social systems, structures of interaction, and kinship. This focus has led to concerns for property rights, inheritance, and consumption practices within the context of large systems of social relations. In 1978, Douglas and Isherwood’s book, *The World of Goods*, was an isolated contribution to the understanding of consumption. More recent anthropology has focused on “material culture” with a consequent interest in exchange and commodities. (Campbell 1997, 33-34)



Campbell notes significant contributors in the field, such as Fernand Braudel's *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* and Pierre Bourdieu's theories on "display[ing] taste" (Campbell 1997, 34). McCracken's historiographical essay on the history of consumption notes that Braudel's (1973) *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* "was the first work to suggest the contribution of consumption behavior to the development of the West, and to establish the history of consumption as a legitimate field of study" (McCracken 1997, 119).

A study of the history of consumption can help us understand and define different cultures by seeing changes in fashion and style in clothing, pottery, food, architecture, and the like. For example, Western notions of space determined new kinds and amounts of consumption, especially in housing. [...] Consumption has also played a vital role in the transformation of the individual over time [...] culture and consumption are intertwined through goods. The interrelationship between marketing, consumption, and the meaning and symbols attached to goods has profoundly impacted Western culture. (McCracken 1997, 120)

McCracken suggests that while in the sixteenth to twentieth centuries there was a concern in class and family in relation to consumption, the twentieth century steered away from class to "concentrate on the [...] increasing role that other reference groups now play in determining consumption [...] and the relationship between the democratization of consumption and the democratization of society" (McCracken 1997, 120). According to McCracken "marketing and the manipulation of the marketplace have played a key role in the development of consumption" (McCracken 1997, 122).

In consumer culture, marketing brands – rather than products – is especially significant considering producers of similar goods are in competition with each other and need to vie for the same consumers. The "development of consumption," as noted by

McCracken, is affected by this attitude. According to Celia Lury (2004) in *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy*, a brand is “an image instrument, a medium of translation or a new media object [...] an object of the artificial sciences, an artefact” (Lury 2004, 49). Branding “is *a set of relations between products or services* [italics in original]... the brand is not immaterial” (Lury 2004, 1), it “is thus a mechanism – or medium – for the construction of supply and demand (Callon *et al.* [italics in original] 2002)” (Lury 2004, 27) and “a key locus for marketing strategies” (Lury 2004, 45).

In branding a product, producers and marketers are aware of external competitors and use “information about the market [...] to play an active role in the [ongoing] production of markets” (Lury 2004, 17-18). Because “the process of branding [...] is the assignment of attribute qualities that distinguish one brand from all others” (Sheehan 2004, 22), brands are supposed to reflect the democratization of product consumption, that is, the possibility for any producer to compete in a market that already has a similar (if not identical) product (e.g., the soda market’s “Coca Cola” and “Pepsi”). Corporations and companies started branding themselves in the process and not only their products, a resulting trend particularly relevant since the 1980s (Lury 2004, 32).

In marketing a brand, it is important to make reference to names or symbols that will be “used to identify a product or service and distinguish it from the competition” (Vanden Bergh and Katz, 1999, p. 526)” (Sheehan 2004, 22). As Joe Marconi (2000) writes in *The Brand Marketing Book: Creating, Managing, and Extending the Value of Your Brand*, “marketers have understood that the *brand* – whether considered in terms of brand name, brand equity, or brand loyalty – has been a manageable force in business for decades” (Marconi 2000, xi) because “brand loyalty never just happens. Brand managers

have to make it happen” (Marconi 2000, 61). Beer is particularly susceptible to brand loyalty and, in promoting a brand, brewery marketers sell a corporate image and create a sense of loyalty for its consumers. Marconi writes:

beer is another product that many people insist has but one taste. Beer is beer. Yet brand loyalty is high and passions for particular brands run high as well. Again, it is the brand *image*, more than price or availability, that helps define a beer’s loyal consumers [...] whether domestic or imported, the choice of beer is as correct in the eye of the beholder as the choice of a favorite sports team or rock band. Loyalty can seem almost fanatical. The choice of beer says more about a consumer’s personal perception of images than about the taste of beer. It’s the image. (Marconi 2000, 70-71)

In branding and marketing, however, there also comes a point where corporate accountability and ethical concern in product advertising become key factors in the promotional image of its products. In world markets, “Corporate Social Responsibility” (CSR) is a standard leitmotiv slogan that professes to highlight a responsible approach in business. The image of a corporation depends on CSR and, though it may not be a common practice for all, these corporations must include a segment of CSR whether it purports to environmentally-friendly business ethics and products, social interaction and community-involvement, benefits and proper production facilities, or safe working environments for employees. CSR is a standard by which corporations need to at least consider in promoting safe and “moderating” messages or warnings in the consumption of products. Moderation and warnings are the most common forms of CSR in the alcohol (L’Association [...] 1994, 6-7) and tobacco industries. Alcohol and tobacco have always been “controversial products” (Sheehan 2004, 187) because of the sexual content or corporate image associated with the products. Coincidentally, because the microbrewing industry focuses on quality and not quantity, CSR in a microbrewing context differs

greatly from large brewers in the moderation campaign because the small-scale industry focuses on “savouring” the product while large-scale brewers acknowledge the dangers of binge-drinking among its target market (L’ Association...1994, 7).

In 1974, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)’s *Five Nights* radio show broadcast their comments on the subject. The archived show relates how:

Some concerned citizens think it's irresponsible to give the message that you can't “have any fun without a beer in your hand.” Others, especially those who make beer commercials, think the problem with teen drinking has nothing to do with advertisements — it's just that the young people have nothing better to do. (CBC 1974; cited from “The Story” tab on the page)

Labatt was the highlighted company for the show’s topic because of the brewery’s marketing campaigns at the time. About this specific focus on Labatt, another archived segment from the CBC *Five Nights* program “Are beer ads harmful?” states:

In the November 2000 issue of the *Journal of Addiction and Mental Health*, Jeff Newton, Director of Public Affairs for Labatt Breweries Ontario, defended beer commercials saying, “We adhere to the guidelines and submit our ads to careful scrutiny of our own too, because it's not in our commercial interest to market our product irresponsibly, and have our brand fall into disrepute.” He continued, “We want to encourage people who drink to buy our brand — today — and that means those who are of legal drinking age now.” (CBC 1974; cited from the “Did You know” tab on the page)

This is in keeping with Sheehan’s description of corporate responsibility, of “social marketing [...] [and] advocat[ing] [...] a social cause” (Sheehan 2004, 246). Labatt’s brewing industry emphasizes its socially responsible role in the community, whether through recycling advocacy, charitable organizations or promoting moderate and responsible drinking (Labatt 2011).

In Canada, laws and regulations concerning labelling and advertising as part of CSR may be found in Industry Canada's Office of Consumer Affairs (Industry Canada 2012 [1], [2]). The federal Department of Justice Canada's *Consumer Packaging and Labelling Act*, R.S. 1985, c. C-38 subjects producers of goods and services to abide by specific weights and measures acts (Department of Justice Canada 1985). In section 7 of one of these acts, it is stated that "representations relating to prepackaged products" should not contain "any false or misleading representation that relates to or may reasonably be regarded as relating to that product" (Department of Justice Canada 1985). The definition for "false or misleading representation" relates to net quantities, what is contained in the product, and what is perceived as deceiving the consumer (Department of Justice Canada 1985).

What is pertinent in the discussion of CSR in this thesis is that part of the definition stated in section 18.1.g states that wrongful representation in a product label includes "any expressions, words, figures, depictions or symbols the use of which, in relation to a prepackaged product, shall be deemed, unless the contrary is proven, to constitute a false or misleading representation" (Department of Justice Canada 1985). Such rules, if broken, are subject to fines, convictions, indictments, and prison sentences according to the "Consolidated Statutes and Regulations" to protect the consumer and, evidently, product quality (Department of Justice Canada 1985).

How does this affect the enterprising venture of producing beers and other alcoholic beverages and the effects of their advertisements, more specifically, in relation to how folklore is used liberally on labels? Though regulations are specific to the contained product, the labelling act mentions the need to not mislead in "representation" or through

“depictions or symbols” (Department of Justice Canada 1985). Nowhere is it mentioned that cultural misrepresentation may consist of false advertising or stereotype reinforcement when selling a product. Nowhere is it mentioned that the use of culture (and by the same token, folklore) could be subject to the same rules and regulations.

Industry Canada states that the use of CSR is in the economic, environmental, and social interest of companies to address consumers (Industry Canada 2012 [1], [2]). Employees and shareholders are also consulted for productive and “proactive” advancement (Industry Canada 2012 [1]). How can these industrial regulations apply at a cultural level and what impacts do they have on folklore? I argue that the “staging” of folklore, the stereotypes used and what is created with piecemeal aspects of a group’s folklore can be both positive and negative.

## **5.2     Staging Folklore**

In Roger D. Abrahams and Susan Kalčík’s 1978 essay “Folklore and Cultural Pluralism,” the 1970s marked a period of re-evaluation in folkloristics that concerned itself about populations wanting to “dramatiz[e] their differences” in ways that were stereotypical (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 223). Stereotypical perspectives and exploitation by and for a culture were tied to notions of what constituted culture and this is what I find most pertinent in defining “staging” folklore – that is – exploiting and exhibiting aspects of folklore. As an example, the authors write about the Irish-American St. Patrick’s Day celebration and how drinking green beer and other alcoholic beverages is for the Irish-American “their little piece of obligatory behavior, shared joyously with the rest of America, [and] which they regard as immutably Irish” (Abrahams and Kalčík

1978, 223; see also Nancy Schmitz 1991, 126-127, 249-265). Gary Alan Fine describes this as “ethnic identity [...] bracketed and displayed in muted form on quasi-public holidays” (Fine 1992, 10). The “Irish as sentimental drunkards” stereotype works against the Irish in this respect because not all Irish drink.<sup>2</sup> As Abrahams and Kalčík note, “this capitalization of an exoteric view of an ethnic group is not unusual in the development of group pride” (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 223), therefore while some may take “pride” in being a part of the Irish drinking group, others may take offense to it especially when being recognized as a “sentimental drunkard” simply because one is Irish.

What Abrahams and Kalčík criticized in their essay was that, at the time, there were not as many analytical studies brought by folklorists on “how devices of folklore are used by community members as a means of establishing the major parameters of a community’s concept of itself” (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 228). In other words, combining the uses of folklore from a specific group and being a part of it was neglected in folklore studies three decades ago. Since, however, there have been many studies that have looked at how stereotypes may be used in commercializing culture or marketing tradition, especially in relation to identity and symbolism. The emotional sense of “group pride” that Abrahams and Kalčík write about is primarily the focus of attention when marketing a product to a specific group in mind.

About stereotypes and the construction of identities, Abrahams and Kalčík note the esoteric (insider’s perspective) and exoteric (outsider’s perspective) factors suggested by

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<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that since nineteenth-century temperance movements, the Catholic Church in Ireland encouraged its youth to take a pledge refusing to drink alcohol in their life. Today, some still continue this tradition (on associations between church sacraments and taking the pledge, see Donal Hickey 2012).

William Hugh Jansen in “The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore” (1965) as a point of study (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 228). The authors also write:

Various ethnic groups today are dramatizing their cultural apartness by making a more and more public display of traditional practices. These developments in going public often bring about severe departures from – and, many would argue, disruptions of – these traditional practices. Yet if such public displays are the means by which ethnic identity is maintained or recaptured, who is the folklorist to damn the proceedings by invoking the claims of legitimacy and branding the phenomenon as *fakelore*? (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 224).

John Fiske’s views on popular discrimination add to Abrahams’ and Kalčík’s point above. According to Fiske, “there is a difference between the representation of social forces or values and the experience of them in everyday life” (Fiske 2007, 133). People therefore take and leave what they wish in their representational connotations. The images created by those disseminating them by nature endorse them. In this respect, Abraham and Kalčík’s example of the quest for the American image, or what consists of an American culture, is characteristically shared between various communities in America, regardless of their origins (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 225).

Abrahams and Kalčík also stress the need to observe “the ethnic communities that have maintained their ethnicity, even while becoming a part of American society, to find out how such cultural pluralism operates” (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 225). In a multi-cultural country, cultural pluralism is affected by “popularization for mass approval” and the “dramatization of selected ethnic traditions into public performance (or products) intended for an audience that goes far beyond the ethnic” (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 225-226). According to the authors, what makes one group “distinct” within a pluralistic context may be how it attracts outsiders to its community. To attract outsiders, one must



use popularized mass conceptions of culture to promote cultural identities and this often involves the use of tourism or other profitable industries. It is therefore seen as beneficial to use cultural traits to attract consumers of culture, and what better way to exploit culture than in advertising or marketing.

This is the case with the Unibroue company explicitly exploiting cultural traits of a specific group by selling their products through selected portrayed images. The branded product uses romantic folklore and historical references to sell and strengthens popular conceptions of a cultural identity. The company's concern is not in its authentic depiction of regional folklore, rather, in its attempts to feed already existing popular concepts of culture as a usable item to sell goods.

I argue that these effects should be examined through a different lens, one that faces realities of today. Transmitting information by multi-national and globalized cultural means has made it easier for a global melting-pot of cultures to trade and/or borrow traditions, customs, beliefs, foodways, songs, and narratives for exploitable commercial goods. It is for this reason that many have decided to study these effects on local and regional folk groups.

The questions that arise in Abrahams and Kalčík's essay are similarly found in the research I have done where, as noted by the authors "by studying the aspects of ethnicity that the movement has chosen to reveal and emphasize, we can approach another important area of inquiry" (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 233). The cross-pollination of folklore and popular culture investigated in this thesis is a factor that cannot be dismissed in the collecting and reviewing of fieldwork and research materials. How one views folklore also varies in vernacular definition, as I have found in the focus groups, group

sessions and individual interviews I conducted. For example, despite the dated interpretation of “fakelore,” “fakelore” may be considered as authentic folklore by concerned groups in this study.

Furthermore, because folkloristics has also evolved, especially since Dorson’s “fakelore” contribution, multi-disciplinary theories (e.g., literary, cultural, popular, sociological), advance the discipline in a way that must accept broader spectrums of analysis. In this thesis, popular culture theories are particularly important. Thirty years ago, Abrahams and Kalčík were adamant about distinguishing folklore from popular culture:

this is not to argue that there is no meaningful distinction between folklore and popular culture [...] Rather, folklore and popular culture are simply different because they call for a different relationship between performer and audience and a different, if often related, set of materials. (Abrahams and Kalčík 1978, 229)

I agree with the authors, but I would add that folkloristics has evolved since in incorporating elements of popular culture considering the forms of expression that stem from it as folkloric. As Peter Narváez (1992) noted in “Folkloristics, Cultural Studies and Popular Culture”:

for at least two decades, folklorists and ethnologists concerned with the social dimensions of folklore and popular culture have been encountering stimulating analyses of popular culture written by a generation of scholars from the political left who are linked to “cultural studies [...] scholars converge and it would be of mutual benefit if some cross-fertilization of theory and method would take place” (Narváez 1992, 15-16)

I therefore argue that popular culture and folklore can be approached in the same theoretical manners, but that the uses of theories and methods may vary in the outcome of the analytical material. So, the possible creation of folklore by masses, or of industries

such as microbreweries, may consist of both popular culture and folklore. The boundaries between the two disciplines are slim and often blend together when studied in such a manner. What is more, the appeal of identifying to a product and to become involved in it, much like what is argued by Paul Smith in the case of “Coke-lore” (1991, 148) confirms how iconic corporations are for consumers. As stated by Jeff R. Schutts (2007) in “Coca-Cola History: A ‘Refreshing’ Look at German-American Relations,” Coca-Cola succeeded in the “cultural transfer” of American culture internationally (Schutts 2007, 134-135). Consumers will identify with what is sold and branded to them, but they also hold the power to mould the defined characteristics to fit an imagined sense of identity, and by the same token, ownership of the products.

### **5.3 Mercantile Narratives and Consumer Identities**

As Hermann Bausinger wrote in *Folk Culture in a World of Technology*, “the concept ‘folk culture’ has been retained as the familiar subject of the scholarly discipline of *volkskunde*” (Hermann Bausinger 1990, 1). Because folklore is political, its study becomes important in connecting with the groups it concerns and contextualizing culture.

As Abrahams writes:

although the identification of an ethnic group may seem to serve those so designated, it also subjects them to stereotyping. Stereotypes are formed using a set of characteristics associated with strangers and outsiders in general, including groups of roving entertainers – bards, skalds, and other singers of praise and scandal – and shamans. The characteristics associated with earthiness and naturalness, under only slightly modified formations, are attributed equally to savages, to barbarians, and to simple agrarian folk. (Abrahams 1993, 28)

Regional and cultural politics are connected with the production of goods. In relation to breweries, the use of regional and cultural politics to sell products is worth investigating.

The use of stereotypes as cultural politics is especially interesting to note in marketing. In

*Controversies in Contemporary Advertising* (2004), Kim Sheehan defines stereotype as:

one group's generalized and widely accepted beliefs about the personal attributes of members of another group. The essence of a stereotype is the perception that every person who belongs to the group is a generic exemplum of a type rather than a unique individual. (Sheehan 2004, 78)

While this is a good definition of stereotypes in the field of marketing and advertising, folklorists use the “blason populaire” as a similar definition of stereotype to reevaluate, recreate, or portray through regional and cultural politics.

Stereotypes are used to sell products. As an example, Diane Roberts' (1994) book *The Myth of Aunt Jemima*, captures race and gender and how a stereotyped image of an African-American woman became branded on pancake-mix (Roberts 1994, 2). In her introduction, Roberts writes:

Aunt Jemima is so familiar she is practically invisible, part of America's racial background voice. Aunt Jemima flourished in minstrel shows before she became a corporate brand name: the archetypal ‘mammy,’ her shiny, scrubbed black face beaming, her crimson head-rag tied smartly in a square knot. The mammy typifies the mythic Old South of benign slavery, grace and abundance; she rules the kitchen or she instructs the young ladies in decorum or she buries the family silver in the orchard so the Yankees won't steal it. Now she presides over the great American breakfast, the head-rag gone, the face slimmer, the outfit changed to what a businesswoman might wear, a Black Urban Professional, or Buppie Jemima. But the name on the pancake-mix box is still ‘Aunt Jemima’ – we are still haunted by titles of slavery and minstrelsy, even in our bright egalitarian supermarkets. (Roberts 1994, 1)

Another example is found in Robert M. MacGregor's (1992) historical study “The Golliwog: Innocent Doll to Symbol of Racism” illustrating a nineteenth-century “British

folklore” black doll as a “widely used trademark in the British commercial marketplace” through controversial racial stereotypes (MacGregor 1992, 124). The cultural and geopolitical representations of a people, race, and gender are tinted by the era in which literature and products were created. In other words, what was written and what was marketed in a specific historical period was influenced by the politics of culture at the time. The supporting literature used by Roberts exemplifies how America came across the image of “Aunt Jemima” in a pancake-mix and how it may have evolved throughout the ages. About this cultural revolution, Roberts writes “Aunt Jemima had been reinvented as a repository of old South romance and ‘modern’ domestic convenience” (Roberts 1994, 157). Roberts’ conclusion is that the stereotyped racial, gender, and class categories found in the “Aunt Jemima” and “Jezebel” characters:

are but two of the ‘markers’ representing and limiting black women: they are old-fashioned, white-generated terms but still in currency as part of the American national shorthand. Underneath them lie real women struggling with representations fixed in culture long before they were born. (Roberts 1994, 195)

Thus, even with contemporary political correctness there are images today still bearing historical meaning and cultural stigmas even though the product from which it stems tries to keep current ideals. Even with the current “Buppies Jemima” image on a pancake-mix box or syrup bottle, the businesswoman portrayed still reflects her unforgettable colonial past. This is an example of David E. Whisnant’s “romantic cultural revitalization” where a culture is modified or reinvented to fit another set of norms, a manipulation process that illustrates the power of “cultural assumptions and cultural images” (Whisnant 1983, xiii, 16).

In Whisnant's 1983 *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*, nostalgia is exemplified at the root of cultural politics in Appalachian music. Whisnant writes that Appalachian music was influenced by the 1920s promotional market wanting to recreate nostalgic images of "outrageous hayseed garb" illustrating "hillbilly" culture as "an authentic representation of Southern mountain music" (Whisnant 1983, 183-184). About the Appalachian-American Ozarks, Whisnant writes:

Popular understanding of the Apalachian South at the time reflected virtually every shade of opinion. While for some, mountain people were "backward," unhealthy, unchurched, ignorant, violent, and morally degenerate social misfits who were a national liability, for others they were pure, uncorrupted 100 percent American, picturesque, and photogenic pre-moderns who were a great untapped national treasure. (Whisnant 1983, 110)

Self-perceptions in the narrative process are also noteworthy in that recreated images are often associated with stereotypes because of the reevaluation function. David Novitz discusses how recreated images help to change self-perceptions in the narrative process leading to the "politics of identity" (Novitz 1997, 153).

By recreating an image that hopes to tell a different narrative about the self, the politically-correct "Buppie Jemima" image is supposed to reflect a contemporary and inclusive attitude towards African-Americans. Conversely, it may undermine the history of slavery connoted in the initial "Aunt Jemima" depiction. In the marketing process, the advertisers felt it was important to have the product represented by a person in contrast to a logo or other image. The identification is much stronger if one sees the image of a person rather than just the name associated to a product.

In contrast, the twenty-first century “La Bolduc” beer from Unibroue does not depict a photographic image or illustration of the well-known Québécois folk singer and “lilter,” Mary Travers,<sup>3</sup> rather it depicts landscape images of the period. Known as “La Bolduc,” Mary Travers evokes a not-so-distant nostalgic past in Québec’s historical recollections of a dark and economically-trying period (Lorne Brown 2005-06, 11; *Site Mary Travers dite “La Bolduc”*). The iconic Gaspesian-native woman remains in the Québécois collective memory from using her song repertoire and style in contemporary folk compilations (Brown 2005-06, 11; LeBlanc 2005 [7], 40-41) to associating the woman with an “older” vision of post-industrialized Québec. Unibroue’s use of the name “La Bolduc” evokes what the microbrewery describes as “à l’ancienne” (“old style”) in their brewing product.

There is a different form of exploitation in the politics of representation between the images represented on Unibroue’s “La Bolduc” beer and that found on the “Aunt Jemima” pancake-mix. Where the brand “Aunt Jemima” portrays the image of an African-American woman, “La Bolduc” does not illustrate the Depression era singer. Unibroue chose to represent the brand with photographs of Québec’s late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century landmarks in contrast to a photograph or image of the singer. In this case, the cultural politics of the name is associated with regional representation rather than a personified image. The local and regional sentiment was more representative of a nostalgic era in which “La Bolduc” lived.

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<sup>3</sup> Mary Travers (1894-1941), or “La Bolduc,” is not to be confused with the American Mary Travers (1936-2009) from the Peter, Paul and Mary folk group.

Regionalism and community identities are particularly exploited in the brewing industry. Loïc Jean-Luc Calmet's 2002 Master of Business dissertation "A Qualitative Study of the Communication Patterns of the Beer Brewing Industry in Ontario and Québec," defines, identifies, and analyzes Ontarian and Québécois brewers "to assess the knowledge generated by group(s) of breweries in two provinces of Canada" as well as corporate reputation and how it "drives the industry to find or create a particular identity" (Loïc Jean-Luc Calmet 2002, 5). From a quality product perspective, larger brewers such as Molson and Labatt, base production on large-scale mechanized brewing methods making their beer "more and more diluted and the rivalry...was turning into a marketing-based competition" (Calmet 2002, 25).

Calmet describes how micro- and craft breweries began in the 1980s as a response to a widespread desire for quality beers and how they concentrated on local communities in contrast to the global market that large-scale multi-national breweries were targeting. The 3-5% market shares expected in microbreweries, such as mentioned by Quidi Vidi Brewery's co-founder, David Rees, is a successful number to ensure survival within the brewing industry considering how large brewing industries control 90% of the said market (LeBlanc 2003 [5]; Calmet 2002, 26).

According to Calmet, Québec's large-scale brewing industry is an important contribution to the micro- and craft brewery production, Unibroue considered as one of the most successful examples (Calmet 2002, 28). What pertains to a microbrewer's success, however, is its link to regionalism in that cultural geography and landscape "define[...] microbreweries" (Calmet 2002, 28).



After the Sleeman bought all shares and titles to the Unibroue company in April 2004, websites and blogs, as well as published opinions on the subject, voiced mixed feelings about the Ontario-based brewery buying a Québécois institution. A majority of these public opinions were against the selling of Unibroue, criticizing the Québécois brewery for its lack of regional pride. These views continued to be published even after the corporation shift (and the Japanese/US Sapporo buy out of Sleeman). Some of Unibroue's past beer-lovers have shifted their taste-buds towards other Québécois-owned and operated microbrewers so as to contribute in the local, regional, and provincial economy.

Raymond Chalifoux's 2006 opinion piece "Une erreur, un bonheur" in the "Vins et alcools" section of the local Montréal newspaper *Ici*, wrote about this lingering bitterness towards Unibroue's sell-out. Chalifoux wrote:

Pour à peu près les mêmes raisons qu'il est malaisé de trouver quantité de vins de Bourgogne à Bordeaux ou de chianti quand on est à Vérone, personnellement, je n'ai jamais acheté une seule bouteille d'Unibroue depuis le passage de la maison aux mains de l'Ontarien Sleeman. Désolé, je ne suis pas capable. Et elles me manquent, ces bières? *You bet!* Or, j'ai eu le bonheur de voir apparaître récemment sur les rayons de notre dépanneur local, et à juste prix, les produits de la micro St-Arnould de Mont-Tremblant. *Yes!* J'ai déjà expérimenté la Vlimese, une ambrée, la Blanche des Anges, une blé sur lie, toutes deux convaincantes, et j'ai hâte d'essayer aussi la Rivière Rouge (rousse) et la P'Tit Train du Nord (extra dry). J'ai vérifié par téléphone : ils livrent partout au Québec; alors demandez-les! (Chalifoux 2006, 45)

[For about the same reasons that it is difficult to find a large amount of Bourgogne wines in Bordeaux or chianti when we are in Verona, personally, I never bought one single Unibroue bottle since it passed onto Ontarian Sleeman's hands. Sorry, I can't tolerate this. And do I miss these beers? *You bet!* I was glad, however, to have recently seen on local convenience store shelves, and at a good price, the micro products from Mont-Tremblant's St-Arnould. *Yes!* I had already tried the Vlimese, an amber, the Blanche des Anges, a wheat beer on lees, both convincing, and I am looking forward to trying the Rivière Rouge (Red) and the P'Tit Train du

Nord (Extra dry). I found out by calling: they deliver everywhere in Québec; so, ask for them!]

This appeal for local microbrew solidarity highlights how a previous Unibroue consumer deprived himself from drinking a company's products because it was no longer Québécois-owned. Chalifoux considers it intolerable that Unibroue should be owned by Ontarians. Chalifoux calls to readers who feel the same about the Ontarian ownership (that has, since, changed to Japanese/US hands), and he provides information about local access to other competing regional microbreweries by promoting "homegrown" goods. This feeling of belonging to a specific group and encouraging local economy is ever-present in the microbrewing consumer community. In the event of multi-national mergers, regional appropriation becomes compromised. And where does Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) fit in this scheme of thought? CSR "also known by a number of other names: corporate responsibility, corporate accountability, corporate ethics, corporate citizenship, sustainability, stewardship, triple bottom line and responsible business" should be viewed as a guideline or "building a base of compliance with legislation and regulation" working "beyond law" (Industry Canada 2012 [1]). Should CSR then concern itself with the effects of mergers and corporate shifts? Should CSR also cover cultural politics of representation in industries? Or is this factor not seen as seriously harmful to the public or companies? Perhaps these are questions to raise in the reevaluation of CSR and corporate profiling. Moreover, there could be case studies about concerns in consumerism due to corporate shifts. Such negative connotations perceived by consumers, that is, perceptions that are damaging towards the corporations, are thus worth investigating in early contemporary legend work (Jan Harold Brunvand

2002; Gary Alan Fine and Patricia Turner 2001; Gary Alan Fine 1992; Patricia Turner 1993; Robert M. MacGregor 1995; Janet Langlois 1991; Fredrick Koenig 1985; Bob Tamarkin 1993). Each of these is discussed below.

An example of the impact of negative connotations is found in Diageo, the British-owned “world’s leading brands across total beverage alcohol – spirits, beer and wine” (Diageo 2014; Sean Dunne 2003). Created out of a merger between Guinness and Grand Metropolitan, the corporate mogul Diageo, wanted to place a focus on the “adored” Guinness brand (Diageo 2014). This focus was not received particularly well by employees of the first Irish Guinness plant in Dundalk as it was reorganized in 2000 (Diageo 2014; Dunne 2003; Niamh Dolan 2003). According to Sean Dunne (2003) Guinness (by default, Diageo) justifiably cut back jobs in Dundalk, as “part of [a] plan to remain globally competitive” (Dunne 2003). Many other UK-based Guinness plants had been closed previously, but the fact that this iconic Irish institution was now suffering cutbacks in its own backyard was creating problems for Irish employees.

After speaking with an Irish friend about her aunt’s previous employment at the Guinness plant in Dundalk, I was told that there were rumours in the marketplace circulating immediately after the corporation’s restructuring and the products’ change in taste (Niamh Dolan 2003).

The nature of Guinness identified as an “Irish” institution managed by British corporate hands makes this case even more political. The profits in the marketplace are first and foremost in Diageo’s business interests, therefore, the corporation’s reorganizing is no doubt an important business decision. Guinness had been extremely successful in securing the British brewing market that is perhaps why Diageo expanded by purchasing

the Irish iconic brewery (Andy Bielenberg 1998, 105-122). This is, however, perceived negatively by those affected directly by the cutbacks and those witnessing the shift in the iconic institution. Such business decisions make it all the more bitter for the proud and loyal consumers who feel connected to the product because of what it represented. Perhaps it would be prudent for corporations like Diageo to consider the important ramifications of product representation and identity factors because it is, after all, the consumer who identifies with the product. In this particular case, using identity markers such as national pride or local history make the corporation seem hypocritical when the very marketing tactic they use to sell a product insults (some of) its targeted consumers. Guinness was perceived as a “national symbol” that, as Marianne Lien (2000) notes, is “locally defined, referring to stereotyped idioms which are influenced not only by the countries they claim to describe, but also by the cultural position and cultural preconceptions of the countries in which they are applied” (Lien 2000, 165).

The concept of the nation evokes an image which appears to be extremely ‘good to think’, not least in the field of marketing. The notion of the nation state has a profound impact on the way we think about social process and cultural difference (e.g. Anderson 1983). The conceptual collapse of nation and people (*land* and *folk*), which implies an equation of national and cultural boundaries is central to the modern concept of the nation. Like the concept of the market, this idea of the nation places an emphasis on territoriality and on external borders. (Lien 2000, 158)

According to Solomon, Zaichkowsky and Polegato, Heineken has used what other beer advertisers focused on as a way to distinguish themselves, by printing ads stating “Just being the best is enough” in contrast to campaigns using stereotyped gender-based images and “Catchy jingles” (2002, 262).

Erving Goffman’s (1979) important contribution in gender and advertisements is

particularly noteworthy as he examined the use of sex to sell products. His work has influenced many other researchers in examining the impacts of using sex to market products. For example, Ilona P. Pawlowski's Master's thesis looks into the phenomenon of sex in advertisements notably in women's magazines and fragrance advertising by surveying "nearly 500 women" about the use of sex as a "tool" and appealing to young demographics (Pawlowksi 2007). This demographic or "niche" in marketing has been used in beer advertisements for decades often illustrating stereotypical beer consumers as male and trying to appeal to the assumed heterosexual eroticism in advertisements. Corona's relax-on-a-beach campaign pursues this notion by highlighting a heterosexual couple's desires, notably by focusing the message on both partners looking at the opposite sex walking on a beach (Corona [1] and [2] 2009). Images of women and sexual innuendos have been and continue to be used to sell beer. Only recently are we seeing an attempt at being more "inclusive" to appeal to a more varied consumer-base. In a sense, the Foster's advertisement pictured above could be construed as such an attempt to include both male and female consumers attracted to women.

For the purpose of this section however, and the responses I received from survey participants, I approach this aspect through their views of "sexism" and "clichés" in sexual desire via mass-produced beer advertisements (LeBlanc 2005-06 "Question 7": Respondents 20, 28, 35, 50, 56). Of the 59 respondents, 45 answered my question: "Do you find that marketing slogans and commercials appealing to specific groups are political? Please describe by offering an example" (LeBlanc 2005-06). One male respondent from Québec and between ages 31-35 stated the following answer:

No, I believe they are strictly based on a commercial driven purpose that is to

stimulate, even with clichés relating to youth behaviour, the sales of their beverages. The clichés are of course, for example, the young adult male that becomes brainless with the consumption of alcohol and thinks that with a specific type of beer he will get the woman he desires. (LeBlanc 2005-06; Respondent 56)

One underage female respondent originally from Ontario but now living in Sydney, Australia answered the following:

If anything they are politically incorrect. Alcohol industries generally target the younger generation thus appealing through comedic and sexual means. Alcohol commercials generally are not meant to be political but sexually explicit hence exploiting the female body and generally male stupidity. Commercials collectively portray the stereotypical male and female hierarchy thus convey a patriarchal social structure. Usually, i don't pay attention to marketing on television unless it's particularly memorable such as the "my name is joe and i am canadian" commercial so i cannot think of any specific examples supporting my speculation. However, i do believe that marketing slogans and commercials are NOT political and merely appeal to specific groups through materialistic and commercial means. (LeBlanc 2005-2006; Respondent 35)

One Ontarian female respondent, between the ages of 26-30, replied the following:

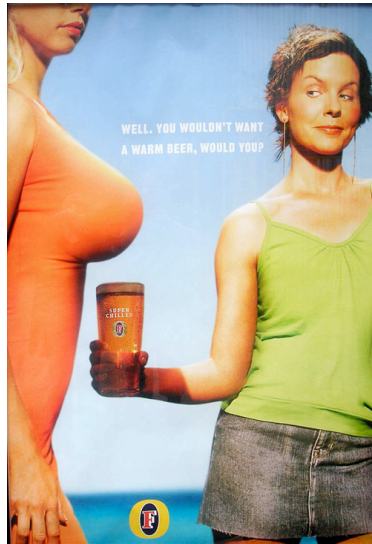
Beer commercials seem mainly geared towards men in their 20s, especially the recent Molson ads (a bunch of scenes of meeting women), and the Coors light billboards ("dating both sisters smooth" or "ex-girlfriend cold"). In that sense they are "politically incorrect", perhaps. Otherwise, I can't think of any "political" examples. (LeBlanc 2005-06; Respondent 28)

Among the sexist examples in various TV commercials or print ads are the obvious uses of the female body to sell beer and the loss of sexual inhibitions women may have while under the influence of alcohol. The use of parties as a selling feature was described by one male respondent from Ottawa (between the ages of 18-25) who stated: "I do not really find the commercials or slogans to be political. However, I do find them to be very into the whole "party atmosphere" and that, if you drink this type x beer, you are going to have as much fun as this hot blonde in the corner" (LeBlanc 2005-06; Respondent 20).

Beers like “A Marca Bavaria,” “Fosters,” “Carlsberg” and “Molson’s” advertisements certainly have focused on the female gender or sexual innuendo as a selling feature for their products (Figures 33-37). It should be noted that the 2003 “A Marca Bavaria” beer ad featuring Brazilian model, Pietra Ferrari showcasing her body in a very small bikini and almost stripping for two male onlookers, received much negative press but was not deemed to break the Advertising Standards Canada “code” (more specifically, clause 14 of the *Canadian Code of Advertising Standards* relating to demeaning representation of the woman and undermining human dignity) (Reed and Blaikie 2003; The Ad Show 2011).



**Figure 33: Danish “Carlsberg” brand illustrated in the “Carlsberg Camouflage” advertisement (Design Your Way).**



**Figure 34: Australian “Fosters” beer advertisement (Design Your Way).**

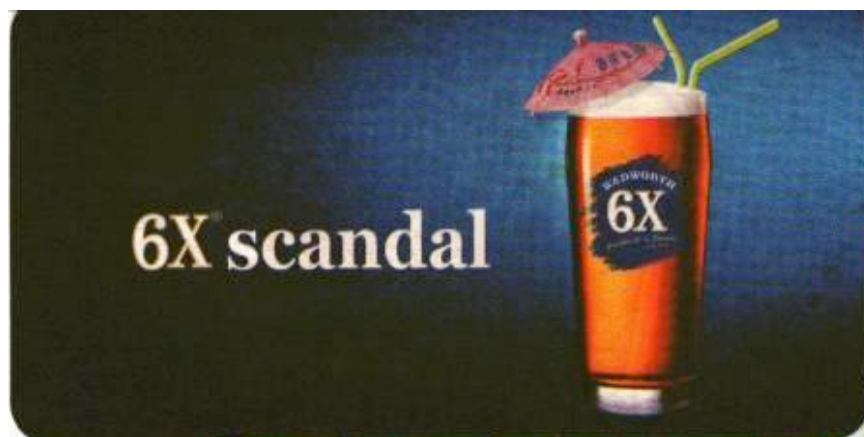


**Figure 35: “Molson Export” advertisement for the popular Montréal, QC strip club “Chez Parée”(Photograph taken by author, 2006).**





**Figure 36: “T’as une Belle Gueule!” beer coaster. The play on words, literally means “You have a nice face/appearance (or mouth)” and the “Belle Gueule” brand brewed by Montréal, QC’s Les Brasseurs RJ (author’s collection).**



**Figure 37: UK’s Wadworth brewery promotional beer coaster, sounds like “sex scandal” (author’s collection).**

While there is a risk in criticism and communicating a sexist message, the concerns for brewing (and generally alcohol) corporations, have been mostly on drinking in moderation campaigns. JoAnn Leigh Roznowski’s (2003) Ph.D. thesis on alcohol

moderation in malt beverage print advertisements discusses the issues of corporate responsibilities to individuals in the American market. Roznowski writes “national brewers and distillers have been employing industry self-regulation, as well as marketing communication tactics, in an effort to curb the rising criticism of their product and its advertising” (Roznowski 2003, 2). Moderation campaign research such as Roznowski’s provides statistic information on target marketing and corporate concerns with branding and image. Reputation is an important factor to consider when studying corporate culture. Positive and negative perceptions of products and corporations can make or break a company’s profile.

Roznowski’s thesis questions the motives of advertisers regarding moderation and the concept of responsible consumption in the alcohol industry in relation to profits (2003, 31-32). This is a valuable example of CSR concerns, but seldom is written on the representation and identity (de)constructions created by brewing industries. Roznowski points towards this direction stating “critics of advertising often state that advertising breeds negative stereotypes, makes us buy products we don’t need, has harmful effects on vulnerable groups (e.g., children, elderly, minorities), and distorts the political process” (Roznowski 2003, 33). The ethical concerns about using “children [...], tobacco [...], political [...], and racial stereotyping” in advertising are apparent (Roznowski 2003, 33).

Even the industry acknowledges the lack of female executives leading multi-national corporations. Beer remains a predominantly male beverage, and with those promoting it, very few women are at the helm of this industry. Anat Baron’s 2009 documentary film *Beer Wars* illustrates how the small-scale brewer survives in the large-scale industry’s market, from politics to legislation, and marketing in the United States.

Through her own experience as the “General Manager of Mike’s Hard Lemonade where she<sup>4</sup> helped grow this entrepreneurial company to \$200 million in sales” Baron examines the American brewing industry through the critical lens of an entrepreneur (Baron 2014; 2009). The viewers are introduced to “major” players at the National Beer Wholesalers Association Annual Convention selling their brands via women clad in skimpy outfits and appealing to the predominantly male industry players (Baron 2009).

A selection of microbrewers were highlighted in Baron’s documentary and only two women were at the helm of their businesses, Rhonda Kallman founder of New Century Brewing Company (Moonshot caffeine beer) and Kim Jordan, founder of New Belgium Brewing Company (Baron 2009). Essentially, the documentary focuses on the competitive power in multinationals and the challenges microbrewers must face in trying to get the little “shelf-space” available and focusing on the product as opposed to marketing for beer integrity (Baron 2009). I had a discussion with beer experts and distributors in Canada on this very same topic. On April 17, 2003, I went to two local convenience stores in the Mont-Bleu sector of Hull, QC. I first went to the very successful convenience store chain, Provisoir to see if I could purchase Unibroue beers. To my surprise, only mainstream beers were on the shelves, Budweiser, Molson, Labatt. When I asked the clerk if there were any Unibroue products elsewhere in the store, the clerk replied that there were none but that I should go “in the back” – not of the store, behind the building in a small complex that had a few stores, one of which was referred to as the “Dépanneur Mont-Bleu” (Figure 38).

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<sup>4</sup> This third person reference is taken from Baron’s profile excerpt.



**Figure 38: Dépanneur Mont-Bleu, Hull, QC  
(photographs taken by author April 22, 2003).**

I spoke with the female convenience store clerk, explaining the research I was conducting and she steered me to a series of refrigerator displays with not only Unibroue products but many other microbreweries of Québec. Apparently it took them three years to acquire Unibroue products. On April 22, 2003, I met with the store manager, Philip Rousseau, who told me about the products they selected and granted me permission to take photographs of his beer layout (Figures 39, 40).



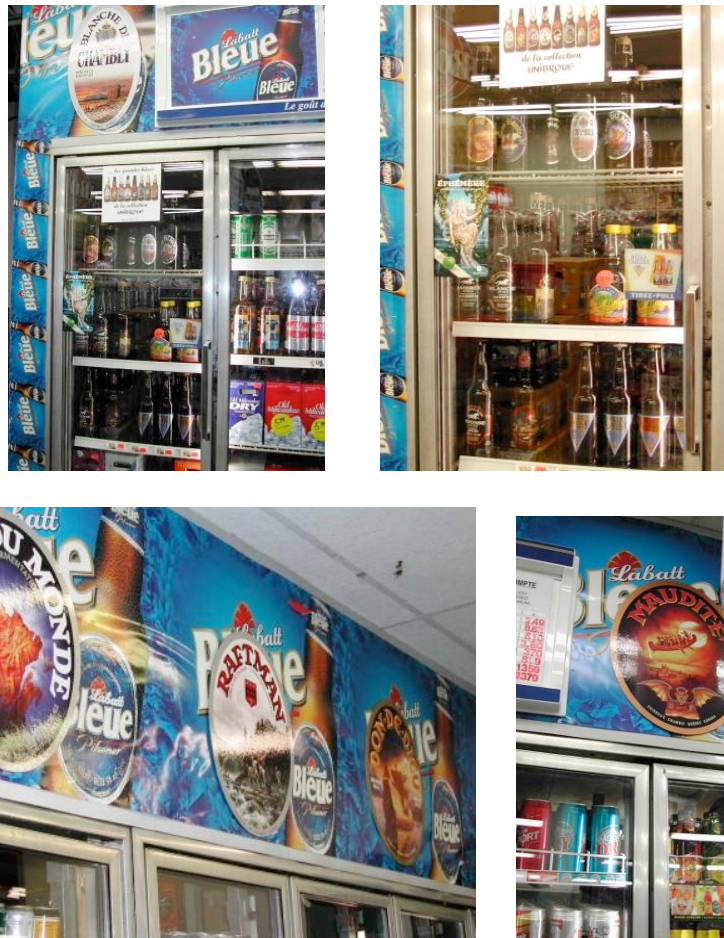
**Figure 39: Shelves stacked with Unibroue products  
(photographs taken by author April 22, 2003).**



**Figure 40: Shelves stacked with Unibroue products  
(photographs taken by author April 22, 2003).**

In comparison with Baron's documentary, the "shelf space" was an issue in that Unibroue products were placed in cases next to other goods shelves, or with wines in what seemed to me a mis-matched fashion. Philip did make an effort to promote Unibroue and this was seen visually with his refrigerators even though they were mostly reserved for Labatt products (Figure 41). There is no correlation between the shelving space and market share in product placement. What a company chooses to pay as part of their marketing strategy (which includes strategic placement in stores) has a direct impact on what the store owner will display as he/she is being paid an amount to promote goods.





**Figure 41: Labatt Blue refrigerators containing a large variety of Unibroue products and promoting Unibroue posters (photographs taken by author April 22, 2003).**

Though the store manager did dedicate more space to microbreweries and promoted Unibroue products with posters above refrigerators, Labatt Blue was their best-seller perhaps because of the eye-level and next to the door handle position. What struck me particularly was how the manager posted Unibroue signs on top of and obstructing part of Labatt's advertisements. Large-scale brewers who sponsored shelf space or entire refrigerators sent him photographs of how their products should be displayed but, as Anat Baron's documentary illustrated, even posters have to be carefully placed especially when

a brewer pays to have prime real estate for selling purposes. On another note, though the local Trois-Pistoles legend was not a cultural referrant for people living in this neighbourhood, the beer “Trois-Pistoles” was one of Unibroue’s best-sellers following the “Maudite” (LeBlanc 2003 [4]).

Using folklore to sell micro- and craft-beers is notably successful via advertisement relying on regional appropriation. Of the two women focused in the documentary, one struggled immensely to keep her product afloat and had to appeal to the large-scale brewers for survival in the market because of some of the aspects noted above (Baron 2009).

Few women, such as Erin Peters, promote beer out of personal interest and write blogs about other women in the industry (Peters 2014). Even in the predominantly male-market, some women became renowned for creating and maintaining popular beer festivals and events. For example, Jeannine Marois is co-founder and president of the Mondial de la bière de Montréal (Mondial de la bière Montréal). When I participated at the many local and international events focused on beer, I noticed the demographic has remained predominantly male. It was an observation I thought interesting to note via my own interest and the few pioneering women recognized as experts in this field (noted above). Considering the ancient tradition of brewing used to be a female domain before the Trappist monks began appropriating recipes and being renowned brewers of Continental Europe, it seems only befitting to have women recognized as respectable influences in the industry, from production to advertisement. Even Unibroue acknowledged women as pioneers in the brewing tradition when they issued “Gaillarde” beer (Figure 42) to commemorate the female brewers of the Middle Ages.



**Figure 42: “Gaillarde” beer bottle and label (author’s collection).**

As explained above, women are a part of the brewing industry, whether in historical accounts as pioneering brewers, used for sexual appeal in advertisements or as business representatives making their mark in what has been perceived as a predominantly male-oriented and male-dominated industry.

From the fieldwork I conducted and the many examples found in advertisements and documentaries as referenced above, women have been and will remain, pivotal



figures in the brewing industry. For gender and use of sex to sell products in advertisements, there are multiple factors to consider when targeting a market. Authorities such as Erving Goffman (1979) and studies based on his observations, have illustrated how the representation of self, behaviours and sexual stereotypes are used in advertisements. Advertising thus becomes an essential tool reshaping ideas to influence and create purchasing needs for the subliminalist. But what if advertising is explored like consumer culture and seen as a way to strengthen identities? As this chapter explored, identity factors tied to nationality, regions, gender, sex, and even ethno-cultural traits can be used in both positive and negative ways in advertisements. Overall, the message is meant to be clear: to attract a specific group, defined by both product creators and product consumers.

What becomes apparent from this study is the complexity of consumer behaviour, of corporate image development and how marketing products have socio-political ramifications. In the historical accounts of consumer culture and the brewing industry in Canada, we are able to discern that the world of goods is complex. As my marketing professor once stated in class, the creation of brand loyalty and marketing is both science and art. The brewing industry in Canada is competitively marketed to reach as many consumers as possible. Unibroue managed to create a following while it was advertised as “locally-owned and operated.” This Québécois microbrewery suffered consequently when it wanted to seek bigger ventures. Ultimately, the identity of those who own a microbrewery in Québec affects the selling of the product because of its nature: a small and regional “product of the land.” Québécois beer drinkers that consume the products of Québécois microbreweries do it not only out of interest for the taste of the product but

also to encourage their local and regional economy. Québécois beer drinkers that consume microbrews do it out of kinship towards what they may construe as a collective representation of “their” business. When “their” business no longer shares the same identity as its consumers, that is, when a perceived “outsider” becomes the owner and operator of the said business, the loyal consumers may begin to withdraw and may advertise their deception towards the lack of “pride” the original owners had in the face of financial stress. Sharing identities for a consumer and its product, as in the case with microbreweries in Québec, are part of the politics representation. Ultimately, the consumer may not be easily duped: if a product advertises its national or regional pride, it has a vested interest in remaining loyal to its consumers and practice what it markets.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Beer and Politics: Identity, Nationalism and Patriotism

Le roi chantant du houblon, Garou l’Ancien, a choisi de se donner la mort (quoique, à trois millions de dollars, on ne puisse pas dire que ce soit...donné). Survive donc Johnny l’Imbuvable, *king* incontesté de la bouteille translucide à feuille d’érable!... Une *Fin du monde* brassé par Sleeman, c’est y...*the end of the world?!?*<sup>1</sup>

[The king singing hops, Old Garou, chose death (what with three million dollars, we cannot say that it was...given away). May Johnny the undrinkable survive, undisputed king of the clear bottle with the maple leaf!... A *Fin du monde* brewed by Sleeman, is it...*the end of the world?!?*]

– Jean-Paul Lanouette, “Mise en bière d’Unibroue”  
*Le SorelTracy Magazine* (2004)<sup>1</sup>

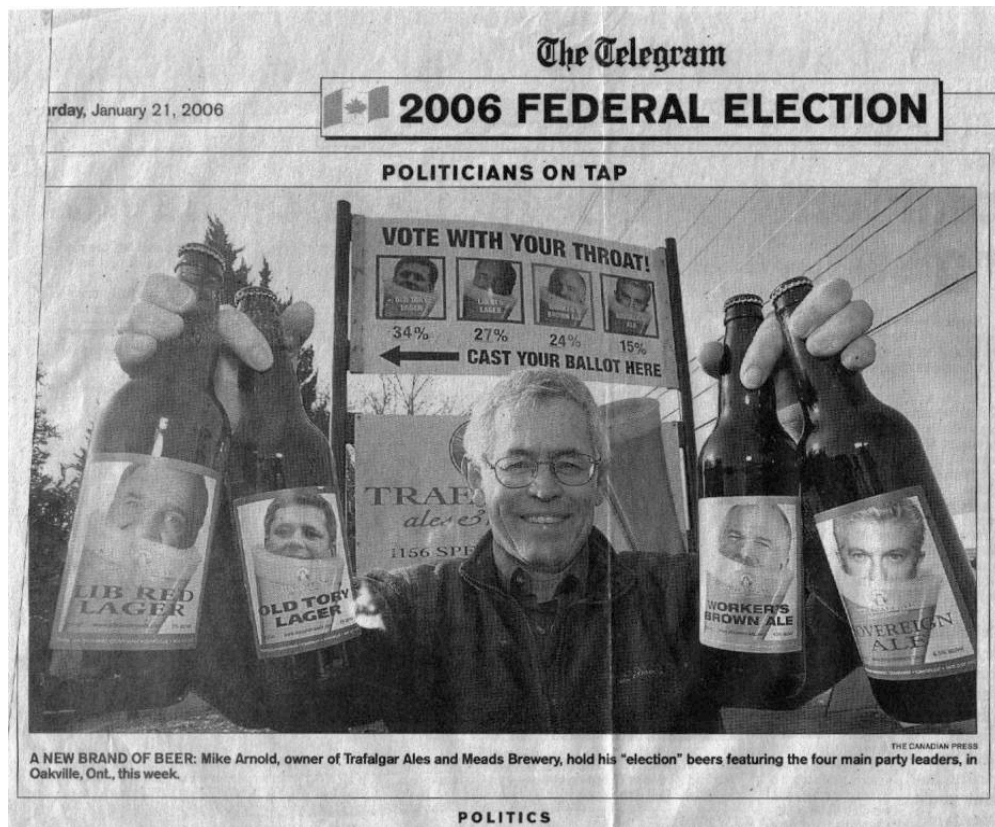
Beer and politics go hand in hand. Some political revolutions are said to have begun in pubs, inns and taverns, like the Brazen Head in Dublin, for example, Ireland’s oldest pub that catered to “such revolutionaries as Robert Emmet, Wolfe Tone, Daniel O’Connell and Michael Collins” (The Brazen Head 2014). Another example is Guy Fawkes who was said to have participated in the British Parliament blow-up conspiracy meetings which took place at an Inn by the name of “Duck and Drake” in London, UK. Some political advisors occasionally take the punters’ advice back to their cabinets. Such legends circulate amongst “suits” (professionals) working in the downtown Ottawa core frequenting pubs like the Darcy McGee on Sparks Street.<sup>2</sup> In the 2006 federal elections in Canada, *The Telegram* (St. John’s) printed a picture of Mike Arnold’s “election beers”

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<sup>1</sup> Ellipsis in quotation as originally written by author Jean-Paul Lanouette.

<sup>2</sup> It is of popular belief that the Darcy McGee pub in Ottawa has been known to cater to politicians and advisors who, after a few drinks, converse with the public for their opinions on the government. While my husband was working for the Bank of Canada between 1999-2002, one of his colleagues (a political advisor prior to his employment at the Bank) apparently witnessed this first-hand.

brewed by Ontarian Trafalgar Ales and Meads Brewery. The labels portrayed four party leaders: Paul Martin, Stephen Harper, Jack Layton and Gilles Duceppe peeking out of the foaming glasses of beer and a sign stating to “vote with your throat” (Figure 43).



**Figure 43: “Politicians On Tap” (*The Telegram* 2006).**

Two years before these elections, in 2004, the Forum jeunesse du Bloc Québécois campaigned towards the youth demographic (18-30-year-olds) by using promotional items explicitly tying beer and politics and used in pubs, bars and restaurants (Figure 44).



**Figure 44: “Mon vote, c’est pas de la petite bière” (My vote is no small beer) beer coaster, part of the Forum jeunesse du Bloc Québécois.**

This chapter explores the uses of folklore in a political manner and how people identify with the created items of folklore from a nationalist perspective in Québec. I also explore how a commercial turned national iconic emblem was able to gather so much attention as to create a world phenomenon on patriotic ethnic identification and distinction from other cultural groups. It shows how they are congruent with each other in building and transmitting a sense of nationality and/or a people’s identity and culture. I also draw patriotic parallels between the Molson “I am Canadian” slogan and Unibroue’s “1837” beer.

I approach questions surrounding nationalism and Québécois identity, how participants view nationalism and separatism in Québec and whether their political

notions of shared identities are communal. Authorities on nationalism and regionalism such as Johann Gottfried Herder (1968) and William A. Wilson (1989; 1976), and those on the construction of identities such as Benedict Anderson (1991 [1983]), and John T. Doby *et al.* (1973) are consulted.

In light of Sleeman's 2004 purchase of Unibroue, and Sapporo's subsequent purchase of Sleeman in 2006, the cultural representation and identity of the microbrewery as a responsible re-distributor of folk items has changed. Recent public comments found online and in various other media have discussed the Ontarian ownership of what had been an iconic Québécois institution as potentially harmful for regional sales in Québec due to cultural appropriation and association of the microbrewery. I discuss the political statements associated with drinking a particular beer, microbrewery vs. large-scale brewers such as Unibroue vs. Molson and Labatt, and the local and regional traditions encouraged through products. This is in keeping with a number of recent studies focusing on the representation and packaging of cultural traditions. Most clearly relevant to this study are the works of Robert M. Seiler (2002) and Robert M. MacGregor (2003) about Molson's "I Am Canadian!" commercial, an Anglophone parallel to the concerns discussed above.

While significant nationalist theoretical discussions have centered around European contexts (c.f. ref. Rodolf Rucker's 1998 [1937] *Nationalism and Culture*) there are significant sources used in folkloristics that explain this concept, such as Roger D. Abrahams (1993) and William A. Wilson's (1976 and 1989) works on romantic nationalism and antiquarianism as it pertains to culture, land, identity and symbolism. Rucker's *Nationalism and Culture* should be read as an intellectual's approach to social

sciences. The work lends itself to various interpretations where Rocker's analyses and descriptions of the national state, reformation, absolutism, liberalism, democracy, romanticism, nationalism, and unity (Rocker 1998 [1937], 90-350). From the fall of the Roman Empire to Germany's Hitlerian years, Rocker picks through historical facts and meshes the cultural appeals that are to be found within nationalist trends. In Europe, federalism helped in the "total submersion and the political influence of the arising royalty" and was to protect the interests of the people by centralizing a "unified" power for socio-economic organization (Rocker 1998 [1937], 91). Some of the European theoretical perspectives are relevant in a Québécois context. Furthermore, Benedict Anderson's (1991 [1983]) *Imagined Communities* is also a founding contribution to the idea of community, *communitas*, and ideologies surrounding it. As for Québécois nationalism and independence movements, I reference works by Richard Handler (1988), Dale C. Thomson (1984), Rodrigue Tremblay (1981), and François Moreau (1995).

Because this chapter deals with "identity," "nationalism," and "culture," I provide a list of definitions for these terms according to various authorities on the subject. I also add my informants' views on patriotism, nationalism, and separatism in Québec and whether their political notions of "shared" identities are similarly perceived. Nationalism is at times synonymous or interchangeable with patriotism (Jean-Luc Chabot 1986, 3).

## **6.1 Defining Cultural Identity Through Nationalist and Romantic Lenses**

In *Sociology: The Study of Man in Adaptation*, John T. Doby, Alvin Boskoff, and William W. Pendleton (1973) write about the invention or development of cultural identifiers that represent a specific group and how these identifiers fit into social

organization and ideology systems. Although the authors prefer the sociological studies over cultural anthropology, stating that sociology deals with more complex issues related to humans (Doby, Boskoff and Pendleton 1973, x), there are important characteristics to note in cultural anthropology or ethnology, that are as complex analytically as sociology purports itself to be. For the purpose of this chapter, I use both sociology and ethnology as highlighted disciplines connected to the folklore research conducted.

Doby, Boskoff and Pendleton's work begins with an overview of cultural systems, human biological behaviours and adaptations to the creation or development of culture (Doby, Boskoff and Pendleton 1973, xi). The authors state that the human's "adaptive problems are always conditioned by his biological needs, but his responses and systems for adaptation are cultural and social" (Doby, Boskoff and Pendleton 1973, 479). With the politics of representation and the conception of shared identities, humans are subjected to the cultural and social adaptations created by themselves. A defined identity may differ with each individual but as a collective group, identifying markers, that is, recognizable characteristic traits such as race, gender, age, language, sexual preference and culture in general, are part of the consensus of association with and alienation from groups.

Identifying markers change and are in continuous flux as humans change and evolve. Identity, like culture and folklore, is dynamic. In political discourse, when a nation refers to itself as a nation, it sometimes neglects the evolutionary nature of culture and often relies solely on history and the traditions of a united culture as static and unchanging. Nationalism, therefore, can be seen negatively as part of a retrograde view of assembling and re-assembling political individuals.



In *Nationalism and Culture*, Rodolf Rocker states “all nationalism is reactionary in its nature, for it strives to enforce on the separate parts of the great human family a definite character according to a preconceived idea” (Rocker 1998 [1937], 213). Though Québec’s nationalism could be in keeping with this argument, I would stress that the nationalist movement in that province was, at its base, rejectionary as it was not looking for a reversal of the existing common state, rather it rejected the church state and association to an Anglophone nation to embrace a distinct cultural, linguistic, socio-political and economic heritage promoted and safeguarded through an independently governed state. The Quiet Revolution in the 1960s was a liberating movement against the institutionalization of the Catholic Church (Handler 1988, 84-87, 108; W.L. Morton 1972, 115-120). The detachment from faith, from its political and economic stronghold, and the mobilising world events that happened amongst Babyboomers, issued questions about liberty and equality as well as the fundamental notions of the sharing and redistribution of wealth, power, and authority. In Québec, this meant a complete segregation between the church and state and the possibility of building a “new” nation-state within a country. The idea of creating a nation-state within another, however, created problems.

“Nation-state building,” according to Jules-Pascal Venne (1995) in “L’accession à l’indépendance et les précédents,” is the reverse process of “state-nation building” that is generated from a centralized power generating a sense of belonging such as with the sixteenth and seventeenth-century nations in Europe (Venne 1995, 94). “Nation-state building” was a focus in the 1960s and ‘70s in Québec and nationalist activist movements sprung from this theoretical framework (Venne 1995, 96). Nation and state, however, should be viewed as separate from each other. As stated by Handler (1988) in

*Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Québec*, “a nation...is a human group that may or may not control its own state; while a state is a political organization that may or may not correspond to all of one, and only one, nation” (Handler 1988, 6). “Most nations,” as Handler puts it, “aspire to statehood yet many have not and will not attain it; and ... many states, federal or unitary, encompass more than one nation” (Handler 1988, 6-7). Handler challenges the notions of boundaries, homogeneity and continuity in nationalist discussions and brings forth an array of examinations into the interdisciplinary social scientific theory and bias of studying nationalism. In his book, Handler also points out just how explicitly rejectionary the Québécois were in the 1970s with “traditional” and “homemade” crafts and trade fairs that

represented a rejection of mass production and the consumer society while at the same time expressing a new infatuation with national culture and identity. They offered what was perceived as a uniquely Québécois alternative to the standardized consumer goods of industrial society. This alternative had become available throughout the year, in the crafts *ateliers* and gift shops of shopping centers and main streets. Nor was this the only manifestation of renewed interest in indigenous traditions. Craft bazaars invariably accompanied the dozens of annual village festivals and carnivals that became so popular during the late 1970s. (Handler 1988, 11-12)<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Handler describes how the Quiet Revolution led to the creation of a *Ministère des Affaires culturelles* [Cultural Affairs Department] as well as the 1970s efforts in following UNESCO policies in all things relevant to culture and the cultural industry in Québec (Handler 1988, 114). I became a part of the remnants of this movement by enrolling in a graduate degree in the Management of Cultural Organizations at the École des Hautes études commerciales de Montréal between 2006 and 2008. The courses taught varied from the legal construct of cultural industry management to cultural policy analysis. In the “Cultural Policies” course I took, each student had to choose a country’s cultural policy and analyze it for seminar presentations. I chose Estonia, and was struck by the similarities between many countries in the definition of their cultural policy and their birth from independence movements and the separation of an imperialistic nation. When the Soviet Union collapsed, many Northeastern and Eastern European countries that had been under Soviet rule up until the early 1990s redefined their nation with cultural policies as a first step in establishing a national identity (Mikko Lagerspetz and Margaret Tali 2013; *The Economist* 2006; Mikko Lagerspetz and Rein Raud 1995).

I would add that this is still the case in Québec and that the “festivals des saveurs” (tasting festivals) have been especially trendy in the past decade grouping all food- and drinkway elements in Québécois culture into major public events.

## **6.2 “Cultural Distinction” and the Independence Movement in Québec**

At the time of his research, Handler had found that most small-owned shops would refer to themselves as co-operatives in Québec City, a part of the regulated economic model still in trend today (Handler 1988, 20-21; Ministère des Finances et de l'Économie du Québec 2014). The Barberie microbrewery in Québec City is a cooperative business and echoes the 1970s heritage of distinct cultural production and enterprising ventures (LeBlanc 2005 [3]). The attachment to land, locality, and regions is part of the patriotic and nationalist sentiment in Québec. The use of its products and of productions on Québécois soil becomes a tangible example of identity; what Handler illustrated in the late seventies and early eighties still reverberates today. Acquiring parts of a landscape, products, language and traditions (regardless of the cross-pollination between Irish, Scottish, Breton and French traditions), Québec defined itself as different, “distinct” within a broader nation and its most patriotic people hung on to Charles De Gaulle’s July 24, 1967 statement: “Vive le Québec libre!” (Pierre-Louis Mallen 1978, 159-167). Independence became as marketable as the traditional song or craft. It became the slogan of a majority of Québécois to define themselves in the American continent. What was cultural was political and what was political became cultural. There were no real boundaries between the worlds of politics and culture in Québec and both became so intertwined that it was the platform for many soapbox “indépendantistes.” For example,

artists like filmmaker Pierre Falardeau (1946-2009), found themselves advocating for culture and political independence in Québec through their craft, like songs, poetry, novels and films.

In the political realm, when Jean Lesage was elected liberal Prime Minister of Québec in 1960, he and his party began paving the way towards a feasible independent state for the province (Dale C. Thomson 1984; Morton 1972, 123). It was Lesage's "maître de chez nous" (masters in our own house) slogan that particularly struck the Québécois collective. "Maître de chez nous" eventually became René Lévesque's campaigning slogan as well when he was the leader of the "Mouvement souveraineté-association," predecessor of the "Parti Québécois" and concrete example of the Norwegian- and Swedish-based model of co-habitation between two distinct cultures (Mallen 1978, 286; Handler 1988, 9; Thomson 1984, 149-157). Hydro-Québec was Lévesque's pet project and a tangible venture for the "maître de chez nous" model. Being "sovereign" no longer seemed like a pipe dream but more of a possible reality, and it became the driving force to break the status quo that had left Québec in political limbo for so many decades. It was, as W.L. Morton (1972) writes in The Canadian Identity, "what all nationalists said ... the Québécois (sic) should be master of their own destiny – the old Quebec cry of *maîtres chez nous*" (Morton 1972, 119). The Dictionnaire géopolitique des États (1996) defines sovereignty in Québec as a

dernière solution [qui] suppose le rejet du lien fédératif entre le Québec et le reste du Canada et l'accès du Québec à la souveraineté politique. Une option donc qui pourrait mener à la séparation complète, mais qui n'exclut pas une redéfinition radicale du degré, des structures et des conditions de la participation du Québec à l'ensemble canadien. (Yves Lacoste 1996, 118)

[last solution [that] supposes the rejection of a federal link between Québec and the rest of Canada and access to political sovereignty for Québec. An option that could thus lead to a complete separation, but that would not exclude a radical redefinition of the degree, structures and conditions of Québec's participation in the Canadian collective].

Thus, separatist movements came into being and over a decade there were many groups that followed the route towards extreme manifestos and new world orders while others refrained from getting involved in the “souveraineté” movement. Nationalism becomes a loaded term with many connotations and for the Québécois; it was rejectionary of all things past and embracing of all things new. Richard Handler's (1988) *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*, a perfectly timed publication about the events following the October crisis, the first Referendum for Québec sovereignty and the waning of the Quiet Revolution in the mid-eighties, highlights Québécois nationalism in a historical time-frame that not only peaked but also presented imposing challenges upon the political status quo (Handler 1988). Handler illuminates the generational issue that is so present in determining political independence in Québec. It is often the 18 to 30-year-olds that are particularly involved in revolutionary politics and the mid-1970s were dominated by the Babyboomer generation wanting to change the world.

In Mathieu-Robert Sauvé's (1995) “Comme si le Québec existait,” one feels the bittersweet reflections of the Babyboomer generation towards the “Generation X” as seldom, if involved at all, in the political future of their “country” (Sauvé 1995, 186-195). It is disappointing to read from a Babyboomer's perspective that cultural and political inertia in Québec is the fault of a young generation that had little hope to gain the strength in numbers for massive world sit-ins or easy employment that its predecessors

experienced. Of course, the reality of independence movements in Québec today is entirely different than it was in the 1960s, '70s and even part of the '80s. What is striking, no less, from Sauvé's writing is that there is a recurring need to dredge up the allegorical armies with the hopes that a new Québec will form, that is, an independent one.

In Québec, mid to late twentieth-century political debates on the subject of nationalism, the concept of a building nation-state within a nation and hammering the "distinct" cultural trait found in the province was mostly voiced by artists and writers. These protagonists found a common cause to express themselves through a culture that was distinct in Canada, but were more a part of a revolutionary process that challenged the political and economic institutions then governed by a Church-State. Though the challenges were met and a great change ensued in the province, the quest for one's national identity through an "independence" solution or "sovereign" model was left to stew in the verbal realms of political activists and became the product of generational conflicts towards authoritarian governing models in general. In "L'avocat du diable," Amine Tehami (1995) writes:

Pour emprunter le découpage incisive de Michael Ignatieff, le nationalisme est une doctrine qui repose sur trois préceptes: (i) les peuples de ce monde sont divisés en nations; (ii) ces nations jouissent du droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination et (iii) l'autodétermination passé par un État. (Tehami 1995, 161)

[To borrow Michael Ignatieff's incisive cut, nationalism is a doctrine that sits on three precepts: (i) peoples of this world are divided into nations; (ii) these nations enjoy an inalienable right to autodetermination and (iii) the autodetermination passing through a State].

Tehami recapitulates the Romantic ideals of nationalism by reminding the reader of “heroic sacrifices” and violence made in defense of one’s nation as a primary function in nationalist movements, evolving into civil liberalism, and a “social union” gathering people into similar cultural communities (Tehami 1995, 168; Rocker 1998 [1937], 200-201, 213).

The collective notions of nationalism, where the nation-citizens are same in all characteristics: racially, linguistically, morally, and culturally was re-examined in Rocker’s work as an economic argument abolishing working classes (Rocker 1998 [1937], viii). In sum, the threat of job loss revives medieval and renaissance ideals towards nation-building, where persecution towards minority groups occur and romantic notions of the majority’s folklore is highlighted to strengthen the united commonalities.

In Québec, these arguments occur in nationalist debates, and the media often portrays the fumbling comments uttered by politicians. This was especially the case in 1995 with the referendum on the sovereignty issue in Québec. Before resigning in 1995 as leader of the Parti Québécois, Jacques Parizeau candidly stated that the defeat of the Yes campaign for sovereignty was due to ethnic votes and the wealthy elite class (Pierre-Luc Bégin and Pierre Falardeau 2004, 99-111, 206-207). Such stigmatized statements hinder nationalist movements in Québec treating separatists and independent activists as racist and backwards. When I sent an online survey on the potential folk hero traits found in the fictitious film character “Elvis Gratton,” by Pierre Falardeau, one respondent noted that the film director’s purpose in creating a stereotypical federalist character was exactly with the intent above, that is to show how “racist,” “cheesy” and “reactionary” the “pro-American fetichist” federalists were in comparison to the nationalist hero in Québec

(LeBlanc 2004 [14]). Falardeau's message was heard loud and clear in this statement.

Derry O'Connor understood the remnants of the Quiet Revolution's product: a filmmaker's attempt to reignite the 1960s' "explosion" against "backwardness."<sup>4</sup>

In 2005, during the "Media in Transition 4" conference at the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, I presented a paper on the film director's use of film to voice his activism in favour of the independence movement in Québec describing the misinterpreted messages created and received by the public and the way in which the media portrayed nationalist trends in Québec. It is through stereotypes that Pierre Falardeau ridiculed the federalists that claimed they were tolerant when in reality racist comments by Parizeau are replayed in the media. Popular notions of the Québécois "nationaliste" often place the individual in the reactionary category by over-generalizing the independence movements in the province as un-changing and closed towards other ethnicities. If Québécois nationalists were in fact totally and without abstraction reactionary in their political demeanour, there would be excessive movements against immigration and racist behaviours towards the non "pure laine" native (literally, *pure wool*, meaning "pure-blooded" Québécois) Françoise Moreau (1995) writes in *Le Québec, une nation opprimée*: "le 'pure laine' est donc devenu un terme de dérision et, plus tard, de dérision de soi-même, tout à fait le contraire de l'autoglorification raciale" [the "pure-laine" is thus a term of derision and later, was ridiculed itself, the contrary of racial autoglorification] (Moreau 1995, 102). Québec has shown itself as an open province, welcoming of its immigrants and encouraging pluralism. However, nationalism, by its definition is also focused on the homogeneity of individuals and an ideologically-based

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<sup>4</sup> My book chapter on Elvis Gratton explains these political stereotypes in greater detail (LeBlanc 2007).



perception of “boundedness [...and] continuity...encompassing diversity” (Handler 1988,

6). Handler writes:

Nationalism ... is an ideology in which social reality, conceived in terms of nationhood, is endowed with the reality of natural things. In principle, the individuated being of a nation – its life, its reality – is defined by boundedness, continuity, and homogeneity encompassing diversity. In principle, a nation is bounded – that is, precisely delimited – in space and time: in space, by the inviolability of its borders and the exclusive allegiance of its members; in time, by its birth or beginning in history. In principle, national being is defined by a homogeneity which encompasses diversity: however individual members of the nation may differ, they share essential attributes that constitute their national identity; sameness overrides difference. (Handler 1988, 6)

Culture thus becomes an identifying factor in how to define the sameness. About culture,

Doby, Boskoff and Pendleton write:

there are behavior patterns and guides to behavior that *are transmitted* in varying degrees of completeness to the new members of current groups and often to succeeding generations. Culture refers to those learned patterns of behavior, beliefs, and values that are *transmitted from one population to the next*. (Doby, Boskoff and Pendleton 1973, 483-484; emphasis in original)

This definition of culture is in keeping with Québec’s notions of culture. Nation-states become the allegorical vessels that carry with them the cultural traits shared by individuals. It is an artificial creation that takes on the form of an individual like a parent. It is with this Romantic view of nation that one understands why terms like “fatherland” have been used to describe a nation as a paternal instructor and native delegator of culture. The political aspect of a nation remains artificial, non-organic. This concept was largely examined by Rocker and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, notably the “artificial structure” of the state and how, in France’s case, it changed the face of French politics (Rocker 1998 [1937], 163). Rousseau’s “social contract” at the base of liberalism, worked towards a

better and more inclusive socio-economic model (Rocker 1998 [1937], 170; Chabot 1986, 16, 22). Nationalism then shifts between the cultural and the economic bound by rule of power where the concept of a social contract begets membership definition. The following section will examine this in depth notably in relation to consumption.

### **6.3 Post-Modern Social Contracts, Membership and Consumption**

New intellectual movements sprung from the social contract concept as did the uniting of familiar cultural backgrounds and shared traits found in nation-building. The solidarity witnessed in eighteenth-century France between peasant classes in the French Revolution portray this will to unite and overthrow a despotic, irresponsible, and unequal government. This also paves future concepts surrounding Marxist-socialism. It is through the egalitarian idealism model of Marxism that those advocating political thoughts and nationalism truly believed all should be granted equal opportunities in life and that hierarchies polluted the very notion of communitarian living. Antonio Gramsci was an advocate for folklore used as a way to value communal identity as opposed to it being “used by the ruling classes to keep the lower classes subservient, in their customary place” (Alan Dundes 1999, 133; Arthur Asa Berger 1995, 45).

Gramsci was not of the same opinion as the Frankfurt School of Marxism. This is reflected in works by Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and Max Horkheimer (Berger 1995, 43-45; Mike Featherstone 1995, 18). In *Undoing Culture*, Mike Featherstone (1995) illustrates how the Frankfurt School’s anti-mass-production/consumption campaign also attacked advertisement (Featherstone 1995, 18-19). Featherstone’s postmodernist criticism of world globalization and mass-

consumption of culture is a recurrent theme in the adoption and definition of cultural identities and the quest for “authenticity.” As Anthony D. Smith (1992) writes in “Towards a Global Culture”:

Nations ... would be likely to persist as cultural forms, and a truly cosmopolitan culture did not rule out residual folk cultures, to which Engels referred disdainfully as so many ‘ethnographic monuments’ with their dying customs, creeds and languages... today, movements of ethnic autonomy in Western Europe have sometimes linked their fate with the growth of a European community that would supercede the bureaucratic straitjacket of the existing system of nation-states, which have signally failed to give peripheral ethnic minorities their due in the post-war world. Only in a broader, looser European community would such neglected minorities find recognition and equal opportunities. (Smith 1992, 175)

The various ways in which Marxism was explored through scholarly works and practice have changed since Karl Marx’s first insights into his theory of “economics [as]... the chief form of human alienation” and, by this respect, “the material force needed to liberate humanity from its domination by economics is to be found in the working class” (Peter Singer 2000, 32). For Marx, the worker was “a commodity” that suffered the “laws of supply and demand. If the supply of the workers exceeds the demand for labour, wages fall and some workers starve” (Singer 2000, 33).

Cultural production or mass consumption of culture thus becomes a way “to maintain current social and economic and political institutions” (Berger 1995, 45). It counteracts Marx’s “first critique of economics” that alienates “humans from their own nature [and]...from each other” because productive activity, according to Marxism, is seen as a result of dominated/submissive economic relations (Singer 2000, 36). Marxism perceives higher classes as the true owners of culture they produce and thus control the very heroes reflected as elites in their narratives (Berger 1995, 46). According to Berger

the creation of consumer identities is part of a fetishization process in how one uses and identifies with commodities (Berger 1995, 53). Thus economics continues to be bound to nationalism movements and where crises occur, relations within communities are fettered in the same way.

Karl Marx had insight on the powers of economic theory and practice but because of the realities of his period, industrial concerns were more prevalent in his Modernist arguments (arguing domination at the productivity level). Man exploits Man just as it exploits nature and all other possible things; it is in human nature to exploit. Just as anyone may have the plausible right to access wealth, there are variable rules of engagement in business that ultimately reflect a power hierarchy whether at the production or consumption levels.

The production of culture, of folklore, is not sheltered from this. As Abrahams writes “both folklore and anthropology emerged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in some part out of this desire to counter the excesses of modernity” and yet, it is modernity that has exploited the production of folklore to fit contemporary (and conspicuous) consumption (Abrahams 1993, 21).

#### **6.4 Nationalism and Imagined Communities**

“My point of departure is that nationality, or as one might prefer to put it in view of that word’s multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind” (Benedict Anderson 1991 [1983], 4). In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1991 [1983]) suggests that “nation (...) is an imagined

political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 1991 [1983], 6).

*Imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion ...[;] *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations ...[;] *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm ... [; and] *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (Anderson 1991 [1983], 6-7)

Abrahams cites Anderson’s work on “imagined communities” and “comradeship” through folkloristic lenses (Abrahams 1993, 20).

Discussing lore as invented traditions and the folk as imagined communities in no way undermines the power these fictions hold for us. Folklorists are well positioned to comment on the production of the invented traditions and imagine communities by which national, regional, and local identities are formed and the landscape is sacralized, transformed into a homeland. (Abrahams 1993, 22)

Essentially, identity is tied to culture, which can be tied to nation-states, which can be tied to identity. Abrahams’s discourse also draws on works by Maurice Halbwachs (1980) to describe collective identity through collective memory (Abrahams 1993, 23-24) and it remains politically-tinted. Nevertheless, the individual and the collective share a common need and sense to identify or non-identify with a group. The image of folklore is often retold through romantic lenses when people want to use it as an identity marker. As stated by William A. Wilson (1989) in “Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism,”

“folklore both creates and is created by a romantic-nationalistic consciousness” (Wilson 1989, 21). Folklore studies (or folkloristics) had its roots with

emergent romantic nationalistic movements in which zealous scholar-patriots searched the folklore records of the past not just to see how people had lived in by-gone days – the principle interest of the antiquarians – but primarily to discover ‘historical’ models on which to reshape the present and build the future. (Wilson 1989, 22)

With the use of Hans Kohn and Carlton J.H. Hayes’ definitions of nationalism, Wilson defines the ideology as a “state of mind” where individual loyalty is tied to the “nation-state” and is interchangeable with patriotism (Wilson 1989, 22). As for Rocker, he writes:

The old opinion which ascribes the creation of the nationalist state to the awakened national consciousness of the people is but a fairy tale, very serviceable to the supporters of the idea of the national state, but false, none the less. *The nation is not the cause, but the result, of the state. It is the state which creates the nation, not the nation the state.* Indeed, from this point of view there exists between people and nation the same distinction as between society and the state. (Rocker 1998 [1937], 200; emphasis in original)

Smith says of the notions of nation-state within the “imagined community” realm that:

Nations were ‘built’ and ‘forged’ by state elites or intelligentsias or capitalists; like the Scots kilt or the British Coronation ceremony, they are composed of so many ‘invented traditions,’ whose symbols we need to read through a process of ‘deconstruction,’ if we are to grasp the hidden meanings beneath the ‘text’ of their discourse. (Smith 1992, 177-178)

For authors like Johann P. Arnason (1992), the interpretations of nationalism have been heavily influenced by the works of Marcel Mauss and Max Weber – that is, Mauss for his insights as “no objective criteria of nationhood can be separated from the ongoing self-definition of the nation;... the national form of social integration represents a step beyond

tribal or ethnic groups as well as beyond traditional empires”; and Weber for similar theories as Mauss, highlighting “national solidarity, although dependent on objective preconditions” and based on “political expression” (Arnason 1992, 211). Anderson notes that the:

intelligentsias were central to the rise of nationalism in the colonial territories, not least because colonialism ensured that native agrarian magnates, big merchants, industrial entrepreneurs, and even a large professional class were relative rarities. Almost everywhere economic power was either monopolized by the colonialists themselves, or unevenly shared with a politically impotent class of pariah (non-native) businessmen. (Anderson 1991 [1983], 116; see also Rocker 1998 [1937], 270)

This is true for every group that has had their culture threatened in some way due to socio-political changes and who fought against acculturation. It dates back to the earliest conquests and empire campaigns, referenced by early Roman and Greek authors of their exploits and victories over “barbarian” peoples. For example, the Icenian Queen Boudica rallied neighbouring tribes to fight against Romans in Celtic Britain c. 60-61 AD because of a breach of patronage (Lisa M. Bitel 1996, 1-38 and 204-234; Simon James 1999, 43-59; Nora Chadwick 1997 [1971], 13-67 and 145-189; M.J. Trow 2003; Graham Webster 1993 [1978], 86-102; Mary Cranitch 2004; Myles Dillon and Nora Chadwick 2003, 134-158). History repeats itself and cultural risings occur in the face of political and economic turmoil.

## **6.5 Romantic Nationalism**

“Romantic nationalism,” according to Wilson, is an “emphasized passion and instinct instead of reason, national difference, instead of common aspirations, and, above

all, the building of nations on the traditions and myths of the past – that is, on folklore – instead of on the political realities of the present” (Wilson 1989, 23). Wilson notes that Johann Gottfried Herder was “responsible for the creation of this romantic nationalism” (Wilson 1989, 23). Herder’s use of folklore in the late eighteenth century to trigger the nationalist movement in Germany was based on the need to found a nation-state on solidified cultural roots, a model that has been used in other nations that seek independence.

In Québec, the ideology behind a “distinct society” is communal in its literal sense of building allegiances within a specific “ethnic” group. The distinction is in assembling like-minded Québécois having similar political allegiances, economic vision, cultural and customary affinities and sharing one common language: French. The “Canadien français” or Québécois becomes the ethnic group in question; “self-representation” as Jean Lamarre (1995) writes in “L’école historique de Montréal: un réexamen,” was dramatically challenged in twentieth-century Québec (Lamarre 1995, 43). How then, do these definitions work with concepts and perceptions of group identity and Québécois folklore? And what about these imagined communities, the local and regional pride, as well as the conservation and promotion of folklore in Québec that serves political or commercial gains? It is through the lens of Romantic nationalism that I answer these questions notably in how the creation of communities and definition of identity within Québec from conception to perception is utilized in products.

Herder’s definition of the “*volk*,” that is, “any group that has a name and a culture” also acknowledged that culture was not static, that it was ever-changing and that it was “limited by the realities of space” (Herder 1968, xviii-xix). Herder’s motivations



for awakening Germanic pride was historically-based as he illustrated the medieval Roman military control in Germany and the eighteenth century French assimilation (Herder 1968, 312-370). Norman tales had taken place in Germanic folklore, Arthurian legends and Romances of the Round Table had flourished in Europe and these, according to Herder, were examples of folklore used against assimilation (Herder 1968, 312-372). As stated by F.M. Barnard (1969) in his collection of translations of Herder essays, *J.G. Herder on Social and Political Culture*, and much like what was established in the Gramscian-Marxian theories, Herder's anti-elitism favoured the people's voices and studying their past (Barnard 1969, 4, 50).

Georg G. Iggers (1983) examines this historicism, or studying the past for the sake of the past, in *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present*, as it became a growing trend for political scholars.

The bourgeois elites began researching to acquire knowledge and were no longer interested in the religious foundations of classical studies, but rather the progressive nature of understanding human nature and its social implications. The Enlightenment period drew greatly on classical works but also produced new areas of research and theoretical breakthroughs that would mold future scholarly studies. The concept of "nations" was one of the products of the Enlightenment and the intelligentsia was able to make a profession out of their knowledge-seeking skills. Historicism influenced political thought and ideas and provoked questions that were founded on the notions of identity and how people define themselves.

Looking towards culture and folklore to unite individuals politically was part of the Romantic nationalist movement of the nineteenth century and permeated throughout

decades to address nationhood around the world. This cultural introspection spearheaded by Herder left a legacy in Romantic nationalism (Wilson 1989, 23). Herder had influenced Germany's collection of cultural history through the "living folk" (Wilson 1989, 26) that led to early forms of folklore fieldwork, building on the strength of the German "character of the nation" (Wilson 1989, 26). William J. Thoms' coining of "folklore" has its roots in German Romantic nationalist movements and his admiration of the Grimms (Abrahams 1993, 9; Roper 2007, 206-209). Nostalgia or the longing for antiquarian ways of life was the motive behind reviving traditions (Abrahams 1993, 9; cf. Regina Bendix). Grimm's collection of folk narratives inspired Thoms in finding rich folk genres of belief and legends as a collection of traits that was more characteristic of lore rather than literature (Alan Dundes 1999, 14). The antiquarian scholars who studied folklore, as stated by Abrahams:

came from the lower middle class... and saw in the study of antiquities the possibility of obtaining political and social advancement by identifying scarce remains of past cultures, and calling attention to their strange status as dislocated remnants that carried with them a certain mystery of power. (Abrahams 1993, 3)

Though classes did define and influence what would become the discipline of folklore, its antiquarian notions of the folk residing solely in lowly peasantry classes have long since changed (Abrahams 1993, 4). Abrahams openly criticizes the lack of vision in the history of folkloristics – in that the perceptions of nation-states as not including its "simple" and "agrarian" peoples – was a reflection of the hierarchical obsessions antiquarians brought forth in their analysis. "Land-based patriotism arose during the 19<sup>th</sup> century that now is being resuscitated as new nations attempt to come into being in the shells of old polities" (Abrahams 1993, 5).

Abrahams also brings forth an important point in the “redistribution of power” in the Western hemisphere. Abrahams writes:

the arguments for national identity can easily be perverted by those seeking to redress historical inequities through the use of force. Attempts to redress historical dislocations can lead to struggles for self-realization that resuscitate arguments developed during the formative period of earlier nation-states. In these struggles, we witness the revival of the notion of fatherland that maintains a confrontational stance vis-à-vis conquering regimes seeking to subject various groups to marginalization or expulsion. (Abrahams 1993, 5)

Abrahams’ performance-based definition of folklore, helped define how vernacular culture is transmitted and (re)produced. Here Abrahams states that both resistance and culture in folkloristics have helped assess the concepts of mass culture and the challenges that folklorists face when analyzing within this context (Abrahams 1993, 67). “As a general rule, folklorists have been attentive to the presence of alternative cultural practices in strange environments” (Abrahams 1993, 7) (and this thesis is an example of it). As Abrahams puts it:

No longer are we able to pretend that these communities are uncontaminated by the forces of modernity and, especially, mediated cultural forms. Nonetheless, we have been inclined to search for people who continue to practice certain arts and crafts in the old ways... all those who celebrate are subject to the power of the same imagined world-made-whole through the festivities. Having maintained this antimodern mission, we may have allowed history to catch up with us in a strange way. For, recent events have given the old way of practicing folklore a renewed significance, as 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century empires have crumbled and the old nationalisms have been reasserted. With the rise of these new nations, a call is going forth for the reassessment and reassertion of the old traditions. Thus, the work of folklorists, past and present, will be called into play. (Abrahams 1993, 7-8)

Abrahams, like others, also points towards the discipline of the study of folklore and folk traditions as rising from “political environment[s] in which specific bourgeois peoples

sought to assert political power in the face of international, cosmopolitan domination” (Abrahams 1993, 9-10). According to Abrahams, both Thoms and Herder were motivated by the nationalist thread to designate what was considered “popular antiquities” into folklore (Abrahams 1993, 10). The Romantic revival appeal was very much inclined towards a preservationist, “save-from-the-fire” philosophy of collecting folk material (Abrahams 1993, 10-11). In using this phrase, Abrahams is referring to Bishop Thomas Percy who began this preservationist campaign at the end of the eighteenth century when he saved a manuscript of ballads from the burning fires lit by maids in the Humphrey Pitt home of Staffordshire (Abrahams 1993, 11).

The eighteenth century provided a list of Romantic enthusiasts, some like William Butler Yeats, part of the “Celtic Twilight” movement in Ireland, a phenomenon that took over Celtic-speaking peoples of the British Isles. In the midst of rediscovering their past and traditions, some were over-enthused by the movement and created fraudulent “histories” or narratives that were to reawaken slumbering Celtic heroes. Scotland’s James MacPherson and his Ossianic lore as well as Brittany’s Hersart de la Villemarqué and his *Barzaz Breizh*, were narratives and songs made to reflect authentic Celtic culture. Though the works of MacPherson were discredited as being true folk collections and more a creation of the author himself (Dundes 1985; 1996; Simon J. Bronner 2007), de la Villemarqué did include some fieldwork in his collection of songs from Brittany. From a contemporary perspective, these two antiquarian/folklore enthusiasts were like many nationalists today, trying to find a national symbol and redistribute it to its people. One could argue that, in the case of the microbreweries under study here, companies act similarly in that they use elements of folklore to attract and appeal to the emotional side

of consumer behaviour and are thus able to capture the attention of the folk by illustrating the company's knowledge of regional or national culture. Authenticity may always be questioned, but the exercise in itself provides ample proof that people thirst for national symbols and items to unite what binds them individually to a group that thrives.

Abrahams illustrates another preservationist folklorist trait, that of preferring oral lore to written form (Abrahams 1993, 13). Oral culture lends itself to the raw voices and evolution of the people whereas print is done once and remains static from its inception (Abrahams 1993, 13; Anderson 1991 [1983], 78-79). Abrahams writes "although we [folklorists] no longer draw upon this legendary romanticizing as the basic way in which tradition and authenticity are established, an equally romantic story has taken its place as folklorists have collected directly from tradition-bearing performers" (Abrahams 1993, 13). Folklorists remained influenced by the Romantic approach and the semantics of signs and symbols became important theoretical ground to uncover (Abrahams 1993, 14).

Because the terms for folk forms emerged from Romantic Nationalist criticism, as well as from the influence of the Grimms, it is especially important to reveal how fully the scholarly emphasis upon these forms emerged from the structure of feelings of Westerners during the period of Romantic Nationalism. (Abrahams 1993, 15)

Abrahams draws on Anne Janowitz's (1990) *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape* as an example of the British appropriation of Celtic "bards" to illustrate Romantic nationalist ideals (Abrahams 1993, 15; Janowitz 1990). Poetry and ballads became important pieces of folklore to collect and transmit, and chroniclers of the time were perceived as early "folklorists" (Abrahams 1993, 16). About folklore, emotions, nostalgia and the "sense of loss," Abrahams writes:

This Romantic perspective contains a theory of cultural production that continually derogates the present in the pursuit of an authentic past. This approach has assisted the discipline as long as our primary objectives have been to discover the local genius in the lore, or to chart the path of dissemination of items or objects across time and space. Neither do they respond to any need to discover those features of lore that carry the stamp of authenticity. To determine these characteristics it is more useful to observe and record the ways in which these items enter into the production of culture within specific environments. (Abrahams 1993, 19)

The production of culture is political; it sends a message that reiterates the need to identify with something and the way in which folklorists study culture and collect folklore can be perceived as a contribution to this production. Folklore has been and continues to be used as a means to convey political messages. Folklorists are faced with the concerns tied to the “authentic” discourse in all manifested genres of folklore and the political movements that “arise among culturally distinct peoples who historically have experienced disempowerment” (Abrahams 1993, 31). As Abrahams notes:

the new world order is somehow based on consumerism. The introduction of a free market economy seems to promise the same kind of liberation symbolized by shopping at the mall. Faced with sudden success, the new nationalist movements are confronted not only with reinvigorating their national economies, but also with restoring their self-esteem and, in the process, their once-endangered traditions (Abrahams 1993, 31).

Hence, the creation of cultural policies, folklore collection, and archives (Abrahams 1993, 31). Romantic approaches to folklore have helped the discipline in a way, for it was through the popular antiquarian curiosity that grassroots folklore became politically important.

During the 1960s’ Quiet Revolution, Québec separated itself from its traditional past by rejecting the Christian Church as the pivotal political power over the people. This revolutionary schism brought forth new ideals for the Québécois, and the revival of

nationalist and independent movements that were dormant since the rebellions in the 1830s were reawakening. This separation of Church from State has been an ongoing battle for the Québécois and has created political tension in recent debates most particularly with the 2013-2014 case of the Charter of Values and the abolishment of all ostentatious religious symbols in the National Assembly and provincial civil service. In trying to define who are the Québécois based on “values,” the debate on Québec identity continues to engage the public nation-wide. While this has generated much media attention, language continues to be a bonding agent for “community” belonging in Québec and is often used to illustrate distinctive cultural traits in the province. The French language in the province is politicized and prioritized. What began in the 1960s simply shifted the province’s political and ideological paradigms.

The initial religious calendar custom that used to highlight a young and innocent Jean Baptiste shepherd with blond ringlets has now been replaced by the Quiet Revolution’s nationalist focus: Québec’s provincial flag, the fleur de lys emblem, songs and anthems uniting the Québécois and images of iconic political figures recaptured in parades or shows. During St-Jean-Baptiste Day (June 24), the fleur de lys is painted on cheeks, provincial Québécois flags are posted everywhere, and some wave the tricolour “patriote” flag amongst spectators during parades and other events throughout the day and night.

It is only natural to understand how the “unification” process in Québec seems protective towards what is locally grown/produced. When Sleeman purchased Unibroue in 2004, the cultural representation and notions of local and provincial ownership of the microbrewery changed. The microbrewery’s cultural responsibilities as a re-distributor of

folk items was now being perceived by locals and the Québécois to be threatened due to the new Ontarian ownership. In 2004, public comments found online and in various other media have discussed the new Ontarian ownership of what had been a Québécois iconic institution as a negative impact on regional sales in Québec due to cultural appropriation and association of the microbrewery.

These affairs are applicable to the commercial approach of this thesis, especially with regard to the public's responses and opinions favouring a "home-grown" approach to business ventures in contrast to an outsider's exploitation for profit. In Québec, home-grown products ("les produits du terroir") have been especially important in the market trades of the province and can be found in many local or provincial fairs where "products of the land" are displayed. As Laurier Turgeon and Madeleine Pastinelli (2002) point out, there is a need to identify with products from a regional or local perspective. These products may be in their natural and unprocessed states or modified as foods and drinks for general consumption and become politicized as they promote local perspectives of land, space, and place as well as identity and community.

The political statements associated with drinking a particular beer, microbrewery vs. large-scale brewers such as Unibroue vs. Molson and Labatt, and the local and regional traditions encouraged through products is in keeping with a number of recent studies that focus on the representation and packaging of cultural traditions for product commodification. Most clearly relevant to this study is the work of Robert M. Seiler (2002), "Selling Patriotism/Selling Beer: The Case of the 'I Am Canadian!' Commercial" which provides an anglophone and macro-brewery parallel to the concerns discussed above.



## 6.6 Being (or Not) Canadian and the “Rant”

“I Am Canadian”

Hey,  
I’m not a lumberjack, or a fur trader.  
I don’t live in an igloo, eat blubber, or own a dogsled.  
I don’t know Jimmy, Sally or Suzy from Canada.  
Although I’m certain they’re very (really, really) nice.

I have a prime minister, not a president.  
I speak English and French, NOT American,  
and I pronounce it ‘ABOUT’, NOT ‘A BOOT.’

I can proudly sew my country’s flag on my backpack. I believe in peace keeping,  
NOT policing,  
DIVERSITY, NOT assimilation  
and that the beaver is a (truly) proud and noble animal.

A TOQUE IS A HAT,  
A CHESTERFIELD IS A COUCH,  
AND IT IS PRONOUNCED ‘ZED,’ NOT ‘ZEE,’ ‘ZED.’

CANADA IS THE SECOND LARGEST LANDMASS,  
THE FIRST NATION OF HOCKEY  
AND THE BEST PART OF NORTH AMERICA.  
MY NAME IS JOE  
AND I AM CANADIAN  
Thank you

– Robert MacGregor, “I Am Canadian: National Identity in  
Beer Commercials”(2003, 277)  
– I am Canadian, “Molson ‘I am Canadian’ Commercial” (2006)

This vivid Molson “Canadian” campaign and its identity-affirming “rant” which first aired in 2000 was designed to reach the twenty- to thirty-year-old beer drinker (Canada4Life 2014; CBC 2000). The timing of the commercial’s launch was perfect, as it was featured during an Oscars ceremony commercial break. In *Lager Heads*, Paul

Brent (2004) writes about the event as it unfolded after a Robin Williams rendition of South Park's "Blame Canada" movie score anthem (Brent 2004, 3-4). Molson could not have asked for better timing. Brent writes "Prior to the 'Rant,' the state of [Molson] Canadian, losing share to a resurgent Blue, was [to Molson] one more symptom of the problems plaguing the company" (Brent 2004, 6). The MacLaren McCann advertising group was dropped and Molson took up with Glen Hunt, from the Bensimon Byrne D'Arcy advertising company who came up with the rant proposal (Brent 2004, 9-15). It proved to be a successful move and for several years following, would continue to echo in the minds of Canadians affected by the ad. Many of my online survey respondents and interview participants continually referred to this "memorable" rant appealing to the "nationalist fibre" of consumers when discussing the "political" nature of advertisement in the brewing industry. The rant also inspired advertisements and the art world, resurfacing in different forms, notably during the Vancouver 2010 Olympics. Shane Koyczan's slam poetry "We Are More" was commissioned by the Canadian Tourism Commission in preparation for the 2010 games and it received much praise but echoed parts of what was previously explored in the "I am Canadian" rant (Koyczan 2007).

The rant also inspired numerous parodies, including the French-Canadian version that states "I Am *Not* Canadian" (emphasis by author). The stereotypes associated to French Canadians in Québec reach a climax at the end of the rant where the actor playing "Guy" retaliates with colloquial expletives:

“I Am Not Canadian”

I'm not unemployed, or smuggling cigarettes across the border  
I don't eat Pepsi and Mae West for breakfast, I don't watch the hockey game  
while doing it doggy style.  
And no, I don't know Claude, Manon or Francois in Abitibi-Temiscamingue,  
but I'm sure they have nice teeth

I smoke in church  
I speak Quebecois and Jouale, not French or English  
I pronounce it “turd” not “third”  
And eating French fries with cheese makes sense, mon oesti (sic)!

I believe in distinct society as long as someone else pays for it  
I believe in language police not equal rights  
And caulice (sic), I believe that Club Supersexe is an appropriate place for my  
wife and me to celebrate our anniversaire,  
What the hell, she goes on at ten anyway!

In Quebec, the Stanley Cup actually comes around more often than Halley's  
Comet  
I can get beer at the Dépanneur, not the convenience store!  
And maybe I can't turn right on a red light, but tabernacle! I can go right through  
it!

Because Quebec is the world's largest producer of maple syrup,  
The home of Celine Dion AND Roch Voisine, the land where everybody is  
shacking up, and the drinking age is just a suggestion!  
Je m'appelle Gui (sic)  
And I am NOT Canadian! Mautadit tabarnacle oesti...Merci bonjour (salut) la  
visite

– I am Not Canadian, “Parody of  
the ‘I am Canadian’ commercial” (2006)

Molson Canadian's commercial had become a national iconic emblem and was  
able to gather so much attention as to create a world phenomenon on ethnic identification  
and distinction from other cultural groups. Parodies of the rant and ethnic jokes  
burgeoned.

In 1985, Robert B. Klymasz wrote that “there is little doubt that the ethnic joke constitutes one of the most productive and prevalent forms of verbal lore in the whole of North America” (Klymasz 1985, 321). Even with political correctness, the accuracy of such a statement still resonates almost twenty years later, especially when it is used by the ethnic community itself as a way to deflect the negative stereotyping and mock the mocker. Klymasz notes, “the ethnic joke plays a special, crucial role within the minority ethnic group itself where its impact is largely but not solely degenerative in nature” (Klymasz 1985, 325). The following section focuses on the ethnic joke and referencing by examining the Molson Canadian “I am Canadian” rant.

The original “I am Canadian” rant featured a relatively “regular Joe” in his twenties stating bold stereotypes Canadians live down dealing with their southern neighbours. The traditional “igloo” reference to an urban Torontonion or jab at Canada’s less-populated land mass spoke to hundreds of thousands of Canadian beer drinkers reawakening the patriotic need to dissociate from iconic misrepresentations of Canadians as a whole and the reaffirmation of what may have been perceived as pacifistic pride amongst a people. “Joe’s Rant” went from television distributor to radio shows, to the Internet and finally to parody as it was used for other “ethnic” groups to identify within the country. Parodies developing from catch-phrases and cultural themes to signify conveyed messages are often used to define cultural groups (Peter Narváez 1986). One parody, a Québécois rant, became a tongue-in-cheek response to Joe’s rant, making similar stereotypical referencing (and very derogatory comments) of the Québécois as a people in its values, intelligence and culinary tastes

“The Rant” or “Joe’s Rant,” relating some of the stereotypes associated to Canadians, has been adopted by various ethnicities of the world (Patriotism Canada 2014). The mockumentary-style advertisements are tongue-in-cheek responses to patriotic slogans and prove the effectiveness of such advertisements. This 2000 commercial stimulated the interest in potential Molson consumers and perhaps regained some of their lost patrons. The campaign even trickled in an urban legend stating: “Ontario’s Consumer Minister is looking to get the popular Molson beer commercial, Joe’s Rant, banned from the airwaves because it upsets Americans” (Barbara Mikkelson and David P. Mikkelson 2008). This urban legend was debunked on the *Snopes.com* website, as far as upsetting Americans is concerned, Barbara Mikkelson and David P. Mikkelson write:

Though the ad may well deliver some anti-American jabs, it’s not as if the Americans much care one way or the other about it. In typical Americentric fashion, it appears they haven’t much noticed. While it’s true the ad doesn’t air in the U.S. [...] the cultural frenzy engendered by The Rant is so great one has to wonder at the lack of American reaction to what could be seen as a slap at American characterization of Canadians. Perhaps the elephant fails to notice the mosquito or credit it with the ability to be annoying. Those behind the ad insist it packs a pro-Canadian, not anti-American, wallop. The United States is such a looming presence in Canadian life that virtually the only way Canadians have to define their identity is to highlight whatever is un-American about themselves. Thus “I am not...” becomes a way of saying “I am...” (Mikkelson and Mikkelson 2008)

Essentially, the “rant” identifies English-speaking Canadians in contrast to English-speaking Americans, a theme that has been explored in popular media far before the Molson campaign and more explicitly in stereotype movies such as *Strange Brew* (1983) and *Canadian Bacon* (1995). While *Strange Brew* highlights the stereotypical Canadian staples of life perceived and endorsed by non-Canadians: donuts, hockey and beer as

lived by popular SCTV characters, “Bob and Doug Mckenzie” who repeatedly say “eh” and refer to themselves as “hosers” (Rick Moranis and Dave Thomas), Michael Moore’s *Canadian Bacon* exploits the political stereotypes from both Canada and the United States focusing on how to ensure a second term for the American President. In *Canadian Bacon*, weapons factory manufacturers and labourers of the U.S. Niagara Falls are furious at the loss of jobs following the end of the cold war. Because of the lack of popularity in polls, the American President (Alan Alda) rallies a team of advisers to examine possible future world enemies that could help solve the economic crisis and ensure his re-election. In a jocular way, Canada is proposed as a possible enemy and after seeing the main character “Sheriff Bud Boomer” (John Candy) launch a massive fight at an Ontarian hockey game by stating that Canadian beer “sucks!” the political adviser to the President uses this fight as a cultural instigator to exemplify the threat of “Canucks” to the American people (Moore 1995). Michael Moore’s message is very clear throughout the film as he capitalizes on the stereotypes perceived by both Americans and Canadians about each other. The anti-Canadian propaganda features the Canadian usage of the metric system, social medicine and “free” education while reaching momentum stating that Canada lacks culture and how Anne Murray is an imminent threat in addition to “The Canadians: They Walk Among Us” invasion with the likes of William Shatner, Michael J. Fox, Monty Hall, Mike Myers and Alex Trebek “all of them Canadians... all of them here” (Moore 1995).

These types of parodies praise the cultural mocking and the popularity of the “rant” in parody format took on a life of its own. In the January 25, 2005 blog posted on the Also Canadian website, the “I am (also) Canadian” parody features stereotypical cultural

themes associated to Canadians in a mocking way. The “I Am (also) Canadian” rant gives in to the stereotypes stating that “I was a lumberjack, and am a fur trader. I have slept in an igloo, eaten blubber, and although I don’t own a dog sled, I do have a ski-doo” (Also Canadian 2014). More politicized comments such as “I have a crooked Prime Minister, not a President; I speak neither English or French properly”; “I believe in peace keeping, not policing, even though we got rid of our peacekeepers to buy more police, Diversity, not assimilation (unless I go to Quebec)”; and “Canada is the second highest taxed landmass, the first nation of bleeding hearts, and coldest part of North America” are particularly relevant to the mocking argument (Also Canadian 2005). The rant ends with “My name is Joe, and I am also Canadian” to reinforce that the original rant perhaps left out explicit political jabs (Also Canadian 2005).

In addition to the Québec parody illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, other provinces in Canada have their own versions in which stereotypes generated from within the country of Canada and provinces themselves are reinforced (Patriotism Canada 2014). Newfoundland’s version is loaded with colloquialisms and what is an attempt at making a specific accent come out of the rant:

I IS A NEWFIE!

Eh Dare,  
I am not a roofer or, a fisherman, and I am not collecting Pogey.  
I don't live in a rented house with 4 udder newfie friends.  
I don't eat Moose meat every day and I don't drive a Ski-doo.  
And I don't know Barry, Jimmy or Glenn from Grand Falls although I am certain they are good folk.  
I drink Screech or Beer- or anything with a percent of alcohol.  
I believe in open bars everywhere, and I pronounce it "turbitt", not "turbo".  
I can proudly fly my province's flag in the back window of my pickup.  
A toque is a hat. Fried bologna is a meal.  
And the COD is a proud and noble FISH!

And it is pronounced TREE, not THREE....TREE!  
Newfoundland is the last member of confederation,  
the 1st province of fishing,  
and the best part of the Atlantic ocean!  
My name is Bob!  
And I is a Newfie!  
Bye! (Patriotism Canada 2014)

Other parodies, taken on by actors such as William Shatner during a 2007 Just For Laughs stint, play on the rant's lines and deliver their own personalized view of what identifies them to the world.

I'm not a Starfleet commander, or T.J. Hooker. I don't live on Starship NCC-170...,  
or own a phaser.  
I don't know anybody named Bones, Sulu, or Spock.  
And no, I've never had green alien sex, but I'm sure it'd be quite an evening.  
I speak English and French, not Klingon!  
I drink Labatt's, not Romulan ale!  
And when someone says to me 'live long and prosper', I seriously mean it when I  
say, 'get a life'.  
My doctor's name is not McCoy, it's Ginsberg.  
And tribbles were puppets, not real animals. PUPPETS!  
And when I speak, I never, ever talk like Every. Word. Is. Its. Own. Sentence.  
I live in California, but I was raised in Montreal.  
And I believe in priceline.com, where you never have to pay full price for airline  
tickets, hotels, and car rentals!  
I've appeared onstage at Stratford, at Carnegie Hall, Albert Hall, and the Monkland  
Theatre in NDG.  
And, yes, I've gone where no man has gone before, but... I was in Mexico and her  
father gave me permission!  
My name is William Shatner, and I am Canadian! (Canadiana Connection)

While Joe's rant was geared towards the Anglophone Canadian wanting to be seen as separate from their American neighbours, Guy's rant (or "Gui" as it was written incorrectly on the reference website: Patriotism Canada) as illustrated at the beginning of this chapter deliberately presses on the need to be seen as separate from the rest of



Canada. This cultural distinction between English- and French-speaking Canadians is also parodied in *Canadian Bacon* when Sheriff Bud Boomer is pulled over by the Ontarian police (played by Dan Ackroyd) states, while pointing to the anti-Canadian graffiti on the side of the truck:

this writing on the side of your vehicle [...] my concern is the sensibilities of a certain distinct and viable part of Canadian society, *les Québécois* [...] You know, wine-drinkers, pea soup eaters, French-Canadians [...] If you wish to avoid prosecution, I would advise that you comply with our language laws, which specifically prescribe that all signs be in both English and French, Canada's two official languages. (Moore 1995)

After a ridiculous currency exchange fine favouring the American dollar, Dan Ackroyd's character then shows Sheriff Bud Boomer a spray can to rectify the language issue. The next scene shows poorly translated phrases such as the original "Canucks are dog meat" translated as "Canucks est chien chaud" (Canucks are hot dogs) and "You suck Canada" translated as "Va te sucer Canucks" (Go suck yourselves Canucks) (Moore 1995). This tongue-in-cheek translation is a parody in itself, and the stereotyped images of French-Canadians generated by English-Canadians in this particular scene is part of the exploitation mocked in Guy's rant. Pierre Falardeau also used this same tongue-in-cheek approach in his films *Elvis Gratton* using a ridiculous character to vent his political frustrations (LeBlanc 2007; Falardeau and Poulin 1981, 1983, 1985).

Falardeau and Poulin were clear in their films: Pea Soup is as derogatory a term as "frog" used to refer to Francophones or telling a French-speaker to "speak white" a blatant racist term referring to assimilation towards the imperialist and dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant language and culture in North America. In 1980, the pair of filmmakers created a short-film based on Michèle Lalonde's poem "Speak White"

illustrating the discriminatory, racist propos held towards non-English speakers. In light of this information and what Dan Ackroyd's character called "pea soup eaters," the reference to "habitants" and stereotype can be taken further than in jest. The specific ethnic implications of such statements in humour are then redistributed within the targeted group. It can also be empowering to use stereotypes and the messages conveyed to others granting the targeted group some form of control or ownership in ethnic humour. This is part of the explanation for the "I am Canadian" rant phenomenon, that is, using sarcasm to reflect what is assumed or believed to be true by those perpetuating the stereotypes. It also relevant in determining what is perceived to be insider vs. outsider information. One of my female survey respondents from California age between 26-30 at the time of the survey noted the following:

... all that "I am Canadian" stuff, that poked fun at Canadian and American stereotypes (and obviously privileged the Canadian). In general, I think that beers that use ads that feature inside knowledge that only a certain group would understand could be political, if a part of that's group's insider identity dealt with political relations to an outside group. (LeBlanc 2005-06; Respondent 10)

Robert MacGregor highlighted The Rant's popularity, parodies and the symbolic iconography of the commercial in his article "I Am Canadian: National Identity in Beer Commercials" (MacGregor 2003, 276-286). As noted by MacGregor:

the television commercial won a Bronze Lion at the 2000 Cannes International Advertising Awards, where thirty-two other commercials were on the short list in the alcoholic beverage category. In Canada, it was voted 'Best of Show,' winning the gold medal for television single over thirty seconds. (MacGregor 2003, 279-280)

The commercial helped in selling the product "from March 2000 to March 2001, the "Canadian" brand grew by 2.5 percent in market share, while archrival(sic) Labatt's Blue

declined by 2.9 percent” (MacGregor 2003, 280). The “rant” was quickly assumed to be anti-American by Canadians and Americans in that, to be defined as Canadian, (Anglo) Canadians needed to distinguish themselves by denouncing stereotypes commonly assumed by Americans, or as stated by Bob Rae, “this speaks to every stupid question that Americans always ask Canadians” (MacGregor 2003, 280; Thane Peterson 2000). The question of identity and how to be represented as Canadians was quickly referred to how the “rant” was being perceived internationally. As a parallel to what the commercial was promoting outside of the country, French-Québec did not identify at all with the product’s “rant.” And yet, the “rant” was being explicitly used by then Minister of Canadian Heritage, Sheila Copps, as a “unity” statement with respect to cultural identity in Canada. Copps’ statements quickly turned political in the House of Commons, as the then Regina NDP MP, John Solomon stated:

Mr. Speaker, I am not a Republican or a Democrat. I do not spend millions to run for office or hire American consultants or go negative. I do not know Stockwell or Tom or Joe but I am sure they are very nice. I have a health card, not an insurance card. I listen to Cross Country Checkup, not Howard Stern or Rush Limbaugh, I speak for people, not multinational corporations. I believe in inexpensive generic drugs, environmental protection and fair trade deals. I believe that Canada can have an independent foreign policy. Canadian taxpayers are citizens too who value our social programs. And it is pronounced medicare, not Bill 11, okay? Canada is the home of public health care, curling, Codco, and the NDP. My name is John and I am Canadian. (MacGregor 2003, 282-283)

In retaliation to Copps’ (2000) speech in Boston (MA) highlighting Joe’s “rant” as part of Canadiana, Richard Marceau, a Bloc Québécois MP, noted that the beer itself, Molson “Canadian,” was not sold in Québec due to its name (MacGregor 2003, 283). Moreover, Marceau noted that Québec had a department of “culture” not “heritage” and that the definition of a Québécois was measured by anti-Canadian descriptions, much like the

anti-American definition perceived in the “rant” (MacGregor 2003, 283-284). About these French-English tensions in Canada, MacGregor summarizes it perfectly:

Tension has existed within the existing cultural diversity of the nation, and especially within the mainly French population of Québec. The symbolic order and cultural capital factors changed dramatically in the 1960s. One of the ways that changes were made to help assuage growing tensions and anxiety between the two founding nations was to change the symbolic character of the Canadian national identity. (MacGregor 2003, 284)

Since, Molson’s “Canadian” beer campaign was revamped to showcase during the 2010 Olympics. The “Made from Canada” campaign highlighting feats only Canadians could claim to and involving the great outdoors and the “homegrown” approach to being Canadian, an inspiring portrayal of land attributed to people. This commercial is popularly featured on YouTube with over 350 000 views in mid-2013 (Molson 2010). Molson was the official beer supplier for the games and came up with the newer version of this “I am Canadian” inspiration to feature during the Olympics.

In 2011, The *Globe and Mail* published an article on advertising wars between Molson and Labatt for the National Hockey League sponsorship (Haupt and Shoalts 2011). Authors Simon Haupt and David Shoalts wrote:

For the country’s two biggest brewers – neither of which is Canadian-owned – the stakes in the fight over the NHL sponsorship rights have become much bigger than just *Hockey Night in Canada*. In the age of social media, Molson intends to use the sponsorship to integrate its Canadian brand more than ever in the lives of drinkers. (Haupt and Shoalts 2011, B1)

It is through hockey that breweries “cement” their brand to fans (Haupt and Shoalts 2011, B4). President of Level5 Strategic Brand Advisors, David Kincaid, stated:

NHL hockey is – let’s face it, it’s the pride and joy of the country from a beer drinker’s standpoint [...] So I get the association of the primary property in the

consumer's mind attached to my brand – and vice versa. It's all about being relevant, it's about creating value for the consumer, for the broadcaster, for the league, for the brand owner. (Houpt and Shoalts 2011, B4)

This is in keeping with studies on consumer behaviour, especially in relation to image. As noted by Wayne D. Hoyer and Deborah J. MacInnis in *Consumer Behavior* (2000), the 1960s and 1970s brought about a different view and sense of pride between beer and “traditional U.S. values: sports, hard work, and male bonding” (Hoyer and MacInnis 2000, 102). The result today is a fortified image of these values and how beer “can be part of a healthy lifestyle” (Hoyer and MacInnis 2000, 102). This is transferrable in the Canadian context as well and using popular perceptions of brand identities from image to meaning is particularly noteworthy (Hoyer and MacInnis 2000, 103-107). Hoyer and MacInnis state: “regardless of whether meaning stems from the culture or the consumer, however, consumption symbols can be used (1) to say something about the consumer as a member of a group or (2) to say something about the consumer as a unique individual” (Hoyer and MacInnis 2000, 452). Products then “serve an emblematic function” (Hoyer and MacInnis 2000, 452) and the consumer identifies with this emblem.

In the case of Unibroue, “1837” serves a similar emblematic function as the “I am Canadian” campaign while the microbrewery's ownership reflects part of the local pride in Québec. Previous shareholder and folk singer, Robert Charlebois, provided a statement following Unibroue's sale to Sleeman:

[Robert Charlebois] “Même si Unibroue va bien en ce moment, la meilleure façon de ne pas perdre la guerre, c'est de faire ce que nous venons de faire.”  
Même si cela implique de céder à des intérêts ontariens ce qui avait été présenté jusque-là comme un fleuron québécois. “C'est vrai que c'est des maudits Anglais, dit Robert Charlebois dans un grand éclat de rire, mais c'est quand même nos voisins. Et ils vont nous aider à progresser. La Fin du monde va continuer à s'appeler de

même, elle ne s'appellera pas The End of the World, et elle va continuer à être faite ici.” (Éric Desrosiers 2004)

[Robert Charlebois] “Even if Unibroue is doing well at the moment, the best thing to do so as not to lose the war is to do what we have done.”

Even if this implies giving away to Ontarians what was presented up to now as a Québécois symbol. “It’s true that they are the damn English, says Robert Charlebois in a fit of laughter, but they are still our neighbours. And they will help us progress. La Fin du monde will continue to be called so, it will not be called The End of the World, and it will continue to be brewed here.”

Perpetual tension between two ethnic groups since the patriotic rebellions of the 1830s in Lower Canada still echo the battles, lost political freedom, and concept of military brothers in arms who stood up for a cause that was very much inclined with French Canadian independence movements. The idea of commemorating fallen heroes during the 1837-1839 rebellions with a beer brewed in their honour was a natural step for Unibroue’s continuing marketing strategy. Unibroue had been successful with their beers for quite a few years before the unveiling of the “1837,” with other popular labels and the use of folklore to sell products that utilized emotionally striking parts of history.

This particular beer from Unibroue is described by my participants as a defining emblem for the Québécois. Many participants mentioned how the “1837” beer label image conveys not only the historical impact of Québécois politics but also the representational perspective. For Annie Langlois, “1837” is a symbol of the “rébellion des Patriotes (qui) fut un événement très important pour nous” [Patriotes’ rebellion (which) was a very important event for us] (LeBlanc 2003 [6]). Jean-François Nadeau described “1837” as a “bière en l’honneur des Patriotes qui se battaient pour les droits des francophones dans le Bas Canada et qui ont finalement été pendus pour ‘trahison’” [beer

in honour of the Patriotes who fought for the rights of Francophones in Lower Canada and who were finally hanged for ‘treason’] (LeBlanc 2003 [6]).<sup>5</sup> For Roch Theriault, he mentioned “c’est vrai que le peup’ québécois a été oppressé justement dans le passé, c’est un fait mais aujourd’hui on est, c’est pu pareil” [it’s true that the Québécois people was oppressed for sure in the past, it’s a fact but today we are, it’s not the same] (LeBlanc 2004 [1]). Looking at the beer label Roch even noted that it was representative of a “paysan” [peasant], of people who had worked the land who rebelled against authority (Roch Theriault 2004). He continued by describing the marketing genius behind Unibroue’s labelling and that the “1837” label was a very political statement appealing to the independent groups (LeBlanc 2004 [1]). For my childhood friends, Julie Hamel and cousin Guillaume Proulx, the “1837” was perceived as a discussion piece, like artwork in a sense, which prompts consumers to discuss the events that unfolded between 1837-1839 (LeBlanc 2004 [1]). As Franco-Ontarians, Julie and Guillaume learned the battles on the Plains of Abraham at school but had not officially learned about the 1837 rebellions other than what they had gathered in a family context, having a common uncle living in St. Eustache, QC who also owns a pool hall called “Le patriote” – the name commemorating the rebellion battles which took place in that town (LeBlanc 2004 [1]).

Although this beer label does not represent a local legend per se, it acts as a symbolic image of a people’s significant history. Similarly, Brynjulf Alver notes about Faye’s collection of Norwegian legends: “legends have historical interest not so much by virtue of their authenticity, but by virtue of the folk’s perception of their own history” (Alver 1989, 16). The “1837” beer label is a remnant of a historical past etched in the

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<sup>5</sup> Quotation marks on “treason” were gestured by the participant.

hearts of the Québécois. The period is in a not-so-distant past that it seems to be conveyed as a legend, but as the events are traceable through various personal and public records, it appeals to younger generations of Québécois in much the same way and perhaps more significantly than other folk items due to its political nature.

Gerald L. Pocius remarks in “Folklore and the Creation of National Identities: A North American Perspective,” folklore and its items are a building block for national identity (Pocius 1996). Pocius’ arguments on how identity is the “contrast” between groups, how behaviours and experiences are contrasted to define identities applies well to Québec: the contrast being cultural and linguistic origins of the French vs. English (Pocius 1996). To further develop the concept on identity systems, Pocius notes (from Ralph Linton’s ideas): “Identity systems are constructed from the repertoire of the culture under question, taking aspects of that culture and imbuing them with certain symbolic values in which they come to stand for the essence of the entire culture” (Pocius 1996).

The symbolic values in Québec are heavily imbued with historical and cultural factors. The 1837 rebellion exploitation by Unibroue may then be seen as a way to sell Québec’s history via identity. On the matter of national unity in Canada, some humour may be drawn by public comments, notably those made by politicians. Pocius noted: “one politician was quoted as saying that instead of another referendum on national unity, the government should simply spend its money on a baseball team to create a national symbol that could unite the country's diverse interests” (Pocius 1996).

This, perhaps, is why Molson’s former “I am Canadian” slogan successfully reached popular media in “uniting” a predominantly Anglophone nation. French-Canadians do not necessarily feel as included as English-Canadians in the national



identity system that is Canada, mainly, as Pocius notes, due to the fact that French-Canadians have been minoritized (Pocius 1996). “In Canada, both Quebecois and Newfoundlanders, for example, have always believed that their identity within the Canadian political and economic context is being threatened” (Pocius 1996).

This is ever present among the university student population and continues to be a subject of interest in their news. In the July 31, 2003 feature piece of The Muse, Amy Fudge wrote “A yearning for the Republic” which dealt with the “controversy surrounding Newfoundland’s decision not to establish a responsible government or remain independent” (Fudge 2003, 5). According to Fudge:

Opponents to confederation note the difficulty in redefining their senses of community and nationalistic pride [...] Some families flew a black flag every April 1, the date of union with Canada, to symbolize their mourning for the change that had taken place and the death of their independence. [...] Even today, some people despise the fact that some Newfoundland traditions vanished as the province became part of another country, and believe joining Canada destroyed any chance for the province to stay true to its roots [...] The Newfoundland Republic flag is still proudly displayed on homes and business throughout the province, and it will probably remain the same for years to come. But perhaps the flag isn’t meant to represent the province’s desire to separate from Canada [...] but merely to exist as a distinct province within the country. (Fudge 2003, 5)

Symbols generate meanings of a specific cultural identity and are strengthened through use. In this process, there are times when a nation feels it necessary to create new symbols, as seen with the “folklorismus” and “fakelore” approaches discussed earlier in this thesis. Folk heroes and legends are easy targets for resurging national politics.

Pocius writes:

In all of these examples, when folklore becomes used for national identity, there is usually some attempt to create a continuity - perceived or real - with a certain kind of past. When folklore is collected, there is frequently a feeling that during the particular past golden age, a specific type of culture flourished which reflected the

true essence of a people [...] Continuity with a particular past somehow has to be established through the focus of what is presented to the public as authentic folklore. (Pocius 1996)

This continuity in Québec is often displayed through the use of historical periods that marked the people's political development, such as the 1837 rebellions with the Patriotes. The "enshrining" of cultural traits to make a group "distinct," as Pocius writes, is found in Québec (Pocius 1996). Unibroue does much of the "fashioning" of folklore redistributed to the public through its products.

The issue of patriotism and romantic nationalism used in popular advertisement slogans can be examined further in other beer cases. As examined in Robert M. Seiler's article "Selling Patriotism / Selling Beer: The case of the 'I AM CANADIAN!' Commercial," Molson's marketing strategy surrounding the "Canadian" beer product proved successful over the years. Since Coors' 2005 merger with Molson, however, the slogan has been replaced by "It Starts Here," an adventurous slogan that draws on a more generalized crowd – appealing to non-Canadians alike. In my online survey, I asked if respondents found marketing slogans and commercials appealing to specific groups as political and for one of my respondents, a Romanian-born man living in British Columbia and between the ages of 31-35, he answered the following: "Yes: nationalist slogans: Molson 'I am Canadian' (not so much after the merger, eh?)" (LeBlanc 2005-06; respondent 50). Consumers and non-consumers alike also respond to the brewing industry's business mergers and acquisitions referenced in the media, and understand the tie between the Canadian patriotic slogan being replaced with a more generic "sporty" slogan once the merger was settled with an American company. In the case of large-scale

brewers and their stock value, the public shareholder is concerned with the economic growth and profit of his/her investment and the change in slogan is only natural if the company should appeal to a more internationally-friendly consumer base. On the socio-economic and demographics association between beer and consumer, two male respondents both originally from California and between the ages of 26-30 noted the following:

I think different beers aim toward different groups not so much out of politics but rather economics (sic). People will spend more on specific beers based upon the customer's willingness to relate to said beers created identity. Molson's, for example, targets Canadian drinkers because Molson's has created an identity for themselves as "Canadian" and so offer up slogans and commercials to cultivate that pre-existing identity. Miller Genuine Draft has recently started a campaign based upon nostalgia. They have existed for many decades and wanted to drive that point home by reminding customers and potential customers about all the stuff we've gone through together and, oh hey, wouldn't a MGD go well with the memories. (LeBlanc 2005-06; Respondent 11)

Most large US breweries tend to focus their attention for their flagship products on the "All American" image. They focus their attention for cheaper products on minorities which tend to have a lower income. It's often hard to distinguish between socio-economic and political affiliation in the US. (LeBlanc 2005-06; Respondent 27)

Large-scale breweries like Molson will continue to focus on the mass markets and produce beers for such demands, while small-scale breweries, like Unibroue in its pre-Sleeman/pre-Sapporo days, will continue to focus on the smaller markets that are composed of taste enthusiasts willing to invest more money on beer if it boasts quality and distinction. Robert M. Seiler notes:

commentators have argued that, since the 1980s, the beer industry across North America has been going through a major sea change...They claim that the

consumption of domestic beer has been going down, whereas the consumption of imported and microbrewed beer has been going up. (Seiler 2002, 45).

Indeed, the mid-eighties saw a new and first wave of microbrewing interests. Some of these microbreweries such as Granville Island Brewing, Canada's first microbrewing company, established in Vancouver (BC) in 1984, were successful due to their interest in the craft. This event invited a second wave of investors who, unfortunately, did not survive as long as the first wave of microbrewing masters.

The most recent wave of microbrewing, the third wave, began in the mid- to late nineties and comprised similar stock that attracted the first wave to microbrewing: the love of craft beers and the creative talent of brewing different beer products for a variety of beer lovers around the world. These microbrewers can only hope to achieve three to five per cent market shares of the beer industry, a successful ratio for such a business according to David Rees, one of the founders of Newfoundland's Quidi Vidi Brewery (LeBlanc 2003 [5]). Microbrewers may not be in the running to compete against large-scale brewers but they are certainly at an advantage in their specific taste and home-grown market.

As far as large-scale brewing is concerned, Molson, one of the largest premium brewing companies of the world<sup>6</sup>, boasted – in 2003 – a variety of brands in its corporation featuring Canadian-distributed: “Canadian,” “Canadian Light,” “Carling Black Label,” “Exlight,” “Export,” “Marca Bavaria,” “Molson Dry,” “Rickard's,” and

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<sup>6</sup> “Premium” is a term often used in beer marketing to denote “quality” and lead brands, but it originates from the alcohol by volume (ABV) percentage. Beers at or above 4.2% ABV are considered “premium,” even though at 4.2%, the beer is considered reduced in alcohol. Beers below 4.2% are considered “ordinary,” or “low” (Kevin Trayner 2002, 40-41).

partner brands “Coors Light,” “Corona,” “Heineken,” and “MGD” (Molson 2003, 2004). Molson’s fusion with the American brewing company, Coors, provided a larger market distribution in the United States for the product and affiliated main brand partners such as “Canadian,” “Canadian Light,” “Golden,” and “Molson Ice” as well as in Brazil with “Bavaria,” “Kaiser,” and “Heineken” (Molson 2003, 2004). Molson believes that “l’innovation est essentielle pour bâtir les marques fortes et entretenir la vitalité des marques établies” [innovation is essential to build strong brands and sustain vitality of established brands] (Molson 2004, 1). Its merger with Coors was one way to support innovation, but the successful “I am Canadian” slogan changing to “It Starts Here” was, as explained by former Molson Market Analyst, Alexandre Papagianidis-Rivest (LeBlanc 2005 [1]), a marketing strategy appealing to larger American and international masses due to the Molson/Coors merger.

Within Canada, Québec was not considered in the promotional campaign for the use of the “I am Canadian” patriotic slogan as it referred to a homogeneous Anglophone target market. The symbolic meaning behind the “I am Canadian” slogan is directly tied to a specific group of Canadians and was not developed for French Canadian groups such as a Québécois market due to political identity representation.

In a way, Molson revamped their marketing strategy to fit a similar model found in microbreweries with their “I am Canadian” slogan. The slogan was to refer to an identifiable image, as stated in Seiler’s article, where microbrewers aim for taste, larger brewers aim for image (Seiler 2002, 48). Molson never marketed the “Canadian” beer in its birthplace of Québec. In an archive broadcast about the brewery’s hit advertisement on July 6, 2000, CBC reported that “the ad was never translated into French, and never

aired in Quebec” (CBC 2000). There are popular theories about this, other than the obvious nationalist-Canadianist rant that would not have appealed to separatists in Québec. One such theory, more like an urban legend really, is about the *Canadian* beer being advertised as “Laurentide” in Québec. It had been a long-standing belief by Québécois beer drinkers that the Molson “Canadian” and “Laurentide” were in fact the same beer but with different labels to appeal to the two very distinct and European-based cultures in Canada. Some of my survey respondents and interview participants shared this theory. One female respondent age between 26-30, born in Ontario and living in Banff, Alberta at the time, noted that the Molson “Canadian” “is marketed as ‘Canadian’ outside of Quebec and with a different name in that province” (LeBlanc 2005-06; Respondent 32).

The 1980s slogan for the “Laurentide,” ““Est faite pour toi” (It’s made for you), directs itself to the regular Joe Québécois much as the “Canadian” beer relates to “Joe” (Laurentide 2006; Laurentide 2007 [1], [2]). On the differences in recipes and distribution, Julie and Guillaume thought “Canadian,” “Molson Ex” and “Laurentide” were all the same beer but with different labels (LeBlanc 2004 [1]). When asked if it would be more appealing to the Québécois market if the “I am Canadian” slogan changed to “Je suis Québécois,” Julie and Guillaume thought it would not. Guillaume did however mention a joke: “Tu sais qu’i ont inventé une sorte de bière, hein pour euh, met que, le Québec s’sépare. E’ pas sortie encore mais met que le Québec soit séparé, si jamais i’ s’séparent, i’ vont sortir une nouvelle bière ça s’appelle la Molson EX-Canadian” [You know they already invented a type of beer, eh, for uh, when the, Québec

separates. It's not out yet but when Québec separates, if ever they separate, they'll take out a new beer called the Molson EX-Canadian] (LeBlanc 2004 [1]).

The commodification of certain cultural traditions, notions, and images to sell beers also helps microbrewers and proved to be useful in Molson's advertising campaign. In Molson's 2004 Annual Report, the profile stated "la vision de Molson est de retrouver sa place parmi les brasseurs les plus performants du monde en termes de valeur pour les actionnaires" [Molson's vision is to find its place among the best performing breweries of the world in terms of investment value] (Molson 2004, 1). This clearly indicates that, as a corporation, Molson is focused on providing the best investment returns for its shareholders.

Marketing the product to match profit expectations is therefore managed in a way that will promote brands in a fresh light, whether it is refurbishing its physical appearance or label, or it is through its promotional slogans, advertisements and commercials. In 2005, I interviewed a Molson Market Analyst, Alexandre Papagianidis-Rivest, responsible for the Québec and Eastern Canadian markets, who informed me that Molson changed the "I am Canadian" slogan not due to a decrease in popularity but because of the merger with Coors (LeBlanc 2005 [1]). In addition, when discussing the popular "I am Canadian" campaign, he said, the spoofs on the "I am Canadian" rant found on various websites have proven how popular culture took over this slogan and made it into the people's own choice representation (Also Canadian 2005; Patriotism Canada 2014). According to Alexandre, the slogan did not appeal to the Coors image and they decided to refresh the "Canadian" image by associating it with a more adventurous theme, thus "It Starts Here" (LeBlanc 2005 [1]). Molson's March 14, 2005 press release stated that the

slogan “It Starts Here” was part of a campaign “celebrat(ing) life’s possibilities with the straightforward expression” (Molson 2005 [1]). The slogan was also meant to capture Molson’s selling “leadership” in the Canadian brewing industry vs. Labatt’s and made the Molson company more appealing for a merger with American Coors.

Each Molson brand promotes a specific target market, whether it is for sporting event such as the F1 racing championship or for cultural events such as rock concerts (LeBlanc 2005 [1]). There are specific demographic markets that are important in the promotion of specific brands. Since the “I am Canadian” slogan shifted from the patriotic demographic, the brand’s following may shift as well all while branding the collective memory of the former target group.

As with the identity images depicted in the Molson advertisements, the use of regional folklore by microbreweries speaks to a number of consumers. The folklore illustrated on labels transmits what consumers know either vaguely or clearly and are reintegrated in the narrative form. For example, legends are re-told according to what is depicted on the beer label. Where microbrewers depend on regional folklore to draw inspiration for labels, large-scale brewers use broader signifiers (meanings) in their advertisements to reach their market. The differences between small- and large-scale brewers are particularly important in the way their message is conveyed and how the public receives and redistributes this message.

Molson banked on the value of identity as a possible means to advertise their beer while Unibroue exploited folklore in a similar manner. In contrast, however, Molson’s “I Am Canadian!” slogan did not appeal to a mass French-speaking Québécois population as it does to the English-speaking Québécois and other Canadians. The fact that Unibroue



uses folklore as a selling angle is as much a part of the microbrewery appeal and plays an important role in the communities and regions it touches. The choice of folklore, and at times, insiders' notions of a perceived micro-culture, provides a glimpse of what may be shared by the beer label creators and the consumers they aim to appeal. A community created through a marketed product becomes tangible.

Rudolf Rucker's opinion that abolishing monopolies was one step to making man free (Rucker 1998 [1937], 237-238). Companies that monopolized the alcohol market like the Bronfmans' Seagram company as well as the Molsons, Labatts, and Diageos of this world, clearly market national identity and follow these trends to become monopolies. In a sense, what was ideological for nation-hood, becomes exploitable for monopolistic markets. As stated by Françoise Moreau: "plusieurs hommes d'affaires ont menacé de délocaliser la production à l'extérieur du Québec en cas d'indépendance. Selon M. Bronfman, on ne pourrait pas produire de whisky "Canadian Club" à Montréal si cette ville ne faisait plus partie du Canada" (Moreau 1995, 178) [many businessmen threatened to move production outside of Québec should it become independent. According to Mr. Bronfman, "Canadian Club" whisky could no longer be produced in Montréal if this city was no longer a part of Canada].

The ethnic factor also becomes increasingly exploitable in breweries. As noted by Arlene Dávila in her work on Hispanic advertising, nationalism and ethnic pride are defining traits that are used in advertisements to reach the "longing to 'connect'" emotion (Dávila 2001, 101). The generic ethnic market that Dávila refers to in marketing trends is particularly focused on heterogeneous groups and promotes stereotypical identification (Dávila 2001, 116, 125, 144). Robert MacGregor also explained this market branding in

his conference paper: “Implications of Ethnic Labels on Product Packages” (1981).

MacGregor explains, through market branding, how a product name can speak to a specific consumer group and create a sense of cultural belonging and loyalty. Unibroue’s marketing, using items of folklore such as local history, legends, and heroes is an example of strategic commodification of a regional culture. This model may backfire, however, as was the case in 1999 with True North Beer, a southern Ontario brewery’s attempt at tapping into the Inuit communities by illustrating the very popular and misused “Inukshuk” symbol next to a polar bear on its label:

The president of the brewery, Gabe Magnotta, says the label is a tribute to the Inuit. But some Inuit say it’s inappropriate to use one of their traditional symbols to help sell beer. Monica Ell is vice-president of the Inuit Women’s group Pauktutit. She says this is just another example of an Inuit symbol being appropriated by non-Inuit for profit. (CBC 1999)

The Inukshuk “is an intellectual property right” (CBC 1999). More recently, the 2010 Vancouver Olympics plastered the Inukshuk on its official games logo and anywhere it could to promote the games and there were mixed feelings about its use. In Jeffrey Ruhl’s article “Inukshuk Rising: Iconification, Brand Canada and Vancouver 2010,” some members of various aboriginal communities in Canada were against the use of the symbol and this was voiced back in 2005 when the Vancouver Olympics Committee revealed the symbol (Ruhl 2008, 28; CBC 2005).

When Unibroue first appeared on the market, its appeal was its local home-grown promotion, and its local and provincial “pride” in Québec products. To compete with Sleeman’s Cream Ale, in 1998 Unibroue had released the U and one year later its U2, both bottled in clear bottles. Both bottles had a simple label depicting devilish wings, a

remnant of the legend influence on their labels, and a fleur de lys on the collar around the bottle neck. The fleur de lys, being a very important symbol of French unity in Québec, was replaced by a gargoyle when Sleeman purchased Unibroue in 2004. This act is a deliberate gesture of recognizing the local and provincial aspect of the microbrewery and changing the product to fit an international market. It was also a vivid example of the symbolic tension between English and French Canada. In *The Molson Saga: 1763-1983*, Shirley E. Woods Jr. (1983) describes this tension in an earlier period, 1977, when Hartland Molson spoke in the Senate:

Why do I claim to be Québécois (sic)? The answer is obvious. It is just on 200 years that my family gave up all other allegiance and made its home in Quebec. In the years since, six generations, with the seventh approaching maturity, have participated in the development of the province, including some of the original ventures, steam navigation, railways, banking, manufacturing, water and light services, schools, hospitals, universities, the arts, and research. This recital is not to seek recognition, but to substantiate the claim that our roots are very deep indeed in the soil of Quebec. Today, it seems that in spite of this history, we Anglophones are to be treated as strangers who have had all the privileges over the years, but are now to be deprived of fundamental rights [...] My greatest concern, however, is caused by the serious misunderstanding between the English and French communities. Neither group really understands the inner feelings of the other and, more importantly, neither wants to admit that there is any fault on its part. One thing must be understood by the people of Quebec. Anglophones do believe in their identity, their destiny, and their homeland, from sea to sea, including Quebec [...] There is nothing political in what I am saying. If the Parti Québécois (sic) provides good government for our province, it will have our support. As I said, we have lived in the province for a long time and we have no intention of moving. We love Quebec; we respect and like its people, and we feel we have won our place in the province. We want our future generations to continue here. (Woods 1983, 328-329)

About separation, some anti-separatists needed to voice their concerns for the fate of the province. Yolanda East Cossette was one such person who published *The Weak Link: Québec: What the French Fact is Costing Canada* and dedicated it to her son to stop “hatred and ignorance which is destroying Canada” (Cossette 1989, 3). Cossette is a

native from Lac St-Jean and completely anti-separatist (Cossette 1989, 5). I picked up this book from the Université de Montréal's library, and noticed that a previous reader had defaced the dedication by adding: " salope" (which is roughly translated as "whore").<sup>7</sup> Essentially, Cossette's book makes reference to "her people" as "losers in the political game of unilingual French for Québec, and compulsory bilingualism for the rest of Canada" (Cossette 1989, 5).

In 2004, when I was surfing the web to find popular sites that would discuss the Unibroue phenomenon, the products and any information relevant to beer and culture, I came across interesting resources, one of which was "Toronto's (now Ontario's) Premier Beer Resource" by the name of "The Bar Towel." The anonymous author began the article with:

During the ongoing political tensions between Quebec and the rest of Canada, I am often reminded of one reason why Québec is important to me: good beer. Québec has over the past few years developed a thriving microbrewery industry, with many breweries opening up and experimenting with Canadian interpretations of worldwide beer styles. Very few Québec beers have made it to Ontario, but some which have crossed the border are simply great. (The Bar Towel 2004)

In spite of the author's general statement of "tensions between Quebec and the rest of Canada," it is particularly interesting to read that if it were not for Québécois microbreweries, the province would not hold much esteem for the Ontarian beer critic.

The author further states:

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<sup>7</sup> Many politically-natured books I picked up in preparation for this thesis had annotations in them by previous readers, blatant accusations, insults and philosophical treatises on the weakness of propagandist material. Had I considered a paper on these marks of vandalism, it would have been interesting to observe how readers retaliate from authors' works in their own ways, treating the author's work as the person itself and feeling the need to intervene politically through vandalism. I did not focus on this, however, but I do think there is merit in studying such a popular phenomenon as "talking back" to books. What struck me here was that the statement " salope" was blatantly scribbled next to the dedication in retaliation to what the author was stipulating.

I consider Unibroue to be one of Canada's most eclectic and exciting breweries. Unibroue's beers take inspiration from Belgian styles, but they are undoubtedly Canadian interpretations, with a national style all their own. I am proud to have Québec as part of my country, and I do not want the province or the beers to call themselves anything but Canadian. (The Bar Towel 2004)

And yet, it is precisely the image Unibroue was projecting, to its province of origin at least. Once Sleeman purchased Unibroue, there was a change; the fleur de lys and gargoyle example is proof. Brand names remained, but certain emblems changed.

Packaging is the essence of the marketing of a product; it is the image conveyed that will sell initially, that will lure consumers.

The total marketing mix of elements that surround a consumer packaged product line conveys many different things to many different people. Within this total mix of imagery, the brand name and related symbology play a very important role in linking the buyer and seller. (MacGregor 1981, 57)

If Unibroue had produced the “1837” product immediately after the 1995 referendum instead of during it, perhaps the issue of labels and political support would have been too flagrant. In an open letter to John Sleeman, beer connoisseur and blogger Stephen Beaumont wrote (2004):

Congratulations, Mr. Sleeman, you have bought yourself and your shareholders a gem. Among Canada's many fine breweries, Unibroue certainly stand out as one of the best, and without question one of the most universally recognized... Indeed, Unibroue is a singular prize. A word of caution, though. A great many fans of Unibroue beers will be watching and tasting carefully to see what will become of the brands following the ownership changeover. Already, beer discussion boards on the Internet are buzzing with pessimism regarding the sale, and as a writer who has in the past awarded the brewery many a positive review, a partner in a restaurant where three taps are currently devoted to Unibroue brands and a beer aficionado who is a regular buyer of the brewery's beers, I must say that I share their concerns if not necessarily their outlook. I don't know if you are a regular reader of beer sites such as the Burgundian Babble Belt, the Bar Towel, ratebeer, Beer Advocate or even World of Beer, Mr. Sleeman, but if you are then you will know that, to many people, beer is much more than just a liquid to be poured down

one's throat when a thirst strikes. To myself and thousands of others world-wide, it is also a passion, and you and your company have just assumed responsibility for a little piece of that passion. I ask, therefore, that you tread carefully and guard the Unibroue brands well against the erosion of their flavour and character. As I noted at the outset, you have bought yourself a gem. Please don't allow it to lose its lustre. (Beaumont 2004)

On other websites published in 2004, the concern for continuity in quality was a recurring theme. On the Bodensatz Brewing beer site, the worry from "beer aficionados" is explicit:

Sleeman recently bought Maritime Brewing, and stopped production of all but 1 of their brands. And it is well known that the beers of Upper Canada Brewing have changed considerably since being acquired by Sleeman almost a decade ago. Only time will tell, but this beer drinker is not optimistic. (Bodensatz Brewing 2004)

Another website focused also on the potential problems in Sleeman acquiring Unibroue:

From the Sleeman Breweries website, one would be forgiven for thinking that the brewery in Boucherville was still operational, but Sleeman, after first reducing the Seigneuriale product range, in 2003, closed the place down. So the roadmap is clear for Unibroue: a reduction in the number of brands brewed in Chambly, prior to the production of blander versions of them being moved elsewhere. (White Beer Travels 2005)

The Club des Amis de la Bière (France) wrote: "du côté des brasseries artisanales, on déplore plutôt la vente d'un fleuron et d'un pionnier de l'industrie brassicole du Québec" [from the craft breweries' perspective, the sale of such an emblematic and pioneer of Québec's brewing industry is deplorable] (Club des Amis de la Bière 2004: 5). Even though it was a Canadian company that bought Unibroue, Sleeman was perceived as a type of foreigner buying a Québécois establishment and symbol of pride. This was notably the topic of discussion during 2004 interviews with participants, a point explicitly expressed by Guillaume, a Franco-Ontarian who advocates francophone culture and

stated that it was “ridicule” [ridiculous] to boycott a product simply because Ontarians bought a Québécois company, as long as the product is not modified (Guillaume Proulx 2004). Guillaume continued “Moi chu sûr qu’y a des gens qui s’dise, que “‘garde on a vendu not’ bière québécoise à des angla’” [I’m sure that there’s some folk who tell themselves, that, “look we sold our Québécois beer to the English”] (LeBlanc 2004 [1]).

## **6.7    The “1837”**

In the winter of 1836-1837: hard frost had struck early in October and farm animals could not be put out to graze in the late fall. In some areas wheat crops injured by a blight had failed for several years. Yet serious economic distress, if anything, stayed the hand of the revolt. The areas of disaffection in Lower Canada were the more opulent, populous, and fertile of the farming regions, the Richelieu Valley south of the St. Lawrence River, the Du Chêne River northwest of Montreal, and, in 1838, the Châteauguay Valley. (Senior 1985, 5)

It is often through images that one is reminded about the intense sacrifices and ideological battles that took place in history, these moments of conceptual nationhood or nation states and political identities. Unibroue’s “1837” beer label captures such an event. The year 1837 is monumental in the history of nationalist movements and rebellions in Québec due to the radical expressions and reactions towards a self-responsible government opposed to a single power over the six-county Confederation in Canada (Gérard Filteau 1975). As Gérard Filteau writes in *Histoire des Patriotes* (1975), the Patriotes rebelled against an apparent constitutional, administrative and economic sabotage where French colonials were asked to pay “exorbitant” taxes forcing farmers to sell their lands to English lords for an inferior price (Filteau 1975, 21-68).

The economic realities and hardships of this period engendered more political turmoil as business ventures turned to dynastic hands. John Molson Sr. was profiting from the situation and other aristocratic Canadian emblematic figures such as William Lyon MacKenzie King and Louis-Joseph Papineau would play pivotal roles in this period (Elinor Kyte Senior 1985, 6-7). Louis-Joseph Papineau's legacy, his political programme known as the Patriote party, and charitable societies<sup>8</sup> such as the Saint Jean Baptiste Society of Montreal also known as "the social and fraternal wing of the Patriote party" would pave its way in French-Canadian politics and resonate in the collective memory of future advocates for independence in Québec Senior (Senior 1985, 6-7, 12).

Though the sum of the activities stemming from the group of supporters and activists in favour of the Patriotes eventually died down after the 1838-1839 public executions in Lower Canada, the cause survived as remnants of the Patriotes movement continued to militate against the effects of Lord Durham's assimilation report and its disastrous cultural implications affecting the whole of French Canadian survival in a bourgeois-dominated Canada (Filteau 1975, 459-469; Moreau 1995, 28, 48-64, 74-83; Séguin 1971: 33-34; Normand Lester 2001: 101-107). Thus, Canada was "créé sur la base d'une hiérarchie de nations" [created on the basis of a hierarchy of nations], as stated by Françoise Moreau (1995), which illustrates the continued tensions between Franco- and Anglo-Canadians (Moreau 1995, 17).

In *L'idée d'indépendance au Québec: Génèse et historique*, Maurice Séguin (1971) writes that "être un peuple minoritaire dans une fédération, c'est être un peuple

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<sup>8</sup> Following the Saint Jean Baptiste Society of Montreal, other charitable societies emerged, such as the St. George's Society, the St. Andrew's Society, the St. Patrick's Society and the German Society (Senior 1985, 12).



annexé... Il n'y a pas d'égalité politique entre le peuple majoritaire et le peuple minoritaire dans n'importe quelle fédération" [being a minority people in a federation, is being an annexed people... There is no political equality between majority and minority peoples in any federation] (Séguin 1971, 9). The French/English dichotomy was very much steeped in economic factors and the Patriotes rebelled against Anglo-dominated dynasties, like that which Molson was creating for his family. This dichotomy continues to survive well into the twenty-first century as political and social historians and popular views continue to illustrate Québec's business history as such.

For example, the "je me souviens" (I remember) motto in Québec, also seen on license plates, appeals to a nationalist collective memory about events that marked Québec's political landscape. From a brewing perspective, this may be influential in selling products. In the 1990s, Unibroue appealed to this collective memory and used patriotic historical events along with other folk items from Québec to promote its beer products. The microbrewery's nationalist tendencies became more transparent in 1997 when they launched the beer named "1837" to represent these Patriotes and the political events surrounding their rebellion. The "1837" beer label reads:

Depuis le premier mai 1997, Unibroue produit la 1837, une autre de ses bières faisant appel à l'histoire. Elle est brassée en souvenir de nos héros morts pour la patrie et la liberté, certains au combat à St-Eustache, d'autres exécutés au Pied-du-Courant. Le lancement de cette bière a eu lieu à la Maison du Gouverneur, ancienne résidence du gouverneur de la prison au Pied-du-Courant. (Unibroue [1] 2014)

[Since May first, 1997, Unibroue has produced "1837," another of its beers referring to history. The beer is brewed in memory of those heroes who died for our nation and our liberty, some of whom died in battle at St-Eustache, others executed at Pied-du-Courant. The launching of this beer took place in the Governor's House, the governor's former residence at the Pied-du-Courant prison]

Many personal experience narratives and historic recollections have been published relating events and actors of the Patriotes' rebellion of 1837 and 1838. Among personal experience narratives are logs, journals, and letters written by the rebels who fought for independence in Lower Canada (Paul Rochon 1993; Georges Aubin 2000). John Hare, renowned Québécois historian specializing in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century social life, as well as archive conservations specialist Renée Landry, published the journal and letters of Hypolite Lanctot, a Patriote who was exiled to Australia in 1839 and who was as pivotal a character as Chevalier de Lorimier (Hare and Landry 1999, 10, 89). In a series of letters written to his children, Lanctot tells stories about his past and the political turmoil that was vividly apparent in Lower Canada in the 1830s. He wrote about what led him to rebel, how the government was oppressive and how political corruption eventually pushed the "habitants" to take arms (Hare and Landry 1999, 88-89).<sup>9</sup>

Landry mentions in her biographic note that Lanctot is her ancestor and that the genealogical research and desire to be tied to crucial historic moments of Québec is particularly important for reasons of belonging and tangibility. This fosters deep emotional attachment to the political causes that led these rebels to premature deaths for the sake of an independent state, for rights and liberties pertaining to the land, its people (French Canadians) and its government. *Hypolite Lanctot: Souvenirs d'un patriote exilé en Australie* (1999) is a reverent publication to the exiled Patriotes that sailed aboard the

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<sup>9</sup> Lanctot also tells his children how blacksmiths secretly made weapons, how the "Canadiens" rebelled against the unequal social system, against aristocracy, and how the Patriotes took arms (Hare and Landry 1999, 91-95). Captain Charles Hindelang's participation was valued by Lanctot as a potential strength to break free from the shackles of lordships, aristocracy, and bourgeois democracy that had been weaved ever so tightly in early Canadian colonial life (Hare and Landry 1999, 115, 124). To fight, Lanctot and the militia walked miles to and from Napierville, crossing L'Acadie, and La Prairie along the Saint Lawrence river on the south shore of Montréal (QC). The group landed in Montréal city's harbour and was escorted to prison by tories and soldiers (Hare and Landry 1999, 126-127).

Buffalo to unknown lands (Hare and Landry 1999, 9-10). It is a record of nineteenth-century socio-political discourse that would otherwise be buried with the narrator. The shift in traditions during the Quiet Revolution was a long overdue process that found its roots in the rebellions of 1837-8. As stated in Hare and Landry's introduction: "le mouvement réformiste dans le Bas-Canada à partir de 1834 surtout se heurte aux resistances de la petite clique qui contrôle l'administration effective de la colonie" [the reformist movement in Lower Canada as of 1834, was especially a resistance towards the small group of people that controlled the colony's administration] (Hare and Landry 1999, 10).

The 1791 "single voice" Assembly, as Hare and Landry write, instigated a reform to gain independence (Hare and Landry 1999, 10). In 1838, "Louis-Joseph Papineau et Edmond O'Callaghan s'opposent à toute action précipitée sans l'assurance de l'aide des États-Unis; d'autres plus radicaux favorisent l'invasion immédiate du Canada et même la proclamation d'une république" (Hare and Landry 1999, 11) [Louis-Joseph Papineau and Edmond O'Callaghan are against any action prompted without the help of the United States; while the more radical factions favour an immediate invasion of Canada and a declaration of a Republic].

When in 1837, the Patriotes took arms in Montréal and Québec, Lanctot's squad had to retire after an impromptu cavalry passing (Hare and Landry 1999, 15-16). Other Patriotes were regrouping and Colborne's Martial Law went into effect (Hare and Landry 1999, 17). According to retired French officer and pro-Patriotes, Charles Hindenlang, the quality of "rebelness" was questionable as noted in his 1838 proclamation of the Odelltown battle (Hare and Landry 1999, 18, 23-24, 172-173).

Réveille-toi donc, Canadien, n'entends-tu pas la voix de tes frères qui t'appelle? Cette voix sort du tombeau, elle ne te demande pas vengeance mais elle te crie d'être libre, il suffit de le vouloir. Arrière, Anglais, arrière! Cette terre que vous foulez, vous l'avez baignée d'un sang généreux, elle ne veut plus vous porter! Race maudite, ton règne est passé! [...] Charles Hindenlang au baron Fratelin<sup>10</sup>, 15 février 1839. (Aubin 2000, 24 and 393)

[Wake up Canadian, don't you hear the voice of your brothers calling you? That voice from the grave does not seek revenge but is crying out to be free, all you must do is want it. Back away Englishmen, back away! This land that you tread on, you drenched it in blood, it no longer wishes to carry you! Damn race, your rule is over! [...] Charles Hindenlang to the Fratelin Baron, February 15, 1839].

The “1837” beer label Unibroue replicates a part of the St. Eustache battle painted by Katherine Jane Ellice, who was herself taken captive by the Patriotes (See Figure 12 in Chapter Two). Katherine Jane Ellice and Henri Julien's paintings and drawings of the Patriotes and rebellion are displayed within a permanent exhibit at the Manoir Globenski in the town of St. Eustache (Figure 45).



**Figure 45: Left to right, Patriotes paintings and drawings featured at the Manoir Globenski (photographs taken by the author during the Festival de la galette, St. Eustache, QC, 2005).**

<sup>10</sup> Charles Hindenlang's friend.

The beer description on the back label read (in Unibroue's translation):

1837 is a premium ale brewed in honour of past heroes who gave their life for country and freedom...in battle at St-Eustache, Jean-Olivier Chénier with 60 of his companions, and hanged at Pied-du-Courant, Joseph Narcisse Cardinal, Joseph Duquet, Pierre-Théophile Decoigne, François-Xavier Hamelin, Joseph-Marie Robert, Ambroise Sanguinet, Charles Sanguinet, Amable Daunais, Thomas-Marie Chevalier De Lorimier, Charles Hindenland, Pierre-Rémi Narbonne, François Nicolas. (Unibroue [1] 2014)

This commemoration is one of the most repeated heroic commemorations in Québec's political history. The use of it in a product is one of the popular means to redistribute an element of a people's history. The 1837 prison called "Pied-du-Courant" (see Figure 14 in Chapter 2) is a landmark of historical tragedy as it "housed" prisoners of the rebellion and now promotes nostalgic patriotism (Aubin 2000, 9-27).

Controversial film director Pierre Falardeau, wrote and directed a film narrating the Patriotes' execution in 1839. Entitled *15 février 1839* [February 15, 1839], the film describes the last days in the lives of the Patriotes in prison, especially the life of Chevalier de Lorimier, the most famous fallen "hero" (Falardeau 2001; Vincenthier 1979, 14; LeBlanc 2007, 44). It is an event in Québec's history that is etched in the Québécois's cultural make-up, and popular renditions of the historical event are reminders of the rebellion that took place in the not-so-distant past and reminiscent of a Québec "that could have been."<sup>11</sup> It was through the collection of letters, logs, journals and nineteenth-century newspapers and publications that such films as Falardeau's *15*

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<sup>11</sup> In May 2005, I presented a paper on Falardeau's activism through film at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology "Media in Transition 4: The Work of Stories" conference. At the conference, I discussed the political discourse transmitted by the director and how *15 février 1839* was a long-awaited project that suffered censorship for many years before coming to fruition (Falardeau (DVD commentary); La France 1999, 235-245; Bégin and Falardeau 2004, 149-150).

*février 1839* evoke such a striking image of the Patriotes movement and the harsh depiction of English and French dichotomy. Hindenlang's last words in prison on the day of his execution (February 15, 1839), were recorded as such: "Canadiens, mon dernier adieu est le vieux cri de la France: VIVE LA LIBERTÉ" [Canadians, my last farewell is the old French cry: HAIL LIBERTY] (Aubin 2000, 320-321).

For one of my focus group participants, André St-Georges, the term "rebel" to refer to the Québécois occurs frequently: "l'autorité, a toujours, euh, tsé, on n'hésite pas trop à la remettre en question" (authority, has always, uh, y'know, we don't hesitate to question it) (André St-Georges 2003). When noting the "1837" beer label, my focus group participants noted the socio-economic revolts in Québec. The Patriotes' tricolor flag, green, white and red, was mentioned but the year itself was more striking because it's an "in your face" statement claiming that the Patriotes rebelled against English authority (LeBlanc 2003 [1]). When looking at the "1837" beer label, for Julien Bisailon, patriotism:

s'exprime, euh, encore plus dans une foule, tsé, si quelqu'un dit 'Ah! Vive le Québec!'... 'Vive le Québec!' mais tsé, pis aussi, ça, ça représente justement, ça représente, euh.. ben, une foule, pis aussi la, boire d'la bière c'est une activité généralement sociale [...] en général on fait ça en gang, pis la révolte on fait ça en gang. (LeBlanc 2003 [1]).

[expresses itself, uh, more in a crowd, y'know, if someone says 'Ah! Hail Québec!'... 'Hail Québec!' but y'know, too, it, it represents that, it represents, uh...well, a crowd, and, drinking beer well it's generally a social activity [...] in general we do it in gangs, and the revolt we do it as a gang].

The public and consumers have a distinct perception of its history and how it is portrayed. While Molson's "I am Canadian" rant is more explicit, the "1837" certainly can claim as much in terms of marketing patriotism and vernacular history. The implicit message

conveyed in the Unibroue case about rebellions and the heroes that were made of the nineteenth-century Patriotes calls onto the same characteristic traits that are defined and recognized by a people. The political tensions that arise between English and French Canadians, as was illustrated with the twentieth century examples, from the FLQ to the two referendums, stem from earlier conflicts and the 1837-1839 rebellion's romanticized events were used to feed into the sovereign and separatist movement. It is through these popular notions of events that movements took shape. While some define themselves in relation to who they are, others feel the need to define who they are not. Unibroue certainly managed this tactic with ease when marketing its products to the local and promoting popular Québécois folklore and history internationally.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Beer and Tourism: How Leisure and Culture Collide in the Microbrewery Business

Cultural objects, styles, and practices introduced by intervenors sometimes prove remarkably durable, regardless of how little prior basis they had in culture. The tens of thousands of tourists who visit the publicly funded Folk Art Center at the entrance to the Blue Ridge Parkway or troop through the craft shops of Gatlinburg or Asheville, and the millions who listen to folk-revival musicians on National Public Radio, are “seeing” and “hearing” continuity that is partial at best; they are buying the fruits of hybrid cultural trees that were long ago severely pruned and grafted. What they have in their shopping bags as they climb back into station wagons and onto tour buses, is, to use a term familiar to cultural anthropologists, “airport culture.”

— David E. Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (1983, 262)

The commodification process of culture as such, that is, marketing and advertising the constructions of both tangible and intangible items of culture for commodity purposes, uses all elements pertaining to identity and emotional belonging. This has been studied by recent and earlier influential authorities.<sup>1</sup> In the case of microbreweries, this marketing strategy is particularly important because the small-scale brewer products are often most successful if they connect with rural people. Simply using elements of folklore to illustrate labels is not the only strategic effort in connecting with a target market. The way in which the products are packaged and promoted, as well as the spin-off ventures microbreweries create are all part of the overall selling strategy. Culinary tourism thus becomes an important factor to consider as more and more public curiosity is

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<sup>1</sup> Julian Mason 1954; Paul G. Brewster 1958; Alan Dundes 1963; Jules Henry 1965; Wilson Bryan Key 1972; Tom E. Sullenberger 1974; Alessandro Falassi and Gail Kligman 1976; Barbara and Wolfgang Mieder 1977; Erving Goffman 1979; Lutz Röhrich 1980; Richard Stivers 1982; Martin Esslin 1987; James E. Jacob, Paul Rodenhauser, and Ronald J. Markert 1987; Sheila Douglas 1987; Robert MacGregor 1981, 1992; Linda Dégh 1994.



being satiated by the open and inviting nature of “craft” brewers and their visiting centres displaying all elements of a beer product from its early stages of milling, mashing, boiling, fermenting to its bottling and final packaging. To add to culinary tourism, television shows such as “The Thirsty Traveler” have made the folk genre of “drinkways” ever more popular and celebrated as part of a traveler or tourist’s itinerary (Food Network Canada 2014).

From these exploitable uses of folklore, I examine industry principles of the microbrewery, Unibroue, and the labelling of folklore sold on “souvenir” items such as glasses, and T-Shirts. The microbrewery’s founding location and headquarters in Chambly, Québec is an inspirational setting for the brewscapes to discover in their artistic renderings of beer labels depicting Québec’s heritage. What is more, the labels (and bottles) become a type of “souvenir” from Québec, a commodity of intangible oral traditions and political rebellions that still echo in the hearts and minds of the Québécois population. Through spin-off ventures such as the “Fourquet Fourchette” restaurant (formerly owned by Unibroue and sold to a private owner in 2000), Unibroue promoted its beers. This restaurant is an explicit reflection of consumers blending concepts of the history, culture, and folklore of Québec because of its period costuming and romanticized design/decor.

The cultural and romantic representations of historical periods, costuming, and settings in ventures such as those found in the “Fourquet Fourchette” as well as “L’Auberge du Dragon rouge” and “Le Cabaret du Roy” are further examples of commodifying folklore in relation to product placement and marketing strategies found in spin-off ventures. These period-theme restaurants and the period-costuming are part of

the local and regional tourism industry and microbreweries may be perceived as museums displaying culture (Figures 46 and 47). Festivals, microbreweries and brewpubs have adopted museum-like approaches to sell their products (Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger 1983; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).



**Figure 46: Fourquet Fourchette, Palais de justice, Montréal (QC) (photographs taken by author, February 15, 2005).**



**Figure 47: Left, L'Auberge du Dragon Rouge; right, Le Cabaret du Roy; bottom, business card (photographs courtesy of Martin Gauthier).**

The way in which this folklore is then redistributed within the community can also be part of social economy that defines itself as economy based on solidarity and community

economic vitality (Chantier du Québec). In this respect, not-for-profit organizations or cooperatives such as La Barberie microbrewery advocating social causes through their products fit within this category (Figure 48 and 49).



**Figure 48: La Barberie advertisement in Le Québécois newspaper stating that the beer has a taste and social impact (photograph taken by author).**



**Figure 49: “Part of its profits is given to the Fonds d’Emprunt économique communautaire (economic community loan) that finances small businesses. A delicious way to invest in your community!!!” (photograph taken by author).**

Communities may benefit from businesses commercializing folklore as much as businesses may benefit from using folklore to sell goods. This cultural redistribution, group representation and the “value” of culture has been critically argued through

political theory lenses notably by Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth (2003) and Simon Thompson (2006). In Fraser and Honneth's views, the debate on the nature of culture and economics is not mutually exclusive from one another, rather it is interconnected (Fraser and Honneth 2003, 62) and, in the context of this thesis, it is applicable between brewers and consumers. The brewing industry's economic *raison d'être* varies from profit margins for shareholders to generating and redistributing wealth within the local economy for the benefit of communities. The effects of business culture in communities and how communities may use businesses to thrive and redistribute culture frames this chapter.

Thorstein Veblen's discussions of ownership as an economic response to consumer needs notes how property is described as a measure for financial wealth or social success and status within various societies (Veblen 1991 [1899]). Though some of Veblen's examples draw on cultural evolutionist theories, there is a kernel of contemporary reality that resurges in his arguments: that of the dichotomous instinctive and created necessity for humans to live in organized societies (Veblen 1991 [1899], 27-34).

Two examples are discussed in more recent publications illustrating the nature of collecting and displaying culture. The first is in Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton's 1981 *The Meaning of Things*, the second in editor Anthony Kiendl's 2004 compilation *Obsession, Compulsion, Collection*. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton mention the Cartesian-influenced need to collect and identify with objects as "seek(ing) the meaning of the self" and the semiotic nature of objects as signs that help to socialize with each other (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981, 3, 14) while

Kiendl's compilation focuses on various levels of why and how one collects, from the individual to the collective museum.

Just as “we are what we eat,” we are also what we drink. Though this statement is perhaps simplistic because of its inferred meaning tied to product and consumption, there are underlying layers within the statement which should be considered such as the preparation and celebration of food- and drinkways.

In drinkways, drinking a specific beer can reflect many perceptions, conceptions and meanings such as: social classes; cultural and political ideologies; and the willingness to try adventurous and exotic beers. These meanings are exploitable aspects of product-making. The use of folk items in microbreweries draws on the known and popular conceptions of one group's beliefs and customs and is then redistributed to a target market. As for the customs and traditions surrounding drinking culture in Québec, I examine the celebration of Québécois folklore, songs, and traditions which are recreated in particular settings such as designated singing pubs (“boîtes à chansons”), sugar bushes (“cabanes à sucre”) or other festival-oriented events highlighting Québécois culture and products. This chapter thus reveals these cultural codes as they relate to selected Québécois folk narratives illustrated in Unibroue products.

## **7.1 Culinary Tourism, Drinkways and Events**

“Culinary tourism is about food as a subject and medium, destination and vehicle, for tourism [...] It is about groups using foods to ‘sell’ their histories and construct marketable and publicly attractive identities” (Lucy M. Long 2004, 20). Food is thus a part of a system that is inherently cultural as it reflects the notions of belonging and

shared common traits in the way it is prepared, eaten/drunk or celebrated. The meaning of food and how it is communicated is particularly important as it represents cultural codes and symbolizes elements of the life cycle. As written by Carol Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (1997) in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, “food is life, and life can be studied and understood through food” (Counihan and Van Esterik 1997, 1). As part of the tourism industry, culinary tourism is promising. In “Vernacular Health Moralities and Culinary Tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador,” Holly Everett (2009) writes:

In September 2003, articles in Canadian newspapers announced that “culinary tourism is hot” and that the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) was eager to develop Canada’s unique culinary product(s) accordingly [...] in the context of Canada’s confederation, this market has been dominated by Québec, as a new World outpost of French cooking with its own well-regarded artisanal traditions. (Everett 2009, 32)

Just as Everett focuses on fish and chips as a “must” for visiting Newfoundland (Everett 2009, 44-46), in Québec, sellers of local products such as wine, cheese and beer become favoured pit-stops for the culinary tourist. For brewpubs or breweries, tapping into this market is particularly fruitful. In 2005, well-known beer expert, Mario D’Eer wrote an article about a particular brewpub in Lennoxville, QC which had, against odds, managed to open and run its brewing business out of a nineteenth-century building (D’eer 2005, 121). TV host, Rick Mercer, has mentioned on CBC that the Brasserie Le Lion D’or was considered Lennoxville’s “pub étudiant numéro un au Canada” (D’Eer 2005, 121) [number one student pub in Canada]. This happened concurrently with a new wave of microbreweries and brewpubs as they began to multiply in numbers across the province and country. The growth in the microbrewery economy has been such a trend that in 2009, Old Hull, QC (Gatineau), the region saw the opening of its first microbrewery, Les

Brasseurs du Temps (BDT). The BDT has been thriving since as a restaurant, brewery and tourism destination of choice. In addition to recently bottling and selling their beers outside of their establishment, the BDT has been promoting their heritage building as a tourism destination because it describes and illustrates the process of making beer via their “interpretation centre” (which they refer to as a museum) nestled in the middle of their establishment. The business ventures tied to beer were becoming profitable: it offered microbrewers a chance to brew and take advantage of a larger market that enjoyed restaurants and tourism within the breweries. As an established microbrewery, Unibroue tapped in this spin-off venture market as well. Not only is the microbrewery using items of folklore to sell but, also, it appeals to a group that feels a strong sense of belonging attached to the product because of the implicit and explicit nature of the industry’s cultural messages and its ties to place and taste. There is an important link to make between campaigns made in favour of home-grown or “terroir” products, branding, preserving heritage and a sense of belonging (Trubek 2008, 208-243).

In the case of Unibroue, it opened the “Fourquet Fourchette” which was to feature local French and Aboriginal food prepared with Unibroue beers and served within a seventeenth/eighteenth-century style tavern. The affiliation between microbrewery and period re-enactment in this restaurant recreates a nostalgic colonial tavern-like ambience, from its rough-wooden tables to cast-iron hinges, to its earthy colour schemes, and dim candle-lighting. Even their washrooms are theme-inspired (Figure 50).





**Figure 50: Fourquet Fourchette washrooms, Chambly, QC  
(photographs taken by author, 2003).**

With the staff dressed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century period clothing and the service of French colonial and Aboriginal food, packaged, and sold in the restaurant and boutique. Most of the food items prepared at the “Fourquet Fourchette” have a Unibroue beer as a main savoury ingredient. The promotion of the Unibroue beers through this particular venture is apparently two-fold: 1) to promote the microbrewery’s selection; and 2) to reinforce the image representation of the beer labels and the period foodstuffs.

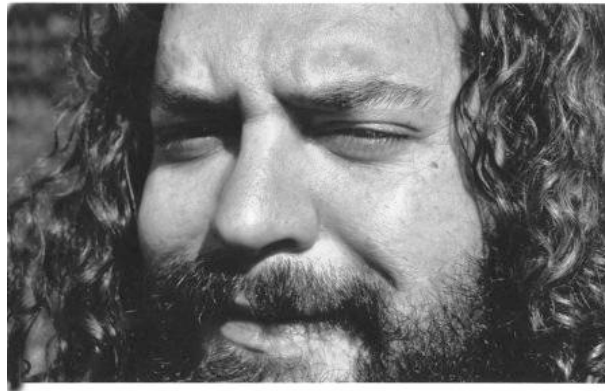
The marketing strength of the beer labels depicting Québécois folklore as was seemingly lived by the colonial French of the area, and as it is still transmitted through various means of communication today is very much a part of Unibroue’s strategic marketing plan. By “re”creating a setting like the “Fourquet Fourchette,” tourists and



locals alike venture in a part of romantic history and are shown a fragment of Québec's popular culture. It also helps that this restaurant is the start and end point of the Unibroue tour and tasting session. The "re"creation aspect of the restaurant is a part of the cultural revivalism found in Québec which is exploited in general marketing and the tourism industry.

The Fourquet Fourchette first opened its doors in 1998 and its purpose was to focus on the "produits du terroir" (local foodstuffs) through a historical and cultural concept (seventeenth-eighteenth century French and Aboriginal food) and use Unibroue beer in its gastronomy (LeBlanc 2005 [4]). Both establishments in Chambly and in downtown Montréal hold licenses to sell beer on site and for external use which allows them to develop future goods to sell highlighting the beer in local foodstuffs: jams, smoked fish, game, etc. (LeBlanc 2005 [4]). Yves Cossette mentioned that the Cabaret du Roy in Old Montréal (opened in 2001), which is within walking distance of the Fourquet Fourchette is a potential competitor (much like the other restaurants in Montréal) and that the focus of both is on locals and visitors (not simply the tourist wanting to experience a "historical" perspective in food) (LeBlanc 2005 [4]; 2005 [5]).

Martin Gauthier, owner/founder of L'Auberge du Dragon Rouge and Le Cabaret du Roy (Figure 51), told me that his need to begin restaurant ventures with historic-romantic themes was prompted by his inner circle of live-action role players.



**Figure 51: Martin Gauthier, owner of the restaurants the Dragon Rouge and Cabaret du Roy and the medieval-theme shop, Échoppe du Dragon Rouge (photograph courtesy of Martin Gauthier).**

L'Auberge du Dragon Rouge first opened its doors in 1992 as a medieval-theme restaurant and was the product of a Dungeons and Dragons fantasy role-player who wanted to create an environment for people like him (LeBlanc 2005 [5]). Martin's venture became quickly popular and thrived in a way that made him expand from his previous textile experience into a clothing line and a shop selling goods in keeping with the "medieval" theme (LeBlanc 2005 [5]). The Échoppe du Dragon Rouge boutique opened its doors in 1995 but survived only for eleven years because of the niche market and waning of the "medieval" trend that had become highly commercialized in the 1990s (Figure 52).



**Figure 52: L'Échoppe du Dragon Rouge boutique promotional flyer.**

L'Échoppe du Dragon Rouge had one market competitor in Québec in the mid-nineties: Excalibor (a medieval-theme boutique in Québec that had opened in 1993) and the late nineties saw several other medieval, gothic, new age theme boutiques with short life spans.

Martin quickly noticed the new trend was moving towards New France and he decided to tap into that market and create another theme-inspired restaurant, the Cabaret du Roy (LeBlanc 2005 [5]). The “reemerging” trend of folklore, as Martin noted, was something to tap into and he wanted to move away from recreating another medieval-themed restaurant towards a New-France-themed restaurant and in another part of town

(in contrast to Lajeunesse Street in upper Montréal, where L'Auberge du Dragon Rouge sits) (LeBlanc 2005 [5]).

About the Unibroue products sold at his restaurants, Martin answered that he does not focus solely on Unibroue beers, but does “prioritize” on microbrews in Québec (LeBlanc 2005 [5]). He also said that he worked for the Fourquet Fourchette as a Director General when André Dion was still the owner of Unibroue, and quickly understood that his management style and vision did not correspond with André Dion's vision for the establishment (LeBlanc 2005 [5]). A patron of the Fourquet Fourchette, Auberge du Dragon Rouge and Cabaret du Roy establishments would see the difference in product and service delivery styles as the Auberge du Dragon Rouge and Cabaret du Roy focus on theatrical period-re-enactment entertainment and gastronomy, whereas the Fourquet Fourchette focuses more on its Unibroue gastronomy with mild period-re-enactment entertainment in contrast.

Martin noted that Boréale's “Cuvée de l'aubergiste” and “La bière des Trolls” as well as the Barberie's “La barbe au miel” were respectively brewed for Martin's medieval-themed restaurant but not with the “branding” focus on his theme restaurant per se (LeBlanc 2005 [5]). The marketing of the beer product was focused only within Martin's restaurant but not sold outside (LeBlanc 2005 [5]).

While the spin-off shops have a particularly hard time to remain on the market compared to running a restaurant, Martin noted that the successful survivors happen to be the theme restaurants and part of this is because of the audience participation and food consumption market. This is also the reason why food festivals share success stories, and more so with beer and food festivals.

In September 2006, I attended “La fête bières et saveurs” which highlighted many microbreweries from Québec (Figures 53-55).



**Figure 53: Left to right, top to bottom: Bières et saveurs 2006 promotional booklet, participants walking the grounds and visiting kiosks, Sleeman and Unibroue kiosks, Chambly, QC (photographs taken by author, September 2006).**





**Figure 54: Left to right, top to bottom: Fourquet Fourchette kiosk (next to the actual restaurant), Brasseurs et frères, Brasserie Dunham artisanal/craft brewing demonstration, Chambly, QC (photographs taken by author, September 2006).**



**Figure 55: Left to right, folksingers on the “Troubadours” stage and participants enjoying the show, Chambly, QC (photographs taken by author, September 2006).**

The site of the event was next to the Fourquet Fourchette and the Chambly Fort and was a celebration of food and drink. Publications like the “Ale Street News” or the “Yankee Brew News” were promoted at booths and various local foodstuffs were being offered for tastings and sale (Figure 56).



**Figure 56: (Left) Les carnets de m@bière, le journal des trippeux! (My beer journal, a paper for keeners!); (Right) Ale Street News.**

It promoted socio-cultural features of folklore and highlighted local monuments and heritage sites for recreational tourism in the region. The site chosen for the event was not accidental. Much like the Fourquet Fourchette and Unibroue, the event wanted to marry all elements of tourism and local foodstuffs. This event also promoted the Fourquet Fourchette and Unibroue as both establishments were moving towards the general attraction model of recreational tourism in that they offered food services, tours, souvenirs and other products that marketed the brand name through a “regional”

perspective.

Regionalism is naturally used in advertising local products. An example of this has been studied by Paul Mercer and Mac Swackhammer in their 1978 article “‘The Singing of Old Newfoundland ballads and a Cool Glass of Beer Go Hand in Hand’: Folklore and ‘Tradition’ in Newfoundland Advertising.”

Mercer and Swackhammer discuss how regionalism is used to sell products and how nostalgia plays into the explicit use of folk culture to refer to the “good old days” (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 36). The authors’ work on beer and Newfoundland regionalism presents patriotic marketing concepts used by brewing campaigns that are comparable to those of Québec’s microbreweries in that both provinces demonstrate nationalist leanings and both provinces hold specific meaning to the way in which their land, culture and language are pillars of identity.

Mercer and Swackhammer’s argument is based on how folklore and advertising are intertwined, especially in relation to songbooks and using “patriotic or sentimental appeal to traditional values and ways of life” in advertising (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 37). Tea, coffee and beer advertisements are thrown into Mercer and Swackhammer’s study to unveil the underlying message of belonging. In reference to songbooks, Mercer and Swackhammer write:

An interest has been created and emphasized with the Old Home Week style songsters in the Newfoundland singing tradition as a valuable relic of heritage, as patriotic, and as a mark of identity to be used with pride. [...] The Bennett Brewing Company, Limited, another St. John’s firm, with its advertising slogan “The oldest manufacturing industry in Newfoundland,” has also tried to identify itself with local history, heritage and tradition. Since songs were a logical and established vehicle, in the 1950’s Bennett began to publish its own books, modeled on and copied from Doyle’s [...] Bennett attempted to capitalize on this familiarity and favourable image. (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 39)



Mercer and Swackhammer then illustrate with Dominion Ale's "The Newfoundland Song Book" with the "Tom Sawyer-like bamboo rod and bobber" and "dance costumes [...] more reminiscent of traditional French Canada than Newfoundland (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 42). Molson and Dow's also published folksongs from as early as the 1930s into the 1970s (Figures 57 and 58).

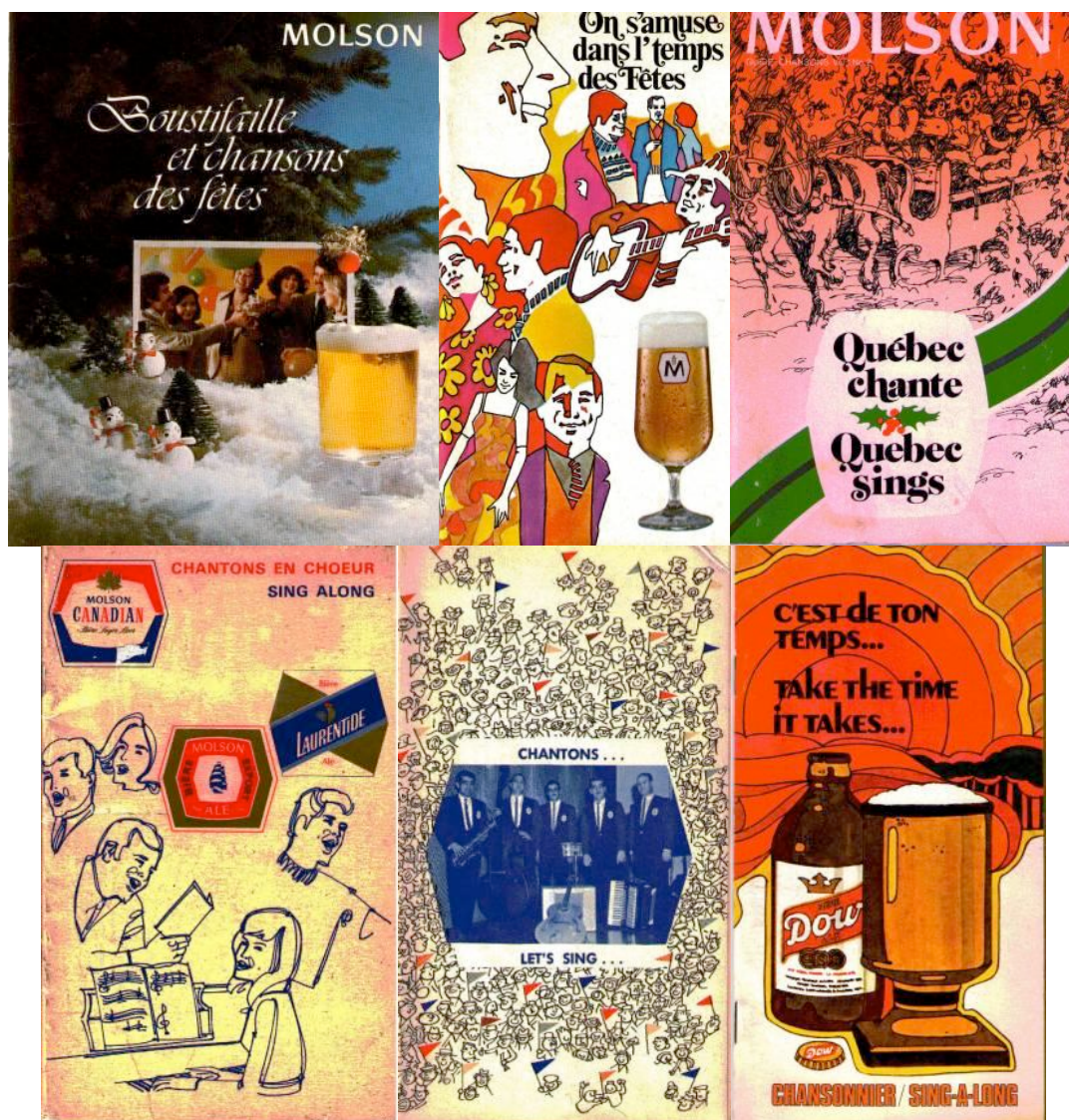


Figure 57: Molson and Dow songbooks (c. 1970s) (author's personal collection).





These songs are characteristic of Québec's culture and language. Mercer and Swackhammer continue:

the brewery (Bennett)...sought instant identification of its products with folklore material, but unlike Doyle, the brewery attempts a direct correlation between the use of its products and the practice of traditional entertainments. The same advertising tactic was followed by the Newfoundland Margarine Company and Maple Leaf Milling, using foodways instead of musical tradition. (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 41)

By the mid-1960s, there was a shift in how cultural signifiers were being used and portrayed by Bennett Brewing as its purchase in 1962 by Canadian Breweries Limited (Carling O'Keefe) modified the advertising campaign (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 41). As Mercer and Swackhammer note, "they no longer reflected a Newfoundland self-consciousness, but a mainland conception of Newfie-ism designed to sell beer" (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 41). The images became parodies and stereotypical representations of the "Newfie fisherman" (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 42). The authors note that the Dominion Ale dance costumes portrayed on "The Newfoundland Song Book" "are more reminiscent of traditional French Canada than Newfoundland" a point interestingly drawn as Carling O'Keefe may have been influenced by the stereotypical representation of folklore from Québec (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 42).

A decade later, Dominion Ale turned "all male"-oriented by focusing their image of bearded men "in casual work clothes... placed in situations described as traditionally Newfoundland or attached to places significant in Newfoundland history and folklore. All make use of the local legend and story-telling tradition, retelling parts of narratives collected from oral tradition" (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978, 43).

The same type of phenomenon occurred with Blue Star advertisements. In “The Great Canadian Beer Book,” Harry Bruce writes:

speaking of Newfoundland, nothing could better illustrate the ornery character and sheer perversity of regional loyalties than the beer-label situation in that country. (But it’s not a country, you say, it’s a *province*! Well maybe, but when a Newfoundlander talks about going out to the West Coast he’s not referring to B.C. He means Cornerbrook or Bonne Bay.) Let me explain. When Newfoundland joined Canada one of the terms of the union was that Newfoundland trademarks would remain valid. There was an outfit named Bavarian Brewing in those days, and it had a product it called Black Label. Then the Labatts interest bought Bavarian Brewing so that, although Black Label is Carling’s Black Label to most Canadians, it’s Labatt’s Black Label in Newfoundland... though Black Horse ale has gone into limbo across the country (across Canada, that is) it continues to thrive in Newfoundland. Newfoundland is also the home of perhaps the most happily blatant exploitation of local patriotism in the history of Canadian beer commercials on TV. The commercial, which some say has the emotive power of The Ode to Newfoundland, shows a bunch of worthies in a tavern. They’re drinking Blue Star. The chorus of their song, which ends with a rousing toast, goes like this:

‘Blue Star, Blue Star  
The Finest in the Land.  
You can drink a toast  
To Newfoundland  
With a Blue Star in your hand.’  
And then, all together now, and beer on high:  
‘Up she comes!’

The brand names of beers arouse provincial loyalties that are as mysterious to fathom as religious fervor or the noblest expressions of nationalism... National breweries, when they take over a local brewery, do not tamper recklessly with the character of beloved beers. One does not tromp on the old flag (and, indeed, the label on Old Scotia ale bears a suspicious resemblance to the flag of Nova Scotia). The result of this respect for the local loves of beerdom is that, almost everywhere in Canada, we have the national personalities and, at the same time, the provincial personalities. (Bruce 1975, 34-35; see also Taft 1979)

I spent some time at the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archives and heard recordings of the Blue Star commercial from the CBC. The Sons of Erin performed the tune “Squid Jiggin’ Ground” to fit the jingle and at the end of the

commercial everyone would yell “Up she comes!” (Sons of Erin). A parody of this commercial is also archived at MUNFLA under the Wonderful Grand Band (WGB) Tommy Sexton and Greg Malone’s performance in 1980 (Wonderful Grand Band 1980). The commercial makes reference to a “Boo Beer.” While the men are saying “She’s gone, b’y,” “No b’y, she’s not gone, b’y” back and forth repeating it a few times before stating the nationalist purpose of the beer: “When da b’ys goes out for a bottle of boo it’s bye-bye b’ys and bye bye boo, Boor Beer, ambiotic creme soda. From the fine family of Boo Boo Beer that have been pleasing Newfoundlanders since 1949” the listener is then graced by the Blue Star plug and at the very end one of the two men gasps “Up she comes!”<sup>2</sup> and throws up.

Another regional example with Newfoundland is the highly advertised Screech campaign that promote the rum to drink, but also the popular (mis)conceptions of being a Newfoundlander making “Royal Screechers” out of non-Newfoundlanders during pub or bar screech-in ceremonies. St. John’s hosted the 2002 International Rum Festival which had previously spent twelve years in the Caribbean. Rum is historically significant for the Atlantic provinces – it boasts three hundred years of activity and an important mercantile role (James H. Morrison and James Moreira 1988). Local events such as the “screech-in” take on large-scale proportions as they become a rite of passage for tourists to “get screeched-in” before they leave the “Rock.”

In November 2002, I participated in a private screech-in ceremony along with other graduate students from the Department of Folklore in St. John’s., NL. As it was

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Taft’s (1979) “Four Possible Factors in the Formation of bound Expressions: The Case of ‘Up She Comes’ in Newfoundland Culture” examines the various meanings – including vomiting – and the inclusive nature of the phrase in Newfoundland.

during the “Mardi Gras” celebrations on George Street, some of us wore Hallowe’en costumes and make-up, adding to the jesting environment of the screech-in. Our hosts, two native Newfoundlanders, were insistent that we live the “real” screech-in experience and not a “bar-version” which would have robbed us of various elements tied to the ceremony. I was the second person to be screeched-in for this ceremony, and missed part of the first person’s performance, notably when repeating the Royal Screecher’s order. I donned a cap which I locked sideways (to avoid it flying away in the strong winds of the Newfoundland coast, I was told) and ate a chunk of bologna (the “rich man’s meat”). I stared at the freshly caught cod that was basting in its juices in the kitchen sink and noticed that I would have to soon kiss it. After the deed, I was given explicit instructions by my host: “Now I will ask you: ‘Are you a member of the Royal Screechers’ Order’ I’ll say and you’ll reply: ‘Indeed I is, me ol’ cock, and long may your big jib draw!’ ok?” I was like a deer in headlights after listening to my host ramble the sentence so quickly I only caught the key words “cock” and “long” the pronunciation of which made my colleagues roar with laughter. As it is custom, I was told, I had to drink a shot of Screech before I answered my line and every time I would mess it up, I would have to drink another shot until I got it right. It took me many shots to get the line straight, but I earned my Newfoundland Tourism issued diploma at the end that granted me the title of “Royal Screecher” (Figure 59).





**Figure 59: A hefty cod kissed by the author.**

These “potent” drink feats are found elsewhere in the world as well (Byrne 1997).

In 2006, during a conference trip to Australia and a family visit, I was initiated to a local “dive” in Wollombi, NSW: the Wollombi Tavern, home of Dr. Jurd’s Jungle Juice. There is a way to drink this “juice” straight or mixed, but it is promoted as a drink that makes “the difference between a gathering and a party!” (Figure 60).



**Figure 60: Dr Jurd’s Jungle Juice flyer.**

As noted on the flyer, a “city traveller, a toff just passing by, besieged with thirst, he noticed...pubs were few and far.” So the traveller was told to drink this local pub’s juice which he would ““ave to swill it ‘slow like,’ one whiff would kill a goose’.” So the traveller drank and was “merry” while the locals laughed at him and the traveller “rammed his car against a tree.” “Coppers” arrived on seen and set the breathalyser on the traveller, who replied “I only ‘ad one glarsh, one nip of Shungle Shuice” and was left in a “blissful state” never to recover from this “juice.” The story ends:

This maybe a manufactured tale, as tall as they can be,  
A fairytale you could recite to children on your knee,  
But if your brain and palette should ever call a truce,  
Please exercise some caution with the famous Jungle Juice.

When I first set foot in the Wollombi Tavern, I had an eerie feeling of being out of place. Locals did notice our arrival and it felt like there was a break in conversations. I walked to the bar counter, accompanied by my Australian uncle (not from Wollombi) and my aunt snuck past to ask the barkeep for “Jungle Juice.” We purchased the bottle that they gave to us and the promotional poster to go with it, still no sound from the locals who were ogling us strangers until we left the bar door to be greeted by barking dogs in the back of a pick-up truck armoured with “roo bars” at its fender. This experience was perhaps stereotypical and the story about the “Juice” made it all the more real. I only took a nip myself when we arrived back at Warawee, Sydney. The experience of purchasing the juice was almost more important than trying the alcohol itself - one needs to go to Wollombi Tavern to understand why this Jungle Juice story is so much more potent.



The way in which alcohol should be drunk as well as the physical area or establishment in which it is drunk is particularly noteworthy in these two cases because of the “local” vs. tourist *blasons populaires*. Making the tourist seem ridiculous (wearing a cap sideways and kissing fish, or drinking a questionable “juice”) is a reversal of roles in how the locals are perceived by outsiders. It is a way to control a part of *blasons populaires* and to profit from them. Tourism captures these stereotypes and gives power to locals in a way that gives them the ability to exploit their folklore and distribute it through various means. The origins of the screech-in would have been prank-related as an initiation rite for sealers and is perceived as folklorism (Charles Mandel 2003, 26; Dettmer 1991, 173; Byrne 1997, 238-243).

Because drink is generally consumed with the purpose of celebration, the mixture of folklore and event can be a perfect combination of tourism “souvenir” experience. What is more, the need to create alcohol and make it your own, like moonshine, is often found in such areas where there was a hefty control over liquor which was already being made illegally in cellars or caves. In Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, for example, there is a long-standing tradition of making moonshine, and most of today’s recollected stories of moonshiner practice dates this maritime tradition back to the early days of Prohibition. A 1996 *Maclean’s* article featured “Moonshine revival” as part of this underground grassroots movement which was both a problem for the RCMP because of its illegality but also because of its important tie to locals in their tradition of making “their own liquor” (John Demont 1996, 18). John Demont writes:

There are no arrows pointing out the moonshine trail through these mountains in western Nova Scotia, near the New Brunswick border. No tourism department literature trumpets the stills, hidden in the hillside, that produce illegal liquor. And

no signs point the way to the backwoods cabin where three of the best-known producers of the “good stuff,” as the locals call it, gather over bid tumblers of their home-made hooch. (Demont 1996, 18)

One of Demont’s interviewees, Bob, “is no hillbilly” boasting engineering skills and history savvy (Demont 1996, 18). Home-made alcohol, moonshine like “poteen” for the Irish, is seen as problematic from an economic and sometimes health-related standpoint. There is no thorough control of the product which makes it a public concern as one could become severely ill (or die) if the alcohol is not made properly, and as there is no control, the money made from the product is not taxed which makes it a severe loss from a legislated perspective as alcohol is a very lucrative market. While some authorities may turn a blind eye because they know locals will continue to make their alcohol, as Patrick MacMonagle suggests (MacMonagle 1985-1986, 91), the making of alcohol is both a cultural and economic desire. Distillation is a particular tradition in the British Isles and Ireland with whisk(e)ys prominent, it is no wonder that this tradition would make its way to the New World (from the Canadian Maritimes to the Appalachian Southeast) and during the Prohibition era (MacMonagle 1985-1986, 92-98; Joseph Earl Dabney 1978, xiii-xvii; Phil C. Weigand 1976, 161).

As a disparaged alcohol, seen as a legal menace, the underground nature and traditional making turned moonshine into a popular drink and songs were created to honour this alcohol (Julia Bishop 1993). “The Moonshiner” made popular by the Clancy Brothers; and Albert Frank Beddoe’s “Copper Kettle” sung by Bob Dylan and Joan Baez (see also Bishop 1993).

From a grassroots perspective, making alcohol, whether it is *aqua vitae/uisce*

*beatha* (water of life/whiskey), wine, cider<sup>3</sup> or beer, there is a pride in producing local homegrown alcohol and sharing it with others. For the British, Irish or French (especially Normandy and Brittany), cider as a farmer's alcohol was turned into a multi-million dollar investment for large-scale producers like Bulmers and Strongbow. Walter Minchinton mentions that there is a direct link between nationalism and cider production in England which could explain the grassroots connection between the folk and the product (Walter Minchinton 1975, 66). After the Act of 1887 making small-scale cider production illegal, industrial ventures exploited this market successfully (Minchinton 1975, 66). The custom of Wassailing observed as a Twelfth Night celebration, consists of drinking cider, eating, and rhyming in song to celebrate the apple tree (Minchinton 1975, 67-69; Peter Brears 1993, 106-141).

The custom of making and drinking apple cider and other homegrown alcohol is celebrated in other European countries, notably in France. The Musée du cidre, Le Hézo in the Morbihan (Brittany) highlights this folk drink and offers other “produits du terroir” such as “chouchen” (mead) (Musée du cidre 2014). The agricultural tie to the product and its association, made cider all the more accessible to the folk of the British Isles, Ireland and France as a homegrown, country product in contrast to the higher class association with certain wines or even champagne (D.M. Duggan Thacker 1968; Martyn Brown 1986-1987).

Homebrewing itself becomes a type of rite of passage for the 18-35 year old bracket interested in microbrewing. What becomes a hobby for some can turn into a lucrative business for others. In October 2004, I tried my hand at homebrewing, along

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<sup>3</sup> Or “Perry,” a cider-type alcohol made with pears instead of apples.

with my husband Jean-François, his cousin Pascal Laflamme and cousin's wife Marie-Paul Lagüe. I recorded the early beginnings of brewing our first batch of Munich Dark Lager by the Brewhouse we would call "l'à peu-près" ("the approximate" or "more or less") for its amateur attempt. At Pascal and Marie-Paul's home in L'Acadie (St-Jean-sur-Richelieu), QC, we began discussing the potential of moving from homebrewing to running an actual microbrewery and I imagined this was possibly the same scenario that occurred when many craft- and microbrewers first began their beermaking adventure (LeBlanc 2004 [5]). While our venture did not grow into a full-scaled microbrewery, the exercise proved useful in that the craft- and microbrewers I interviewed had started their operations in their basements to eventually grow into enterprises.

The simple yet "complex" nature of beer-making as Pascal stated at the end of our first homebrew session, is the reason why quality brewing became pivotal in late twentieth century craft- and microbrewing campaigns.

Advocate groups such as the CAMRA (the Campaign for Real Ale) paved a very important road for future craft- and microbrewers. Notably, in 1971, CAMRA appeared in Britain as a "secular" approach to brewing and was led by journalists Michael Hardman and Graham Lees. "Cette campagne amorça littéralement une révolution dans le monde de la bière. Le mouvement fit son apparition au Canada dix ans plus tard" [this campaign began a revolution in the world of beers. The movement appeared in Canada ten years later] (Daigneault 2004, 90, 135. See also Hamilton and Bilodeau 1997, 3; Trayner 2002, 18; Heron 2003, 345; CBC 1985). This basically led the way from homebrewing advocacy to the microbrewery revolution of the 1980s and 1990s (Hamilton and Bilodeau 1997, 3) and was the beginning of the "waves" of craft- and

microbrewing in the world; the second wave occurred in the 1990s and the third in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century (Chodjaï 2005, 12-13).

For small craft-brewers such as Eric Thibault (La milliasse de chopes, Rimouski, QC; Figure 61), challenges are greater in surviving and competing with the microbrewers that offer a product beyond its establishment for consumption. From Eric's first introduction to beer-making through similar kits as the concentrated malt syrup ones I used with Jean-François, Pascal and Marie-Paul, to establishing a small, 'local' craft-brewery in Rimouski, QC is not only a step-up from the amateur home-brewer, but also an example of traditional craft drinkways. Unfortunately, La milliasse de chopes would only survive five years in Rimouski chiefly because bottling was not an option for this venture at the time – a challenge many craft-brewers face when in competition with microbreweries, where bottling and distributing beer is more of the microbrewery domain.



**Figure 61: Eric Thibault, Brewer and co-owner of the Milliasse de chopes, Rimouski, QC (photographs taken by author on November 14 and 16, 2004).**

In La Barberie's case, Bruno Blais mentioned that co-operatives such as La Barberie are very different from non-co-op breweries in that partnerships with other co-

ops in agriculture, etc. rely heavily on the networking, micro-credits and members involved to build on shared successes (LeBlanc 2005 [3]; Figure 62). It is this co-operative philosophy combined with tailored brews (La Barberie can create a recipe and beer tailored to various groups such as the case with “La militante” for Québec independence advocates and “La brasse-camarade” brewed for social implication groups) that La Barberie has maintained a stable place in the microbrewing industry since its inception in 1995 (LeBlanc 2005 [3]). La Barberie’s success is greatly due also to the fact that it is associated and promoted with social cause movements, a proud fact stated by Bruno (LeBlanc 2005 [3]).



**Figure 62: La Barberie co-owner, Bruno Blais, Québec City, QC (photographs taken by author on February 4, 2005).**

Another way to celebrate drinkways and regional production of beverages is through festivals or tasting events. In recent years, they have become popular tourism venues in Québec. As examined mainly through the lens of material culture, food and

drink festivals are communal celebrations that stimulate and promote local economy. From a cultural perspective, and in culinary tourism, beer and food tasting events or festivals highlighting historical moments and culture in Québec are often sponsored by the alcohol industry including distributors such as the Société des Alcools du Québec and producers such as Unibroue. The shared history of the Québécois people is featured at such events and like microbrewers, and this cultural promotion creates a sense of recollection for the group it wishes to represent.

A common method for presenting tradition to the public is the folklore display or demonstration. At festivals, fairs, and museums, folk dances are performed and folk crafts exhibited against a backdrop representing the interior of what is presented as a traditional farmhouse. Marius Barbeau ... claimed to have organized the first such performances in Canada. Following British and French models of folklore demonstrations, Barbeau and his colleagues presented two ‘public soirées’ of folklore performances in Montreal in 1919. Their goal was both to teach the urban public about the indigenous folk sources of their culture and to generate support (financial and otherwise) for folklore research. Barbeau’s description of these soirées shows their conceptualization and staging to have been nearly identical to performances witnessed 60 years later. (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 279)

Festivals are another form of display. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) writes “living human specimens have been displayed in zoos, formal exhibitions, festivals, and other popular amusements” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 30). Festivals should therefore be examined as extensions of museums. Cultural food and beverage become a common currency in the tourism market, ripe to use and promote in regions. As an example of the growing interest in culinary tourism and food and drink festivals, Gatineau, QC’s first “Festibière” was launched on April 7, 2011 at the Bistro L’Autre Oeil in Aylmer, QC (Figure 63; David-Lawrence Dumesnil 2011).



**Figure 63: Bulletin d'Aylmer featuring the first Festibière in Gatineau, April 13, 2011.**

I attended the festival when it took place on May 27-29, 2011 at Lac-Leamy, QC (Figure 64). I participated at various activities including special theme discussions, one of which was led by Philip Wouters, local Outaouais expert in beer. According to beer expert and “Festibière” President, Mario D’Eer, “Le Québec, c’est le paradis de la bière parce que c’est la meilleure place au monde pour goûter toute cette variété de bières que l’on ne peut pas retrouver dans un autre pays” [Québec is the paradise of beer because it is the best place in the world to taste all of this variety in beer, which we cannot find in another country] (Dumesnil 2011, 9).





**Figure 64: Festibière booklet and Lac Leamy festival site, Gatineau, QC (photographs taken by author, May 28, 2011).**

This is why food and drink festivals hold such an important meaning as they are venues in which people negotiate culture and barter through food/drink stuffs that make their experience all the more engaging.

## **7.2 Microbreweries and Pubs as Museums: (Dis)Playing Culture**

Microbreweries expand their potential market by opening their doors to the general public, much like a museum. The discourse used by tour guides and owners is clearly in favour of the small-scale brewing process and focuses on terms such as

“traditional,” “quality,” and “authentic taste” to advocate the brewery’s important contribution to the continuity of ethnic beerways.

As I was conducting research on microbreweries and participating in guided tours of the establishments, I was struck by the growing trend to display items relevant to the brewing industry and corporate history of the companies. Microbreweries have been crafting their awareness strategies in keeping with education and promotion of their goods through the museum method of display and interpretation. The microbreweries I visited were not simple production zones; they were fashioned into drinking experiences and, while on tour, doing beer tastings or even in perusing the gift shops, the visitors at these microbreweries were very much like those in museums.

In her 1998 book, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes: “Museums were to teach ‘by means of object lessons,’ but objects could not be relied on to speak for themselves” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 31). This is the role of the museologist, to give a “voice” to objects and offer interpretive storylines, placing objects in context and tying them with each other. In exhibits, mannequins often take the place of the interlocutor to “make sense” of objects. Better still is the “living history” model of museum (“open-air museums” or “folk museums”) where live people don costumes and personalities of characters to put objects, sites and monuments into context (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 40-42, 45-47, 189-200). Regions also become “a living museum in situ” as noted by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, 54), as the geographical area becomes a place to “visit” (Dicks 2003, 18-19). Bella Dicks writes “the phenomenon of ‘living history’ both refers to ‘interactive’ heritage museums which use reconstructions and simulations, as well as describing a general tendency towards

forms of display that ‘bring history alive’. This is a tendency that underpins much of the currently proliferating heritage visitor attractions. It is predicated on the idea of making history more authentic, more real and more immediate” (Dicks 2003, 122). French and Welsh models of “folk museums” have their own successes, but for different purposes. The Welsh Folk Museum objectifies the folk in a populist fashion, according to Dicks, whereas the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions in France (an eco-museum concept which has not been as successful in its Québécois adaptations save for a few exceptions such as the regional Trois-Rivières Musée des arts et traditions populaires du Québec) is built on the social classes of “peasant” and “rural” occupational folklore (Dicks 2003, 156-158; see also Petford 1994).

Nick Merriman’s (2000) essay “Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon” discusses “how people use museums” and their perceptions of heritage centres (149-171) as cultural phenomena. Individuals’ reasons for visiting vary, and this fact makes their cultural experiences through a museum or display-oriented centre vary as well.

Bella Dicks challenges the “widely accepted definition of a museum” as it is not solely a collector, interpretive-preservationist and exhibitor of material (Dicks 2003, 144). The purpose of museums and very definition of the institution have become blurred to fit new demands still in keeping with public education, but modeled to cater to all walks of life, including theme park enthusiasts. Dicks says that theme parks

are open-air venues in which a mixture of attractions, including fantasy rides and cultural reconstructions, are brought together into one (usually enclosed and pay-bounded) area. Perhaps the central characteristic of theme parks is that they do not offer merely mechanical rides and side-shows as in the traditional fair or amusement park, but use advanced technology to simulate scenes representing various cultural identities (particularly the signs and symbols of other places and times, and filmic and literary characters and celebrities).” (Dicks 2003, 198)

Dicks also notes that theme parks are “recreations from famous legends, stories and films, whilst some are organized around tableaux representing ethnic or national identities, historical periods or ways of life” (Dicks 2003, 98). Microbreweries can be studied as museums and theme parks in this sense when the institution exhibits or displays its branding culture and products and/or uses interpreters to animate history and the brewing process for tourism.

The selection of items to display at cultural and heritage sites is carried out by curators, museologists and other specialists. The museum interpreter’s role is to explain and contextualize, often through the use of narrative, the events, people, or places highlighted in exhibits. History often comes alive through interpretation and this is an exploitable factor for the tourism trade. Barbara Hodgdon writes, “Authenticity is not about factuality or reality, [rather] it is about authority, which is produced by and through cultural assemblages that gesture beyond the realm of particular objects or artifacts toward myths of contact and presence” (Hodgdon 1998, 203). Hodgdon’s examples in Tudor artifacts, describe the historical association to relics and peoples that were conceived as “proof” of authentic Tudor lifestyles (Hodgdon 1998, 207-209).

On a similar scale, revivals also fit with the way in which culture is displayed or promoted. Georgina Boyes’, in *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*, argues that folk revivals, such as are found in England, are responses to the loss of cultural expression (Boyes 1993, 1). Dance, songs, customs and ballads resurge from the dusty past to revive in a contemporary setting. Reusing past symbols or traditional ways in tourism is a way of branding culture and history. It is an antiquarian,

nostalgic, and romantic nationalist example, like what Hodgdon associates between Shakespeare and Britain (Hodgdon 1998, 212-213). In Québec this is exemplified in Unibroue products.

In studying the effects of tourism and entertainment as productions, Richard Handler and Eric Gable describe museums as “produc(ing) messages, or meaningful statements and actions” as a “social production” (Handler and Gable 1997, 9, 12). What does this mean for producers that use folklore to sell items? Evidently, there is a greater tie between heritage/cultural sites and the business place. Both value entertainment as a means by which to sell their products, whether in a touring context to view displays, or in purchasing goods. Both use popular conceptions of their products to advertise.

In 1998, the Montreal Beer Museum established itself on Stanley Street but would not survive long. In 2006, I tried to find the establishment but was unsuccessful. In its stead was a boarded-up building which had been this way for more than a year. I found The Blork Blog’s post quite interesting in describing the defunct beer museum:

Another of Montreal’s secret watering holes has quietly closed down. The Montreal Beer Museum, located on rue Stanley just south of Sherbrooke, appears to have shut its doors for good. I call it a “secret” watering hole because the Montreal Beer Museum was virtually unknown among boozers I know. It was a mysterious and badly-named speck of a bar located on an inopportune part of rue Stanley where there is little pedestrian traffic. As such, I’m surprised it lasted as long as it did [...] I was surprised that I had never heard of it — after all, a “beer museum” would surely be well known in a town as tipsy as this one. [...] It was a small and un-noteworthy pub with a few wooden booths, some small cigarette-tarnished wooden tables, a couple of ratty naugahyde sofas, and a bar with room for about six stools. Behind the bar was a visual cacophony of beer posters and a clutter of knick-knacks, leaving just enough room for one dejected-looking bartender. The tap menu included the standard array of imports (Guinness, Harp, Smithwick’s, Heineken, etc.) and the expected local microbrews (Boreal and St. Ambroise). There may have been one domestic on tap (probably Molson Ex). The fridge held an assortment of bottled beers that might have been impressive in a small town but was not

particularly noteworthy in a brew town like Montreal — particularly not in a bar that called itself a beer museum. This, despite their Web site’s boasting of a stock of over 60 microbrews from Quebec and beyond. Perhaps they meant that on a rotating basis — one different brew every month for five years. Clearly the concept had shifted. It had gone from being a place of fine dining, beer tasting, and beer education to something like “provide beer and chicken wings to people who want to drink in a bar where they will never be found.” (The Bork Blog 2014)

While this self-titled “beer museum” was no longer accessible, I did reflect on the pubs/drinking establishments and breweries that took over the role of a museum as they attempt to create a drinkways space from production to consumption and the image these institutions wanted to project according to their perspectives of a “museum.”

There exist a variety of beer museums around the world, to name a few: Holland’s National Beer Museum “De Boom,” Texas’ Brew Kettle Museum, Belgium’s Beer Museum, Hungary’s Dreher Beer Museum, and the Czech Republic’s Brewery Museum. Sapporo claim to have “the only beer museum in Japan,” the Sapporo Beer Museum, but Tokyo’s Beer Museum Yebisu is proof otherwise (Sapporo Holdingd Ltd. 2014). Even online museums, like the Beer Label Museum or Beer Can Museum & Beer Can Hall of Fame (Shultz 2014; Beer Can Museum 2014) are taking over the cybermuseum space.

In Chambly, QC (Unibroue’s birthplace), the “Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds” brewpub took on a museum approach in displaying bottles and labels from various breweries around the world (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [1]). On his website, the owner of the brewpub, Nicolas Bourgault, writes that his passion for collecting bottles began in 1990 “when I had the idea of keeping a bottle of beer that I displayed on the top of my shelf, in my room when I was 16 and still living with my parents” (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [2]). Nicolas writes:

The “beer effect” grew quickly. There was still room on my shelf for a second bottle, a third, a fourth and another one, and then another one and so on so forth [...] Oops! and here comes a beer mat and yet another, an old ad, a service tray, a enameled panel, a brewery glass, a bottle opener, a keg, an old oak barrel, a wooden box and more & more [...] (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [2])

Nicolas’ partner was less than thrilled to see many doubles of beer paraphernalia Nicolas was collecting. He writes:

A little trick for those who wish to begin a collection of beer items and who are in a relationship: at the beginning, you need to go slowly and smoothly. Let me explain: you start with a bottle on a shelf, you add one or two per week, and when the shelf is full, there is always a second shelf and when this one is also full, there is always the top of the fridge. It must not show too fast, it’s important to go gradually... And when there will be beer items all over the place, you can take it easy because anyway, one more or one less: it doesn’t show anymore! (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [2])

Nicolas’ collection holds over 26,000 items which stem from all over the world but mostly focused on Québec breweries (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [2]). In addition to being an avid collector, Nicolas also home-brews, having started with a start-up kit in 1996 (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [2]). Five years later, he became chief brewer at the Brasserie Vieux Montréal and in 2002 became chief brewer in St. Hyacinthe to experiment different recipes and then started his own craft brewpub and museum in Chambly, QC and opened to the public in 2005 (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [2]). Nicolas based his brewpub on English pubs because he wanted to recreate the same “friendly atmosphere” (Bedondaine et Bedons Ronds [2]). A note on pubs:

les pubs anglais (on en compte plus de 60 000 en Angleterre) sont vendus en bloc à des entreprises étrangères qui n’ont que faire de la tradition britannique. Ainsi, la banque japonaise Nomura possède 5 000 pubs en Angleterre, tandis que la banque allemande Morgan en possède 3 000. La situation est telle que le ministre de la Culture, Chris Smith, a soulevé ce problème aux Communes en 2000, affirmant que l’Angleterre était menacée de perdre une partie importante de son histoire locale et de sa mémoire collective avec les grandes firmes étrangères qui ne se gênent pas

pour ouvrir des pubs thématiques, souvent sans aucune expérience en tant que brasseur. (Daigheault 2004 : 135)

[English pubs (more than 60,000 are found in England) are sold in chunks to foreign companies who do not know British traditions. Thus, the Japanese bank Nomura owns 5,000 pubs in England, while the German bank Morgan owns 3,000. The situation is such that the Minister of Culture, Chris Smith, raised this issue to the House of Commons in 2000, stating that England was threatened to lose an important part of their local history and collective memory with these large foreign firms that are shamelessly opening theme pubs, often without any experience as brewers].

Four general types of public drinking places have been distinguished by their special uses. The first is official or manifest use: the public drinking place as a setting to obtain a drink, as a setting that may be used as a kind of social convenience. The second is that of amusement; public drinking places may be used primarily as a setting for entertainment. They may also be used as though they were private places similar to one's residence or club, and in this way one can speak of the "home territory" use of the setting. Finally, public drinking places may be used for the exchange of various types of commodities, as if they were a kind of market place. (Cavan 1966, 15)

Pubs have been studied over the years through ethnographic, historic and folkloristic lenses, for example: Michael J. Bell's (1983) *The World from Brown's Lounge: An Ethnography of Black Middle-Class Play*, illustrating race, artistic expression and occupational class in a bar setting; Bill Wannan's (1972) popular study of *Folklore of the Australian Pub*; Valerie Hey's (1986) feminist and gendered study *Patriarchy and Pub Culture*; Anthony Burton's (1987) general guide to pub culture *Opening Time: A Pubgoer's Companion*; Daniel E. Vasey's (1990) class-focused *The Pub and English Social Change*; Cara E. Richards' (1974) social survey "City Taverns"; and Frederick W. Hackwood's (1987) descriptive *Inns, Ales and Drinking Customs of Old England*. Sherri Cavan (1966) wrote in *Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior* that there are a series of rituals tied to drinking and drink offering that are particularly key in "bar

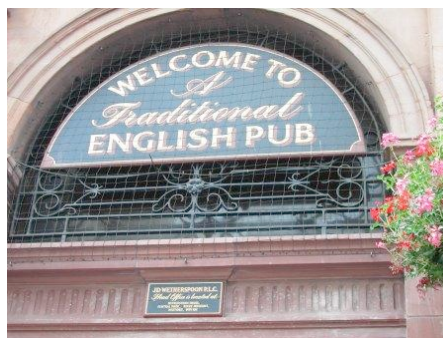


behavior” (Cavan 1966, 113). From a contemporary perspective, magazines such as *The Publican’s Morning Advertiser* are particularly interesting to read in the way in which pubs are still viewed and how they have evolved in Britain (*The Publican’s Morning Advertiser* 2014).

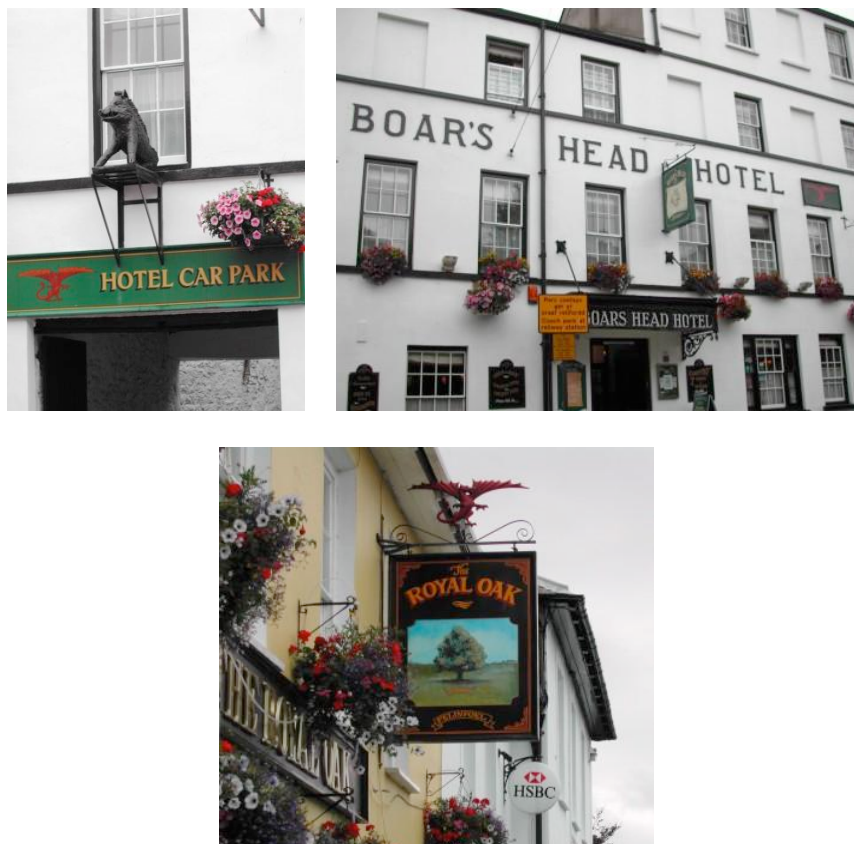
The pub is an extension of a private parlour: a public space for private interests. The communal sense attributed to local pubs makes these venues a home outside of the home. As written by Jeremy Hart (1999), pubs are part of the British social networking, they are a place to exchange, to relax, to share with “regulars” and “belong[...] to the community” (Hart 1999, 42). The pub or drinking house is an organic playground for locals as well as a heritage monument for its architecture, signs, brewing history and lore. Some of these British Isles pubs have reputations that go beyond their town or city lore such as London’s “Dirty Dicks” aptly named to describe the wine and spirit shop’s prominent but hygienically-challenged owner (Dickens 1905; Reeve-Jones 1962; Figure 65) and Jack the Ripper’s Whitechapel haunt the “Ten Bells Pub.” Even the names and signs of pubs have specific meanings and associations with their native towns (Eric R. Delderfield 1955; Gordon Wright 1970; W.E. Tate 1968; Figure 66-68). Some signs, such as the Whitbread Inn signs, are still being collected today and sold in various markets, including eBay. Other well-known pubs that have drawn flocks of tourists use their popularity to develop a guided city tour. This is the case with the Boston “Cheers” pub, the “original” Beacon Hill establishment that inspired the 1980s-1990s American television show “Cheers” that also has “The Cheers Trail” showing how to walk from the Faneuil Hall Marketplace replica “Cheers” to the “original” (Figure 69).



**Figure 65: Dirty Dicks pub, London, UK  
(photograph taken by author in July, 2004).**



**Figure 66: Lord Moon of the Mall, London, UK  
(photograph taken by author in July, 2004).**



**Figure 67: Boar's Head Hotel and pub, and Royal Oak pub, Felinfoel, Wales (photographs taken by author in July, 2004).**



**Figure 68: Dr. Jon D. Lee and author in front of The Wig and Quill pub, Salisbury, UK (photograph taken by Jean-François Nadeau, July 2004).**



**Figure 69: Cheers pub sign above with “The Cheers Trail” map (and place mat), Boston, MA (photograph taken by author, 2005).**

Pubs then are visitable spaces, a part of the tourism trajectory in cities and rural regions. Brewpubs open their doors to tourists and thus brewery tours become part of the tourist experience (Belgian Brewers 2014).



In 2006, I coordinated and filmed a brewery tour of twelve participants at the Unibroue brewery in Chambly, QC. Some had never been to a brewery tour, while others had experienced a similar tour in either or both large and small scale breweries. The tour ended with a beer-tasting at the Fourquet Fourchette. As a group we tasted six beers and were told vignette stories that went with each beer. Unfortunately, our tour guide, Dominic,<sup>4</sup> was inexperienced and, as this was his first guided tour, was unable to work with the crowd when it came time to explain the folklore of each beer. Dominic told the story of the “Eau Bénite” in a matter-of-fact way that professed no truth in Charlebois’s insistence that nuns drink the devilish beer (LeBlanc 2005 [2]). Dominic began the story by stating that it was a humorous story which probably had no truth to it. The story was not engagingly told, and the crowd felt it. My participants critiqued Dominic’s performance which, interestingly, was a significant prompter in the group for individual bragging rights to personal knowledge of Québécois folklore.

Moreover, the interview discussions focused on nationalism when we learned that 25% of the brewery’s production in 2006 was sold in the American market. Unibroue, the “people’s beer,” according to my participants, was a well-kept secret that was no longer by and for the Québécois once it was sold off to non-Québécois. The fact that it was sold twice to non-Québécois makes, for them, a company all the more detached from its roots. The legends that are used to sell the product may very well be perceived as a quest for authenticity in the future. Francine Cabana, mentioned how the Trois-Pistoles legend was told as true. Francine motioned towards her son and nephew also present at the tasting and started enumerating the elements of the legend that were told by her own

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<sup>4</sup> Pseudonym, participant wishes to remain anonymous.

mother and how the Devil figured prominently in Québec lore (LeBlanc 2006). Another participant pointed out the marketing of culture and history to appeal to the romantic nationalist in the Québécois (LeBlanc 2006). Regional history and stories were discussed actively as participants polished off their tasting glasses of Unibroue beer.

I observed this interaction also at other microbreweries. During a group tour of the Granville Island Brewery in Vancouver (BC) in 2004 the interaction, dialogues and input from the guide to the visitors was indicative of favouring local vs. international made products. The tour lasted approximately forty minutes, from which the visitor learned the process of making beer from grains and water, to filtration, bottling, and labeling. I heard similar words used to indicate the quality of microbrewery production such as “authentic taste” and “traditional,” used in the Quidi Vidi Brewery (St. John’s, NL) tour the previous year.

What was perhaps most interesting in the tour guide’s discourse at Granville Island Brewery, however, was his repetitive use of environmentally-friendly tropes illustrating the wasteful nature of larger breweries (e.g., Molson). In the guide’s discourse, large brewers spill over ten gallons of beer<sup>5</sup> (about the same amount of water is needed to produce one gallon of beer) on their floors, and it was implied that by not being wasteful, the microbrewery was environmentally-sound. It was apparent in the guide’s discourse, that an importance was placed in illustrating the contrasts between the large and the small brewer. The stories were, of course, focused on promoting small-scale beer-production and the quality vs. quantity debate.

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<sup>5</sup> The guide did not specify on whether it was wasted per day, per week, per month or per year.

One of the American visitors reported a legend, presumably from World War II, about the camouflaged “Budweiser” trucks disguised as American army vehicles and driven to “dump” (meaning to sell) their beer cargo at overseas army bases hoping that once the soldiers returned to America they would continue drinking this beer as loyal brand consumers. Historically significant is the fact that Budweiser always had an affinity with the American army culture, something noted in Roland Krebs’ and Percy J. Orthwein’s historical accounts of the Anheuser-Busch company (which owns Budweiser).

The American tourists’ narratives were shared openly and candidly with me especially when they heard the tour guide introduce me before the tour as a doctoral student conducting research on microbreweries. Would the American visitors have shared this information to other visitors during the tasting process, or was this a specific example of transmitting popular knowledge to a fieldworker? This is hard to answer, but overall, during the tasting process, visitors share their opinions about the beers they taste and are open to sharing stories, including mercantile narratives in legendary or personal experience format.<sup>6</sup>

In 2005, I examined and recorded the description and narratives recited during an impromptu tasting performance at the Montréal Congress Hall’s Fourquet Fourchette restaurant (the second restaurant to open after Chambly’s original establishment). Jean-Sébastien Petit, employee and tasting guide at the Fourquet Fourchette recited narratives belonging to each six most popular Unibroue beers: “Blanche de Chambly,” “Raftman,”

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<sup>6</sup> Elliott Oring’s (2008) article “Legendry and the Rhetoric of Truth” discusses the variance of legend definitions in relation to truth of the narrative and I will illustrate this notion further in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

“Eau Bénite,” “Maudite,” “Fin du monde,” and “Trois-Pistoles” (LeBlanc 2005 [6]; Figure 70).



**Figure 70: Fourquet Fourchette New France and Unibroue-themed restaurant Director General Yves Cossette and Maître-d’hôtel Jean-Sébastien Petit, Palais des congrès, Montréal, QC (photograph taken by author on February 15, 2005).**

In his performance (as a trained waiter telling stories for this particular market), Jean-Sébastien noted the percentage of alcohol, the fermentation process and the qualities found in each beer. He also suggested what one should eat with each beer. For the Raftman, he explained the occupational trade of lumberjacks, how dangerous it was and how both French and English men practiced this trade in Lower Canada. Jean-Sébastien continued “les anglais buvaient du whisky, les français buvaient plus de bière, donc, pour, euh, concilier les deux cultures on a fait une bière au malt de whisky” (“the English drank whisky, the French drank more beer, therefore, to, ahh, reconcile both cultures we made a malt whisky beer”) (LeBlanc 2005 [6]). For “Eau Bénite” (“Holy Water”), Jean-



Sébastien told the story of how it got its name. Jean-Sébastien's version begins by telling his audience that Unibroue's previous shareholder and Québécois folk singer, Robert Charlebois, went to a costume party in Europe and insisted that two costumed nuns drink the Devil beer. Unbeknownst to Charlebois, the two women were real nuns but they finally agreed to taste the beer and noted that it tasted like "Holy Water" (LeBlanc 2005 [6]). This is, according to Jean-Sébastien, how the beer was named and continues to be told in variant forms through legend format (LeBlanc 2005 [6]).

Jean-Sébastien's performance was the ideal illustration of how interpreters work for museums and the way in which they engage participants. Jean-Sébastien explained Unibroue beer products in a knowledgeable and storytelling manner. Storytelling skills in interpretation is crucial to communicate a message, especially when the message sells a product. In offering interpretation and tastings, the Fourquet Fourchette is an extension of the brewery (even though the restaurant is no longer owned by Unibroue). The restaurant promotes the brewery's products and taps into the tourism industry.

### **7.3 Objectifying and Subjectifying Material Culture in the Brewing Industry**

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) discussed the phenomenon of collecting and displaying in *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* as part of the process of telling stories (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 19). She suggests various degrees in which one may interpret objects, from the *in situ* to *in context* differences where "*in situ* entails metonymy and mimesis: the object is a part that stands in a contiguous relation to an absent whole that may or may not be re-created" and *in context*

which poses the interpretive problem of theoretical frame of reference, uses particular techniques of arrangement and explanation to convey ideas... Objects are set in context by means of long labels, charts, diagrams, commentary delivered via earphones, explanatory audiovisual programs, docents conducting tours, booklets and catalogs, educational programs, lectures and performances. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 19, 21)

The difference lies in how one categorizes an object and for which purpose it serves.

There is also an additional layer of class, status and artistic categories which are of particular interest when displaying objects (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 25-28, 259-281).

In my online survey, 44 of the 59 respondents (74,58%) answered the question of collecting beer paraphernalia, and twelve of these respondents (27,27%) stated that they either did collect or still collected for themselves or for others (LeBlanc 2005-06: Respondents 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 17, 20, 32, 41, 50, 56). One 18-25 yr-old female respondent from Ottawa (ON) answered that she collected imported beer labels and coasters for the look and “prestige” factor that they “hold in the beer world” (LeBlanc 2005-06: Respondent 20). The case of communicating one’s knowledge of the prestige factor in a specific consumer market is tied directly to Veblen’s consumption theories as “conspicuous” in the leisure class. This often lends towards the “connoisseurs” of discriminating tastes in material culture (Veblen 1991 [1899], 68-101).

In the 1899 (reprinted 1991) book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Thorstein Veblen drew on class, exploitation and adaptation theories found in multiple environments (Veblen 1991 [1899], 1-21) writing about “cultural evolution” and the “emergence of a leisure class” tied to ownership (Veblen 1991 [1899], 22). Because much has changed since the late nineteenth century, from class segregations to consumer accessibility, Veblen’s work is an interesting historical frame of how humans have

adapted their leisure and consumer habits at a specific period. Dicks discusses this shift or “loosening of the bonds that historically tied culture to the intellectual class” as a new reality that differs from Veblen’s era (Dicks 2003, 37).

Nonetheless, Veblen’s economic trend theories of the leisure class and Doby, Boskoff and Pendleton’s (1973) primer on sociological theories have continued to be influential. Veblen’s work has been used in various disciplines, especially in relation to urban development and consumption. For example, Gerald F. Vaughn’s series of three articles that appeared in the *Journal of Economic Issues* between 1999-2001 discuss how Veblen influenced other theorists in the matters of land economics, agriculture and rural sociology (Vaughn 1999, 2001[1], [2]). In his 2001 article “The Influence of Veblen's Theory of the Leisure Class on Rural Sociologist Fred Roy Yoder,” Vaughn concentrates on the works of one of Veblen’s students, Fred Roy Yoder, who criticized “the classic book on social conventions [...] Thorstein Veblen's masterpiece of truth and sarcasm, *Theory of the Leisure Class*” (Vaughn 2001 [1], 979). Essentially, Yoder’s “eclectic” sociology was not entirely in keeping with Veblen’s theories (Vaughn 2001 [1]).

Veblen’s theories may be perceived as outdated and controversial in relation to “conspicuous consumption” but its application towards general consumer behaviour is still generally applicable. Though I would agree with Yoder’s perception of Veblen’s theories of the leisure class as that of “status,” as stated in Vaughn’s article (2001 [1]), I also feel Veblen laid the groundwork for future theorists on the matters of leisure and consumption. Vaughn’s description of Yoder and Veblen as populist theorists highlights how popular movements and culture have developed.

Today, Veblen's work may be seen as a piece of literature, a guide to what sorts of customs developed from specific classes, but also on how commercial goods have been made available to various classes and working groups and how a consumer may consider his/her purchasing as a leisurely past time (see Holly Everett's article 2009 on leisure and commercial goods in the food industry; more will be discussed in section 6.4 of this thesis). This fits with the fact that there are more disposable incomes making it feasible to conspicuously consume (see Dicks 2003, 37-38).

As an example of class, status and identity in the alcohol world, Carlsberg-Tetley created a "glutinous brew called Thickhead" which was considered, according to Peter Dunn in the 1996 UK Independent newspaper, "as a drink for girls or chaps who seem a bit confused about themselves" and that the "Oggie Special" (a blend of whisky, beer, vodka, and cider, a cheap cocktail) was popular among Dorset, UK youth "to get drunk" (Dunn 1996).

Privilege, belonging, and wealth are often represented through objects; when Veblen uses the terms "conspicuous leisure" he means their uses as "a waste of time and effort" vs. consumption that is "a waste of goods" (Veblen 1991 [1899], 85).

Both are methods of demonstrating the possession of wealth, and the two are conventionally accepted as equivalents. The choice between them is a question of advertising expediency simply, except so far as it may be affected by other standards of propriety's springing from a different source. (Veblen 1991 [1899], 85)

I would add that advertised goods are not solely representative of their disposable nature. Groups tend to be possessive about their culture. Utilizing culture in advertising is a means of displaying belonging. In other words, the use of folklore to create goods can be

characteristic in leisure theory as proposed by Veblen and may also be the product of other forms of cultural displays. These goods may also represent groups by using a common shared item of folklore transmitted through a product.

In “Popular Culture and Folklore: The Social Dimension,” Martin Laba (1986) writes: “popular culture objects can serve the identity and style of a group [...] the group re-interprets and re-orders these objects to suit its needs” (Laba 1986, 13). Conspicuous consumption becomes an identifying factor for contextualizing how to represent oneself through consumer products.

Evans, Jamal and Foxall write that “socially consumed products” are symbolic in their consumption and may influence or be influenced by “self-identity messages” especially if they are visible to consumers (Evans, Jamal and Foxall 2006, 153). They mention that “consumer products are a part of this system of meaning, which is often culturally specific and shared, learned and transmitted through generations” (Evans, Jamal and Foxall 2006, 199-200). The “culturally specific” can become even more subtle as one ventures in subcultural categories as the notion of homogeneity can be both implicit and rejected at the same time. Solomon, Zaichkowsky and Polegato write:

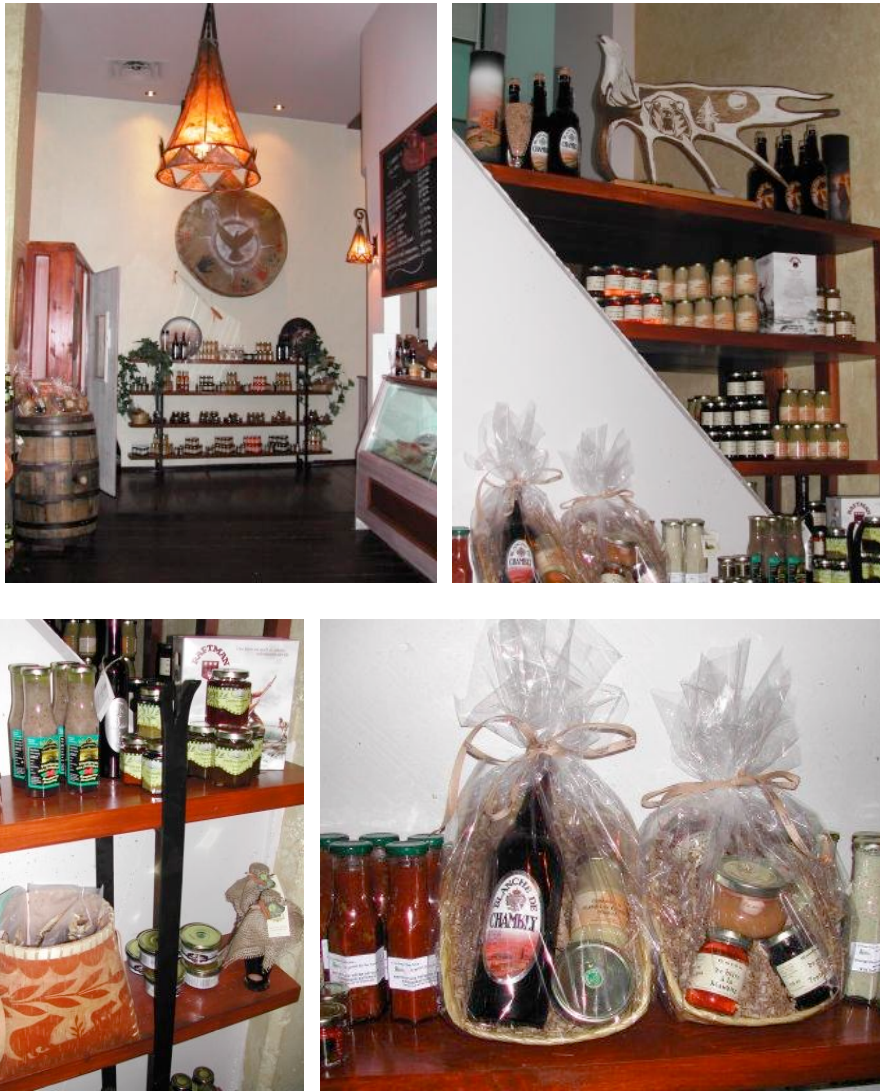
consumers’ lifestyles are affected by group memberships *within* society at large. These groups are known as subcultures, whose members share beliefs and common experiences that set them apart from others. While subcultural group memberships often have a significant impact on consumer behaviour, some subcultural identifications are more powerful than others... Many subcultures have powerful stereotypes associated with them. Members of a subgroup are assumed to possess certain traits, even though these assumptions are often erroneous. (Solomon, Zaichkowsky and Polegato 2002, 477, 487)

In the case of subcultures, French and English Canadians have diverse interests towards products. While French Canadians may identify more closely to products issued from

France, English Canadians may have the same identifying factor with products from the UK (Evans, Jamal and Foxall 2006, 211-212). Dicks writes:

Consumerism tends to turn particular cultures into quotations – that is, into samples and fragments – rather than allowing for the full expression of complex identities. There will always be a lack of fit between identity and the forms it takes as commodity, because identities are not transportable essences but constructs. (Dicks 2003, 33)

The beer-tasting took place on the patio behind the Fourquet Fourchette with a perfect view of the Richelieu River and the military fort. Period-dressed waiters were a part of the historical landscape and a perfect example of the “terroir Québécois” as a visitable site from a heritage perspective and revived through eating and drinking establishments. The site is inspirational, it is romantic and of course, Unibroue exploited this in their marketing campaign. The Fourquet Fourchette sells products like mustard, honeys and jams made with Unibroue beers, T-Shirts, signs, beer paraphernalia, and other fine foods that would complement or are made with Unibroue beers (Figure 71). This is similar to what Barbara Hodgdon refers to in her 1998 book *The Shakespeare Trade* “viewing sights and sites and [...] pleasures offered, rejected, and taken” as well as the “souvenir” phenomenon and authenticity markets relevant to all things Shakespearean (Hodgdon 1998, xi). In a chapter about the “Shakespeare empire” (Hodgdon 1998, 191-240), Hodgdon describes tourists visiting sites of popular reputation or local heritage as a pilgrimage site. The pilgrimage is complete when purchasing a part of that visited site in the format of a souvenir item (Hodgdon 1998, 191).



**Figure 71: Fourquet Fourchette, Palais de justice, Montréal, QC (photograph taken by author, February 15, 2005).**

As patrons of the Fourquet Fourchette, people literally buy into the roles that are created to tell seventeenth-century narratives through characters that may have existed in this setting. The revived period is an echo of what had already been advocated by the government of Quebec in the early 1960s through the “preservation of historic buildings, the creation of an inventory of patrimonial objects and their collection in museums, and

more recently, to the promotion of St. Jean-Baptiste day as the national holiday of Quebec and of a *semaine du patrimoine* (heritage week)” (Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin 1984, 280). Handler and Linnekin write it best: “Tradition is not handed down from the past, as a thing or collection of things; it is symbolically reinvented in an ongoing present” (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 280). Tradition is “an assigned meaning” (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 286).

In 1978 the government brought together citizens and specialists to reconsider its activities in the Place Royale project. The government had begun the historical reconstruction of Place Royale (Quebec City) in the early 1960s. The project became the largest of its kind in Quebec, and as it developed it encountered growing criticism concerning the wisdom of transforming a residential neighbourhood into a museum for tourists [...] In Quebec, patrimonial traditions, self-consciously constructed by both indigenous and foreign observers, have become an integral component of the sense of national identity that Quebecois entertain about themselves (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 280, 287).

In the Shakespeare tour Hodgdon examined, the romantic nostalgic items of Britain’s Elizabethan author are highlighted (Hodgdon 1998, 194-199). The performance of visitors, their use of tangible props such as costumes, photographing or filming themselves to immortalize the experience of the pilgrimage as proof of their testimony, “gave them an illusion of participatory pleasure” (Hodgdon 1998, 199). During and after the experience, the tourist records the visit with snapshots providing a later narrative support, helping re-live the “illusionary participatory pleasures” (Hodgdon 1998, 199). This same participatory pleasure is seen in brewery tours when visitors participate in beer tasting. They may eat at the restaurant, taste beers and leave with a T-shirt if they wish to bring a souvenir of their cultural culinary experience and take photographs of themselves during the event.



Isabelle Nadeau, one of the 11 participants that attended the Unibroue tour and tasting, mentioned that what brings her to drink Unibroue is their packaging and taste (LeBlanc 2006). Isabelle's favourite Unibroue beer is the "La Bolduc," a pilsener created in 2000 and an example in keeping with Hodgdon's antiquarian nostalgic local history as it is reputable for its "old style" taste and depiction of specific Québécois landmarks between 1870 and 1940 (LeBlanc 2006; Hodgdon 1998, 212-213; Unibroue 2014 [3]). What Unibroue illustrates with this specific beer and its labels is a nostalgic sentiment towards what is concerned to be "old-style" or historically traditional in Québec. These interpretations of culture and history are exploitable at various levels, whether through a beer product or, as Hodgdon shows, in Shakespeare's Stratford as a parallel to Disneyland. Heritage and tourism are "branded" in the marketing sense, selling entertainment and interpretations of local culture and history.

A microbrewery mimics a museum when it selects a particular item of regional folklore to fit popular cultural conceptions when it creates derivative products to financially sustain itself. To heritage purists, the idea of creating or altering a form of culture for a purpose other than education may seem blasphemous. Perceived otherwise – indeed as it is perceived by such users – using, recreating, or altering culture may promote heritage in an unconventional way.

Such unconventional ways of displaying, using and marketing elements or items of folklore are at times perceived to be ill-conceived in public sector folklore and academia. For example, using someone else's culture for reasons other than learning or immersing oneself in a culture may be perceived as exploitation in its literal senses especially if profit is made at the expense of those exploited. If, however, a member of

the culture “exploited” in the figurative sense, is the one to profit, the gains are perceived greater and better for the collective group. Trudy Nicks’ concerns about bead-working in Native Mohawk villages taken out of context and produced for the tourist market. In this case, the Aboriginal community benefited from the profits gained in selling the produced bead-works (Nicks 1999). Though not through historically-based tradition, Mohawks were able to sell their hand-made products. It should not be assumed, however, that each Mohawk person redistributed his or her profits to the community, no direct “communal” profits were to be gained by such ventures. Why then should one concern herself with the “authenticity” or “purity” of cultural products, especially those that are mass-produced or produced for the tourism sector?

In a way, those exploiting culture for profit are excused if they exploit their own culture. If, however, an outsider exploits another’s culture for profit, it is ill-perceived by insiders. Perhaps if Unibroue’s original owners were not Québécois, the products may not have been as popularly sold. As mentioned in the Introduction, Unibroue has been sold twice to “outsiders” (Ontarian and Japanese corporations) since 2004, and a response to modified ownership has been a change in attitude by consumers of the product.

Comparing breweries to museums is quite natural in that a brewery tour follows scenarios that transmit historical facts and cultural elements tied to exhibits, much like visits in museums. During the brewery tour, the visitor is taken inside the making and packaging of a product to learn how beer is made and about items that compose it as well as its origins and functions. Once the visitor follows each step of the production phase of the product, he/she ends the tour with a beer tasting, or consuming a part of culture. While the museum visitor does not engage in a tasting experience (if the facilities do not

focus on food or beverage), he/she may consume a part of the exhibits by purchasing a souvenir item. This is also a possibility in the brewery tour, where beer as the highlighted item is displayed and discussed in the tour, is furthermore exploited in various commercial forms from T-shirts to bottle-openers.

In a museum's case, the exploitable aspects of displayed culture in souvenir form may be perceived as "kitsch," "overdone" and secondary to its purpose. The souvenir may be perceived as a product far-removed from its origins, perhaps as *gesunkenes Kulturgut* ("sunken cultural goods").<sup>7</sup> These items could include collectable spoons or mugs with the museum logo. Because a brewery's interest lies first and foremost in profit, derived products are a more natural fit to the institution in contrast to museum by-products. The brewery visitor also expects to be surrounded by consumer goods due to the nature of the institution.

Often, the exploited items of culture found in souvenir forms in museums seem overwhelming. About tangible items of culture, David Lowenthal (1985) writes "we are flooded with disposable memoranda from us to ourselves" (Lowenthal 1985, xvii). In the flooding of these "disposable memoranda" Lowenthal does, however, note the "nostalgic" sense of personal rediscovery and revival through objects as part of constructing identities (Lowenthal 1985, 3-34). It becomes clear that there is an inherent human interest in representing each other through items and collecting them because of the memories they contain. On memory and identity, Lowenthal writes, "remembering the past is crucial for

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<sup>7</sup> Kitsch and *gesunkenes Kulturgut* are part of the concept of "high" vs. "low" culture, where "high" culture refers to classical or avant-garde trends in art and music and "low" is often perceived as folkloric in nature and more chaotic in its form and function (see Hermann Bausinger 1990, 73-74, 94-100). Value judgments are inherently part of the museum experience therefore visitors may perceive, for example, an "I love X museum" pin as a useless item to purchase in contrast to an art print from a featured artist.

our sense of identity [...] just as memory validates personal identity, history perpetuates collective self-awareness (Lowenthal 1985, 187-213).

Lowenthal points out the necessary uses of memory in identity and how memory may be manipulated to “refashion the [...] appearance and meaning” of expressive forms of historical preservation such as re-enactments, revival imitations and production of cultural events, people, or items (Lowenthal 1985, 263-362). This is very much the argument fostered in Eric Hobsbawm’s (1983) introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, in that “‘invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger 1983, 1).

Spin-off ventures, the creation of souvenirs, or by-products based on Unibroue’s beers and labels is tied to culinary tourism and the pubs that deliver products promoting local and regional folklore act like museums.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Conclusion

From the very beginning, Unibroue has carved out a special niche in the beer world with top quality products and a brand rooted deep in Quebec culture. It made history by becoming the first North American beer maker to use a brewing method inspired by the two-centuries-old tradition developed by Trappist monks in Europe—particularly in Belgium. Over the years, Unibroue has remained faithful to its origins even as it has grown to become an icon of the brewing world. Unibroue products take you on a journey filled with legends and fabulous tales.

– Unibroue (2014 [3])

In this thesis, I demonstrated how microbreweries and community events process local legends and folklore in Québec. A beer label, in its marketing of cultural codes and signifiers, is an amplifier of folklore. Like the storyteller, the beer label's function is to illustrate simplistically, visually and through specific words (such as colloquial terms) a part of folklore that resonates with a specific group. From the “Maudite” to the “1837,” references to the Devil, local heroes and popular conceptions of patriotic history are examples of marketing tactics used to generate a sense of belonging towards a micro-product. Thus, indirectly, the market economy can be a cultural promoter. The product tells a tale of identity: who the consumer is, where he/she comes from, who are his/her heroes and villains, and how he/she views his/her culture. These beer labels are folkloric mirrors, projecting visually the sense of self as an artistic expression between members of a group that share similar social and cultural identities.

One of the key factors to consider in how this thesis contributes to folkloristics is methodology. As made apparent through fieldwork, focus group sessions and surveys,

this type of research highlights the potential of studying non-conventional media to promote and safeguard culture and traditions. By using the marketing formula for research in focus groups, I observed a shared phenomenon in storytelling: participants fed off each others' narratives, added new elements, challenged the narrator by "correcting" erroneous facts or missing parts that were integral to the story/legend. By carrying out research solely on a "one-on-one" basis, I would have missed this development. Seen in this way, the method challenges a part of fieldwork methodology in folklore. Folklorists would benefit greatly from the focus groups format to engage participants and observe results based on sharing information and spontaneous feedback, notably in reference to performance studies. Participants were more willing to share additional information in one session because of the discussions that evolved and feeling "safe" in a group. I was also aware of the body language and inferences made between session members in telling narratives and allowing each other to share and provide input on missing elements of local legends, the role of supernatural figures and perceptions of popular belief.

This contribution towards the field of folklore and how industries impact communities is an exchange of information and a platform for voices to be heard. It is worth pointing out the transition of folkloristics into commercial studies and vice versa for a natural partnering of resources in assessing the "folk group" or "market" when analyzing consumer image and use of folklore.

In the case of breweries, beer is personifiable from its agricultural components taken from the land or "terroir" to the people that work it. The beer industry has flourished in Canada and large-scale brewers secured a growing market for over two centuries while the more recent (late twentieth century) waves of microbrewers and

advocates (such as CAMRA) were starting a new trend of “quality” vs. “quantity” brewing. As examined in this thesis, the third wave is the most interesting to reveal how folklore became an utilizable element in marketing the products.

Since the early 1990s Québec microbreweries have been using regional folklore in advertisement campaigns, perhaps not as aggressively in terms of shelf-space or commercial-scale as large brewers, but certainly as competitively in securing a target market and ensuring brand loyalty. Unibroue stands out by far as not only the pioneer in using this marketing mix of folklore and regional belonging but also in competing with the more recent boom in the microbrewing industry between 2002-2014.

The redistribution of images and promotion of Québec’s intangible heritage represented on Unibroue’s products is understood by consumers and non-consumers alike. As discussed in this thesis, there was a general consensus among my participants that Unibroue’s successful strategy and its positive impact on folklore and economic development within the province helped in safeguarding a part of the province’s folklore. Even with the shifts in ownership from Sleeman to Sapporo, the “classics” continued to be brewed at the Unibroue brewery: “Blanche de Chambly,” “Noire de Chambly,” “Éphémère Apple,” “Éphémère Blackcurrent,” “La fin du monde,” “Don de Dieu,” “Raftman,” “Quatre-centième,” “U Blonde,” “U Miel,” “U Rousse,” “Unibroue 17,” “Blonde de Chambly,” “Trois-Pistoles,” and “Maudite” (Unibroue 2014 [2]).

Microbreweries choose to appeal to a collective identity by using folklore to sell its products and those “in-the-know” respond favourably towards this marketing strategy. What Unibroue chooses to select or reject, whether it is perceived as the creation of folklore or “authentic,” their specific uses of legends, heroes and events lures consumers

and the effects of this “folklure” are remarkable. Unibroue mastered *folklore branding* and established a convention for many other microbreweries in the province of Québec. Unibroue’s use of regional folklore and history to draw in consumers and regenerate narrative transmission resonates strongly in Québec, even after its purchase from Sleeman (and, subsequently, Sapporo). Regardless of what could be perceived as “true” historical fact vs. the fabricated tall tales of supernatural proportions, past definitions of folklorism and fakelore become restricted in folkloristics and cannot be applied in a context that is consumer-driven. By separating fakelore from folklore, important elements of cultural representation are potentially missed in that folk groups may or may not be aware of their role in perpetuating traditions. As illustrated in this thesis, what is “invented” or fabricated may be perceived as “authentic” and thus “fakelore” in its original definition no longer applies.

As folklorists, our role is to help give voices to people, to various folk groups. A microbrewery becomes one of these voices, using and transmitting parts of regional folklore to sell products. By using folklore, the product brands itself as part of the shared folklore repertoire. The rich repertoire of regional and local legends, heroes, and history in Québec that are selected and, at times, rejected by Unibroue, are all a part of *folklore branding*. As of yet, no fabrication of folklore has occurred through Unibroue’s labelling strategy, but should it happen in the future, this would be an exciting venue for any folklorist interested in the study of marketing traditions and the debate of the invention of tradition.

The beer label thus becomes a type of conduit of folklore, and the legend portrayed can potentially fulfill the role of storyteller sharing a version of a legend with the greater



(non-) consumer community. In this same current of thought, marketers become storytellers, using beer labels as their vehicle of transmission. The marketer, via beer labels, is a storyteller in that the artistic representation of legends or heroes, including short descriptions of the image and title of beer, communicates to its consumer. The folklore items selected to tell the message are symbolic of insiders' perception of culture. Successful marketers understand their target market and know how to weave this coded message. If marketers fail to promote their product by recreating a message that does not appeal to the masses, the product sales will fail in consequence.

What is more, marketing a “homegrown” product reaches out to groups that feel more connected with the advertised message. In the case of microbreweries, it is a natural fit to engage consumers with folkloric sentimentalism. From peculiar consumption to pecuniary culture, the advertisement industry has left a mark in cultural studies and those who process community events. The use of folklore in beer products then serves as a catalyst for discussion and sharing of folklore. Legends are told through labels, versions are presented and they trigger different responses between active and passive bearers. Thus, beer labels may be compared with printed and oral sources, play the role of active and passive bearers, catalysts and versions of legends themselves.

From an international perspective, these beer labels travel and become items of folklore themselves, a minor genre of a sort and appeal to different “audiences.” Europeans who have elements of folklore represented on their labels, such as England's Wychwood Hobgoblin beers (Wychwood Brewery), use the same marketing tactics as Unibroue. Brewers market the image of folklore and once the product is branded as such, consumers recognize it as “artisanal” or “craft” beer. For the Québécois, Unibroue's

branding does the same thing: its labels portray a part of their intangible culture reflecting traces of their seemingly “distant” traditions. The emotional link with the symbols and imagery portrayed on the labels attract the provincial patrons to purchase a part of their history.

The representation of local heritage through a product should not be perceived negatively; neither by the region’s group it represents nor by purists who view the use of folklore to sell as a corrupt marketing tactic. As argued in this thesis, it is as important to draw parallels between marketing and advertising folklore and its impacts on consumers in defining how these consumers associate and identify with or, adversely, disassociate or un-identify with products. Brands and the stories they tell about the companies appeal to specific groups, and microbreweries tailor their marketing strategies to focus on local or regional promotion. Even if the means are unconventional, the use of imagery to sell products and appeal to target markets illustrates how companies view utilizable items of folklore – from packaging to public relations – and how the selection and rejection of vernacular heritage are used for cultural pride.

Business culture and consumer identity are centered on branding for profit; ethnic marketing and stereotypes have a certain weight in how companies define their segments and consumer loyalty. Because consumer culture is prevalent, consumers become the “homo consumericus” by excellence, breeding consumption to the point of defining itself through the products it endorses. Thus, identity is further enhanced, using brands and loyalty to define people. When a microbrewery uses the very elements that define people outside of consumption, such as a local legend, and then redistributes it through a consumer product, this action not only creates consumption identity but also the nostalgic

safeguarding of a collective memory and shared folklore. This strengthens the sense of belonging.

As argued, the emic/etic construction of the Québécois identity and Québec's rich history of a nation within a nation whether imagined or real, has profited the microbrewing industry in the province. Whether nationalism in Québec is perceived as reactionary or rejectionary, romantic popular history that shaped the province has been successfully used in Unibroue products. Cultural affinity, company mergers and the impacts on local communities will continue to be discussed in the public/consumer domain, especially when regional pride or loyalty to brands is questioned.

After Unibroue was bought by Sleeman, speculations about the quality of Unibroue's beers failing were appearing in blogs and articles and many of these bloggers encouraged consumers to buy from other microbrewers in the province of Québec as a way to protest against the Ontarian's purchase. Mercantile legends started to spread in 2004 and when the 2006 sell-out to Sapporo occurred, these narratives were now refocusing their attention to newer and perhaps trendier microbrewers across the province. It is plausible to conclude this re-appropriation of the local or regional identity also positively contributed to the promotion of many "underdog" microbrewers in Québec. Social media advertising has and continues to help small microbrewers make a name for themselves in a vast market. From stereotypes to mercantile "trashing," the public takes in and redistributes their image of products through a sense of collective belonging or rejection and it becomes politicized. The explicit example of "Beer on Tap" was not only a tongue-in-cheek response to the politics tied with beer (and drink), but also further proof that politics and beer do indeed go hand in hand. Using elements of popular

media and representation portrayed on a beer label, whether of *political* or *politicized* figures was all the more proof of association between product, consumer and the meanings thus extracted.

This type of solidarity amongst consumers generates a sense of belonging to the land and nation it chooses to define. Participants in this study shared their candid views on group identity, patriotism and Québécois folklore. Molson's "I am Canadian" slogan and Joe's "rant" as a multi-media phenomenon, were talked about as reinforcements of Canadian stereotypes often perpetuated by non-Canadians. Parodies using the same formula and distinguishing a people in contrast to another or building on the stereotypes were a natural occurrence and Gui's rant was quick to build on the Québécois stereotypes perceived to be perpetuated by English-Canadians.

The rant turned into a type of anthem for English-Canadians but it was not at all representative of French-Canadians. In both the mass media, and as stated in this thesis, patriotism in Québec is defined through historical events and the most striking that took place in Lower Canada was the most marketable. Unibroue's controversial "1837" beer (Unibroue 2014 [1]) appeals to the nationalist in Québec, using this event as the romanticized era of what could have given birth to an independent nation. For my participants, especially those in focus groups, the 18-25 year-old bracket were influenced by popular accounts of patriotism and very much inclined to share how it is in the Québécois's nature to rebel. Cultural movements and solidarity amongst this particular age bracket are integrated in the youths' lifestyles.

In using symbols that are heavily politicized such as the Patriotes movement of 1837-1839, Unibroue sent a clear message on its allegiance to the people of Québec. It is

for this reason that the Sleeman purchase created such a popular concern amongst Unibroue fans and pro-sovereignists. Because of its historical rebellion significance for the Québécois Beer aficionados and bloggers speculated that Sleeman's ownership of Unibroue would eventually affect what products would remain on the market. When the culturally symbolic "1837" was pulled from the market, it only confirmed these speculations.

Popular representation and association to products, as seen and argued in this thesis, prove that consumers and non-consumers alike understand full well how the marketing process works and the effects of cultural ownership. As it turned out, Sleeman's purchase of Unibroue did not negatively impact sales for Sleeman Breweries Ltd, but the public cry-out garnered much media attention and captured the attention of future microbrewers in Québec that would hone in the "local" market.

While the popular "local" vs. national and regional production or "home-grown/home-owned" approach in favour of keeping it "within" a group, out-sourcing for profit benefitted Unibroue in its long-term survival. Regardless, culinary and drink tourism continue to build awareness and promote the locally-owned and locally-operated to celebrate what is made within specific regions. Food and drink are both political and cultural as they reveal systems of signs and meanings essential to groups. In the brewery's case, what you drink defines you and who drinks your product defines the industry.

Since the beginning of this research, micro- and craft-brewers have focused on the tourism aspect of selling their products, in that they have created mini-museums within their restaurants and/or breweries with guided tours. Consumers and microbreweries

have found a way to express their culture and share with others through their establishments and spin-off ventures. “Les produits du terroir” (home-grown products) in Québec have been a part of culinary tourism for years, but it has only been since the late twentieth century that a greater sense of local involvement helped in promoting the local through various means, including festivals and other lucrative ventures. Unibroue’s use of folklore in labelling and by-product “souvenir” items is part of commodifying intangible oral traditions into a marketable product. Material culture, leisure and consumption, are all explicitly exemplified via Unibroue’s spin-off venture, the “Fourquet Fourchette” restaurant. Using New France period costuming and designing the restaurant to have a colonial “look” are strategies similar to that found at “L’Auberge du Dragon rouge” and “Le Cabaret du Roy” as well as brewpubs in general that take on a museum-esque appeal. This is a direct link to leisure and conspicuous consumption; how tourism and products provide a basis for understanding the exploitable regional folklore that is redistributed within community events.

Much like a museum, microbreweries expand their potential market by opening their doors to the general public. Information collected from employees as well as from participating tourists visiting these premises helped in the assessment of the brewery as a tourist venture. The discourse used by tour guides and owners is clearly in favour of the small-scale brewing process and focuses on terms such as “traditional,” “quality,” and “authentic taste” to advocate the brewery’s important contribution to the continuity of craft beerways.

As for collecting, mid-twentieth century brewery songbooks by Dow and Molson, and current uses of folklore by many Québécois microbreweries have deep-rooted

cultural meaning for the people from whom these products drew on for inspiration. As examined in this thesis, collecting these items is a natural display of cultural affinity and emotional bond.

The “ramasseux” – the collector – becomes all the more tied to the product he/she collects because of the meaning of the product, what it signifies for a collective culture and how it becomes a part of the narrative tapestry. This relationship between item and collector is not only internalized by the collector, but also externalized when he/she displays the object. In much the same way as a museum, the collector shares the narrative and affinity with the item to the external world by publicly displaying it.

Ultimately, Unibroue paved the way for what would become a new norm for microbreweries in Québec. It dared to use elements of folklore in the province, from their own personal knowledge and this confidence is part of their success. Beyond the marketing brainstorming sessions, or the off-chance a good story lies the root of how a label is named and a deep connection to regional folklore shared by employees, owners, shareholders alike that makes their inspiration significantly successful. The folk knowledge within the industry provokes exciting debates on the outside influences of an industry and the insider’s perspective of folklore. In the case of Unibroue, especially pre-Sleeman/Sapporo purchase, the company was well-versed in matters of regional and provincial folklore. The argument then returns to using cultural codes as a way in which microbreweries are able to appeal to a smaller and more local market all while telling their story. Even if Unibroue changes ownership and grows as a company, it remains a part of Québec’s emblematic microbreweries and continues its folk journey. It is Unibroue’s *raison d’être* after all.

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