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As Editor-in-chief of *JCAH/AHAC*, it is great to have the opportunity formally to thank Brian Foss, Chair of the Editorial Committee, who is always there behind the scenes, but in this case, stepped up to manage the peer-review process of the issue. Brian delivered engaged and insightful reports from two anonymous reviewers whose service to the field must be applauded.

Martha Langford

Ce numéro spécial de *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* a été édité par Johanne Sloan, de l'université Concordia, dans le cadre de son travail pour le projet de recherche collaboratif *Networked Art Histories: Assembling Contemporary Art in Canada, 1960s to the Present*, subventionné par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada. Au nom de *JCAH/AHAC*, je veux remercier Johanne pour sa gestion de ce numéro ainsi que tous les contributeurs pour leurs études fascinantes sur la culture de l'imprimé au Canada. Je n'en dis pas davantage, car je fais partie de ces contributeurs en tant que membre de l'équipe de recherche de *Networked Art Histories*. En cette qualité, je tiens à remercier le CRSH pour son appui à des projets qui réunissent des chercheurs établis et émergents pour des débats intenses et très productifs qui paraîtront éventuellement dans des publications savantes. Le thème même de ce numéro spécial est la preuve de l'importance historique de tels vecteurs pour les échanges culturels aux plans national et transnational.

En tant que rédactrice-en-chef de *JCAH/AHAC*, je suis ravie d'avoir l'occasion de remercier officiellement Brian Foss, président du comité de rédaction, toujours à l'œuvre en coulisses, qui a, de plus, supervisé l'examen par des pairs de ce numéro. Brian nous a remis des rapports engagés et pénétrants par deux réviseurs anonymes dont nous saluons l'aide précieuse.

Martha Langford

Traduction : Élise Bonnette

Networked Print Culture

JOHANNE SLOAN

Before turning to networks, we begin in the archives. In Canada, we are now awash in the print culture of contemporary art – that which has accumulated over the past several decades as magazines proliferated, as the country's manifold artist-run centres began publishing, and as artists' books and other experimental publications flourished. Aside from conventional libraries, certain designated sites attest to this material plenitude. Art Metropole in Toronto began its program of collecting and disseminating "artist-initiated" publications in 1974, for instance, while in Montreal, the documentation center Artexte has been assiduously amassing all manner of art-related material since 1981; amongst their archival boxes it is possible to unearth not only magazines and catalogues, but paper ephemera including posters, photographs, press releases, invitations to vernissages, artists' cvs and statements, and so on. The "Ephemera" category looms large in Art Metropole's collection too.[1] In addition to the archival holdings in such repositories, many of the country's artist-run centres have been celebrating anniversaries (30, 35, 40 years in existence), and simultaneously going public with their archives – often taking advantage of digital platforms to do so, of course. What is the significance of this archival consciousness that has seeped through the world of contemporary art in Canada? It is worth remembering Nietzsche's warning, that carrying too much of the past around with us can be an impediment to moving forward: "There is a degree of sleeplessness, of rumination, of 'historical sense,' that injures and finally destroys the living thing, be it a man or a people or a system of culture."[2] Perhaps too this fascination with arcane art-world documentation is evidence of AA Bronson's claim (made in 2012) that Canadian artists have become bureaucrats, just as he had predicted years earlier.[3] It must be admitted that while a huge quantity of printed items has been stockpiled and made available, it is not obvious what deserves to be looked at, engaged critically with, or appreciated. So we need to ask: What value do these historical artefacts have today? What do we choose to pluck out of the archives?

The first article in this issue is by Anne Whitelaw, and it unpacks the Canadian government's funding programs for magazines and other arts

La culture de l'imprimé en réseau

JOHANNE SLOAN

Avant de nous tourner vers les réseaux, allons d'abord voir les archives. Au Canada, nous sommes maintenant inondés par les imprimés portant sur l'art contemporain – tout ce qui a été accumulé au cours des dernières décennies, alors que les revues ont proliféré, que les nombreux centres d'art autogérés ont commencé à publier et que les livres d'artistes et autres publications expérimentales se sont multipliés. En plus des bibliothèques conventionnelles, certains sites spécialisés témoignent d'une abondante documentation. Ainsi, en 1974, à Toronto, Art Metropole a mis sur pied un programme de collecte et de diffusion de publications d'artistes, tandis qu'à Montréal, le centre de documentation Artexte accumule, depuis 1981, une grande variété de documents relatifs à l'art. On peut dénicher dans ces caisses d'archives non seulement des revues et des catalogues, mais aussi des documents éphémères, tels affiches, photographies, communiqués de presse, invitations à des vernissages, curriculum vitae et énoncés d'artistes, etc. La catégorie « éphémères » occupe aussi une grande place dans la collection d'Art Metropole[1]. En plus des fonds d'archives conservés dans ces entrepôts, plusieurs centres d'artistes autogérés du pays ont célébré des anniversaires (30, 35, 40 ans d'existence) et ont rendu publiques leurs archives – en profitant naturellement pour ce faire des plateformes numériques. Que signifie cette prise de conscience archivistique qui s'infiltre dans le monde de l'art contemporain au Canada ? Il convient de se rappeler l'avertissement de Nietzsche que trop se charger du passé peut nous empêcher d'avancer. « Il y a un degré d'insomnie, de rumination, de sens historique qui nuit à l'être vivant et finit par l'anéantir, qu'il s'agisse d'un homme, d'un peuple ou d'une civilisation[2] ». Cette fascination pour le monde mystérieux de la documentation artistique soutient ce que prétendait AA Bronson, en 2012, que les artistes canadiens sont devenus des bureaucrates, comme il l'avait prédit des années auparavant[3]. Il faut bien admettre que bien qu'une énorme quantité de documents imprimés ait été accumulée et rendue disponible, ce qui mérite d'être lu et étudié de façon critique ou apprécié n'est pas évident. Nous devons alors nous demander : « Quelle est la valeur de ces objets historiques aujourd'hui? Que devons-nous retirer des archives? »

publications – the financial foundation that would allow this field to flourish. Each of the subsequent articles in this journal begins with a magazine, exhibition catalogue, or other item of print culture. These are: *Tawow* magazine (1970–79); *image nation* magazine (1970–1982); Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters*, an artist's book (1975); *The Banff Purchase* exhibition catalogue (1978); *Asianadian* magazine (1978–85); Anne Ramsden's *Relations* exhibition catalogue (1988); and the *CyberPowWow* web project (1996–2004). In each case the contributor has in a sense detached one publication from the archive. I say "the archive" but in reality there is no single physical archive that contains all the items addressed here, which date from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. What is significant, though, is that in each case the scholar recognized something in that fragment of print culture, some spark that could and should be re-kindled. Each case study becomes an opportunity to explore a dynamic network of people, objects, and spaces; this is how we move from the archive to the network, in other words. This special issue is in fact one outcome of a collaborative (SSHRC-funded) research project called *Networked Art Histories: Assembling Contemporary Art in Canada, 1960s to the Present*, where the network is proposed as theme, critical model, and methodology, within the open-ended historical period now known as contemporary art. In addition to this emphasis on print culture, the project explores other manifestations of networked activity, asking how artistic activity becomes deeply embedded in urban environments, for instance. We are also tracking multiple manifestations of a "becoming-global" impulse within contemporary art, whereby local, community-based, and/or Canadian networks develop tentacles that reach out to connect with diasporic and transnational artworks, movements, institutions, and people.

Artists can deliberately set out to create alternative networks, and at times these have been the very same people responsible for today's bulging archives. For example, beginning in the 1960s the Vancouver-based artists' collective known as Image Bank and the Toronto-based General Idea instigated a traffic in images (often using the postal system) that was meant to circumvent the authenticating power of museums and established art institutions, while also forging interpersonal bonds between artists. Indeed, General Idea claimed that while an alternative "Canadian network . . . had been building up" during the 1960s, it was their magazine *FILE* that "brought that network of Canadian artists into existence by showing them they were there."[4] But the term "network" can have much greater relevance within art historical research – beyond the explicitly networked practices that arose at the intersection of Conceptual Art, Mail Art, and Fluxus, and beyond the internet-dependent networked art that is undertaken at the present time. For instance, the sociological perspective developed by Howard Becker

Le premier article de ce numéro nous vient d'Anne Whitelaw et décortique les programmes du gouvernement canadien de subventions de revues et autres publications d'art – la base financière qui permet à cette spécialité de prospérer. Chacun des articles subséquents commence par une revue, un catalogue d'exposition ou un autre article de la culture de l'imprimé. Ce sont : la revue *Tawow* (1970–79); la revue *image nation* (1970–1982); un livre d'artiste, *Transcanada Letters*, par Roy Kiyooka (1975); le catalogue de l'exposition *The Banff Purchase* (1978); la revue *Asianadian* (1978–85); le catalogue de l'exposition *Relations* d'Anne Ramsden (1988); et le projet web *CyberPowWow* (1996–2004). Dans chaque cas, la publication est, en quelque sorte, détachée de l'archive. Je dis « l'archive », mais en réalité, il n'y a pas d'unique archive matérielle qui contienne tous les articles dont il est question ici et qui datent des années 1970, 1980 et 1990. Ce qui est significatif, toutefois, c'est que dans chaque cas, le chercheur a reconnu quelque chose dans ce fragment de la culture de l'imprimé, quelque étincelle qui pourrait et devrait être rallumée. Chaque étude de cas devient une occasion d'explorer un réseau dynamique de personnes, d'objets et d'espaces. C'est ainsi, en d'autres termes, que nous allons de l'archive au réseau. Ce numéro est en fait le résultat d'un projet de recherche collaborative (subventionné par le CRSH) intitulé *Networked Art Histories: Assembling Contemporary Art in Canada, 1960s to the Present*, où le réseau est proposé comme thème, modèle critique et méthodologie à l'intérieur d'une période historique indéterminée que nous appelons maintenant art contemporain. En plus de cet accent mis sur la culture de l'imprimé, le projet explore d'autres manifestations d'activité en réseau et se demande, par exemple, comment l'activité artistique devient profondément intégrée à l'environnement urbain. Nous surveillons aussi les multiples manifestations d'un élan vers le « devenir global » dans l'art contemporain, où des réseaux locaux, communautaires, et/ou canadiens étendent des tentacules qui rejoignent des œuvres d'art, des mouvements, des institutions et des artistes diasporiques ou transnationaux.

Les artistes peuvent entreprendre délibérément de créer des réseaux alternatifs, et c'est parfois à ces mêmes personnes que nous devons nos caisses débordantes d'archives. Ainsi, dans les années 1990, le collectif d'artistes de Vancouver Image Bank et General Idea de Toronto ont instauré un trafic d'images (utilisant souvent le système postal) afin de court-circuiter le pouvoir d'authentification des musées et des institutions établies tout en forgeant des liens entre les artistes. En vérité, General Idea prétendait qu'alors qu'un réseau canadien alternatif s'était construit durant les années 1960, c'était leur revue *FILE* qui « a créé ce réseau d'artistes canadiens en leur montrant qu'ils étaient vraiment présents[4] ». Mais le terme « réseau » peut avoir une importance beaucoup plus grande pour la recherche historique – au-delà des pratiques explicitement réseautées qui ont surgi à la rencontre de l'art conceptuel, du

in his 1982 book *Art Worlds* undermines the myth of the artist as heroic individualist by emphasizing the web of players who sustain any given art world: "The artist thus works in the center of a cooperating network of people, all of whose work is essential to the final outcome."[5] A variant of this analysis had been raised in the 1960s by the British art critic Lawrence Alloway, and it is worth noting that the first time he deliberately deployed the term "network" was in a 1966 article in *Canadian Art* magazine, entitled "Art and the Communications Network." Unlike Becker, Alloway emphasized the enhanced role of technology in the twentieth century: "Art today is distributed in a network of communications more complex though not totally different in kind from the preceding five hundred years."[6] For Alloway, the rapidity with which artworks could be reproduced and circulated mattered profoundly, to the point that the "strategy of an art critic today is to look for ways to reduce the quantity of art which the network handles so easily."[7] This might seem a curious remark for someone to make long before the internet, but Alloway did regard the constant barrage of information and images as an obstacle to the critic or historian who wants to focus and call attention to one particular thing.

In the intervening years, the term "network" has continued to acquire interdisciplinary complexity. Of particular appeal to researchers across multiple disciplines is Bruno Latour's actor-network theory (ANT) because it is fundamentally a methodological imperative, a research model that challenges us to find new ways of describing "assemblages" of human and non-human agents. Other authors confront the political implications of networks, whether on or off the internet. Karl Marx long ago recognized that modern-day capitalism could thrive because of its international network of financiers, while the sociologist Manuel Castells insists that corporate and state power has fully absorbed the structural logic of networks.[8] Some art practices confront the dystopian implications of interconnectedness: for instance, the US artist Mark Lombardi's remarkable drawings of the 1980s and 1990s traced elaborate, conspiratorial networks of corrupt politicians, bankers, and arms dealers. This is to say that there is nothing inherently emancipatory about networks; they are one kind of (social, technological, biological) structuring mechanism, amongst many. Still, a number of authors argue that some networks promote alternative, oppositional or emancipatory social impulses. An influential example comes from the political philosophers Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, whose critique of globalization introduces the possibility of "an open and expansive network in which all differences can be expressed freely and equally, a network that provides the means of encounter so that we can work and live in common."[9] That utopian view of networked collaboration does inflect many of the case studies gathered in this special

« mail art » et de Fluxus, et au-delà de l'art en réseau dépendant d'internet qu'on réalise aujourd'hui. Ainsi, la perspective sociologique développée par Howard Becker, dans son livre de 1982 *Art Worlds*, réfute le mythe de l'artiste héroïquement individualiste, en soulignant le réseau d'acteurs qui soutiennent quelque milieu artistique que ce soit: « L'artiste travaille ainsi au centre d'un réseau coopératif de personnes dont le travail est essentiel au résultat final[5] ». Une autre version de cette analyse a été présentée dans les années 1960 par le critique d'art britannique Lawrence Alloway. Il convient de signaler que la première fois qu'il a délibérément utilisé le terme « réseau », c'était en 1966 dans un article de la revue *Canadian Art* intitulé « Art and the Communications Network ». À l'opposé de Becker, Alloway souligne le rôle accru de la technologie au XXᵉ siècle : « L'art, aujourd'hui, est distribué à travers un réseau de communications plus complexe mais pas totalement différent de celui des cinq siècles précédents[6] ». Pour Alloway, la rapidité avec laquelle les œuvres d'art peuvent être reproduites et diffusées avait une très grande importance, au point où « la stratégie du critique d'art aujourd'hui est de chercher des moyens de réduire la quantité d'art que les réseaux gèrent si facilement[7] ». Cela peut sembler une remarque curieuse à faire bien longtemps avant l'internet, mais Alloway considérait le barrage incessant d'informations et d'images comme un obstacle pour le critique ou l'historien qui voulait attirer l'attention sur une chose en particulier.

Dans les années qui ont suivi, le terme « réseau » a continué d'acquérir une complexité interdisciplinaire. La théorie de l'acteur-réseau (ANT) de Bruno Latour offre un attrait particulier aux chercheurs dans de nombreuses disciplines, parce qu'elle est fondamentalement un impératif méthodologique, un modèle de recherche qui nous incite à trouver de nouvelles façons de décrire des « assemblages » d'agents humains et non humains. D'autres auteurs s'attaquent aux répercussions politiques des réseaux, sur internet ou ailleurs. Karl Marx a reconnu il y a bien longtemps que le capitalisme moderne pouvait prospérer grâce à un réseau international de financiers, alors que le sociologue Manuel Castells soutient que le pouvoir corporatif et étatique a pleinement absorbé la logique structurelle des réseaux[8]. Certaines pratiques artistiques abordent de front les implications dystopiques de l'interconnexion : par exemple, les dessins remarquables de l'artiste américain Mark Lombardi, dans les années 1980 et 1990, décrivent des réseaux élaborés et conspirationnels de politiciens corrompus, de banquiers et de marchands d'armes. Cela signifie qu'il n'y a rien d'intrinsèquement émancipateur dans les réseaux; ils sont une sorte de mécanisme structurant (social, technologique, biologique) parmi plusieurs autres. Pourtant, nombre d'auteurs soutiennent que certains réseaux favorisent des impulsions sociales oppositionnelles ou émancipatrices. Un exemple influent vient des philosophes politiques Michael Hardt et Antonio Negri, dont

issue, in the sense that the identification of an art-network (whether by the players themselves, or as constituted after the fact by a scholar) can involve community, friendship, solidarity, and often, a commitment to social justice. Finally, there is huge amount of scholarship pertaining to technological, cybernetic, digital networks. It is true that all but one of the case studies addressed in this issue are pre-digital, but that certainly does not mean their identity is non-technological. Specific modes of travel, communications, and reproduction come into play, even if, as Marshall McLuhan suggested, it is often when such technologies become obsolete that we pay attention to their material presence.[10] All the printed matter discussed in the articles depended on complicated printing and photographic technologies, most of which are outmoded today, while on occasion some archaic technological object becomes an integral part of the story (or part of the network in a Latourian sense): the typewriter Kiyooka used to write his letters; the slide carousel that accompanied *The Banff Purchase* exhibition and book; and in the case of *CyberPowWow*, the inaccessible software languishing in someone's office.

There is not a great deal of scholarship that sets out to critically frame the print culture of contemporary art, whether in Canada or internationally. The exception would be artists' books, which flourished throughout the twentieth century and have been the object of many studies.[11] While magazines from the modern era have received attention, this is rarely true of the post-60s period. There has been some scrutiny of *Artforum* (probably the most influential US art magazine) and Gwen Allen's 2011 book on artist-initiated magazines (including *FILE*) is an important contribution.[12] In Canada, a number of MA and PhD theses focusing on contemporary art magazines were undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s – mainly focused on the major publications: *Canadian Art*, *C Magazine*, *Parachute*, *Vie des Arts*.[13] If magazines have garnered some interest, there is a marked absence of critical writing about exhibition catalogues as a distinct genre within the print culture of contemporary art.[14] The magisterial, multi-authored, multi-volume project that is *The History of the Book in Canada* encompasses a wide spectrum of readerships and specialized types of publications but doesn't zero in on art-related print culture, while their cut-off date in any case is 1980.[15] In other words, research into the print culture of contemporary art in Canada has barely begun to take shape. One notable exception is Felicity Tayler's scholarship, including the article "Publishing as Alternative Space," which sets out to trace "connections among independent publishing in political movements, the experimental literary small press, and artist-run culture" in Canada during the 1960s and 70s.[16] In this special issue on Networked Print Culture, we don't address Canada's longest-running art magazines and, indeed, the catalogues and other publications we discuss are not necessarily well-known. We do not claim that

la critique de la globalisation comprend la possibilité d'un « réseau ouvert et étendu où toutes les différences peuvent s'exprimer librement et également, un réseau qui fournit des moyens de rencontre pour que nous puissions travailler et vivre en commun[9] ». Cette vision utopique d'une collaboration en réseau influence plusieurs des études de cas réunies dans ce numéro spécial, en ce sens que l'identification d'un réseau d'art (que ce soit par les acteurs eux-mêmes ou constitué après coup par un chercheur) peut inclure la communauté, l'amitié, la solidarité et souvent un engagement envers la justice sociale. Finalement, il existe une énorme quantité de travaux savants relatifs aux réseaux technologiques, cybernétiques et numériques. Il est vrai que toutes les études de cas dont il est question dans ce numéro, sauf une, sont pré-numériques, mais cela ne signifie certainement pas que leur identité ne soit pas technologique. Des modes spécifiques de voyage, de communication et de reproduction entrent en jeu, même si, comme l'a suggéré Marshall McLuhan, c'est souvent lorsque ces technologies sont dépassées que nous portons attention à leur présence matérielle[10]. Tous les imprimés étudiés dans les articles supposaient des technologies d'impression et de photographie compliquées dont la plupart sont aujourd'hui périmées, alors, qu'à l'occasion, quelque objet technologique archaïque devient partie intégrante de l'histoire (ou du réseau au sens latourien du terme) : la machine à écrire utilisée par Kiyooka pour écrire ses lettres; le carrousel qui accompagnait l'exposition et le livre *The Banff Purchase*; et, dans le cas de *CyberPowWow*, le logiciel inaccessible qui repose dans un bureau quelque part.

Peu de recherches ont été entreprises pour établir un cadre critique de la culture de l'imprimé portant sur l'art contemporain, au Canada ou internationalement. L'exception serait les livres d'artistes qui ont prospéré à travers le XXᵉ siècle et qui ont fait l'objet de nombreuses études[11]. Bien que des revues de l'époque moderne aient été étudiées, cela est rarement vrai après les années soixante. On a porté une certaine attention à *Artforum* (probablement la plus influente revue d'art aux États-Unis), et le livre de Gwen Allen, en 2011, sur les revues autogérées par des artistes (y compris *FILE*) apporte une importante contribution[12]. Au Canada, on a publié dans les années 1980 et 1990 un certain nombre de mémoires de maîtrise et de thèses de doctorat sur les revues d'art contemporaines – portant principalement sur les principales publications : *Canadian Art, C Magazine, Parachute, Vie des Arts*[13]. Si les revues ont suscité un certain intérêt, il y a une absence notable de critique des catalogues d'exposition en tant que genre distinct à l'intérieur de la culture de l'imprimé concernant l'art contemporain[14]. Le projet magistral à plusieurs auteurs et en plusieurs volumes, *L'histoire du livre et de l'imprimé au Canada*, englobe un large éventail de lectorats et de publications spécialisées, mais ne cible pas l'imprimé relié à l'art, alors que la période étudiée se termine en 1980[15]. En d'autres termes, la

this represents a comprehensive or coast-to-coast coverage of print culture in Canada; instead we hope that our efforts point to the value of this kind of investigation. We regard each as having distinctive material attributes, design features, modes of visual layout, and ways of using photography. Moreover, we approach each magazine, catalogue, artist's book, or web project as a crystallization of people, ideas, spaces, technologies; the publication reveals the convergence of social, intellectual, and aesthetic energies; it is evidence of collaborative work. Each piece of print culture has become a node in a vibrant, re-activated network.

It is worth asking whether, in art-historical terms, networks can be equated with "artworlds."[17] The German art historian Hans Belting, addressing the global circumstances of contemporary art, proposes that the idea of a monolithic artworld is out of date and should be replaced with a different model, featuring a plurality of artworlds that are geographically dispersed while possessing distinct qualities.[18] This is deemed necessary because the realm of "contemporary art" has become, in the words of Mexican curator Cuauhtémoc Medina, "a regime of international generalization."[19] Belting's shift in terminology is promising because it recognizes that the very meaning of art depends on specific places, scenes, contexts, histories, struggles over identity, etc. – unique elements that cannot be assimilated into one master narrative. It should in principle be possible to transpose this template to the national context, in Canada. The *Networked Art Histories* project does not aim for a synthesis of our case studies according to an aesthetically uniform, nationally-determined art history, that's for sure. Instead, we're providing evidence of artistic activity flaring up in multiple contexts, across the Canadian territory; and so the prospect of identifying multiple, coexisting artworlds in Canada is appealing. On the other hand, the "network" model has exemplary qualities that are not necessarily accounted for by the term "artworld." A network encompasses the energy, momentum, and shared desires that fuel collective artistic projects, as well as the eventual fracturing or dissolution of those projects. The disparate elements that are nodes in networks (an exhibition, conference, piece of art criticism, or informal meeting in a bar) might eventually lead to the founding of a magazine or gallery or movement, but they don't always coalesce into fully-formed, nameable artworlds. It also becomes clear from the case studies that networks weave in and out of more specialized artworlds; two of the magazines addressed here (*Tawow* and *Asianadian*) were not exclusively devoted to visual art, as art is instead conjoined to discussions of politics, activism, and identity.

Anne Whitelaw's article provides a foundation for the case studies in this issue by addressing the economic basis for the efflorescence of print culture

recherche sur la culture de l'imprimé portant sur l'art contemporain au Canada commence à peine à prendre forme. Une exception notable est le travail savant de Felicity Tayler, y compris l'article « Publishing as Alternative Space », qui vise à retracer les « connexions entre l'édition indépendante dans les mouvements politiques, la presse littéraire expérimentale et la culture artistique autogérée au Canada » dans les années 1960 et 1970[16]. Dans ce numéro spécial sur la culture de l'imprimé en réseau, nous n'examinons pas les revues d'art canadiennes les plus anciennes, et les catalogues et autres publications dont nous discutons ne sont pas forcément bien connus. Nous ne prétendons pas offrir une couverture complète ou pancanadienne de la culture de l'imprimé au Canada. Nous espérons plutôt que nos efforts souligneront le mérite de cette sorte d'enquête. Nous considérons que chaque imprimé possède des particularités matérielles, des caractéristiques de conception, des présentations visuelles et des manières d'utiliser la photographie distinctes. De plus, nous concevons chaque revue, livre d'artiste ou projet web comme la cristallisation de personnes, d'idées, d'espaces et de technologies. La publication révèle la convergence d'énergies sociales, intellectuelles et esthétiques; c'est l'évidence d'un travail collaboratif. Chaque pièce de la culture de l'imprimé est devenue un nœud dans un réseau dynamique et réactivé.

Il convient de se demander si, en termes d'histoire de l'art, les réseaux peuvent être assimilés au « monde de l'art ». L'historien de l'art allemand Hans Belting, s'interrogeant sur la situation mondiale de l'art contemporain, est d'avis que l'idée d'un monde de l'art monolithique est périmée et doit être remplacée par un modèle différent offrant une pluralité de mondes de l'art dispersés au plan géographique tout en possédant des qualités distinctes[17]. Cela est jugé nécessaire parce que le domaine de « l'art contemporain » est devenu, selon le conservateur mexicain Cuauhtémoc Medina, « un régime de généralisation internationale[18] ». Le changement de terminologie proposé par Belting est prometteur, parce qu'il reconnaît que la signification même de l'art dépend de lieux, de scènes, de contextes, d'histoires, de luttes d'identité, etc. spécifiques – des éléments uniques qui ne peuvent être assimilés dans un seul métarécit. Il devrait, en principe, être possible de transposer ce modèle dans le contexte national canadien. Le projet *Networked Art Histories* ne vise assurément pas à une synthèse de nos études de cas selon une histoire de l'art esthétiquement uniforme et déterminée nationalement. Au lieu de cela, nous voulons montrer que l'activité artistique se manifeste dans de multiples contextes à travers le territoire canadien et que, par conséquent, la perspective d'identifier de multiples mondes de l'art qui coexistent est séduisante. D'autre part, le modèle « réseau » possède des propriétés uniques dont le terme « mondes de l'art » ne tient pas nécessairement compte. Le réseau englobe l'énergie, l'impulsion et les désirs partagés qui alimentent les projets artistiques collectifs, ainsi que

in Canada and, more particularly, the crucial role played by the Canada Council for the Arts. In fact, there is a print-culture dimension to her research too, since she immersed herself in budgets, annual reports, and government papers, to track how a funding program originally intended to support a few key publications had by the 1970s expanded to cover dozens of magazines and, by the 1980s, was underwriting exhibition catalogues produced in small venues across the country. She also parses these government sources to comment on ideological matters: putting money into print culture was supposed to foster the growth of cross-country, coherently nationalistic networks. And yet this did not happen; instead, the proliferation of publications was accompanied by a geographic and discursive dispersal that undermined the construction of a nationalist artworld.

It makes sense to follow with Sherry Farrell Racette's discussion of *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine*, not only because it happens to be the earliest publication under discussion, but also because having heard from Whitelaw about government funding, we now encounter a publication that was indeed an official organ of government. In other words, *Tawow* was not the recipient of so-called "arm's length" government funding, and it was not "alternative" in the way that might be true of other case studies described in this issue. *Tawow* was published by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, but what is remarkable, as Racette points out, is that this became one of the first Canadian publications where Indigenous writers could describe and discuss their own culture. The network triggered by this publication is not easily mapped, since it's difficult to determine in whose hands *Tawow* might have ended up, and to calculate its influence. But Racette tells of her own chance encounters with *Tawow* in Manitoba during the 1970s, and she describes the huge impact the publication had on her personally, and on her future development as a Métis historian – as she encountered a generation of committed and activist Indigenous artists, writers, and curators. This is a striking example of how we can insert ourselves into a narrative, as part of a network-in-formation.

The Banff Purchase catalogue, analyzed by Karla McManus, was not a government publication, but it was nonetheless *official-looking* because of its hard cover, large size, and sober graphic layout. Seven artists received sequential monographic treatment, as if to affirm that Canada possessed great photographic artists, and that photography deserved to be taken seriously. But McManus persuasively shows how *The Banff Purchase* exhibition and catalogue set out to accomplish more than that, by positioning the Banff Center for the Arts at the centre of the discussion, and by asserting its pedagogical value. This last dimension was perhaps the most significant. The artists who appeared in the book also taught "master classes" at Banff, and

l'éventuelle division ou dissolution de ces projets. Les éléments disparates qui constituent des nœuds dans les réseaux (exposition, conférence, morceau de critique d'art, ou rencontre informelle dans un bar) pourraient éventuellement conduire à la fondation d'une revue, d'une galerie ou d'un mouvement, mais ils ne se fusionnent pas toujours dans des mondes de l'art pleinement formés et nommables. Il devient évident aussi, d'après les études de cas, que les réseaux s'infiltrent dans des mondes de l'art plus spécialisés ou bien en sortent. Deux des revues dont nous traitons ici, *Tawow* et *Asianadian*, n'étaient pas exclusivement consacrées à l'art, mais l'art y était lié à la politique, à l'activisme et à l'identité.

L'article d'Anne Whitelaw fournit une assise pour les études de cas de ce numéro en examinant la base économique de la floraison de la culture de l'imprimé au Canada et, plus particulièrement, le rôle crucial qu'a joué le Conseil des arts du Canada. De fait, sa recherche comporte aussi une dimension de la culture de l'imprimé, puisqu'elle s'est plongée dans des budgets, des rapports annuels et des documents gouvernementaux pour découvrir comment un programme de subventions originellement destiné à soutenir quelques publications clés s'est élargi, dans les années 1970, jusqu'à couvrir des douzaines de revues et, dans les années 1980, soutenir financièrement des catalogues d'expositions dans des petits locaux à travers le pays. Elle analyse aussi ces sources gouvernementales pour commenter des questions idéologiques : consacrer de l'argent à la culture de l'imprimé était censé favoriser la croissance de réseaux nationalistes cohérents à travers le pays. Cela ne s'est cependant pas produit. La prolifération de publications a plutôt été accompagnée d'une dispersion géographique et discursive qui a miné la construction d'un monde de l'art nationaliste.

Il était logique de poursuivre avec l'article de Sherry Farrell Racette qui traite de *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine*, non seulement parce qu'il s'agit de la plus ancienne des publications étudiées, mais aussi parce qu'après avoir lu l'article de Whitelaw sur les subventions gouvernementales, nous nous trouvons maintenant devant une publication qui était de fait un organe officiel du gouvernement. En d'autres termes, la revue *Tawow* ne recevait pas de subvention gouvernementale indépendante et n'était pas « alternative » dans le sens où cela pourrait se dire d'autres cas étudiés dans ce numéro. *Tawow* était publiée par le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien, mais le fait remarquable, comme le souligne Racette, c'est qu'elle est devenue une des premières publications où des auteurs autochtones pouvaient décrire et commenter leur propre culture. Le réseau généré par cette publication ne peut pas être facilement circonscrit, car il est difficile de savoir dans quelles mains *Tawow* s'est retrouvée et de déterminer son influence. Mais Racette raconte sa propre rencontre fortuite avec *Tawow* au Manitoba, dans les années 1970, et décrit l'énorme impact que la publication a eu sur sa vie et sa future carrière

likewise the publication was meant to inspire young artists and become a key node in the nation-wide transmission of photographic knowledge.

In contrast to *The Banff Purchase* publication, the magazine *image nation* was overtly "alternative" in its ambition, as Martha Langford tells us, even as she delves into the connotations of this often-used term. Once again we have an author disclosing her own part in the network she describes – here, in conversation with the magazine's editor David Hlynsky in 1980, when she was an exhibition producer at the National Film Board of Canada, Still Photography Division. For Hlynsky and his collaborators, "alternative" signified a powerful desire to create objects of culture that circulated outside of pre-existing networks. Langford's analysis of the magazines themselves reveals another kind of alternativeness, in that photographs were rarely captioned, nor were they supplemented by art-critical or otherwise explanatory prose. In the pages of *image nation*, the meaning of photographs would not be (over)determined by language.

The relationship between language and photographic image was certainly crucial in Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters*, as Felicity Tayler demonstrates. This unusual artist's book consists mainly of letters written by the artist and poet between 1966 and 1974 – linguistically-complex letters that reveal professional, political, personal, and/or erotic attachments to people scattered across the country. In a separate section, a dense grid of photographs evokes a coast-to-coast journey while also offering casual views of Kiyooka with friends. While the book's title and photo-essay might refer to Canada, and Kiyooka's writing addressed his Japanese Canadian identity, Tayler describes this book as evidence of a countercultural network that helped to erode conventionally nationalistic paradigms for understanding art and literature.

My own article addresses a flourishing postmodern/feminist network in Montreal during the 1980s. My starting point is *Relations*, a 1988 exhibition catalogue featuring photographic artwork by Anne Ramsden and an experimental text by Reesa Greenberg – a genuinely collaborative project in that the artist seemed to infiltrate the visual culture of museums while the art historian creatively undermined the conventions of museological prose. I argue that these women were part of a dynamic network of women artists, writers, curators, editors, and teachers – all committed in some sense to postmodernism, to feminist ideals, and to experimental modes of photographic practice – although this movement has not to date been adequately described and inscribed into Canadian art history. Since I lived in Montreal during throughout the 1980s, and know many of the players, I have also written myself into the story.

The magazine that Alice Ming Wai Jim has retrieved from the archive, *Asianadian*, was not a specially-designated art magazine, even if the cover

d'historienne métis – dans ses rencontres avec une génération d'artistes, écrivains et conservateurs autochtones engagés. C'est un exemple frappant de la manière dont on peut s'insérer dans un récit, en tant que partie d'un réseau en formation.

Le catalogue d'exposition *The Banff Purchase*, analysé par Karla McManus, n'était pas une publication gouvernementale, mais il n'en avait pas moins l'aspect d'un document officiel à cause de sa couverture rigide, de son grand format et de sa sobre présentation graphique. Sept artistes ont fait l'objet d'un traitement monographique séquentiel, comme pour affirmer que le Canada possédait de grands artistes photographes et que la photographie méritait d'être prise au sérieux. Mais McManus montre de façon convaincante que l'exposition et le catalogue *The Banff Purchase* voulaient aller plus loin en mettant le centre d'arts de Banff au centre du discours et en affirmant sa valeur pédagogique. Cette dernière dimension était peut-être la plus significative. Les artistes qui apparaissaient dans le livre donnaient aussi des « cours de maître » à Banff. La publication avait aussi pour but d'inspirer de jeunes artistes et de jouer un rôle-clé dans la transmission du savoir photographique à travers le pays.

À l'opposé de la publication *The Banff Purchase*, la revue *image nation* se voulait ouvertement « alternative », comme nous le dit Martha Langford, même lorsqu'elle explore les connotations de ce terme souvent utilisé. Là encore, l'auteur révèle son propre rôle dans le réseau qu'elle décrit – ici, en conversation avec le rédacteur de la revue, David Hlynsky, en 1980, en tant que réalisatrice d'exposition au Service de la photographie de l'Office national du film. Pour Hlynsky et ses collaborateurs, « alternatif » signifiait un puissant désir de créer des objets culturels qui circuleraient en dehors des réseaux préexistants. L'analyse que fait Langford des revues elles-mêmes révèle une autre manière d'être alternatif, en ce sens que les photographies étaient rarement légendées et n'étaient pas accompagnées de texte critique ou explicatif. Dans les pages d'*image nation*, le sens des photographies n'étaient pas (sur)déterminé par le langage.

La relation entre le langage et l'image photographique est certainement cruciale dans *Transcanada Letters* de Roy Kiyooka, comme le démontre Felicity Tayler. Ce livre d'artiste inhabituel consiste principalement en lettres écrites par l'artiste poète de 1966 à 1974 – des lettres linguistiquement complexes qui révèlent l'attachement professionnel, politique, personnel et/ou érotique à des personnes dispersées à travers le pays. Dans une section séparée, une grille de photographies évoque un voyage d'un océan à l'autre et montre des vues de Kiyooka en compagnie d'amis. Bien que le titre du livre et le photoreportage se réfèrent au Canada et que les écrits de Kiyooka traitent de son identité nippo-canadienne, Tayler décrit son livre comme l'évidence d'un réseau contre-culturel qui a contribué à éroder les paradigmes nationalistes conventionnels pour la compréhension de l'art et de la littérature.

of every issue did feature artwork by Asian Canadian artists. But alongside the intermittent arts coverage, *Asianadian* intervened in an expanded field of visual culture; Jim zooms in on discussions of televisual and newspaper imagery and showcases the magazine's attack on visual stereotypes. It becomes clear that this magazine played an important role in the forging of a politicized Asian Canadian identity. It is no coincidence that Jim's text also functions genealogically, in that she is the founding co-editor of a new journal, *Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas*; the question of "visual culture" now takes centre-stage, while *Asianadian*'s Canadian emphasis has been transformed into overtly international forms of networking.[20]

Mikhel Proulx's article on *CyberPowWow* closes off this special issue for two very good reasons. Firstly, it bookends Racette's presentation of *Tawow*, the government-sponsored publication that was nevertheless appropriated by its Indigenous contributors. In contrast, *CyberPowWow* was entirely dreamed up and sustained by Indigenous artists and scholars, and in this respect exemplifies an epochal change. The other reason Proulx's article comes at the end is of course because unlike all the other publications we address, this was a digital enterprise – although since it did include both writings and images it has much in common with older forms of print culture. *CyberPowPow* was a remarkable example of Indigenous activism intersecting with the utopian aspirations of early internet networking. And yet there is an element of pathos in Proulx's account because, whereas flimsy print publications can survive for hundreds of years, this project is for the most part no longer available. Through this case study, we quickly understand how the circulation of digital information is not really dematerialized at all, but depends on the stability of servers, the capacity for storage, the functionality of software, and so on. Proulx's article therefore calls attention to a strikingly original but ephemeral episode in the digital/print culture of contemporary art.

I opened this introduction saying that we'd begun our research into networked print culture by extracting items from archives, and I'd like to point to Michel Foucault's understanding of the archive in his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge* – not as this or that pile of documents gathering dust, but as the specific discursive system that allows a person to speak and think in the first place: "the archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events."[21] At the same time, Foucault made clear that an archive is neither immutable nor securely in the hands of authoritative bodies; he proposed that present-day "redistributions" of knowledge can "reveal several pasts, several forms of connection, several hierarchies of importance, several networks of determination, several teleologies . . . ."[22] It seems to me that this analysis corresponds to our collective undertaking here. These articles have indeed

Mon propre article traite d'un réseau postmoderne/féministe florissant à Montréal dans les années 1980. Le point de départ est *Relations*, un catalogue d'exposition de 1988 qui présente les œuvres photographiques d'art d'Anne Ramsden et un texte expérimental de Reesa Greenberg – un projet authentiquement collaboratif en ce sens que l'artiste semble infiltrer la culture visuelle des musées alors que l'historienne de l'art sape de façon créative les conventions de la prose muséologique. Je soutiens que ces femmes faisaient partie d'un réseau de femmes artistes, écrivaines, conservatrices, rédactrices et enseignantes – toutes attachées d'une certaine manière au postmodernisme, aux idéaux féministes et à des modes expérimentaux de pratique photographique – bien que ce mouvement n'ait pas jusqu'à maintenant été adéquatement décrit et inscrit dans l'histoire de l'art canadien. Puisque je vivais à Montréal dans les années 1980 et que je connais plusieurs des personnes dont il est question, je me suis aussi introduite dans le récit.

La revue qu'Alice Ming Wai Jim a retracée dans les archives, *Asianadian*, n'était pas spécifiquement une revue d'art, même si la couverture de chaque numéro présentait une œuvre d'un artiste canadien d'origine asiatique. Mais, à côté d'articles occasionnels sur l'art, *Asianadian* intervenait dans un champ élargi de culture visuelle. Jim met l'accent sur les débats sur l'imagerie télévisuelle et journalistique et présente les attaques de la revue contre les stéréotypes visuels. Il est évident que cette revue a joué un rôle important dans la construction d'une identité canadienne asiatique politisée. Ce n'est pas par coïncidence que le texte de Jim s'organise aussi de façon généalogique, en ce qu'elle est la coéditrice fondatrice d'une nouvelle revue, *Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas*. La question de la culture visuelle occupe maintenant le devant de la scène, alors que l'aspect canadien d'*Asianadian* s'est transformé en des formes de réseautage ouvertement internationales[19].

L'article de Mikhel Proulx sur *CyberPowWow* clôt ce numéro spécial pour deux bonnes raisons. Il fait pendant à l'article de Racette qui présente *Tawow*, publication subventionnée par le gouvernement et que les auteurs autochtones se sont cependant appropriée. À l'opposé, *CyberPowWow* a été entièrement créé et soutenu par des artistes et chercheurs autochtones et, à cet égard, il incarne un changement d'époque. L'autre raison pour mettre l'article de Proulx à la fin, c'est naturellement parce que, contrairement à toutes les autres publications dont nous avons traité, il s'agissait d'une entreprise numérique – bien que, depuis qu'il inclut des écrits et des images, il s'apparente à des formes plus anciennes de la culture de l'imprimé. *CyberPowPow* était un exemple remarquable d'un activisme autochtone recoupant les aspirations utopiques des premiers réseaux internet. Il y a pourtant quelque chose de tragique dans le récit de Proulx, car, alors que de fragiles publications imprimées peuvent survivre pendant des siècles, ce projet n'est plus, en majeure partie, disponible. À travers cette étude de cas, nous comprenons facilement que la circulation de l'information numérique n'est

revealed "several pasts," while each critical re-reading has in some sense shifted the knowledge-base of contemporary art in Canada.

These case studies demonstrate the vital role played by print culture in the networked formations of contemporary art since the 1960s. Examining individual magazines, exhibition catalogues, artists' books, or websites has proven to be extremely rewarding, and we hope this small collection of case studies will encourage other scholars to continue building up this field of inquiry. Part of the appeal of doing so is of course that knowledge and images are now largely disseminated digitally and cybernetically. But if the legacy of printed matter has thus been defamilarized, it is precisely through an intimate, hands-on encounter with these objects that the material circumstances of art historical knowledge come into view.

NOTES

1   While the Art Metropole holdings are now in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, and have since been exhibited, material of this nature more often ends up in the artists' files kept by museums for their own use.

2   Friedrich NIETZSCHE, *The Use and Abuse of History* (New York: Cosimo, 2005), 7. (originally published 1873).

3   Bronson implies that the situation is different, but just as bad, in the USA: "Alas, the artists of Canada have transformed themselves into bureaucrats, much as those of New York City have shape-shifted into simulacra of financiers." AA BRONSON, "The Transfiguration of the Bureaucrat," in *Institutions by Artists, Volume One* (Vancouver: Filip Editions, 2012), 37.

4   Willoughby SHARP, "The Gold-diggers of 1984: An Interview with General Idea," *Avalanche* 7 (Winter/Spring 1973): 18–19.

5   Howard BECKER, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982), 25.

6   Lawrence ALLOWAY, "Art and the Communications Network," *Canadian Art* 100 (January 1966): 35.

7   Ibid., 37.

8   Bruno LATOUR, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Manuel CASTELLS, "A Network Theory of Power," *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2001): 773–87.

9   Michael HARDT and Antonio NEGRI, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), xiii–xiv.

10 See Marshall McLUHAN, "Technology and Environment," *artscanada* 105 (February 1967): 5–7.

11 See Johanna DRUCKER, *The Century of Artists' Books* (New York: Granary Books, 1995).

12 Amy NEWMAN, *Challenging Art: Artforum, 1962–1974* (New York: Soho Press, 2004). Gwen ALLEN, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

pas, en réalité, dématérialisée, mais qu'elle dépend de la stabilité des serveurs, de la capacité de stockage, des fonctionnalités du logiciel, et ainsi de suite. Par conséquent, l'article de Proulx attire l'attention sur un épisode remarquablement original mais éphémère de la culture numérique de l'art contemporain.

Au début de cette introduction, j'ai dit que nous avons entrepris notre recherche sur la culture de l'imprimé en réseau en allant voir les archives. J'aimerais souligner ce que Michel Foucault entend par archives dans son livre *L'Archéologie du savoir* – non pas comme telle ou telle pile de documents poussiéreux, mais comme système discursif spécifique qui permet d'abord de parler et de penser : « L'archive, c'est d'abord la loi de ce qui peut être dit, le système qui régit l'apparition des énoncés comme événements singuliers[20] ». Foucault dit aussi clairement que l'archive n'est ni immuable ni en sécurité entre les mains de l'autorité. Il affirme que les « redistributions récurrentes » du savoir « font apparaître plusieurs passés, plusieurs formes d'enchaînements, plusieurs hiérarchies d'importance, plusieurs réseaux de détermination, plusieurs téléologies[21] ». Il me semble que cette analyse correspond au travail collectif que nous avons entrepris. Ces articles ont vraiment révélé « plusieurs passés », alors que chaque relecture critique a, dans un certain sens, modifié la base de connaissances sur l'art contemporain au Canada.

Ces études de cas démontrent le rôle vital que joue la culture de l'imprimé dans les formations en réseau de l'art contemporain depuis les années 1960. L'examen des revues, des catalogues d'exposition, des livres d'artistes et des sites web s'est avéré extrêmement gratifiant, et nous espérons que ce petit ensemble d'études de cas encouragera d'autres chercheurs à poursuivre l'exploration de ce domaine de recherche. Une partie de l'attrait de ce travail consiste, naturellement, dans le fait que les connaissances et les images sont maintenant largement diffusées numériquement et cybernétiquement. Mais si l'héritage de l'imprimé a été ainsi défamiliarisé, c'est justement à travers une rencontre intime, directe avec ces objets que les circonstances matérielles des connaissances en histoire de l'art sont révélées.

NOTES

1 Bien que les collections d'Art Metropole se retrouvent au Musée des beaux-arts du Canada et aient été exposées depuis, le matériel de cette nature se retrouve souvent dans les dossiers d'artistes conservés dans des musées pour leur propre usage.

2 Friedrich NIETZSCHE, « Seconde considération inactuelle », *Considérations inactuelles*, publiées en 1874.

3 Bronson suppose que la situation est différente mais tout aussi mauvaise aux États-Unis : « Hélas, les artistes canadiens se sont mués en bureaucrates, tout comme ceux de New York se sont transformés en simulacres de financiers ». AA BRONSON, « The

13 Robert GRAHAM, "Understanding *artscanada*: History, Practice, and Idea" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1988); Tim CLARK, "Michel Foucault, Critical Modernism, and Writing on the Visual Arts in English Canada" (MA thesis, Concordia University, 1991); Lon DUBINSKY, "Canadian Visual Art Magazines as Cultural Formations" (PhD thesis, McGill University, 1991); Louise MOREAU, "Making Art Modern: The First Decade of *Vie des Arts* Magazine and Its Contribution to the Discourse on the Visual Arts in Quebec during the 1950s and 1960s" (MA thesis, Concordia University, 1997); Abby WEINBERG, "Identity Politics in Canadian Artwriting: *C Magazine* and *Parachute*, 1983–1996" (MA thesis, Concordia University, 1997).

14 The French art historian Anne Moeglin-Delcroix addresses the increasingly slippery boundary between exhibition catalogues and artists' books in the 1960s and 70s: Anne MOEGLIN-DELCROIX, "Du catalogue comme oeuvre d'art et inversement," *Les cahiers du musée national d'art moderne* 56/57 (Summer–Fall 1996): 95–118.

15 *History of the Book in Canada* (three volumes). General editors, Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Yvan Lamonde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004–2007).

16 Felicity TAYLER, "Publishing as Alternative Space," in *Documentary Protocols*, eds. Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault (Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Gallery, 2010), 310.

17 While some authors refer to "art worlds," I use the increasingly common single word, "artworld."

18 Hans BELTING and Andrea BUDDENSIEG, "From Art World to Art Worlds," in *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds*, eds. Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 28–31.

19 Cuauhtémoc MEDINA, "Contemp(t)orary: Eleven Theses," *e-flux journal* 12 (2010). Accessed August 2015, http://www.e-flux.com/journal/contemptorary-eleven-theses/.

20 *Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas*, published by Brill, is co-edited by Alice Ming Wai Jim and Alexandra Chang of New York University. The first issue came out in 2015.

21 Michel FOUCAULT, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), 129.

22 Ibid., 5.

Transfiguration of the Bureaucrat », dans *Institutions by Artists, Volume One*, Vancouver, Filip Editions, 2012, p. 37.

4 Willoughby Sharp, « The Gold-diggers of 1984 : An Interview with General Idea », *Avalanche*, nᵒ 7 (hiver/printemps 1973), p. 18–19.

5 Howard Becker, *Art Worlds*, Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1982, p. 25.

6 Lawrence Alloway, « Art and the Communications Network », *Canadian Art*, nᵒ 100 (janvier 1966), p. 35.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

8 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social : An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*, Oxford University Press, 2005. Manuel Castells, « A Network Theory of Power », *International Journal of Communication*, nᵒ 5 (2001), p. 773–87.

9 Michael Hardt et Antonio Negri, *Multitude : War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, Penguin Press, 2004, p. xiii–xiv.

10 Voir Marshall McLuhan, « Technology and Environment », *artscanada* 105 (février 1967), 5–7.

11 Voir Johanna Drucker, *The Century of Artists' Books*, New York, Granary Books, 1995.

12 Amy Newman, *Challenging Art : Artforum, 1962–1974*, New York, Soho Press, 2004. Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines : An Alternative Space for Art*, mit Press, 2011.

13 Robert Graham, *Understanding artscanada: history, practice and idea*, thèse de maîtrise, Université McGill, 1988; Tim Clark, *Michel Foucault, Critical Modernism, and Writing on the Visual Arts in English Canada*, thèse de maîtrise, Université Concordia, 1991; Lon Dubinsky, *Canadian Visual Art Magazines as Cultural Formations*, thèse de doctorat, Université McGill, 1991; Louise Moreau, *Making Art Modern : The first decade of Vie des Arts magazine and its contribution to the discourse on the visual arts in Quebec during the 1950s and 1960s*, thèse de maîtrise, Université Concordia, 1997; Abby Weinberg, *Identity politics in Canadian artwriting : C Magazine and Parachute, 1983–1996*, thèse de maîtrise, Université Concordia, 1997.

14 Une contribution significative est celle de l'historienne de l'art Anne Moeglin-Delcroix, qui traite de la frontière de plus en plus imprécise entre les catalogues d'exposition et les livres d'artistes dans les années 1960 et 1970 : Anne Moeglin-Delcroix, « Du catalogue comme œuvre d'art et inversement », *Les cahiers du musée national d'art moderne,* nᵒ 56/57 (été–automne 1996).

15 *History of the Book in Canada*, (trois volumes). Éditeurs généraux, Patricia Lockhart Fleming et Yvan Lamonde, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004–2007.

16 Felicity Tayler, « Publishing as Alternative Space », dans *Documentary Protocols*, édit. Vincent Bonin et Michèle Thériault, Montreal, Leonard and Bina Ellen Gallery, 2010, p. 310.

17 Hans Belting et Andrea Buddensieg, « From Art World to Art Worlds », dans *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds*, édit. Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg et Peter Weibel, Cambridge, mit Press, 2013, p. 28–31.

18 Cuauhtémoc Medina, « Contemp(t)orary: Eleven Theses », *e-flux journal*, nᵒ 12 (2010). http://www.e-flux.com/journal/contemptorary-eleven-theses/.

19 *Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas*, publié par Brill, est coédité par Alice Ming Wai Jim et Alexandra Chang de l'université de New York. Le premier numéro est sorti en 2015.

20 Michel Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1969, p. 170; disponible en ligne : michel-foucault-1969-l-archeologie-du-savoir.pdf.

21 *Ibid*., p. 11.

Detail, Les Levine, *Slipcover: A Place*, 1966. Installation, Art Gallery of Ontario.
Image reproduced in the *Annual Report* of the Canada Council, 1966–1967, 57. With
permission of Les Levine. (Photo: author)

"If you do not grow you are a dead duck":[1] Funding Art Publications in Canada from the 1940s to the 1980s

ANNE WHITELAW

Introducing the first volume of a recent anthology of essays from the art journal *Parachute*, Alexander Alberro and Nora M. Alter argue: "Art periodicals today operate as vehicles for the evaluation and dissemination of artistic practices, as well as locations for the elaboration of interpretive approaches capable of addressing the extraordinary complexity and sudden tentativeness of art following the collapse of the modernist paradigm. Furthermore, they address a remarkably diverse readership comprised not only of artists and those connected with exhibiting and marketing their work, but also of academics and a general public increasingly interested in art and culture."[2] These comments are particularly appropriate to describe *Parachute*, a bilingual journal published out of Montreal between 1975 and 2007 that played a pivotal role in introducing new theoretical paradigms and language to the Canadian art scene through often complex essays by local and international scholars, art critics and artists.[3] Although written in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Alberro and Alter's assessment of both the readership and the formative role of periodicals in the circulation of information about art could equally apply to magazines published long before the collapse of the modernist paradigm. In Canada, the oft-cited geographic dispersal of the nation's populace, coupled with the relative paucity of art institutions until the 1950s, presented significant obstacles to the broad dissemination of knowledge about the visual arts. Publications such as *Canadian Art*, founded in 1943, and its predecessor *Maritime Art*, established in 1940, played key roles in making art visible to Canadians across the country during a time when newspapers and general interest magazines were more local in their coverage, and art institutions – with the notable exception of the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) – were still building their programming and did not have the finances or the staff to make their activities better known. The founding of the Canada Council for the Arts in 1957 enabled more systematic circulation of information about the arts in Canada through the contents of its annual reports, while its subsidy of exhibition catalogues as part of broader funding for temporary exhibitions (heretofore overlooked by federal and provincial funding bodies), and the

availability of funding for periodicals, expanded the number and scope of art publications in Canada.

This article seeks to map the intersections of visual arts publishing and federal government funding in Canada from the 1940s through the 1980s.[4] The focus on funding underscores the challenges faced by visual arts practitioners in Canada in making their work visible to national and international audiences, and points to the impact of federal organizations and policies on the visual arts in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s. The Canada Council's programs were invaluable in assisting the country's artists to broaden their knowledge and expertise through travel, and assisted arts organizations in both acquiring and disseminating the work of contemporary Canadian artists. Other federal funding initiatives, including the monies used to support the programs launched under the National Museums Policy of 1972, also assisted the publication goals of Canadian artists and organizations, particularly through the encouragement to institutions to produce exhibition catalogues as part of their extension activities. Even before the creation of these federal funding programs, the National Gallery gave significant financial support to *Canadian Art*, an indication of the value ascribed to publications and their ability to establish visual arts networks in Canada. Although the bulk of this essay will focus on the granting programs that supported publishing in the visual arts, a brief consideration of *Canadian Art* as the first major visual arts publication in the country, will help map the intersections of funding and content in visual arts publishing in Canada.

Canadian Art (Fig. 1) was created in 1943 when Walter Abell brought his largely regional periodical *Maritime Art* to the National Gallery of Canada when he accepted the position of supervisor of education at the gallery. Although *Maritime Art*, established in 1940, prided itself on the cross-country coverage of its essays and in the inclusion of such non-Maritime authors as Lawren Harris, Robert Ayre, and Blodwen Davies, the move to the National Gallery allowed it to argue convincingly that it had gone national.[5] The relocation and renaming of the publication also contributed to a centralization of power over Canadian art discourses that would only increase with the post-Massey Commission creation of Ottawa-based arts organizations tasked with supporting the creation of a national culture.[6] *Canadian Art*'s funding came from the National Gallery as in-kind contributions for hosting production facilities and, through funding from the Carnegie Corporation, payment of Abell's salary. Other institutions such as the Vancouver Art Gallery, keen to increase their national visibility,[7] also provided funds for the publication in exchange for small advertisements within the magazine and free copies for distribution to museum members. The magazine, however, also received money from the newly established Federation of
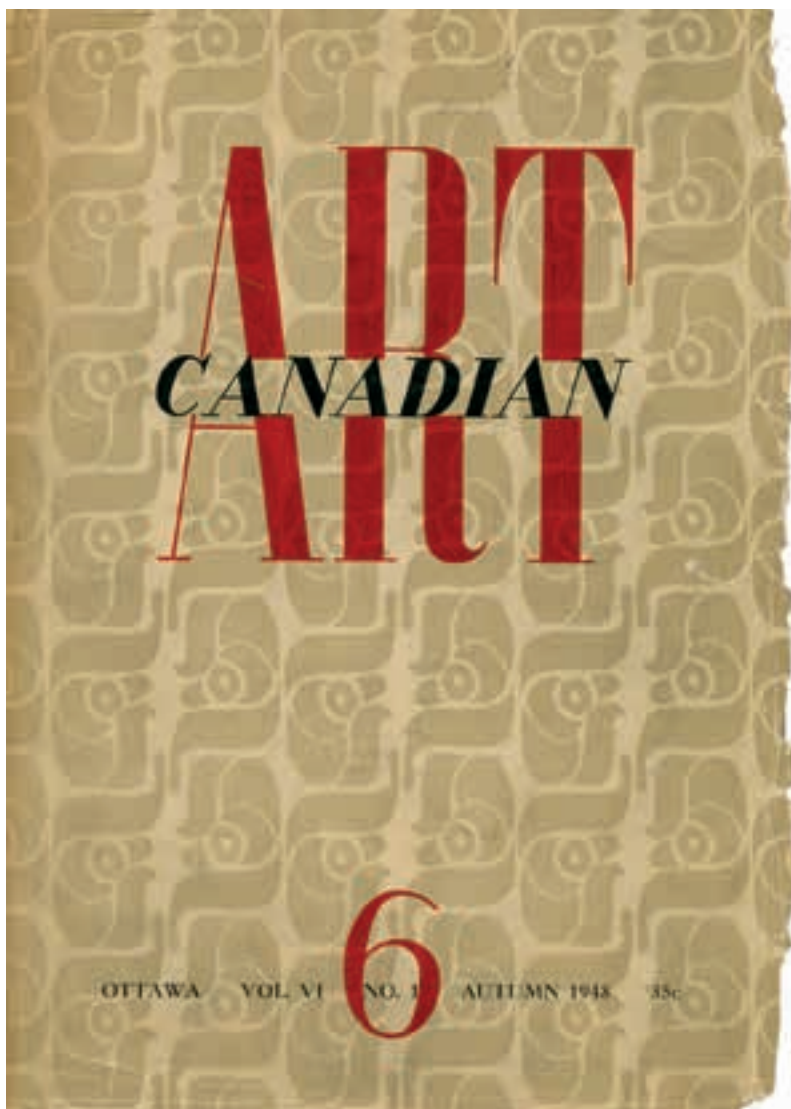
Canadian Artists (FCA), which claimed *Canadian Art* as a pivotal organ for its activities and fought regularly with the NGC leadership for control over the magazine's content and orientation. Following Abell's resignation from the NGC in 1944, the editorship of *Canadian Art* was the subject of intense debate, with concerns among senior members of the FCA that somebody with NGC allegiances would be appointed and would turn the magazine into a mouthpiece for the gallery rather than fully represent the activities of the nation's artists.[8] In 1944 art critic and FCA member Robert Ayre, along with art historian, photographer, and future head of the National Industrial Design Council Donald W. Buchanan, were appointed co-editors of *Canadian Art*, positions they would hold until 1959.

COAST TO COAST IN ART

Rent a Painting from Your Public Library

Thirty or forty years ago, the conception of a public library that would lend books to any citizen of the community had only begun to take root in many Canadian cities. But today their establishment is widespread, and we feel that a town or city is, indeed, backward which does not possess one. They have progressed, too, in function; from many of them you can now borrow documentary motion pictures and recordings of good music as well as books.

Why then should they not lend out paintings also? This question the administrators of the Windsor Public Libraries recently asked themselves. They have answered it now by embarking on a picture rental scheme. While the collection they have begun with is a modest one, it does include originals by A. Y. Jackson, John Alfsen and Dorothy Stevens, and many fine framed reproductions. Monthly rentals range from 25c for reproductions to $1.25 for the larger paintings.

If this method of introducing more of our citizens to the direct appreciation of art in their own homes proves successful, then a fruitful new field of activity will be open to our more enterprising libraries everywhere.

Child Art in Creative Education

Art by Saskatchewan youth, as turned out both by children in primary grades and by adolescents in high school, continues to attract a "good press" as a newspaperman would say.

For the second time recently, the publication listing broadcasts to Saskatchewan schools, printed by the provincial department of education, is using on its cover a colour plate of an amusing drawing by a school child (see below). This was done during a regular classroom period for free art expression at the Davin Public School in the city of Regina.

Then the *Star-Phoenix* of Saskatoon writes of an exhibition of 'teen age paintings sponsored by Wynona Mulcaster of the Saskatoon Normal School. It opened at the Saskatoon Art Centre in August and was then offered to school superintendents in the province. It was immediately booked for months ahead, especially for teachers'

The Big Fire. Painting by Alan Murray, age 7, Regina.

2 | "Coast to Coast in Art," *Canadian Art* 6:2 (Christmas 1948): 82–3.

conventions, where it is being used for discussion and study of new approaches in creative education.

The Economics of Design

Following the imposing of exchange restrictions brought on by the shortage of American dollars, Canadian manufacturers have found that, among the many resulting adjustments that they have had to make, the re-designing of household products looms large.

When imported American fittings were being used, then the simplest solution was usually to adopt some variation of a standard American design. Now, however, this dependence on American designs and designers has become, from a strictly economic point of view, less and less desirable.

A few individual manufacturers have accordingly begun to discuss, with universities and with research officials, the problem of finding trained talent for this purpose in Canada. Because of the urgent need to conserve American dollars, the Dominion Government, too, has become interested, since foreign exchange statistics show that relatively substantial sums are being and have been spent by Canadian manufacturers in obtaining product designs from United States sources.

Several meetings to discuss these problems were held during the past year in Ottawa, and, as a result, a new and active National Industrial Design Committee has been established,—its purpose to exchange information and promote research and development in this important field. Sitting on it are manufacturers, representatives of universities and of government departments interested, and of the newly formed Association of Canadian Industrial Designers. For the first year, at least, it is being supported with the aid of a small grant from the Dominion Government. The chairman is Donald B. Cruikshank of The Steel Equipment Company Ltd., Ottawa and Pembroke, and the Secretary is Donald W. Buchanan, Ottawa.

West Meets East

From the Maritime Provinces, comes word that an exhibition representative of the best work of Maritime artists has been selected and will be sent on tour of Western Canada. This continues the exchange of exhibitions which was initiated last year by R. W. Hedley of the Edmonton Museum of Fine Arts.

Sponsored by the Maritime Art Association, this exhibition was open to all artists of the region. Arrangements were in charge of Lawren

The first ten years of *Canadian Art* featured news about artists, art organizations (museums, galleries, and artists' associations such as the FCA), reviews of exhibitions, as well as in-depth analyses and presentations of the work of art institutions. Representative articles from the period included "Community Art Centres: A Growing Movement" from volume 2, number 2 (December 1944/January 1945), an overview of the Art Gallery of Toronto's collection by Andrew Bell from volume 5, number 4 (Spring 1948), and "The Press Debates the Massey Report" by Robert Ayre from volume 9, number 1 (Autumn 1951), along with the regular feature "Coast to Coast in Art" (Fig. 2) that compiled brief informational items on the activities of art galleries, associations, and artists from across the country. Written by gallery directors, artists, and critics from all regions, this compendium of viewpoints and activities constitutes a veritable history of contemporary Canadian art in its mapping of the issues that preoccupied writers from different parts of the country. As records of exhibitions, acquisitions, and front-of-mind concerns, the feature articles, as well as the shorter news and events columns, position *Canadian Art* as a bridge between periodicals and exhibition catalogues: at a time when few art galleries produced catalogues of exhibitions or of their collections, the magazine provided that service, richly illustrating shows (albeit usually in black and white) and presenting new acquisitions by museums across the country. In 1956, *Canadian Art*'s monopoly as a national art magazine was challenged by the publication of *Vie des arts*, a Quebec-based magazine that despite its early focus on historical and contemporary French Canadian art, quickly expanded its purview to include the work of artists from across the country.[9] Despite the competition, *Canadian Art* largely retained its leading role in the Canadian art world, tracking and presenting contemporary art activity from across the country and providing an important reference point for artists and gallery directors alike. That dominance would continue through the magazine's change of name to *artscanada* in 1966, an effort to downplay perceptions of the magazine as "an unread coffee-table item"[10] and new editor Barry Lord's reconfiguration of the content to be more responsive to topical issues in contemporary Canadian art. Lord left the publication in 1967, and was replaced by Anne Trueblood Brodzky who reverted to a more traditional magazine format but retained the sense of topicality. By the mid-1970s, *artscanada* was once again facing criticism for being too mainstream. Writing in *Studio International*, *Only Paper Today*'s associate editor Jennifer Oille described *artscanada* as "an official organ . . . purely Canadian in content [that] depends on a select body of writers (mainly academic) and reflects on what one could call official Canadian culture."[11] (Fig. 3) Oille's complaint extended beyond *artscanada*'s
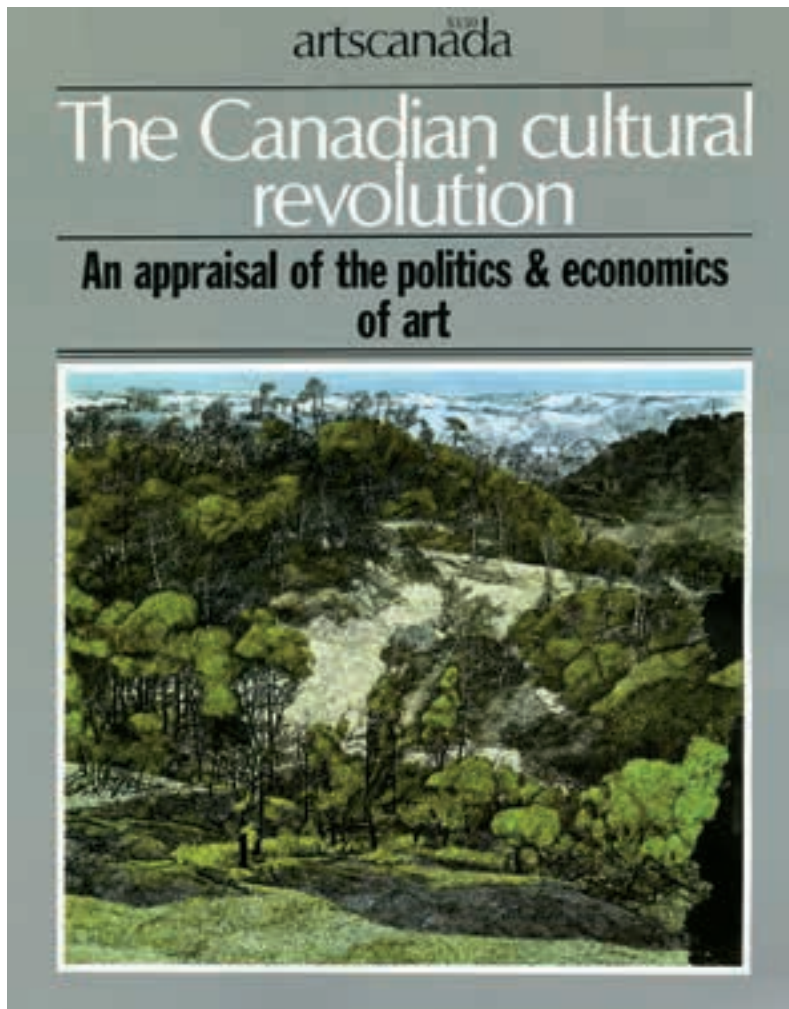
3 | Cover of "The Canadian Cultural Revolution," *artscanada* 32:200/201 (Autumn 1975). With permission of Ivan Eyre. (Photo: author)

content to the enormous share of Canada Council and Ontario Arts Council funding the magazine received to the detriment of the many smaller art magazines then emerging. Artist Greg Curnoe was similarly critical of *artscanada*'s presentation of Canadian art issues in his essay "Feet of Clay Planted Firmly in USA," yet differed from Oille in his call for the magazine's funding to be withdrawn for *not* sufficiently showcasing Canadian content.[12]

The appearance of *Vie des arts* on the Canadian publishing scene virtually coincided with the establishment of the Canada Council in 1957.[13] One of the major recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (aka the Massey Commission), the Canada Council became possible through the estate taxes of Sir Isaac Walton Killam and Sir James Dunn that provided an endowment fund able to

support individual artists, scholars, and the organizations that disseminated their work to the larger public – art galleries, theatre and opera companies, and periodicals. In the "General Observations" section of its first annual report, the Council summarized its challenge: "Material prosperity alone will not make a great nation. As we press on to push back the frontiers of material progress, we must aim to advance on the spiritual front, and advance in our artistic progress as a nation. It was to help in this process that the Canada Council was created."[14] One of its earliest challenges was to decide whether its role was to "raise or spread" – a phrase taken from a 1958 lecture given by Sir Kenneth Clark under the auspices of the Council that addressed the question of whether funding was better spent raising the standards of a select number of organizations and artists who already showed promise of achievement, or whether the limited funds available should be spread across the country in order to assist more organizations in their cultural endeavours. Due to the concentration of major arts organizations in larger cities – specifically Montreal and Toronto – the concern about the first approach was that those cities would unduly benefit from the Canada Council's funds, and the Council's mandate to stimulate artistic production across the country would be compromised. The incentive to spread resources across the country was equally unappealing as it might reinforce the status quo and prevent regional organizations from reaching for greater quality and professionalism.[15] From the beginning, however, the Council reiterated its policy that its funds should not replace existing support from municipalities and community groups, but should rather build on existing sponsorship in order to allow the organization to expand and enrich its programming. It also strongly encouraged the development of municipal and provincial funding, praising the formation of Quebec's ministère des Affaires culturelles in 1961 as a sign of the province's commitment to culture at the same time as it noted the marked lack of financial support for the arts from other parts of the country.[16]

Publications were funded from the first year the Canada Council was in operation, with $34,500 distributed between ten journals of art, literature, poetry and culture.[17] Assistance was to be given for the production of special editions, to pay contributors, and to purchase copies for general distribution and for additional distribution if this would help secure advertising for the journal and extend its circulation. In this first cycle, arts journals were allocated a total of $22,300 with *Canadian Art* receiving $10,000 and *Vie des arts* $6,000; the other significant recipient of funding was *Tamarack Review*, a literary magazine, that received $3,000. Over the next 10 years, funding for visual arts periodicals – specifically *Canadian Art* and *Vie des arts* – would significantly outstrip monies allocated to other types of culture periodicals, strengthening the Council's view that "If art magazines like art books are, in

Malraux's phrase, museums without walls then *Canadian Art* and *Vie des arts* are two of our most important museums."[18] In line with other statements by the Canada Council regarding its mandate not to replace existing funding but to supplement it in accordance with high (viz international) standards, *Canadian Art* was praised after four years of funding for having "been transformed into a publication in which Canada may take pride, for it can now hold its own with similar publications anywhere in the world."[19]

In the early years, the Canada Council justified its investment in periodicals in several ways: periodicals were the most effective means of broadly disseminating information on Canadian art; they reached remote communities with no other access to visual arts; and in so doing they helped build national culture. In these aspirations, the Canada Council reiterated the opinion of the Royal Commission on Periodicals whose May 1961 report identified the crucial role of periodicals in supporting the development and dissemination of Canadian culture, "to bring a sense of oneness to our scattered communities."[20] Formed in September 1960 "to enquire into and make recommendations concerning the position of and prospects for Canadian magazines and periodicals,"[21] the Commission's sphere of enquiry addressed concerns that Canadians were overly exposed to publications that originated in the United States. Echoing earlier fears over the potentially deleterious effects of American radio and television programming, voiced in the 1929 and 1955 Royal Commissions on broadcasting[22] and the Massey Commission, the Royal Commission on Publications report argued that the solution was a strengthening of Canadian publishing, rather than a demonization of foreign-owned periodicals.[23] Nevertheless, the commissioners recognized the impact of American magazines on Canadian life:

> It is but necessary to note the veritable deluge of US publications submerging Canadian print on our newsstands to understand the magnitude and, in the past, the impossibility, of their task. So pervasive, indeed, is this penetration, so obviously fraught with social and economic consequences, no examination of any aspect of Canadian communications can fail to take it into account. Here, inescapably, is the stuff of national concern.[24]

The Canada Council's annual report for 1960–61 made frequent reference to the findings of the Royal Commission, and emphasized the "importance of a strong periodical press which can do much to bind the various elements of our diverse and attenuated population and to provide the substance and stimulus for an informed examination of all aspects of Canadian life."[25] A

quick examination of funding allocated to publications in the 1960s and 1970s reveals the Council's commitment to visual arts periodicals.

By 1965, *Canadian Art* was receiving $21,000 in funding from the Canada Council; when the publication rebranded itself as *artscanada* the following year, Council funding increased to $30,000, an amount that had doubled by 1970 and had doubled again to $130,000 by 1972. In 1976, it received an extraordinary $160,000 from the Canada Council – over 7.5 times the amount it had received only 10 years earlier. To put these numbers into the broader context of Council funding over this ten year period, when *Canadian Art* received $21,000 in 1965–66, *Vie des arts* obtained $17,000, meaning that these two art magazines were awarded the bulk of the $51,000 the Canada Council distributed to magazines that year. It is worth bearing in mind that the total funds distributed to the visual arts by the Council that year was $147,000, meaning that periodicals received a quarter of the funding available for the support of the visual arts. By 1975–76, when *Canadian Art*'s successor *artscanada* received $160,000, the Canada Council was funding 52 periodicals to a total amount of $888,018 – and of this total, half (at least $440,000) was going to visual arts magazines – thus cementing the agency's view of their ongoing centrality to culture building in Canada.

I've been focusing up to this point on *Canadian Art/artscanada* but by the 1970s, other visual arts magazines received funding as they emerged, reflecting the increased diversity of artistic production in Canada as well as the organizations supporting them. In 1975–76, funding went to *Cinema Canada* ($16,100) and *Cinéma Québec* ($18,200); *OVO Photo* ($27,500), *Séquences* ($9,000), and *Take One* ($11,000), as well as the more mainstream *artscanada* ($160,000) and *Vie des arts* ($92,400). The following years saw even more entries in the list of periodicals funded, including *Criteria* ($5,000 in 1977–78), *FILE* ($4,800 in 1977–78), *Parachute* ($30,000 in 1977–78),[26] and *Parallelogramme* ($3,637 in 1976–77). In 1981, *artscanada* lost its funding due to widespread perceptions that it was no longer responding to new directions in contemporary Canadian art, freeing money up for other magazines that more accurately represented the changing constituency of the country's visual arts scene.[27]

This lengthy account of the Canada Council's history of periodical funding in the 1960s and 1970s highlights several things: first, that the Canada Council valued periodicals in particular for their capacity to connect the visual arts to communities across the country. In the early years, this ability was described as central to "binding Canada's diverse and attenuated population" in large part because the small number of art publications in circulation – namely *Canadian Art* and *Vie des arts* – meant that these periodicals could create a national readership and constitute a common point
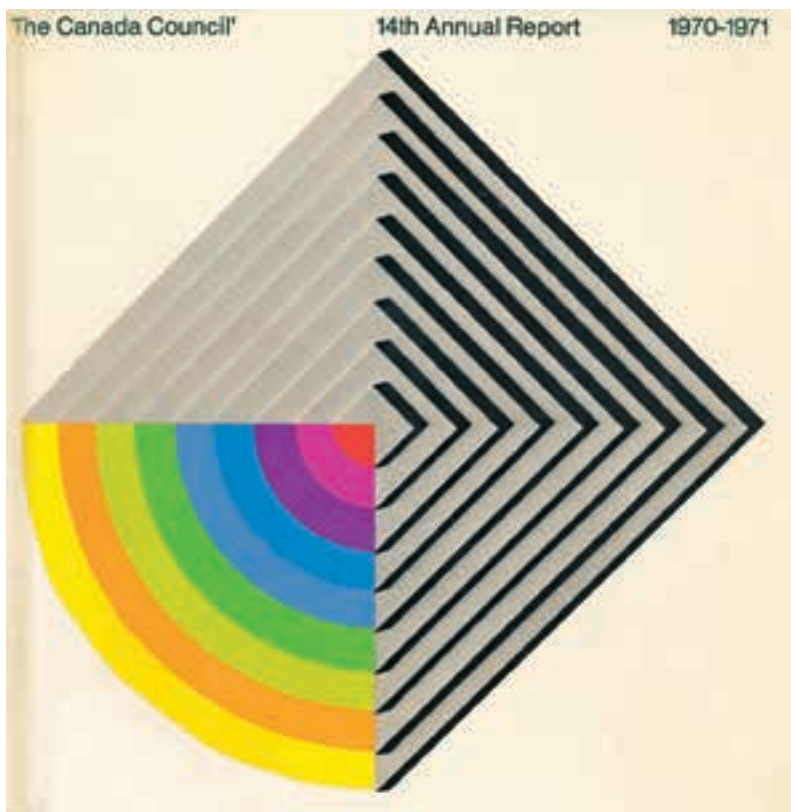
4 | Cover of the *Annual Report* of the Canada Council, 1970–1971. (Photo: author)

of reference. By the 1970s, as the number and range of journals expanded, the Council's rationale for supporting periodicals shifted from building *a* national culture to fostering the expansion of Canadian art practice across the country. Indeed, in the face of a reduced appropriation due to the impact of economic inflation, the 1974–75 *Annual Report* noted that periodicals in particular were feeling the pinch and argued that it would need significantly more funding to support "this essential component of a healthy arts community."[28] This shift reflects the larger changes in rhetoric at the Council, which by the 1970s was advocating the arts as enabling "self-expression" and furthering creativity and experimentation. By 1977, Council Chair Gertrude Laing responded to concerns that the agency was funding Quebec artists with separatist leanings by reiterating the arm's length principles on which the Council was established and asserting that it was not in the business of giving grants to "people of the separatist opinion or any other particular political faith."[29] Subsequent *Annual Reports* would reiterate the Council's independence, as well as its accountability to Parliament, to artists, as well as to the public, further distancing itself from any appearance of supporting federal goals of national identity or unity.

A second reason that the Canada Council was so enthusiastic in its support for publications is that periodicals, more than travel grants or aid to cultural institutions, fed into the Council's desires for concrete outcomes from the projects it funded. Periodicals were products: much like the Canada Council's own annual reports (Fig. 4), they were material documentation of activities – both the activities of artists in Canada (many of whom were also receiving Council travel and practice grants) and of the Council itself. Indeed, the annual reports of the Canada Council provide a fascinating overview not only of the development of contemporary art in Canada, but of the discussion around innovative and experimental approaches to art making that were occurring in the 1960s and 1970s. We see a glimpse of this focus on the new in the *Annual Report* of 1965–66 looking back on the Council's first eight years and contemplating the gains afforded by the influx of funds from the successful request for a regular parliamentary appropriation over and above the income from the original endowment. Characterizing its efforts as trying to "keep the avant-garde at least in sight," the Council complains that it "frequently experienc[es] the loneliness of the long-distance runner"[30] in its efforts to stay current. The avant-garde it was keeping in sight was revealed over the course of two meetings in 1966 called "Soundings" where Council staff and contemporary artists exchanged views on emerging developments in the visual arts and the ways that the Council could better support them.[31] Ideas raised during the meetings included shifting support for artists from individual fellowships to purchases of works of art and providing funds to facilitate mixed media practices – including asking the Council to use its influence to get artists into experimental laboratories and industry facilities.[32] Less than two years later, funding for Vancouver's Intermedia began, touted in the 1968–69 *Annual Report* as the Council's "most important undertaking in experimental areas . . . [that] gives embodiment to the long felt desire of many artists to bring the different arts together."[33] The Council's funding of Intermedia is often viewed as a pivotal moment in the establishment of artist-run culture in Canada[34] and indeed that year, the Council also funded new print ateliers in Montreal, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, as well as an experimental foundry in Montreal. But the same annual report also noted $642,000 of funding going to public art galleries, mostly in support of library collections, photographic and cataloguing facilities, and conservation labs, as well as educational and experimental activities; this level of support suggests that the Council believed that traditional art galleries continued to play a formative role in the development of contemporary art in Canada. Telling of the Council's combined approach is the photograph of Les Levine's environment *Slipcover: A Place*, shown at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1966, reproduced on page 57 of the 1966–67 *Annual Report* and intended to picture

5 | Pages 56–57 of the *Annual Report* of the Canada Council, 1966–1967, featuring a photograph of Les Levine, *Slipcover: A Place*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario. With permission of Les Levine. (Photo: author)

the Council's advocacy of experimental work in the visual arts (Fig. 5). Reflecting on the history of artist-run culture, AA Bronson would refer to the policies of the Canada Council during this period as "inspired and future-oriented"[35] and argued that the patterns of Council funding – particularly in the visual arts – indicated a willingness to endorse experimentation and risk to a degree not seen in other national contexts. The analysis in Bronson's important volume *From Sea to Shining Sea* captures both the achievements of the Council during this period and the positive reaction of Canadian artists to the agency's support for fledgling, sometimes ad-hoc, organizations:

> [The Canada Council's] ability to adapt to artists' needs and to support
> new forms is legendary in the visual arts: the Visual Arts Section

has funded every form of hybrid, interdisciplinary and experimental activity, even outside its own disciplines. . . . When artist-initiated organizations began to appear in the mid to late 60s it was the Canada Council Visual Arts Section, then in the person of David Silcox, who actively encouraged and funded them. Otherwise, it is doubtful that the established network of artist-run centres we have today would exist.[36]

The hybrid and experimental activity of these new organizations produced different kinds of publications and the artists' magazines that emerged from the early 1970s onwards constituted a clear signal of the desire to reproduce in printed form the critical perspectives of artist-run centres across the country – whether or not they were officially linked with any of these centres. Running the gamut from photocopied newsletters to more slick publications such as *Only Paper Today* and *FILE*, these periodicals functioned as much as informational documents of ongoing activities as manifestos for a new way of thinking about contemporary art.[37] Reviewing the recent appearance of *Only Paper Today* and *Parachute* in *Quill and Quire* in 1976, Paul Stuewe praised their ability to engender critical debate around contemporary art before concluding that both periodicals "exhibit their contents in forms that are intrinsically attractive as well as appropriate to their respective messages."[38] Russell Keziere similarly argued for the importance of criticality in contemporary art writing in his analysis of what he describes as "the proliferation of art periodicals in Canada."[39] For Keziere, whose overview ranged from "glossies" like *artscanada* and *Vie des arts*, and house organs of such disparate art institutions as Arton in Calgary (*Centrefold,* precursor to *Fuse*) and the Vancouver Art Gallery (*Vanguard*), to independent magazines *Parachute* and *Criteria*, the most successful art publications in the country were those that took risks, remained true to their readership, and actively sought to stimulate discussion and debate. All funded by the Canada Council, which described them as "articulate trade magazines" for the new "parallel" galleries,[40] these periodicals quickly developed their own identity and established themselves as important voices in contemporary art production in Canada, eventually working independently of, though often in parallel with, the artist-run centres that had created them. The Council's aim to build a strong culture of visual arts periodical publishing appears to have been successful.

If periodicals are fundamental instruments for the regular and continuous dissemination of information on art, exhibition catalogues provide in-depth explorations of artistic activities and function as long-term records of temporary events. Early Canada Council funding went to catalogues of

museum and gallery collections or to the production of brochures or small booklets to accompany tours of art society exhibitions – the Canadian Group of Painters, for example, received $1,500 in 1958–59 to produce a catalogue and to assist with an exhibition that circulated to the Vancouver Art Gallery and the London Public Library and Museum; the catalogue was a small 6-page document listing artists' names and the titles of works on display. The Canada Council's annual report for that year addressed more broadly the policy for assisting organizations presenting the visual arts, indicating that it would focus its funding on those projects that could be described as "'extension activities' which go beyond the more passive function of showing a permanent collection."[41] Support for extension activities included the regional circulation of exhibitions, the development of slide collections in larger galleries, assisting with children's art classes, and the production of catalogues of works of art in Canadian galleries and museums "where it can be shown that they are of more than local significance and are of a standard to justify distribution abroad."[42] Indeed, like its funding for periodicals, the Canada Council's support for exhibition catalogues was closely tied to their dissemination function, their ability to increase knowledge of Canadian art nationally and internationally, and their success in giving greater visibility to the work of Canadian artists. Over the course of the 1960s, this interest in dissemination grew in importance: where Council funding in the late 1950s and 1960s had heavily supported individual artists, by 1970 grants to senior artists had been eliminated in order to ensure subsidy to all the Council's programs. Funding to public art institutions as well as artist-run centres can also be understood as part of a larger rationale for the importance of dissemination activities, the Council recognizing the different audiences each organization could reach. In the same 1969–70 report that praised the VAG's satellite exhibition space The Racetrack Gallery for its experimental way of presenting art to residents of Vancouver's East End, the Council also argued that even in a time of austerity there was a need for federal operating grants to public art institutions, noting that "Canada's art galleries and museums have been the most aggressive cultural institutions in the process of diffusion and democratization of the arts."[43] Although such diffusion was not solely to be achieved through exhibition catalogues, these were important elements of the Council's broader plan of support to contemporary Canadian art.

A similar rationale for the value of diffusion and democratization can also be found in the funding programs of the federal National Museums Corporation (NMC), whose subsidy of museum activities outside of Ottawa was strongly oriented towards outreach and extension. It is interesting to note that the term "democratization" appears yet again in this context. Established under the Trudeau Liberals in 1972, the NMC's National Museums Policy

(NMP) operated under the ideological umbrella of "democratization and decentralization" to enable the broader circulation of the national collections to all parts of the country. In the words of Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier, who implemented the policy, the NMP would allow objects "hidden away in the equivalents of basements and attics" of the National Museums to be "dusted off and sent out for display to the people who owned them."[44] A second aim of the NMP was to assist regional institutions to expand their programming and to play a larger role in disseminating culture to smaller organizations in surrounding communities. Extension and education programs were the key components of democratization and decentralization, and significant funding was distributed to museums and galleries to produce touring exhibitions, the majority of which were destined for the smaller institutions in each region. Catalogues played an important role in the NMP, clear evidence of the circulation of cultural objects and knowledge throughout the country, and a means of further increasing that circulation through their status as published records available for sale in museum book and gift shops, as well as through the offices of the NMC.[45]

Although a financial boon to many regional museums, the NMP was often criticized for its emphasis on extension activities and the claim that such a focus – and the attendant funding – came at the expense of the development and maintenance of museums' own collections because human and financial resources were almost entirely diverted to galleries' extension services. Commenting on funding received from the National Museums Corporation for the travelling exhibition *Certain Traditions*, Edmonton Art Gallery director Terry Fenton complained:

> [I]t becomes apparent that NMC funding is a curse as well as a blessing. Their insistence that organizing galleries charge no fees to participating galleries disrupts the marketplace. It also means that organizing galleries are unable to recoup production overruns by charging participants. Their insistence upon fully bilingual catalogues (not just translated inserts) even when exhibitions do not travel to French speaking areas creates an additional expense and complicates catalogue productions enormously.[46]

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria director Roger Boulet also regretted that federal funding was so closely earmarked for extension services, noting that the gallery's ability to develop its own programming had been constrained by the NMP's policies of democratization and decentralization.[47]

By the early 1980s, funding patterns for exhibition catalogues shifted once again as the Canada Council and the NMC realigned their priorities

and moved to a project-based funding model that allowed art institutions of any stripe – artist-run centre or museum – to compete for support of exhibitions. In addition, the two agencies determined to decrease instances of double-dipping by orienting Canada Council funding exclusively towards contemporary art projects and keeping NMC funding (since 1972 located within the Museums Assistance Program) for exhibitions of historical interest. What had once been a means of making art more accessible to a broad public became mired in bureaucratic restrictions, and art institutions that had once hailed the Canada Council for its "forward thinking and experimental outlook" now found themselves struggling to shape their activities to better fit federal funding models. For the Edmonton Art Gallery, whose contemporary art exhibitions remained committed to the exploration of modernist painting and sculptural practices, the policy shift resulted in a significant decrease in funding that the institution rationalized as evidence that the Canada Council, through its jury system, was "playing curator of contemporary art for Canada."[48] By contrast, artist-run centres were able to leverage the new funding structures to develop exhibitions that often rivalled the programming of larger museum institutions, in the process establishing themselves as the guiding figures in contemporary Canadian art. The catalogue for the 1987 exhibition *From Sea to Shining Sea: Artist-initiated Activity in Canada 1939– 1987* underscores this role. Curated by AA Bronson, with essays chronicling regional developments by Glenn Lewis, Peggy Gale, and René Blouin, as well as an essay on video art by Renée Baert and Bronson's lament for the corporatization of artist-run culture, "The Humiliation of the Bureaucrat," *From Sea to Shining Sea* provides an overview of artistic activity in Canada that unwittingly recalls "Coast to Coast in Art," *Canadian Art*'s feature from the 1940s and 1950s. The 1987 catalogue, however, offers a detailed chronicle of Canadian artists' reaction *against* the mainstream art world from John Lyman's founding of the Contemporary Arts Society in 1939 to the release of *Infermental VI* and the exhibition *Canadian Holography in Kingston*, both 1987; the chronology also cements the fundamental role of artist-run centres – less visible in the pages of *Canadian Art/artscanada* – in the writing of contemporary Canadian art history. That such a narrative was impossible without federal government funding is evident in the frequent references to such programmes as Opportunities for Youth (OFY) and Local Initiatives Programme (LIP) throughout the volume, as well as the presentation of graphs in Appendix A documenting Canada Council support to artist-run centres from 1972 to 1987. Itself funded by various levels of government including the Canada Council as well as by private and corporate sponsors, *From Sea to Shining Sea* remains one of the most important sources of information about Canadian art but also reminds us of the continuing relevance of government

funding for the support of the visual arts in Canada and argues for a return to the days when the Canada Council was praised for its "future-oriented" outlook and its willingness to endorse experimentation.

NOTES

1 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1963–64, 11. Copies of all the annual reports issued by the Canada Council are available on its website: http://canadacouncil.ca/council/about-the-council/annual-reports.

2 Alexander ALBERRO and Nora M. ALTER, "Introduction," in *Parachute: The Anthology (1975–2000) Museums, Art History and Theory*, vol. 1, ed. Chantal Pontbriand (JRP/Ringier & Les Presses du réel, 2012).

3 Lon Dubinsky conducts an exemplary analysis of *Parachute* (and three other Canadian art magazines) in his unpublished doctoral dissertation "Canadian Visual Art Magazines as Cultural Formations," McGill University, 1991. It is worth noting that *Parachute* was the recipient of significant funding from the Canada Council as well as the Conseil des arts du Québec.

4 This essay will only focus on federal funding strategies and will not address provincial or municipal funding of arts publications. For the most part, provincial art agencies directed their funding to the support of artists and to arts organizations tasked with making artwork accessible across provincial territories. Municipalities have a long history of providing in-kind support to arts organizations in the form of rental subsidies and operating costs. Until the mid-1970s, the dollar amount of federal arts funding consistently outpaced provincial and municipal funding, with the significant exception of Quebec's ministère des Affaires culturelles, established in 1961 and providing extensive funding to artists, arts organizations, and publications. For an account of provincial and federal arts funding in western Canada, see my *Spaces and Places for Art: Making Art Institutions in Western Canada, 1912–1990* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, forthcoming); for the origins of Quebec's Ministry of Cultural Affairs, see Fernand HARVEY, "Georges-Émile Lapalme et la politique culturelle du Québec: genèse, projet et désillusion," *Les Cahiers des dix* 64 (2010): 1–46. Harvey notes that Quebec's funding body was modelled on the arm's length tradition of the Canada Council, while inspiration for the creation of a ministry of cultural affairs came from André Malraux's establishment of the same in France in 1959. HARVEY, "Georges-Émile Lapalme et la politique culturelle du Québec," 14.

5 Sandra PAIKOWSKY, "'From Away': The Carnegie Corporation, Walter Abell and American Strategies for Art in the Maritimes from the 1920s to the 1940s," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 27 (2006): 36–75; Kirk NEIRGARTH, "Missionary for Culture: Walter Abell, *Maritime Art*, and Cultural Democracy, 1928–1944," *Acadiensis* 36:1 (Autumn 2006): 3–28.

6 Both the National Library and the Canada Council for the Arts came directly out of the Massey Commission's 1951 recommendations. The Report also identified the National Gallery of Canada, the National Film Board, and the CBC (among other

federally-funded institutions) as central to the maintenance and dissemination of a national culture to the regions. I examine this in greater length with particular reference to western Canada in *Spaces and Places for Art.*

7 Original subscribers to *Canadian Art* were the Vancouver Art Gallery, the Art Association of Montreal, and the Art Gallery of Toronto. Founded in 1931, the Vancouver Art Gallery was particularly eager to establish itself as a key art institution nationally and viewed sponsorship of the magazine as facilitating that goal. Minutes of the Vancouver Art Gallery Council meeting, 16 Oct. 1943, Vancouver Art Gallery Council Minutes, 12 May 1941 – 28 Apr. 1946, VAG fonds, VAG Archives.

8 Rumoured candidates included NGC curator of prints and drawings Kathleen Fenwick, whose suitability was questioned by FCA President Lawren Harris. Writing to Frederic Taylor, he argued: "Walter [Abell] states that Miss Fenwick would be just the wrong person to take over the Editorship. Harry McC[urry] suggested her name to me. So we must be prepared to kill that idea." Lawren Harris to Frederic Taylor, 18 June 1944, Federation of Canadian Artists papers, Queen's University Archives, Box 1. Both Harris and Taylor were keen to see Robert Ayre appointed as *Canadian Art*'s editor.

9 Louise Moreau, "Making Art Modern: The First Decade of *Vie des arts* magazine and its Contribution to the Discourse on the Visual Arts in the 1950s and 1960s" (MA thesis, Concordia University, 1977), 32.

10 Robert Graham, "Understanding *artscanada*: History, Practice, and Idea" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1988), 54.

11 "A Survey of Contemporary Art Magazines," *Studio International* 192:983 (September/October 1976): 177.

12 Greg Curnoe, "Feet of Clay Planted Firmly in USA," *Canadian Forum* 61:661 (May 1976): 9–11. Specifically, Curnoe was criticizing Brodzky for asking an American writer, Dale McConathy, to assess the state of Canadian culture for the "Canadian Cultural Revolution: An Appraisal of the Politics and Economics of Art" issue of *artscanada* (32:200/201 [Autumn 1975]).

13 Louise Moreau suggests that Andrée Paradis's appointment to the Canada Council in its first year was instrumental to *Vie des arts*'s early survival. Paradis wrote for the magazine from its inception and served as its editor-in-chief from 1964 until her death in 1986. Moreau, "Making Art Modern" 37.

14 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1957–58, 18.

15 In a speech to the Canadian Conference for the Arts (CCA) *Seminar '65* conference, the Canada Council's Assistant Director, Arts, Peter Dwyer, noted that it was less a question of raise OR spread, but of doing both. By 1965, this statement was accompanied by the assertion that the only way such a policy could be achieved was in cooperation with private interests and with stronger financial support from provincial and municipal governments. "Some Present Problems of Subsidy" a talk given by Peter Dwyer to the CCA Seminar '65 conference in Sainte-Adèle, QC, 20 Jan. 1965. Reprinted in the Canada Council *Annual Report* for 1964–65, 91.

16 In its 1962–63 *Annual Report*, the Council emphasized the disparity in provincial and municipal funding for the arts, noting that where Quebec had allocated $375,000 in 1961, the rest of the provinces combined had only spent $195,000; municipally, Montreal's contribution consisted of $220,000 of the total $540,000 spent by Canadian municipalities on the visual and performing arts.

17 The other journals were *Canadian Geographical Journal* ($30,000 over three years); *Écrits du Canada français* ($3,000); *Emourie* ($2,000); *Tamarack Review* ($3,000); *The Canadian Music Journal* ($5,000); *The Fiddlehead* ($1,500 over three years); and *The Phoenix* ($2,000).

18 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1964–65, 13.

19 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1960–61, 3.

20 Canada, Royal Commission on Publications, *Report*, 1961, 6.

21 Excerpt from Order in Council P.C. 1960–1270, cited in ibid., i.

22 The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (The Aird Commission), 1929, and the Royal Commission on Broadcasting (The Fowler Commission), 1955.

23 Identifying the problem as one of economies of scale, the federal government implemented several policies designed to assist the Canadian periodical press, including changes to the Income Tax Act in 1965 that disallowed deductions to American publishing companies for advertising directed at Canadian consumers in foreign-owned publications and further amending the Income Tax Act in 1975 to target the Canadian editions of *Time* and *Reader's Digest* that had both been exempt from the 1965 ruling. See Lon Dubinsky, "Periodical Publishing," in *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies, and Prospects*, ed. Michael Dorland (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1996), 35–59.

24 Royal Commission on Publications, *Report*, 6.

25 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1961–62, 16.

26 In 1982–83, *Parachute* received $143,750 in funding.

27 Lon Dubinsky cites former Canada Council employee Luc Jutras who commented in 1986 that the Council "had the courage to eliminate magazines that clearly were not serving the arts community. *artscanada* is an example. The community just could not take it any longer. With this money we helped *Vanguard*, *Fuse*, a whole range of publications which to an extent were suffering from the largesse of the Canada Council vis a vis *artscanada*." Luc Jutras, "Report of the Canada Council's Programme of Aid for Promotion Campaign of Periodicals," *Canadian Periodical Publishers Association Newsletter*, 42, 6; Dubinsky, "Canadian Visual Art Magazines," 85.

28 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1974–75, 83.

29 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1976–77, x.

30 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1965–66, 5.

31 Continuing with the military theme of the avant-garde, the impetus for Soundings was described in the Council's *Annual Report* as follows: "We have been concerned at the present time of change in the arts that our distant early warning system of new needs should not become insensitive. We have therefore begun to use some of our new funds, and the additional staff they have brought with them, to spread our germ welfare into neglected areas so that the Council can continue to work and plan effectively. We started last year in the field of the visual arts by a flanking manoeuvre around the tired and untrue to bring us into a more lively encounter with artists themselves and to find out how they live and work." Ibid., 6.

32 Ibid., 7.

33 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1968–69, 34.

34 See Keith Wallace, "A Particular History: Artist-run Centres in Vancouver" in *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver:

Talon Books, 1989), 23–44; Scott WATSON, ed., *Intertidal: Vancouver Art and Artists* (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2005).

35 AA BRONSON, ed., "Introduction," in *From Sea to Shining Sea* (Toronto: The Power Plant, 1987), 13.

36 BRONSON, "Chronology of Artist-initiated Activity in Canada, 1939–1987," in ibid., 24.

37 For an in-depth discussion of the role of artists' magazines in the formation of contemporary art, see Gwen ALLEN, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

38 Paul STUEWE, "Small Magazines," *Quill and Quire* 42:10 (August 1976): 21.

39 Russell KEZIERE, "Cdn Art Mags: Implications and Consequences of the Proliferation of Art Periodicals in Canada," *Criteria* 3:3 (1977): 9.

40 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1976–77, xii.

41 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1958–59, 23.

42 Ibid., 24.

43 The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1969–70, 77. The following year, the Racetrack Gallery was replaced by The Satellite Gallery and, as the Council retrospectively noted in its 1970–71 *Annual Report*, "with [the Council's] assistance offered still more opportunities for adults and children from all parts of the city to express themselves in a number of informal workshops." The Canada Council, *Annual Report* 1970–71, 10. The Satellite Gallery was described by the Vancouver Art Gallery as a "Gallery Without Walls," and shared premises with Intermedia in a deconsecrated church on the corner of 1st Avenue and Semlin. Minutes of the Board of the Vancouver Art Gallery, 17 September 1970. Vancouver Art Gallery fonds, Vancouver Art Gallery Archives.

44 National Museums of Canada, *Annual Report* 1973–74, 4.

45 The NMC had a Marketing Services Division that coordinated the distribution and sale of all publications produced by the National Museums. In addition to bookstores in the National Museums, publications would have been available by mail order and through independent bookstores.

46 "The Edmonton Art Gallery Mandate" document produced for Future Directors Workshop for Board of the EAG in c. 1985. Edmonton Art Gallery Board of Trustees files.

47 Roger BOULET, *Plan for Development*, submitted to the Board of Governors of the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1979, 67.

48 Edmonton Art Gallery, Summary of Program Grants and Project Grants for the Board of Governors of the Edmonton Art Gallery, 3 June 1985. Art Gallery of Alberta, Edmonton Art Gallery Files.

RÉSUMÉ

« Sans croissance, votre chien est mort vous êtes fini » : le financement des publications artistiques au Canada des années 1940 aux années 1980

ANNE WHITELAW

La dispersion géographique de la population canadienne et la relative rareté des institutions artistiques jusque dans les années 1950 ont été des obstacles de taille à la diffusion généralisée des connaissances sur les arts visuels au Canada. Des publications comme *Canadian Art*, fondée en 1943, et son ancêtre, *Maritime Art*, créée en 1940, ont joué un rôle de premier plan en donnant à l'art une visibilité auprès des Canadiens, à une époque où les journaux et magazines d'intérêt public avaient une portée plutôt locale, et où les institutions artistiques – à l'exception notable de la Galerie nationale du Canada (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada) – en étaient encore au stade de l'élaboration de la programmation et ne disposaient pas des ressources financières ou humaines nécessaires pour faire connaître leurs activités. La création, en 1957, du Conseil des arts du Canada a permis une diffusion plus systématique de l'information sur les arts dans l'ensemble du pays grâce à la publication de ses rapports annuels. En accordant des subventions pour les catalogues d'exposition dans le cadre du financement à plus large échelle des expositions temporaires (alors largement négligées par les organismes de financement fédéraux et provinciaux) et en finançant les périodiques, le Conseil des arts a également favorisé l'accroissement du nombre et de la portée des publications sur l'art au Canada. Le présent essai établit les recoupements entre les éditions sur les arts visuels et le financement par le gouvernement fédéral canadien depuis les années 1940 jusqu'aux années 1980. L'accent sur le financement met en évidence les difficultés des professionnels des arts visuels du Canada à rendre leurs œuvres visibles à un public national et international, ainsi que l'influence des organisations fédérales et des politiques sur les arts visuels au Canada dans les années 1960 et 1970. Les programmes du Conseil des arts du Canada ont contribué de façon inestimable à élargir les connaissances et l'expertise des artistes canadiens grâce aux voyages, et aidé les organismes voués aux arts à acquérir et à faire connaître les œuvres d'artistes canadiens contemporains. D'autres initiatives de financement fédérales, y compris les sommes d'argent utilisées pour appuyer les programmes lancés dans le cadre de la *Politique nationale des musées de 1972*, ont secondé les projets de publication d'artistes et d'organismes

canadiens, notamment en encourageant les institutions à réaliser des catalogues d'exposition comme prolongement de leurs activités. Même si ces programmes se sont en définitive montrés efficaces pour soutenir la diffusion de l'information sur l'art contemporain au Canada, contribuant ainsi à son essor, la comptabilisation des allocations de fonds effectuées au fil des années démontre que le financement des premières décennies se concentrait sur les publications d'envergure, comme *Canadian Art* et *Vie des arts*, qui étaient perçues comme plus à même d'unifier le pays. Cependant, alors qu'il cherchait de plus en plus à appuyer une plus grande expérimentation dans les arts – ainsi que de nouveaux programmes fédéraux pour les musées – le Conseil des arts du Canada a adopté, dans les années 1980, un modèle de financement des projets qui a favorisé l'émergence de publications novatrices de plus petite envergure, comme *FILE* et *Criteria*. Grâce en partie au financement du Conseil des arts du Canada, ces périodiques ont rapidement affirmé leur identité et sont devenus d'importantes voix de l'art contemporain au Canada, finissant par travailler indépendamment – bien que souvent en parallèle – des centres d'artistes autogérés qui les avaient lancés.

WO

Canadian
Indian
Cultural
Magazine

Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine (1970–1981)

SHERRY FARRELL RACETTE

The word "Tawow", in the language of the Cree, means "there is room" or "Welcome" – in this first issue of the magazine, this means welcome to all Indian people who want to write.[1]

With these words, editor Jean Cuthand Goodwill greeted the readers of Canada's first Indigenous cultural magazine. The 1970 launch of *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine* marked a remarkable shift in Canadian policy, but as a young reader I had limited awareness of its significance. Now, forty-five years after *Tawow*'s debut and thirty-five years after it ceased publication, I still have six dog-eared copies I have hauled from one end of the country to the other. Over the years, I have made conscious choices to not only keep them, but take them with me, packing them in boxes, moving them from home to home, office to studio, and back again. Most recently they moved from Montreal to Winnipeg, where they now hold pride of place in a growing Contemporary Aboriginal Art History Archive Project.[2] They are old friends and I enjoy revisiting the stories and images, but the movement of Indigenous art history into the academy (and me along with it) has caused me to reevaluate *Tawow*'s value to contemporary scholars, curators and students. Once current, it is now an archive – an invaluable, albeit small window into a decade of emergence.

The 1960s was marked by a radical shift in Canada's "Indian" policy. Since Confederation, federal administration of the *Indian Act* and the lands and people under its jurisdiction was the responsibility of "Indian Affairs." Initially an independent department (1880–1936) and later an "Indian Affairs Branch" that shifted from one department to another, it became the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1966. In 1951, a new edition of the *Indian Act* quietly deleted its most oppressive sections, specifically those that criminalized religious and cultural practices and restricted movement and freedom of association.[3] Residential school attendance was still mandatory, but a legislative framework for the integration

Detail, cover of *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine* 3:1 (1972). Wilma Simon painting, courtesy of Wilma Simon. (Photo: author)

of First Nations children into provincial school systems was in place and, in some provinces, tentatively underway.[4] In 1958, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker appointed James Gladstone, a Cree/Kainai rancher and politician from Alberta to the Senate, and in 1960 the right to vote in federal elections was extended to First Nations who lived under the *Indian Act*.[5] In 1966, the country stood poised to celebrate its centennial and a new unit within the Department of Indian Affairs was to play a role.

Tawow was an initiative of the Cultural Development unit in the newly created Division of Social and Cultural Development. Established as part of a departmental reorganization in 1968, the division originated in the Cultural Affairs Section (est. 1965).[6] Tom "Jobin" Peltier (Anishinaabe), a cultural advisor in Lester B. Pearson's Liberal government, played a key role in creating space for First Nations arts within the department.[7] The Canadian Centennial provided further impetus, and Peltier's vision of an Indians of Canada pavilion at Expo '67 was the program's first major project.[8] After almost a century of forced assimilation and hyper-control, the Canadian state, rather abruptly, now wished to celebrate and promote the cultural expressions it had so enthusiastically attempted to eradicate.

The annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs placed the launch of *Tawow* within the context of its program of support for visual artists. In addition to participation in Expo '67, the Cultural Development Section had acquired artworks, organized exhibitions, and facilitated the production of films. In 1968, the program expanded to include writers. According to the 1970 *Annual Report*, the section "co-operated with private publishers, purchased manuscripts" and provided publicity for authors.[9] Anticipating the launch of the magazine, the report declared, "the Indian spokesman will now be able to reach the Canadian public as a whole. For poets, short story writers and historians, a new magazine 'Tawow' is to be launched on a quarterly basis in the spring of 1970."[10]

"A Chance to Express Themselves": *Tawow*'s First Year

The press release issued by Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs, stated: "Indian people must have a chance to express themselves . . . Very few people of Indian ancestry are acclaimed as authors and there is a great need for giving these people a medium through which they can express their ideas."[11] The public stance of the Department of Indian Affairs was one of apparent amnesia regarding the relationship between government policy and the marginalization of the people under their jurisdiction. However, their intentions for the new Cultural Section were ambitious, with the goal
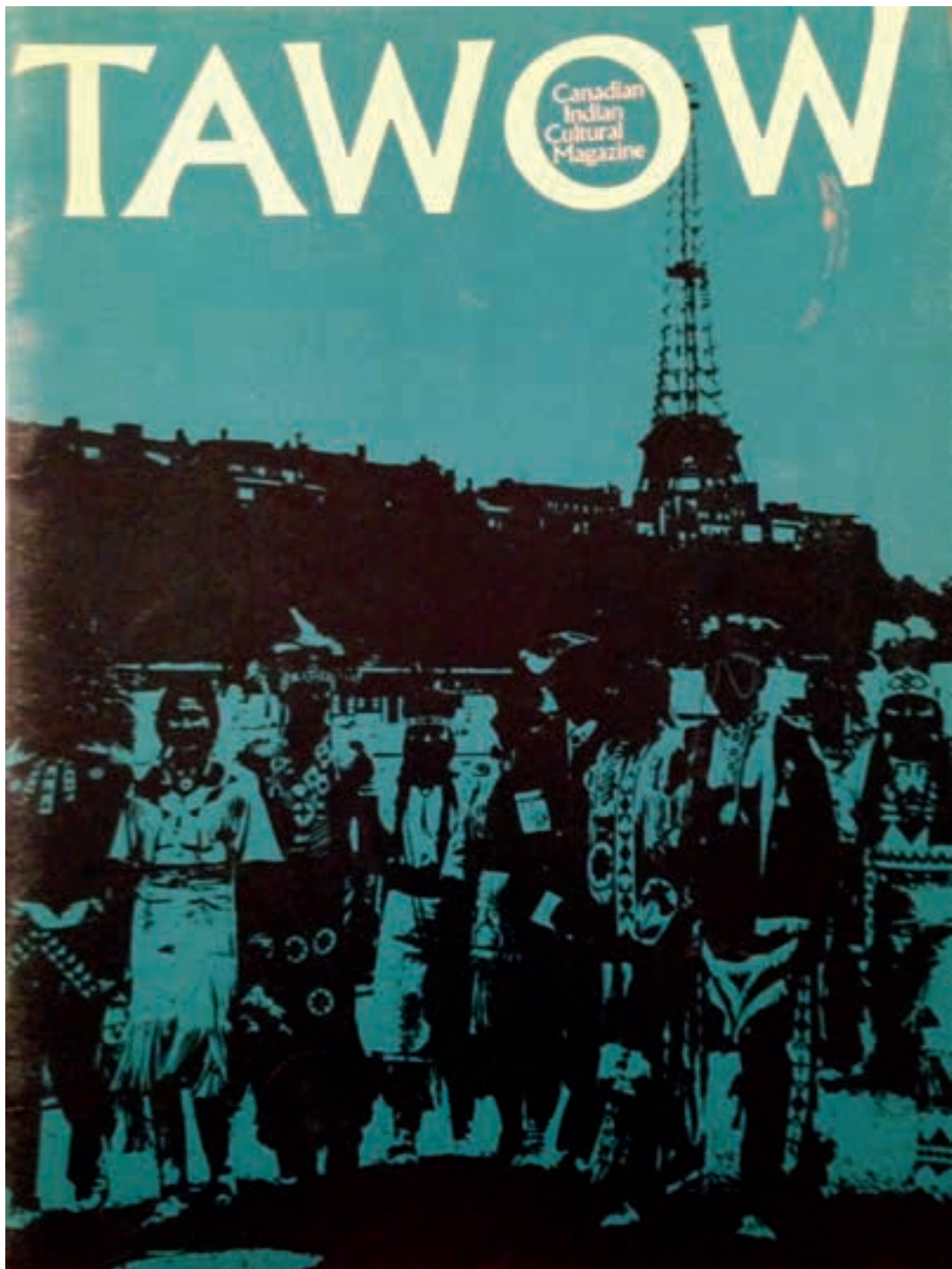
1 | First issue of *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine* (Spring 1970). Canadian Prairie Indian Dance Troupe in Paris. Among the dancers are Jean Cuthand Goodwill, *Tawow*'s first editor, her husband Ken Goodwill, and brothers Wilfred and Gordon Tootoosis. (Photo: courtesy of Okiysikaw Tyrone Tootoosis)

2 | The Canadian Prairie Indian Dance Troupe, Paris, 1970. (Photo: courtesy of Okiysikaw Tyrone Tootoosis)

of hiring as many First Nations people as possible. They found *Tawow*'s first editor among their own employees.

Jean Goodwill, a former nurse and health activist employed by the Department of Indian Affairs, moved from co-editing the department publication *Indian News* (1954–82) to become *Tawow*'s first editor. The early issues reflect the network of individuals and groups she could draw upon to provide content. The inaugural issue's cover featured a bold high-contrast photograph of smiling men and women wearing traditional dress with the Eiffel Tower in the background (Fig. 1). Printed in deep turquoise with bold white text, the pop-influenced design announced the vibrancy and relevance of Indigenous cultural practice. The group, one discovers in the feature article, is the Canadian Prairie Indian Dance Troupe on their whirlwind European tour, where they performed at festivals and museums (Fig. 2). The twenty-three dancers were "Cree, Sioux, Saulteaux, Peigan and Blood" from Saskatchewan and Alberta, including Jean and her husband Ken Goodwill.[12] Individuals who played key roles in cultural survival and revitalization can be found among the dancers – John Tootoosis, Joe Saddleback, Wayne Goodwill, Vivian Ayoungman, Bill Piegan, and Gordon, Wilfred, and Irene Tootoosis –

embodying the resilient knowledge that endured criminalization to receive a standing ovation at the International Folklore Dance Festival.

This was Jean Goodwill's family network – Cree by birth, Dakota through marriage. She was born on Little Pine in 1928, a Cree reserve in western Saskatchewan. Her maiden name was Cuthand, as she had been adopted and raised by her mother's sister, Harriet Cuthand. Her father was John Tootoosis, a longtime political organizer and leader. It was a rich lineage that demanded excellence and strength. Jean was the first Aboriginal nurse in Saskatchewan, graduating in 1954, but she was equally committed to cultural continuity.[13] Dancing with her that summer, along with her husband and brother-in-law, were her brothers, Wilfred and Gordon Tootoosis, and her father. As descendants of Chief Poundmaker's brother, the blanket of resistance had fallen upon their shoulders.[14]

Throughout the 1930s, the Department of Indian Affairs tried to restrict John Tootoosis's travel in order to halt his activism and political organizing. The Catholic Church had threatened to excommunicate him for the same reason.[15] In 1966 Wilfred had fought vigorously to save the Buffalo Child Stone, a sacred site in Saskatchewan.[16] Gordon was part of the emerging Indigenous theatre movement, and would become one of Canada's best recognized actors.[17] The songs they sang had been outlawed until 1951. Now, the Department of External Affairs funded their triumphant tour. None of this is stated explicitly in the article, but the captions underneath the photographs of dancers in regalia posed along the Seine River, women in white buckskin dresses, a spinning hoop dancer, and men around the drum, state their names. Readers could smile with recognition.

Other Saskatchewan connections appear in the first issue. Lecturer and activist Mary Ann Lavallee from Cowessess wrote "Yesterday's Indian Woman," a tribute to the grandmothers who "had to be tough. She was bone and sinew; she was stout of heart . . . because of her we are able to sit here today."[18] "Tahahsheena Rugs," an article about a rug hooking co-operative on Standing Buffalo, included a rare interpretation of Dakota imagery.[19] The first issue emerged from Goodwill's prairie network and experiences. It is celebratory with subtle political overtones.

The second issue has a gatefold cover with an Arthur Shilling painting wrapped around the front and back and a short essay about the artist on the fold. The issue introduced a recurring design element, a signature of coloured matte paper that became the space for creative writing where featured short stories, poetry, and retold legends were visually distinct from the glossy white of the other pages. The section is further set apart by a title page. Under the header "Tawow," the words for "story" in Abenaki, Ojibwe, Montagnais, Mi'kmaw, Cree, Dakota, and Mohawk were listed in bold typeface above

the table of contents. The signature was in the middle of the magazine, with articles, interviews, and book reviews on either side. The first one was a soft golden tan; later insertions were similar earthy shades of green or brown.

The editorial in the second issue offered a sharp critique of the recently released film, *A Man Called Horse* (1970) starring Richard Harris. Describing the final scene, Goodwill writes, "He rides out of the battle as the hero. So what else is new?" She goes on to declare, "For many years we have been saying – We have heroes too. Men who lead and guided in all honesty with dedicated spirits, braving the elements and change, under adverse conditions. Surely in this century the film industry could begin making a sincere effort to depict the true history . . . Maybe it's time we became script writers?"[20]

In addition to the signature of creative writing, the second issue included articles on leadership, early Indigenous writing systems, a short feature on a new CBC radio program, a book review, and an excerpt from a soon-to-be published manuscript written by ninety-eight-year-old Dan Kennedy, a Nakoda elder from Saskatchewan. A report on the "First National Indian Cultural Conference" held in Ottawa provides a glimpse into the early work of people whose contributions are legendary: Simon Baker (Squamish, 1910–2001), Ahab Spence (Cree, 1911–2001), Smith Atimoyoo (Cree, 1915–1998), Adam Cuthand (Cree, 1913–1994), Gerald Tailfeathers (Kainai, 1925–1975), Eli Taylor (Dakota, 1905–1997), Dorothy Francis (Saulteaux, 1912–1990), Ernest Benedict (Mohawk, 1918–2011), Harold Cardinal (Cree, 1945–2005), Max Gros Louis (Huron-Wendat), and Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki) to name only a few.

Under the subheadings "Is Culture a Word or a Reality?" "Languishing Languages Are a Major Concern," and "Self-Identity through Self-Expression," the report summarizes the discussions. Participant concerns and priorities have echoed down through decades of similar gatherings but here, the memories of cultural repression are still raw, as seen in Smith Atimoyoo and Eli Taylor's advocacy for traditional dance and ceremony. The loan of a drum to conference delegates from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Band was a symbolic act that caused the author to reflect, "It seemed like only yesterday that the R.C.M.P. received orders to confiscate drums . . . in an attempt to ban some ceremonial functions . . . This gesture was well received by all."[21]

In the third and final issue of the first year, Goodwill's editorial reiterated the need for Indigenous writers to respond to the lack of non-stereotypical and culturally grounded texts, and the growing audience for such material. To the magazine's contributors she wrote, "You are on your way. Don't stop now." Among the writers in the third issue were Robert Houle (Saulteaux), "a senior fine arts student at McGill University," Mary Jane Peters (Mi'kmaw), a third-year student at the University of New Brunswick, and Roger Jay (Algonquin), a graduate of the journalism program at the University of Nevada. Poet Wayne Keon (Anishinaabe) also made his debut.

A royal visit created a stir during the summer of 1970, as reflected in "Amy Greets the Queen" and "Indian Princess Canada Pageant," two articles reporting on events on the royal tour. Both Manitoba and the Northwest Territories were in the midst of centennial celebrations, many of which coincided with the tour's schedule. Amy Sinclair Clemens, the venerable community organizer and descendant of Chief Peguis, was presented to the Queen during the Peguis Memorial Day at the Old Stone Church (St. Peter Dynevor) near Selkirk, Manitoba.[22] The Queen was presented with a scroll describing Peguis's contributions to Manitoba; Amy Clemens represented his female descendants. Brian Orvis, the author, described her as "a very regal lady herself, resplendent in a white gown."[23] The accompanying photograph shows a smiling older woman in a white buckskin dress, holding an embroidered shawl and feather fan.

The National Indian Princess Pageant held later that week at Yellowknife featured "ten charming princesses."[24] The contestants attended a barbeque with the Royal Family. Prince Charles and Princess Anne, who were in attendance at the final event, were the first to congratulate Laverna McMaster (Siksika), the new National Princess, and runner-up Cindy Kenny (Dene). At initial perusal, the beauty pageant seems regressive and trivial, but this was not a typical pageant. The author, Delia Opekokew, who would become one of Canada's preeminent Indigenous lawyers, had been a contestant herself when the pageant was held in Montreal during Expo '67. She provides readers with the history of the pageant, highlights of the "tremendous and thought-provoking presentations," and the evaluation criteria: "the ability to speak her own language, authenticity of her tribal dress," cultural knowledge, and community involvement.[25] It was, in many ways, a celebration of women's resilience. Both event participants and *Tawow* reporters manipulated the royal visit to remind the Crown of their special obligations to First Nations as secured through the treaties, a recurrent whisper found throughout Goodwill's tenure as editor.

The 1971 *Annual Report* touted the magazine's success: "The all-Indian cultural magazine . . . received wide acceptance from the Indian population. Favourable publicity from the news media brought it to the attention of educators, librarians and the general public. Circulation reached 15,000" and declared *Tawow* "one of the most widely requested departmental publications. An artistically informative periodical representing Canadian Indians, it provided a national outlet for Indian writers of short stories, articles and poetry."[26] The Cultural Division had assertively promoted the magazine, particularly to universities, and issued press releases that were reprinted in publications with a First Nations audience such as the *Saskatchewan Indian,* which announced the new publication in its own debut issue.[27] *Tawow*'s first year also revealed the challenges of producing a quarterly magazine.

Goodwill was not able to manage a fourth issue, and the third is noted as Autumn/Winter 1970. Although the copyright information consistently stated, "published quarterly by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs," it appears that goal was not met. Three issues per year became the norm for the first three years of publication.

Reconstructing *Tawow*'s publication record is somewhat challenging. The Department of Indian Affairs's last public statement about the magazine is one sentence in the single paragraph devoted to Cultural Development in the 1973 *Annual Report*.[28] Perusing the annual reports, one can see the internal shifts as land claims, resource development projects, and decentralization changed department priorities. The Cultural Development Section disappeared in one of many organizational restructurings but the Aboriginal Art Centre/ Centre d'art autochtone (formerly the Indian Art Centre), which manages the department's art collection, continues to operate. Interestingly, neither the Centre's archive nor the Department of Indian Affairs library has a complete set of *Tawow*. However, with the help of director Linda Grussani and the staff at the Aboriginal Art Centre, a tentatively complete list has been compiled.[29]

Volume and number identified each issue of *Tawow*, but several are either undated or confusingly dated, leaving the puzzle of different volumes with the same publication date and a ten-year publication span that produced eight volumes.[30] Only Volume 4 met the goal of quarterly publication, and it appears to have straddled two years. By 1976, publication had dwindled to two issues per year and, in 1975, 1977, and 1979, ceased entirely. In 1974, the Cultural Division began to contract guest editors and *Tawow* increasingly became a series of special issues.

Editors and Special Issues

don't rhyme the words too closely
when you tell our story
leave time and space for us to install
our bit of truth [31]

In 1971, Sheila Erickson of Fort St. James, British Columbia joined *Tawow* as assistant editor. In the subsequent four issues, this excerpt from one of her poems was included on the inside front cover with the table of contents and copyright information. By the end of the year, Erickson had taken over as editor with Mary E. Jamieson as assistant. Erickson's first (and only) editorial was an eloquent discussion of the importance of teaching Indigenous history. She compared people who had been separated from their history to

3 | Sarain Stump, Indian Art Camp performance, 1974. (Photo: Christine Welsh)

amnesiacs: "There is the vacuum in the memory and resultant impediment in the perception of the past; there is the impairment of the quality of living . . . the void, the negation, and the disruption."[32]

By 1972, Erickson had also moved on, and assistant editor Mary Jamieson took over as editor. A Mohawk from Six Nations, Jamieson was to serve as editor until 1974, bringing seven issues to print. With Jamieson at the helm, *Tawow* drew from her eastern networks. Joan Lickers, who reported on the Third National Indian Cultural Conference for the spring issue, was hired as assistant editor. Jamieson announced, "We have contracted a very talented, young Seneca Indian from Southern Ontario."[33] Tom Hill, also from Six Nations, was the cover artist. Although unstated in the accompanying article, Hill had actually been working with the Cultural Affairs Section since 1968.[34] His diverse artistic and curatorial practice and his involvement in a wide range of section projects may have influenced *Tawow*'s distinct weaving of literature, art, media, and theatre, which acknowledged the interdisciplinarity of contemporary Indigenous arts.

In 1974, Mary Jamieson initiated the process of hiring guest editors charged with creating special issues in their areas of expertise. The first, Lee Williams, created a beautiful minimalist issue printed on cream paper with sepia photographs and text. Untitled, the first page stated, "This edition of *Tawow* is an expression of contemporary Indian women, focused on poetry, organizational structure, impressions of the young and a pictorial past."[35] The issue opened with an essay by Jean Goodwill and featured poetry by Williams, Skyros Bruce, Sheila Erickson, and a woman identified only as "Loucheux." It was illustrated with archival photographs and children's drawings. The second special issue on communications marked the return of Sheila Erickson as guest editor. The third was published posthumously as guest editor Sarain Stump, who had been a regular *Tawow* contributor, passed away before the issue was sent to press (Fig. 3). Ironically, Stump had chosen the title "Immortality of Indian Art." On the cover insert that memorialized Stump, Jamieson declared the issue "a profoundly moving work of art" (Fig. 4).[36]

Although a thin twenty pages, Sheila Erickson's special issue on communications and media offers a rare documentation of the emergence of Indigenous communications as a field but, more importantly, the thinking that has driven it over the following decades. The issue opens with a short story retold by Genevieve Bird describing the telepathic communication once common among northern elders, implying that radio and television were new versions of ancient traditions. The issue includes "Indian Communication in Canada," an overview written by now-veteran journalist Doug Cuthand, a photo essay by Wayne Couchie from Nipissing First Nation, then a student at NSCAD, and an article about the La Ronge Communications initiative in northern Saskatchewan from the vantage point of its tentative and experimental origins. Theresa Nahanee's essay "Mind Benders" uses the phrase "media massacre" to describe the negative impact of representations in literature, film, and the press, proclaiming, "what the gun failed to do in the last century, the media can take credit for."[37] Of particular importance is Erickson's Yellowknife Interview," a roundtable discussion with Phoebe Nahanni, Brian Thompson, Roy Erasmus, and others in the aftermath of the release of a Secretary of State national communication policy that excluded the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. This early discussion about community-driven communications networks, "our way and in our language," traces the origins of the quest for self-governed media.[38]

After Jamieson's departure, Tom Hill took over as editor, continuing the focus on special topics. In 1975 and 1976 *Tawow* produced two issues per year, all edited by nationally recognized guest editors. Oji-Cree actor and journalist Johnny Yesno was guest editor for a special issue on "Native Performing Arts

THE DEER DANCE

The Deer, the Deer
We are calling him
Our Father the Deer
Will feed us

The Deer, the Deer
We are calling him
Our Father the Deer
Will clothe us

4 | Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College Art Camp, Cypress Hills, 1974. (Photo: Christine Welsh)

in Canada," followed by Mi'kmaq artist Vivian Gray's "Micmac People" and Anishinaabe writer Basil Johnston's "View of Life," a special issue on spiritual traditions. George Sioui (Huron-Wendat) was assistant editor on "View of Life" and by 1979 had taken over as *Tawow*'s final editor. He oversaw three special issues.

Anishinaabe poet George Kenny's issue on "Northwestern Ontario: The People Then and Now" featured visual artists Josh Kakegamic (Anishinaabe, 1952–1993), Don Ningewance (Anishinaabe), the Triple K Cooperative of Red Lake, and the newly-formed Kemetewan Theatre Company. It provides a valuable window into the creative impetus that emerged in Northwestern Ontario and moved outward to urban centres, a reversal of typical conceptions of centre-periphery. The final two special issues, Melissa Lazore's "Year of the Child" (1980) and Bill Caves's "The Prison Experience and Canada's Native People" (1981), shifted significantly from the arts focus of previous issues, though "Year of the Child" featured an interview with cover artist Arthur Shilling (1944–1986), Christine Sioui's *Autumn Tale*, and an article on Leo Yerxa (Anishinaabe). "Prison Experience" included the article "The Prison Experience and the Creative Process," which highlighted arts-based programming and the work of incarcerated artists.

Funding for *Tawow* appears to have fluctuated wildly. In 1972, when editor Mary Jamieson introduced Joan Lickers, she described how Lickers had "spent three months travelling from British Columbia to the Maritimes" to facilitate the magazine's goal to provide inclusive coverage and "bring artists, craftsmen, language instructors, writers and other individuals who are involved in the promotion of their culture to the forefront."[39] Similarly, in 1978, while preparing "View of Life," the special issue on spiritual traditions, guest editor Basil Johnson was able to travel, interviewing and consulting with elders and knowledge keepers. By 1980, however, editor George Sioui's brief editorial apologized for the delay in publishing the special edition for the *Year of the Child*, explaining that funds had been frozen.[40] Sioui managed to produce "Prison Experience" the following year, but *Tawow* ceased publication in 1981.

The Emergence of Indigenous Aesthetic Discourse

My environment might influence my art but I could be in China and yet I would still do my art.
    – Norval Morrisseau, 1970

What are the salient features of a Native American philosophy and how does it affect the aesthetics of today's art?
    – Wilma Simon, 1973

It is with seeming reluctance that the Western world has begun to accept as "art" some of the artistic outpourings, past and present, the tangible evidence of the Indian cultures which once flourished across the American continent.
    – Tom Hill, 1973

While it is apparent that staff sometimes struggled to find content, occasionally reprinting articles from other sources, *Tawow*'s editors steadfastly maintained their commitment to nurture literary voices. They cast a wide net and welcomed writing from children, youth, university students, and elders. They kept a sharp eye out for emerging historians, poets, and journalists. Contributors and featured artists sometimes left the arts and changed careers; many disappeared from public view, while others became icons. Most writers and artists were young, often in their early twenties, and some might cringe to reread their words and see their early work. However, it is in the pages of *Tawow* that writers and artists first began to wrestle with the problems and ideas that vex and inspire us today. Robert Houle, Tom Hill, Gerald McMaster, Sarain Stump, Wilma Simon, and Basil Johnston were among these early voices.

Editorial policy stated that articles were welcome in the author's language of choice. This was usually English, occasionally French, and several stories were published in Cree syllabics. Subject matter was wide ranging, but performing and visual arts were strongly represented. Johnny Yesno's (1938–2010) special issue on performing arts included articles by Jim Buller (Cree, 1921–1982), Tom Jackson (Cree), and Lloyd Kiva New (Cherokee, 1916–2002) – all pioneers in the field. Of the nineteen issues published, thirteen covers featured the work of Indigenous artists. Short biographies and interviews with artists are included in most issues, resulting in more than forty artist profiles and interviews. As a result, *Tawow* contains some of the earliest examples of Indigenous art writing and provides glimpses of artists in the years prior to their emergence.

Much of the early history of the first artists to achieve public prominence in Canada has been filtered through their patrons and dealers, who often wove themselves prominently into the narrative. *Tawow*'s short articles, most emerging from conversations and interviews, sought context Aboriginal readers would be interested in: the artist's lineage, their home community, linguistic heritage, family, and artistic motivation. Discussions of Allen Sapp's (1928–2015) career don't usually include his chiefly lineage or his difficulties gaining acceptance within his own Cree community, uncomfortable with having their poverty exposed in the impressionistic, but honest, realism that marks his work. Who knew the prolific Alex Janvier (Dene Suline/Saulteaux) stopped painting for five years? *Tawow* announced his return

with the headline, "Alex Janvier is Painting Again."[41] There is poignancy in Benjamin Chee Chee's (Anishinaabe, 1944–1977) bravado, three years before his suicide in an Ottawa jail. We hear whispers of secrets revealed decades later in dancer René Highway's (1954–1990) comments on residential school. A young Edward Poitras (Cree/Metis) dances in Sarain Stump's *Ancient Mobiles*. Future filmmaker Christina Welsh documents it in a photographic essay. The young writers also discuss the *work*, often with a naïve enthusiasm, but they talk about colour, shape, brush strokes, and movement. We read and see the influences that would impact their artistic development – and our own.

Tawow not only provides bits of information to enhance artist biographies and interpretations of their work; it also contains the first articulations of the collective movement to merge indigeneity with contemporary practice. Robert Houle's 1971 essay, "Search for Identity," discusses how "native artists [do] not merely establish a realistic representation. Realization that he could not draw a flower as perfectly as it was made by the Creator, led him to seek out the spirit or essence . . . It is this surrealist quality, so common in Native art that is difficult for Western civilization to comprehend, and thus to appreciate."[42] He compares the earlier American search for artistic identity to that of Canadian Indigenous artists asking, "Do we need another Jackson Pollock for the native people?" Three articles written by Wilma Simon, particularly "Wilma Simon and her Realm of Art," which was a letter to editor Mary Jamieson illustrated by delicate abstract etchings and sketchbook drawings, are as inspiring to me today as they were when I first read them forty years ago – "The tradition of narrative, legendary painting has grown from a historical picture to an abstract feeling of yesterday. That yesterday began as a path for tomorrow. For me, today is spent tracking, trying to follow the path and keep it flowing and consistent – into tomorrow."[43]

Tawow also documented key events including special reports on two National Indian Cultural Conferences, the first one in 1970 and the third in 1972. These short reports, illustrated with photographs, enhance information gleaned elsewhere. While many delegates at the 1970 conference were non-Indigenous "experts," University of Manitoba representative Sam Corrigan's summary address reveals that numbers did not dictate voice: "The most striking thing about this conference was the fact that you did not call upon the resource people; you are quite capable of operating on your own."[44] This can be read as a message to the Department of Indian Affairs, rather than the delegates.

Among the resolutions delegates passed was a request for a "National Travelling Exhibition of Contemporary Indian Art" that would include Indigenous communities on its itinerary, and also that works typically categorized as craft be included as "art."[45] We still await the former, and progress on the latter is ongoing. While *Indigena*, curated in 1992 by Gerald

McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now Canadian Museum of History), toured across Canada for two years, inclusion of Indigenous peoples and communities as audience remains an issue. Note, also, the twenty-two-year gap between request and action.

The second conference was held in Kamloops, British Columbia, and was not mentioned in *Tawow*. However, *Tawow* reporter Joan Lickers attended the third conference and her "Special Report" opened the first issue of 1972. Held on Beardy First Nation in Saskatchewan, the conference was jointly sponsored by the Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State, and the Cultural Development Division, now headed by Colin Wasacase, a Cree from Saskatchewan. Secretary of State representative Ken Goodwill and Wasacase were the conference chairs. For four days, delegates lived and met in tipis and were entertained by demonstrations of horsemanship, rodeo, and powwow; but underneath the celebratory surface, resistance was brewing.

Language and education dominated the agenda, but on the third day, former *Tawow* editor Jean Goodwill put forward a proposal to "take the magazine out of the hands of the Department of Indian Affairs and set up production in Saskatchewan" with a nationally representative editorial board.[46] The resolution to establish *Tawow* under an autonomous board operating with the current level of funding passed. The delegates passed two additional resolutions that reflect further frustration with the Department's heavy managerial hand: that "Indian" organizations and provincial arts and crafts groups have the authority to select individuals to sit on the Indian Craft Advisory Board, and, further, that "people of Indian origins should be trained . . . for top management positions in the Indian Arts and Crafts Marketing Service."[47]

The detailed resolutions brought forward by the small task groups responding to presentations by knowledge keepers Marjorie Perley and Peter Paul (Woloastoqiyik), Gordon Tootoosis, and Rufus Goodstriker (Kainai) should be required reading for those seeking the emergence of the struggle for self-governance in education and arts, and the relationship between First Nations and museums. Specifically, delegates requested that "museums and the Department of Indian Affairs be required to examine their storerooms . . . for the purpose of restoring [Indian artifacts] to the rightful owners" and voted to support "the Blackfeet Nation requesting the restoration of those artifacts held at the Alberta Provincial Museum . . . to be used and safeguarded according to the traditions of the Blackfeet Nation."[48] Several resolutions voiced support for revitalizing traditional ceremonial practice and affirmed the connectivity of spirit and art.

This was all reported in straightforward language, illustrated by photographs. The tone is neutral until the last paragraph when the young reporter reflects, "delegates . . . not only discussed the preservation of their

various cultures, but lived in a setting which was truly Indian. There were no minutes from discussions around the campfire in the evening, there were no explanations necessary for the feeling that came from living in a teepee."[49] Rereading the report, I wonder how those campfire discussions motivated delegates to action when they returned home, and how they may have sparked a flame that informs the shape and direction of Indigenous arts and institutional change to the present time.[50]

Tawow as Animateur and Archive

As the Department of Indian Affairs provided editorial support and (one can assume) set editorial policy, *Tawow* maintained an overall celebratory tone and occasionally included uncritical articles on new federal programs and initiatives. However, *Tawow*'s importance should not be underestimated (Fig. 5). We would do well to remember the challenges facing aspiring writers. Marilyn Bowering, co-editor of *Many Voices: An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Indian Poetry* (1977), the first anthology of Canadian Indigenous writing, described the difficulty persuading "a publisher to take the project on" as the "consensus seemed to be that no one would be interested in work by Native Canadians."[51] *Tawow* provided valuable space for authors. In its pages are poems, short stories, and articles by George Clutesi (Tseshaht), Basil Johnston, and Olive Dickason (Métis), whose works are now considered canonical. Literary scholars seeking early works by Wayne Keon, George Kenny, Mireille Sioui (Huron-Wendat), and Skyros Bruce (Sleil Waututh) comb its pages. Author and activist Jeannette Armstrong (Okanogan) described the impact of Indigenous-centred publications on community readers:

> I read Native magazines voraciously, searching for poetry that spoke to me. A few Native poems surfaced in literary review magazines and little magazines like *The White Pelican*, but mostly what was available to Native readers were Native newspapers and magazines . . . I recall reading a very small poem by Skyros Bruce in one such flyer and being so utterly thrilled with the beauty of her poem that I searched for flyers from everywhere to read her work . . . I also searched Native magazines like *Tawow*, papers like *Akwasasne Notes*, and regional magazines such as *Indian World*. They were seminal in giving us the Native political information we craved while developing an audience for "Indian Writing" [and] were instrumental in engendering a literary movement parallel to, or perhaps occurring as one of the vehicles of the "Indian Movement."[52]
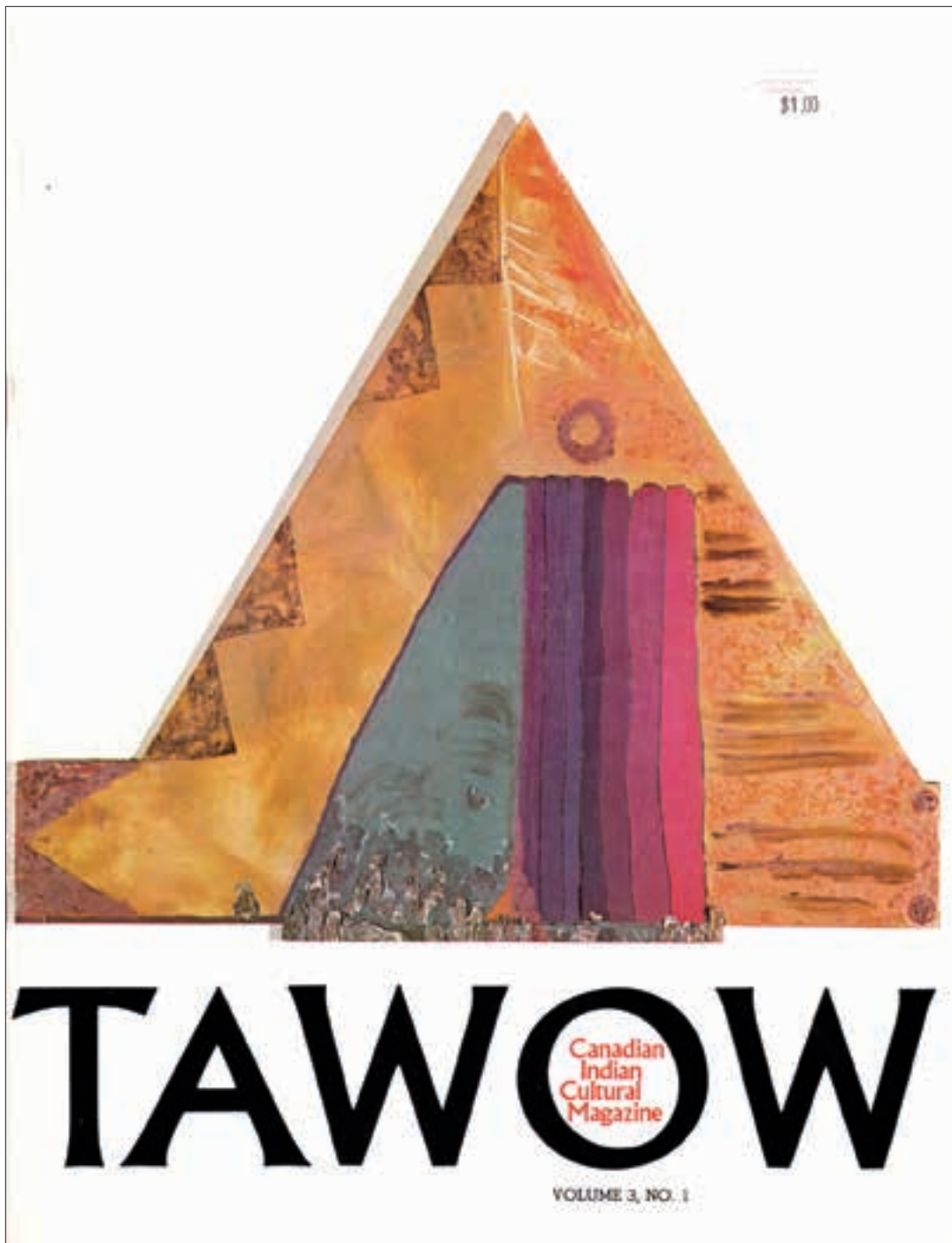
5 | Cover of *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine* 3:1 (1972). Wilma Simon painting, courtesy of Wilma Simon. (Photo: author)

Perhaps *Tawow* met the needs of our generation. Skyros Bruce began publishing her work at fifteen; a few years later her poems appeared in *Tawow*. While Jeannette Armstrong scoured papers seeking Bruce's work, three provinces away I also treasured the sparse beauty of her poems, reading them over and over again. Three *Tawow* issues are entangled with my evolution as artist and writer: "Contemporary Indian Women," "Immortality of Indian Art," and the issue with Wilma Simon's painting on the cover. They articulated a place I wanted to go to, a movement I wanted to be part of.

In retrospect, I see *Tawow*'s limitations. Some issues are thin; others haven't aged well. Some issues seem thrown together, while others are carefully crafted. The editing is inconsistent. As an archive, the lack of information on magazine contributors can be absolutely maddening, particularly for individuals who did not continue or passed away or married and changed their names. The desire to be "artistic" occasionally sacrificed publishing conventions, such as dates and pagination. *Tawow* distanced itself from the vitality of the political movement Armstrong remembers, and is poorer for it. But I'm not throwing my copies away. Tentative, occasionally clumsy, the foundations of Indigenous curation and critical aesthetic thought have their origins here.

NOTES

The task of reconstructing the Cultural Section's history has largely fallen to scholars exploring the Indians of Canada pavilion at Expo '67, the career of Tom Hill, or Professional Indian Artists, Inc. (Odjig, Morrisseau, Beardy, Janvier, Sanchez, Cobiness, and Ray). I am particularly indebted to Barry Ace, Bonnie Devine, Michelle Lavallee, Cathy Mattes, and Ruth Phillips. Meegwetch for your work.

1 Jean GOODWILL, "Editorial," *Tawow* 1:1 (Spring 1970): 1.
2 I am the principal investigator of the Contemporary Aboriginal Art History Project, a SSHRC-funded Insight Development Project, now in the final stages, working in partnership with the Aboriginal Curatorial Collective and Urban Shaman Gallery to develop archival resources for Aboriginal art history.
3 See Stephanie McKENZIE, *Before the Country: Native Renaissance, Canadian Mythology* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2000), 18 and 42–43.
4 When the Canadian government began closing residential schools in 1965, they began negotiating Joint School Acts with provinces and Joint School Agreements with individual school boards without First Nations input. In Saskatchewan this began in 1969. See Blair STONECHILD, *The New Buffalo: The Struggle for Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2006), 40.

5 Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 20–21.

6 See *Indian Affairs Annual Report* (*IAAR*), 1970, 111–12. For an overview of the development of the Cultural Section see Barry Ace, "Reactive Intermediates: Aboriginal Art, Politics and Resonance of the 1960's and 1970's," in *7: Professional Indian Artists Inc.*, ed. Michelle LaVallee (Regina: Mackenzie Art Gallery, 2014), 199–204.

7 Ace, "Reactive Intermediates," 201; see also Tom "Jomin" Peltier, "Critical Issues in Art Education," in *Witness: A Symposium on the Woodland School*, ed. Bonnie Devine (Toronto: Aboriginal Curatorial Collective and the Witness Project, 2009) 54–64.

8 Ace, "Reactive Intermediates," 201.

9 *IAAR* 1970, 112.

10 Ibid.

11 Jean Chrétien as quoted in "Indian Cultural Magazine Makes Its Debut," *Saskatchewan Indian* 1:1 (July 1970): 8.

12 "The Canadian Prairie Indian Dance Group," *Tawow* 1:1 (Spring 1970): 8–13.

13 Jean Cuthand Goodwill (1928–97), *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*. Accessed 31 Aug. 2014, http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/goodwill_jean_cuthand_1928-97.html.

14 They were the great-grandchildren of Yellow Mud Blanket, the brother of Chief Poundmaker, Cree leaders during the 1885 Resistance, a time of great change, hunger, and turmoil. Yellow Mud Blanket's descendents are acknowledged for their knowledge of Cree culture and oral history of treaty negotiations. See Jean Goodwill with Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1984), 10, and Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, "Maskêko-Sâkahikanihk: One Hundred Years for a Saskatchewan First Nation," in *Perspectives on Saskatchewan*, ed. Jene M. Porter (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 2009), 76–77.

15 John Tootoosis was a tireless advocate for treaty rights, political organizer for the League of Indians of Western Canada, and founder and first Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, "John Tootoosis (1899–1989)," *Saskatchewan Indian* (January/February 1989): 1.

16 Tyrone Tootoosis, "Cree Sacred Sites," Cree Literacy Networks, posted 28 April 2014. Accessed 31 Aug. 2014, http://creeliteracy.org/2014/04/28/cree-sacred-sites-tyrone-tootoosis/.

17 Harris M. Lentz III, "Tootoosis, Gordon," *Obituaries in the Performing Arts 2011* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011), 352.

18 Mary Ann LaVallee, "Yesterday's Indian Woman," *Tawow* 1:1 (Spring 1970): 7.

19 "Tahahsheena Rugs," in ibid., 24.

20 Editorial, *Tawow* 1:2 (Summer 1970): 1.

21 "First All Canada Indian Cultural Conference," in ibid., 15.

22 Manitoba Legislative News Service, "Historic Elk, Beaver Tribute for the Queen: Ceremony Highlights of July 14 Afternoon," 10 July 1970, Manitoba Government Information Services Branch. Accessed 15 Sept. 2014, http://news.gov.mb.ca/news/archives/1970/07/1970-07-10-historic_elk,_beaver_tribute_for_the_queen.pdf

23 Brian Orvis, "Amy Greets The Queen," *Tawow* 1:3 (n.d.): 28–29.

24 Delia Opekokew, "Indian Princess Canada Pageant," *Tawow* 1:3 (n.d.): 33.

25 Ibid., 34.

26 *IAAR* 1971, 24 and 32.

27 "Indian Cultural Magazine Makes Its Debut," *Saskatchewan Indian* 1:1 (July 1970): 8.

28 *IAAR* 1973, 14.

29 Through a series of phone calls and email exchanges between 12–19 January 2015, Linda Grussani and I compiled a list based on the Aboriginal Art Centre's archive and the University of Manitoba Library and Archive holdings.

30 For example, vol. 3:2 and vol. 4:1 have no dates, vol. 3:3 and 4:2 are both dated 1974.

31 This poem later appeared in Kent GOODERHAM, ed., *Notice: This Is An Indian Reserve* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1972), 40.

32 Sheila ERICKSON, "Indian History Must Be Taught in Indian Schools," *Tawow* 2:3 (1971): 1.

33 Mary E. JAMIESON, "Editorial," *Tawow* 3:2 (1972): 1.

34 Ruth PHILLIPS, "Tom Hill: The Governor General's Awards in Visual and Media Arts – 2004," Canada Council for the Arts. Accessed 28 Oct. 2014, http://ggavma.canadacouncil.ca/htmlfixed/Archives/2004/hill-e.html; ACE, "Reactive Intermediates," 203.

35 Lee WILLIAMS, *Tawow* 3:3 (1974): 1.

36 "Immortality of Indian Art" focused on the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College's Indart '74 camp in Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan. Mary E. JAMIESON, "Sarain Stump," *Tawow* 4:3, cover insert. Sarain Stump was a charismatic poet and artist who remains an enigma in Indigenous art history. Questions regarding his identity have emerged that have not been resolved. He published the critically acclaimed *There is My People Sleeping: The Ethnic Poem-Drawings of Sarain Stump* (Sydney, BC: Gray's Publishing, 1970) and by 1973 was coordinating the Department of Indian Art at the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College in Saskatoon where he influenced many artists including Edward Poitras, Gerald McMaster, and Ruth Cuthand. See Donna PINAY, "College's Indian Art Department Expanding," *Saskatchewan Indian* 3:12 (December 1973): 13; Gerald MCMASTER, *Edward Poitras: Canada XLVI Biennale di Venezia* (Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1995), 79 and 96.

37 Theresa NAHANEE, "Media Massacre," *Tawow* 4:2 (n.d.): 3.

38 Sheila ERICKSON, "Yellowknife Interview," *Tawow* 4:2 (n.d.): 8.

39 Editor note, *Tawow* 3:2 (1972): 1.

40 UNESCO declared 1979 the International Year of the Child in conjunction with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

41 His work is also featured on the cover. "Alex Janvier is Painting Again," *Tawow* 2:3 (1971): 21.

42 Robert HOULE, "Search for Identity," *Tawow* 2:2 (Summer 1971): 3.

43 Wilma SIMON, "Wilma Simon and Her Realm of Art," *Tawow* 3:1 (1972): 31.

44 "First All Canada Indian Cultural Conference," *Tawow* 1:2 (Summer 1970): 15.

45 "First Cultural Conference": 13.

46 Joan LICKERS, "Special Report: The Third National Indian Cultural Conference," *Tawow* 3:1 (1972): 2.

47 Ibid, 3.

48 Ibid, 4.

49 Ibid, 5.

50 One obvious link would be delegate Ida Wasacase, the first president of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (est. 1976), who asked Bob Boyer to create an Indian Fine Arts Department that would foster the development of artistic voice directly connected to culture and environment. Now the Indigenous Art and Indigenous Art History programs, Department of Indigenous Languages, Arts and Culture, First Nations University of Canada, Regina, Saskatchewan.

51 Marilyn BOWERING, "Marilyn Bowering, Novelist, Poet & Playwright: *Many Voices*." Accessed 15 Nov. 2014, http://marilynbowering.com/many-voices/. See also Paul DEPASQUALE, Renate EIGENBROD, and Emma LAROCQUE, *Across Cultures/Across Borders: Canadian Aboriginal and Native American Literatures* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2009), 180, for a brief discussion of how the book was largely ignored by the literary establishment.

52 Jeannette ARMSTRONG, "Four Decades: An Anthology of Native Poetry from 1960 to 2000," in *Native Poetry in Canada: A Contemporary Anthology,* ed. Jeannette C. Armstrong and Lally Grauer (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001), xviii.

RÉSUMÉ

Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine (1970–1981)

SHERRY FARRELL RACETTE

« Tawow » signifie « bienvenue » en cri, ou, littéralement, « il y a de la place pour vous ici ». C'est le titre qu'a choisi le ministère des Affaires indiennes pour une nouvelle revue créée en 1970. *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine* (1970–1981) a marqué un tournant décisif dans la politique canadienne. Les rapports annuels du ministère des Affaires indiennes ont placé la création de *Tawow* dans le contexte de son programme de soutien aux arts visuels. D'après le rapport annuel de 1970, « le porte-parole autochtone pourra désormais rejoindre le public canadien dans son ensemble ». Un communiqué de presse par Jean Chrétien, alors ministre des Affaires indiennes, déclarait : « Les peuples autochtones doivent avoir la possibilité de s'exprimer eux-mêmes ». Le rapport annuel de 1971 vantait le succès de *Tawow*: « la revue culturelle entièrement autochtone [. . .] a été largement reconnue par la population autochtone [. . .] le tirage a atteint 15 000 », et déclarait qu'elle était « l'une des publications ministérielles les plus demandées ». La première année de *Tawow* a mis en évidence les difficultés liées à la publication d'une revue trimestrielle. Bien que l'information sur les droits d'auteur déclarait invariablement que la revue était « publiée trimestriellement par le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien », cet objectif n'a jamais été atteint. La publication était plutôt irrégulière, suivant les fluctuations de l'intérêt et du financement.

Les éditeurs de *Tawow* étaient Jean Goodwill (crie), Mary Jamieson (mohawk), Tom Hill (sénéca) et George Sioui (wendat). Ils ratissaient large et accueillaient favorablement les souscriptions d'enfants, de jeunes, d'étudiants d'université et d'anciens. Ils suivaient de près les jeunes historiens, poètes et journalistes. La plupart des auteurs étaient jeunes, souvent au début de la vingtaine. Selon la politique éditoriale, les auteurs pouvaient soumettre des articles dans la langue de leur choix. Il y avait une grande diversité de sujets, mais les arts de la scène et visuels étaient fortement représentés. Chaque éditeur maintenait fermement l'engagement de *Tawow* à soutenir l'expression littéraire et artistique.

Quand le ministère des Affaires indiennes accordait son appui rédactionnel et définissait la politique éditoriale, le ton d'ensemble était

louangeur et comprenait des articles dépourvus de sens critique concernant les nouveaux programmes et initiatives du gouvernement fédéral. *Tawow* a pris ses distances vis-à-vis le dynamisme des mouvements politiques de l'époque et s'en est trouvée appauvrie. Il ne faudrait toutefois pas sous-estimer l'importance de la revue. Nous ferions bien de nous rappeler les défis que rencontrent les aspirants écrivains. Marilyn Bowering, corédactrice de *Many Voices* (1977), la première anthologie d'écrits autochtones canadiens, décrit la résistance profondément ancrée à l'idée de donner de l'espace à la tradition orale sur la page imprimée. *Tawow* a fourni cet espace. Sur les dix-neuf numéros publiés, treize couvertures montrent des œuvres d'artistes autochtones. La plupart des numéros comprennent de courtes biographies et des entrevues avec des artistes, ce qui a donné plus de quarante profils et entrevues d'artistes. Par conséquent, *Tawow* contient quelques-uns des premiers exemples d'écrits autochtones sur l'art et donnent un aperçu de l'œuvre d'artistes dans les années qui ont précédé leur émergence. C'est aussi dans les pages de *Tawow* qu'écrivains et artistes ont commencé à affronter les problèmes et idées qui nous vexent et nous inspirent aujourd'hui. Robert Houle, Tom Hill, Gerald McMaster, Sarain Stump, Wilma Simon et Basil Johnston ont été parmi ces premières voix. Hésitantes et parfois maladroites, les fondations de la pensée esthétique littéraire et critique autochtone trouvent ici leurs origines.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette

Detail, David McMillan, *Untitled, 1978*. In *The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada* (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons Canada, 1979), n.p. Courtesy of David McMillan and John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Producing and Publishing *The Banff Purchase*: Nationalism, Pedagogy, and Professionalism in Contemporary Canadian Art Photography, 1979

KARLA MCMANUS

On 13 July 1979, the Walter Phillips Gallery at the Banff Centre for Continuing Education opened an ambitious exhibition on contemporary Canadian art photography. Curated by Lorne Falk and Hubert Hohn (Fig. 1), the exhibition included a stellar group of photographers, with the goal of establishing the Banff Centre as a place for serious photographic study. Listed by geographical residency from West to East, the photographers that were selected for inclusion were: Nina Raginsky (b. 1941) in British Columbia, Orest Semchishen (b. 1932) in Alberta, David McMillan (b. 1945) in Manitoba, Robert Bourdeau (b. 1931) in Ontario, Lynne Cohen (1944–2014) in Ontario, Tom Gibson (b. 1930) in Quebec, and Charles Gagnon (1934–2003) in Quebec. An influential group, these seven photographers spanned most of the country, as do their images, including Raginsky's portraits of Victoria's citizens, Semchishen's images of small town Alberta, and McMillan's, Gibson's, and Gagnon's street scenes of Winnipeg and Banff, Toronto, and Montreal respectively. Only Bourdeau's spectacular landscapes and Cohen's modern interiors are less geographically secured. Photographers – or images – from the North and the Maritimes were noticeably absent.

The introductory statement to the exhibition at the Walter Phillips Gallery, quoted in the Fall 1979 issue of *Photo Communiqué*, expresses the philosophy and ambition of the curators:

> The climate for change and direction in Canadian photography calls for greater support and action from the artistic community, as well as a greater public consciousness of the importance of the medium. It is our belief that there are significant photographs being made in Canada by photographers who deserve to be more seriously recognized nationally and internationally. The purpose of The Banff Purchase is to provide an opportunity for this recognition.[1]

The underlying criticism in this statement, reflecting a belief that Canadian photographers had been ignored – at a great cost to the medium – by the

1A | Ed Ellis, *Hubert Hohn*, 1986. Courtesy of the Paul D. Fleck Library and Archives, The Banff Centre.
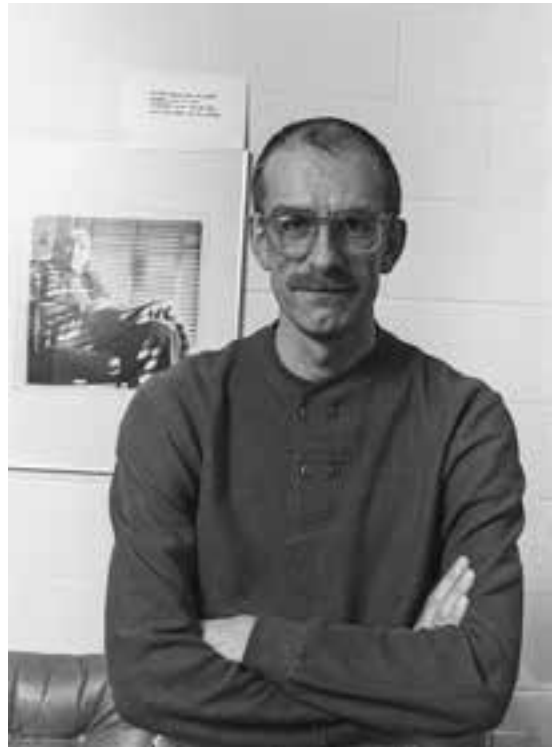
1B | Kim Chan, *Lorne Falk*, 1985. Courtesy of the Paul D. Fleck Library and Archives, The Banff Centre.

contemporary art world, calls for a reconsideration of the intentions and impact of *The Banff Purchase*, some twenty-five years later.[2]

While this nationalistic push was certainly a major influence on the direction of the exhibition, the objectives of the curators went far beyond the production of a solitary photography exhibition. At the same time as Hohn was producing the exhibition with Falk, he was redesigning the photography studio program at the Banff Centre's School of Fine Arts, a change that reflected a "turning point" for the institution as the centre moved towards a year-long training model.[3] Newly hired by the Walter Phillips Gallery, Falk set out to establish a collecting practice for the growing institution, where works by visiting artists and prominent Canadians could be used for both teaching and curating. *The Banff Purchase* was part of this larger goal: the curators acquired the work of all seven photographers for the gallery's collection (an act echoed in the namesake of the project), created a carousel of

2 | Cover of *The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada* (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons Canada, 1979). Cover image reproduced courtesy of Nina Raginsky and John Wiley & Sons Inc.

study slides from the work to be made widely available, and planned a Master class workshop to coincide with the exhibition. Through their curatorial and pedagogical project, Falk and Hohn wished to challenge the place of the photographic medium in the Canadian imagination by using the exhibition

and its accompanying publication "as a catalyst" for growth and professional development within the photographic and photo curating communities.[4]

Alongside their ambitious curatorial and educational programming, Falk and Hohn produced a hardcover photobook (Fig. 2). *The Banff Purchase* is an exemplary object of its time: the book stands out in quality, materiality, and production values. More than an exhibition catalogue, the book is a "critical complication"[5] and an object that functions on its own merit – and which was advertised as autonomous – as a reflection on the state of contemporary art photography in Canada at the close of the 1970s. The publication includes sixty-three photographic reproductions, in both black and white and colour (nearly half of the one hundred and fifty-three images from the exhibition), and an essay by photography critic and University of Ottawa professor Penny Cousineau. Printed by the Canadian subsidiary of the leading North American publishing house John Wiley and Sons, with help from the curators – particularly Hubert Hohn, who supervised the printing – the hard-cover book is a testament to the thought that went into the project. At a time when photographic exhibition catalogues were often done as cheaply as possible in Canada, when produced at all, the book strikes this reader as a serious statement – if not critique – that aimed to raise the standards in Canadian art photography publishing.[6] Through an analysis of the object that remains, and through research into the exhibition and curators, I will ask the question: what has been the legacy of *The Banff Purchase*?

Making a Statement on Contemporary Canadian Photography

Conceived as an in-house exhibition for the Walter Phillips Gallery in January 1978, by July of that year *The Banff Purchase* had "assumed much larger proportions and a broader scope."[7] Falk wrote in the August prospectus for the project that, "taken in its entirety, a project of this magnitude is unprecedented in the history of photography as a visual art in Canada."[8] As is often the case with proposals for support, Falk's language attempts to distinguish *The Banff Purchase* from any precedents, as a way to demonstrate the value of the exhibition to the Banff Centre, while also attempting to position the Centre as an important player at the national level.[9] A strong political intention is articulated by Falk when Canadian photography is acknowledged as requiring assistance and support to mature, especially when faced with the influence of the cultural juggernaut directly to the south. Falk writes that, "The remedy is to be found in the recognition and appreciation of the outstanding photography that does exist in Canada."[10] Later echoing this rhetoric, although with a slightly tempered tone, the curators would declaim on the book overleaf that, "The Banff Purchase is a statement about

a Canadian attitude toward the use of photography as a vital medium for creative expression . . . The Banff Purchase will be a major influence on the immediate future of Canadian photography."[11]

Falk's goals for photography in Canada were made further explicit in an article he wrote for the May/June 1979 issue of *Photo Communiqué,* a photographic arts magazine newly-founded by editor-in-chief Gail Fisher-Taylor based in Toronto. In it, Falk expressed the concern that photography's "significant, if tenuous, recognition as a visual art in Canada," would crumble without deeper self-evaluation and support from art institutions. Falk's answer to this "dilemma" was a reasonable one. He argued that increasing the educational opportunities for photographers, strengthening the photographic publishing industry, and improving curation and critical writing on the medium would help to bolster the artistic production of young photographers in Canada.[12] "The Dilemma of Photography in Canada" was well-timed to reflect the ideas and aims of *The Banff Purchase,* especially as it was promoted to meet the needs of a generation of emerging photographic artists in Canada.

According to Hohn, the goal of *The Banff Purchase* project was not so much to produce an exhibition or a catalogue, but to provide photography students in Alberta with access to experienced photographic artists from across the country and their work.[13] Hired to teach photography at the Banff Centre in 1977, Hohn quickly became involved with the development of the Centre's new educational master plan, published in 1979 as "A Turning Point" and spearheaded by Director David Leighton, which transformed the school into a "creative arts colony."[14] Becoming Department Head of Photography in 1979, Hohn stayed on until 1986[15] and oversaw the transformation of the photography program from its earlier emphasis on nature and technical photography towards an artistic model

PHOTOGRAPHY MASTER CLASS SERIES
July 2 - August 10

Senior

Instructors
ROBERT BOURDEAU
PENNY COUSINEAU
CHARLES GAGNON
TOM GIBSON
HUBERT HOHN
DAVID McMILLAN
NINA RAGINSKI

Tuition Fee: $385

The Master Class Series offers a limited number of serious photographers an opportunity to work with a group of Canada's outstanding exhibiting photographers, teachers, curators, and critics. The format consists of six one-week workshops, each featuring a guest artist. The content will consist of discussion of the guest artists' work, creative process and working method; print critiques of student work by the guest artist; and work with the guest in the field and the laboratory. An exhibition of work by the guest artists will be on display in the Walter Phillips Gallery during the workshop. An exhibition of works produced by the students in the workshop is also planned.

The Master Class Series is restricted to photographers who have recently completed programs at other institutions, photographers who have recently begun to exhibit, and other photographers whose portfolios indicate a high degree of artistic potential. Admission is by invitation or by portfolio and interview. Scholarship support is available to participants.

3 | "Photography: Master Class Series," from *The Banff Centre: Course Calendar*, 1979, 74. Courtesy of the Paul D. Fleck Library and Archives, The Banff Centre.

that employed a studio style of teaching.[16] The restructured Banff Centre photography program was meant to offer students the freedom to develop their own artistic sensibilities through experimentation and mentorship, a framework that has continued to inform and shape the educational policy of the Centre.[17] Employing the exhibiting photographers to come and teach during the six-week Master class workshop was integral to the project.[18] According to the advertising material produced for the Master class (Fig. 3), Robert Bourdeau, Penny Cousineau, Charles Gagnon, Tom Gibson, Hubert Hohn, David McMillan, and Nina Raginski all participated in the workshop.[19] Nothing less than a complete revamping of the Banff Centre's photographic program was Hohn's aim and *The Banff Purchase* was an integral first step in this new direction.[20]

The Banff Purchase in Context: Collecting, Exhibiting, Publishing Canadian Photography

By the 1970s, the medium of photography was becoming more prominent in art galleries and museums around the world, with an increased interest internationally in photographic exhibitions, publications, and education.[21] This growth was also taking place in Canada, as galleries, museums, and educational institutions began to focus seriously on the medium. Galleries such as the Edmonton Art Gallery, the Winnipeg Art Gallery, and an artist-run centre, The Photographer's Gallery in Saskatoon, were also beginning to exhibit photography, largely by supporting regional photographers.[22] Institutions with national significance, namely the National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division, the Public Archives of Canada, and the National Gallery of Canada, all had growing collections of photography. The NFB had played an important role in publishing, exhibiting, and collecting contemporary photography in Canada since the 1950s,[23] but perhaps did not place as much emphasis on the notion of photography as *visual art* as some artists and curators might have wished.[24] The Public Archives was a strong source for historical Canadian photography but had little in their collection in the way of contemporary art.[25] The Art Gallery of Ontario began in the 1970s to exhibit photography but had yet to begin a collection.[26] The National Gallery of Canada was known for its interest in the international history of photography rather than the contemporary Canadian scene.[27] The Banff Centre and the Walter Phillips Gallery, unlike these powerful and historic Canadian institutions, were newcomers to national-level exhibiting and publishing of art photography. By comparison, Falk and Hohn's approach to curating *The Banff Purchase* stands out for its commitment to presenting –

as they saw it – the breadth of professional contemporary Canadian art photography in 1979.

On the surface, the expansion of photographic support in Canada might appear to have heralded opportunities for art photography, but Falk and Hohn expressed worry that unconsidered proliferation of photographic work would lead to "the dissolution and degradation of standards for excellence in visual growth," which they believed was taking place in the United States' art scene and market.[28] This put the curators in a difficult position vis-à-vis the design of their exhibition: on the one hand they wished to provide opportunities to young Canadian photographers, but they also wanted to use the exhibition to draw attention to the strong photography *already* being produced in Canada by well-established artists perceived as masters in their field, and to encourage further growth and to shape the production of images amongst emerging photographers. The decision was therefore made to focus the exhibition on a small group of photographers who could be universally acknowledged by both peers and art professionals as unfailingly talented, professional, and devoted to the medium of photography. Ultimately, this would mean that students of photography would gain access to this work at the Banff Centre, while being exposed to what Hohn and Falk, as well as the Canadian photographic world, considered exemplary.

The Photographers: Establishing an Exemplary Group

Throughout the 1970s, *The Banff Purchase* exhibitors had been featured in a number of Canadian group exhibitions, at a mixture of institutional and commercial galleries.[29] Many of them, including curator Hohn, had shown through the NFB's Still Photography Division, the most significant institution for the promotion, exhibition, and publication of contemporary photography during the 1960s and 1970s.[30] A review of the NFB Travelling Exhibition Catalogue of 1979, a ring-binder booklet printed on thick card stock that was devoted to promoting the circulation of the NFB's pre-curated collections across the country, demonstrates that the exhibitions-for-use included many of the same people involved in *The Banff Purchase*. Hubert Hohn's *Alberta Landscapes/Paysages d'Alberta*, Robert Bourdeau's retrospective "1969–1978," Lynne Cohen's self-titled exhibition of interiors, Orest Semchishen's *Ukrainian Religious Architecture*, and Nina Raginsky's Victoria portraits all existed as exhibitions available to be borrowed by community groups, galleries, and institutions.[31] It is notable that under the direction of Lorraine Monk, the NFB published both monographs and surveys of Canadian photography starting in the late 1960s. Some were produced in hardcover

as special-themed books relating to national events and anniversaries, but most were produced as softcover books. Many included *The Banff Purchase* photographers.[32] Although not produced to the design quality of Hohn and Falk's publication, the *Image* series, in particular, offered readers access to photographs rarely seen outside the gallery and helped to encourage Canadian printers "in developing lithography to a level at which sensitive and true reproduction of fine photographs and art work is possible."[33]

Many of the photographers had been featured in major art periodicals, such as *artscanada*,[34] *Parachute*,[35] *Image*,[36] and *Creative Camera*,[37] and reviews of their exhibitions were frequently published.[38] Of note is photographer and curator Geoffrey James's (b. 1942) article from 1974, "Responding to Photographs: A Canadian Portfolio," which included Bourdeau, Gagnon, and Raginsky.[39] Introduced by an extensive art historically-grounded text in defence of the medium, James's thoughts on the art of photography read like a precursor to the criticisms brought out by *The Banff Purchase*: as an "overlooked"[40] medium, James calls for a more critical and aesthetic understanding of the "'good' photograph."[41] Aside from this exceptional article which included twenty-seven pages of single images, most of the publications of the 1970s (primarily exhibition catalogues and reviews) were produced with a limited selection of reproductions, sometimes several to a page, and rarely in colour.

Although David McMillan and Orest Semchishen were less established photographers, having only begun showing in the mid-1970s, they had been featured in several exhibitions across Canada and their work was found in prominent permanent collections, including the Canada Council Art Bank and the NFB Still Photography Division. On the other hand, Robert Bourdeau, Lynne Cohen, Charles Gagnon, Tom Gibson, and Nina Raginsky had shown extensively across the country, including at the National Gallery of Canada. Their status as prominent art photographers in Canada meant that they were part of a small but select network of artists known by curators, editors, collectors, and institutional workers, whose interest in photography was growing.[42]

Many of the photographers, excluding Semchishen, who was a radiologist in Edmonton, and Bourdeau, who worked as an architectural technologist in Ottawa, were academics as well as artists who taught at various universities and colleges across Canada. While this was not a criteria for their inclusion, the fact that six of the chosen photographers were fine arts educators (beginning in 1979, Bourdeau was an adjunct at the University of Ottawa) as well as artists demonstrates that to achieve the level of artistic proficiency and professional experience sought by the curators, art photographers needed financial support beyond that which was produced from exhibitions

and sales. As well, the group's relatively stable employment status reminds us how important institutional support was (and continues to be today) for artistic creation, regardless of the medium. While some taught photography specifically, others, like David McMillan and Charles Gagnon, were originally painters who were hired as art professors first before expanding their practices and teaching to include photography. This reflects how few fine arts academic programs offered photography in Canada during the 1970s. In fact, McMillan at the University of Manitoba, like Gibson at Concordia University, established a photography department at his school.

Formally, there are strong similarities across the group: attention to composition, quality of printing, and eye-catching details of ironic or emotive juxtaposition stand out in all the works. Yet it would be impossible to generalize further about the group except to say that there is a seriousness to the use of the medium shared by all the photographers, described by Martin Parr and Gerry Badger as "the expressive documentary 'windows' mode," after John Szarkowski's (1925–2007) binary breakdown of the two styles of late modernist production.[43] Aside from this similar commitment to the formalist structure of the image, there are many differences in subject matter, aesthetic approach, and process. This is made clear by a close reading of the publication.

The Publication: The Object that Remains

The Banff Purchase was an extraordinary project and the photographs remain an integral part of the Walter Phillips Gallery's collection. Its publication, the only remaining part of the whole still readily available to a larger audience – albeit requiring some effort to track down through used bookstores or online – reflects this exceptionalism. A large (30.5 x 23 cm) hardcover publication, the layout and design of the book conform to the conventions of photography books today, with high-quality reproductions of the photographs and full-page single-image layouts. The book reflects a formalist aesthetic to photobook design: the images are each given their own full page, unencumbered by any distracting decorative elements and with nothing more than a small line of text at the bottom of each page identifying the artist, the title of the work, and the date of production. The book is the embodiment of rhetorical restraint.

The book begins with a title page, then a second title page with the names of the photographers, which is followed by Cousineau's short essay introducing the main section of the book. Each photographer's work is presented individually, separated by one blank page with their name printed on the bottom right. At the back, there is a one-page biography for each

photographer. The book ends with a scant three-paragraph "Afterword" by Falk and Hohn that describes the project in functional terms and concludes with thanks to contributors and funders alike.

As early as August 1978, even before finding a publisher, a publication of some kind (catalogue or book) was detailed in an appendix to the prospectus. Outlining the curatorial expectations for printing, production, and financing, they wrote that "careful attention should be paid to the publisher's willingness to co-operate on all aspects of the book's production as regards quality control, and to the publisher's distribution potential and marketing abilities for books of this nature."[44] This was reinforced by the description of extensive production requirements that "all photographs . . . be reproduced duo tone with a varnish coat," and the aesthetic layout decision, stating that "text will be minimal: title page, second title page, introduction, biographical information, credits."[45] This attention to detail is obvious even today: in a time of inexpensive and high-quality digital printing, *The Banff Purchase* expresses a "classic" look and feel that reflects the late modernist design of influential photography publishers like the Museum of Modern Art.

Both Hohn and Falk were surprised to find that John Wiley and Sons Canada Limited, a prominent house with little history of publishing photography, was interested in the project.[46] Producing a book was not, according to Hohn, part of his intentions for the show and came about through interest from the publisher, or possibly management connections at Banff.[47] Falk, on the other hand, saw the book as an important component of the project. In an email, Falk wrote that the goal of the book was

> To document the exhibition and promote photography as an art. It is often forgotten that in the 1970s, photography (and many other disciplines!) were not recognized as art – which is another way of saying they were not exhibited, collected, and written about, and in turn, this is another way of saying that the "high art" world was waning and a more inclusive art world was ascendant.[48]

Through Falk's words we get a better sense of which curator was more concerned with the philosophic and ideological aspects of *The Banff Purchase* and its legacy.

The main photographic section begins with the two photographers working in colour, David McMillan and Nina Raginsky, who have only seven images each. They are followed by fellow Western Canadian Orest Semchishen. We then move further east from Bourdeau to Gibson, Gagnon to Cohen. The seven photographers, meant to represent the breadth and

4 | David McMillan, *Untitled, 1978* and *Untitled, 1978.* In *The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada* (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons Canada, 1979), n.p. Courtesy of David McMillan and John Wiley & Sons Inc.

quality of photographic production in Canada in 1979, show a variety of approaches that are nevertheless formally united by a broadly modernist sensibility[49] – whether aesthetic or conceptual – and commitment to print quality. The dizzying array of styles is emphasized as one flips through the pages of the book, yet the print quality and coherent design help to overcome the differences.

The colour section vibrates with intensity and the prints pop against the cream-coloured paper of the book (Fig. 4). McMillan's saturated colours and cut-off framings of street scenes rendered as abstractions make his photographs of human landscapes – cluttered with parked cars, groomed trees, electrical wires, and lamp posts – claustrophobic, as if the busy urban fabric is compressed by the camera, yet dissociated and stripped of people. The traditional compositions of Raginsky's Victoria portraits, full or three-quarter poses of her primarily smiling and self-aware subjects, are given a humorous twist when they are colourfully touched-up in a manner reminiscent of the hand-tinting of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century photographs. It is with some regret at leaving behind this glowing colour that the reader flips the pages to the black and white section, made up of ten images per photographer.

The section begins with Semchishen's townscapes of rural Alberta, which focus on architectural spaces and use roads, boulevards, cars, and electrical poles to shape the compositions. Semchishen's images draw the viewer's eye out towards horizons and up into the sky. Cousineau refers to a "nostalgia" in these images, perhaps picking up not only on the traditional vernacular architecture depicted but also on the more classic documentary-style framing. On the other hand, Bourdeau's black and white landscapes are more aesthetic than documentary, treating the landscape as a surface that is lush, textured, and layered. A wall of stone streaked by the slow passage of water over time in one picture echoes the rolling layers of a valley rising up towards the surrounding hills in another. The print quality of the images is most apparent in Bourdeau's work, where the tonality and variation in hue are most technically complex. In sharp contrast, Gibson's black and white urban scenes come across as unaffected. Instead of technical prowess, they simulate the snapshot, emphasizing the everyday movement and activity of city-dwellers who don't pose for the camera but move in and out of the frames like the busy people they are. In Gagnon's photographs, it is the photographer who seems to move the frame across the shapes and forms of contemporary life: window arches, the bend of an arm in an overcoat, piles of garbage bags, and architectural protrusions are carefully captured by the camera. Cohen's photographs end the book on a more critical note: the deliberate framing of interior public spaces – banquet halls, swimming pools, exhibition displays –

renders her everyday and faintly humorous subjects extraordinary in their very banality.

The introductory essay by Penny Cousineau[50] attempts to create a coherent whole from the show. Cousineau's essay focuses on the individual artistic visions of the selected artists or, as she dubs them, "the most accomplished members of a generation of Canadian photographers whose images began to be seen in the early and mid-1970s."[51] Devoting equal space to the work of each photographer in the short essay, Cousineau briefly gives a description and interpretation of their work, drawing on her personal response to the images. Cousineau describes "the psychological and philosophical distancing of the photographer and the viewer from the environments or persons pictured"[52] as central to a deeper understanding of the selected works. She articulates a series of complex ideas about contemporary photography, including the role of memory and time in the image, the psychological affinity or distantiation of the photographer from his or her subject, and the limitations of the photograph as "accurate transcription of physical reality."[53] Cousineau readily utilizes the discursive tropes of contemporary photography during this period, employing terms and ideas common to the North American context. Echoing the thinking of her teacher Nathan Lyons, whose influential essay from *Toward a Social Landscape* promoted an expanded understanding of the photographer's relationship to his or her environment,[54] Cousineau writes of the photographers' engagement with "unpeopled expanses of the natural and social landscape."[55] Surprisingly, little is said about the "Canadian" quality of the work, a move perhaps synchronous with Falk and Hohn's desire to engage Canadian photography in the larger debates happening outside of the country – what today would be called the "global art world" – but nevertheless at odds with the larger framework of the show.

Cousineau is heralded on the back flap of the book as "one of the most respected critical writers in Canadian photography"[56] and, according to the curators, was chosen to write for the publication because they felt Cousineau's reputation and experience – as a graduate of the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, NY, who had published numerous articles on photography in Canada and abroad – would give the publication an academic quality and help legitimate the promotion of art photography in Canada. Hohn and Falk chose not to include their own writing in the book, instead relying on Cousineau as an influential and critical voice. Falk explains this choice:

> I was a budding curator and my curatorial writing was formative. Hu was a teacher through and through and his curatorial/critical writing interests were always secondary to his incredible passion for teaching.

It made sense to have someone else with a more authoritative voice represent the artists and the project in the context of Canadian photography and art.[57]

Today, this assigned authority would be unquestioned: as Penny Cousineau-Levine, she would go on to write an in-depth study on contemporary photography and the Canadian psychological identity.[58] At the time, her essay, while well-written and thoughtful, had little to say about the purpose of *The Banff Purchase*: to encourage and raise up the quality of Canadian art photography in Canada and in the province of Alberta. Cousineau's essay is proficient at summarizing the aesthetic and photographic concerns of those represented, yet it lacks grounding in the pedagogical and ideological purpose that came from the truly "authoritative voices" of this project: the curators. There is no doubt in my mind that the intentions of this project would have been better articulated by Hohn and Falk. Over the years, their decision to remove their presence from the publication has leached the book itself of much of its critical content, rendering the meaning more conceptually neutral as concerns about Canadian identity in photography have become less about political action – or arts education and funding – and more about personal expression and the cosmopolitan art market.

The Banff Purchase in Circulation: Networking across Space and Time

Over a two-year period, *The Banff Purchase* exhibition, made up of 120 of the photographs acquired, had a strong run: it travelled from the Walter Phillips to the Edmonton Art Gallery, the Glenbow Museum, Harbourfront in Toronto, the Art Gallery of Hamilton, the Vancouver Art Gallery, the Musée Marsil de St-Lambert, the Mendel Art Gallery in Saskatoon, and the Dunlop Art Gallery in Regina. This was a significant tour for an exhibition of contemporary Canadian art photography, matched only by the travelling shows organized by the NFB Still Division.

 Photo Communiqué played a significant role in promoting *The Banff Purchase* in its pages as an exhibition, a teaching tool, and a book (Fig. 5). In addition to Fisher-Taylor's exhibition review, the first six issues of the magazine (March/April 1979 – January/February 1980) are peppered with adverts for the exhibition, the Banff Centre Master classes and workshops, and – later – *The Banff Purchase* photobook, although no book review is found in its pages.[59] Lorne Falk was a contributing editor to the bimonthly and it is tempting to see a reciprocal relationship as the institutional weight of the Banff Centre was used to support the fledgling magazine. It also reflects
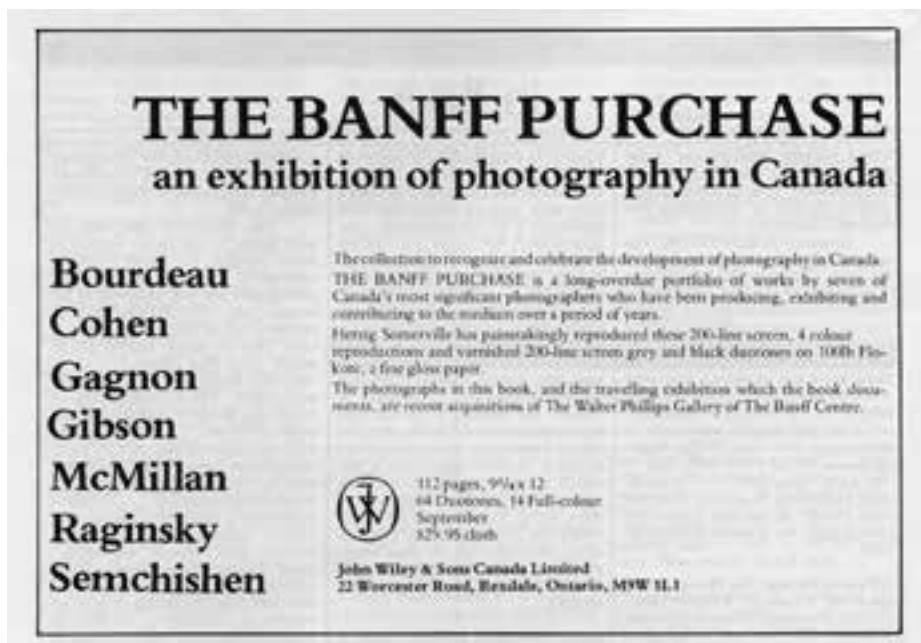
5 | "The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada." *Photo Communiqué* 1:3 (July/August 1979): 16. Courtesy of Artexte Documentation Centre. (Photo: author)

the goals of editor-in-chief Fisher-Taylor, who viewed the new magazine as a forum to address and resolve the problems facing the fine arts photography community, and especially what she saw as a lack of in-depth discourse, criticism, and communication about events and exhibitions important to the field.[60]

With financial support from the Banff Centre, the Canada Council for the Arts, the National Museums Corporation, the Glenbow Museum, the Edmonton Art Gallery, and the Walter Phillips Gallery, the possibilities for *The Banff Purchase* were unlimited. Hence, the selection of only seven photographers was considered surprising and suggested to some a curatorial intention to establish a coherent baseline for Canadian photography – what reviewer Nancy Tousley archly described in her *Vanguard* review as the "new group of seven."[61] Referring to the included photographers as "skilful, technically expert, 'straight' photographers,"[62] Tousley nevertheless argues that, "there is apt to be some discussion as to how representative of photography in Canada the exhibition really is."[63] In her review, which was also published in *The Calgary Herald*,[64] Tousley goes on to denounce the curator's selections as exclusionary, writing that:

For one thing, the many Canadian artists who use photography as a basis for their work but are not classified as 'photographers' in the purest sense have been excluded and a great deal of interesting and exciting work has been appearing on this front.[65]

On a positive note, Tousley believed the debates prompted by the exhibition would be valuable. She was particularly hopeful that through the catalogue, not yet released at the time of exhibition opening, "the various energies and ambitions embodied in the photography project would come into clearer focus."[66]

The Banff Purchase promoted a particular style of photography, one based on a late photographic modernism.[67] What is noticeable in the work chosen is an absence of experimental and performance-based photography. Even Fisher-Taylor – who wrote glowingly about the project as a step in the right direction for Canadian photography – agreed that the exhibition was "quite conservative: all of the work arises out of traditional photographic concerns – both technically and aesthetically."[68] In comparison, an exhibition of the work of Barbara Astman (b. 1950), Sorel Cohen (b. 1936), Suzy Lake (b. 1947), Arnaud Maggs (1926–2012), and Ian Wallace (b. 1943) by the Winnipeg Art Gallery, as part of its annual contemporary show of Canadian art, *The Winnipeg Perspective 1979*, demonstrates that a completely different and parallel direction was taking place in the photographic work of the 1970s.[69] Curated by Karyn Allen, the exhibition and its artists experimented with photography's ability to document, lie, and play, while emphasizing the idea of the artist using the camera as one tool amongst many. Unlike *The Winnipeg Perspective*, *The Banff Purchase* sought to promote an understanding of the artist-photographer as someone *who made art photography*, rather than an artist who used the camera conceptually, without concern for technical mastery or aesthetic formalism. Through this decision, *The Banff Purchase* would end up on the wrong side of an increasingly irrelevant divide. As David Campany has argued, in the vanguard art worlds of the US and Europe, the "well-guarded terrain of art photography" would soon be surpassed by photo-conceptualism as artists became more concerned with textuality, mediation, and the social function of art than with any commitment to purity of materials or formal criteria.[70]

Fisher-Taylor's other writing about the project included reviews of the exhibition for *artmagazine* and *Printletter*.[71] Her commentary of the show was – overall – extremely supportive and infused with concern about the state of the contemporary "Canadian photographic identity,"[72] and with a need to create this cross-national connection. In her review for *artmagazine*, she reflects that, "it is easier for people from Halifax, Montreal, Toronto,

Winnipeg, Saskatoon, or Vancouver to place their photographs within an international context than it is to try to make sense of them inside a Canadian context."[73] This reiterates a common thread amongst many writing about photography at the time: people including Fisher-Taylor, who was part of the American diaspora, as well as Canadian citizens, such as Falk. Yet a cautious shadow is cast on the show's legacy when Fisher-Taylor "wonders if their photographs will continue to be visually stimulating or if they will look like the obvious products of a repetitive and boring formula."[74] Today this sharp rhetorical question could be answered in more ways than one. Placed in context, it is clear that *The Banff Purchase* makes a powerful statement for the quality of work in Canada during the 1970s. If the photography included in *The Banff Purchase* seems less interesting today, it must be remembered that the photographers included were not chosen solely for their aesthetic visions or innovations in the medium but equally for their contributions to art photography in Canada, at a time when photography's status as an art form (and what form that art would take) was being debated and questioned.

Conclusion

The status of art photography in Canada as a nationalist phenomenon, or even a regional one, reverberated throughout this period as writers, curators, and critics struggled to either explain or distance – sometimes both – Canadian photography within its geographical and social context. This ambivalence was not limited to art photography; artists of all media were caught up in post-1967 Canada's growing pains, but it seems to have become a point of serious deliberation within the photographic community as it transitioned into an accepted artistic practice that was worthy of hanging on a gallery wall. *The Banff Purchase*, both the exhibition and the publication, was made with strong pedagogical and curatorial intentions and tried to express a vision of contemporary Canadian art photography grounded in critical vigour, formal exceptionalism, and artistic professionalism. In retrospect, the tension between the concept of "Canadian photography" and photography "made in Canada" – which was so central to their project – seems largely unresolved and, in the contemporary context of today's global art market, practically – and sadly – irrelevant. A major achievement of *The Banff Purchase* was its role as a catalyst in the development of the Walter Phillips Gallery's permanent collection, which continues to be displayed on the walls of the Banff Centre based on the work of artists who have participated in Centre programming over the decades, as well as a solid history of support for photographic arts education at the Banff Centre for the Arts. For this accomplishment, Falk and Hohn should be pleased. Today the photobook remains an object that can

only hint at the many concerns of this cultural moment – filled with growth, creativity, and contention. Nevertheless, *The Banff Purchase* stands out as an important contribution to the history of Canadian photographic publishing, one that, through careful re-reading, can offer insight into the past and ongoing dilemma of contemporary photography in Canada.

NOTES

1 Gail FISHER-TAYLOR, "A Journey to the West: Thoughts on the Banff Purchase," *Photo Communiqué* 1:4 (October 1979): 6.

2 My deep thanks go to Jane Parkinson, former archivist and records manager at the Banff Centre, for her help at the archives, to Lianne Caron, archives assistant at the Banff Centre, and to Maegan Hill-Carroll for research assistance while completing a residency at the Centre in 2014. My special appreciation must also be extended to Artexte in Montreal, where I spent many hours researching in their important collection on Canadian art and exhibition history. My thanks also go to Lorne Falk and Hubert Hohn for taking the time to correspond with me.

3 School of Fine Arts, Banff Centre for Continuing Education, "A Turning Point: An Advanced Conservatory for the Arts in Banff" (Banff Centre for Continuing Education, 1979).

4 Lorne FALK, "Updated Prospectus 'The Banff Purchase'" (Internal document, 11 August 1978), n.p., The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada – Exhibition Files Date: 1978–1991, The Banff Centre.

5 Wells describes critical compilations as "photobooks accompanying themed exhibitions involving work by several photographers." *The Banff Purchase* book is missing what Wells identifies as a major requirement of an exhibition catalogue: a list of artworks from the exhibition. Liz WELLS, "Beyond the Exhibition: From Catalogue to Photobook," in *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond*, ed. Patrizia Di Bello, Colette E. Wilson, and Shamoon Zamir (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 131.

6 In surveying the photographic publications produced pre-1979, I discovered primarily hardcover books on the history of photography: see for example A.J. BIRRELL, *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West, 1858–1900: A Public Archives of Canada Travelling Exhibition* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975); yet the majority of contemporary art publications were more modest and less costly affairs. Examples include: Winnipeg Art Gallery, *Three Manitoba Photographers Exhibition: David Barbour, Scott MacEachern, John Paskievich* (Winnipeg: The Gallery, 1977); Art Bank (Canada), *Transparent Things: The Artist's Use of the Photograph: Works from the Canada Council Art Bank* (Ottawa: Canada Council, 1977). Exempted from this generalization, the National Film Board of Canada Still Photography Division produced a number of quality books, yet they were primarily printed in black and white with soft covers. See: National Film Board of Canada. Still Photography Division, *Photography in Canada, Image 2*, ed. Lorraine Monk (Ottawa, ON: National Film Board of Canada/Office national du film du Canada, 1968).

7   Lorne Falk, "Prospectus 'The Banff Purchase'" (Internal document, July 1978), unpaginated prologue, The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada – Exhibition Files Date: 1978–1991, The Banff Centre.

8   Ibid., unpaginated abstract.

9   To give a sense of the breadth of Hohn and Falk's vision in practical terms, the updated prospectus for the exhibition, dated August 1978, proposed a budget of $70,000 for the "acquisition of photographs for the exhibition, the production of the exhibition and printed materials, and the advertising campaign" (13). Funding for the publication of the book and the teaching programs was to be acquired separately, a fact that proves the pedagogical programming and book were considered valuable individual aspects, not merely addendums.

10 Falk, "Updated Prospectus 'The Banff Purchase'," n.p.

11 Lorne Falk and Hubert Hohn, *The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada* (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons Canada, 1979), front dust jacket.

12 Falk argued that, "because the history of photography in Canada is essentially an untapped resource, contemporary Canadian photography has had to go elsewhere for its inspiration and tradition." This "elsewhere," according to Falk, was the United States of America: a position that provoked a heated debate in the following issues of *Photo Communiqué* in the "Exchange" section. Lorne Falk, "The Dilemma of Photography in Canada," *Photo Communiqué* 1:2 (June 1979): 17.

13 Email correspondence with author, 31 Oct. 2014.

14 Emphasizing the school as unique in Canada, *A Turning Point* describes everything from the future student body, teaching and support staff, philosophy of planning and teaching, and the programming elements. The school is re-envisioned as an escape into nature where small numbers of students can work independently on their own creative projects in an interdisciplinary environment. Unlike a university setting, no tenured positions would be offered, and teaching would be based on a mentoring and workshop model. *A Turning Point* was the establishment of the Banff Centre for the Arts as we know it today. School of Fine Arts, Banff Centre for Continuing Education, "A Turning Point: An Advanced Conservatory for the Arts in Banff."

15 Hohn founded the Inter-Arts program at Banff with Michael Century before leaving Banff in 1986 to create digital art and design for the Massachusetts College of Art. His practice by this time had moved towards digital and computer art.

16 David Leighton and Peggy Leighton, *Artists, Builders, and Dreamers: 50 Years at the Banff School* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 131.

17 Hohn had strong opinions on how to teach artists, and expressed his opinion in a 1979 presentation that "schools have largely failed to provide opportunities for genuine individual expressiveness, artistic creativeness and critical aesthetic responsiveness." See: Hubert Hohn, "Why Is This Man Laughing? A Scary Synthesis of Other Peoples' Ideas Having Something to Do With Art Education," in *Canadian Perspectives: A National Conference on Photography = Canadian Perspectives: Une conférence nationale sur la photographie au Canada* (Toronto: s.n., 1979), 321.

18 A shorter three-week course was also planned in the winter of 1980 as part of the project, to be taught by Hohn and aimed at beginners.

19 According to the Banff Archives student records, photographers who participated in the Master class included Robert Boffa, Lawrence Christmas, Michel Gaboury, Pierre

Groulx, and Ernie Kroeger, who would later run the Banff Centre's photography program.

20 Unfortunately for the Banff Centre and the photography department, in December 1979 there was a fire in Crich Hall, where the photography studios were located. This deeply impacted Hohn's plans for the program and a new building was still not built to replace it by the time he left the Centre in 1986.

21 Parr and Badger write that, "For around two decades, the United States became the world's dominant photographic culture, until the improved status of photography spread to the rest of the world." Martin PARR and Gerry BADGER, *The Photobook: A History II* (London: Phaidon, 2006), 12.

22 The WAG showed the work of Winnipeg architect Henry Kalen as early as 1966. Henry KALEN, *The Photographs of Henry Kalen*, Exhibition catalogue (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1966); curator Hohn made a strong impression in Edmonton, teaching and curating locally and even publishing an exhibition catalogue from EAG. Hubert HOHN, *Edmonton Entrances: An Exhibition Organized by the Edmonton Art Gallery, November 3 to December 10, 1975* (Edmonton: The Gallery, 1975).

23 Carol PAYNE, *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941–1971* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 34.

24 Payne notes in her book about the Still Photography Division that it was during the 1960s, under Lorraine Monk's management of the division, that more emphasis was placed on photographic modernism and art photography. Ibid., 45–52.

25 Some of their highly successful exhibitions from the 1970s were published as books. See: BIRRELL, *Into the Silent Land*; Lilly A. Koltun and National Photography Collection (Canada), *City Blocks, City Spaces: Historical Photographs of Canada's Urban Growth, c. 1850–1900 = Espaces urbains: photographies historiques de la croissance urbaine au Canada, vers 1850–1900* (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1980).

26 The AGO's 1975 exhibition *Exposure*, its first foray into the medium, was an open call that used a jury to narrow the final selection of exhibitors to 146 photographers from across the country. Shin SUGINO and Glenda MILROD, *Exposure: Canadian Contemporary Photographers = Photographes canadiens contemporains* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario; distributed by Gage, 1975).

27 One of the only exhibitions to include contemporary Canadian photographers was James BORCOMAN, *The Photograph as Object, 1843–1969 = La photographie: art et objet, 1843–1969* (Ottawa, ON: National Gallery of Canada/Galerie nationale du Canada, 1969).

28 FALK, "Updated Prospectus 'The Banff Purchase'."

29 One example, *5 Photographers*, organized at the Owens Gallery at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, in 1976, included Bourdeau, Cohen, Gagnon, and Gibson, alongside photographer Marianna Knottenbelt. These five photographers were exhibited by the same commercial gallery, Yajima/Galerie in Montreal, which was run by Michiko Yajima Gagnon, the wife of Charles Gagnon. Indeed, all of *The Banff Purchase* photographers, with the exception of Nina Raginsky and David McMillan, had shows at Yajima/Galerie during the 1970s.

30 In her introduction to the book, Penny Cousineau acknowledges the importance of the NFB Still Photography Division in promoting Canadian photographers. See: Falk

and Hohn, *The Banff Purchase*. For a detailed history of the NFB Still Photography Division exhibition and publishing history see Martha LANGFORD, *Contemporary Canadian Photography from the Collection of the National Film Board = Photographie canadienne contemporaine de la collection de l'Office national du film du Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984).

31 National Film Board of Canada, Still Photography Division, NFB *Travelling Exhibition Catalogue = Catalogue des expositions itinérantes de l'ONF* (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, Still Photography Division, 1979).

32 National Film Board of Canada. Still Photography Division, *Image 2*; Lorraine MONK, ed., *A Review of Contemporary Photography in Canada*, *Image 6* (Toronto: Martlet Press for the National Film Board of Canada, 1970); Tom GIBSON, *Tom Gibson*, Signature 1 (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada/L'Office national du film du Canada, 1975); National Film Board of Canada and Still Photography Division, *The Gallery = La galerie: An Exhibition of Canadian Photography* (Ottawa: The Division, 1973).

33 This was stated in the "Publisher's Note" at the back of the book. MONK, *Image 6*, n.p.

34 Hugo McPHERSON, "Charles Gagnon: The Complete Artist," *artscanada* 31:2 (Autumn 1974): 79–81; Ann THOMAS, "Robert Bourdeau's Landforms: In Praise of the Lucid," *artscanada* 34:2 (June 1977): 18–26.

35 Philip FRY, "Charles Gagnon: Making and Taking [Charles Gagnon: Faire et prendre]," *Parachute* (Autumn 1977): 8–13.

36 W JENKINS, "Lynne Cohen: Interiors – Portfolio," *Image: The Bulletin of the George Eastman House of Photography* 17:3 (September 1974): 12–19.

37 Tom GIBSON, "Photographs by Tom Gibson," *Creative Camera* 117 (March 1974): 98–103.

38 Penny COUSINEAU, "Two Photographic Exhibitions," *Parachute* 4 (Autumn 1976): 6–9.

39 Geoffrey JAMES, "Responding to Photographs: A Canadian Portfolio," *artscanada* 31:3–4 (December 1974): 1–36.

40 Ibid., 2.

41 Ibid., 7.

42 This interest and critical concern is reflected by the fact that in 1979 three conferences on photography were organized: *Canadian Perspectives: A National Conference on Canadian Photography*, held in Toronto at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, 1–4 March; *Canadian Images '79*, held in Peterborough at Trent University 23 March – 1 April; and *The City and the Camera*, held in Toronto at York University, also in March that year.

43 In his introduction to the catalogue of *Mirrors and Windows*, Szarkowski describes two types of personal vision in photography: the "mirror" is a reflection and projection of the photographer's sensibility and the "window" is the photographer's clear-eyed response to the reality they witness through the camera. This dialectic was and continues to be both influential and controversial in photographic studies. See: John SZARKOWSKI, *Mirrors and Windows: American Photography Since 1960* (New York and Boston: Museum of Modern Art; distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1978); Parr and Badger, *The Photobook*, 12–13.

44 FALK, "Updated Prospectus 'The Banff Purchase,'" Appendix A – The Book.

45 Ibid.

46 Both Falk and Hohn wrote me that they thought David Leighton had known someone at the publishing house: Hohn, 17 Nov. 2014; Falk, 6 Dec. 2014.

47 Email correspondence with author, 17 Nov. 2014.

48 Email correspondence with author, 6 Dec. 2014.

49 By utilizing the term "photographic modernism," I am pointing to the understanding of photography's formal qualities as quintessentially modern and artistic, which curators and writers such as John Szarkowski and others were promoting in the 1950s through the 1970s. In this, I am indebted to the critical understanding of photographic modernism that Richard Bolton, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, and many others have articulated, thereby helping viewers to appreciate how photographic modernism led to "the streamlining of photographic meaning and the broader depoliticization of artistic experience." Richard BOLTON, ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), xi.

50 Now known as Penny Cousineau-Levine, she continues to teach the history and theory of photography at the University of Ottawa.

51 Penny COUSINEAU, "Introduction," in *The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada*, eds. Lorne Falk and Hubert Hohn (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons Canada, 1979), n.p.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Nathan LYONS, "Introduction," in *Toward a Social Landscape* (New York: Horizon Press, 1967), 4–7.

55 COUSINEAU, "Introduction," n.p.

56 FALK and HOHN, *The Banff Purchase*.

57 Email correspondence with the author, 6 Dec. 2014.

58 Penny COUSINEAU-LEVINE, *Faking Death: Canadian Art Photography and the Canadian Imagination* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

59 Book reviews were rare. One, by librarian Tiit Kōdar in the *Art Libraries Society of North America Newsletter*, offers a superficial paragraph description that relies broadly on the aims of the book to promote photography as "worthy of the same kind of consideration as the other visual arts." Tiit KŌDAR, "Review: *Canadian Photography: 1839–1920* by Ralph Greenhill; *Camera in the Interior: 1858. H.I. Hime Photographer. The Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition* by Richard J. Huyda; *Benjamin Baltzly, Photographs & Journal of an Expedition Through British Columbia: 1871* by Andrew Birrell; *The Banff Purchase: An Exhibition of Photography in Canada*," ARLIS/NA *Newsletter* 8:3 (1 May 1980): 103–104.

60 Gail FISHER-TAYLOR, "Editorial," *Photo Communiqué* 1:1 (April 1979): 1–2.

61 Nancy TOUSLEY, "The Banff Purchase [Robert Bourdeau, Lynne Cohen, Charles Gagnon, Tom Gibson, David McMillan, Nina Raginsky, and Orest Semchishen]," *Vanguard* 8:8 (October 1979): 27.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Nancy TOUSLEY, "The Banff Purchase [Robert Bourdeau, Lynne Cohen, Charles Gagnon, Tom Gibson, David McMillan, Nina Raginsky, and Orest Semchishen]," *The Calgary Herald*, October 1979.

65 TOUSLEY, "The Banff Purchase," *Vanguard*, 27.

66 Ibid., 29.

67 In a 1984 essay, later published in book form, Abigail Solomon-Godeau described the state of art photography of this era as "hostage still to a modernist allegiance to the autonomy, self-referentiality, and transcendence of the work of art . . . ." Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Photography After Art Photography," in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 123.

68 Fisher-Taylor, "A Journey to the West: Thoughts on the Banff Purchase," 7.

69 Karyn Elizabeth Allen, *The Winnipeg Perspective 1979: Photo/Extended Dimensions*, Exhibition catalogue (Winnipeg, MB: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979).

70 David Campany, "Conceptual Art History or, A Home for Homes for America," in *Rewriting Conceptual Art*, eds. Jon Bird and Michael Newman, Critical Views (London: Reaktion, 1999), 127.

71 Gail Fisher-Taylor, "Photography: The Banff Purchase," *artmagazine* 11:47 (April 1980): 25–30; Fisher-Taylor, "A Journey to the West: Thoughts on the Banff Purchase"; Gail Fisher-Taylor, "Banff Purchase: A Photography Project in Canada," *Printletter* 5:1 (February 1980): 3.

72 Fisher-Taylor, "Photography," 25.

73 Ibid.

74 Fisher-Taylor, "Photography," 30.

RÉSUMÉ

Production et publication du livre *The Banff Purchase* : nationalisme et pédagogie

KARLA MCMANUS

Le 13 juillet 1979, la Walter Phillips Gallery du Banff Centre for Continuing Education inaugurait une exposition ambitieuse sur la photographie canadienne contemporaine. Commissariée par Lorne Falk et Hubert Hohn, l'exposition comprenait les œuvres d'un groupe d'éminents photographes dans le but d'asseoir la réputation du Banff Centre comme haut lieu de réflexion photographique. Pour l'établissement, c'était une période de transition et de croissance. Engagé pour enseigner la photographie au Banff Centre en 1977, Hubert Hohn s'est rapidement investi dans le développement d'un nouveau plan directeur pour l'éducation. Publié en 1979, « A Turning Point » relatait la transformation de l'école en colonie artistique. Récemment embauché par la Walter Phillips Gallery, Lorne Falk avait entrepris de mettre sur pied, pour l'établissement en expansion, une pratique de gestion des collections où les œuvres d'artistes étrangers et de Canadiens de renom pourraient servir à des fins éducatives et de conservation. *The Banff Purchase* s'inscrivait donc dans ce plan plus vaste.

Dans les années 1970, la photographie en tant que médium gagnait en popularité dans les galeries d'art et les musées à l'échelle internationale, notamment aux États-Unis. Les préoccupations à l'égard du statut de la photographie artistique au Canada se répercutaient toutefois au cours de cette période, alors que les écrivains, les conservateurs et les critiques avaient peine à différencier la « photographie canadienne » de la photographie « réalisée au Canada ». Dans un article intitulé « The Dilemma of Photography in Canada », publié en 1979 dans le nouveau magazine *Photo Communiqué*, Lorne Falk s'inquiète de l'absence de normes professionnelles et artistiques, alors que les artistes de la relève commencent à expérimenter avec le médium. Avec leur projet de commissariat d'exposition à caractère pédagogique, Falk et Hohn souhaitaient remettre en question la place du médium dans l'imaginaire canadien en recourant à la fois à l'exposition, à la collection et à sa publication d'accompagnement « comme catalyseur » de l'expansion et du développement professionnel au sein des communautés vouées à la photographie et au commissariat d'œuvres photographiques.

Dans le cadre de leur stratégie de commissariat, Hohn et Falk ciblent un petit groupe de photographes unanimement reconnus par leurs pairs et les professionnels de l'art comme indéfectiblement talentueux, professionnels et dévoués à leur médium. L'exposition *The Banff Purchase*, qui a voyagé partout au Canada dans les années qui suivirent, faisait la promotion d'un style particulier de photographie basé sur le modernisme tardif. Bien que certains critiques aient considéré l'exposition comme élitiste et conservatrice, d'autres, au contraire, ont accueilli le professionnalisme esthétique et technique des photographies qui y étaient présentées.

Parallèlement à leur ambitieux projet éducatif d'exposition, Falk et Hohn produisirent un recueil de photographies. *The Banff Purchase* est une publication exemplaire, remarquable par sa qualité, son importance et sa valeur. À une époque où, au Canada, les catalogues d'exposition photographique quand ils étaient produits l'étaient souvent au moindre coût possible, *The Banff Purchase* était une prise de position sérieuse, sinon une critique, visant à élever les normes de publication de la photographie artistique canadienne. Si, de nos jours, *The Banff Purchase* ne laisse qu'entrevoir les nombreuses préoccupations de cette période culturelle, sa relecture attentive permet de mieux comprendre le passé et le dilemme auquel est toujours confrontée la photographie contemporaine au Canada. *The Banff Purchase*, tant l'exposition que la publication, exprime une vision de la photographie canadienne contemporaine articulée autour d'une critique vigoureuse, de l'exceptionnalisme formel et du professionnalisme artistique.

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About *image nation*, 1970–1982

MARTHA LANGFORD

Certain conversations keep busy in the mind. Surprise makes them memorable; mortification makes them sharp; the combination is decisive. These factors explain my clear recollection of a very brief conversation that I had some 35 years ago with Toronto artist and writer David Hlynsky (b. 1947), then editor of the photography magazine *image nation*, at an exhibition opening in Ottawa.

Who is this 'I'? At that time, I was senior exhibition producer at the National Film Board, Still Photography Division – curator, in all but name, of the federal government agency charged with the collection and circulation in exhibitions and publications of contemporary Canadian photography. The NFB/SPD operated the Photo Gallery/Galerie de l'Image on Kent Street in Ottawa, which is where we were standing on the evening of 14 February 1980.

Hlynsky and I came together over an exhibition that I had organized to take a look at new photographic work being produced in a process commonly known as 'Cibachrome', which was also the title of my show.[1] Artists drawn to this material constituted an interesting sub-group of the photographic movement known as "new colour."[2] Cibachrome had striking visual qualities – the colours were generally very bright, especially the reds – and the material was resistant to fading, making the collection of prints more defendable in terms of conservation. In addition to prints, there was also the option of making large-scale transparencies. Vancouver artist Jeff Wall (b. 1946) was coming to attention for his back-lit photographs; *Cibachrome* marked his first exhibition in Ottawa with the later repudiated *Faking Death* (1977). Long story short, Hlynsky had submitted work and been accepted to the exhibition which included 40 artists in all – an eclectic group, from landscape photographer Freeman Patterson (b. 1937) to conceptual and performance artist Paul Wong (b. 1954) – many of whom were present that night.

So I said to David Hlynsky that it might be good thing to collaborate, and possibly produce a special issue of *image nation* with the works that

Detail, Catherine MacTavish, "Toronto photographers are invited to submit/ Discoveries in Phenomena of Vision," call for submissions, fall 1972? From *image nation* 12, 1973. David Hlynsky, ed. (Photo: courtesy of Coach House Press)

surrounded us on the gallery walls. And he replied, "Then it wouldn't be an alternative publication, would it?" End of story, and the beginning of a puzzle that I hope to resolve here.

Alternative to *what?*

Hlynsky's rhetorical reply assumes some shared level of understanding about the meaning of 'alternative' and how *image nation* occupied that position in Canadian photographic publishing. But what exactly constituted 'alternative' at that point in time for the photographic community?

In her introduction to *Alternative Art New York 1965–1985*, Julie Ault acknowledges that 'alternative' is a difficult word; likewise, its close equivalents, 'marginal' and 'oppositional'. Looking to define a movement, she has opted for 'alternative', finding the term useful because "it declares historical and critical relations between the structures thus classified and the then-existing institutions and practices."[3] Her focus on New York, where differences between have and have-not communities and their clubhouses are legendarily writ large, offers plenty of scope. Ault's "Chronology of Selected Alternative Structures, Spaces, Artists' Groups, and Organizations in New York City, 1965–85" is a primer on two decades of collective action, political organization, and coalition-building – conditions inscribed in the longer title of the 1970 Art Strike: "Art Strike against Racism, War and Oppression."[4] Of particular interest here is Ault's reference to an "alternative network."[5] This possibility is also recognized by AA Bronson, member of the collective General Idea (1967–1994), who places Canadian artists' magazines under the heading of "connective tissue," stating their importance in illuminating terms: *not* as a means of "artists' communication" in the obvious sense (though this was the rationale that won federal funding for General Idea's *FILE Megazine*[6]), but allowing a "scene" to be pictured: "to see ourselves, to know ourselves," and, with considerable prescience, to archive the ephemera of "networking."[7] The motive force is evidentiary, in other words, and depends on an understanding of photography as indexical – a document, a 'picture of'.

For some thirty years (1978–2008), alternative publishing had a voice in the person of Judith A. Hoffberg, editor and publisher of *Umbrella*, an art magazine for news, reviews, and resource information that championed printed matter. Hoffberg's coverage of the Alternative Art Publishing Conference held at the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, New York (6–9 November 1979) captures a robust, mutually supportive, and chronically underfunded sub-field of contemporary art that produced artists' books, Mail Art, one-of-a-kind book projects, and sculptural bookworks.[8] Canadian practice was represented by Torontonians David Buchan (1950–1994), bookstore manager of the artist-run publisher Art Metropole, and Eldon

Garnet (b. 1946), editor of the art and culture magazine *Impulse*. Intriguing in this context is the inclusion of Dada and Constructivist magazines, canonical one might think, yet equally secure in the alternativeness of their historical moment.[9]

Gwen Allen, who devotes a chapter of her *Artist's Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* to FILE, "The Magazine as Mirror," captures some key characteristics of 'alternativeness' through the lens of Conceptual art: a "new site of display" for the concurrent tendencies toward site-specificity, process, and performance; a sense of "contingency;" the need to know "what was going on" because it was not happening in galleries. Allen underscores the "ephemerality" of the magazine as medium, "the very fleeting and precarious nature of the magazine itself," whose embrace rejected the "standard measures of art world success," reimagining "art's power and potential."[10] A legitimate question for the editors of *image nation*, or any other photography magazine, was how much space would be allotted to their aspirations in this reimagined universe.

image nation was conceived in a different spirit, 'alternative' to both established and radical institutions that narrowly defined or took no notice of photography as an art form. There was banditry from the beginning, *image nation*, the photographic magazine, taking the name of an existent 'alternative' magazine that had already published seven issues. Then ensued a program of re-education. In fact, what can be seen in General Idea's contribution to the re-inaugural issue of *image nation* (number 8) is a turn toward "photographic ideas," as solicited in a call for submissions issued by the re-founding co-editors, Fletcher Starbuck (1945–2008) and Norman Bringsjord (b. 1946).[11] Photographic documents of three performances from the series *What Happened (General Idea)* (1970) were selected. The first, "Mary Gardner and Tim Rhodes hang the laundry bag from the Rochdale roof (1–3)," though plainly staged, is performed without undue reference to the instrument of record, a machine and its operator, at first co-present with the actors on the roof (1–2), then moving to a neighbouring building's higher vantage point to capture the results (3). The second and third excerpts from *What Happened (General Idea)* are somewhat different, as performances directed at and for a camera in a fixed position: "Miss Paige faces the camera (1–4)" and "Michael Tims demonstrates trouser opening (1–6)." They mimic the modernist portrait and the photo-op – both essentially meaningless, but photogenic spectacles – blurring the boundaries between documents (of performance) and (performative) works of art. In the same rich vein, Hlynsky produced the first cover illustration for FILE *Megazine* (April 1972), featuring the conceptual art personality Mr. Peanut (Vincent Trasov, b. 1947) posing against the Toronto skyline. The dialogue between uses of photography was ongoing: General Idea would return to *image nation* in Hlynsky's number 15.

FLETCHER STARBUCK

1 | Fletcher Starbuck, *untitled*, n.d. From *image nation* 8. Norman Bringsjord and Fletcher Starbuck, eds. (Photo: courtesy of Coach House Press)

Mindful of their ideational differences, the magazines were good neighbours because of the proverbial fence.

   To understand better the constitution of a photographic 'alternative', should we forego textual analysis and simply look to the imagery? The question is not silly, given the shortage of explanation, contextualization, or rationale in the first ten issues of *image nation* (8 to 17). This is not to say that there is no text. Starbuck and Bringsjord's inaugural issue includes a series of photographs by West Coast photographer Dane Campbell (b. 1943) whose long captions appear in this avant-garde context to be parodying professional or Camera Club tech talk, as in "This photo was taken on 35mm Tri-X film at 1/60th of a second at f11 with a 'Nikonos 11' all-weather camera." Words and signs are embedded, or cut-out, of images by Ian Carr-Harris (b. 1941). Michael (Mike) Semak (b. 1934) wrote a letter to Starbuck explaining how

and why he managed to photograph his *Nude Family* series, which includes the copulating couple and the genitals of their young children. The letter as reproduced is a montage: grey type over a ghostly photographic portrait of a Ghanaian elder. This appears to be Semak's stationery, overwriting his NFB/SPD commissioned exhibition *If This Is the Time: Photographed in Ghana by Michael Semak*, which was published in 1969 as *Image 4*.

This first photographic issue of *image nation*, more than any other, has both text and taboos, including a double-exposed portrait (self-portrait?) by Coach House Press founder Stan Bevington (b. 1943), filling a pipe and smoking it, and a beautifully choreographed series of figure and landscape by Tamio Wakayama (b. 1941), whose male nudity would have been censored by other printing houses at that time. Picture-making, as opposed to picture-taking, is plainly the watchword, sometimes through manipulation (Jack Mlynek, b. 1948) or montage (Starbuck) (Fig. 1). The issue's epilogue is from William Carlos Williams: "Only the imagination is real." Free association takes form in a number of works, and the surreal and sardonic possibilities of straight photography are represented by the photographs of Michel Saint-Jean (1937–2007), which juxtapose artisanal signage and mass culture – words and images colliding in the external world.

Text recedes over the next issues. Numbers 9 and 10, edited by Starbuck alone, are untitled. Number 11, "Photographs by Women About Women," edited by the Women's Photo Co-op, has no editorial, but includes statements about what it means to be a woman photographer. The integration of practice and motherhood is narrated in a diaristic image/text work by Lisa Steele (b. 1947) (Fig. 2). Once Hlynsky took over (no. 12), themes began to be proffered as a guide, though not always. No. 15, a subtle amalgam of statements about the nature of photography and photographic seeing, asks to be decoded page by page, spread by spread, and only on reflection, as a whole. Anointed by editorial decision, pegged to an unstated concept, the image ruled: uncaptioned, therefore placeless, timeless, sometimes even authorless, when the names of the photographers were listed at the front or back, making attribution a chore. The journal itself was undated from issues 8 (October 1970?) to 19/20 (1979) – a finger in the eye of librarians and future art historians. *image nation* was not alone in this equivocal affirmation of the image and its direct appeal to the spectator. The message was embedded in a range of photographic publications, including the NFB/SPD's *Image* series. The Division's deployment of photography as "the silent language" *could be* interpreted as bridge-building in a bilingual nation, and was eventually denounced as propaganda.[12]

Spoken or unspoken, editorial intent mattered because there were distinct similarities between images that appeared in 'alternative' and 'non-alternative'

In the photographs, handwritten text reads:

I went over to Marnie's house one afternoon to visit her + her two daughters and we passed my camera around

Darmody, who's 5, took this picture of her sister Cara, me in the middle, and her mother Marnie.

Cara, who's 3, took this one of Darmody and Marnie. I'm not in this one because Cara took the pictures (so's not)

22

2 | Lisa Steele. Photographs by Cara and Darmody Mumford, n.d. From *image nation* 11. Edited by the Women's Photo Co-op: June Greenberg, Pamela Harris, Judith Holman, Laura Jones, Lynn Murray, Liz Maunsell, Linda Rosenbaum, and Lisa Steele. (Photo: courtesy of Lisa Steele and Coach House Press)

publications – let's not say 'mainstream' for now. Indeed, they were not just similar, but quite a number of images reproduced in *image nation* also appeared in the NFB/SPD's *Image* series, or its successor, the *Signature* monographs, as well as the highbrow *artscanada*. This was happening on Hlynsky's watch, but migrations were occurring from the beginning. Tom

Gibson's (b. 1930) singular variations on the social landscape appeared (in very dark reproduction) in Starbuck's first solo issue (no. 9). Gibson would be featured in the first NFB/SPD *Signature* book (1975), including *My Shadow at Comber*, 1971, intrinsically valuable as an image, but also helpful in dating number 9 where it had also appeared (in or after 1971). More leaps between alternative and non-alternative magazines were made by Starbuck himself, whose work appeared regularly in issues of *image nation* edited by himself or Hlynsky, and was featured in *artscanada* in 1970, 1975, and 1977.[13]

There was, in other words, a history of cross-pollination, perhaps more meaningful in hindsight, as records of negotiation and exchange, barter and banter, subtle and not-so-subtle complaint. Semak's slighting reference to his NFB monograph *Image 4* in his portfolio of nudes for *image nation* 8 exemplifies the last. The Montreal issue (no. 14) is the next most interesting example. It was guest edited by NFB/SPD favourite John Max (1936–2011), assisted by Jorge Guerra (b. 1936), future editor of the documentary photography *Magazine OVO*, and photographer Peter Neville, and included work by all three, guaranteeing a high level of eclecticism.[14] Their issue ranges between stagey confrontations with the body, especially the female nude, submerged, masked, or in bondage, and discreet black and white notations in the snapshot aesthetic, all in the name of camera vision – its distortion and clarification.[15] Their unifying fascination is figured in a graphic *envoi*, a pale grey circle on a white field – this motif no doubt borrowed from Montreal-based multi-media artist Normand Grégoire (b. 1944), whose experimental work of the late 1960s through early 1970s was published by NFB/SPD as *Image* 7 (1970), released by the NFB as a short animation, *Série 4* (1972), and quarried for both *Image 6* and *image nation*.[14]

Radical book design might have signalled alternative directions – Allen makes this a hallmark of artists' magazines[16] – but styles across the spectrum of photography's printed matter were surprisingly homogeneous and imitations were not always ironic or consciously appropriated, as for example, when General Idea parodied the American mass media giant *LIFE* in *FILE Megazine*. Artists and designers borrowed from each other, and still do, though that wasn't the nut of it. The paper and printing industries imposed uniformities of scale and presentation that publishers of small runs adhered to for economic reasons. A desire for alternative expression ran smack up against practicalities, affecting size, orientation (portrait or landscape), and even the layout. These things had to be mailed, after all. For most of its existence, *image nation* held to a squarish landscape format, 20.3 cm × 20.95 cm (8" × 8¼"); binding was Saddle Stitch, or wire-stapling, a process typically limited to 64 pages or less, though sometimes stretched by one or two signatures. With one exception (7), NFB/SPD's *Image* series measured 22.2 cm

× 22.8 cm; signatures were sewn and the book was perfect-bound, allowing twice the number of pages. There was no shame in conforming; indeed, these designs put both *image nation* and *Image* into the company they actively desired. Catalogues from the George Eastman House, designed by American photographer and educator Nathan Lyons, looked very much the same – *Toward a Social Landscape* (1966), *The Persistence of Vision* (1967), and *Vision and Expression* (1969). Lyons's own monograph, *Notations in Passing* (1974) did not deviate: 20.3 cm × 22.9 cm, stitched, perfect-bound, 124 pages. In technical terms, these are small-format books, the opposite of coffee table books or grand exhibition catalogues. Alternative form followed function: these books afforded the reader a comfortable experience of paging through a volume at one sitting.

In a wordless universe, the layout of a photography book becomes a statement of plans. Lyons was never at a loss for words, but having framed his project and introduced the participant-photographers, he let the photographs speak. His layouts in double-page spreads adopt the visual language of sequence, as opposed to directing attention onto a single image by leaving the recto side blank.[17] Minor White, American photographer, teacher, and editor of *Aperture* magazine from its foundation in 1952 to his death in 1976, had asked the big question: "Which is more creative, seeing or sequencing?"[18] Some photographers and editors felt quite strongly about these matters, though they might alternate between alternatives. American photographer and teacher Carl Chiarenza, who edited the last three issues (1967–1969) of *Contemporary Photographer* (20.3 cm × 23 cm), suggests that even White, who famously encouraged close, meditative inspection of the singular image, "did convey both ideas – the reading of one picture and of a sequence . . . [these mental processes] are different, but they're very closely related."[19] In the period under discussion, they represent schools of thought about the photograph and states of reception, as surely as the purist approach and manipulative techniques appealed to different sensibilities.[20] Their combination in a single volume signalled a desire for visual dialogue, perhaps toward a third way, whose direction was not always clear.

In his 1977 *artscanada* feature article on Starbuck, composer Peter Perrin imports the idea of "counterpoint" to the organization of Starbuck's pictures.[21] Musical analogies were hardly foreign to photographic discourse – at the heart-point of photographic modernism, Alfred Stieglitz's dearest hope for his cloud series was that composer Ernest Bloch recognize its equivalence to music.[22] Principles of counterpoint, which are polyphony and independence, are active in Lyons's selection and sequencing of his survey publication *Vision and Expression*; he explains his editorial process as a coming to grips with the photographer's whole submission in order to choose a single representative

image to put into his sequence: "While the process was essentially non-verbal, the questioning became intense."[23] Indeed, non-verbal communication of the integrity and importance of a photographer's work might best be effected by pairings and sequences of individual images that did not echo each other, but spoke to each other across the gutter – separate but equal. In this way, each double-page spread became an argument for the diversity and vitality of the medium, no matter how conventional the individual image. In other musical terms, one image riffed off the other, and this approach ran counter to the harmonizing thematic of Edward Steichen's humanist monument *The Family of Man* (Museum of Modern Art, 1955). Examining *image nation* with these structures in mind is quite helpful. Hlynsky's number 15, which I keep coming back to, avoids any kind of simplistic pairing or narrative undertow. There is no heavy-handed 'making meaning' or ideological humanist echoing – all people the same – which certainly bedevils most of the *Image* series.[24]

This preliminary search for alternatives is coming full circle to the human actors – should we look no further than the makers of *image nation*? This is perhaps more promising, though not by scrutinizing them as individuals whose alternativeness or radicalism must be put to the test, but by examining their roles in circles and networks – those institutional formations that we are focusing on here. Consideration of those structures (visible and invisible; administrative and affective) naturally leads to the question of infrastructure, which in capitalist societies manifests in the form of opportunities for fortune and/or fame, and in Canada, summons up a once-upon-a-time of government-funded artist-run culture whose lustre as 'alternative' has certainly faded, but which dazzled most onlookers at the time. As I have argued elsewhere, in the late 1960s, "taking up photography as a form of artistic expression was at root somewhat rebellious, for the medium, while immensely popular, was effectively marginalised, still uncollected by most museums and art galleries, still untaught in faculties of fine arts."[25] An art market for modernist photography began to develop in the 1970s, followed by a boom in the 1980s; this was marked by the arrival of postmodern product, "large, colourful, visually dramatic and expensively framed."[26] Ironically, photography's status as an alternative or maverick means of expression was already in jeopardy by the time Hlynsky and I had our lightning exchange, which might explain his allergy to federal co-optation. *image nation* (1970–1982) is a product of the long 1970s, a decade now sliding into history, as the backstory of contemporary photographic art in the late twentieth century. All the more reason, I would argue, for reopening the discussion of what constituted 'alternative' and for considering why being 'alternative' was such an attractive and productive stance for a Canadian photographic magazine; we need to look at *image nation* through that compound lens.

What precisely was *image nation*?

The short answer is 'many things'. The magazine defies definition, which is itself a position, and presents as a series of conjectures about photography – ontological, technological, and experiential – ideas in the air at that time.

image nation began as the in-house organ of Rochdale College, a cooperative housing project and free university that operated in Toronto, adjacent to the University of Toronto campus, from 1968 to 1975. It was the weekend supplement to the Rochdale *Daily*, which brought news and opinion to the residents and beyond. The supplement's title was inspired by the "Image-Nations" series, which the American-born poet Robin Blaser (1925–2009) had begun to write in 1963–64, some four years before immigrating to Canada.[27] As Miriam Nichols explains these poems, "they pick up the task of tracking the scattered content of the sacred."[28] Art historian Robin Simpson notes that the first issues of *image nation* (1–7) combined Rochdale's current affairs with literature and poetry; the editors included Boston-born science-fiction writer and activist Judith Merril (Judith Josephine Grossman, 1923–1997) and Toronto-born poet Victor Coleman (b. 1944). The designers were Ken Coupland and others affiliated with Coach House Press.[29]

Founded by an Edmonton-born printer, typesetter, and photographer, Stan Bevington, Coach House Press had been operating in Toronto since 1965.[30] Bevington was a visionary, in the best sense of the word, whose publishing house and work for audacious cultural enterprises, such as the Isaacs Gallery, encouraged alliances between literary and visual arts circles, and their respective technologies. By the seventh issue, 21 June 1969, *image nation* was being published in association with Coach House Press and paying more attention to literature. The next issue, number 8, published in the fall of 1970, marked the magazine's decisive move into photography. Simpson cites the redirection of this publication as an example of Rochdale College's history as an institutional actor in Toronto's arts milieu.[31] This is the function that interests us here, though the serial's pre-photographic history is important. It makes the point that, title notwithstanding, *image nation*'s origins were at first local and practical, then rooted in the aspirant cosmopolitanism of socio-political activism, avant-garde literature, and serious play. Coleman was plainly supportive of the change and deeply committed to photography as an act of the imagination, which he later connected with the "information . . . special language [and] humour" of Correspondence Art.[32] Overall, the shift was not seen as a loss for literature, but as a gain for visual poetics.

Knowing the source of the title underscores another key point, that the magazine as founded had nothing to do with defining or circumscribing a national profile, either in literature or photography; this was destined to
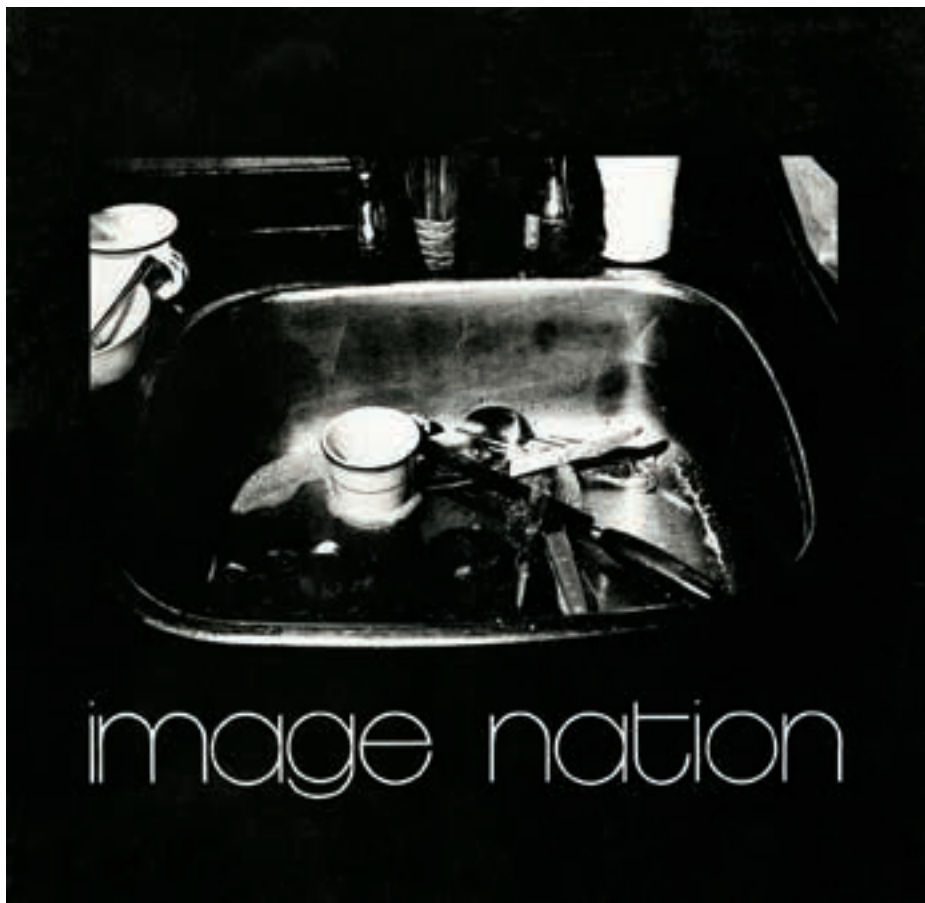
3 | David Hlynsky, *untitled*, c. 1971. Cover of *image nation* 12, 1973. David Hlynsky, ed. (Photo: courtesy of David Hlynsky and Coach House Press)

change, though not for the first four photographic issues, as co-edited by Starbuck and Bringsjord (no. 8), then by Starbuck alone (nos. 9 and 10), then by the Women's Photo Co-op (established at the Baldwin Street Gallery, Toronto, in 1971), whose special issue also served as the catalogue for a touring exhibition of work by contemporary Canadian and American photographers (no. 11).[33] Canadianization was driven by practical considerations: funding from the Canada Council for the Arts, and, by number 15, the Ontario Arts Council, was predicated on contributors being Canadians or immigrants with resident status in Canada.[34] Starbuck, who would eventually return to the United States, saw this as an unacceptable restraint and left the journal.[35] Hlynsky, who took over, saw it as "an exuberant celebration of Canadian liberalism . . . If there was a thread of Canadian nationalism in it at all, I saw it as a modest defence against American mass media."[36] His nationalization of *image nation* passed through localization – the "Toronto Photography

Issue" (no. 12) (Fig. 3) and "Montreal Photographers" (no. 14). Number 13 was meta-local – based on vernacular photography. The journal was suddenly party to the territorialisation and institutionalization of Canadian photographic practice.

A focus on Canadian photography might represent an alternative to the behemoth of United States cultural imperialism, though applying this rule to *image nation* circa 1970 is complicated by the fact that Bringsjord, Starbuck, and Hlynsky had only recently arrived in Canada as resisters to the Vietnam War.[37] They came with a bit of luggage. Bringsjord was a graduate of the Graphic Arts School at the Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT), where he studied printing and photography. Toward the end of his studies, he had attended weekly evening critiques at the home of Nathan Lyons, which made a lasting impression. The war altered his career path, which was leading to a job arranged by his father at the publishing house McGraw-Hill. In Toronto, he gravitated toward Coach House Press where he met Bevington, who introduced him to Starbuck. They organized their own critiques, expanding the group to include Japanese Canadian activist Tamio Wakayama who had photographed the Civil Rights Movement alongside Bob Adelman in the United States.[38] They also worked with Chris Youngs, another expatriate American artist, to found Nightingale Gallery (later the non-profit Nightingale Arts Council, and later still, A Space). Starbuck had started photographing in San Francisco. As Bringsjord remembers, he and Starbuck shared a "purist" approach, which meant diminished interest in the content emphasized by documentary photography or photojournalism. They both went for "object about," not "picture of," which Bringsjord remembers as one of Lyons's axioms.[39] The slogan was likely borrowed from California-based camera artist Robert Heinecken who published a statement to that effect in 1965 in which he compared photography to a "found object."[40] One could say that Heinecken's own collages literalize the Dadaist collector's spirit. But the "object about" axiom is also consonant with the teachings of White, as another leading constructed-image-maker, Jerry N. Uelsmann, also connected to Lyons, was saying at the time.[41]

The push-pull of American influence on Canadian photographic practice and institutionalization is a very complex story, more of which will be told elsewhere.[42] In the case of *image nation*; most of the actors were young, in their twenties or thirties, and those who were not self-taught were fresh out of school where they *might* have studied with the first generation of photo-educators, but were just as likely to have been educated in traditional studio arts. Dane Campbell is an interesting example. He grew up on a cattle ranch in Alberta before moving to the West Coast at age 15. He picked up photography and studied for a time in the Department of Fine Arts

4 | Catherine MacTavish, "Toronto photographers are invited to submit/Discoveries in Phenomena of Vision," call for submissions, fall 1972? From *image nation* 12, 1973. David Hlynsky, ed. (Photo: courtesy of Coach House Press)

at the University of Victoria. There he met Toronto-born, US-educated art and architectural historian Alan Gowans (1923–2001), who hired him to work on the slide collection and encouraged him to attend a summer course at the George Eastman House in Rochester, New York.[43] Two of Campbell's photographs in *image nation* 8 were taken during his workshop in Rochester.[44] These cross-border networks cannot be neglected, especially as they generate their own sets of alternatives.

Hlynsky studied painting and printmaking at Ohio State University, where his primary professors were Charles Csuri and Sid Chafetz. Csuri was a pioneer in digital arts. As his studio assistant, Hlynsky produced computer-assisted drawings, photographs, prints, and animated films. Chafetz was

an artist of conscience and a political satirist, using printmaking (woodcuts and lithographs) as a tool to promote critical engagement. Through the off-campus 'free university', Hlynsky joined a collective of artists and writers in a silkscreen workshop, film processing lab, and darkroom. There were no photographic orthodoxies in this education, just a raft of possibilities that Hlynsky brought with him when he came to Toronto in late 1970 and went to work for Coach House Press in the multiple capacities of designer, darkroom technician, layout artist, typesetter, and editor. Fellow workers included Michael Ondaatje and bp Nichol, and later Michael Sowdon.[45] Hlynsky put his ideas about photography into the Toronto issue (no. 12), subtitled "The Phenomena of Vision."

A sea change is evident in Hlynsky's first table of contents, which is a *mise-en-abyme* and a meditation on the nature of photography in reproduction: at one remove from the image-object; itself an object that can only be read obliquely; an object revealed by a light that also casts shadows. On the second page, the thrust and constructedness of the issue is developed in a photomontage or table top still life of the poster/call for submissions from Toronto photographers (Deadline February 28, 1973) – a work credited to Catherine MacTavish (b. 1952) (Fig. 4). "Discoveries in Phenomena of Vision" is figured by two appropriated images from different eras, one of a little boy in sailor suit, one of a man in a tweed jacket, both wearing eyeglasses, and the process of mechanical reproduction is symbolized by two tools of the trade, a combined grey scale and colour bar and a transparency guide, used to take the red, green, and blue density readings from internegative film. Accessible and arcane, then, in one message, and the issue develops themes of visibility, mutability, refraction, reflection, layering, and language, with much improvisation and appropriation along the way.

Hlynsky and a series of guest editors and co-editors would continue this exploration, in edited collections of vernacular photography (no. 13) (Fig. 5); trickery and fakery (16); arresting ordinariness (17); portraiture (of 'scenes') (18); stereo or 3-D photography (22); mutilated photography (23); and agit-prop (25). He frequently worked in collaboration and the magazine displays this open spirit.[46] Writing on photography will start to trickle in by number 16 – an oracular statement, more poetic than discursive – and the flow will increase, ending on a speculative note in number 26. Some issues could be read as catalogues or translations of exhibitions (19/20; 24; 26). There is one artists' book, *Murder Research* by Kenneth Fletcher and Paul Wong (21). Any one of these issues rewards a close reading. Here I will focus on Hlynsky's number 15, which has proven resistant to thumbnail description.

I have stressed the lack of text, but that is not entirely true – you have to know where to look. As a photographer, Hlynsky was and still is drawn

5 | Anon. n.d. *image nation* 13. Flavio Belli, Ken Doll, Kenneth Gist, Isobel Harry, Marien Lewis, and Michel Sowdon, eds. David Hlynsky, managing editor. (Photo: courtesy of Coach House Press)

to the play of language in the environment. Pointers, shifters, puns, and exclamations are embedded in his images, and as an editor, he was attracted to the same. Number 15 opens with an urban landscape by Aubie Golombek (b. 1956). A city bus, with door ajar, thrusts into the middle ground from the left edge, activating the Kodak billboard in the background; a giant hand pushing out of the front of the bus is fingering the latest model of the pocket camera; the slogan is "Hold it" – a double-entendre on the miraculous

6 | Aubie Golombek, *untitled*, n.d. From *image nation* 15. David Hlynsky, ed. (Photo: courtesy of Aubie Golombek and Coach House Press)

lightness of Kodak's latest instrument and authorial command that stops action (Fig. 6).[47] This split-second social landscape helps me to interpret a very different photograph that Hlynsky has placed on the cover: "Flight Impression. Interference between bird and aircraft wing by I. MacTavish" (the only titled image in the book). This picture depicts a fuselage that is vigorously painted with the figure of a bird in flight. Online research, unavailable to contemporaneous readers, attaches one Ian MacTavish, test pilot, to the design history and testing (13 January 1961) of the Tutor Jet, which was the training plane for the Royal Canadian Air Force Air demonstration squadron, the Snowbirds.[48] Is this the making of a theme? Is number 15 an ironic backward look at the military industrial complex and its propensity for subjugation of other species, or just otherness? Another photograph, also

attributed to Ian MacTavish, depicts a gauzily costumed woman posing in front of a giant paper heart that she, presumably, has just burst through. She is not of the feminist seventies, one thinks (one hopes), but a throwback to the patriarchy. In terms of time-travel or arrested development, something similar is happening across the gutter in an ironic portrait by Barbara Astman (b. 1950), *Jank Z. Being a Cowboy* (1973). "Hold it," indeed.

But the issue as a whole refuses to be held to a single theme, and it is only by thinking about the heterogeneity of the collection, as opposed to (marginalized by, alternative to) others of the same transformative years, that the uniqueness of *image nation* can be understood and appreciated. An earlier occasion for that kind of reflection was the Canadian Perspectives conference, organized in Toronto by Ryerson Polytechnical Institute (now Ryerson University) in March 1979. On the program was an "Open Forum on Canadian Publications Dealing with Photography."[49] Onstage were Naima Aer, *Camera Canada*; Isaac Applebaum, *Impressions*; Pat Fleisher, *artmagazine*; Gail Fisher-Taylor, *Photo Communiqué*; David Hlynsky, *image nation*; and Jorge Guerra, *ovo*. These editors represented a wide range of interest, from amateur to experimental practice, from exposure tips to elitist insouciance. The transcript suggests that Hlynsky held up a copy of *image nation* to the audience, but eager for the open forum, declined to introduce it: "You've all had a chance to see it out in the lobby. It is very difficult to talk about it."[50] During the question period, he characterized the magazine's readership as photographic artists; their work constituted "published exhibitions" and the magazine was "a mechanism for the photographer, for the artist."[51] Commenting on the lack of text, Hlynsky predicted that the magazine would "publish more and more writing. I hope it is critical writing. For the simple purpose of adding gray space to the magazine so that people don't read it from cover to cover in the bookstores."[52] Another panellist quipped, "Of course, you could use plastic bags."[53]

Contributors to *image nation* tended to be fascinated with camera vision, whether the split-second of a decisive moment, the extended present of the blur, the performance-enhancement of the flash. A recurrent motif of number 15 is framing within the frame, whether through windows, mirrors, picture frames, a TV dinner, a tattooed belly, or painted cut-outs, a popular photo prop revived by General Idea for their *Bar Nun* series (1973) – two of these "portraits" are reproduced, A.S.A. Harrison (a.k.a. Susan Harrison, 1948–2013) and Felix Partz (born Ronald Gabe, 1945–1994).[54] But these members of "the scene" cohabit this issue with anonymous performers who present things or themselves to the camera, some of these objects returning from oblivion via cartes-de-visite or postcards. Scientific evidence is mixed in with playful parodies, obvious tricks, and tender demonstrations of a photographic nature,

catching a shadow, a ripple, or a smoke ring. This photographic 'come one, come all' is, of course, a democracy effect created by Hlynsky's studied selection and organization, but it nevertheless remains convincing of a collective imagination alive and engaged. As an editor, this was Hlynsky's gift and we shall not see its like again.

Coda

The first book under the Coach House imprint was *Man in a Window* (1965), poems by Wayne Clifford and images (the cover and interior series of high-contrast female nudes) by future art historian and curator Dennis Reid (b. 1943); Bevington printed each of the double-page spreads in a two-stage process, silkscreening each image in a different colour and hand-typesetting the poems. Pulling another Coach House book down from the shelf – the choice is not accidental – encapsulates what I think of as a mutuality of formations cultivated by the Coach House environment. *Letters from the Earth to the Earth* (1968) by David McFadden (b. 1940) is both a book of poems and a photographic compilation – the forms cohabit between covers. Neither medium is sharp or explicit. The letters are not black on white, but black on a very soft robin's egg blue, and the once black and white photographs are likewise 'cyanotypes' and further distanced from the orthodoxies of modernist photographic reproduction because of the toothy stock. Some affect the guilelessness of family snapshots, while others are notations of everyday photographic experience – personal replies to very simple questions. What would that piece of the world look like cut away from its surround? How would the photographic act transform it? How am I transformed in the process? Hence the picture of a neighbourhood garage and the shop next door shares the page with "The Visual Splinter," a short poem about daily creative output and its systematic archiving in "neat plastic folders" (Fig. 7). Impossible to say which form McFadden is describing – poetry, one might guess, because of the process, but then he wants these works "out there where I can see them," translated into visual form.[55]

   This sudden and belated introduction to a single book of poems is not meant to explain *image nation*, but to propose that this essay is only making a start at canvassing the 'alternativeness' of this photographic project as it sprang from the head of Coach House Press. Between *Letters from the Earth to the Earth* and *image nation* 8 – an eventful two years – we might see a shift from the melding of text and image to their purist separation. But neither centre would hold in perpetuity; meetings between media – were they increasingly clarified media? – continued and questions remain. What conversations took place on the shop floor – I mean, upon and between
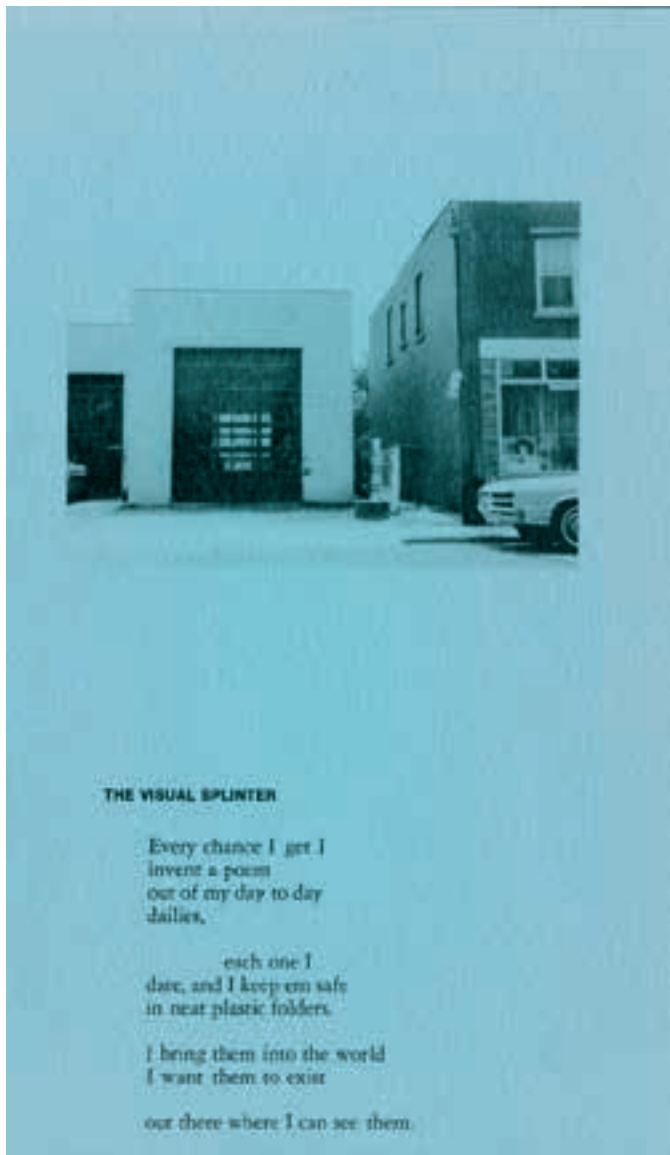
7 | David McFadden, excerpt from *Letters from the Earth to the Earth*. Coach House Press, 1968. (Photo: courtesy of David McFadden and Coach House Press)

the sheets? What influences, conscious or unconscious, were at work? What definitions of alternativeness continued to matter? All kinds of photographies are jostled together, under uncommon laws that make everyday photography arresting and also domesticate the wild. But as Coleman wrote in a virtual elegy to the *image nation* he had helped create, this was never the magazine of the people: "It is distributed to an elite which is defined by the system of dissemination that it is caught in."[56] Textbook 'alternative', *image nation* lived fast, died young, and left a beautiful corpus.

1 Cibachrome, or more properly, Ilfochrome, is defined as a dye destruction positive-to-positive process, meaning that a colour transparency would be printed without going through an internegative – a degree of separation from the original that tended to reduce sharpness and chromatic fidelity – a process nevertheless favoured by most new-colour photographers who produced what were sometimes confusingly called 'type-c prints.'

2 Sally EAUCLAIRE, *The New Color* (New York: Abbeville – Cross River Press, 1981).

3 Julie AULT, ed.,"For the Record," in *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 4.

4 AULT, "A Chronology of Selected Alternative Structures, Spaces, Artists' Groups, and Organizations in New York City, 1965–85," in *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985*, 17–76; "Art Strike," 29.

5 AULT, "For the Record," in *Alternative Art New York, 1965–1985*, 9.

6 AA BRONSON, René BLOUIN, Peggy GALE, and Glenn LEWIS, "Chronology of Artist-initiated Activity in Canada, 1939–1987," in their *From Sea to Shining Sea* (Toronto: The Power Plant, 1987), 60.

7 AA BRONSON, "The Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-run Spaces as Museums by Artists," in ibid., 168.

8 Judith A. HOFFBERG, "Art Publishing Conference to Be Held in Rochester," *Umbrella* 2:5 (September 1979): cover; Judith A. HOFFBERG, "Alternative Art Publishing Conference," *Umbrella* 2:6 (November 1979): 128–31.

9 Worth noting, however, that the presentation of these magazines was given by Clive Phillpott, director of the MOMA library, where the collection was held. See HOFFBERG, "Alternative Art Publishing Conference," 129.

10 Gwen ALLEN, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 1–2.

11 The announcement/call for submissions is doubly reproduced on the last page of *image nation* 8: "This is to announce the first issue of a magazine dealing with photographic ideas." See Fletcher STARBUCK and Norman BRINGSJORD, eds., *image nation* 8 (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1970), 48.

12 I discuss the NFB/SPD's interventions in the thorny question of official languages in "Calm, Cool, and Collected: Canadian Multiculturalism (Domestic Globalism) through a Cold War Lens," *Visual Studies* 30:2 (2015): 166–81; see 177–78.

13 See: "A Photography Show at Nightingale Galleries. June–July 1970," *artscanada* (August 1970): 66–67; Geoffrey JAMES, ed., "An Inquiry into the Aesthetics of Photography," *artscanada* 31:3–4, issue nos 192/193/194/195 (December 1974); reissued as *An Inquiry into the Aesthetics of Photography* (Toronto: Society for Art Publications, 1975): 5; portfolio, 14–17; Peter PERRIN, "Fletcher Starbuck: Recent Works," *artscanada* 216/17 (October/November 1977): 35–38.

14 Jorge Guerra and Denyse Gérin-Lajoie became co-editors of OVO in 1974. See Jean LAUZON, "Magazine OVO," *Intervention* 18 (1983): 20.

15 Between covers (both images by Max), we traverse the gulf between the tethered body (Guy Borremans [1934–2012]) and the restless eye (David Evans [b. 1948]), with much graphic excitation in between. Borremans's bondage, it must be said, seems

to have been too rich for the NFB/SPD's blood – his work was neither acquired, nor exhibited. Evans was included in *Photography 25/Photographie 25* (1972) co-curated by landscape photographer Robert Bourdeau and NFB/SPD photo editor Ron Solomon.

16 ALLEN, *Artists' Magazines*, 6.

17 Nathan Lyons had worked in this manner when he co-edited, with Syl Labrot and Walter Chappell, a book of their own landscape photographs. The photographers described their book as "an illuminated journey through thirty-six states of mind, a simultaneous narrative of a search for and authentic vision independently explored by three artists working in the singular realm of camera vision." See Nathan LYONS, Syl LABROT, and Walter CHAPPELL, *Under the Sun* (New York: George Braziller, 1960); citation from the introduction, "Intuitions of Reality," n.p.

18 Minor WHITE, "Statement (1959)," in, *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present,* ed. Vicky Goldberg (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981) 398–99; citation, 399.

19 David BRITTAIN, "Carl Chiarenza: Contemporary Photographer," *Inside Photography: Ten Interviews with Editors,* ed. David Brittain and Clinton Cahill (Stockport, UK: Dewi Lewis Publishing, 2013), 5.

20 Ibid., 8.

21 PERRIN, "Fletcher Starbuck," 35–38.

22 Herbert J. SELIGMAN, "291: A Vision Through Photography," *America & Alfred Stieglitz*, eds. Waldo Frank, Lewis Mumford, Dorothy Norman, Paul Rosenfield and Harold Rugg, revised edition (New York: Aperture, 1979), 58–66; citation, 63.

23 Nathan LYONS, ed, "Introduction," in *Vision and Expression* (Rochester: George Eastman House, 1969), 3.

24 An example of this is the Cold War-infected layout of *Image 3: Other Places/Sous d'autres cieux*, which I discuss in "Calm, Cool, and Collected," 174–75.

25 LANGFORD, "Calm, Cool, and Collected," 171.

26 Lucy SOUTTER, *Why Art Photography?* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 4.

27 Miriam NICHOLS, *Radical Affections: Essays on the Poetics of Outside* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 178, 192.

28 Ibid., 192.

29 Robin SIMPSON, "What We Got Away With: Rochdale College and Canadian Art in the Sixties," unpublished MA thesis, Concordia University, 86, n. 209. Accessed 24 Apr. 2015, http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/35752/1/Simpson_MA_F2011.pdf.

30 See and hear the history of Coach House Press in Sarah HIPWORTH, "Stan Bevington: The Making of a Master Printer with Audio Interview," *Historic Perspectives on Canadian Publishing.* The interview took place on 30–31 Jan. 2009. Accessed 25 Apr. 2015, http://hpcanpub.mcmaster.ca/case-study/stan-bevington-making-master-printer-audio-interview.

31 SIMPSON, "What We Got Away With," 65–66, n. 152.

32 Victor COLEMAN, "*Cost of Living: Image Nation* 25," *Vanguard* 11:8/9 (October/November 1982): 22.

33 Members of the Women's Photo Co-op and co-editors of *image nation* 11 were June Greenberg, Pamela Harris, Judith Holman, Laura Jones, Lynn Murray, Liz Maunsell, Linda Rosenbaum, and Lisa Steele. Organizers paid no heed to *image nation*'s requirement that the contributors be Canadian or Canadian residents, a rule

emblazoned on the inside title. Half the organizers were American expatriates; half the works are by American expatriates or simply American photographers, such as Betty Hahn, Abigail Heyman, and Sylvia Plachy.

34 These were survival rations that did not grow. In 1972, The Canada Council awarded $4,500 to *image nation*. *artscanada* received $130,000; *The b.c. Photographer*, $4,000; *Impulse*, $4,000; and *Magazine ovo*, $5,000. Conseil des Arts du Canada, *15e Rapport annuel 1971–1972*. Accessed 4 May 2015, http://canadacouncil.ca/~/media/files/annual%20reports/1972/1971-1972%20annual%20report.pdf?mw=1382.

   In 1982, *image nation* was awarded only $4,250. *Impulse* received $25,000; *Magazine ovo,* $45,000; *Parachute*, $143,750; and *Photo Communiqué*, $41,000. The Canada Council/Conseil des Arts du Canada, *26ᵗʰ Annual Report* Supplement. Accessed 4 May 2015, http://canadacouncil.ca/~/media/files/annual%20reports/1983/1982-1983%20supplement.pdf

35 Mary Mullins, interview with Fletcher Starbuck, Toronto, 5 Nov. 1978. Multicultural History Society of Ontario Oral History Collection. ame-5009-sta.

36 David Hlynsky interviewed by Brittain, "David Hlynsky: *image nation*," in Brittain and Cahill, *Inside Photography*, 38.

37 'Resisters' is a capacious category, which includes 'draft-dodgers' and 'deserters,' as well as Americans who left the United States to accompany members of the aforementioned categories, or people of conscience who immigrated to Canada out of disillusionment with American militarism, abroad and at home. Bringsjord, Hlynsky, and Starbuck represent three different answers to the question: why are you in Canada? Bringsjord graduated from university, losing his student deferment, and left for Canada, but as it turned out, his number in the 1969 draft lottery was high, so he was never called, leaving him free to return to the United States, which he did after less than two years. Hlynsky completed a Bachelor of Fine Arts (painting and printmaking) at Ohio State University in 1970; later the same year, he followed a friend, Jerry Emerick, to a job at Coach House Press because he felt isolated in the American Midwest and was strongly opposed to the war. He settled permanently in Canada. Starbuck, who was a few years older, was never politically involved. He passed the draft board physical, received what he took to be his draft notice, and left for Canada the next day. Until 1967, he felt safe working in Alaska under an assumed name, but that ended when his parents were contacted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at which point he decided to stay in Canada, moving between Vancouver and Montreal, before settling in Toronto where he lived until 1978.

38 Leslie G. Kelen, ed., *This Light of Ours: Activist Photographers of the Civil Rights Movement* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012).

39 Norman Bringsjord, personal correspondence with the author, 25 Apr. 2015.

40 Robert Heinecken, "The Photograph: Not a Picture Of, but an Object About Something." Published in *21st Annual Art Directors Show* (Los Angeles: Art Directors Club of Los Angeles, 1965). Reprinted in Eva Respini, ed., *Robert Heinecken: Object Matter* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), 155.

41 Jerry N. Uelsmann remembers Minor White's dictum: "One should photograph objects, not only for what they are but for what else they are." An excerpt from Uelsmann's "Some Humanistic Considerations of Photography" (1971), in Goldberg, *Photography in Print*, 442–51; citation, 443.

42 See Martha LANGFORD, "Hitching a Ride: American Know-How in the Engineering of Canadian Photographic Institutions," in Langford, ed., *Narratives Unfolding: National Art Histories in an Unfinished World* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, forthcoming 2017).

43 Born in Toronto, Alan Gowans received an MA from the University of Toronto (1946), which he followed with an MFA (1948) and a PhD (1950) from Princeton. He taught in the United States before returning to Canada as Chair of the Division of Art History in the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Victoria. See University of Victoria, Alan Gowans fonds. Accessed 10 May 2015, http://www.memorybc.ca/alan-gowans-fonds.

44 Dane Campbell, personal correspondence with the author, 9 May 2015.

45 David HLYNSKY, "Biography and CV," *David Hlynsky Photographs*. Accessed 6 May 2015, http://davidhlynsky.com/BioCV.html.

46 Guest editors and collaborators include Flavio Belli, Ken Doll, Kenneth Gist, Jorge Guerra, Isobel Harry, Thaddeus Holownia, Ben Mark Holzberg, Sandra Janz, Susan King, Marien Lewis, John Max, Peter Neville, Shirley Puckering, Chris Reed, Jayce Salloum, Michael Sowdon, and Kim Tomczak.

47 Aubie Golombek remembers that he was about 15 when he took this photograph. Personal correspondence with the author, 5 August 2015. It is less representative of Golombek's work than of the magazine's anti-elitist editorial policy.

48 See *Canadian Wings*, "The Aircraft: The Canadair CT-114 Tutor," Accessed 6 May 2015, http://www.canadianwings.com/Snowbirds/aircraft.php.

49 Gary HALL, Phil BERGERSON, and Bill MORGAN, eds., "Open Forum on Canadian Publications Dealing with Photography," *Transcript. Canadian Perspectives: A National Conference on Canadian Photography, March 1–4, 1979* (Toronto: Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Photographic Arts Department, 1979), 285–307. The conference program (441–46) indicates that the forum was part of a session on "Criticism and Photographic Periodicals" that included papers by John Ward, University of Florida, Gainesville, and Byron Henderson, University of Calgary, held on Saturday, 3 March. Thanks to Paul Roth, director of the Ryerson Image Centre, for sharing this material.

50 HALL, BERGERSON, and MORGAN, eds., "Open Forum on Canadian Publications Dealing with Photography," 289.

51 Ibid., 292.

52 Ibid., 298.

53 Ibid.

54 The photo prop, a Masonite cut-out, was painted by Eric Metcalfe (Dr. Brute) while visiting the General Idea (GI) studio. GI did a photo collage of the resulting portraits and published it in *FILE Megazine*'s "IFEL Special Paris Issue" (September 1973). I am grateful to Fern Bayer, who is preparing the GI catalogue raisonné, for her help in identifying and describing this work. Personal correspondence with the author, 4 May 2015.

55 David McFADDEN, *Letters from the Earth to the Earth* (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1968), n.p.

56 COLEMAN, "*Cost of Living*," 22.

À propos d'*image nation*, 1970–1982

MARTHA LANGFORD

Cet article explore le contexte et les motifs qui ont conduit à la création d'*image nation*, cette revue « alternative » de photographie publiée par Coach House Press à Toronto, de 1970 à 1982. L'étude s'inscrit dans le contexte canadien des pratiques artistiques en réseau (centres, publications et événements gérés par des artistes), tel que relaté par AA Bronson, René Blouin et Peggy Gale dans *From Sea to Shining Sea* (1987). Une perspective transnationale, particulièrement pertinente pour cette époque marquée par une vague migratoire américaine au Canada, encourage le recours à la collection *Alternative Art New York 1965–1985* (2002), dirigée par Julie Ault, et à l'ouvrage de Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (2011). Ault et Allen contribuent à creuser le sens même de l'art « alternatif » tel qu'il était perçu et pratiqué au cours de cette période. Leurs études présentent la revue comme une « vitrine » alternative, en lien avec la spécificité locale et la dématérialisation de l'art conceptuel ainsi que l'héritage néo-dadaïste de l'assemblage, de la sérialisation et de l'art de récupération.

La revue *image nation* incarne l'esprit rebelle de l'époque, et cela doublement, en ce sens qu'elle était également « alternative » pour les institutions établies aussi bien que radicales, qui définissent la photographie de façon très étroite ou ne lui attribuent aucune crédibilité en tant que forme d'art. À la fois contestataire et déterminée à faire de la photo une forme d'art légitime, *image nation* se situe aux limites de la culture de l'autogestion artistique et des publications photo plus classiques, comme les monographies et les catalogues d'exposition. L'historien britannique David Brittain fait ressortir des différences explicites ainsi que d'étonnantes similitudes dans son anthologie *Inside Photography: Ten Interviews with Editors* (2013). L'ouvrage renferme des transcriptions d'entretiens avec David Hlynsky, le rédacteur en chef comptant le plus grand nombre d'années de service à *image nation* (1973 à 1982), et un large éventail de rédacteurs en chef de diverses publications, dont la série *Image* de l'Office national du film du Canada, publiée à peu près à la même époque.

L'histoire d'*image nation* se raconte en plusieurs volets. La publication est lancée à titre de supplément week-end du *Daily*, journal d'opinion

et de nouvelles internes des résidents et amis du Collège Rochdale, projet d'hébergement autogéré et d'université libre voisin du campus de l'Université de Toronto, qui a fonctionné de 1968 à 1975. Le titre du supplément s'inspire de la série « Image-Nations » que le poète d'origine américaine Robin Blaser (1925–2009) commence à écrire en 1963–1964, environ quatre ans avant d'immigrer au Canada. Dès le septième numéro, paru le 21 juin 1969, *image nation*, désormais publiée conjointement avec Coach House Press, s'intéresse davantage à la littérature. Le numéro suivant, paru à l'automne 1970, marque le changement de cap décisif de la revue vers la photographie. S'il est clair, vu les origines de la revue, que son nom ne renvoie pas au départ à une démarche nationaliste, *image nation* en vient tout de même à mettre l'accent sur la scène canadienne, d'abord pour des raisons de financement, puis par conviction politique.

Les numéros étaient thématiques, le plus souvent réalisés par des rédacteurs en chef invités. Par exemple, le numéro consacré à Montréal (n° 14) était dirigé par le photographe John Max en collaboration avec Jorge Guerra, futur rédacteur en chef du *Magazine OVO* dédié à la photographie documentaire, et le photographe Peter Neville. L'objectivité n'était jamais une caractéristique. Ainsi, les rédacteurs en chef publiaient des œuvres de leur cru dans les dossiers où ils exprimaient leurs prises de position sur la photographie et qui pouvaient comprendre des portraits d'auteur ainsi que des instantanés anonymes. La revue *image nation* témoigne de plusieurs des préoccupations photographiques de l'époque, non sans un mépris certain pour les valeurs modernistes et la validation institutionnelle.

Detail, wrap-around cover of Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters*. Talonbooks, 1975, 28 × 22 cm, closed; 28 × 46 cm, open. With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka. (Photo: author)

Serial Positionings: Roy K. Kiyooka's "Conceptual Art Trips"

FELICITY TAYLER

A copy of Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* (Talonbooks, 1975) sits in a beam of sunlight upon my desk. Canada Post delivered the book from Vancouver to Montreal after I ordered it from an online bookseller. My desire to own a copy of *Transcanada Letters* arose after a first visit "out West" to the Contemporary Literature Collection at Simon Fraser University, where Kiyooka's papers are housed. My trajectory, moving east to west, echoed the coast-to-coast narrative of Canadian nationhood. In this narrative, Vancouver currently plays the role of a thriving twenty-first century metropolis, which evolved from its earlier image as a "fantasy dream" at the edge of British Dominion and American Western expansion.[1] Since the 1970s, when *Transcanada Letters* was published, Vancouver has increasingly adopted the identity of a Pacific Rim city. In this alternate narrative, the city plays the role of an essential node in global trade routes reaching out to Asia, just as its artists are tangled up in the complex cultural, political, and economic factors folded into the term "globalization."[2] The imaginary space mapped throughout the pages of *Transcanada Letters*, however, troubles the attempt to link the locality of its narrative, or the identity of its author, to a defined territory.

Roy Kenzie Kiyooka (born in Moosejaw, Saskatchewan, 1926; died in Vancouver, 1994) is a nisei, or second-generation, Japanese Canadian artist and poet. His *Transcanada Letters* reproduces a series of approximately 250 items of correspondence addressed from Kiyooka to an array of family, friends, and colleagues between 1966 and 1974. Individual photographs are inserted between the pages of text, notably, family portraits, while there is also a multi-page collection of 576 photographs from his travels that is arranged in a Conceptual grid.[3] Within the pages of *Transcanada Letters,* a conceptual "aesthetics of information" pertains to both the inked impressions of linguistic signifiers and to the photographs printed in halftone patterns.[4]

The dates and return addresses included with each letter act as a collection of temporal and geographic coordinates, which track Kiyooka in his travels eastward and westward through multiple geographic locations across Canada, southward into the United States, and westward across the

Pacific Ocean to Japan. The "transcanada" narrative begins with a description of his first visit to Japan, but this experience is conveyed as if the reader were eavesdropping because the text is filtered through an interim report on his activities first sent to the Canada Council for the Arts. His next geographic displacement is signaled by a letter without an addressee, perhaps a draft of a poem, sent from Montreal, Quebec. The final letters of the book are sent from a cabin at Qualicum Beach, British Columbia, where Kiyooka observes "the circling the eddying" of birds between the different environmental conditions of the sea, the earth, and the sky. As if to complement his own body's movement between complex cultural environments, the visual qualities of the text printed on the pages of *Transcanada Letters* reflect Kiyooka's attention to the arbitrary and conventional nature of the linguistic sign; notable in the unusual choices he made for word or line breaks in prose, it is also present in pages of concrete poetry, or in his mimesis of the formatting required for project budgets and grant reports. A series of citations throughout *Transcanada Letters* attests to Kiyooka's eclectic reading habits in which multiple cultural references converge – extracts from biographies of Tom Thomson, citations of Marshall McLuhan's aphorisms, Herbert Marcuse's theories, Walt Whitman's and William Blake's poetry, are interspersed with reader responses to articles from *artscanada* and *Playboy* magazine, among many other sources. Kiyooka's colourful language, unusual syntax, and a deliberate disregard for capitalization and other rules of English grammar resonate with deeply personal (and strikingly ambivalent) views upon family matters, aesthetic theories, and shifting political positions. Tangled narrative threads chronicle the collaborative development of several projects with small publishers such as Toronto's Coach House Press, as well as with respected museum and gallery directors – but also reveal the nomadic conditions imposed by his employment in teaching positions scattered across the country.

   Transcanada Letters has led some authors to reflect upon the multi-layered complexities of the Asian diaspora in relation to Canadian citizenship and national culture. Roy Miki has described *Transcanada Letters* as the "contrary geography" of a nisei reading the country from west to east and as a negation of the traditional Euro-Canadian narrative of settlement, east to west.[5] Responding to Benedict Anderson's notion of a nation as an "imagined community" constituted through linguistic standardization and the centralized production of printed matter, Smaro Kamboureli has looked to *Transcanada Letters* as an example of how Canadian literature might instead produce an "unimaginable community . . . constituted in excess knowledge of itself, always transitioning."[6] For Kamboureli, *Transcanada Letters* is an example of how to take a recognizable symbol of national unity –

the TransCanada Highway – and divert its use value from social, cultural or trade policies enacted by those institutions that regulate identity in a national context.

This article argues that *Transcanada Letters* is a conceptual bookwork that reflexively moves between image and text. I explore how *Transcanada Letters* uses formal strategies to interrogate the book as an object, calling attention to how the book as a material form is imbued with ideological properties, not a neutral carrier of textual content. I also want to explore aspects of the book that are not-so-directly related to questions of Asian Canadian identity. Throughout the period covered in *Transcanada Letters*, Kiyooka's exploration of his Japanese ancestry was doubly bound up with a critique of the consumer economy and the post-war liberal democracy that was the common form of government in Canada and the USA. Kiyooka's reworking of the TransCanada Highway as a symbol of nationhood draws upon visions of "the West" (and the Pacific Rim) as it simultaneously inhabited the countercultural imagination. Caravans of "tripping" mobile travelers (some of them war resisters) engaged with "utopian dreams" in their rejection of the Vietnam War, post-war consumer capitalism, and the technocratic organization of American society.[7] Canada sometimes occupied an idealized position in this imaginary. Consider, for instance, Allen Ginsberg's comment in 1969 during a visit to Vancouver that "Trudeau is a 'hippie' . . . sort of a hippie, I hear."[8]

This paper situates the development of Kiyooka's practice of conceptual photography and, by extension, his conceptual bookwork, at the overlap between neo-avant-garde and countercultural scenes in Vancouver in the 1960s and 1970s – always keeping in mind that the multiplicity of coordinates mapped throughout *Transcanada Letters* complicates the idea of locality. Curator Grant Arnold has associated the development of conceptual photography in Vancouver with an "anarchic" social scene in which lifestyle politics countered the "culture of the commodity."[9] Kiyooka left the city in 1964, only to return permanently in 1973 after teaching in multiple locations including Montreal and Halifax; nonetheless, he stayed in touch with local scenes throughout this period through visits with his daughters, letters exchanged with friends and colleagues, and by reading copies of the countercultural newspaper, the *Georgia Straight.* This article also complements existing scholarship from literary studies by foregrounding the visual aspects of book design and by emphasizing that the printing of books is itself a photographic process. Following the Canadian centennial period, books had symbolic value in the consolidation of French and English reading publics, but *also* contributed to the formation of a countercultural readership attracted to open form poetics and intermedial artistic practices, including conceptual photography. In order to address these issues I will focus on a

family portrait inserted by Kiyooka between two pages of letters, which allows me to reflect on his sensitivity to the intricate relationship between print culture, identity, and the nation-state. In contrast, the photographic series *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia* (1971) opens up a discussion about his Conceptual and countercultural affiliations, and I also address the poetics of "localism" in projective verse as it traverses the semantic registers of texts and images.

Intermedial Forms and Altered Consciousness

The front and back covers of *Transcanada Letters* show a multi-coloured illustrated map of the country, overlaid by black and white snapshots of the East and West coasts that are clasped in the left and right hands of the artist (Fig. 1). The map's swirling amorphous shapes hold out the promise of an expansive psychedelic geography, as if one might "trip" through altered states of consciousness into another sense of place. Two snapshots confirm Kiyooka's presence on both edges of the continent at a specific time and location. A tiny figure perched on the craggy rocks directs our gaze towards the crashing waves and swirling tidal pools of the ocean. But the expansive visual field of the photographs is displayed alongside a grid indicating measurements of longitude and latitude. A scattering of notations anchors the meaning of the colours to the "rational" explanation provided by the legend of the geological map. "Cratonic Regions" designate rock formations across the continent, which have been enumerated (and therefore commodified) according to the soil quality and exploitable natural resources contained within Canada's geopolitical borders. But on this book cover Kiyooka has placed this grid between his hands, thereby turning the national territory into a material form that the artist can use to construct an imaginary space. This play between image and text introduces multiple semantic registers and indicates Kiyooka's awareness of how the technologies of book publishing use an invisible typographic grid to structure all visible marks (both text and images) on the printed pages.

Kiyooka designated this, his "book-of-letters," as a companion to the exhibition catalogue produced the same year for the retrospective exhibition *Roy K. Kiyooka: 25 Years*.[10] The exhibition, organized by the Vancouver Art Gallery, and its two accompanying publications marked his success as an established Canadian artist celebrated for his abstract painting. Kiyooka developed a distinctive hard-edge geometric style by the mid-1960s following his relocation from the Regina College of Art to teach at the Vancouver School of Art in 1959. His arrival in Vancouver had a significant impact upon younger painters in the city, as the hard-edge forms and tendency to work

1 | Wrap-around cover of Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters*. Talonbooks, 1975, 28 × 22 cm, closed; 28 × 46 cm, open. With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka. (Photo: author)

in series differed from the regional style of lyrical abstraction, which artists such as Jack Shadbolt (1909–1998) produced in response to the surrounding coastal landscape. Furthermore, Kiyooka's take on the New York School of abstract painting was less that of critic Clement Greenberg's formalism and closer to the ritual ideograms pursued by Barnett Newman.[11] On the one hand, as curator Diana Nemiroff notes, a sense of locality can be detected in the urban landmarks that influenced Kiyooka's compositional forms (such as the elliptical shape of the Granville Street Bridge); on the other, his style of abstraction transforms these signifiers of locality into a transcendent "spiritual confrontation that could take place anywhere."[12] This spiritual dimension, as it developed from Kiyooka's forays into painterly abstraction in the 1950s, was congruent with his experience of heightened perceptual states induced through hallucinogens such as peyote.[13] His exploration of altered consciousness continued throughout the 1960s and 70s, with the use of LSD and marijuana.[14] This detail is significant because it expands our understanding of his "local" reference points in Vancouver: Kiyooka frequented an early bohemian scene that gathered in venues such as the Cellar Club or the Sound Gallery for live performances of jazz, poetry, lightshows,

and dance. In the second half of the 1960s this scene overlapped with a wider countercultural movement that valued nomadic patterns of travel. Thus, the locality of *Transcanada Letters* includes psychedelic tripping as well as multiple, concrete landmarks scattered across several urban and rural sites in North America, Japan, and Europe which he may, or may not, have physically visited.

Kiyooka's engagement with poetry and conceptual photography is sometimes linked to his abandonment of painting in 1969, as if the two modes were incompatible.[15] However, his exploration of printed text and photographic images paralleled his painting practice from the early 1960s onwards, as Kiyooka engaged with intermedial "happenings," recorded sound, and collaged material found in mass media sources. One of his first projects upon arrival in Vancouver was to organize an event with three of his students.[16] Images clipped from old magazines were then projected and combined with a polyphonic arrangement of prerecorded music to produce a multisensory environment. The presence of Charles Olson, Robert Creeley, Allen Ginsberg, and others at the 1963 Vancouver Poetry Conference has been cited as an important influence on Kiyooka's adoption of open form poetics; also important was his experience of the annual Festival of Contemporary Art, which brought figures of the American neo-avant-garde to the city, such as John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Robert Rauschenberg, Gerd Stern, Stan Brakhage, and Bruce Connor. In 1964 and 1965, the Festival provided a platform for these neo-avant-garde practices to converge with the media theory of Marshall McLuhan, who proposed that the technological environment was an extension of the body's sensorium.[17]

Susan Sontag has used the phrase "erotics of art" to describe strategies of the neo-avant-garde which echoed the countercultural desire to reconfigure the body's sensorium through aesthetic experience.[18] In the late 1960s, Vancouver's Intermedia Society was a site where McLuhan's notion of the sensorium could interface with the countercultural idea of altered consciousness. For many of Kiyooka's friends and colleagues in Vancouver, with whom he remained in touch during his absence, the radical potential of *eros* was a powerful means to politicize McLuhan's insight that shifts in communications technologies would affect human spatial awareness, moving away from the linearity of the printed word towards a multisensory, acoustic, collage-like environment.[19] In a letter to his wife Monica, reproduced in *Transcanada Letters,* Kiyooka favourably describes one of their babysitters: "She tells me about her acid trips. She is a friend of the children and very very gentle. I wld [*sic*] say she was one of the tribe Marcuse talks about in the *Georgia Straight* vol. 3/no. 51 (March 28/April 3rd '69 issue)."[20] This reference to theorist Herbert Marcuse and his connection to Vancouver through

Kiyooka's citation is worth noting. When Marcuse lectured at Simon Fraser University in 1969, he argued that *eros,* the Freudian psychological drive for life, was the impulse behind a polymorphous eroticization of the body in relation to the surrounding environment – both the natural and media environment.[21]

Using McLuhan's vocabulary, it could be said that *Transcanada Letters* acts as a "probe."[22] The book deliberately uses the "old media" of the printed page to produce a counter-environment to the communications media universe, which Scott Watson has argued was then being adopted as a "national value" in Canada.[23] McLuhan predicted that film, television, and radio would lead to the end of national cultures and the revival of collective identification through a post-national "tribal" affiliation formerly associated with oral cultures. He also believed that due to their attention to form and material processes, artists were in a unique position to reveal this shift to a post-national space. They could produce "counter-environments" as new media technologies replaced older forms that nonetheless remained as residual traces of an older culture. In 1975, the year that *Transcanada Letters* was published, the book form had symbolic value in the building of a national culture. Foreign media had historically dominated Canadian markets, but the debates over Canadian sovereignty in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as heightened opposition to US intervention in Vietnam, foregrounded the ideological role of this imported media; for many commentators, "American" images of the world were inculcating "Canadian" consumers.[24] Within *Transcanada Letters,* Kiyooka draws a parallel between the discourse of Canadian cultural nationalism in the period following the First World War and that of the 1970s when he rereads Tom Thomson's serialized approach to painting as "conceptual art trips" akin to his own serial writing and photographic practice.[25]

Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* can be positioned in relation to the many Canadian and international Conceptual Art bookworks where photography and the codex form converge. Exhibitions such as Anne Moeglin-Delcroix's *Esthétique du livre d'artistes, 1960–1980,*[26] or Matthew S. Witkovsky's *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964–1977,*[27] and scholarly studies such as essays included in *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond*[28] have contributed to an understanding of the conceptual bookwork as a genre that combines photographic technologies and the form of the book in a reflexive exploration of the material and metaphorical consequences of reproduction. The ways in which the genre lends itself to the documentation of ephemeral acts or to circulation through unconventional distribution channels has also been foregrounded in exhibitions such as *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s–1980s*[29] and *Traffic: Conceptual Art in*

Canada, 1965–1980,[30] as well as scholarly studies including Johanna Drucker's *A Century of Artists' Books*[31] and Liz Kotz's *Words to Be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art*.[32] Furthermore, Moeglin-Delcroix, Drucker, and Kotz all recognize that conceptual bookworks and poetic genres such as concrete poetry and projective verse share a common preoccupation with language and image as material signifiers, just as the distribution networks and readerships for these publications overlap.

Within this discursive framing, the genre of conceptual bookworks is sometimes described as a "cheaply produced paperback" following the example of Edward Ruscha's travel narrative, *Twenty Six Gasoline Stations* (1965).[33] As in Ruscha's travel narratives, the sequencing of the pages in *Transcanada Letters* acts as an ordering system that arranges banal snapshots according to a grid. Theorist Sianne Ngai has observed that in the work of Ruscha, this sequential arrangement produces a minimal affective response in a reader, which reflects the suppression of emotion within the information and communications systems driving post-industrial economies.[34] Kiyooka's approach differs from Ruscha's analytic conceptualism in that his images are *not* generic or banal; instead they convey what Michael Ondaatje appreciated as an affective excess of "commonplace moods" when he read the book.[35] Reconsidering *Transcanada Letters* as a conceptual bookwork rather than a literary work allows for a discussion of excess as an aesthetic strategy that is in keeping with the appearance of low-quality production values, or the misleading "cheap paperback" appearance of this book. The quarto format (22 × 28 cm) of *Transcanada Letters* resembles the exhibition catalogue, which Talonbooks simultaneously printed to accompany *Roy K. Kiyooka: 25 Years.* Despite *Transcanada Letters*'s resemblance to an exhibition catalogue in size, its soft-cover perfect binding, relatively inconsistent print quality, poor contrast between lights and darks in the images, and bleeding ink between pages means that the book appears to have more in common with paperback genres than with high-quality art books. While Talonbooks took on the exhibition catalogue as a commercial print job, it was underwritten and distributed by the publisher, the Vancouver Art Gallery. In contrast, when Talonbooks acted as publisher for *Transcanada Letters,* Kiyooka's aesthetic choice of a non-standard trim size was incompatible with a vision of the press as a viable contender in a subsidized literary publishing industry.

Talonbooks, the publisher of *Transcanada Letters,* began as a poetry imprint, but also supplemented their funds as the printer for exhibition catalogues and other materials that reflected the interests of overlapping countercultural and avant-garde social milieus in Vancouver. The press was part of a network of physical and imaginary meeting places that included spaces such as the Vancouver Art Gallery, the Intermedia Society, and

the New Era Social Club, bars such as the Cecil Hotel, the pages of *Tish* magazine, and the *Georgia Straight* newspaper.[36] *Transcanada Letters* marks a moment of transition for the press, when it consolidated resources in order to become a financially viable business. In this sense, Kiyooka's bookwork was a commodity produced for the literary market and subsidized "with the assistance of the Canada Council," as it states in the colophon. However, Karl Seigler (who joined Talonbooks as business manager in 1974, with the mandate to make the press commercially viable) remembers that *Transcanada Letters* was the last extravagant project that the press undertook: "the project was so expensive that no other publisher wanted to touch it."[37] By the standards of the publishing industry, the countercultural attitude assumed by Kiyooka's conceptual bookwork was one of excess.[38]

Literary scholars who have engaged with *Transcanada Letters* tend to focus on the textual content of the book, at best treating the pictorial elements as mere illustration, secondary to the text. The 2005 reprint of *Transcanada Letters* has actually done away with the striking cover illustration and the full-bleed images of the title and end pages.[39] Intrusive margins have been added around the eighteen-page photographic series, which was originally printed so that the gridded images exceeded the edge of the pages. These cost-saving omissions have consequences for readers' experience of the work in ways that run counter to Kiyooka's earlier aesthetic decisions. Visually, the pages of textual content may at first seem to outnumber the images included in *Transcanada Letters*; however, on a closer reading, the images (over 576) outnumber the pages of text. Furthermore, these images are not subordinate to the letters' contents. Instead, photographic images operate in a complementary relationship to text – what Roland Barthes has described as "relay" as found in cartoons, comic strips and film.[40] The linguistic message of the text works in parallel to the iconic message conveyed by images, advancing the action, as Barthes explains, "by setting out, in the sequence of messages, meanings that are not to be found in the image itself."[41]

As *Transcanada Letters* followed fourteen other printed works, it could be said that Kiyooka's aesthetics of emotional and material excess are informed by a long-term engagement with the material processes of publishing. His previous forays are linked both to poetry and to the circulation of images and text in the visual arts press.[42] A first book of poetry, *Kyoto Airs* (designed by Takao Tanabe for Periwinkle Press, 1964) received a favourable review in *Tish* 25 (June 1964).[43] Kiyooka's "Vancouver Poems" appeared in George Bowering's magazine, *Imago* 11 (1965), the same year he produced a series of collages to illustrate Bowering's *The Man in Yellow Boots/El Hombre de las Botas Amarillas* (1965).[44] His literary conversations were not restricted to the *Tish* magazine circle, for instance, Kiyooka also produced a dreamily
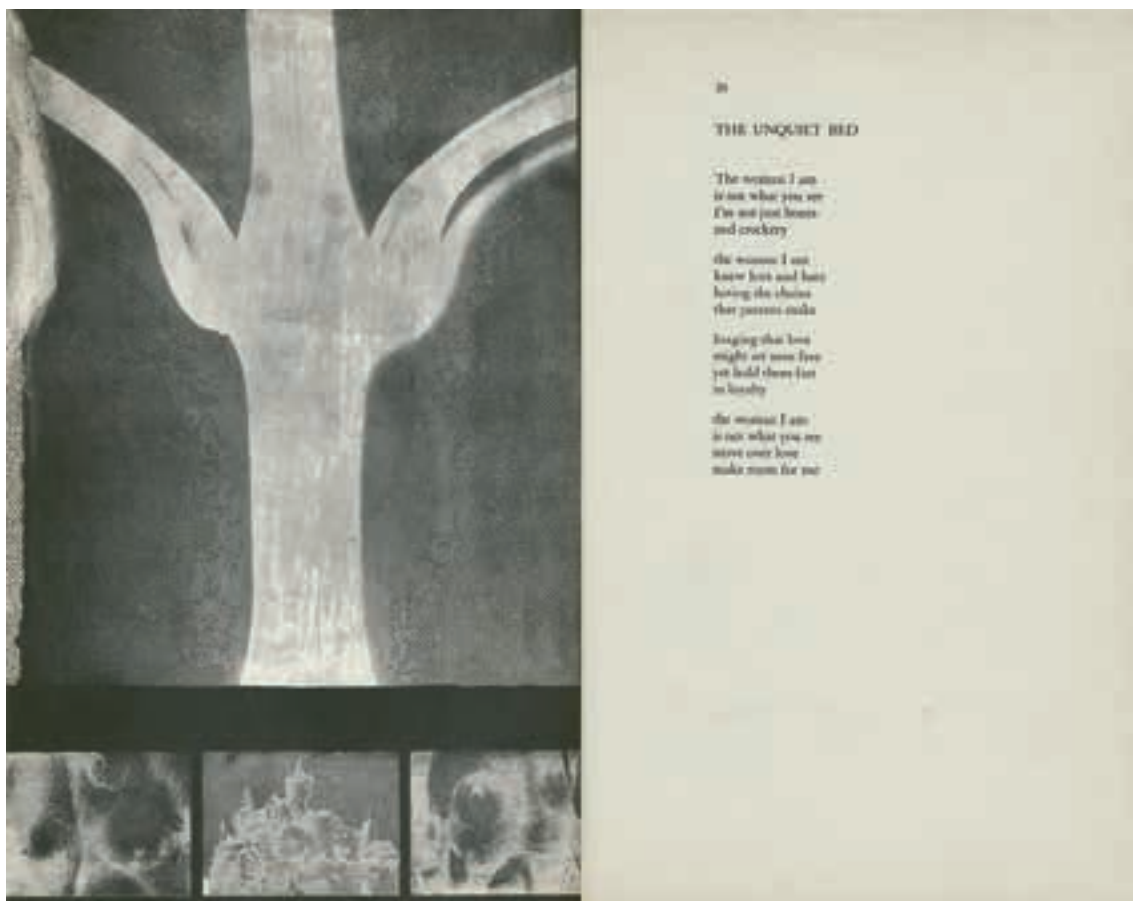
2 | One of five Xerographic illustrations by Roy K. Kiyooka for Dorothy Livesay's book of poems, *The Unquiet Bed* (Ryerson Press, 1967, 38–39, 23.5 × 16 cm). With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka and with permission from Jay Stewart, literary executrix for the Estate of Dorothy Livesay. (Photo: author)

psychedelic series of Xerographic illustrations to accompany Dorothy Livesay's poems in *The Unquiet Bed* (Ryerson Press, 1967) (Fig. 2). Livesay's book, and Kiyooka's first self-illustrated book of poems, *Nevertheless These Eyes* (Coach House Press, 1967), both share mirror-like reflective dust jackets and textures derived from repeated acts of photo-copying. *StoneDGloves* (Coach House Press, 1970) marks Kiyooka's turn towards the conceptual bookwork combining image and text. Kiyooka's photocollages catalogue the gloves discarded by anonymous workers at the site of Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan.[45] Scott Toguri McFarland has argued that the photocollages, and the poems which overlay the images, are an "ideogrammatic assemblage" that not only anchor the meaning of the gloves as a sign of labour conditions in a global information economy, but also act as a memory-trace of the vapourized

3 | Double-page spread from Roy K. Kiyooka, *StoneDGloves* (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1970, n.p., 23 × 34 cm, open). With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka. (Photo: author)

bodies of victims of the atomic bomb (Fig. 3).[46] *The Eye in the Landscape,* Kiyooka's contribution to the *BC Almanac (H)C-B* (National Film Board of Canada, 1970), includes serial images showing sunlight traversing the pages of a monograph on the life of the post-Impressionist Dutch painter, Vincent van Gogh. Kiyooka has inserted his own images between the pages of the book. This photographic series printed on newsprint paper continued his conceptual investigation into authorship, identity, the photographic process, and mass reproduction techniques. The serial poem *letters purporting to be abt Tom Thomson* (1972), published in *artscanada* magazine, again pursues a reflection upon authorship and identity as constructed through images and text circulated in mass cultural forms – this time, inhabiting the pages of a magazine with a mandate to promote national culture.[47]

In the commercial offset photolithographic printing process, image and text are fixed to the printing plate by exposing a film negative derived from photographs taken of pasted-up layouts of elements arranged on a grid. This

common mode of reproduction means, as Kotz has observed, that both open form poetics and conceptual photography share an indexical mode.[48] Within *Transcanada Letters,* the book form, its textual content, and the photographs work as equalized systems of signification, which gather together images and text as discreet units of relational information. Sheryl Conkelton has similarly described Kiyooka's aesthetic choices as a "personalized formalism" that uses narrative as a grid or ordering system placed over intimate content.[49] When this cataloguing of emotional space is read through conceptual aesthetics of information, it becomes evident that *Transcanada Letters* plays with the connotative meaning of the photographic "subject."

As Conkelton has also suggested, Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* bears comparison with conceptual bookworks produced by his contemporary, Michael Snow. For instance, the bookwork *Michael Snow/A Survey* (1970), was produced as the exhibition catalogue for the artist's solo show at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Regardless of the book's "subject" (which would be Snow himself), the catalogue engages with the limits of representation as determined by the specific qualities of photography and its processes. Alongside the textual accounts of the artist's career, several pages of the catalogue assume the form of a souvenir album, tracing the artist's family lineage back to the 1800s in a series of graphic layout grids. *Transcanada Letters* shares some features with *Michael Snow/A Survey,* including Kiyooka's exploration of the graphic layout of the book as a sequenced narrative structure and his presentation of his family lineage in relation to his status as a "Canadian artist." But there is an important distinction to be made as well. Snow uses the bookwork to show how photography and photo-mechanical reproduction technologies produce flattened representations of entities in the "real" world. In contrast, Kiyooka's photographs engage with the "performativity of documentation" discussed by Phillip Auslander.[50] His photographs stage identity in an analogous mode to speech acts, which require a reader's reception to complete the event.

Transmissions Across Multifaceted Affective Spaces

Kiyooka includes a series of family portraits in *Transcanada Letters,* the second of which is a snapshot depicting six children posing in a field (Fig. 4). They appear to stand on top of crusty snow. Behind them, leafless trees mark the property line. I imagine the children shivering as they jam their hands into their pockets. The unmistakable icon of a Toronto Maple Leafs hockey club sweater peeks out from the waistband of one of the boy's unseasonably short pants. At first, the relationship of these children to each other, or to Roy Kiyooka, is ambiguous for me, as the image is simply captioned: "Opal, Alberta: Early '40s / *left to right:* George, Roy, Harry, Joyce, Frank and Irene."

4 | "Opal, Alberta: Early '40s," in Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1975, n.p.). Note the bleeding of ink between pages. With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka. (Photo: author)

This image is inserted between two letters dated to Kiyooka's 1971 arrival in Calgary to teach for a semester at the Alberta Provincial Institute of Technology and Art. Kiyooka spent most of his childhood in the city, but it was also a site of racially motivated hostilities amplified by national policy enacted in the Second World War.[51] The Kiyooka family was fingerprinted and identified as "enemy aliens" under the War Measures Act, just as the city became a flashpoint for violence. Kiyooka's schooling was interrupted three weeks into grade eleven when his family made the difficult decision to relocate to a single room cabin in Opal, Alberta, taking up the brutal work of farming life alongside other displaced Japanese Canadian families.[52] In the photograph, Joyce, Frank, and Irene (the three younger siblings) grin for the camera, but to my eye, George, Roy, and Harry face the camera with expressions of defiance, confusion, and unease. Rather than using a first person pronoun in the caption, Kiyooka has chosen to identify "Roy" in the third person. This suggests an emotional distancing from the photograph, as it fixes the figures portrayed in that time and place.

Kiyooka's identity formation, as it is shared with us throughout the pages of *Transcanada Letters,* moves between historical episodes and Kiyooka's later

experiences. These temporal dislocations call attention to the contradiction arising between a racial category that was legally designated as the nation's "other," and Kiyooka's later conflicted desire to contribute images to the symbolic order that defined a national culture. Following the war, Kiyooka returned to Calgary from Opal to study under Illingworth Kerr (1905–1989) and Jock Macdonald (1897–1960) at the same institution in which he would later teach. There he was introduced to the tradition of the Group of Seven painters, and it was then that he articulated his desire to become a Canadian artist: "I remember saying to one of my friends at the time that one of my ambitions was to become a great Canadian painter, that was in my third year of art school."[53] Macdonald was a follower of the Group of Seven landscape painters but was also deeply engaged with techniques of Surrealism as a means of unhinging the unconscious from repressive social forces.[54] While studying alongside veterans who had been trained to kill people who "looked" like him, Kiyooka reflected upon his own wartime experience of conflict between an ethnic ancestry originating "elsewhere" and "Canadian" cultural norms reinforced through government policy, print, and broadcast media.

As *Transcanada Letters* solicits the reader's engagement with Kiyooka's affective relationship to the nation-state and its symbolic order, the bookwork communicates a contradictory state of multiple associative belongings. Literary critic Glen Lowry has observed that Kiyooka's photographs and letters work together to create a kind of bond with the reader that is experienced as a "liminal space of mutual being."[55] This diffusion of authorship can be understood as a mode of political address with reference to queer theorist José Esteban Muñoz's term "disidentification," which he proposes is an identity formation that occurs as "the enacting of self at precisely the point where the discourses of essentialism and constructivism short-circuit."[56] According to Muñoz, a moment of conflict supposedly takes place at the threshold between private life and images circulating in the public sphere, just as *Transcanada Letters* transposes the "private" register of letters and family photographs into the "public" pages of the book. For instance, the portrait Kiyooka includes of himself and his siblings transmits two contradicting, yet mutually occurring, affective spaces. The older boys' unease conveys the alienation of children with unstable citizenship status who labour for a subsistence living on their family's farm. But I am simultaneously bemused by the happiness of the three younger siblings huddled around the Maple Leafs sweater.

"Locus" is Media

Transcanada Letters corresponds to a mode of conceptual art in which tension is created between the affective experience of an individual and the discursive

5 | Pages 2 and 3 of the 18-page photoseries, *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia* (1971), in Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1975, n.p., 28 × 46 cm). With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka. (Photo: author)

production of a subject positioned on a grid. Art historian Eve Meltzer has argued that this approach indicates an "antihumanist turn" taken through structuralism during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Meltzer explains that the anticipation of a world managed through information systems meant that the idea of a humanist subject imbued with individual agency and a central substance or "essence" was overlaid by a structuralist understanding of language as a system of imposed grids that discursively produce subjectivity.[57] Meltzer's rereading of Conceptual Art in affective terms can be compared to recent discussions of "Romantic Conceptualism" as a variant on the dry, analytic side to the movement.[58] This variant of conceptualism contrasts the rational process implied by the repetition of serial forms with the messy subject of bodies, emotions, and sensuality. In this sense, it has affinities with countercultural refusals of a public sphere dominated by either corporate or state control of mass media because it works to recover repressed modes of perception and affective sensibility.[59]

Although the structuralist grid is present throughout *Transcanada Letters*, it is most visually striking in *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova*

6 | Detail from the photoseries, *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia* (1971), in Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1975). With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka. (Photo: author)

Scotia (1971), a photographic series that unfolds as a travel narrative across eighteen pages that mimic the serial repetition of frames on a contact sheet (Fig. 5).[60] Pictorial qualities such as horizon lines and point-of-view shift as frequently as modes of transport. Kiyooka's photographs show a group of travellers moving from van to canoe to horse and buggy. Alongside views of wilderness vistas and communications towers, seen through dirty windows or framed in rearview mirrors (Fig. 6), Kiyooka shows us images of himself amidst a busload of longhaired and mustachioed friends. In many images the lighting is atmospheric, imbuing industrial landscapes, domestic scenes, and candid portraits with an ethereal quality. At times the high contrast of these images produces romantic chiaroscuro effects, or overexposes the features of friends who I imagine goofing around as they refuse to pose for the camera. An extended shutter speed creates a disorienting lack of focus in

7 | "Halifax /Vancouver Exchange," in Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1975, n.p., 28 × 22 cm). With permission of Fumiko Kiyooka. (Photo: author)

nighttime scenes, evoking a van bumping along, following the curve of a row of streetlights.

The cross-country photo-series catalogues his move to take up a teaching position at the Nova Scotia College of Art. At the time, the College was a complement to the Conceptual Art movement as it developed in New York City, benefitting from the use these artists made of printed matter to transcend distances. Visiting artists included Lawrence Wiener, Joseph Kosuth, Dan Graham, and Vito Acconci, each of whom published contemporaneous bookworks to Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters.* This environment prompted Kiyooka's discovery that the quintessential painter of Canadian landscape imagery, Tom Thomson, was a conceptual artist. He was also inspired to organize the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange,* an event that took place as artists travelled between the cities. Eleven artists from Vancouver visited Halifax between 6 and 11 March 1972 as half of a two-part event.[61] A group portrait featured in *Transcanada Letters* shows this group huddling

together outside the clapboard storefront of the Palm Lunch restaurant while being pelted by wet falling snow (Fig. 7). The caption tells us that this jovial bunch has just eaten a "Big Meal" at the Chinese Canadian restaurant, which acts as a signifier of Asian Canadian community on the East Coast.[62] Art historian Virginia Solomon has discussed *exchange* as a performative mapping of an alternate space, that of "Canadada," where the private realm of desire shapes a new experience of public life.[63] As several West Coast participants extended their trip to visit with artists they knew in New York, it is also important to recognize how the events Kiyooka initiated from Halifax positioned his affective relationship to Vancouver within a multi-locational conceptual geography.[64]

Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia uses an eclectic grouping of photographic styles to index the experience of Kiyooka's body as it responded to the locations he travelled through. The camera acts as an extension of his body, recording his sensorial experience of the world and coordinating this emotional space with specific times and environmental conditions. In this way, the coordinating function of conceptual photography maps out a "landscape" in an analogous mode to the principles of projective verse, which inform Kiyooka's letters and poetic texts. Arnold has noted that the contrast between the mobility captured in the images and the gridded layout is reminiscent of Charles Olson's poetics of "localism."[65] Likewise, Lowry notes a resemblance between the textual content of *Transcanada Letters* and the first volume of Olson's *Maximus Poems* (1953), which is also composed as a series of letters addressed to the citizens of an imaginary city. "Localism" is the principle in projective verse of writing from one's "locus" in response to the immediate surrounding. Olson used "proprioceptive," a physiological term, to describe a process of composition working through responses arising within the body as it moves through space.[66] A kind of mapping is therefore performed on the page by using the typewriter to transcribe the poet's breath patterns when speaking the verse out loud. The reader moves across the semantic field of the page, navigating though a multifaceted syntax, multiple voices and polysemous cultural codes experienced through both text and images.

This correspondence between conceptual photography and projective verse illuminates Kiyooka's complex relationship to Canada, and to a sense of place existing somewhere beyond a print-based national imaginary bounded by the geopolitical entity. In keeping with projective verse, Kiyooka writes *Transcanada Letters* from his "locus." However, in a letter from Kyoto to Montreal, he reveals that his locus is coordinated in relation to multiple national territories, multiple urban sites, and to communications media, specifically, television:

'here' as over 'there' or almost 'anywhere' theres television–
you get the so-call'd 'real world' comin' at u via tecni-
color'd visors: Locus is 2 eyes in affront of a teley screen
'anywhere' . . . .[67]

N O T E S

1 Lance BERELOWITZ, *Dream City: Vancouver and the Global Imagination* (Vancouver:
   Douglas and McIntyre, 2005), 3.
2 See, for example, Scott WATSON and Dieter ROELSTRAETE, eds., *Intertidal:
   Vancouver Art and Artists* (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Gallery; Antwerp:
   Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen, 2005) or Reid SHIER, "Vancouver," in
   Art Cities of the Future: 21st Century Avant-Gardes (London: Phaidon, 2013), 297–319.
3 Roy Kiyooka is credited with the design of the book alongside his publisher, David
   Robinson. Like Coach House Books in Toronto, Talonbooks was known for its
   unusually close engagement with writers and artists in matters of book design.
4 Eve Meltzer's term, "aesthetics of information" describes a variant of conceptualism
   in which the rational processes implied by a systems-based approach are disrupted by
   the fluidity of emotional states and embodied forms, this will be further elaborated
   below with regards to *Transcanada Letters*. Eve MELTZER, *Systems We Have Loved:
   Conceptual Art, Affect, and the Antihumanist Turn* (Chicago: University of Chicago
   Press, 2013), 8–25.
5 Roy MIKI, ed., "Tom Thomson as/in Roy Kiyooka," in *The Artist & The Moose, A
   Fable of Forget* (Burnaby, BC: Line Books, 2009), 143.
6 Smaro KAMBOURELI, "Preface," in *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian
   Literature*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier
   University Press, 2007), x.
7 Elissa AUTHER and Adam LERNER, ed., *West of Center: Art and the Counterculture
   Experiment in America, 1965–1977* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012),
   xxx.
8 Allen Ginsberg interviewed by Jack Webster, "Ginsberg and Webster," *Georgia
   Straight,* 4–10 April 1969, 9–12. On his first trip to Japan in 1963, Kiyooka met with
   Allen Ginsberg.

9 Grant Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference: Conceptual Art on the West Coast," in *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965–1980*, eds. Grant Arnold and Karen Henry (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2011), 88.

10 Dear Chris, Richmond, B.C., 1974, *Transcanada Letters,* n.p. *Roy K. Kiyooka: 25 Years* was organized by the Vancouver Art Gallery, showing there from 21 November – 16 December 1975; January 1976 at the University of Calgary; 20 February – 28 March 1976 at the Art Gallery of Windsor; and April 1976 at the Robert McLaughlin Art Gallery (Oshawa).

11 For a reading of Newman's painting as an "ideograph of Creation," see Hal Foster et al., *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (London: Thames and Hudson, 2014), 403. John O'Brian explores the significance of Newman further in his discussion of Kiyooka's *Hoarfrost* series; see John O'Brian, "White Paint, Hoarfrost, and the Cold Shoulder of Neglect," in *Roy Kiyooka* (Vancouver: Artspeak, Or Gallery, 1991), 19–25.

12 Diana Nemiroff, "Geometric Abstraction After 1950," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010), 225.

13 Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 279.

14 *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka,* 93 min., directed by Fumiko Kiyooka, 2010.

15 See, for instance, Roy Miki, ed., "Coruscations, Plangencies and the Sybillant: After Words to Roy Kiyooka's Pacific Windows," in *Pacific Windows* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1997), 315–16.

16 I was not able to confirm the date of this event, but Itter remembers it took place before the 1963 Poetry Conference. Telephone interview with Carole Itter, 10 July 2014.

17 A press release lists Roy Kiyooka as part of the organizing committee for the 5th Festival of Contemporary Arts (1965), *The Medium is the Message.* Collection of the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery Archives, Belkin Art Gallery Fonds, 13.4–5.12. Accessed 14 Oct. 2014, http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/archive/19.

18 Sontag ends her 1964 essay, "Against Interpretation," with this phrase. My reading of Sontag is further indebted to the work of Craig J. Peariso, "The 'Counterculture' in Quotation Marks: Sontag and Marcuse on the Work of Revolution," in *The Scandal of Susan Sontag* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 155, 169 n. 19.

19 Catherine Rebecca Fairnbarn, "A Short Trip on Spaceship Earth: Intermedia Society, 1967–1972" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991), 81–94.

20 Dear Monica, 4/8/'69, Montreal, PQ, *Transcanada Letters,* n.p.

21 See Herbert Marcuse, *Essay on Liberation*, rpt. 1969 (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), which includes the ideas he transmitted in a lecture at Simon Fraser University, and in the full transcription printed in the issue of the *Georgia Straight* referenced by Kiyooka. Fairnbarn, "A Short Trip on Spaceship Earth," 82.

22 See Richard Cavell, *McLuhan in Space: A Cultural Geography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 93, 146.

23 Scott Watson, "Urban Renewal: Ghost Traps, Collage, Condos and Squats (2005)," *Ruins in Process: Vancouver Art in the Sixties*. Accessed 24 Feb.. 2012, http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/urban-renewal.

24 Richard Cavell, "World Famous Across Canada, Or Transnational Localities," in *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2007), 85–92.

25 Dear Bri, Halifax, 1971, *Transcanada Letters,* n.p.

26 Anne Moeglin-Delcroix, *Esthétique du livre d'artistes: une introduction à l'art contemporain,* 2nd ed. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France; Marseille: Le mot et le reste, 2012), exh. cat., *Livres d'artistes*: *L'invention d'un genre 1960–1980*, 25 May – 12 November 1997, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

27 Matthew S. Witkovsky, ed., *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964–1977*, (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), exh. cat. accompanying an exhibition which took place 13 Dec. 2011 - 11 Mar. 2012, Art Institute of Chicago.

28 Patrizia di Bello, Collette Wilson, and Shamoon Zamir, eds., *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

29 Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver, and Rachel Weiss, eds., *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s–1980s* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999), exh. cat. accompanying a travelling exhibition organized by the Queens Museum of Art, 28 April – 29 August 1999, Queens Museum of Art (New York); 19 December 1999 – 5 March 2000, Walker Art Center (Minneapolis); 15 September – 26 November 2000, Miami Art Museum.

30 Grant Arnold and Karen Henry, ed., *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965–1980* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2011), exh. cat. accompanying a travelling exhibition, 11 September – 28 November 2010, Justina M. Barnicke Gallery (Hart House, University of Toronto); University of Toronto Art Centre (Toronto); Blackwood Gallery (University of Toronto, Mississauga, ON); Doris McCarthy Gallery (University of Toronto, Scarborough, ON); 18 March – 8 May 2011, Anna Leonowens Gallery (NSCAD University, Halifax); Dalhousie Art Gallery (Halifax); Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery (Halifax); Saint Mary's University Art Gallery (Halifax); 25 June – 18 September 2011, Art Gallery of Alberta (Edmonton); 13 January – 25 February 2012 (Part 1), 16 March – 28 April 2012 (Part 2), Leonard & Bina Ellen Gallery (Concordia University, Montreal); 29 September 2012 – 20 January 2013, Vancouver Art Gallery (Vancouver); 1 April – 30 June 2013, Badischer Kunstverein (Karlsruhe, Germany).

31 Johanna Drucker, *The Century of Artists' Books* (New York: Granary Books, 2004).

32 Liz Kotz, *Words to be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).

33 Quoted here is the phrase used in Patrizia Di Bello and Shamoon Zamir's introduction to *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond,* 6. See also Matthew S. Wittkovsky's discussion of Ruscha's appropriation of the "subgenres of literature such as the paperback" in *Light Years*, 18. Johanna Drucker goes so far as to lament this tendency as an art historical "cliché" in *The Century of Artists' Books*, 11.

34 Sianne Ngai, "Merely Interesting," *Critical Inquiry* 34 (Summer 2008): 777–817.

35 Letter from Michael Ondaatje to Roy Kiyooka and Daphne Marlatt, 19 May 1976, Verona, ON. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.6.8 Kiyooka Correspondence, Ondaatje. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

36 Jim Brown and David Robinson have explicitly linked the founding of *Talon* magazine and Talonbooks to the aesthetic and social environment surrounding Intermedia and the Vancouver Art Gallery. Both are interviewed in Kathleen Scherf, "A Legacy of Canadian Cultural Tradition and the Small Press: The Case of Talonbooks," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 25:1 (2000): 131–49.

37 Email to the author from Karl Seigler, 6 June 2014.

38 I was unable to access a production docket that would confirm details such as print run, price per unit, or distribution points. Correspondence between Karl Seigler (Talonbooks) and Roy Kiyooka regarding royalties for *Transcanada Letters* show that 384 copies were sold in 1976, and sales steadily declined in subsequent years. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MSC 32.7.3 Kiyooka Correspondence, Talonbooks. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC.

39 Roy KIYOOKA, *Transcanada Letters*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli (Waterloo, ON: New West Press, 2005), 370–77. Scott Toguri McFarland notes a similar shift in aesthetics when *StoneDGloves* was anthologized in *Pacific Windows,* see "Un-Ravelling 'StoneDGloves' and the Haunt of the Hibakusha," in *All Amazed For Roy Kiyooka*, eds. John O'Brian, Naomi Sawada, and Scott Watson (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002), 119.

40 Roland BARTHES, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 41.

41 Ibid.

42 A list of "publications" in the exhibition catalogue accompanying *Transcanada Letters* includes his contribution of images and text to art magazines such as *artscanada* or *Studio International* as well as literary magazines such as *BC Monthly* or *Imago. Roy K. Kiyooka: 25 Years* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1975).

43 Bob HOGG, *Tish* 25 (June 1964): 2.

44 "The Man in the Yellow Boots/El Hombre de las Botas Amarillas," *El Corno Emplumado* 16 (October, 1965).

45 Kiyooka represented Canada at Expo '70; it was while he installed the large-scale industrial sculpture, *Abu Ben Adam's Vinyl Dream,* that he took the series of photographs for *StoneDGloves.* The title is shared between the bookwork and a series of photographs circulating as a travelling show organized by the National Gallery of Canada's Extension Services from August 1970 to January 1972. The photographs ranged from 30 × 40 in. to 60 × 40 in and were installed on the floor, walls, and ceilings of a gallery as an environment. The bookwork replaced the standard monographic catalogue that usually accompanied an exhibition organized by the National Gallery of Canada.

46 MACFARLAND, "Un-Ravelling 'StoneDGloves' and the Haunt of the Hibakusha," 119.

47 The dedication page of *Transcanada Letters*, states that it was "begun as a book for the G.S.W.S. in Halifax N.S. Sept. 71." The acronym, which stands for the *Georgia Straight Writing Series,* attests to conflicted ties in the period between writers associated with *Tish* magazine and the newspaper. In 1970, the *Supplement* began issuing books as the Georgia Straight Writing Series (GSWS). Following a split from the *Georgia Straight* in 1972 (which also formed *The Grape* and the "York Street Commune"), the GSWS continued to publish under the imprint Vancouver Community Press.

48 Liz KOTZ, *Words To Be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 5.

49 Sheryl CONKLETON, "Roy Kiyooka: '. . . The Sad and Glad Tidings of the Floating World . . .'," in O'Brian, Sawada, and Watson, eds., *All Amazed For Roy Kiyooka*, 109.

50 Philip AUSLANDER, "The Performativity of Performance Documentation," *PAJ* 84 (2006): 5.

51 Roy Miki, "Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview," in *Roy Kiyooka,* ed. William Wood (Vancouver: Artspeak Gallery; Or Gallery, 1991), 43.

52 *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka,* 93 min., directed by Fumiko Kiyooka, 2010.

53 Roy Kiyooka in ibid.

54 Ron Spikett in ibid.

55 Glen Lowry, "Afterword," in *Transcanada Letters*, 2nd ed., Smaro Kamboureli (Waterloo, ON: New West Press, 2005), 376.

56 José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Colour and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 6.

57 Eve Meltzer, *Systems We Have Loved*, 8–25.

58 See for instance, Jörg Heiser and Ellen Seifermann, *Romantic Conceptualism* (Wien: Kerber, 2007).

59 Jörg Heiser, "Moscow, Romantic, Conceptualism and After," *e-flux* 29 (November 2011). Accessed 7 Apr. 2013, http://www.e-flux.com/journal/moscow-romantic-conceptualism-and-after/.

60 *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia,* 1971 (567 silver gelatin prints, 41.5 × 551.25 in. overall) is part of the collection of the Vancouver Art Gallery; however, Kiyooka's decision to reproduce and circulate the work as an integral part of *Transcanada Letters* signals that as a serial medium, the photographic prints exist across multiple places at once: in the institutional gallery space and the mass culture form of the book.

61 Due to changes in travel plans, the exchanges between cities took place at the same time. This meant that contrary to Kiyooka's intentions for the artists to be exposed to each other and to their conflicting forms of conceptualism, the participants were not able to meet in person. Telephone interview with Carole Itter, 10 July 2014.

62 Vancouver visitors included: Cheryl Druick (now Sourkes), Don Druick, Zoe Druick (their young child), Gathie Falk, Carole Fisher (now Itter), Gerry Gilbert, Garry Lee-Nova, Glenn Lewis, Michael Morris, Vincent Trasov, Dallas Sellman, and Dave Rimmer, alongside other Halifax participants. Halifax residents in the group are Bruce Parsons, Toby MacLennan, Alistair MacLennan, Peter Zimmer, Anita Martin, David Martin, Ellison Robertson, Ian Murray, Doug Waterman, and Charlotte Townsend.

63 Virginia Solomon, "Conceptualism and Canadada at the Halifax/Vancouver Exchange," in *The Last Art College: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1968–1978*, ed. Gary Neill Kennedy (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 2012), 153.

64 Glenn Lewis presented a performance at the New Food Restaurant in SoHo, 19 March 1972. A photo-essay chronicling the trip to Halifax and New York is published as "National News" in *FILE* 1 (April 1972): 6–7.

65 Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference," 98.

66 See Fred Wah's description of proprioceptive writing in Fred Wah, "Introduction," in *Net Work: Selected Writing*, ed. Daphne Marlatt (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1980), 15–19.

67 For Coolhand Luke & Others . . . , 19/10/'69, Kyoto City, Japan, *Transcanada Letters,* n.p.

RÉSUMÉ

Positionnement sériel : les « voyages en art conceptuel » de Roy K. Kiyooka

FELICITY TAYLER

Cet article soutient que *Transcanada Letters* est un livre conceptuel qui utilise des stratégies formelles pour attirer l'attention sur le livre non seulement comme vecteur neutre d'un contenu textuel, mais comme forme matérielle imprégnée de propriétés idéologiques. En utilisant le vocabulaire de Marshall McLuhan, on pourrait dire que *Transcanada Letters* joue un rôle de « sonde ». Le livre utilise délibérément l'« ancien média » de la page imprimée pour produire un contre-environnement à l'univers des médias de communication adopté comme « valeur nationale » durant la période post-centenaire au Canada. Roy Kenzie Kiyooka (né à Moosejaw, Saskatchewan, 1926; décédé à Vancouver, 1994) est un artiste et poète nippo-canadien *nisei,* c'est-à-dire de deuxième génération. Son livre *Transcanada Letters* reproduit une série d'environ 250 envois de correspondance de Kiyooka à des parents, amis et collègues entre 1966 et 1974. Des photographies individuelles, surtout des portraits de famille, sont insérées entre des pages de texte, alors qu'une collection de 576 photographies de voyage est aussi disposée en grille conceptuelle. Les dates et adresses de retour incluses avec chaque lettre forment un ensemble de coordonnées temporelles et géographiques qui suivent la trace de Kiyooka dans ses voyages au Canada, d'est en ouest à travers de nombreux sites géographiques, aux États-Unis, au sud, et au Japon, à l'ouest, au-delà de l'océan Pacifique. *Transcanada Letters* a amené certains auteurs à réfléchir sur les nombreux niveaux de complexité de la diaspora asiatique en relation avec la citoyenneté et la culture nationale canadiennes. L'article complète les recherches existantes en mettant de l'avant les aspects visuels de la conception d'un livre et en soulignant que l'impression de livres est en soi un procédé photographique. L'article explore aussi des aspects du livre qui ne sont pas directement liés à la question de l'identité asiatico-canadienne. En présentant la route transcanadienne comme un symbole de la nation, Kiyooka puise dans des visions de l'Ouest (et du pourtour du Pacifique) habitant simultanément l'imaginaire contre-culturel. Dans la période post-centenaire, les livres avaient une valeur symbolique pour la consolidation de publics de lecteurs français et anglais, et contribuaient *aussi* à la formation d'un lectorat contreculturel attiré par des formes

ouvertes de poésie et des pratiques artistiques intermédiatiques, y compris la photographie conceptuelle. Pour répondre à ces questions, l'article s'intéresse particulièrement à un portrait de famille que Kiyooka a inséré entre deux pages de lettres, ce qui permet de réfléchir sur sa sensibilité à l'égard des relations complexes entre la culture de l'imprimé, l'identité et l'État-nation. Par contre, la série de photographies *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia* (1971) ouvre le débat sur ses affiliations conceptuelles et contreculturelles, alors que l'article aborde la poétique du « localisme » en vers projectifs en tant qu'elle définit un paysage à travers la page dans un mode analogue à la fonction de coordination de la photographie conceptuelle. À travers les pages de *Transcanada Letters,* le lieu de Kiyooka est fait de multiples lieux dans ses transformations en relation à de multiples territoires nationaux, à plusieurs sites urbains et aux médias de communication, plus spécifiquement la télévision.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette
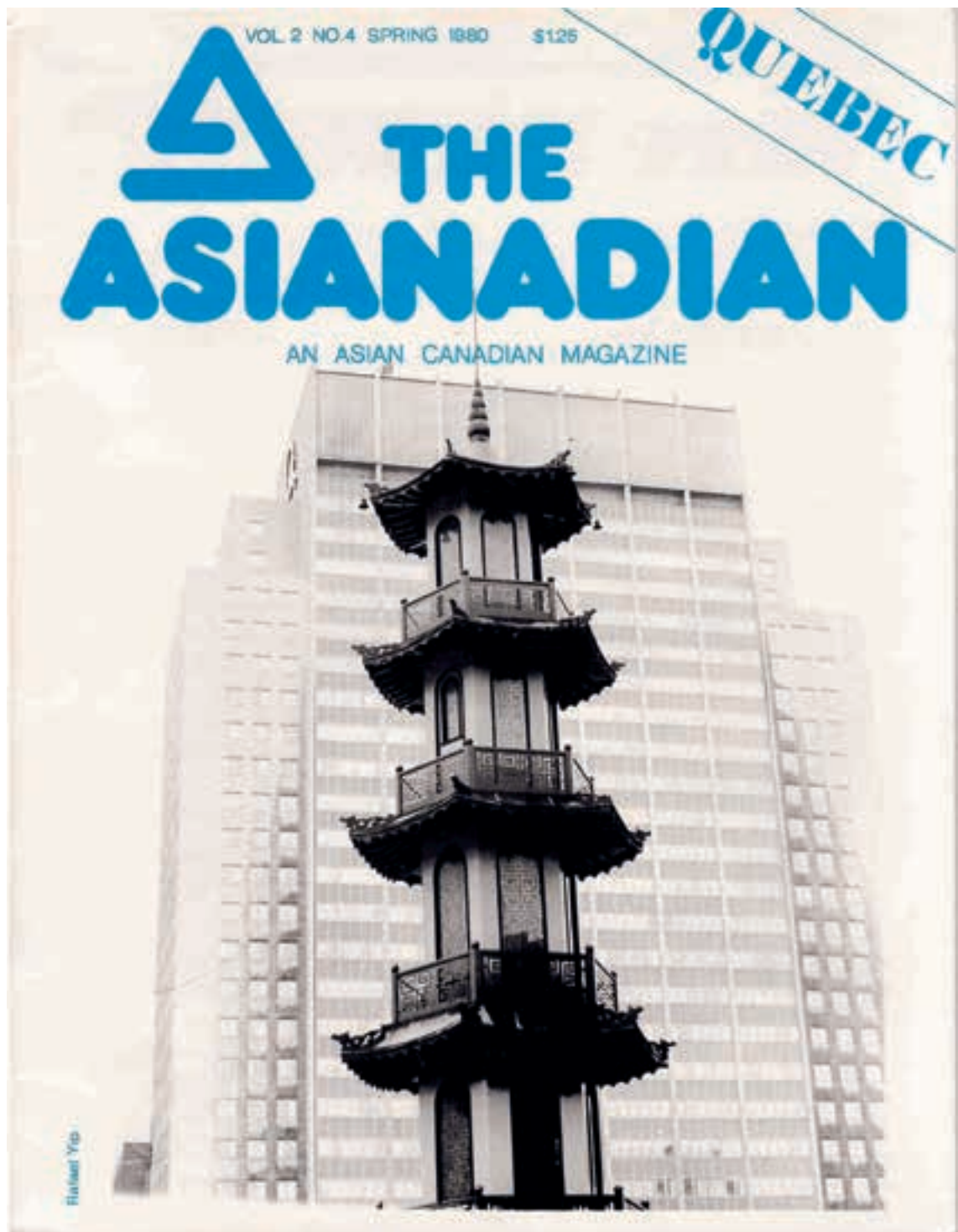
1 | Cover of *The Asianadian* 2:4 (Spring 1980), special issue on Quebec, with cover photograph by Raphael Yip. With permission of *The Asianadian*. (Photo: author)

Asiancy and Visual Culture:
The Asianadian Magazine, 1978–1985

ALICE MING WAI JIM

The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine was published quarterly in Toronto between 1978 and 1985 during a period of significant anti-racism activism in Canada marked by ongoing debates on a fledgling multiculturalism, controversial media representations of people of colour, and efforts to establish venues to feature an expanding volume of Asian Canadian cultural production. Its founding editors and contributors – minority writers, artists and scholars, many of whom are today's leading established Asian Canadian Studies scholars and creatives – spoke persuasively, expressing themselves through text and visual culture against racism and other forms of oppression in Canadian society that paralleled efforts made in their own practices. This article sets out to contextualize the publication's editorial aims and scope, content and presentation. It focuses on how the journal dealt with stereotypical representations of Asian Canadians in visual culture such as mainstream mass media, film, and social caricature, in order to demonstrate that *The Asianadian* was a significant site of visual cultural critique.

Important aspects characterized the publication as a forum that sought to establish what its editors called "Asian Canadian sensibility:" its interdisciplinary, collaborative, and intercultural approach to contesting dominant representations of Canadian identity; the overtly activist stance of its contributions in intervening in national politics and social issues relevant to Asian Canadian communities; and the critical space devoted to poetry, visual arts, and other forms of cultural production that explored and interrogated the conditions of precisely these political, social and cultural expressions. I argue that a rigorous examination of these aspects not only brings forward deeper understandings of historical formations that steered the directions of culturally-specific serial publications in Canada in the past fifty years, but also situates *The Asianadian* as an important contribution to the fields of visual cultural studies and art history.

According to Canadian literature scholars Eleanor Ty and Christl Verduyn, while the history of Asian Canadian writing spans more than a century, the term "Asian Canadian" only came to be widely used in the late 1970s with the concurrent emergence of the Asian American movement in the United States.[1] The use of the term in the title of *The Asianadian: An*

Asian Canadian Magazine was a result of activities by members of the Asian Canadian Writers' Workshop (ACWW), a collective founded in 1976 by writers and artists including Sean Gunn, Jim Wong-Chu, and Garrick Chu. By the time *The Asianadian* came into being, there were burgeoning collaborative networks related to Asian Canadian cultural production across disciplines in the humanities from history, radio production, and literary writing, to film and the visual and performing arts. Contributions featuring Asian Canadian expression were a significant way in which *The Asianadian* sought to support and further these critically aware activities. Particular issues such as the one on Vancouver (edited by Sean Gunn and Paul Yee) and another on Quebec (edited by Siu-keong Lee), published on the eve of the 1980 Quebec Referendum on sovereignty and secession from Canada, are examples of ways in which the magazine sought to address not only pan-Asian notions but also regional perspectives on "Asian Canadian" and other minority identities (Fig. 1).[2] Before the 1980s, most Canadians of Asian descent did not use the term Asian Canadian, being more accustomed to using "distinct nationally-based racial categories – Chinese Canadians, Japanese Canadians, Canadians of Filipino, Korean, or South Asian origin, even Caribbean Canadians."[3] Nearly forty years since its publication, the magazine's fraught relationship and framing of the debates surrounding multiculturalism as well as the position of (to use Siu-keong Lee's term) "*Asiabécois*" (as opposed to Asianadians) on the question of Quebec sovereignty remain useful in studying ethnocultural identities and visual culture in Canada.[4]

Within the history of serial print culture, specifically magazines and journals that have focused on Asian Canadian art and culture from the 1960s to the present day, *The Asianadian* was a significant contribution to the ongoing strategic formation of "Asian Canadian" as a political project involving the recovery of a subjective agency, or what poet and activist Roy Miki called "Asiancy." He proposed this term in an important conference paper, "Asiancy: Making Space for Asian Canadian Writing," delivered in 1993 at the Association for Asian American Studies conference as a way to describe "the problem of speaking and writing from a racialized location that does not easily reproduce the master's voice."[5] Not surprisingly, the magazine's objectives were most explicitly stated in the first issue on the theme of "Asian Canadian Sensibility" and most fervently articulated in its editorial that reminded readers of the proliferation of racial intolerance and violence against Asians in the Americas at the turn of the twentieth century.

The Asianadian (1978–1985)

The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine was a quarterly magazine with issues of thirty-six to forty pages in length that focused "on the social

and racial issues of Asian-Canadians."[6] In the words of its founding editors Anthony B. Chan (b. 1944, Victoria, BC), Cheuk Kwan (b. Hong Kong, immigrated to Canada in 1976) and Paul S. Levine (also known as Lau Bo): "It was revolutionary because it was the first magazine of its time to deal with the social, racial, and cultural issues of Asian Canadians."[7] The first issue appeared in April 1978. By the fall of 1979, "the scope of the publication reached outside the confines of Toronto and spread into the US and overseas" and had three hundred subscribers.[8] According to Momoye Sugiman, who joined the magazine editorial board early on: "By the spring of 1980, we had clearly established the magazine as a respected, progressive Asian Canadian voice."[9]

The publication's founding editors, all in their thirties and educated in North America, "saw the production of *The Asianadian* as the beginning of a social movement, similar to the Asian Americans' movement"[10] that had spread across university campuses in the US during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the aftermath of the Civil Rights movements that began in 1955 and the radical activism of the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) strikes in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Berkeley in 1969, Asian American Studies, taking root on campuses, reached new heights in the seventies with the militancy and radical organizations that characterized the Asian American movement.[11] As Chan writes, demands for Asian American Studies centres and courses on the experience of Asians in America resulted in "a string of ethnic studies programmes concentrating on Asian, Black, Chicano, and Native American studies from Seattle to San Diego."[12] (In contrast, with no pressure put on Canadian universities in the 1970s and 1980s, Asian Canadian Studies as a site of knowledge production would not sprout until the late 1990s and up until only recently, "Asian Canadians remain primarily the subject of immigration research.")[13]

Important to this discussion are "movement publications," the three most influential being the monthly California-based *Gidra* (1969–1974), the first radical Asian American alternative newspaper, the bi-monthly magazine *Bridge: An Asian American Perspective* (Basement Workshop, New York Chinatown, 1971–1985), and the academic journal, *Amerasia* (Yale 1969–, then UCLA, 1971–ongoing), which "sprang up to meet the needs of the new Asian American sensibility and the general quest of Asians to assert their claims as first-class citizens in racist America."[14] Inspired by the Asian American movement and its publications, Asian Canadian writers and artists by the late 1970s were actively producing small-press serials although these focused primarily on experimental writing from the West Coast.[15] ACWW's earliest publications were, significantly, two compilations: *Inalienable Rice: A Chinese and Japanese Canadian Anthology* (1979), which was the result of member writers and artists, including Jim Wong-Chu (poet-photographer, activist,

and organizer since the late 1970s), Sean Gunn (community activist, poet, and musician since the early 1970s), Sharon (Sky) Lee (author) and Paul Yee (photographer); and a special issue in 1981 of the Simon Fraser University (SFU)-sponsored literary publication *West Coast Review*, titled "The Asian Canadian and the Arts." Initiated by ACWW and the Powell Street Review in a group effort building on the momentum of group effort in *The Asianadian*, the *West Coast Review* issue featured many of the same contributors to *Inalienable Rice*, which included interviews with artist and poet Roy Kiyooka (1926–1994) and Chinatown activist Bing Thom and poems by Audrey Kobayashi, Helen Koyama, Roy Miki, Terry Watada, Paul Yee, Jim Wong-Chu, Sean Gunn, and Glen Nagano, as well as an excerpt from Joy Kogawa's soon-to-be-published novel, *Obasan*.[16] Speaking about his experiences in producing community-oriented literature in 1973, Gunn recalls: "*Gum San Po* translates to Golden Mountain News, but in reality, it was a journal [published in 1974 and which folded after two issues], a sort of forerunner to *The Asianadian* and the anthology, *Inalienable Rice*."[17]

SFU's *West Coast Line* journal officially debuted in 1990 (having evolved from its previous incarnation, *Line*), soon after *West Coast Review* folded in 1988.[18] As cultural critic and author Andrew Klobucar points out, the debut of *West Coast Line* marked

> the growing importance of identity politics within avant-garde art. When *Line* began a decade earlier, Vancouver art and writing scenes certainly reflected the city's impressive cultural pluralism; yet the explicit exploration of such themes [as issues of race or ethnic identity] within the works themselves rarely occurred.[19]

The June 1981 special issue of *West Coast Review* (1966–1988) is one of the earliest one-off thematic issues of a Canadian magazine to focus on Asian Canadian arts and culture. It featured contributors such as Roy Kiyooka, Sky Lee, Joy Kogawa, Jim Wong-Chu, and Paul Yee – all significant writers, poets and artists in the burgeoning Asian Canadian arts and literary world. The ethnic populations of Canada had changed substantially in the years leading up to the founding of *The Asianadian*, as immigration policies opened up to people from non-European nations and multiculturalism became an official government policy in 1971. By the time *The Asianadian* appeared, Canada was calling out a second major wave of Yellow Peril discourses in the wake of a new multicultural nation.[20]

Asians in the Media in the Late 1970s

Here is a scenario that would make a great many people in this country angry and resentful. Suppose your son or daughter wanted to be an engineer, or a doctor, or a

pharmacist. Suppose he had high marks in high school, and that you could pay the
tuition – he still couldn't get into university in his chosen courses because a foreign
student was taking his place. Well, that is exactly what is happening in this country.
– w5 host Helen Hutchison, "Campus Give-away," aired on CTV, *30 September 1979*

On 30 September 1979, the Canadian television network CTV aired an eleven-minute episode of their public affairs news magazine program *w5*, "Campus Giveaway," reporting that some 100,000 foreign students mainly from China were taking away educational opportunities that could have gone to Canadian students. As the reporter narrated the story, the camera panned slowly across a pharmacology class in session at the University of Toronto, fixating only on the Asian faces in the room. In one clip, an angry Canadian (read: white and non-foreign) student "victim" of the "yellow horde" told *w5* that she was not offered admission even though her grades were high enough (they were later found to be not) because foreign students (to automatically mean Chinese in the context of the program) were taking up all the spots. With *The Asianadian* editors involved from the onset in mobilizing public protest, this hysterical televisual event would eventually be deconstructed in the pages of *The Asianadian* and elsewhere. It would be pointed out that the statistics were erroneous, the number of "visa students" being half the number reported at all levels of education, and that five of the six Chinese students isolated on camera were Canadian citizens of Chinese descent, and the remaining one Canadian-born Chinese; "University of Toronto admit[ted] *no* foreign students into the first year pharmacy programme."[21]

The national anti-*w5* social movement that ensued, with protesters in the streets of Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver shouting "CTV Apologize Now! Red, Brown, Black, Yellow, and White – We Canadians Must Unite! Biased Show, *w5* Got to go!" would be recognized for decades as the start of an unprecedented chapter of Chinese Canadian political and social action, as well as nascent coalitional politics between different ethnic groups – while crowds were mostly Chinese, people and politicians from other different ethnic communities also marched in support (Fig. 2).[22] Six months later, efforts of the Ad Hoc Committees Against *w5* would pay off in the form of a settlement package with CTV on 15 April 1980 and, on the following day, a public apology issued by the network: "We sincerely apologize for the fact that Chinese-Canadians were depicted as foreigners, and for whatever distress this stereotyping may have caused them in the context of our multicultural society."[23] This was "the first time in the history of North America that a major television network had made a public apology concerning misrepresentations in programming."[24]

Central to the movement's success was its mobilization of social critique of these kinds of derisive images found in television and photojournalism

THE (W5) MOVEMENT

CHEUK KWAN

April 16, 1980 was an important date in the history of racial minorities in Canada. On that day, the CTV Television Network made a full public apology to the Chinese Canadians on a racist and distorted programme that the network aired last fall. "We sincerely apologise for the fact that Chinese Canadians were depicted as foreigners...", network president Murray Chercover said in the public apology, "and for whatever distress this stereotyping may have caused them in the context of our multicultural society."

On September 30 last year, CTV's W5 public affairs programme broadcasted a segment entitled "Campus Giveaway". The item alleged that foreign students, mainly of Chinese descent, were taking away the places of Canadians in the universities. It made no distinction between Chinese foreign students and Canadian students of Chinese descent who may be third-generation Canadians. The presentation of the programme was "racist in tone and effect". It focused on a particular group of minorities, the Chinese Canadian, and in essence, labelled them as foreigners. Furthermore, university community and immigration officials were quick to point out that the foreign student statistics were "grossly distorted and inaccurate." (Ed.note: see also "The Foreign Threat That Never Was!" by Kwan, Asianadian Vol 2, No. 3.)

The uproar from the Chinese community was unexpected and unprecedented. Following the programme's airing, five students from the Chinese Students Association of the University of Toronto filed a libel and slander suit against CTV and W5's producers. In late November, the "Ad Hoc Committee of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario Against W5" was formed in Toronto to protest the programme. Thirteen committee members and over six hundred volunteers from Toronto's Chinese community worked unrelentlessly to publicize the issue

2 | Cheuk Kwan, "The Anti-w5 Movement," *The Asianadian*, 2:4 (Spring 1980), pp. 11 (shown)–13. With permission of *The Asianadian*. (Photo: author)

coverage. The movement itself, as a political constituency of people of colour, provided counter-images to stereotypes of the apolitical immigrant sojourner by representing a politicized, racialized citizenry willing, able, and determined to speak up and advocate for accountability regarding issues that affect not just specific ethnic communities but all Canadians. *The Asianadian* covered the racist, irresponsible journalism and political gaffes, as well as the movement that sprang up in protest, over three articles in the winter, spring, and fall 1980 (2:3–4, 3:1) issues. The first two were by Cheuk Kwan reporting on the story while the third article, "The Aftermath of Misinformation," by University of Toronto anthropology professor and Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship member Jamshed Mavalwala is the most comprehensive and reflective of the three, identifying phases in dealing with the misinformation and the errors in the *w5* program as pointed out in the Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) brief in answer to the detailed report submitted by Ad-Hoc Committees.[25]

Importantly, the *w5* controversy led directly to the formation of the Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC).[26] When the Ad-Hoc Committee members assembled three days after the apology in Toronto in a meeting intended to be a national anti-*w5* meeting, they clearly saw the situation called for a stronger voice representing Chinese Canadians nationwide. Based in Toronto, the national organization's mandate was "to safeguard the dignity and equality of all Chinese Canadians and other ethnic groups in this country." Years later, with other national groups, the CCNC would be instrumental in lobbying for the twenty-four-year-long Chinese Head Tax Redress campaign, obtaining a full apology to the Chinese Canadian community from Prime Minister Stephen Harper on behalf of the people and Government of Canada in 2007 for the head tax (1885–1923) and the subsequent exclusion of Chinese immigrants (1923–1947).

Among the founding members of the CCNC was Anthony B. Chan (Tony Chan), the anti-*w5* campaign's Halifax delegate who had obtained his PhD in modern Chinese history from York University the previous fall and who would publish his second book, the classic *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World* in 1983 (early excerpts were published in *The Asianadian*) in which the last chapter provides a play-by-play account of the *w5* controversy. While the *w5* story shook the Chinese Canadian community during those two years between 1979 and 1980 into another rude awakening to the racial biases of the Canadian media towards the Chinese, *The Asianadian* had germinated a year before, in 1978, when three friends Tony Chan, Cheuk C. Kwan, and Paul Levine (Lau Bo) were sitting in Mars Food on College Street in Toronto, discussing "social justice, activism, and criticism in the Asian Canadian community."[27]

3 | The staff of *The Asianadian*, circa December 1978. Front row (l. to. r.): Momoye Sugiman, Doug Yip, Barbara Yip, Paul Levine (Lau Bo), and Bobby Siu; back row (l. to r.): Lynne Kutsukake, Anthony Chan, Adjana Murthy, Carson Young, Diane Yip, Cheuk Kwan, and Yan Wong. Photo provided by Momoye Sugiman. With permission of *The Asianadian*.

To address the lack of Canadian magazine publications for the diverse Chinese community in Canada, the original intent was to make the Toronto-based Chinese language magazine, *Crossroads Monthly*, bilingual, with an English section and a Chinese section, and with similar coverage on Chinese and Chinese Canadian affairs. Kwan had asked Chan to put together the English-language version of the magazine. Over the course of the conversation, the editors realized that very few people in Canada can read bilingually, which meant that only one half of their readers would be served in either language. It was decided to split from *Crossroads* and create a new magazine. The original articles compiled by Chan, along with its layout (and ten-letter title space), became the first issue of *The Asianadian* that appeared in April 1978. With Kwan and Lau Bo listed as managing editors and Chan as editor, they registered as a non-profit organization called "The Asianadian Resource Workshop" for which the magazine became a vehicle.[28] Dedicated to "social justice, social activism and social criticism" through writing, visual art, and other forms of cultural production, it was a way "to further our creativity and thus contribute our unique perspectives to Canadian society" (Fig. 3).[29]

Asian Canadian Sensibility

In the current Canadian political climate, the assumption that Canada was founded by two specific ethnic communities, the English and the French, constitutes an arrogant and obscene negation of the primary rights of Native Canadians who inhabited and owned these lands before the white settler came as explorer, trader, and exploiter. Canada was a land of immigrants and still is . . . It is now not the question of the rights of the fathers, but the rights of the children. And the children are from mixed cultural heritages. The English-French conflict is a 19th century anachronism.[30]

One of *The Asianadian*'s primary goals was to "promote unity in the Asian Canadian communities, to bridge generational gaps between Asians with 19th-century roots in Canada and recent Asian immigrants," of which the tactic mostly took the form of articles and news on support, resource centres, and outreach programs, rather than theoretical discussions of pan-Asianism as a concept.[31] Pan-Asianism however did play an important role in the project of "rais[ing] the consciousness of both Asians and non-Asians about the Asian experience in Canada."[32] The editors believed that "The concept of the Asianadian person . . . transcends specific ethnic affiliations such as 'being Chinese' or 'being East Indian'. It also transcends Asian racism, class lines and the Asian traditions of sexism, militarism and regionalism."[33] The authors, artists, events, and figures featured would be primarily Toronto-based and from predominantly East Asian Canadian communities but regional and ethnic representation would expand, as the years went on, to more national coverage and as the magazine focused on specific cultural communities as issue themes. In volume 5, number 3, for example, Jim Wong-Chu's article on Asian Canadian literary arts in Vancouver was followed by one on South Asian Canadian literature by Suwanda H.J. Sugunasiri, creating a wider conversation between the diverse histories of literature in Canada by writers of Asian descent. Cultural activist, artist, and *Asianadian* editor Richard Fung would later state that: "Since the demise of *The Asianadian* magazine . . . there has been no national forum for discussing cultural or political issues for a pan-Asian audience."[34]

Despite these aspirations, as Jan Bharati's article in issue 5:1 "Conflict in the East Indian Community in Toronto: Historical Overview" indicates, the politics of representation and community differences remained a constant consideration. As Aminur Rahim states in his editorial for issue 3:4: "The fragmentation among Asian Canadians is distressful." On this topic, a healthy amount of critical exchange and disagreement took place through Letters to the Editor and response articles. Exchanges between contributors across consecutive journal issues included Rahim's "Is Oriental an O-ccident?" in response to a Leonard Preyra essay (volume 4:3). These pushed critical

discourses on Asian Canadian issues in progressive ways towards what in the 1980s would be more commonly referred to as identity politics or cultural race politics. Even its founding editors were not spared from scrutiny. A long exchange appeared in the Letters to the Editor from April 1983 to April 1984 between Jin(-Yan) Tan (co-author with Patricia Roy of *The Chinese in Canada*, published in 1985, and teaching at OISE, University of Toronto at the time) and Anthony Chan, occasioned by the former's harsh assessment of the latter's just-released book, *Gold Mountain,* via critique of the "Sojourner Myth."

In a 1998 interview, author and art critic Kyo Maclear nonetheless recalled, "I went to the library and found those back issues of *The Asianadian* . . . it was pretty amazing to have such strong political statements being made, with clear analysis and a real senses of solidarity . . . There was a palpable sense of what it meant to be part of this 'Yellow Power' movement, which was really strong and empowering . . . *The Asianadian* introduced a way to articulate a racial identity that wasn't just about being victimized."[35] One of the most important avenues for this articulation was visual culture – both in the form of critique and affirmation.

The Role of Visual Culture

The history of the Chinese experience is usually written by non-Chinese. Where is the Chinese view of their own experience in Canada? Where are the Chinese Canadian poets, artists, musicians, and film-makers whose experience in Canada provides a truer picture of their contribution? Works emphasizing calligraphy and bird paintings neither show Chinese Canadian sensibilities nor demonstrate their contributions to Canadian culture.[36]

Appearing in the first issue of *The Asianadian*, these words written by Chan for an article on resources to teach about Chinese Canadians reinforced the ultimate goal of the magazine to "present an outlet for the talented Asian Canadian artists, writers, and musicians" to self-represent as a critical part of the struggle against distorted media representations. Not every one of the thirty-six issues had a special theme or particular focus but on average one to two contributions out of the usual six articles were about film, theatre, visual and literary arts, or some form of cultural production. Published alongside articles by political activists about social justice struggles, community services and interventions (such as how to kick the KKK out of your town[37]), the pages of *The Asianadian* exposed its readers to the Asian Canadian theatre productions (critic and poet Himani Bannerji reviewed the newly-formed Canasian Artists Group's critically-acclaimed *Yellow Fever* by Rick A. Shiomi, playwright, stage director and *taiko* artist since 1979,[38] while David Henry Hwang's *F.O.B.* was contextualized by Susan Carter); the films

of Midi Onodera (6:3) and Wayne Wang (*Chan is Missing*, the first full-length North American film to boast an all-Asian cast and crew); the architecture of Raymond Moriyama (Order of Canada, 1985) and his family's experience of Japanese Canadian internment camps; and work by the founder of the Canadian Multicultural Dance Theatre-*Kathak* (North India), dancer Rina Singha. Many other articles addressed music, poetry, and literature. Visual art also received attention; for instance, the work of painter Shuk Cheung in issue 6:3 and, in issue 4:4, the 1981 touring exhibition "Glimpses of Muslims in Canada," curated by Sudha Thakkar Khandwani and Abdullah Khandwani to mark the Hijra centenary.

On one occasion, *The Asianadian* published an excerpt from a keynote, titled "Asian American Art: Tradition and Information," delivered by legendary composer and saxophonist, as well as writer and radical activist, Fred Wei-Han Honn (1957–2014; he changed his name to Ho in 1988) at Smith College, Northampton, MA, as part of the 1982 Asian American Arts Conference.[39] A proponent of Afro-Asian music, founder of the Boston-based Asian (Pacific) American Resource Workshop in 1979, and particularly active in the visual arts scene in the 1980s, Honn's address spoke eloquently and urgently to the place of Asian American arts and cultural contributions in general to the visual cultural industry: "I believe the main danger to Asian American culture in the coming future is the threat of forced assimilation: the complete erasure of our cultural memory and the wholesale adoption of the mainstream white commercial culture . . . Yet, effective boycotts organized by the Asian American communities, with a strong active participation by Asian American media people and artists, proved that we would not allow the more grossly overt negative images to come back."[40]

The cover of nearly every issue, notably the earlier issues, featured a reproduction of a work by a visual artist of Asian descent, which was accompanied by "Notes on the Artist" on the inside cover. (Later covers featured mostly photographs or illustrations.) The inaugural issue had an etching, *Après minuit* (1975), by Montreal-based Chinese artist and professor at l'Université du Québec à Montréal Lau Tin-yum and the following issue, a woodcut with photo-engraving, *Captivity* (1976) by Toronto-based Chinese artist and associate professor at the University of Guelph, Gene Chu. Both these images were sombre, monochromatic depictions – in Lau's case, a morose woman, head drooping as if in sad lamentation over the seven large broken eggshells from which birds seem to be trying to struggle free (Fig. 4), and in Chu's, a cut-off image showing just from the forearms up a pair of wrists tethered together and hung from a wooden ledge with barbed wire. Other artworks featured on the front cover were by Wayne Lum and Sunny Urata (issues 2:1, 2:2, and 2:3) and many others. Articles were accompanied
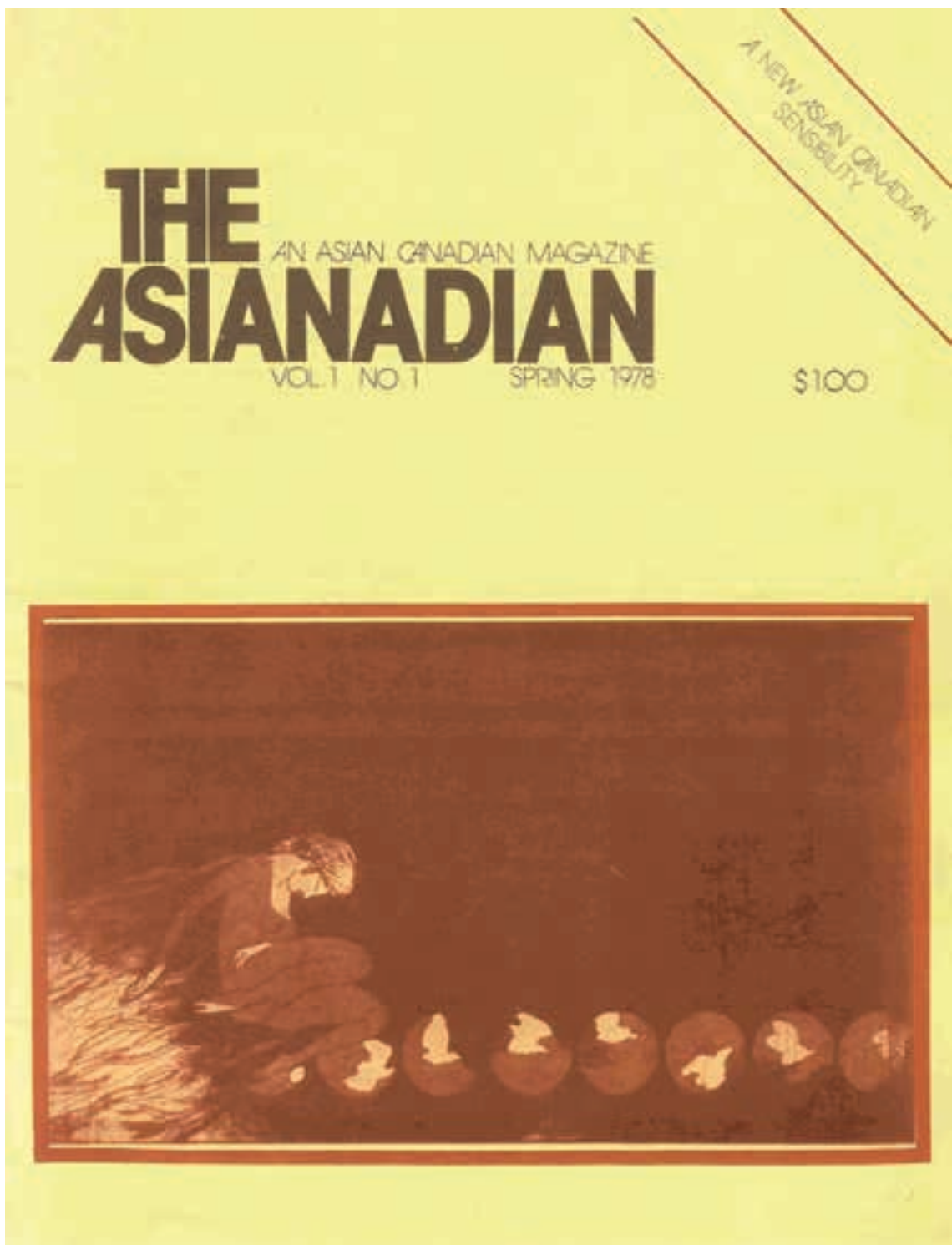
4 | Cover of *The Asianadian* 1:1 (Spring 1978), with etching by Montreal artist Lau Tin-Yum, *Après Minuit* (1975). With permission of *The Asianadian* and Lau Tin-Yum. (Photo: author)

by archival photographs or photographs (some credited, though most were not) taken by contributing authors themselves as well as Asian Canadian photographers. Particularly notable about the photographs and illustrations are the depictions of people of colour described in critical frameworks of their own making and in a number not seen elsewhere. Each issue also engaged a graphic artist or art director to do layout or illustrations, including Olivia Chow (5:1), Karen Wu (5:2–4), and Andy Tong (6:2–4).

Comics by emerging artists were a regular feature from the first issue, with Vivian Chan Moy's *Thoreau* strip. Stephen Wong's strip *Emperor Chin and His People* was first published by *The Asianadian* in issues 3:2 and 3:4 (1981), the latter of which included Danny Wong's *Winky's World*. Graphic novels made their appearance in issue 5:3 with *Asianadian* editor Momoye Sugiman's review of illustrated children's books by retired NFB artist Sing Lim, *West Coast Boy*, published in 1979, and Paul Yee's *Teach Me to Fly, Skyfighter*, published in 1983 and illustrated by Sky Lee. These precursors are important as it was only recently, in 2012, that the first graphic novel telling the history of Chinese immigration to Canada, David H.T. Wong's *Escape to Gold Mountain: A Graphic History of the Chinese in North America*, was published by Vancouver's Arsenal Pulp Press.

The critical discourse produced by *The Asianadian* galvanized grassroots struggles against racism, sexism, homophobia, and economic exploitation in numerous ways but one of the magazine's most striking regular item was the humorous "The Inscrutable Occidental Dubious Award," given to the most racist media image or article, past or present, "nominated" by any reader who "comes across unusually 'brilliant' articles or pictures depicting Asian Canadian stereotypes or exploring the many myths about Asians in Canada."[41] Inaugurated with its first issue, the Dubious Award was intended to be "given quarterly to writers, artists, companies or organizations for making outstanding contributions towards perpetuating stereotyped images of Asians." It appeared regularly until volume 4, stopping completely before the final volume 6, but at least a dozen accolades appeared over seven years.

The first award went to *Canadian Magazine* (formerly *This Magazine Is About Schools*, University of Toronto, est. 1966; renamed *This Magazine* in 1973) for the article "Unscrambling the Inscrutable Oriental," published on 4 February 1978, about an "inscrutable" Chinese waiter depicted as a Charlie Chan stereotype and a white customer dining at an Italian restaurant in Rome. The second Dubious Award in issue 1:2 (Summer 1978) went to the Takee-Outee Restaurant in Hamilton, Ontario, for its Pidgin English name and logo, a Chinese coolie in pigtails running with a tray of chop suey. In issue 2:1 (Summer 1979), the award was given to *Calgary Herald*'s political cartoonist, Tom Innes, for his "Clark…c…l…a…" cartoon, published

Dubious Award

"Clark . . . C . . . l . . . a . . ."

THE DUBIOUS AWARD for Summer 1979 goes to: a cartoonist named INNES -- the person responsible for the cartoon above which appeared on the editorial page of The Calgary Herald, Tuesday, June 26, 1979.

Comments from the Award Jury:

This cartoon reminds us of the fact that the offensive stereotype of Asians as subservient, myopic, little children has not yet been erased from the news media. Here we are confronted with cute, identical, buck-toothed Japanese bellhops in a Tokyo hotel during the arrival of the North American leaders: Jimmy and Joey. Scurrying about the lobby on cumbersome wooden clogs, these bellhops indeed evoke a humorous response. And it is this seemingly harmless humour which is the dangerous element, for it cleverly camouflages a subtle form of racism. The buck-toothed smiles, exaggerated diminutiveness and uniformity of the Japanese men depicted here reinforce their inferior status and imply that they are all charmingly docile natives of the locale, bowing ingratiatingly to the great white powers. We can almost hear them uttering in pigeon - English, "Yes, master."

Both Asian- and non-Asian-Canadian readers have criticized The Asianadian for being hyper-sensitive and negativistic since we "seem to dwell on attacking racist stereotypes". In response to such comments we would like to state that ideally, there should be no need for a Dubious Award column in our magazine. Ideally, in a world free from racial and sexual exploitation we would not have to explore and expose what is wrong with our society. But as long as cartoons such as the one above continue to appear in Canadian periodicals, we shall be forced to speak out against them. Racism in Canada is pervasive and insidious. We cannot simply ignore its presence and hope that it will disappear by itself.

5 | Editorial, "Dubious Award," *The Asianadian* 2:1 (Summer 1979): 19. With permission of *The Asianadian*. (Photo: author)

26 June 1979, for depicting "Asians as subservient, myopic, little children, . . . cute, identical, buck-toothed Japanese bellhops in a Tokyo hotel during the arrival of North American leaders: Jimmy and Joey" (Fig. 5).[42] Nominated by Angela Kim, the award for issue 2:2 (1979), on the theme of children, went to radio personality Gordon Sinclair for his views on the non-suitability of Vietnamese refugees ("boat people") to Canada's harsh and cold climate.

By issue 2:3 (Winter 1979–80), *The Asianadian*'s Dubious Award was picked up by *The Globe and Mail* sports journalist Richard Herbert "Dick" Beddoes in a short article, "Dubious Award starts season," published on 6 December 1979, and reprinted as a clipping in *The Asianadian* to declare: "No amount of *Globe and Mail* accolades for us can stop rising printing and distribution costs!" For that winter 1979–1980 issue, the magazine unanimously awarded the accolade to *Toronto Star* journalist Sidney Katz and cartoonist Gord McLean for their article, "Perhaps the Japanese are Inscrutable," published on 18 November 1979, for depicting, yet again, "the same old World War II comic book caricature – the myopic, buck-toothed, sinister, and always *inscrutable* (i.e. mysterious and incomprehensible) Japanese. The implication here is that the Japanese cannot be trusted."[43] The award for the Quebec issue 2:4, nominated by Marcy C. Boyd, targeted the UOMO Régine upscale fashion store ad in the October 1979 issue of *British Vogue*, with the interpretive caption, "No. 1 son dressed to be different in Giorgio Corregiani for Reporter. Confucius he say: "So solly – no more philosophy – in hurry to get to UOMO Régine, 43 New Bond Street!" In the following "Media" issue 3:1 (Summer 1980), edited by Richard Fung, the Dubious Award for summer 1980 went to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for airing the "mindless British comedy series entitled, "Mind Your Language" that "reduce[d] the immigrant to an imbecilic, cartoon stereotype" – "*The Asianadian* deplores the deceptive use of humour to camouflage a very damaging message."[44]

After a hiatus with the Vancouver and Poetry issues 3:2–3, the Dubious Award for issue 3:4 (Summer 1981) was presented to Canadian Pacific Airlines for their full-page ad in *The Globe and Mail* on 21 April 1981, with the caption in capital letters, "CP Air introduces the inscrutable Orient in plain English," which *The Asianadian* editors judged "subtly perpetuate[s] the current Yellow Peril fears."[45] Nominated by Bob McArthur, the Dubious Award for issue 4:2 (Summer 1982) was also handed out to an ad, this time placed by the Toronto restaurant New Chinese Village and appearing in the *The Globe and Mail* on 10 December 1981, for the pidgin English caption, "Riving well is the best levenge" as a form of "subliminal discrimination" against Canadians of Chinese and Japanese descent. The Dubious Award for issue 4:3 (October 1982) was presented tongue-in-cheek "jointly to the Federal

and Ontario governments for their perception of the Canadian 'reality'" in the "depiction of visible and ethnic minorities in government advertising and communications," calling for "more balanced pictures of Canadians of all races in such things as poster, advertisements, films, textbooks and recruitment materials . . . LOOK MA, NO ASIANS!"[46]

In issue 5:4, the last *Asianadian* Dubious Award was given to *The Toronto Sun*'s 30 March 1984 cartoon by Andy Donato, "It's terrible . . . We've got two visible minorities applying for the one job," which exacerbated the already abrasive editorial commentating on the affirmative action recommendation of the *Equality Now!* report by the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, established by the Liberal Government in June 1983 to discern how multiculturalism policy could respond to increasing racial violence in places like Toronto.[47]

Visual Culture as Critical Medium

Satirical columns, comic sections, and numerous illustrations and photographs accompanying textual contributions are constitutive of many magazines. This closer examination of these genres and select legacies has underscored how these often overlooked forms of visual culture on the pages of *The Asianadian* asserted and reinforced the publication's mandate to serve as a site of interaction between editors, contributors, and readers. Understood simultaneously as visual archive and cultural critique, the different forms discussed demonstrate the important role of visual culture not only in richly documenting and expressing the growing Asian Canadian sensibility in politically-engaged arts and letters in the late 1970s and early 1980s but also articulating *The Asianadian*'s unique identity and significance in Asian Canadian history as a whole and, by extension, the history of serial publications in Canada in general.

The Asianadian lasted for eight years, which is a long time for a movement publication. Its last issue, second on the theme of youth published July 1985 (1985 was the International Youth Year), included an important article reprinted from UBC's Chinese Student' Association (CSA) *Journal* by Jim Wong-Chu, "Being the Intellectual Forefront," on Chinese student movements in North America, 1880–1984. The article would demonstrate that Asian Canadian activism started way before *The Asianadian* and the W5 media controversy of 1979. Dora Nipp's article, "1997 is Coming: Hong Kong's Year of Destiny," about the anticipated new wave of immigrants from Hong Kong during its transitional period over the next thirteen years in the face of the British colony's impending return under Chinese rule, would signal the next chapter in Asian Canadian discourse as well as the continued struggle towards self-representation in the visual cultural landscape of North America.

ASIANS: GAY & PROUD

6 | Richard Fung, "Asians: Gay and Proud," *The Asianadian* 2:3 (Winter 1979–80): 30. Article on the first National Third World Gay Conference held in Washington, DC, 12–15 October 1979. In photo (l. to r.): Daniel Tsang (with camera), Richard Fung, Don Kao, and Siong Huat Chua (behind banner). With permission of *The Asianadian*. (Photo: courtesy of Daniel C. Tsang)

Can Asian adian Now?

In researching the history of *The Asianadian*, I cannot help but echo Kyo Maclear's sentiments: "It is great because some of the people who wrote for the magazine later became professional writers – pretty established names, like Richard Fung and Joy Kogawa. It was wonderful to discover that tradition, to see the anger and strident opinions. 'Strident' is a negative word, but I didn't feel it was so negative at the time."[48] Award-winning video artist, activist, curator, writer, theorist, and educator Richard Fung was studying cinema studies at University of Toronto when he joined *The Asianadian* as a member of its editorial and production team and as a regular contributor, bringing some of the earliest queer perspectives to Asian Canadian writing (Fig. 6). His article, "An Onion Amid Strawberries," published in the summer 1981 issue, has stayed with me all this time and I have saved it to end with. The article seems to begin as a candid travelogue about "an 'Asian queer' in Latin America," but closes with rich powerful observations not only about the experience of being Asian in Latin America but also touching on the presence of Asians in Latin America past and present, amongst Indigenous and settler populations alike.[49] I am not sure where the strawberries end up in the story but it is a story that I feel lives and breathes a trans-regional Asian Americas perspective. Fung's contribution to *The Asianadian* resonates deeply for me because, fast forward four decades, and I am the co-editor and founder of the new peer-reviewed scholarly *Journal of Asian Diasporic Visual Culture and the Americas*, the first academic journal of its kind in the field. This journal is edited by a new generation of emerging and mid-career scholars, all of whom have been supported, inspired, empowered, and compelled by individuals like those who were involved in *The Asianadian* and its political activism as well as those who came before and after them. This article recounts only one snippet of a larger history of the many forerunners, major works, pedagogical challenges, controversies in the media, discursive turns, and collaborative networks that it took to get to this stage where the production, study and dissemination of Asian Canadian visual culture from a transnational perspective and in the presence of Asians in the Americas have become, albeit fledging, a field unto its own.

Holdings

The complete original print copy set of *The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine*, Volumes 1–6, 24 issues is located in the libraries of the University of Washington, University of British Columbia, University of Victoria, the East Asian Library at the University of Toronto (East Asian Library), and

the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BANQ) in Montreal. An electronic version is at Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The "Bibliography and Cross References" are listed in Appendix of *The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine* blog of www.asiancanadianwiki.org. Pdf files of 22 of the 24 issues in their entirety can be downloaded from the same website.

NOTES

1 The Eaton sisters, Edith (pseudonym Sui Sin Far) and Winnifred (Onoto Watanna), were writing as early as 1910. Eleanor TY and Christl VERDUYN, eds., "Introduction," in *Asian Canadian Writing Beyond Autoethnography* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 11, 25 n. 54.

2 "Minority marks a relation defined by racialization and experienced as diaspora." Lily CHO, "Diasporic Citizenship: Contradictions and Possibilities for Canadian Literature," in *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, eds. Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 98. Siu-keong LEE asks in his editorial, "Quelle devrait être la position des Asiabécois dans le referendum?". Siu-keong LEE, "Towards New Frontiers/Vers de nouvelles frontières," *The Asianadian* 2:4 (Spring 1980): 2. (Lee was coordinator of Montreal's Ad-Hoc Committee in the anti-W5 Movement.)

3 TY and VERDUYN, eds., "Introduction," 12. The term, "Chinese Canadians" "appears to have first been used by the members of the Chinese Canadian Club in Victoria, BC, an association of locally born young men formed in 1914." Timothy J. STANLEY, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 146. Note the etymology is different in francophone Quebec.

4 LEE, "Towards New Frontiers / Vers de nouvelles frontières."

5 Larissa LAI, "Epistemologies of Respect: A Poetics of Asian/Indigenous Relation," in *Critical Collaborations: Indigeneity, Diaspora, and Ecology in Canadian Literary Studies*, eds. Smaro Kamboureli and Christl Verduyn (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2014), 109, citing Roy MIKI, "Asiancy: Making Space for Asian Canadian Writing," in *Broken Entries: Race, Subjectivity, Writing* (Toronto: Mercury Press, 1998), 113.

6 Anthony CHAN, Cheuk KWAN, and Lau BO, "Revolutionary & Grassroots," *The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine* blog, 24 September 2007. Accessed 15 Jan. 2015, http://asianadian.blogspot.ca.

7 Ibid.

8   Ibid. Each issue was $1, and at a rate of $4 for a one-year subscription (including postage), or $7.00 for two years.

9   Momoye SUGIMAN (alias Ami Chiyo Hori alias Dawn Kiyoye Ono), "Editorial," *The Asianadian* 4:1 (1982): 2. "Some of our articles were being reprinted in other periodicals. High schools were inviting us to speak to students about *Asianadian* history. *The Globe and Mail* called us up for a front page 'Quote of the Day.' Our little post office box was packed with letters, subscription orders and press releases every week."

10 Bobby SIU, email reply to Russel Bareng, *The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine* blog, 15 November 2002. Accessed 15 Jan. 2015, http://asianadian.blogspot.ca/2007/09/interviews.html.

11 Anthony CHAN, "Born Again Asian: The Making of a New Literature," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 11:4 (Winter 1984): 57–63. Accessed 15 Jan. 2015, http://gingerpost.com/?p=2183.

12 Ibid.

13 Xiaoping LI, *Voices Rising: Asian Canadian Cultural Activism* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 274.

14 CHAN, "Born Again Asian," in William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 103–12 (*Gidra*), 112–23 (*Bridge*), 123 (*Amerasia*).

15 There were certainly other movement serials published at the same time as *Asianadian*, such as *Rafiki: A Magazine About Development in Canada and the Third World* (*rafiki* means "friends" in Swahili) and the Toronto-based *Rikka* (1974–1987), the national quarterly magazine founded by *Nikkei* George Yamada, which initially focused on historical, cultural, and human rights issues within the Japanese-Canadian community but by the late 1970s, according to its ad placed in *Asianadian*'s inaugural issue, was "speaking to the human condition – a cross-cultural, inter-ethnic experiment in communication with a broad human rights perspective directed to a pan-Canadian audience." Richard FUNG, "Asian Press Highlights: Rikka, The New Canadian, and The Continental Times," *The Asianadian* 3:1 (1978): 14–15. This article focuses on those devoted to visual culture critique.

16 "The Asian-Canadian and the Arts," *West Coast Review* 16:1 (Summer 1981). *Inalienable Rice* was the result of collaboration between members of the Power Street Review (the first third-generation Japanese Canadian newspaper founded in 1972 in Toronto) and the ACWW which at that time was named the Chinese Canadian Writers Workshop until after the volume was published. Many of the contributors of these publications would also support and contribute to *Asianadian*. ACWW later founded *Ricepaper Magazine* in 1996, which began in 1994 as an eight-page newsletter for the organization, photocopied back-to-back and stapled together. After ACWW incorporated as society in 1995, *Ricepaper* was awarded a Canada Council grant in early 1996 to turn it into the quarterly magazine format, *Ricepaper: The Magazine of Asian Literary Arts.* In 2016, *Ricepaper* marked its twentieth anniversary and the end of its print edition after the release of issue 20:4 in February, with the publication of the anthology *AlliterAsian: Twenty Years of Ricepaper Magazine*, edited by Allan Cho, Julia Lin and Jim Wong-Chu (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp, 2016). The magazine continues as an online publication.

17 Quoted in Jim Wong-Chu, "Ten Years of Asian Canadian Literary Arts in Vancouver," *The Asianadian* 5:3 (Winter/February 1984): 23.

18 Before *Line* (1983–89), edited by Roy Miki, there was the independently-published *Tish*, a poetry newsletter, named purposefully as an anagram of shit, founded in August 1961 by University of British Columbia (UBC) students George Bowering, Frank Davey, David Dawson, Jamie Reid, and Fred Wah, which lasted for eight years. The content of these two earlier small-press serials focused primarily on West Coast experimental "avant-garde" writing. Frank Davey, *When Tish Happens: The Unlikely Story of Canada's "Most Influential Literary Magazine"* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2011).

19 Andrew Klobucar, "Line Breaks – West Coast Line, Past and Present," *Books in Canada* 28:9 (October 1999). Accessed 15 July 2015, http://www.booksincanada.com/article_view.asp?id=1255.

20 In 1907, the *Globe* published an editorial titled "Asiatic Peril to National Life," broadcasting anti-Asian racism in no uncertain terms. Arlene Chan, *The Chinese in Toronto from 1878: From Outside to Inside the Circle* (Toronto: Dundurn Natural Heritage, 2011), 39.

21 Cheuk Kwan, "The Foreign Threat That Never Was!," *The Asianadian* 2:3 (Winter 1979–80): 21. According to the Canadian Bureau for International Education, the actual number of foreign students in Canada (including Asians) was "55,000 at all levels of education, including only 20,000 in full-time university studies." Anthony B. Chan, *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World* (1983); Chan, *The Chinese in Toronto from 1878*, 148. "The 1981 census reported that Toronto and Vancouver accounted for 60 percent of all Chinese in Canada, each city with approximately 85,800 Chinese, the majority of whom were foreign-born" (154).

22 Three decades after the anti-*w5* movement, in 2009, the online magazine *Ginger Post: An Online Asian/Chinese Canadian Magazine,* would commemorate 30 September 1979 as the "30th Anniversary of Chinese Canadian Activism." Staff, "30th September 1979: 30th Anniversary of Chinese Canadian Activism," *Ginger Post*, 28 September 2007. Accessed 15 Jan. 2015, http://gingerpost.com/?p=615. If activism is strictly defined as the use of direct action to effect change, one could consider the Japanese and Chinese store owners driving away the anti-Asian league during the riots of 1907, their participation in the Second World War, despite the injustices, inequality, and bad treatment of Asians (head tax, internment, violence against visible minorities in public spaces), intolerance, and reasonable accommodations, as all instances of activist practices.

23 Ibid.

24 Jim Wong-Chu, "Being the Intellectual Forefront: Chinese Students Movements in N. America 1880–1984," *The Asianadian* 6:4 (July/Summer 1985): 30.

25 Jamshed Mavalwala, "The Aftermath of Misinformation," *The Asianadian* 3:1 (1980): 21.

26 Cheuk Kwan, "The *w5* Movement." *The Asianadian* 2:4 (Spring 1980): 11. The CCNC was "the first such national organization in Chinese Canadian history" (13).

27 Russel Bareng, "History of the Company." *The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine* blog, 24 September 2007. Accessed 15 Jan. 2015, http://asianadian.blogspot.ca/2007/09/1978-beginnings.html.

28 See Anthony Chan, "Neither French nor British: The Rise of the Asianadian Culture," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 10:2 (1978): 114–17.

29 Anthony CHAN, "Editorial," *The Asianadian* 1:2 (1978): 2. During the first few years of publication, Chan and Kwan were "key managers" though not "dictatorial"; Sugiman joined the collective in 1980 and took on responsibility of editing issues. When Chan and Kwan moved on in their careers and passed on responsibilities of operating *Asianadian*, Sugiman took over a large portion of the responsibility for managing the magazine. She arranged editorial meetings and layout meetings as well as mailed the magazine out to subscribers. Due to family responsibilities, Sugiman was no longer available to continue managing *Asianadian* full time after 1982. Leadership responsibilities were later passed on to Bobby Siu and Satish Dhar until *Asianadian* came to a close in 1985, forced to cease publication because of lack of funds.

30 Anthony CHAN, "The Chinese Community in Canada: Background and Teaching Resources," *Asianadian* 1:1 (Spring 1978): 13–14.

31 Anthony CHAN, "Editorial," *Asianadian* 1:1 (Spring 1978): 3

32 Ibid.

33 Tony Chan, quoted in SUGIMAN, "Editorial," 1.

34 Richard Fung, quoted in Xiaoping LI, *Voices Rising: Asian Canadian Cultural Activism* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 29.

35 Kyo MacLean, quoted in ibid., 209.

36 CHAN, "The Chinese Community in Canada: Background and Teaching Resources," 14.

37 Bobby SIU, "Community Organizing: How To Do It," *Asianadian* 5:4 (April/Spring 1984): 13–17. Marian TSENG provides an excellent breakdown of the types of articles and issues addressed in the content of the magazine in "Social and Racial Justice," *The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine* blog, 24 September 2007. Accessed 15 Jan. 2015, http://asianadian.blogspot.ca/2007/09/social-and-racial-justice.html.

38 Founder of Mu Performing Arts in St. Paul, Minnesota where he is currently based, Shiomi was named by the McKnight Foundation as its Distinguished Artist of the year, 14 May 2015.

39 This reference to an Asian American Arts Conference precedes the first Asian American arts conference in 1992 organized by the Asian American arts group, the Asian American Renaissance, started in early 1991, as well as the first national Asian American arts conference, *Beyond Boundaries* (in collaboration with the Association of Performing Arts Presenters), in 1993 organized by the Asian American Arts Alliance, following their sponsoring the first Asian American arts conference in New York City, *Defining Our Culture(s), Ourselves,* at Hunter College in 1991. David MURA, "A Shift in Power, A Sea Change in the Arts: Asian American Constructions," in *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s*, ed. Karin Aguilar-San Juan (Boston: South End Press, 1994), 193.

40 Fred Wei-Han HONN, "Asian American Art: Tradition and Information," *The Asianadian* 5:1 (April 1983): 23.

41 Cheuk Kwan coined the section, after *Esquire Magazine*'s dubious achievement award for the most stupid or corrupt events of the preceding year. Email correspondence, 29 June 2016.

42 *Asianadian* editorial, "Dubious Award," *The Asianadian* 2:1 (1979): 19.

43 Ami Chiyo HORI, "Dubious Award," *The Asianadian* 2:3 (Winter 1979–80): 7.

44 Dawn Kyoye ONO, "Dubious Award," *The Asianadian* 3:1 (Summer 1980): 9.

45 *Asianadian* editorial, "Dubious Award," *The Asianadian* 3:4 (Summer 1981): 11.

46 *Asianadian* editorial, "Dubious Award," *The Asianadian* 4:3 (October 1982): 12.

47 *Asianadian* editorial, "Dubious Award," *The Asianadian* 5:4 (April/Summer 1984): 24.

48 Maclear, quoted in Lɪ, *Voices Rising,* 209. In fact the list of editors and contributors who later became established writers, activists, artists, and scholars is so extensive and too many to list to do any justice to their outstanding contributions that I did not. Roy Mɪᴋɪ asks the question "Can Asian adian Now?" in his essay, "Can Asian Adian? Reading the Scenes of Asian Canadian," *West Coast Line* 34:3 (Winter 2001): 56–77.

49 Richard Fᴜɴɢ, "An Onion Amid Strawberries: Coping with the Curious," *The Asianadian* 3:4 (Summer 1981): 14–16.

RÉSUMÉ

« Asiancie » au Canada et la culture visuelle : la revue *Asianadian : An Asian Canadian Magazine* (1978–1985)

ALICE MING WAI JIM

Publiée quatre fois l'an à Toronto entre 1978 et 1985, la revue *The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine* a été fondée par Anthony B. Chan, Cheuk Kwan et Paul Levine (Lau Bo). Cette époque était une période d'activisme antiraciste significatif au Canada, marquée par les débats sur le multiculturalisme naissant, les représentations médiatiques controversées d'individus de couleur et les efforts déployés pour l'établissement de lieux destinés à la présentation de la production culturelle croissante des Canadiens d'origine asiatique. Ses éditeurs et collaborateurs – écrivains, artistes et universitaires issus de minorités visibles dont plusieurs d'entre eux sont devenus aujourd'hui des créatifs et chefs de file établis des études canadoasiatiques – parlaient avec persuasion, s'exprimant par l'entremise des mots et de la culture visuelle contre le racisme et d'autres formes d'oppression dans la société canadienne, parallèlement aux efforts menés dans leur propre pratique. Cet essai met en contexte les objectifs éditoriaux, la portée, le contenu et la présentation de la revue. Il met l'accent sur la façon dont elle traitait des représentations stéréotypées des Canadiens d'origine asiatique dans la culture visuelle – dont les médias de masse, le cinéma et la caricature – afin de démontrer que *The Asianadian* était un carrefour significatif et critique de la culturelle visuelle. Des aspects importants caractérisaient la publication comme forum pour l'établissement de ce que ses éditeurs nommaient « sensibilité canadoasiatique » : son approche interdisciplinaire, collaborative et interculturelle contestant les représentations dominantes de l'identité canadienne; les positions ouvertement activistes de ses contributions intervenant dans les politiques nationales et les enjeux sociaux d'intérêt pour les communautés canadoasiatiques; ainsi que l'espace critique consacré à la poésie, aux arts visuels et aux autres formes de production culturelle qui explorent et interrogent les conditions de ces expressions politiques, sociales et culturelles. À cette époque durant laquelle *Asianadian* a vu le jour, des réseaux collectifs liés à la production culturelle canado-asiatique émergeaient dans les diverses disciplines des sciences humaines, passant de l'histoire, la production radiophonique, la création littéraire, au cinéma ainsi qu'aux arts visuels et de la scène. Les contributions mettant en évidence l'expression

canadoasiatique représentaient des moyens grâce auxquels *The Asianadian* cherchait à soutenir et promouvoir les activités de prise de conscience critique. Des numéros particuliers, dont l'un sur Vancouver (publié sous la direction de Sean Gunn et de Paul Yee) et l'autre sur Québec (dirigé par Siu-keong Lee) paru à la veille du référendum sur la souveraineté de la province en 1980 et la sécession du Canada, sont des exemples de la façon dont la revue abordait non seulement de notions panasiatiques, mais aussi de perspectives régionales sur l'identité canado-asiatique et d'autres groupes minoritaires. La publication a également couvert le racisme, le journalisme irresponsable et les gaffes politiques entourant la diffusion, en date du 30 septembre 1979, de l'épisode controversé « Campus Giveaway » de l'émission télévisuelle canadienne *W5*, ainsi que le mouvement national mis en place en guise de contestation et reconnu pendant des décennies comme le début d'un chapitre, sans précédent, de l'action politique et sociale des Canadiens chinois ainsi que la politique de coalition naissante entre divers groupes ethniques. L'un des éléments récurrents de la revue qui retenait davantage l'attention était le « Prix douteux de l'Occidental impénétrable » (The Inscrutable Occidental Dubious Award), une récompense humoristique remise pour l'article ou l'image médiatique, ancien ou actuel, le plus raciste « sélectionné » par les lecteurs tombés sur des articles ou des images exceptionnellement « brillants » issus de la culture visuelle, perpétuant les stéréotypes canado-asiatiques, affirmant et renforçant le mandat de la publication comme lieu d'interaction entre les rédacteurs, les collaborateurs et les lecteurs. Cet examen rigoureux permet non seulement une meilleure compréhension des fondements historiques qui ont défini l'orientation des publications périodiques à spécificité culturelle au Canada au cours des cinquante dernières années, il situe également *The Asianadian* en tant que contribution importante pour les champs des études de la culture visuelle et de l'histoire de l'art.

Demeter and Persephone (?)

P O S S E S S I N G A

Detail, Anne Ramsden, *Relations* exhibition catalogue, 1988, detail. With permission of Anne Ramsden and Artspeak gallery. (Photo: author)

Relations, 1988: Photographic, postmodern, feminist

JOHANNE SLOAN

In 1988, when Vancouver's Artspeak gallery presented Anne Ramsden's (b. 1952) photo-based exhibition *Relations*, also producing a catalogue with a featured text by Reesa Greenberg, they were giving West Coast audiences a taste of Montreal's postmodern feminism (Fig. 1). Ramsden was one of an impressive roster of women artists who undertook experimental photographic work in Montreal during the 1980s: Jocelyne Alloucherie (b. 1947), Raymonde April (b. 1953), Céline Baril (b. 1952), Dominique Blain (b. 1957), Geneviève Cadieux (b. 1955), Sorel Cohen (b. 1936), Moyra Davey (b. 1958), Martha Fleming (b. 1958) and Lyne Lapointe (b. 1957), Lorraine Gilbert (b. 1955), Angela Grauerholz (b. 1952), Nicole Jolicoeur (b. 1947), Nina Levitt (b. 1955), Lani Maestro (b. 1957), Sylvie Readman (b. 1958), Cheryl Simon (b. 1955), Cheryl Sourkes (b. 1945), Barbara Steinman (b. 1950), Nell Tenhaaf (b. 1951), and Jin-me Yoon (b. 1960).[1] I want to argue that these women were part of a network of artists, writers, curators, magazine editors, gallerists, translators, teachers, students – all committed to expanding the field of photography, all engaging with feminist ideals, all caught up one way or another in the fever of postmodernism. This burst of innovative photo-based activity in Montreal never coalesced into an identifiable, nameable movement, and what I'm describing has not yet been fully written into histories of Canadian or Québécois art. Using the term "network" makes sense, though, because of shared concerns, and because there was never more than two degrees of separation between all the women "actors" active in the Montreal artworld of the 1980s. In 1989, the artist, curator, and writer Cheryl Simon spoke to the intellectual and aesthetic impulses that predominated at this time: "Sifting through the libraries and archives, *re*-viewing the image banks of our histories and folklore, we began to *re*-search, *re*-write, *re*-present and *re*-address the underlying mechanisms of power in the anticipation that there could be . . . other truths."[2] Whether through visual art or writing, this network was indeed producing knowledge ("other truths") about gender, representation, power, and historical consciousness. Ramsden and Greenberg were both embedded in this Montreal network, and so my article does circle back to Montreal. The Vancouver context for the *Relations* publication also matters,
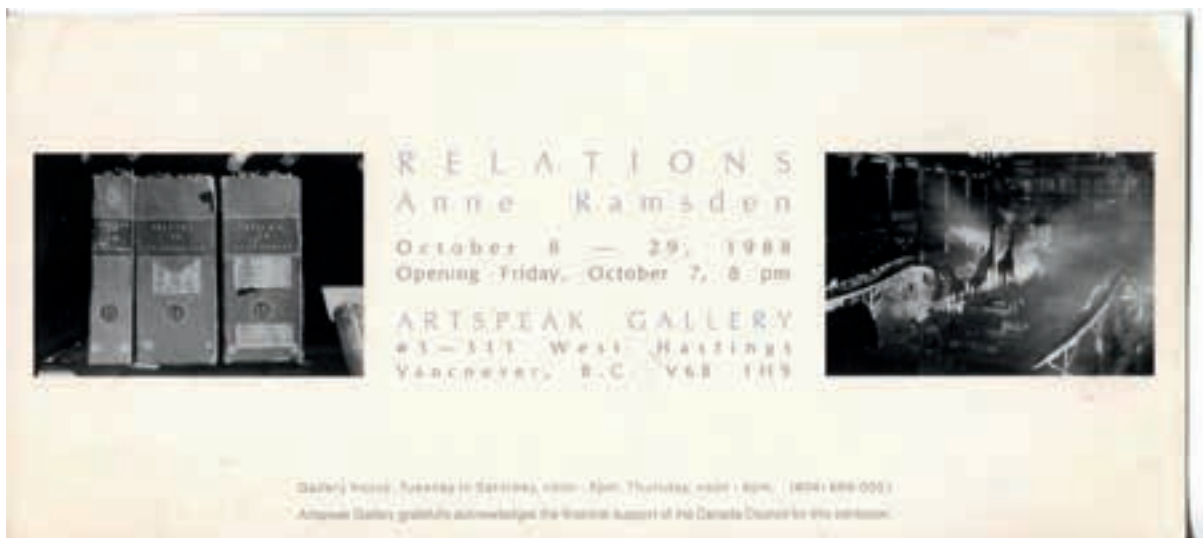
1 | Invitation to *Relations* exhibition at Artspeak, 1988. With permission of Anne Ramsden and Artspeak gallery. (Photo: author)

though, not least because there too the post-conceptual status of photography was being interrogated, and also since Artspeak was one of the city's recently launched artist-run centres (ARC), dedicated to fostering "dialogue between visual art and writing." Artspeak's mandate, and their publication of the *Relations* catalogue, attest to how the print culture of contemporary art was reinvented during this period as artist-run centres increasingly embarked on publishing ventures. Circa 1988, questions were being posed about what arts publications looked like, what their purpose was, what community they served. The visual and material properties of an exhibition catalogue were not to be taken for granted.

The *Relations* catalogue is 24 pages long, staple-bound with a paper cover, and is unusually wide when open: 24 × 65 cm; it was designed by David Clausen, who worked on a number of Artspeak's early publications. Ramsden's sixteen black and white photographs from the exhibition are presented in pairs across four double-page spreads (Fig. 2). (The catalogue uses the venerable art-historical term *diptych* to describe this systematized pairing.) This sequence of photos offers glimpses of museums that house ethnographic displays, historical documents, natural history, decorative art, and so-called fine art. Below each pair of photographs the catalogue reproduced Ramsden's textual fragments that in the gallery had taken the form of vinyl lettering affixed to the wall. The exhibition title, venue, and dates are inscribed on the first page, while the last page has acknowledgments and a sentence about

the original dimensions of the photographs. Otherwise, the only text in this catalogue is Greenberg's piece of experimental writing – an associative, sometimes-rhyming riff on the interconnectedness of museums and photography, which appears in the form of isolated paragraphs, laid out in the catalogue in such a way that mimics the arrangement of photographs on the page.[3] It must be noted that Greenberg's text never mentions Ramsden or the *Relations* exhibition directly, and in this way avoids the most conventional attribute of the exhibition catalogue – ie. the scholar's authoritative explication of the artwork on show, which, in turn, is supposed to suture an individual artistic practice to the institution, to national narratives, to formulations of genius, to the market, etc. Because of the oversize format, the artful documentation of exhibition material, and the experimental text, this publication can be deemed a "photobook." According to Di Bello and Zamir, editors of a volume on this topic, one of the most salient features of the photobook genre is that "image and text work within a dialectical relationship."[4] They also note that, while sometimes linked to exhibitions, "photobooks speak of a tactile engagement with images beyond the visual, for which there is no equivalent in the gallery space."[5]

This hybrid exhibition catalogue/photobook *Relations* was but one result of the publishing initiatives flourishing across Canada's artist-run centres, circa 1988; Artspeak was a leader in this regard, producing numerous catalogues based on solo exhibitions (by Allyson Clay [b. 1953], Mark Lewis [b. 1958], Christine Davis [b. 1962], and Roy Arden [b. 1957], all in 1988)[6] while the form and content of arts publishing was being reimagined elsewhere, too. For instance, A Space gallery in Toronto produced a multi-authored catalogue for a group exhibition, *Sight Specific: Lesbians and Representation*, an example of the socially-engaged practices espoused by many ARCs, while the publication's inclusion of "artworks," "textworks," and artists' statements, along with a free-standing bookwork by Montreal artists Martha Fleming and Lyne Lapointe, helped to erode the barrier between artists and voices of critical authority to be found in more conventional exhibition catalogues. ARC publications weren't always tied to exhibition programming, and so (still in 1988) YYZ Gallery in Toronto published a book of essays by curator/critic Philip Monk, while Artexte in Montreal put out an artist's book by Nicole Jolicoeur. In such ways the seemingly dispersed publishing schemes undertaken in dozens of artist-run centres across the country had a cumulative, re-territorializing effect. This cultural model is precisely what the *From Sea to Shining Sea* project from the year before (1987) had so persuasively demonstrated with its list-like presentation of small-scale exhibitions, performances, publishing initiatives, and one-off events – that contemporary art in Canada was a tremendously energized field, and that this far-flung,

P O S S E S S I N G   A N T I Q U I T Y

2 | Anne Ramsden, *Relations* exhibition catalogue, 1988, detail. With permission of Anne Ramsden and Artspeak gallery. (Photo: author)

dispersed activity should be celebrated and not synthesized into a uniform national narrative.[7]

This doesn't mean that the ARC system was ever fully alternative or autonomous, and in fact an "umbilical cord of gold" (Clement Greenberg's way of referring to patronage) would lead directly back to the state.[8] If the first ARCs were ad-hoc initiatives, by the 1980s the federal government was responding to the collectively-run organizations springing up across the country with sustained lines of funding. As Anne Whitelaw explains elsewhere in this issue, the Canada Council for the Arts' funding of art magazines and exhibition catalogues would initially be justified according to a nationalist rhetoric, in that each new publication was supposed to contribute to a strengthened national culture. The distribution of small-press or one-off publications would remain unpredictable, however, and even today it is difficult to track what was produced over the years and where it

Darwin in his study.   In the British Museum (Natural History)

P R E S E R V I N G   O R I G I N S

ended up. Such is indeed the case with the *Relations* publication, which for some reason was not entered into the *Journal of Canadian Art History*'s 1990 comprehensive-looking overview of "Recent Publications on Canadian Art, 1987–89," even if another Artspeak catalogue from 1988 does appear.[9] And then, it turns out that the library at Concordia University (where I work) doesn't own a copy of *Relations* – a reminder of how easily ARC initiatives could remain off the radar of the country's major public institutions.

AA Bronson has remarked that in its earliest manifestations Canada's artist-run movement amounted to a "countercultural cross-country tsunami."[10] His language is apt because the initial desire to launch new art spaces occurred alongside countercultural, genuinely utopian ambitions to re-imagine education, work, family structures, sexuality, and so on. Both Vancouver and Montreal are integral to this early history because of Vancouver's fabled Intermedia (formed in 1967) and Western Front (founded

in 1973), while in Montreal it was the launching of the equally mythic Véhicule Art, Optica (both in 1972), and Powerhouse (1973) that signalled a seismic shift in the local scene, with art spaces that were neither commercial enterprises nor state-run museums.[11] A second wave of artist-run centres emerged in the 1980s, though; in Vancouver, Or Gallery was founded in 1983, grunt gallery in 1984, while Artspeak was launched in 1986 – which is to say, only two years prior to Ramsden's exhibition there. Founded by writer Jeff Derksen, artist Keith Higgins (b. 1959), and curator Cate Rimmer, Artspeak was initially affiliated with the Kootenay School of Writing (KSW), another collective whose artist/writer founders had announced: "the Kootenay School of Writing is a response to the failure of most public institutions to serve their artistic communities." If serving a community was considered the ultimate goal, KSW proposed that writing would be a key part of this process, alongside the creation of new exhibition spaces and the recognition of artists as cultural workers. This emphasis on writing can be understood using the (Foucault-derived) concept of discourse that cropped up everywhere throughout the postmodern 1980s: and so one could say that writing was a way to actively intervene in the dominant discourse about art. It is striking, though, that KSW did not conceive of language/writing in purely discursive or de-materialized terms, as they insisted on the hands-on skills and technical knowledge that would permit a still-emergent alternative artworld to flourish. They deliberately set out to provide "instruction in manuscript preparation, copyediting, book and magazine production, layout, design, typesetting, word processing, marketing, journalism."[12] Many of these principles carried over to Artspeak, which would without hesitation launch its own publishing programme.

The language-image interplay explored by Ramsden and Greenberg was particularly welcome at Artspeak and, indeed, the exhibition preceding *Relations* had been a group show, *Behind the Sign*, which showcased the material and semiotic attributes of language through collaborations between writers and visual artists.[13] It must be stressed that the notion of artists and writers collaborating, whether in a gallery or in a publication, is a far cry from the conventional practice of having experts critically comment on an artist's body of work. The Ramsden exhibition would be equally at home when the exhibition was re-mounted in Montreal at Dazibao gallery – a photo-centric ARC founded in 1980 with an in-house publishing mandate. Today the gallery's website states: "Dazibao posits the book as an alternate space for the diffusion and discussion of contemporary image practices."[14] Here we encounter the utopian remnants of ARC print culture – the possibility that a book, magazine, or exhibition catalogue produced on the cultural margins, for and by a specific community, could itself open up a genuinely "alternate

space." A similar vocabulary is deployed by Gwen Allen in her recent book about artists' magazines launched in the 1960s and 1970s, when she discusses these as forms of "alternative space . . . [that] challenged the institutions and economies of the mainstream art world."[15] This line of questioning about what constitutes alternative spaces and practices is periodically rekindled, in Canada and elsewhere. In 2012 Bronson could gloomily conclude that "alas, the artists of Canada have transformed themselves into bureaucrats,"[16] implying that the countercultural fervour of the early days was no more, and that artist-run centre culture had inexorably calcified. The American artist Andrea Fraser, an important contributor to the "institutional critique" debate since the 1980s, is more matter-of-fact and ultimately more generous: "It's not a question of being against the institution. We are the institution. It's a question of what kind of institution we are, what kind of values we institutionalize, what forms of practice we reward, and what kinds of rewards we aspire to."[17]

And so Ramsden's exhibition was staged in assertively alternative institutions even while powerful mainstream institutions are the very topic of *Relations*: her photographs adopt the guise of informal snapshots taken during visits to Vancouver's Museum of Anthropology, the British Library in London, the Musée d'histoire naturelle in Paris, the Musée des arts décoratifs in Montréal, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, amongst other examples. However fragmented these photographic glimpses might be, when assembled pictorially and conceptually by the artist it becomes evident that these sites are linked, that they are nodes in a Eurocentric system of knowledge-production. In a contemporaneous review of the exhibition published in *Vanguard* magazine, William Wood astutely described Ramsden's photographs as "subjective views from within the institutional memory of museums."[18] More recently, the curator Marie Perrault has observed that Ramsden's "*Relations* presented the museum as a viewing machine."[19] Both these comments identify Ramsden's critical positioning *inside* the museum, whereby her camera seemed to merge with this ideological viewing mechanism, even while the project as a whole points to the possibility of a reimagined spatiality. In keeping with the tenets of institutional critique, Ramsden bears witness to the power wielded by museums as they produce historical knowledge, taxonomize natural phenomena, establish hierarchies of value across diverse cultures, and assert aesthetic value amongst a heterogeneity of objects and images. We see a manuscript in the form of a flagellum (Fig. 3), a stack of plates decoratively painted with scenes of war, and from Vancouver's Museum of Anthropology, First Nations ceremonial objects absurdly overcrowded and hermetically sealed in glass boxes. *Relations* thus calls attention to moments of historical friction that are not

GATHERING HISTORY

3 | Anne Ramsden, *Relations* exhibition catalogue, 1988, detail. With permission of Anne Ramsden and Artspeak gallery. (Photo: author)

convincingly resolved by these cultural institutions. We also become aware of the epistemological power plays that underwrite even the most casual museum visit.

Ramsden didn't lay bare museological authority in a straightforward way, though, and it is here that the changing status of photography becomes tremendously important. Throughout *Relations*, Ramsden deployed photography to subtly destabilize the visual field, through oblique perspectives onto displays, the embrace of distracting reflections and shadowy pictorial effects, blurred foreground objects, and other phenomenological features – for example, one British Library label is almost obscured by Ramsden's shadowy reflection as she leans over the vitrine to take the photo. All these effects serve to emphasize contingent moments of encounter instead of reinforcing the transparent veracity of photographic documents and the atemporal promise of museums.

The photographic imagery in *Relations* was subject to an unusual form of doubled captioning, moreover. Each photograph (measuring 84 × 94 cm) had an ample white border on which a caption minimally identified object or site: "in the U.B.C. Museum of Anthropology," "Demeter and Persephone(?)," for example. And then, large vinyl lettering on the gallery

> Museums and photography cut. Cut up. Cut apart. Cut out. Sever. Fragment. Fragment families. Museums and photographs frame. Frame families. Families of fragments. Museums and photographs focus. Focus on fragments. Focus on framing fragments. In museums and photographs framed fragments become familiar. Family. Sometimes framed fragments are put together. Paired. Donor and Saint. Mother and child. Husband and wife. Dyads. Whole and part. Near and far. Before and after. Contrast and compare. Break up the pair. Reframe. Move it around. Loved ones once lost are rarely found.

4 | Detail from *Relations* catalogue: fragment of text by Reesa Greenberg. With permission of Artspeak gallery and Reesa Greenberg. (Photo: author)

wall spelled out more didactic phrases, such as "CLASSIFYING EXTINCTION," "PRESERVING ORIGINS," or "REPRODUCING LUXURY," the latter appearing below the soldier-adorned Sèvres china. Thus an interplay was set in motion, between the linguistic and pictorial elements in each diptych. It was Roland Barthes – an author whose influence on this generation of artists cannot be underestimated – who described a paradoxical feature of the so-called "image-world" we inhabit, which is that almost every instance of photographic display or reproduction involves titles and captions, with "the linguistic message . . . constituting a kind of vice which holds the connoted meanings from proliferating."[20] Ramsden's double captions point to the overdetermined role accorded to language, even as it becomes clear that such linguistic information will inevitably fail to explain and contain the photographic meaning; take away all captions and labels and it becomes apparent that there is a semantic excess latent even in the most ordinary of photographs. Moreover, the very title of Ramsden's exhibition, *Relations*, evokes the foundational semiotic insight, that meaning is derived relationally. Greenberg's text for the publication would also call attention to linguistic captioning: "Photography and museums isolate words in discrete spatial zones. Captions below photographs. Labels beside exhibits. Captions and labels contextualize. Captions and labels change. Captions and labels are rarely photographed. Museums do not collect captions and labels."

Greenberg's text was a genuine companion piece to Ramsden's artwork, even if, as mentioned earlier, neither artist nor exhibition is addressed directly in her text. This "essay" actually consists of sixteen paragraphs, most

beginning with the phrase "Museums and photographs . . . " or "Photographs and museums . . . " (Fig. 4). Each paragraph is made up of short, choppy phrases and sentence fragments, some of which are scholarly-sounding propositions: "Museums and photographs establish claims." "Museums and photographs co-exist uncomfortably." But these bold statements do not lead to conventional expository prose complete with footnoted justifications. There is no "I" pronoun in this text but it is nonetheless deeply idiosyncratic, combining a free-association mode with a sustained tempo and the occasional eruption of rhyming, as in the following passage: "Photographs of museums are presented with tact. As fact. A positivist act. With staged scenes. No comedy routines. Motionless vitrines. Glassed screens." This was a concerted break with the neutral-sounding and authoritative voice usually considered appropriate for institutional publications.[21] If her text can instead be described as "poetic," it is in the sense theorized by Julia Kristeva, who proposed that poetic language has an ethical dimension, while explicitly connecting this to rhythm. Poetic language can disrupt ordinary language in productive ways, through "the advent of a semiotic rhythm that no system of linguistic communication has yet been able to assimilate."[22] With its rat-a-tat pulsation, it is indeed rhythm, more than rhyme, that characterizes Greenberg's text for the *Relations* catalogue.[23] Syntactical and discursive patterns are provisionally reshuffled, allowing new insights into the power wielded by both museum and photographic practices.

I have indicated that the *Relations* project coincided with the image/text preoccupations of KSW and Artspeak, and was in such ways connected to Vancouver's artist-run centre scene but, as noted at the beginning, the *Relations* exhibition and publication were even more profoundly rooted in Montreal. At the time of the Artspeak exhibition, Anne Ramsden was fairly new to Vancouver, having taken up a teaching position at Simon Fraser University the year before. Prior to that she had lived in Montreal for many years, exhibiting video and photographic work at ARCs such as Vidéographe and Articule, working for a time as an assistant editor at *Parachute* magazine, and playing a vital role in the city's contemporary artworld as one of the co-founders in 1980 (with fellow artist Angela Grauerholz and art historian Francine Périnet) of the documentation centre/bookstore Artexte, where she remained a co-director until her departure for Vancouver. Ramsden would be included in Grauerholz's striking portrait series of 1984 (Fig. 5). When she returned to Montreal about 10 years later, it was to join the School of Visual and Media Arts at UQAM (the Université du Québec à Montréal); she is thus an anglophone Canadian who became fully integrated into the city's francophone artistic and academic *milieux*. Reesa Greenberg also looms large in the Montreal scene of the 1980s, through her teaching, mentoring,

5 | Angela Grauerholz. *Anne Ramsden*, 1984. Gelatin silver print from a series of ten portraits of women. Dimensions variable. With permission of Angela Grauerholz. (Photo: author)

scholarly contributions, and critical writing. As professor of Art History at Concordia University in Montreal, she had co-taught (with colleague Catherine Mackenzie) one of the first "feminism and art history" courses to be offered in a Canadian university. She is well known today for the groundbreaking publication *Thinking about Exhibitions* (1996, co-edited with Bruce Ferguson and Sandy Nairne), which is to say that her *Relations* text was part of a sustained commitment to thinking about museological experience and exhibition practices. Indeed, the acknowledgments page for the 1996 book begins with the following statement: "*Thinking about Exhibitions* originated and is based on the seminars on exhibitions taught by Reesa Greenberg at Concordia University, Montreal, in the 1980s."[24]

The same year that she wrote for the *Relations* catalogue Greenberg participated in a symposium on photography held at Optica Gallery in Montreal, giving a paper on installation photographs, understood as one of multiple ways that photography is enmeshed in the daily operations of galleries and museums.[25] By the end of the 1980s the Montreal artworld's fascination with photography had yielded numerous institutional results: besides Optica, two other artist-run centres were devoted to photographic practice, Dazibao and vox; the magazine *cv Photo* first came out in 1987; while 1989 saw the first *Mois de la Photo à Montréal*, an international, biennial, themed exhibition of photography. The Optica conference and exhibition, *La photographie en tant que document vulgaire/Towards the Photograph as a Vulgar Document*[26] had some high-powered American artists and writers in attendance: Sherrie Levine, Laurie Simmons, Martha Rosler, and Abigail Solomon-Godeau (Fig. 6). The concern with representation and the politics of gender voiced by these women did permeate the network I'm describing, but the intellectual terrain in Montreal was also activated by French feminists such as Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray, and Hélène Cixous, whose theorizing was related to philosophy, linguistics, and psychoanalysis. And so, while every iteration of the Montreal artworld has entailed complicated negotiations over language, the linguistic/cultural admixture of the postmodern 1980s was unique in certain ways. The Montreal-based *Parachute* magazine was an important venue in this respect, as it showcased both local and international art, while allowing French and Anglo-American discursive positions to appear side by side. Two Montreal bookstores also played an important role: Artexte carried international books, journals, and exhibition catalogues in both languages, while a couple of blocks away on St-Laurent, L'Androgyne was a gay and lesbian bookstore that stocked the latest feminist theory, also in French and English. It must be remembered, too, that Jean-François Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition* (which became an iconic text worldwide) had local roots, having initially been written for the Quebec government as a report on the state of knowledge.[27]

The twenty-plus women artists listed at the start of this article were at the forefront of the postmodern turn that made photography an essential component part of contemporary art, including the crucial notion of artists who "work with photographs" rather than self-identifying as photographers.[28] I cannot here do justice to the breadth of these art practices, which included photos backlit or blown up to commercial proportions, photographic imagery explicitly colliding with language as seen in Ramsden's project, projects that emphasized the diverse material circumstances of photography. And then, many artworks produced in Montreal during this period reveal an archival imperative, in that artists unearthed, re-photographed, and re-presented already-existing material. Of course "appropriation" was a signature strategy

6 | Poster for *La photographie en tant que document vulgaire/Towards the Photograph as a Vulgar Document*, symposium held at Optica Gallery, February 1988. With permission of Optica Gallery. (Photo: author)

of the postmodern movement in art more generally, but what is striking across many Montreal art practices is their historical consciousness, in that the iconography of gender is shown to have complex historical roots.[29] For example, Nicole Jolicoeur immersed herself in the photographic and textual archives of Dr. Charcot, the nineteenth-century physician largely

responsible for the discourse about "hysteria" in women, but she then tampered with this evidence in order to imaginatively liberate the female bodies constrained by medical science. Nina Levitt proposed a queer genealogy through her intervention in Montreal's Notman archive, creating a portrait gallery of anonymous women with whom she sensed kinship. Sorel Cohen would re-use a range of historical material, such as a naked woman from Muybridge's motion studies, whose gestures acquire layers of new meanings when framed by the artist. Sylvie Readman and Moyra Davey (b. 1958) both transformed vernacular photographs as found in family albums, disrupting nostalgic sentiment to instead focus on how gender calcifies in conventionalized views and poses. Cheryl Simon reassembled sequences of women posing for the camera, blurring the boundaries between criminals, small-town beauty queens, and other types of extreme femininity. Anne Ramsden herself would on occasion borrow photographic documents from colonial archives in order to defamiliarize this historic material.

In such ways the photographic images that lay slumbering or ideologically fixed in historical archives could be dislodged and brought back into circulation – calling attention to the construction of personal and collective identities in the past, but also demonstrating the possibility of using historical fragments to conjure up new stories. The artists invariably committed a kind of violence to these found photographs, but each gesture of slicing, cropping, fragmenting, tinting, or overwriting could redirect the gaze, and announce a new desiring subject. As suggested above, the collective project undertaken by Montreal artists (as well as curators, writers, etc.) was in dialogue with both Anglo-American and continental feminisms. If everyone concerned seemed to care about the representation – in the broadest sense of the term – of the female body, the Anglo side tended to focus on viewing mechanisms, pop-culture templates, and institutional practices, while French theorizing encouraged the dream of a (visual) language that didn't replicate patriarchal power relations, as epitomized by Hélène Cixous's discussion of *écriture féminine*.[30] The question of how these artists approached historical material can be linked to Lyotard's insight that master-narratives could be unravelled.[31] Feminists of this generation made it clear that the master-narrative most deserving of implosion was the position of centrality historically occupied by a Euro-American male subject, which meant that the history of the world has been told from that viewpoint. Postmodern feminists insisted that the acts of representation undertaken, and the knowledge amassed in the name of this purportedly universal subject, could be reconfigured. History could be rewritten. Working with and through photographs, artists were able to critique an inheritance of visual culture while also generating something new that could be described as feminist knowledge. It is this set of concerns that connects the Ramsden-Greenberg collaboration on the *Relations* catalogue

to the Montreal network. Ramsden infiltrated the system of power relations vested in documentary photography, and Greenberg circumvented the voice of museological authority; at the same time the *Relations* project became an opportunity to claim creative space inside the museum, the ur-site of knowledge and cultural memory.

How did this network cohere, and under what circumstances does it become intelligible? It's possible to consider the artist-run system, specific curatorial projects and publications, instances of pedagogy, activism, as well as friendships. I'd like to note that I consider myself to be part of this network; in 1988 I was living in Montreal, doing my MA at the Université de Montréal and beginning to write art criticism. The initial copy of the *Relations* catalogue I consulted a few years ago, loaned to me by my friend Cheryl Simon, had a warmly-expressed handwritten inscription, from Reesa to Cheryl. Reesa Greenberg had been my much-admired Art History professor at Concordia, while a few years later I wrote about Anne Ramsden's work for a *Mois de la Photo à Montréal* group exhibition curated by Simon. Greenberg's acknowledgments in the catalogue thank several women, while Ramsden's connections at *Parachute* and Artexte open up to other groups of women. I could keep going: thus a social network becomes visible once we begin mapping such overlapping connections between people, between actors. The term "actor" is part of Bruno Latour's conceptual vocabulary, in his actor-network theory (ANT). This theory is appealing in methodological terms because Latour insists that the term "network" does not refer to a pre-existing social formation but, rather, it is the very description undertaken by the researcher to address a situation in flux: "network is an expression to check how much energy, movement, and specificity our own reports are able to capture."[32] This is to say that the network becomes intelligible when someone successfully observes and describes the interaction of moving actants (whether human or not). The postmodern/feminist/photographic network I'm attempting to describe was certainly a dynamic field, with ideas being exchanged, allegiances provisionally forged, creative sparks flying, and concentrations of productivity. One of the more radical features of ANT is Latour's insistence on following non-human actors in the constitution of networks, regarding them not only as mediators between people, because "objects too have their agency."[33] This insight, which has been inspiring for many scholars, is particularly relevant to this episode in the history of photography, shortly before the digital revolution, when acts of archival borrowing and pictorial manipulation involved a panoply of photographic objects, techniques, processes, and materials. It's also instructive to try following a small material artefact like the *Relations* exhibition catalogue, to regard it as a node in a complex network – a crystallization of (human) energy and imagination in some ways, but also a material object with its own

life story, so to speak. This publication was at times put on display, bought and sold, or mailed; it passed from hand to hand, was taken out of a bag to be read on a bus trip, found a home on an artist-run centre bookshelf, in a library, in a second-hand bookshop or alongside personal effects in a home office, etc. It was materially embedded in both Vancouver and Montreal artworlds, as I have suggested, but since the *Relations* catalogue might have ended up anywhere across the country, and even beyond its borders, each one of those material presences can be thought of as a small extended tentacle of the network in question.

Many authors have contributed to the contemporary discourse on networks in ways that illuminate this case-study, even if such texts are concerned with digital and new-media networks. For instance, Anna Munster has argued that networking – as action, as verb, as performative gesture – has perceptual and aesthetic dimensions that must be studied.[34] Geert Lovink contends that, "what we need to defend is the very principle of decentralized, distributed networks."[35] The recently-devised concept of "network archaeology" is also important as it implies a continuum between old and new media.[36] In this sense, the print culture of late-twentieth-century contemporary art can be lauded precisely because of the unique "perceptual and aesthetic" features of magazines, artists' books, and exhibition catalogues (which become more and more perceptible in contrast to dematerialized forms of communication), and also because even the most modest little publications bespeak efforts to create "decentralized, distributed" networked practices.

It is difficult to say exactly why this memorable moment in Montreal's contemporary art history has not been adequately named, referred back to, and otherwise accorded art-historical legitimacy. Over the years some writers have successfully analyzed aspects of this period; for instance, in the early 1990s Johanne Lamoureux addressed the foundational role of language in the visual art of Quebec – but she did not identify a specifically photo-centric or feminist grouping of artists.[37] In retrospect, it's possible to compare how the Montreal scene has entered the historical record (or not) with how experimental photographic practices of the 1980s were narrativized elsewhere. New York's so-called "Pictures Generation" is firmly inscribed in the art historical canon, while in the Canadian context it was a select group of artists in Vancouver who rose to fame as the "photoconceptual" school, to the point that even today it remains an internationally-recognizable city brand. I remember how sceptical some people were at the time about the international artworld's embrace of the Vancouver "boys' club" even as Montreal's women-dominated scene was passed over.

A number of scholars have argued that 1989 was a game-changing moment for contemporary art, just as it was in a larger realm of global geo-

politics.[38] It is interesting, then, to consider that Ramsden and Greenberg's *Relations* publication might have been contributing to the end of an era. It is certainly true that the term "postmodern" very rapidly fell out of fashion amongst artists and writers in the 1990s, to the point that postmodernism could be treated as an embarrassing art-historical moment, or as a fever that people miraculously recovered from. It is surely time to reassess this legacy; just as a singular definition of modernism (based in New York or Paris) has justifiably been expanded and complicated by scholars, so, too, should we consider that postmodern art and ideas took root and became meaningful in specific places. The network of women I have described in this article can certainly be/become part of bigger stories about twentieth-century art and twentieth-century feminism. But something unique occurred in Montreal, as postmodern ideas and a commitment to experimenting with photography fused with the city's linguistic ecosystem, with multiple branches of feminist knowledge, with an archival consciousness. 1989 was when the *Relations* exhibition was remounted at Dazibao gallery in Montreal, and 1989 is also seared into the collective memory of Montrealers because on December 6 of that year a man entered the Université de Montréal and massacred 14 young women while proclaiming his hatred of feminists. This traumatic event would touch every woman mentioned in this essay, while rendering any expression of feminism – before or after 1989 – that much more political. From that moment on we understood more fully that all visual images and gestures of representation take place in a terrain of power relations, but also that postmodernism's "crisis in cultural authority,"[39] as enacted in Montreal, was a powerful fusion of aesthetics and politics.

NOTES

1   My cut-off date for the "long 1980s" is 1992, and my provisional list includes some artists who moved away or only spent a few years in the city, as long as they made a significant contribution to the convergence of photography, feminism, and postmodernism.

2   Cheryl SIMON, *The Zone of Conventional Practice and other Real Stories*, ed. C. Simon (Montreal: Optica Gallery, 1989), 13. (Italics belong to original text.)

3   Greenberg's text also appears in French translation in a reduced font, taking up two pages instead of eight. Serge Bérard took on this challenging translation job, achieving a sense of tempo without, however, attempting to recreate the author's rhymes.

4   Patrizia DI BELLO and Shamoon ZAMIR, *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond*, eds. P. Di Bello, C. Wilson, and S. Zamir (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 4.

5   Ibid. 10.

6   See *Allyson Clay: Lure* (Vancouver: Artspeak, 1988); *Mark Lewis: Burning* (Vancouver: Artspeak, 1988); *Roy Arden: West* (Vancouver: Artspeak, 1988); *Christine Davis: Beauté Convulsive* (Vancouver: Artspeak, 1989). The last of these was published in 1989 but the exhibition took place in 1988.

7   *From Sea to Shining Sea*, ed. AA Bronson et al. (Toronto: Power Plant, 1987). *Sight Specific: Lesbians and Representation*, ed. Lynne Fernie (Toronto: A Space, 1988); Philip MONK, *Struggles with the Image: Essays in Art and Criticism* (Toronto: YYZ, 1988); Nicole JOLICOEUR, *Charcot: deux concepts de nature* (Montreal: Artexte, 1988).

8   Clement GREENBERG, "Avant Garde and Kitsch," in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 8.

9   Loren LERNER, "Recent Publications on Canadian Art, 1987–1989," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 13:1 (1996): 98–111.

10 AA BRONSON, "The Transfiguration of the Bureaucrat," in *Institutions by Artists, Volume One*, eds. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina Lee Podesva (Vancouver: Fillip Editions and Pacific Association of Artist Run Centres, 2012), 36.

11 Important artist-run centres also emerged elsewhere during the 1970s – such as A Space in Toronto, 1971, The Photographers Gallery in Saskatoon, 1973, and Eye Level in Halifax, 1973, for instance.

12 From the first Kootenay School of Writing brochure, 1984; available at: http://www.kswnet.org/fire/aboutksw.cfm.

13 For a discussion of *Behind the Sign* see Nancy SHAW, "Expanded Consciousness and Company Types: Collaboration Since Intermedia and the N.E. Thing Company," in *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991), 96–101.

14 Dazibao website. Accessed 12 Feb. 2015, http://dazibao-photo.org/en/mandate-history/.

15 Gwen ALLEN, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 7.

16 BRONSON, "The Transfiguration of the Bureaucrat," 43. Bronson reminds readers that he'd "warned of this danger" in the 1980s; that was in his essay "Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-run spaces as museums by artists," in *From Sea to Shining Sea*, ed. AA Bronson et al (Toronto: The Power Plant, 1987). Other authors in the 2012 volume argue for the continuing vitality of artist-run centre culture.

17 Andrea FRASER, "From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique," in *Institutional Critique: An Anthology of Artists' Writings*, eds. Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson (Minneapolis: MIT Press, 2011), 416.

18 William WOOD, "Being There," *Vanguard* 17:6 (December/January 1988/89): 36.

19 Marie PERREAULT, "La collection et le quotidian," in *Anne Ramsden* (Musée regional de Rimouski, 2007), 42.

20 Roland BARTHES, "The Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1978), 156.

21 Other Canadian authors who experimented with introducing fictional or poetic elements into writing about contemporary art are Jeanne Randolph and Cheryl Simon.

22 Julia KRISTEVA, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 24.

23 It is worth mentioning that Greenberg did on occasion deliver comparable pieces of writing orally, standing at a podium; in these cases she transformed the art historian's learned discourse into a kind of spoken-word performance.

24 *Thinking about Exhibitions*, eds. R. Greenberg, B. Ferguson, and S. Nairne (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), xiii.

25 Reesa Greenberg, "Optimum Optica: Notes On Installation Photography," in *Towards the Photograph as a Vulgar Document* (Montreal: Optica, 1990), 18–23.

26 The exhibition was held from 6–28 February 1988, and the symposium took place on 26 February; both were meant to commemorate Optica's fifteen-year anniversary.

27 Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983). Lyotard's book was first published in French in 1979, but once translated into English it reached an international and interdisciplinary readership far beyond that original context.

28 Numerous male artists were of course active in Montreal during the postmodern 1980s, but aside from David Williams's work there was little photo-based exploration of gender.

29 Even if not all the artists on my list considered themselves to be feminists and/or postmodernists, these were nonetheless dominant intellectual paradigms that often accompanied the critical reception and circulation of contemporary art in the 1980s.

30 See Abigail Bray, *Hélène Cixous: Writing and Sexual Difference* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

31 Lyotard, p. xxiv.

32 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 131.

33 Ibid., 63.

34 Anna Munster, *An Aesthesia of Networks: Conjunctive Experience in Art and Technology* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).

35 Geert Lovink, *Networks without a Cause: A Critique of Social Media* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2011), 31.

36 See the special issue of the journal *Amodern*: *Amodern 2: Network Archeology*, eds. Nicole Starosielski, Braxton Soderman, and Cris Cheek, based on a 2012 conference. Accessed 15 Aug. 2015, http://amodern.net/article/network-archaeology/.

37 Johanne Lamoureux, *Seeing in Tongues: A Narrative of Language and Visual Arts in Quebec* (Vancouver: Belkin Art Gallery, 1995).

38 See, for example, the exhibition *The Global Contemporary: Art Worlds after 1989* (Karlsruhe: ZKM, 2011), as well as two books in Afterall's exhibition history series: Rachel Weiss, *Making Art Global, Part One: The Third Havana Biennial 1989* (London: Afterall Books, 2012), and Lucy Steeds, *Making Art Global, Part Two: Magiciens de la Terre, 1989* (London: Afterall Books, 2013).

39 Craig Owens, "The Discourse of Others: Feminists and Postmodernism," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1983), 57.

Relations, 1988: photographique, postmoderne, féministe

JOHANNE SLOAN

Le catalogue produit pour l'exposition d'Anne Ramsden (v. 1952) à la galerie Artspeak de Vancouver, en 1988, et qui reproduisait des photographies d'intérieurs de musées accompagnées d'un texte expérimental de Reesa Greenberg, était un exemple de la culture de l'imprimé qui se développait dans le contexte de centres d'artistes autogérés. Cet article traite aussi le catalogue comme preuve matérielle de l'existence d'un réseau qui s'est développé à Montréal durant les années 1980, composé de femmes artistes, écrivaines, conservatrices, éditrices de revues, galeristes, traductrices, étudiantes – toutes décidées à étendre le champ de la photographie, toutes engagées envers des idéaux féministes, toutes prises, d'une manière ou d'une autre, par la fièvre du postmodernisme. Cette explosion d'activité photographique à Montréal ne s'est jamais fusionnée en un mouvement identifiable, nommable. Ce que je décris n'a jamais encore été pleinement écrit dans l'histoire de l'art canadien ou québécois.

L'interaction entre le langage et l'image explorée par Ramsden et Greenberg était bienvenue à la galerie Artspeak de Vancouver laquelle, quelques années auparavant, avait émergé avec le mandat de promouvoir le dialogue entre les arts visuels et l'écriture. Artspeak a rapidement commencé à publier des catalogues d'exposition et plusieurs autres centres d'artistes autogérés se sont joint à cette production de catalogues, de livres d'artistes, de recueils d'écrits, etc. Si le catalogue *Relations* tenait davantage du livre photo que du catalogue d'exposition traditionnel, cela est dû au fait que, vers 1988, on se demandait à quoi ressemblaient les publications artistiques, quel était leur objectif, quel était leur lectorat.

Les photographies de Ramsden se présentaient comme des instantanés pris au cours de visites au Musée d'Anthropologie de Vancouver, à la British Library de Londres, au Musée d'histoire naturelle de Paris, au Musée des arts décoratifs de Montréal et au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York, entre autres exemples. Aussi fragmentaires que puissent être ces aperçus photographiques, lorsqu'ils sont rassemblés picturalement et conceptuellement par l'artiste, il devient évident que ces lieux sont connectés, qu'ils sont des nœuds dans un système de production des connaissances eurocentrique. Le

texte fragmenté, parfois rimé de Greenberg explorait l'interrelation entre les musées et la photographie. Ainsi, le catalogue *Relations*, dans son ensemble, contribuait aux débats sur la « critique institutionnelle ». Il y avait un aspect féministe dans ce projet, en ce que le féminisme postmoderne était très critique à l'endroit du métarécit patriarcal et s'intéressait à ce qu'on pourrait appeler une production des connaissances alternative.

Le postmodernisme, le féminisme et la photographie se sont rencontrés à Montréal d'une manière distinctive, informée par la théorie et les pratiques artistiques anglo-américaines aussi bien que françaises. Ramsden se situait ainsi en relation avec un groupe de plus de vingt femmes artistes qui utilisaient la photographie de manière expérimentale. L'idée de réseau me permet d'aborder les liens sociaux et professionnels entre ces femmes, d'entreprendre une étude inspirée de Bruno Latour de la culture matérielle de la photographie et de suivre la diffusion et la cristallisation d'idées et de principes esthétiques. Et si l'appropriation était une stratégie privilégiée par les artistes de la génération postmoderne, pour plusieurs Montréalaises cela coïncidait avec une conscience historique permettant la production d'une imagerie féminine remise en cause et réimaginée.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette

CyberPowWow: Digital Natives and the First Wave of Online Publication

MIKHEL PROULX

In the early 1990s three Montreal art students working under the moniker Nation to Nation mounted a series of renegade exhibitions. By 1997, with a handful of art shows, performances, and community projects under their belts, Nation to Nation would launch *CyberPowWow* (CPW), an early experiment in Internet art publication, and to date the most expansive platform for network-based art made by Indigenous artists.

CPW was operational for eight years and is now largely offline, making it difficult to assess its impact. Twenty years on, it has become a remnant of a cyberutopian experiment in Indigenous sovereignty on the early Web. This article attempts to track the networked conditions from which an experiment like CPW could surface, and also to recall its emergence from a political climate of Indigenous self-determination that came to the fore in the nation-state of Canada during the 1990s.

Materializing at this confluence of Indigenous cultural activism and early Web cultures, CPW offers a fascinating alternative to mainstream histories of network-based art. For its creators and participants, the project would house a novel kind of collective politics, a site for symbolic exchange, and a distinct aesthetics – but these have been largely neglected in dominant media art histories. Studies of early Web-based art recall how artistic use of innovative communications technologies led to a certain type of visuality, but such art-historical ventures have tended to canonize a largely central-European group of men.[1] Their practices have been billed as inherently critical, non-institutional, anti-capitalist, and global, though their transnational communication occurred predominantly among white North Americans and Western Europeans.

A study of *CyberPowWow*, conversely, provides a sense of how the artistic adoption of digital network media could be embedded in distinct cultures and

(*above*) Detail, Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw, *Buffalo Wood*, 1999. *CyberPowWow* 1997–2005. (Courtesy Estate of Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw and Skawennati);
(*below*) Detail, Michelle Nahanee, *Lilgirls*, 2001. *CyberPowWow* 1997–2005. (Photo: Courtesy of Michelle Nahanee and Skawennati)

local specificities, yielding varied, heterogeneous effects. Where the dominant discourse of Internet-based art has often pointed to the globalizing aesthetics of an ostensibly *World-Wide* Web, *CPW* may exemplify a counterforce to this narrative, and to the imperial structures of the Internet itself. Demonstrably, its artworks and critical texts challenged the prevailing sense of the Internet as a neutral and 'free' space, and laid the groundwork for critical discussions of how power and control operate in the network age.

Within the context of this issue of the *Journal of Canadian Art History*, and within a wider study of publications in Canadian artist-run culture, *CPW* is also remarkable as an early investigation – by peoples Indigenous or not – into the communicative affordances of the new networked commons. If a website is something of a publication, with its pages linked and non-linear – code in place of ink and machines in place of binding – then *CPW*, along with a handful of other early Web projects in Canada, challenged the limitations of traditional print. Fostering moments of encounter through interactive networks, these harbingers of online publication engaged the nascent cybercultures of chat rooms, message boards, mailing lists, webzines, and personal homepages. Amid better-known Web culture platforms such as *The Thing*, *the WELL*, *Rhizome*, and *nettime, CPW* counted itself as one of only a few emergent virtual spaces for Indigenous cybercultures.[2] In concert with an increasingly politicized attitude within Canadian art, *CPW* addressed a lack of Aboriginal content in Canadian art publishing. It answered a call, as curator Lee-Ann Martin had urged, for "new models for the presentation and documentation of Aboriginal art."[3] Moreover, for *CPW*'s participants, the Internet fostered not just a new mode of communication and interactivity, but a site for new forms of discourse, exchange, and community. This was an early, robust accomplishment that formalized a uniquely Aboriginal place online (Fig. 1).

Taglined "an Aboriginally determined territory in cyberspace," *CyberPowWow* was among the first Web-based art exhibitions, in step with the now-canonical European benchmark exhibitions, *Club Berlin* from the 46th Venice Biennale in 1995, and *dX*, curator Simon Lamunière's virtual contribution to documenta X in 1997. *CPW* was conceived in 1996 by Nation to Nation's trio of artists: Skawennati, Ryan Rice (both are Kahnawake Mohawk), and Eric Robertson (Métis/Gitksan). Soon after, it would be overseen by Skawennati alone. The formation of their collective Nation to Nation in 1994 was part of a larger watershed moment for Aboriginal media arts in Canada. The group formed within recent memory of the federal *Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples* and the anti-racist artist-run caucus Minquon Panchayat;[4] on the heels of Indigenous cultural media projects such as the Aboriginal Film and Video Art Alliance and the Aboriginal Peoples

1 | Marilyn Burgess, *Git yer cowgirl avatar here!* 2001. *CyberPowWow* 1997–2005. (Photo: courtesy of Marilyn Burgess and Skawennati)

Television Network; and in tandem with increased institutional support for Aboriginal media arts at the Banff Centre, the Canada Council for the Arts, and within artist-run centres across the country, including the founding of Tribe in Saskatoon and Urban Shaman in Winnipeg. *CPW* was supported by and participated in this wave uniquely to publish early Internet-based art made by Indigenous people online.

Throughout its eight-year run, *CPW* adhered to a biennial model, and each of its four iterations can be considered as self-determined online 'territories' on the early Web. The project served to house network-based art, written stories and critical texts in English and several Indigenous languages, and a real-time, graphical chat service that was live year-round. Additionally, the project held 'gathering sites' – real-world events launched in over twenty artist-run centres across North America that allowed the interfacing of multiple publics. Among the twenty-three artists who participated in *CPW*, notable figures in contemporary art include Lori Blondeau, Rosalie Favell, Greg A. Hill, Ryan Johnston, Jason E. Lewis, Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw (1958–2006), Travis Neel, Archer Pechawis, Edward Poitras, and Paul Chaat Smith.

Today this bold undertaking survives only in fragmented form and is otherwise scattered on old machines in Jason E. Lewis and Skawennati's

obx Labs at Concordia University. Visitors to the current live site[5] will find a sparse archive of the project, housing the literature published for each biennial, write-ups on the project participants, and only a few of the original (typically smaller) artworks – those made with early versions of Flash and Quicktime. For any other artwork, one is required to make a request for the original, now detached, files, and download the all-but defunct piece of server software – *The Palace*. Like a forebear of the popular virtual world *Second Life*, *The Palace* is a multiple-user chat environment (a MUD, or Multi-User Dungeon) that allows users to interact in a series of graphical 'rooms' using 2D avatars, where one may encounter other users concurrently logged into the system. This free software was a framework that Skawennati would eventually tweak for CPW's own needs.

Looking back from today's cleanly designed Web interfaces, CPW's graphics and navigation may seem somewhat glitchy and awkward, lacking clarity in their responsive capacities, its interactive features demonstrating a disorderly pacing. But it also reminds us of the inventiveness artists and techie amateurs brought to early digital technologies in the late twentieth century to develop novel aesthetic forms. This was the imaginative, undetermined era of the so-called 1.0 stage of the Web, before the full-on corporatization of the Internet streamlined the protocols of engaging with digital networks. Here, artists and designers innovated new media forms on low-bandwidth, unsaturated networks.

The sophisticated designs developed by Cree/French Métis artist Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw may feel cumbersome to the sensibilities of today's typical computer-user (Fig. 2). To navigate *Buffalo Wood*, his contribution to 1999's *CyberPowWow 2*, one must first place one's avatar on top of, and then click on, any of several circles serving as navigation buttons to direct oneself through the multiple, non-linear pages. In other words, the interactive designs he invented represented an idiosyncratic mode of engaging with technology, and today appear novel and perhaps strange. As in other Web-based works of Maskêgon-Iskwêw's,[6] this interface is an experiment in non-linear hypertext navigation, and it also deliberately references aspects of his heritage. The website mimics the decentralized structure of a spider-web, allowing for multiple pathways within the network, and referring to the nine domains in the Salteaux cosmological cycle. This structure underlies layers of found archival imagery: navigating through the 'rooms' conjures overlaid pictures of Indigenous political uprisings, residential schools, illustrations of animal bones, and photos of buffalo, all visible behind a fiery target symbol. Some pages spout spoken phrases in Cree, displaying pixelated or heavily filtered photos taken by the artist himself. Adept in interactive design technologies, Maskêgon-Iskwêw created this imagery, utilizing JavaScript and iptScrae

2 | Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw, *Buffalo Wood*, 1999. *CyberPowWow* 1997–2005. (courtesy of Estate of Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw and Skawennati)

3 | Greg A. Hill, *Buffalo Wood, Kanata Boutique*, 2004. *CyberPowWow* 1997–2005. (Photo: courtesy of Skawennati)

(a coding language specific to *The Palace*) to structure responsive, user-based actions in the multimedia chat environment. The results are a unique articulation of a specific cultural aesthetics in a media that has become streamlined and ostensibly 'neutral.'

Integral to *CyberPowWow*'s aim of increasing public access to Indigenous media artists' work was its *Gathering Sites*, coinciding with the four biennial launches held at twenty-one art spaces internationally. The first of these events took place in April of 1997 at both Circle Vision Arts Corporation in Saskatoon, and Galerie Oboro in Montreal. By the last *CPW* in 2004 (Fig. 3), no less than a dozen organizations co-hosted the event.[7] Each space supported simultaneous, two-day events – expanded 'openings' – during which time visitors could eat and drink but, more importantly, were invited to become participants via engagement with *CPW*. Tech-savvy assistants would guide users through the projects on computer stations, as in the mid-1990s personal ownership of computers was not yet ubiquitous, especially among Indigenous populations.[8] For many participants of the day, this engagement was a distinctly Aboriginal experience. As Tuscarora art historian Jolene Rickard wrote at the time: "somehow when you exit this site you definitely know you were in Indian territory."[9]

The Internet of twenty years ago was far less populous than the continuously jacked-into networks of today, but its participants shared an enthusiasm that was quite different from the pre-structured, corporate,

social-media-driven Web 2.0 culture that is now dominant. Within Peer2Peer communities, virtual meeting spaces were established as inclusive and open publics, accessibly written in HTML as a kind of digital Esperanto. This once-widespread zeal for the liberatory possibilities of a new, networked society is apparent in CPW, while the project was also rooted in further aspirations toward Indigenous sovereignty and self-identification.

Thus, while the producers and artists of CPW partook wholeheartedly in this cyberutopian wave, they also enacted a critical alternative to its mainstream impulses. Many authors have demonstrated that the coming of a global 'network age' or 'digital age' implicitly promoted a set of values thoroughly tethered to the cultural 'West'.[10] The ostensibly 'global' distribution of Internet technologies has often led to a whitewashed and homogenized understanding of culture. As the anthropologist Faye Ginsburg expresses it, "the seeming ubiquity of the Internet appears a façade of First World illusions."[11] The notion of a singular "digital age" – with its rhetoric of ubiquity and inclusion – hides the unequal material conditions and distribution of resources that shape access to information and communications technologies. The reasons for this inequality span issues of social class, geographic conditions, political protocols, and issues of ability and literacy. In brief, the 'global' digital communications network has been structured favourably for those within the 'developed' world. The gap between these haves and have-nots is termed the "digital divide" (and this divide appears to be growing).[12] Significantly, this gap is not structured along national borders, but on economic, cultural, and political biases. In fact, Indian reserves across North America have often been omitted from the global communications network. Reasons for this range from systemic inequalities at the level of governmental support for technological infrastructure, to geographical reasons: as reservations are often located on remote lands, they are often also far from fibre-optic cable networks.[13]

While early rhetoric surrounding the World Wide Web included an account of its global reach, it also promised an array of inclusive virtues corresponding to democracy and egalitarianism, liberation and freedom, and transparency and fluidity.[14] As a transnational, anonymous force, the Web promised to liberate subjects from their geographical locales, and also from their bodies. And as network theorist Wendy Hui Kyong Chun discerns, "significantly, this rewriting of the Internet as emancipator, as 'freeing' oneself from one's body, also naturalized racism."[15] For Chun, this is evidenced by the amplified bigotries found readily in chatrooms, online comments, and multiplayer games. By proposing a blind equivalence on this transnational stage, the Internet necessitated a defection from our bodies, and the places that they occupy. In 'freeing' us from our bodies and from our physical

contexts, this technological utopianism expressed a distinctly 'Western' Judeo-Christian set of ideological desires to escape the material plane. As Cree/Métis filmmaker and theorist Loretta Todd stated at the time of CPW, "a fear of the body, aversion to nature, a desire for salvation and transcendence of the earthly plane has created a need for cyberspace. The wealth of the land almost plundered, the air dense with waste, the water sick with poisons, there has to be somewhere else to go."[16]

Whereas Marshall McLuhan's global village evoked a *tribal*, inclusive global community,[17] cultures on the 'Net have in fact devolved into exclusive cliques reinforced by various digital divides, and the expansion of self-interested, insular discourses. As sociologist Todd Gitlin has said: "If there is a global village, it speaks American. It wears jeans, drinks Coke, eats at the golden arches, walks on swooshed shoes . . . recognizes Mickey Mouse . . . Bart Simpson, R2-D2, and Pamela Anderson."[18] Claims toward tolerance and global inclusivity are offset by the overwhelming presence of dominant settler-North American cultures and bigotry in all its forms. As media theorist Lisa Nakamura has said: "we should remember it was the villagers that chased Frankenstein out of the village. Villages have often been xenophobic places where there is a narrow range of identities that are tolerated."[19] Todd also gives insight into the so-called 'tribal' nature of networked media culture and suggests that if it actually resembled tribal societies it would directly "cause the breakdown of central authorities . . . renew communal values [, and exhibit] concern for the future generation."[20] Instead of these positive aspects of tribal society, it can be argued that the Web (in its current state) seems to breed closed spaces that *constrict* the development of cultural connectedness. Thus digital communications network technologies operate according to imperatives drawn from an imperialist heritage – in both their material, structural biases, and in the restrictive sets of protocols that shape online engagement. The development of these technologies, and of these forms of power, has been veiled by a myth of a connected, global space. It is this myth, I am proposing, that is directly countered by the efforts of *CyberPowWow*.

Illustrating this flattening of cultural specificity is *Portal*, one of a series of rooms in Trevor Van Weeren's contribution to the 2001 CPW2K (Fig. 4). Of Dutch settler ancestry, Van Weeren here virtualizes the shortcomings of his own cultural understanding before his involved engagement with Aboriginal peoples as a researcher and educator in Australia's Northern Territory. In *Portal*, we encounter an oblong corridor, its floor and ceiling overlaid with text evoking colonial and racist speech. The two walls are surfaced with imagery corresponding alternately to artefacts and clichéd Euro-settler ethnographic illustrations (the Aboriginals of the past), and to imagery of Australian settler nationalism: a flag, a street-sign, a game of cricket, and a
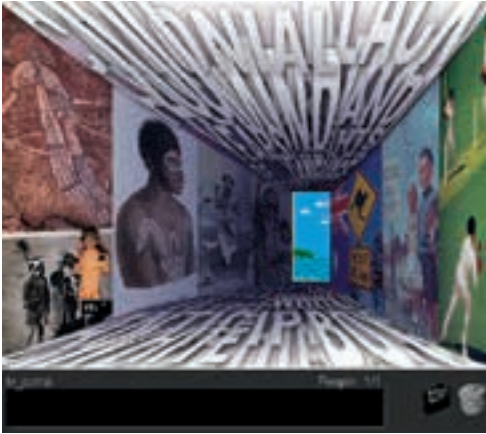
4 | Trevor Van Weeren, *Portal*, 2001. *CyberPowWow* 1997–2005. (Photo: courtesy of Trevor Van Weeren and Skawennati)

pair of bright Caucasian children (the Australia of the future). At the far end is a colourful seascape – low-fi, but nonetheless inviting – luring us into the next 'room'. In coating the surface of Cartesian space with such culturally specific imagery, Van Weeren makes clear his own unsettled relation to colonial histories of Australia, and also colours the apparently inert spaces of *cyberspace*.

Cyberspace – this rather corny, nineties-flavoured catchword – was the first of a myriad of spatial conceptions of digital network technologies.[21] As suggested above, these metaphors helped to naturalize some of the ideologies hidden within the architecture of these technologies. The image of a physically-inhabitable space made possible a sense of movement within an electronically-generated alternate reality. The Internet as "information superhighway," as "network," and as the "electronic frontier," and the use of architectural forms within the popular imaginary such as the "gateway," the "table," and the "cloud," and in applications like Explorer and Navigator, all imply movement and spatiality. This implication carried forward a thoroughly imperial flavour to digital technologies' colonizing expansion across the planet. Hence, the mythologizing of network technologies as an "open space" has often served to naturalize its highly-structured organization. This recalls Manifest Destiny frontier attitudes in which a materialist conception of the empty land (*terra nullius*) led to its dismemberment and occupation. As Lewis and Skawennati made clear: "if Aboriginal peoples learned one thing from contact, it is the danger of seeing any place as terra nullius, even cyber space. Its foundations were designed with a specific logic, built on a specific form of technology, and first used for specific purposes."[22]

Intent on occupying these virtual spaces in a self-determined way, Indigenous artists took to the open Web to thwart the reiteration of European conquest and the great land grab. They would also circumvent the repetition of an earlier chapter in colonial telecommunications, in which 1880s North American settler governments' use of rapid telegraph exchange expedited the seizure of 'wild' lands. They listened to Otoe-Missouria writer Randy Ross's now-famous proclamation to not become "road kill on the Information Superhighway."[23] Demonstrably, Indigenous artists on the early 'Net favoured a particular flavour of cyberutopianism geared toward making a *place* within

the Web's open spaces, and to occupy a virtual commons outside the corridors of the nation-state. In his text published in one of *cpw*'s later issues (2001), Plains Cree artist Archer Pechawis claimed: "We saw the Internet not just as a new technology but a new territory, one that we could help shape from its inception."[24] Such self-sustaining (and self-actualizing) endeavours flew in the face of clichés that misconstrued Indigenous peoples as pre-technological. In going online – in staking a claim within cyberspace – self-determining Indigenous cultural actors on the early Web enacted a counterforce to this ideology within the networked media landscape.

This cultural agency persists today in the extensive use of the Web by Indigenous peoples, from the use of networked media on and off reservations, to Web activism in support of missing and murdered Indigenous women, to solidarity building for activist groups such as Idle No More. Acts of self-determination and independence of distribution have a legacy in Indigenous media usage, and for some, networked culture decidedly parallels traditional Indigenous and small-scale social worldviews, in which an intimacy with the growing, shifting world makes for a good sense of the interconnectivity of things, and leads to "a truly networked way of being," as Maskêgon-Iskwêw once wrote.[25] A further connection between Indigeneity and 'the virtual' has been suggested in relation to traditional prayer and song, storytelling, and relations to ancestors and to future generations, as in the claim of Ho-chunk scholar Renya Ramirez, with regards to sacred Sweat Lodge ceremonies.[26] Regardless of any innate connections between Indigeneity and virtually networked modes of being, Web technologies have been utilized in remarkable ways within Indigenous cultural and political practice. The role of technology is notable in both the sharing of struggles, and in Indigenous cultural flourishing.

Online Indigenous activity since the early Internet is manifest in political activism networks, local heritage initiatives, language repositories, commercial enterprises, and artistic expression. Such self-actualizing initiatives of Indigenous peoples creating media content speaks to the endeavour to stake new claims on the territory of the Web, and to rectify a legacy of non-Native (mis)representations of Native content. Such practices accomplish what Coast Salish artist Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun has recognized as the Indigenous use of "employing technology that in the past has been used against native people."[27] For many, such intent to take up these globalizing digital tools allowed for a critical leveraging of their ideological functions. This was the critical query that Todd posed in 1996: "Will cyberspace enable people to communicate in ways that rupture the power relations of the colonizer and the colonized? Or is cyberspace a clever guise

5 | Michelle Nahanee, *Lilgirls*, 2001. *CyberPowWow* 1997–2005. (Photo: courtesy of Michelle Nahanee and Skawennati)

for neocolonialism, where tyranny will find further domain?"[28] (Fig. 5)

Like the historically cross-tribal pow-wow, *CyberPowWow* was designed toward inclusivity: people from different communities, cultures, and nations were invited to contribute. Pechawis, co-curating the 2001 iteration, described *CPW* as "a place where 'Native meets non-Native', be it technologically, socially, or culturally."[29] Utilizing new, interactive technologies, and developing a novel curatorial model in the form of Gathering Sites, *CPW* made possible, as Yuxweluptun recognized of his own technological use, a "cultural exchange . . . designed to make people share a spiritual world."[30] For both Native and non-Native participants of *CPW*, specific cultural experiences are relayed, coloured with traces of identifiable spiritualties, ontologies, and lived experiences. The artworks made for *CPW* position these self-determined cultural representations upon a transcultural, transnational stage, and allow for entry points for those who do and do not have access to the experiences they arose from. Together, these artworks engender a concern for articulating and sharing lived experience: from traditional customs of longhouse ceremonies and storytelling rituals, to legacies of cultural genocide and systemic oppression, to depictions of daily lives specific to Indigenous urban Canadians in the 1990s. For the artists and curators of *CPW*, these representations were purposed in an imperative of intercultural sharing. The Hunkpapa Lakota artist Dana Claxton, writing in 2005 and stressing the pedagogical role of art, identified this capacity for Aboriginal artists to "affect, inform, and shape non-aboriginal-aboriginal relationships."[31]

Far from the imagined universal network of a unified and liberated commons, online cultures reveal themselves to be highly structured and culturally biased. *CyberPowWow* is remarkable as an early example of a conscious and robust experiment to preserve cultural integrity in a global and globalizing media. Lost in the cyberflow, *CPW* is no longer a beacon of cultural force and intercultural engagement. Yet in recalling its power, we may be motivated to recognize a mode of social engagement online that foregrounds cultural codes specific to Indigenous cultures.

1   Such is the case in the benchmark studies: Rachel Greene, *Internet Art* (London & New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004) and Julian Stallabrass, *The Aesthetics of Net.art* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

2   Others in the Canadian context include the bulletin-board systems *Igloo Station* (1991), based out of Montreal, and *Native_Network* (1993), based out of Hull/Ottawa; the educational project KIDS FROM KA-NA-TA (1992), created by John Ord, which also led to Buffy Saint-Marie's *Cradleboard Teaching Project* (1997); and the Aboriginal media arts network *Drumbeats to Drumbytes* (1994), initiated by Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw at the Banff Centre.

3   Lee-Ann Martin, "Wordplay: Issues of Authority and Territory," in *Making a Noise: Aboriginal Perspectives on Art, Art History, Critical Writing and Community* (Banff, AB: The Banff International Curatorial Institute, 2004), 104.

4   The *Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples* called for museums to mandate partnerships with First Peoples, which was paralleled by Minquon Panchayat, the anti-racist coalition which promoted the structural reformation of artist-run culture.

5   *CyberPowWow*, "Welcome to CyberPowWow," (1996). Accessed 15 Aug. 2016, http://www.cyberpowwow.net/.

6   This can be seen in his 1996 website isi-pîkiskwêwin-ayapihkêsîsak (*Speaking the Language of Spiders*), created in collaboration with Lynn Acoose, Cheryl L'Hirondelle, Joseph Naytowhow, Greg Daniels, Elvina Piapot, Sheila Urbanoski, Sylvain Carette, Mark Schmidt, and Russell Wallace, and viewable online: spiderlanguage.net.

7   These included: The Walter Phillips Gallery at the Banff Centre; EMMEDIA Gallery and Production Society in partnership with MayWorks Festival, Calgary*;* Tribe, A Centre for the Evolving Aboriginal Media, Visual and Performing Arts Inc., and PAVED Art + New Media, Saskatoon; Urban Shaman Gallery, Winnipeg; InterAccess, Toronto; Artengine and G-101, Ottawa; OBORO, Montreal; Eyelevel Gallery, Halifax; and Confederation Centre Art Gallery, Charlottetown.

8   The uneven distribution of computation technology is shown by, among others, Christian Sandvig in his essay "Connection at Ewiiaapaayp Mountain: Indigenous Internet Infrastructure," in *Race After the Internet*, eds. L. Nakamura & P. Chow-White (New York: Routledge, 2012), 168–200.

9   Jolene Rickard, "First Nation Territory in Cyber Space Declared: No Treaties Needed," *CyberPowWow 2* (1999). Accessed 1 Jan. 2010, http://www.cyberpowwow.net/nation2nation/jolenework.html.

10   This has been articulated in a legacy of scholarly writing, from Joseph Weizenbaum's landmark analyses of the cultural biases of technologists and designers, to more recent theoretical discussions of the impacts of European and Settler-American ideologies in digital networks, such as by Thomas Streeter and Marcus Breen. Joseph Weizenbaum, *Computer Power and Human Reason: From Judgment to Calculation* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1976); Thomas Streeter, *The Net Effect: Romanticism, Capitalism, and the Internet* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Marcus Breen, *Uprising: The Internet's Unintended Consequences* (Champaign, IL: Common Ground, 2011).

11   Faye Ginsburg, "Rethinking the Digital Age," in *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics*, eds. Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 289.

12 Canada, Statistics Canada, *Canadian Internet Use Survey (CIUS)*. Ottawa, 28 October 2013. Accessed 1 Jan. 2016, http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function= getSurvey&SDDS=4432&Item_Id=66020&lang=en.

13 This point has been researched by Christian Sandvig: "almost all Indian reservations were chosen as prisons." SANDVIG, "Connection at Ewiiaapaayp," 172.

14 See, as example: Mark POSTER, *The Second Media Age* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1995); and Howard RHEINGOLD, *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1993).

15 Wendy Hui Kyong CHUN, *Control and Freedom: Power and Paranoia in the Age of Fiber Optics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 132.

16 Loretta TODD, "Aboriginal Narratives in Cyberspace," in *Transference, Tradition, Technology*, eds. Melanie A. Townsend, Dana Claxton and Steven Loft (Banff, AB: Walter Phillips Gallery Editions, 2006), 155.

17 This is a central premise in Marshall McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

18 Todd Gitlin, qtd. in Henry JENKINS, *Fans, Bloggers and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 153.

19 Lisa NAKAMURA, "5 Types of Online Racism and Why You Should Care" (Paper presented at TedXUIllinois, University of Illinois, IL, 15 September 2011).

20 TODD, "Aboriginal Narratives in Cyberspace," 159.

21 The term was popularized in early cyberpunk fiction – notably William Gibson's 1984 *Neuromancer.*

22 Jason E. LEWIS and Skawennati Tricia FRAGNITO, "Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 29:2 (Summer 2005): 30.

23 Randy ROSS, "Native American Culture and the Emerging Internet Technology," *First Nations Development Business Alert* (September–October 1996): 1.

24 Archer PECHAWIS, "Not So Much a Land Claim," *CyberPowWow 2K* (2001). Accessed 1 Jan. 2010, cyberpowwow.net/archerweb/index.html.

25 Âhasiw MASKÊGON-ISKWÊW, "Drumbeats to Drumbytes: Globalizing Networked Aboriginal Art," in *Transference, Tradition, Technology*, 191.

26 Renya K. RAMIREZ, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 69.

27 Lawrence Paul YUXWELUPTUN, "Inherent Rights, Vision Rights," in *Immersed in Technology: Art and Virtual Environments*, ed. Mary Anne Moser (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 316.

28 Loretta TODD, "Aboriginal Narratives in Cyberspace," in ibid., 180.

29 PECHAWIS, "Not So Much a Land Claim."

30 Yuxweluptun said this regarding his 1991 work *Inherent Rights, Vision Rights*, the first virtual-reality artwork to be exhibited in Canada and in Europe. Qtd. in Rafael LOZANO-HEMMER, "FLOATING TROUT SPACE: Native Art in Cyberspace. Interview with Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun," *Telepolis, Heise Online* (23 July 1996). Accessed 1 Jan. 2010, http://www.heise.de/tp/artikel/3/3029/1.html.

31 Dana CLAXTON, "Re:Wind," in *Transference, Tradition, Technology*, 16.

CyberPowWow : les Autochtones à l'ère numérique et la première vague de publications en ligne

MIKHEL PROULX

Au début des années 1990, trois étudiants en art montréalais (Skawennati, Ryan Rice et Eric Robertson), connus sous le pseudonyme de Nation to Nation, montent une série d'expositions révolutionnaires. En 1997, comptant quelques présentations artistiques, performances et projets communautaires à leur actif, ils lancent *CyberPowWow* (CPW), une ébauche de publication d'art sur Internet et, à ce jour, la plateforme d'art en réseau le plus vaste à avoir été réalisée par des artistes autochtones.

Remarquable réalisation à la confluence de l'activisme culturel autochtone et des premières technologies Internet, CPW fascine parce qu'il se distingue nettement des présentations classiques de l'art en réseau. Malgré quatre expositions bisannuelles, 23 artistes et des dizaines de partenaires institutionnels, cette manifestation, qui compte parmi les premières expositions artistiques sur le Web, est boudée par l'histoire de l'art des médias numériques. Cet article propose une lecture du projet et avance que ses réussites ouvrent une perspective essentielle sur le Web d'aujourd'hui. CPW montre que l'adoption des supports numériques du réseau à des fins artistiques peut s'ancrer dans des cultures distinctes et des spécificités locales, et produire des effets diversifiés et hétérogènes.

Si le discours dominant sur l'art fondé sur Internet a souvent souligné la mondialisation de l'esthétique du Web, CPW pourrait bien faire contrepoids à cette idée et à l'impérialisme des structures d'Internet. Manifestement, les œuvres d'art et les critiques du CPW ont remis en question la conception prédominante voulant qu'Internet soit un espace neutre et « libre ». Elles ont plutôt préparé le terrain pour d'importantes discussions sur le mode de fonctionnement du pouvoir et du contrôle à l'ère numérique. CPW s'illustre comme l'un des premiers exemples d'une expérimentation délibérée et vigoureuse visant à préserver l'intégrité culturelle au sein d'un média planétaire et globalisant. Les artistes qui collaborent au projet préservent l'héritage de la production de médias autodéterminée par des artistes autochtones vivant dans des États coloniaux. Ils démontrent ainsi que les technologies du Web peuvent être utilisées de façon remarquable dans le respect des pratiques culturelles et des politiques autochtones. Grâce à des

innovations esthétiques et technologiques et à une plateforme conçue pour être participative, ils ont créé des œuvres vraiment originales et encouragé la réflexion critique sur les forces dominantes inhérentes aux réseaux de communications numériques.

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