

**Conceptual Nationalisms: Conceptual Book-Works,
Countercultural Imaginaries and the Neo-Avant-Garde
in Canada and Québec, 1967-1974**

Felicity Tayler

A Thesis

in

The Humanities Doctoral Program

Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture

Presented in partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at

Concordia University

Montréal, Québec

September, 2016

© Felicity Tayler 2016

**CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Felicity Tayler

Entitled: Conceptual Nationalisms: Conceptual Book-works, Countercultural
Imaginaries and the Neo-Avant-Garde in Canada and Québec, 1967-1974

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Humanities)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

_____	Chair
Dr. A. Furlani	
_____	External Examiner
Dr. E. Legge	
_____	External to Program
Dr. J. Camlot	
_____	Examiner
Dr. D. O'Leary	
_____	Examiner
Dr. D. Tomas	
_____	Thesis Supervisor
Dr. J. Sloan	

Approved by: _____
Dr. B. Freiwald , Graduate Program Director

September 29, 2016 _____
Dr. A. Roy, Dean
Faculty of Arts and Science

Abstract

Conceptual Nationalisms: Conceptual Book-Works, Countercultural Imaginaries and the Neo-Avant-Garde in Canada and Québec, 1967-1974

Felicity Tayler, Ph. D. in Interdisciplinary Humanities
Concordia University, 2016

Recent exhibitions have redefined conceptualism as a global movement that emerged alongside locally situated experiences of national liberation movements, New Left social activism and countercultural world-making. This thesis proposes an art historical term, “conceptual nationalisms,” as a contribution to the historicization of conceptualism as the movement emerged in Canada and Québec. The term retrospectively describes book-works and magazines produced by an overlapping artistic and literary neo-avant-garde, which evince the symbolic value of print media forms during the post-Centennial period (1967-1974). As funding for the arts increased and converged with labour policy in this period, the relationship between state ideology and a conceptualist critique of the art object as a commodity became intrinsically intertwined. Many conceptual book-works and artists’ magazines were produced alongside publications issued by literary small presses, as such, this thesis also recognizes parallels taking place between the linguistic turn in conceptual art and literary movements such as concrete, visual and sound poetry that emphasize the materiality of the signifier in language.

This thesis introduces three primary case studies: Roy Kenzie Kiyooka’s *Transcanada Letters* (Talonbooks, 1975); the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* (Talonbooks, 1972), which parallels the publication of the first three issues of General Idea’s *File* magazine (1972-1989); and a utopian “linguistic space” produced in the early days of Véhicule Art gallery, with reference to several publications including the magazine, *Médiart* (1971-1973), *Quebec underground, 1962-1972* (Éditions Médiart, 1973), and Bill Vazan’s *Contacts* (Véhicule Press, 1973). I also refer to two foundational works: Joyce Wieland’s *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique* (National Gallery of Canada, 1971) and Michael Ondaatje’s long poem, *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems* (House of Anansi, 1970). These case studies draw from a wide range of interdisciplinary thinkers including art historians, theorists of utopian thought and the creation of counterpublics, and scholars of literature and print culture, with particular reference to the national publics documented through the encyclopedic *History of the Book in Canada* project.

Combining visual analysis, bibliographic and archival methods with research-creation, this thesis argues that works of conceptual nationalisms arise from countercultural social scenes where a politics of *eros* challenged fixed identity dispositions imposed through media, both domestic and imported. Invoking the affective state Herbert Marcuse described at the time as, “polymorphous perversity,” these case studies disidentify with a sense of nationhood based in shared language, blood or territory, relying instead upon the psychological drive of libido as a universalizing biological trait. The visual symbols underpinning national identity are simultaneously internalized and reinvested with an erotic ambiguity that manifests as Romantic irony and self-parody. Borrowing from Marshall McLuhan’s media theory, one could say that these case studies use communications media to produce a “counter-environment” within the nation. As works of conceptual nationalism, they reflexively engage an aesthetic transformation of the social imaginary that constitutes a nation-state.

Acknowledgements

This doctoral project was made possible through the enthusiasm of my primary supervisor, Dr. Johanne Sloan, whose interest in print culture and countercultural networks allowed me to imagine that I could make an interdisciplinary leap from bibliographer to art historian. Her patience and rigorous editorial and methodological guidance led to a dissertation that stands up to scrutiny as interdisciplinary work. Her ability to call into question aspects of my research, while offering the right amount of encouragement, prompted the reshaping of difficult passages. My thanks, Johanne, for these years of intense pleasure derived from intellectual thought, material and visual stimulation. Two other supervisors have also been important in the development of this project. Dr. Daniel O’Leary provided constant reminders to continue with my method of following “bibliographic tunnels.” Without him, I sincerely doubt I would have ever understood the historical consciousness of the Red Tories. Dr. David Tomas shared time in the studio reflecting on the cultural politics of the local, the material realities of Harper-era national discourse, and what resonance a national framework might have within a post-national contemporary imaginary.

I would also like to acknowledge several scholars, artists and poets who took the time to speak or correspond with me while I developed my thoughts on artistic communities in Vancouver and Montréal: François Morelli, Dr. Rebecca Duclos, Dr. Patrice Loubier, Dr. Barbara Clausen, Dr. Alice Ming Wai Jim, Dr. Monica Kin Gagnon, Dr. Anne Whitelaw, Dr. Martha Langford, Dr. Jeff Derksen, Dr. Roy Miki, Dr. John O’Brian, Henry Tsang, Vincent Trasov, Michael Morris, Daphne Marlatt, Carole Itter, Suzy Lake, Endre Farkas, Stephen Morrissey, Luis Jacob, Romeo Gongora, Lesley Johnstone, Michèle Thériault and Vincent Bonin. I was likewise inspired by the brilliant students of the two undergraduate courses I taught, addressing the tensions between collage practices and copyright regulation, as I worked out my case study methods with them.

Many librarians and archivists provided access to crucial documents: Krisztina Laszlo, Archivist at the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, UBC; Erick Swanick, Head of Special Collections, and Keith Gilbert, Special Collections Assistant, at the W.A.C. Bennett Library, SFU; Caroline Sigouin, Archives Technician; Kate Marley, Visual Resources Facilitator, Digital Images and Slide Library, and Melinda Reinhardt, Fine Arts Librarian, all at Concordia

University; Peter Trepanier, Head of Reference, and Philip Dombowsky, Archivist, at the National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives; Sarah Watson, Director, John Latour and Jessica Hébert, Information Specialists, at the Centre d'information en art contemporain, Artexpte; Melanie O'Brian, Director, SFU Galleries; and Mélanie Rainville, Max Stern Curator at the Galerie Leonard and Bina Ellen.

Friends and colleagues provided intellectual and emotional sustenance, editorial comments and/or, hospitality: Emily Falvey, Pablo Rodriguez, Robin Simpson, Simon Brown, Maryse Larivière, Corinn Gerber, cheyanne turions, François Dion, DJ Fraser, Dr. Mark Clintberg, Tianmo Zhang, Pierre-François Ouellette, Christian Carrière, Dr. Laurie Lamoureux Scholes, Doug Scholes, Alexandra McIntosh, Fortner Anderson, Melissa Bull, Melissa Thompson, Barbara Wisnoski, Raymonde Jodoin, karen elaine spencer, Anne Bertrand, Dr. Karla McManus, Dr. Taien Ng-Chen, Florencia Marchetti, Dr. Mike Rattray, Amber Berson, Saelan Twerdy, Kim Waldron, Jean-Michel Ross, Dr. Denis Longchamps, Meredith Carruthers, Susannah Wesley, Jessica Wyman, Michael Maranda, Stephanie Lemieux, Matt Killen, Johanna HR Foster, Beverly Capper and John Hoyle, Karla Webster and Steve Gill, Melanie Tayler and Chris Bullee, Lindsay Chipman, and Noncedo Khumalo.

This research benefitted from being included in several SSHRC-funded projects that led to presentations at conferences and publication. These contexts also helped me to see how my work on countercultural social formations and counterpublics had wider purpose: Dr. Johanne Sloan's study of "Networked Art Histories;" Dr. Jason Camlot and Dr. Darren Wershler's digital humanities project, "SpokenWeb;" Tomasz Neugebauer and Corina MacDonald were colleagues on a project to visualize bibliographic data in the e-Artexpte open-access repository; Olivier Charbonneau and Prem Sooriyakumar were colleagues on a Knight Foundation-funded prototype project to distribute independently-produced video games through public libraries. My studies were otherwise enabled through sources of funding including the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Graduate School of Concordia University. Creative residencies and curatorial work were supported by the Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec, the Canada Council for the Arts, and the Brenda and Jamie Mackie Fellowship, Banff Centre for the Arts.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to Christopher McLeod who has been a reassuring presence throughout all the joys and challenges of writing this dissertation, and to Dr. Robert McLeod for his understanding of what it takes to complete doctoral studies. This thesis is dedicated to my beloved Daimon, so named after the inner force that inspires me to action. I am also thankful for my multifaceted families, from whom childcare and loving kindness were derived.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
Chapter I: Introduction	1
Contentious concepts: Nationhood, national policy, nation, nationalisms	10
Countercultural nationalisms, conceptual nationalisms	17
Conceptual nationalisms, Conceptualism in Canada	31
Imprinting utopias in words	45
Mapping conceptual nationalisms	58
Chapter II : Trans-Canada Conceptual Art Trips	60
Unimaginable nations and poetic communities	64
Tapes, moving mirrors, projectors, strobe, dancers, and often all at once	76
National ambitions	86
A heart's geography	96
When is the nation a useful form for the politics of <i>eros</i> ?	107
Chapter III: Why Not CANADADA?	109
An imaginary elsewhere	113
Erotic Canadian cartographies	122
Camp patriotism	140
Primitivist post-national "tribal" identities	145
Gender bending and inverted ethnicity models	154
Why not Canadada?	161
Chapter IV: No-Place for Linguistic Therapy	170
Transcultural counterpublics for "free" spaces	174
Québécois identity at a cosmic level	184
Communication from no-place	194
Faulty parallelism: Countercultural forms and national publics	199
<i>Ti-Pop</i> is Brother André's Heart	204
Rituals of the press	212
Chapter V : Future imperfect	226
Neo-liberal enterprise or, nostalgia for a national public sphere?	234
Bibliography	249
Audio and video sources	272
Archives and Collections	272
Illustrations	273
Annex	309

List of Figures

- Figure 1. “National Pavilions” U.R.S.S / U.S.S.R and Place d’Afrique / Africa Place and “Private Pavilion” Les Indiens du Canada / Indians of Canada. Pages from the Expo 67 Official Guide Officiel (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition; McLean-Hunter, 1967), 146-147, 182-183, 20.5 x 28 cm, open..... 273
- Figure 2. “ Le Train de la Confédération / Confederation Train” and “Les Caravanes / Confederation Caravans” Pages from the Expo 67 Official Guide Officiel (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition; McLean-Hunter, 1967), 308-309, 311, 20.5 x 28 cm, open. Photograph of crowds from Pierre Berton, 1967: The Last Good Year (Toronto: Doubleday, 1997), np..... 274
- Figure 3. Print culture’s symbolic value in the expression of national anxieties: Image and caption from a volume of the McLelland & Stewart Canadian Centennial Library, captions were written by Pierre Burton and Ken Lefolii. William Kilbourne, *The Making of the Nation* (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1965), 91. 21 x 28 cm..... 275
- Figure 4. Canada as a utopian destination in the countercultural imaginary: Marshall McLuhan reposes in his office at University of Toronto next to a poster of beat poet, Alan Ginsberg. Pages from Pierre Berton, 1967: The Last Good Year (Toronto: Doubleday, 1997), 266-267. 276
- Figure 5. Popular aphorisms explaining media counter-environments from the pages of Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Media is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (Toronto, New York: Bantam Books, 1967), np. 18 x 21 cm, open..... 277
- Figure 6. “The Creation of a Shaman.” Two page spread from Joyce Wieland, *True Patriot Love/Véritable Amour Patriotique* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1971), np. 26 x 31 cm, open..... 278
- Figure 7. Wieland’s countercultural nationalism reinvests the painter, Tom Thomson, with visionary powers. Two page spread from Joyce Wieland, *True Patriot Love/Véritable Amour Patriotique* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1971), np. 26 x 31 cm, open. 278
- Figure 9. “Un nouveau Parti-Pris” editorial and table of contents, advocating for Québec independence following a model of “socialisme décolonisateur” (socialism and decolonization). *Parti Pris* 5, no 1 (September, 1967), 19 x 24 cm. 279
- Figure 10. A tract from a Marxist-Leninist student group, reprinted in *Mainmise* 2 (December 1971) circumvented censorship by the police. The revolutionary rhetoric, which sees psychedelic drugs and art happenings in Québec as symptoms of American cultural imperialism, diverges from the magazine’s usual celebration of Québécois as active participants within North American countercultures. 18.5 x 25 cm, open. . 270
- Figure 11. The magazine’s usual celebration of Québécois as active participants within North American countercultures devoted to utopian imaginaries. *Mainmise* 2 (December 1971), 186-187. 18.5 x 25 cm, open. 280
- Figure 12. Appropriated images and textual references to Billy the Kid: an etching from the cover of the *Five Cent Wide Awake Library*, a “dime novel” series dating from 1881, and dialogue transcribed from a 1969 comic book, *Billy the Kid and the Princess*. 22.5 x16.5 cm, open. The cover reproduces of Edward Muybridge’s photographic sequences of moving objects, “Pandora, jumping a hurdle, saddled, rider nude.” Michael Ondaatje, *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: The Left-Handed Poems* 2nd ed. (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1970). 22.5 x 16.5 cm..... 281
- Figure 13. Front and back cover illustration of Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters* (Talonbooks, 1975), 22 x 28 cm closed, 46 x 28 cm open. 282
- Figure 14. *Pacific Nation* 2 (1969) cover illustration by Michael Morris. 16 x 24 cm. 282
- Figure 15. Page 2 and 3 of the 18-page photoseris, “Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove (1971),” reproduced in *Transcanada Letters*, 46 x 28 cm. 283
- Figure 16. One of five xerographic illustration by Roy Kiyooka included in Dorothy Livesay’s book of poems, *The Unquiet Bed* (Ryerson Press, 1967), 38-39. 23.5 x 16 cm 283
- Figure 17. Double-page spread from the exhibition catalogue, *Roy Kiyooka: 25 Years* (Vancouver Art Gallery, 1975) showing reproductions from *StoneDGloves* (Coach House Press, 1970) next to a photo series

documenting the installation of Abu Ben Adam's Vinyl Dream at Expo '70, Osaka, Japan. 22 x 28 cm, open.....	284
Figure 18. Double-page spread from <i>StoneDGloves</i> (Coach House Press, 1970), 23 x 34 cm, open.....	284
Figure 19. Dialogic consciousness visualized across a page from Roy Kiyooka's "letters purporting to be abt tom Thomson" <i>artscanada</i> 24, no. 1, 164/165 (February/March 1972), 29-30.....	285
Figure 20. "Portrait of my Mother and Grandfather" reproduced in <i>Transcanada Letters</i> , 15 x 20 cm. .	286
Figure 21. "Opal, Alberta: Early '40s" reproduced in <i>Transcanada Letters</i> , 16.5 x 23 cm. Note the show-through of ink between pages.	286
Figure 22. Page 4 and 5 of the 18-page photoseries, "Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove (1971)," reproduced in Roy K. Kiyooka, <i>Transcanada Letters</i> , 46 x 28 cm, open.....	287
Figure 23. Page 6 and 7 of the 18-page photoseries, "Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove (1971)," reproduced in Roy K. Kiyooka, <i>Transcanada Letters</i> , 46 x 28 cm, open.....	287
Figure 24. Detail from the photoseries, "Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove (1971) reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, Roy Kiyooka: 25 Years, 15 x 21 cm.....	288
Figure 25. "Halifax / Vancouver Exchange" reproduced in <i>Transcanada Letters</i> , 23 x 28 cm.	288
Figure 26. Cover of <i>Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory</i> (Talonbooks, 1972) and of <i>File</i> (vol. 1, no. 1, 15 April 1972), "Mr. Peanut Issue."	289
Figure 27. "Image Bank took the idea of an Image Directory from this listing (of gay bars) sent to Johnson, altered and returned by Johnson to Image Bank" caption for an image of the listing reproduced in Ray Johnson: <i>How Sad I am Today... Edited by Scott Watson</i> (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, University of British Columbia, 1999), [152].....	289
Figure 28. Collages for Michael Morris, <i>The Problem of Nothing</i> , 1970. Reproduced in <i>Letters: Michael Morris & Concrete Poetry</i> (Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2015), 76.....	290
Figure 29. Images of Michael Morris preparing for the Image Bank Postcard Show, reproduced alongside letters exchanged with General Idea featured in <i>White Pelican</i> 2, no 1 (Winter 1972), 32-33.....	290
Figure 30. "Little Hot Stove League Minutes" and image of the New Era Social Club reproduced in the <i>West Coast Issue</i> of <i>IS</i> magazine 12/13 (1973), np.	291
Below, covers of <i>IS</i> 12/13 (1973) a double issue edited by Victor Coleman and George Bowering, featuring West Coast writing and art associated with Tish and Intermedia scenes. Photographs by Slim Flowers (Gerry Gilbert) feature Mr. Peanut (Vincent Trasov); Candy Man (Robert Fones) and Art Rat (Gary Lee-Nova). 30.5 x 22 cm, open.....	291
Figure 31. Mushroom Festival, October 1969, Robert's Creek. Available from <i>The Intermedia Catalogue</i> , 2009. <i>The Michael de Courcy Archive</i> , http://intermedia.vancouverartinthesixties.com/1969/133	292
Figure 32. "Marilyn Monroe filming 'River of No Return,' Banff, Alberta – Summer of 1954 – photo by Flakey" caption for the image reproduced in the <i>Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory</i> , 7 x 9.5 cm.	292
Figure 33. Film still from "River of No Return," (1954) Available from: http://www.amc.com/talk/2008/04/marilyn-monroe-river-of-no-return	292
Figure 34. <i>Children of Hollywood</i> , 1973, <i>Colour Research Series</i> , Morris/Trasov Archive. Mr. Peanut, Jorge Zontal, Granada Gazelle, and Flakey Rosehips, posing "on the set" at Babyland beside a copy of <i>Children of Hollywood</i> (McCauley, 1929), a melodrama written by Phyllis Gordon Demarest. Available from: http://michaelmorris.ca/index.cfm?PageNum_rsDetail=89&pg=detail&series=102	293
Figure 35. "Light-On Babeland. Photo – Sally Peanut" caption for the image reproduced in the <i>Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory</i> , 10 x 14.5 cm.	293
Figure 36. <i>Lake Yogo</i> , 1972, <i>Colour Research Series</i> , Morris/Trasov Archive. Available from: http://michaelmorris.ca/index.cfm?PageNum_rsDetail=89&pg=detail&series=102	293
Figure 37. "Brazil's Suyá Indians Discover the Outside World" caption for the image reproduced in the <i>Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory</i> , 9.5 x 16 cm. Note Image Request attributed to Doris Shadbolt on right-hand page.....	294

Figure 38. <i>Tribalism in the Global Village</i> , from the pages of Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, <i>The Media is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects</i> (Toronto, New York: Bantam Books, 1967), np. 18 x 21 cm, open.	294
Figure 39. “A borderline case – General Idea” caption for the image reproduced in the Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory, 11.5 x 17.5 cm. Note Image Requests from General Idea on right-hand page.	295
Figure 40. “Jorge sans girdle – evidence of bodybinding” and “Jorge avec girdle – evidence of bodybinding” captions for images reproduced in the Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory, each 9 x 14 cm.	295
Figure 41. “Torch – Borderline Studios,” (9 x 11.5 cm) and “Star Bondage” (11 x 14 cm) captions for images reproduced in the Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory.	296
Figure 42. Toronto tabloids: “17-Year-Old Queer In ‘Drag’ Dared Proposition Officer!” TAB, January 4, 1969. Available from: http://canadianlesbianandgayarchives.tumblr.com/post/93074224106/from-the-toronto-tabloids-17-year-old-queer-in	296
Figure 43. Ray Johnson’s response to the Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory. reproduced in Ray Johnson: <i>How Sad I am Today...</i> Edited by Scott Watson. (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, University of British Columbia, 1999), 26.	297
Figure 44. Evidence of cross-border censorship shared in a letter sent to Gary Lee-Nova’s “Dead Letter Funeral” event. This correspondence event was announced through Glenn Lewis’ New York Correspondence Dance School in September 1972. Image reproduced in the West Coast Issue of IS magazine (12/13, 1973), np. 16 x 22 cm.	297
Figure 45. Anna Banana, “Eat a Banana” photographs collected via image request, reproduced in the West Coast Issue of IS magazine (12/13, 1973). Carol Fisher (Itter) contributed a poem to the same issue in the form of a conceptual list, possibly written while in New York city after the Halifax/Vancouver Exchange. 30.5 x 11 cm, each page.	298
Figure 46. Pages from Carol Itter’s self-published artists’ book, which weaves the experience of motherhood into the quotidian experience of other relationships (good and bad) formed in the coastal forest setting of Babyland. 28 x 22 cm, each page.	298
Figure 47. “Soft core surrealism” caption for the image reproduced in the Image Bank International Image Exchange Directory, np. 15 x 12 cm.	299
Figure 48. Paul Henry, 1972, <i>Colour Research Series</i> , Morris/Trasov Archive, Available from: http://michaelmorris.ca/index.cfm?PageNum_rsDetail=46&pg=detail&series=102	299
Figure 49. Front and back cover of William Vazan’s <i>Contacts</i> (Véhicule Press, 1973), 36 x 54 cm, open.	300
Figure 50. Front and back cover of <i>Médiart 5</i> (April 1972), 28 x 43 cm, open.	301
Figure 51. Cover of Volume 1 and Volume 2 of <i>Quebec underground, 1962-1972</i> . Yves Robillard, ed. (Éditions Médiart, 1973). 20.5 x 20 cm.	301
Figure 52. Pop culture resonance of Casa Loma, chosen site for exhibitions organized by the GRAAV and Normand Thériault, which often included members of Véhicule Art. <i>Médiart 17</i> (1973), 18. 28 x 43 cm, open.	301
Figure 53. Photographs of Véhicule Art under renovation printed in <i>Médiart 9</i> (September 1972), D2, D7. 28 x 43 cm, open.	302
Figure 54. “Playmate of the Month” in <i>Médiart 8</i> (July 1972), D2-D3. 28 x 43 cm, open.	302
Figure 55. Publicity for “Mamankécésâ” an exhibition of the erotic at the Groupe Média gallery, 276 Sherbrooke ouest, 16 May-16 June 1973. <i>Médiart 16</i> (April/May 1973), 30-31. 28 x 43 cm, open.	303
Figure 56. “Danielle Vazan... Rawdon, Quebec... Nathalie Vazan” and “Image bank, Vancouver” pages from <i>Contacts</i> , 36 x 27 cm, each page.	303
Figure 57. Image of André Major, Gérald Godin, Claude Jasmin, Jacques Renaud, Laurent Girouard, Paul Chamberlain [c. 1962] reproduced in the “Parti-Pris et Ti-Pop” section of <i>Québec underground</i> , Vol. 1, 94-95. 20.5 x 40 cm, open.	304

- Figure 58. A translation of the complete, unedited transcription of a talk given by Marshall McLuhan at the XIème Congrès extraordinaire de l'Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art, 23 August 1970, taking place at the National Art Centre, Ottawa. *Mainmise 1* (October 1970). 140-159. 18.5 x 25 cm, open. 304
- Figure 59. Façade of the Librarie Tranquille, 69 Sainte Catherine Street West. Reproduced in *Entre l'auteur et le lecteur : l'archive* (Université de Sherbrooke, Service des bibliothèques et archives, 2015), 35. . 305
- Figure 60. "Alain Badiou et l'esthétique marxiste" caption for an image reproduced in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972. Vol. 1*. Yves Robillard, ed. (Éditions Médiart, 1973), 256-257..... 305
- Figure 61. Images of Micheline in Frank Vitale's *Hitchhike: Montreal/Jacksonville; Montreal/New York*, (Véhicule Press, 1973), np. 23 x 35 cm. 306
- Figure 62. Arno Mermelstein, "Maid in Canada," *Beaux-Arts Special Pornography Issue* (1973), 38-39, Published by Tom Dean on the press at Véhicule Art. 28 x 43 cm, open. 307
- Figure 63. Publicity for *Sound as a Visual/Visual as Sound* printed next to publicity for the launch of *Quebec Underground* at Casa Loma. *Médiart 15* (March/April 1973), 26. 307
- Figure 64. Cover of Claudia Lapp's *Dakini* (1974) published as part of a series issued by Allan Bealy under the imprint, Eldorado Editions. Photograph by Bealy. 22.5 x 16 cm, closed. 308

“Accounts of these developments have lingered primarily as a kind of whispered history circulated among artists and writers in ‘alternative’ publications”

– Introduction, Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965-1980

Chapter I: Introduction

This thesis proposes that an art historical category of “conceptual nationalisms” would be a useful contribution to the discussion of how various strains of Canadian nationalism formed a common reference point for an artistic and literary neo-avant-garde active in the post-Centennial period (1967-1974). A combination of conceptual strategies and print media forms allowed artists and writers to engage with nationalist discourse and national symbols as the cultural codes which determined inclusion and exclusion from nationhood. The case studies discussed in the following chapters can be understood to reflect various countercultural positions; however, the challenges they pose to an official discourse of Canadian nationalism do not explicitly manifest as identification with a group excluded from a nationally-defined body politic. Rather, my case studies offer their reader a complex experience of identification which reflects the multiple modes through which the related concepts of “nation,” “nationhood” and “national identity” signify across print media. Instead of proposing an outright negation of the nation-state, works of conceptual nationalisms imaginatively engage the reader in the affective process by which inclusion or exclusion from cultural groups is experienced, that is, as an internalized response to external linguistic structures and cultural codes.

Works of conceptual nationalism do not always manifest as a conscious political statement from an artist. Often the case studies discussed in this thesis were perceived to be “apolitical.” Throughout this thesis I will use the term “conceptual nationalism” to describe a heuristic category, which arises as an affective response to reading these case studies in propinquity. In this sense, the book-works and artists’ magazines discussed here are a curated selection that has been assembled from a larger archive of nationally-bound print culture production. As will be seen, the anxiety over a unified Canadian national identity during the Centennial period is the result of the appropriation and

reinvention of a national mythology over time by competing official discourses.¹ In a similar manner, a plurality of conceptual nationalisms arise in the 1970s as artists' created works that repossess, reinterpret, and distort the tropes of official discourse through the filter of their personal experience. Works of conceptual nationalism therefore become recognizable as such through the act of reading, as the process of decoding these national symbols trigger a sense of nostalgic recognition. This aesthetic experience leads to critical reflection upon major public events of the twentieth century, as they were worked out through activities historically considered to belong within the realm of private life.

This thesis introduces three primary case studies, which I argue are compelling examples of works of conceptual nationalism. Before addressing those case studies, Chapter I introduces key terms, theoretical frameworks and methodologies, which I will use throughout my discussion of the case studies, while I also refer to two foundational works: Joyce Wieland's² book-work *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique* (National Gallery of Canada, 1971) and Michael Ondaatje's long poem, *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems* (House of Anansi, 1970).³ Chapter II, "Conceptual Art Trips" focuses on Roy Kenzie Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* (Talonbooks, 1975). *Transcanada Letters* reproduces approximately 250 items of correspondence written 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 are arranged in a grid. Kiyooka is *Nisei*, or second-generation Japanese Canadian.⁴ Scholarly discussion of this work has mainly arisen within the field of CanLit, with a focus upon the complexities of Asian diasporic experience in relation to Canadian citizenship and national culture. I build on this scholarship, while emphasizing his experience of geographically dispersed countercultures during the period in question. Alongside the development of his poetic practice, Kiyooka was renowned for his work as

¹ Ian McKay, *Rebels, Reds, Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005), 87. McKay argues that this unstable national identity has allowed the Left to have greater influence on national policy.

² Joyce Wieland (b. Toronto, 1931 – d. 1998).

³ Michael Ondaatje (b. Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1943-).

⁴ Roy Kenzie Kiyooka (b. Moosejaw, Saskatchewan, 1926 – d. Vancouver, 1994).

a visual artist, which is why the gridded photographic series, *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove* (1971), first published as a series in *Transcanada Letters*, was recently included within a major exhibition on conceptual art in Canada. This prompts me to argue here that *Transcanada Letters*, as a whole, is a conceptual book-work. Kiyooka uses the book as a serial form, reflexively moving between the semiotic registers of image and text as they are ordered within a typographic grid. These formal strategies do not use print media as a neutral carrier for textual content, rather they call attention to the book as a material form, which is imbued with ideological properties. Furthermore, the addresses and geographical markers contained within each letter map out a landscape that moves between a conceptual “aesthetics of information” and the “localism” of projective verse (both terms will be further elaborated in Chapter II). These geographical markers, alongside citations of a variety of media (poetry, film, television, painting, art history books, media theory) reveal that Kiyooka’s poetic “locus” is coordinated in relation to multiple national territories, multiple urban sites, and to representations of place within communications media. Frequent references to Marshall McLuhan, alongside symbols of Canadian nationalism such as Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven, suggest that this conceptual mapping is an extension or reinvention of the Euro-Canadian landscape genre, so that the book produces a McLuhanesque “counter-environment” (a term which is explained below). The disjunction between the “imaginary” world mapped in the pages of the books and the fragmented references to “real” geo-political sites is one quality that makes *Transcanada Letters* a work of conceptual nationalism.

Chapter III, “Where is Canadada?” expands upon the real and imaginary geographies mapped out in the pages of *Transcanada Letters* by showing where they overlap with the addresses listed in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* (Talonbooks, 1972), purportedly published in a place named “Canadada.” Image Bank was a collective project, begun in Vancouver in 1969 by Michael Morris, Vincent Trasov, and Gary Lee-Nova.⁵ Using the postal system, Image Bank collected, collaged and re-circulated images appropriated from mass-market magazines while based out of an apartment that Morris and Trasov shared as lovers. They also made this private

⁵ Michael Morris (b. Saltdean, England, 1942-) Vincent Trasov (b. Edmonton, 1947-) and Gary Lee-Nova (b. Toronto, Ontario 1943-).

correspondence activity public through exhibitions in galleries and museums and by republishing content in books and magazines. Their *Directory* is an alphabetical listing of over 270 names and addresses. Each listing is accompanied by a short series of linguistic statements which function as an “image request” for pictures desired by the person named in the listing. Images are printed on the left-hand pages, seeming to complement the textual requests. In this chapter, I pay attention to the publication of this *Directory* in 1972, which parallels the first three issues of General Idea’s⁶ *File* magazine (1972-1989). Both book-work and artists’ magazine have been recognized as examples of the hybrid nature of conceptualism in Canada, combining strategies associated with Conceptual art, Fluxus and Pop. The first issue of *File*, featuring one of the members of Image Bank on the cover, was also included in a major exhibition, which repositioned conceptual art as a global movement. As a work of conceptual nationalism, the *Directory* reflects a post-Centennial national imaginary defined by the connective potential of communications media. The book maps out connections between people, places and concepts through the metaphor of information flows, which is also in keeping with these artists’ sense of avant-garde artistic community, as it intersected with various local and international countercultural movements. The imaginary space, which these artists’ referred to as “Canadada,” therefore materializes through the *Directory* as an imagined community formed through an exchange of mediated images, which provoke desire and disidentifications in a counterpublic of readers. More specifically, these disidentifications arise in response to the circulation of the national symbols of both Canada and the United States. The *Directory*, for instance, catalogues a network of correspondents and their shared appropriation of archetypes from Hollywood film or pop culture magazines. This allows for a playful exploration of gendered stereotypes of masculinity, femininity, beauty and domesticity; and most significantly, the relationship between media representation, gendered stereotypes and heteronormative expressions of sexuality, which ensure the social reproduction of national cultures.

⁶ Also an artists’ collective functioning under a corporate name, General Idea included, AA Bronson (Michael Tims) b. Vancouver, 1946 - ; Felix Partz (Ronald Gabe) b. Winnipeg, 1945- d. Toronto, 1994; Jorge Zontal (Slobodan Saia-Levy) b. Parma, Italy 1944- d. Toronto, 1994.

Chapter IV “Linguistic Therapy” discusses conceptual book-works, poetry chapbooks and magazines published by Montréal-based Véhicule Press and Éditions Médiart between 1972 and 1974. This period marks the moment between the federal imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970 and the passing of the Official Language Act (Bill 22) in 1974, which legislated French as the language of public life in Québec. The two previous chapters have focused on single case studies of conceptual book-works in order to map out a network of people, places and ideas, which produce counter-national imaginaries shared between a counterpublic of readers. This chapter connects the counterpublics from the two earlier chapters to a group of publications, gallery exhibitions and events, which complicate the narrative of “two solitudes” determining most histories of Canada and Québec in this period. Rather than reinforcing the mythology of two founding peoples that informs the bilingualism of the federal Official Languages Act (1969), these books and events evoke a utopian “linguistic space” where imperfect cross-cultural translation occurs alongside polymorphous challenges to the gender roles and kinship structures which sustain national cultures.

I address books and magazines such as *Médiart* (1971-1973) and *Quebec underground* (Éditions Médiart, 1973) alongside Bill Vazan’s⁷ *Contacts* (Véhicule Press, 1973), Frank Vitale’s⁸ *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York* (Véhicule Press, 1973), and Tom Dean’s⁹ *Beaux-Arts Magazine* (1972-1973), Allan Bealy’s¹⁰ *DaVinci Magazine* (1973-1979) and Eldorado Editions (1974). Throughout these publications, there are common preoccupations with countercultural themes and linguistic communication. Also shared are structuralist models that understand the link between language and national culture to be produced through a process of semiotic identification. In this respect, the disjunctive combination of recycled images and text in *Quebec underground* contributes to its status as a foundational document for a movement of *autogestion*, or self-management, in the arts in Québec. Likewise, the exhibitions *Brother André’s Heart* (1973), *Sound as a Visual/Visual as Sound – Le Visuel comme le son/le*

⁷ William Vazan (b. Toronto, 1933-).

⁸ Frank Vitale (b. Jacksonville, Florida, 1945-).

⁹ Tom Dean (b. Markdale, Ontario, 1947-).

¹⁰ Allan Beally (b. Montréal, 1951 -).

son comme le visuel (1973) organized by Suzy Lake¹¹ and Allan Bealy, and a performance event by Roy Kiyooka, *Poetry/Slides/Video* (1973), reveal that the self-managed “free” space cultivated at Véhicule Art works reflexively, like a language. It is a space through which spoken languages circulate as “parole,” but in relation to buildings, histories, streets, signage, printed pages and information technologies that also work together as overlapping signifying systems, or “langue.” For these artists, identities and social roles come to be understood as more than boxes on a symbolic administrative grid. Véhicule’s linguistic space therefore works as a kind of counterpublicity to the way that language, territory and social identity are linked in official bilingualism or provincial legislation protecting the status of French as the language of public life.

These three primary case studies were of interest to me initially because I perceived a bibliographic pattern arising from shared author and publisher relationships, as well as intertextual references within the content of the books. I wanted to investigate what kind of national imaginaries this citational pattern offered for a contemporary readership, which was explicitly referenced within the publications themselves. While determining the order of the chapters, another interesting dimension to the case studies arose, specifically, as the sequencing of the chapters transitions between models of artistic agency in this period – the primacy of single authorship and the belief in an existential human condition is eschewed in favour of participatory, collaborative, and appropriative modes which appear familiar from the perspective of present day cut/copy and paste digital culture. Roy Kiyooka’s *Transcanada Letters* uses correspondence as a record of past connections between himself and others. His letters explore identity as it is produced through a network of linguistic relations, but ultimately reaffirms the presence of his body and his authorial agency. The Image Bank *Directory*, on the other hand, uses correspondence as a form of indirect speculation. The emphasis is placed upon who might be attracted to their messaging through the postal system; as such, the bodily presence and associated desires driving their activity is coded and covert. The identities produced through the *Directory* are dispersed, operating as a simultaneous parody of countercultural social formations and of corporate structures, both of which use communications technologies to solicit desire, thereby erasing geo-political boundaries

¹¹ Suzy Lake (b. Detroit, 1949-).

and attendant divisions between public and private experience. Finally, a discussion of the linguistic space produced at Véhicule Art allows for a reflection upon tensions that arise when the artistic agency, desire and drive of individuals is negotiated in relation to the demands, and public perception, of a legally-defined corporate structure. Identities are formed through networks of associative belonging that do not always align with the rights-based legislative framework determining national cultures.

Chapter V concludes with a summary of common features shared by these case studies as works of conceptual nationalisms, drawing upon Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's discussion of the shifting status of the nation-state in an increasingly globalized world, *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging*.¹² With a view towards future areas of research, I question whether the strategy of appropriation, the diffusion of authorship, and the constitution of counterpublics underlying the social utopianism of conceptual nationalism correspond to the principles informing a contemporaneous national movement advocating for artists' rights in Canada and Québec. This paradoxical question can be unpacked with reference to Gregory Sholette's recent argument that a "politics (and aesthetics) of production" was enacted in the 1970s through conceptualist strategies of appropriation and mimesis of power structures. Sholette further argues, that this politics of production can be revived to generate counterpublicity within post-national digital networks. Drawing upon Sholette, I conclude that the politics of *eros* practiced by artists and writers in the 1970s posed certain challenges to the ideals of the public sphere, which upheld a post-Centennial national imaginary. Nonetheless, when looking back at the way these conceptual nationalisms constituted their counterpublics through a complex engagement with gender, sexuality and ethnicity, questions arise regarding the unfinished business of social utopianisms arising from sexual liberation and libidinally-driven sensations of associative belonging. Though the dematerialized, process-based strategies of conceptualism lend themselves to a destabilizing of identity (both of people and of material objects), those

¹² Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging* (New York: Saegull Books, 2007).

acts of appropriation that enable the diffusion of authorship or dematerialization of art objects remain dependent upon claims of intellectual property.¹³

Finally, an Annex titled “Feeling Historical through Research-Creation” is appended to the end of these chapters, which accounts for a body of studio-based work that I have produced alongside my scholarly research. My creative practice operates on a continuum bridging curatorial activities and studio-based work that engages directly with some of the national histories, conceptual strategies and material techniques I have discussed through the scholarly fields of art history and print culture or history of the book. This Annex takes the form of a personal scrapbook of memories and affective moments that have surfaced as I have been working through my archival research and scholarly writing. I appropriate this form of the scrapbook as an homage to the material techniques of the case studies that I discuss in this thesis, but also as a means to reflect upon the ambivalence which was provoked by my scholarly reading of their utopian narratives.

The Annex reflects upon five projects with intersecting themes that were publicly exhibited between 2010 and 2015: *Constellations & Correspondences: Networking Between Artists, 1970-1980*;¹⁴ *Network Consciousness/La Conscience du réseau*;¹⁵ *Vous avez posé plusieurs problèmes à la fois et je voudrais essayer de les étaler un peu...*;¹⁶ and *119m Above Sea Level/119m Au-dessus de niveau de la mer*.¹⁷ One final project, provisionally titled *Reader reception*, remains in process in the studio as I approach the end of this thesis.¹⁸ My practice is sometimes undertaken as part of a collective, the Centre de recherche urbain de Montréal (CRUM); in this respect, the decision to pursue

¹³ Marcus Boone, *In Praise of Copying* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010), 224.

¹⁴ 15 September – 24 December, 2010 National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON; 16 March – 26 May, 2012, Artex, Montréal, QC.

¹⁵ 01 November, 2013 – 01 May, 2014 Vidéographe, Vithèque, www.vitheque.com; 12 November, 2013 Galerie d'art contemporain SBC Gallery of Contemporary Art, Montréal, QC; 19 February, 2014 Residency Unlimited, Brooklyn, NY; 8 February – 8 March 2014 Art Metropole, Toronto, ON.

¹⁶ 5 September – 11 October, 2014, *Just Watch Me*, Galerie d'art Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Montréal, QC.

¹⁷ 6 December 2014 – 14 February, 2015, Galerie d'art contemporain SBC Gallery of Contemporary Art, Montréal, QC.

¹⁸ One component of this larger work was recently included in *La Nouvelle Biennale*, 23 April – 4 June 2016 Galerie Margot Eleanor Ross Art Actuel and Galerie Thomas Henry Ross Art Contemporain, Montréal, QC. The exhibition is a sophisticated parody of larger international biennials within a commercial gallery structure, and an implicit use of aesthetics to generate counterpublicity to the programming of the BNLMTL 2016.

doctoral studies was a deliberate engagement with the model of single-authorship upon which the tradition of scholarship in the Humanities is based. The decision to work within a program that encourages an interdisciplinary framework, on the other hand, reflected my desire to explore a slippage between epistemological categories, and by extension, intellectual identities. Whereas academic writing relies upon logic, rhetorical strategies, and a citational apparatus that is designed to make an argument as explicit as possible for the reader, the research-creation component of this doctoral work works through free-association generating indeterminate affective spaces through appropriation, allusion, innuendo, metaphor, and expanded visual and tactile sensation. Ambiguity and intellectual ellipses are used as aesthetic strategies that encourage the reader to generate their own semantic meanings. In this sense, the tension between implicit and explicit identities running throughout my case studies is also present in the way that I oscillate between the performance of scholarly art historical and print culture methods such as archival research or expository argumentation, and conceptual strategies which engage with fragments of language, image and text in order to trigger an aesthetic experience that can transform repressed memory fragments and utopian desires into conscious thought.¹⁹ Sven Spieker has explained that these modes of archival research and conceptualist strategies are analogous, and argues for a relationship between two distinct sets of traces – one visible and one invisible in order to account for forces which cannot be directly observed.²⁰

Furthermore, the Annex stands in as a sign of work that physically exists elsewhere (in my studio at the time of this writing, but also in past exhibitions); following Jacques Derrida, this supplement works through a “structure of substitution, the articulation of desire.”²¹ This means that this thesis will exist within digital networks, its potentially global circulation and visibility enabled by the technology of open access repository platforms; yet at the same time, the art objects exist on a physical site. In this

¹⁹ This mutability is in keeping with Lorna Brown’s discussion of the “multiple public identities, a categorical impurity” which is encouraged within artist-run culture in Canada. “Category Drift” *Activating the Archive (ATA)*, Vancouver: Grunt Gallery, 2011, <http://gruntarchives.org/essay-category-drift-lorna-brown.html>, (accessed 31 May 2016).

²⁰ Sven Spieker, *The Big Archive: Art From Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2008), 37.

²¹ Jacques Derrida, *On Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 163.

sense, my production of knowledge is located both “here” and “elsewhere,” and as it has been supported at various stages by several funding agencies in Canada and Québec it becomes a work of conceptual nationalism, as I have defined it in this thesis. A continuous feeling of intense longing informs the utopian method underlying the practice-based component of my doctoral research. This experience of desire imbues the scholarly art historical and print culture methodologies with an awareness that comes from professional experience in a particular art scene, in which social policy, artistic practice and cultural work form a complex and contradictory network of relations. Like many of my peers, I have worked as both an artist and in a curatorial role in commercial gallery, artist-run gallery and public museum settings; I have also sat on juries and selection committees and have experience managing the collections of art libraries and artists’ archives. The theoretical questions of appropriation, diffusion of authorship, cultural transmission and social imaginaries addressed in this thesis are therefore inextricably linked, for me, to the paradoxes arising from contractual obligations and labour standards set by a national movement for artists’ rights founded in the Centennial year. For instance, it was only in June 2012, part-way through my doctoral studies, that the Copyright Modernization Act (Bill C-11) provided exceptions for parody or satire as “fair dealing” in works of contemporary art that employ strategies of appropriation. This provision juridically defines “art” as an autonomous realm exempt from the economic transactions required in other spheres of daily activities in a way that differs significantly from the context of cultural protectionism within which these case studies of conceptual nationalism were produced.

Contentious concepts: Nationhood, national policy, nation, nationalisms

Post-colonial or decolonizing methodologies are presently the dominant mode of scholarly engagement with questions of how a unified concept of “nationhood” can be challenged by cultural production in Canada. Although one can trace a steady momentum of late-twentieth century cultural activism, exhibitions and scholarship, urgency now arises from the political context and everyday life experience of the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission (2008-2015)²² and Idle No More movement (2012-ongoing). Sovereignty, self-determination and nation-to-nation relations become foremost concerns, to be negotiated between a plurality of Indigenous peoples and the complexity of non-Indigenous populations encompassed within Canadian national borders and legal jurisdiction. I am deeply affected by these methods and debates, as a person living on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehá:ka people of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, as a second-generation Canadian, a naturalized British citizen, and a child who internalized the dreams propelling two referendums on Québec sovereignty. My thesis revisits a historical moment when the term “Indigenous peoples” emerged as a global rallying cry from the American Indian Movement and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood;²³ nonetheless, the case studies I assemble here reflect a media environment in which the term “indigenous” was more widely used to denote the affirmation of a distinct Canadian culture by artists and writers who identified (or counter-identified) with European traditions. For this reason, I look at how decolonization discourse circulated at that particular historical moment, rather than applying decolonial methodology to my case study analysis.

I do, however, draw inspiration from the impact of decolonial methodologies on the disciplinary framework of art history, as outlined in a recent issue of the *Journal of Canadian Art History*. Dominic Hardy’s text resonated with me in particular as he relied upon an imaginative appropriation of terms to move between the two official languages of Canada. This linguistic play reveals the conceptual challenges which arise when decolonial methods are applied to art historical canons extending from the histories of British North America and New France, which still remain incompletely documented in comparison to the cultural production of European nations.²⁴ Hardy’s linguistic

²² The Commission heard from more than 6,000 witnesses, most of whom survived the experience of living in residential schools as students. “Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,” *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, 2015, http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf (accessed 02 18, 2016).

²³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books, 1999), 7.

²⁴ Dominic Hardy, “What does the term ‘settler-colonial art history’ mean to you? What are the opportunities and problems of the method for writing art history in the Canadian context?,” *Journal of Canadian Art History* 25, no. 1 (2014): 181.

destabilization foregrounds the multi-layered dilemma proposed by the historical processes of colonization (and decolonization) in a Canadian context. Descendants of European settlers, alongside immigrants from other areas of the globe, negotiate national identity and national culture in relation to complex histories of displacement and land ownership. This negotiation also occurs with varying degrees of recognition for the sovereignty of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples who struggle to ensure the continuation of languages and cultures that preceded the Conquest (1760) and Canadian Confederation (1867).²⁵

My thesis therefore recognizes that “nationhood,” Canadian or otherwise, emerges from a complex process of symbolic identification.²⁶ On one hand, nationhood can be understood as a historical-social construct of identity dependent upon the political sovereignty of a people and their juridical or economic context, defined according to geopolitical boundaries inscribed through diplomatic negotiation or military conflict. On the other, this legal definition is complicated by identifications more closely resembling an ethnicity model; that is, as commonality is defined through shared traditions, language, kinship or territory that may not reflect the borders of a sovereign state. Benedict Anderson has accordingly described the nation as an “imagined community,” within which national policy, enacted through the standardization of language and content in media, works as an institutional framework upholding a shared process of national identification.²⁷

“Nationalism,” in this sense, is the affective experience of nationhood as it is generated through the mediated circulation and reception of myths. Ernst Cassirer describes this process in linguistic terms as “emotion turned into image” on a symbolic

²⁵ A compelling example of this is the scholarly and community-based work of Val Napoleon, which recognizes the implicit practices of Indigenous law. Napoleon brings attention to those cultural practices which are deeply engrained through generations, and yet, effaced by colonial relations, as she explains Indigenous peoples take these customary practices “for granted and act on their legal obligations without talking about it.” Once recognized (and critiqued), she argues that these decentralized Indigenous legal orders then become powerful forces of change within the cultural institutions of Canadian law, as it is inherited from European traditions. Val Napoleon, *Thinking About Indigenous Legal Orders* (National Centre for First Nations Governance, June 2007), fngovernance.org/ncfng_research/val_napoleon.pdf (accessed 20 April 2016).

²⁶ Susan Petrilli and Augusto Ponzio, *Semiotics Unbounded: Interperetive Routes Through the Open Network of Signs* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 497.

²⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. Ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

register, which leads to conscious and unconscious identifications between an individual and a larger group.²⁸ This process of calling out to a national public, Cassirer argues, can be manipulated. Roland Barthes later took up this premise in his discussion of myths as they circulate through pop-culture genres such as advertising as a “second-order semiological system,” which takes existing signs and turns them into signifiers with other connotative meanings.²⁹ Slavoj Žižek has also more recently discussed nationalism in affective terms as the desire for a stabilized identity, which arises in response to the permanent sense of ambivalence induced by post-industrial consumer-driven economies.³⁰ Furthermore, Žižek observes that the fear of outsiders that serves to reinforce nationalist feelings is a psychic displacement, as the inequalities and dissension of one society is attributed to an excluded group.³¹ This affective dimension is critical to my discussion of conceptual nationalisms as instances of disidentification, rather than as counter-identifications. These terms will be further defined below, but in short, these case studies engage with the symbols of an official national culture because at some level the artist has internalized the values underpinning this national dream. It is precisely the legibility of these official symbols which affords their work visibility in the public sphere, and which creates the conditions for it to circulate as counterpublicity forging alternate national imaginaries by imbuing these official symbols with alternate meanings.

Although conversant with international movements, the neo-avant-garde in Canada evolved within a local context dominated by the 1967 Centennial celebrations, which combined introspective nationalism with cosmopolitan aspirations. The Expo ‘67 World’s Fair, held in Montréal, serves as an extreme example of how Canadian nationalism has been a highly mediated affair. Thematically titled “Man and His World,” Expo ‘67’s expanded field of visual technologies undermined humanist understandings of

²⁸ Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of The State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 43.

²⁹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paladin, 1973), 129.

³⁰ Slavoj Žižek, *Tarrying With The Negative : Kant Hegel And the Critique of Ideology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 216 .

³¹ Slavoj Žižek, 205.

“mankind” as it was intrinsically linked to national consciousness, all the while pointing towards the dream of a universal terrestrial community.³²

Pavilions put national cultures on display, but simultaneously contributed to an experience of the Fair environment as a harmonious internationalist space where conflict occurred only on a symbolic plane. Even as the Cold War continued to escalate through proxy wars, at Expo '67, the competing world-views of the US and Soviet Pavilions clashed only on a symbolic level, echoed by coded references in the Algeria and Cuba Pavilions to revolutionary national liberation movements (fig. 1). Although there was no Vietnam pavilion, the national liberation struggle of North Vietnam was represented unofficially at the Fair by an intergenerational “love in,” which hijacked the official theme of “Youth, Joy and Peace” with speakers such as exiled Vietnamese monk, Thich Nhat Hanh and theorist of intentional anarchist communities, Paul Goodman.³³ Canada, as host of Expo '67, was officially presented as a technologically advanced, urban, cosmopolitan place. Québec, also host to Expo '67 as the Fair took place in Montréal, undermined claims to pan-Canadian unity with a competing sense of nationhood arising around similar aspirations. Disrupting both these narratives of modernity, the Indians of Canada Pavilion was a site of national political organizing between regionally isolated Aboriginal artists who asserted modern, dynamic identities extending from the cultural survival of tribal nations. As Myra Rutherdale and Kim Millar have argued, the Indian Pavilion symbolized “a transitional phase in the history of First Nations’ representation in colonial and national spectacle.”³⁴ Non-Native visitors arriving with a constructed image of how “Indian-ness” worked as a cultural tradition through which modern Canadian society was defined were confronted with photographs depicting scenes of systematic inequity arising from processes of colonization, as text panels declared, “Wars and peace

³² Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, “Introduction: Dusting off the Souvenir,” in *Expo '67: Not Just a Souvenir*, ed. Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, 3-22 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 6.

³³ Nika Rylski, “The Big Peace Party: The Expo Love-In,” *The Ottawa Journal*, August 18, 1967. http://expo67.ncf.ca/expo_67_news_p32.html (accessed 20 January, 2016).

³⁴ Myra Rutherdale and Jim Miller, “It’s Our Country’: First Nation’s Participation in the Indian Pavillion at Expo '67,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 17, no. 2 (2006): 153.

treaties deprived us of our land.”³⁵ For those unable to attend Expo '67, the official dream of Canadian nationhood could be experienced closer to home through pamphlets, posters, books, magazines, film and television programming, but also through participation in regional celebrations taking place across the country; likewise, a visual history recounting events of the past 100 years was distributed to dispersed communities via the Confederation Train and the Centennial Caravan (a convoy of semi-trailer trucks) (fig. 2).

This proliferation of domestically produced messaging – whether officially patriotic or radically dissenting – must be understood within the particular historical context of Canada as a net importer of media. Until the 1960s, American and British firms published thousands of books each year, Canada only a few dozen literary and trade titles. Readers read three foreign books to every one published by a Canadian – a situation reflected as well in the consumption of magazines, television, radio and film.³⁶ During World War II, Québec had become a world centre for French-language publishing, but many of these publishing houses went out of business until a new generation emerged in the 1960s, as the voices of the Quiet Revolution.³⁷ In the wake of the 1951 *Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences* (what became known as the *Massey-Lévesque Report*), policy makers and members of the public increasingly perceived the situation to be hegemonic because it reproduced American images of the world antithetical to a distinct Canadian culture (fig. 3). In the context of the Cold War, investment in culture was aligned with defense spending as a means to secure national borders. As the authors of the *Massey-Lévesque Report* insisted, “We are now spending millions to maintain a national independence which would be nothing but an empty shell without a vigorous and distinctive cultural life.”³⁸

The Canada Council for the Arts was established in 1957 as a response to what had, by then, become a national public concern. Artists, writers and publishers could

³⁵ Quoted in Myra Rutherdale and Jim Miller, “‘It’s Our Country’: First Nation’s Participation in the Indian Pavillion at Expo ‘67,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 17, no. 2 (2006): 160.

³⁶ Paul Litt, “The State and The Book,” in *History of the Book in Canada, Vol. 3, 1918-1980*, 34-45 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 40.

³⁷ Jacques Michon, “Publishing Books in French,” in *The History of the Book in Canada, Vol. 3 1918-1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 199-205 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 202.

³⁸ The *Massey-Lévesque Report* quoted in Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada : The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1947-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 228.

therefore benefit from an established ideological link between Canadian identity, government policy and the arts. In the late 1960s, within the wider geo-political context of the American occupation of Vietnam and widespread countercultural movements, a new generation of artists developed intermedial, performance-based and conceptualist practices with support from the Canada Council for the Arts, and in Québec, with the support of the *Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec* (founded in 1961).³⁹ In the post-Centennial period, the relationship between artists and cultural policy was not only forged at the federal level through the Canada Council, but also through community-based job creation programs, such as the Local Initiatives Program (1971-1976) and Opportunities For Youth (1971-1976). The LIP and OFY were economic programs designed to alleviate disproportionate unemployment in the under-25 demographic, and secondarily, worked to create affective bonds between countercultural movements and national culture.⁴⁰ Although these programs had an impact on the establishment of small presses and artist-run galleries across Canada, only a small portion of these funds were awarded to cultural initiatives (6% in 1973); accordingly Jody Mason has argued that “for the first time in history,” these programs tied national labour policy to cultural initiatives thereby foreshadowing the cultural industries strategies applied to arts management in the following decades.⁴¹ In the early years however, Mason has observed, these programs gave artists a sense of autonomy from standards of “artistic merit” judged by juries of peers at the Canada Council for the Arts, and simultaneously generated a discursive link between artistic activity, national community and socially progressive economic policy.⁴²

³⁹ Anithe de Carvalho argues that the *Rapport d'enquête sur les problèmes constitutionnels* (1956, Rapport Tremblay), which led to the establishment of the *Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec* followed the model of the *Massey-Lévesque Report* in its support of democratic access to high culture forms as a means to counteract the influence of American cultural dominance. Anithe de Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture: Création collective underground au Québec* (Montréal: M Éditeur, 2015), 28.

⁴⁰ Several government reports between the mid-60s and mid-1970s show that these programs were explicitly tied to fostering an affective bond to national unity in a youth demographic alongside goals such as reducing the mobility of youth who were more interested in road tripping experience than employment and using a ‘citizen participation’ model to appeal to the radical democratic politics of New Left movements. For a scholarly study of the history of labour in Canada, including the impact of the LIP and OFY on the arts see Jody Mason, *Writing Unemployment: Worklessness, Mobility, and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Canadian Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 159-196.

⁴¹ Jody Mason, 166.

⁴² Jody Mason, 164-165.

My study closes in 1974 because this year arguably marks the peak of nationalist fervour in the post-Centennial period. The military draft for the Vietnam War ended in 1973, attenuating the symbolic value of Canada as refuge for conscientious objectors. A non-confidence vote triggered a federal election, foreshadowing the negative effects inflation would have in the second half of the 1970s on national cultural policy and related transfers of funding.⁴³ Also in 1974, the Québec Liberals passed Bill 22, making French the official language of the province. The Québec government's refusal of Pierre Elliott Trudeau's vision of a multicultural society within a bilingual framework is a tangible reminder of a mythic structure upholding Canadian federation.⁴⁴ The regional exercise of power demonstrates how the inability to enforce a single unified identity in Canada is consistently reinforced as part of a foundational myth. This myth has shifted in its articulation of cultural difference since Confederation from a bi-racial framework to bi-cultural, bilingual, and since 2006, a bi-national country.⁴⁵ As will be seen in the case studies, the position of Romantic irony assumed by conceptual nationalists arises in response to moments like this when Canadian policy formalized the promises held out by Expo '67 – that of a unified national imaginary based in an ideal of universal cultural harmony – thereby demonstrating the limits of rights-based claims to representation within the political structure of liberal democracy.

Countercultural nationalisms, conceptual nationalisms

Works of conceptual nationalism arise at these horizons of failure of rights-based representation within public life. Although often characterized as anarchistic or “apolitical,” the counterculture adopted a utopian mode of political address which

⁴³ George Woodcock, *Strange Bedfellows: The State and the Arts in Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), 69. Jody Mason, *Writing Unemployment: Worklessness, Mobility, and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Canadian Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 160-162.

⁴⁴ George Woodcock, “A Plea for the Anti-nation,” *The Canadian Forum*, April 1972: 17.

⁴⁵ In 2006, Parliament passed a motion put forth by Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper to recognize Québécois people as a nation within a unified Canadian nation, stating that “les Québécois forment une nation au sein d'un Canada uni.” “La Chambre reconnaît la nation québécoise” Ici Radio Canada, 28 November 2006, <http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelles/politique/2006/11/27/007-vote-nation.shtml> (accessed 15 march 2016)

synthesized politics and culture as a critique of conventional forms of political activism.⁴⁶ As New Left activist, Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos explained at the time, the “psychedelic Left” instead sought to transform individual consciousness as a means of transforming the larger society.⁴⁷ Shifts in consciousness were considered by some to be aligned with class-based militancy; however, distinctions in method could also lead to fractures between New Left and countercultural movements.⁴⁸ As a theorist of the counterculture, Herbert Marcuse proposed that within the social structures of affluent liberal democracies, the libidos of the oppressed social classes were shackled to a fantasy world of commodities which shimmered across the glossy pages and TV screens of mass media.⁴⁹ He therefore explained that the aim to transform consciousness was a “utopian concept of socialism... passing from Marx to Fourier... from realism to surrealism.”⁵⁰ This position differed from the Marxist theory espoused by other factions of the New Left, which regarded culture as a superstructure contingent upon the economic system underlying the society. Instead, Marcuse proposes that a shift in the imaginary could have an effect on “real” social relations. Curiously, Canada sometimes occupied an idealized position in this countercultural imaginary, as can be heard in poet Allen Ginsberg’s observation: “Trudeau is a ‘hippie’ ... sort of a hippie, I hear” (fig. 4).⁵¹ Conceptual nationalisms ironically engage with this perception of Canada (and of Québec) as a utopian alternative.

⁴⁶ Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, ed. Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), xx.

⁴⁷ Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos, “Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement and an Extra-Parliamentary Opposition in Canada,” in *The New Left in Canada*, ed. Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos, 431-151 (Montréal: Our Generation Press; Black Rose Books, 1970), 143.

⁴⁸ Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos defines the “psychedelic Left” as a radical “underground” of artists and poets who are the “brothers and sisters” of revolutionary militants in, “Towards A Revolutionary Youth Movement And An Extra-Parliamentary Opposition in Canada,” in *The New Left in Canada*, ed. Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos, 431-151 (Montréal: Our Generation Press; Black Rose Books, 1970), 143.

⁴⁹ Herbert Marcuse, *Essays on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 10. Marcuse determined in his essay *Repressive Tolerance* (1965) that conventional modes of political action in a liberal democracy served to reinforce forms of government which maintained a dominant class through the illusion of a classless consumer economy.

⁵⁰ Herbert Marcuse, *Essay on Liberation*, rpt. 1969 (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 22.

⁵¹ Allen Ginsberg interviewed by Jack Webster, in “Ginsberg and Webster,” *Georgia Straight*, April 4-10, (1969), 9-12.

To ground some of these claims in an example, I will turn to Joyce Wieland's book-work, *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique*, an exemplary work of conceptual nationalism because she appropriates the icons of Canadian national culture that arise within an archive of personal memory. Wieland then imaginatively reinvests these memory fragments with erotic potential in a book-work that produces a McLuhanesque "counter-environment" to a highly mediated official national imaginary. How counter-environments are produced through the overlap between print and electronic media will be further discussed below, but for now it is enough to recognize that Wieland, like the other artists addressed in this thesis, is part of a generation who moved away from abstract painting at the end of the 1960s, engaging instead with intermedial practices combining photography, film, text, and sound with a conceptualist understanding of the signifying properties of materials and media (fig. 5). Wieland's 1971 exhibition, *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique*, was conceived of as a multi-sensory environment installed at the National Gallery of Canada. It could be argued that the accompanying book-work similarly produces a multi-sensory imaginative space.

Recent scholarship has discussed the "psychedelic" as an art historical style related to Pop Art and Surrealism both in relation to and as distinct from psychedelic drug culture in the 1960s.⁵² Countercultural art modes looked to *eros* as an aesthetic means to redefine the body's sensorium. Writing with reference to the revolutionary aesthetics of Herbert Marcuse, Susan Sontag described the neo-surrealist sensibility of the early to mid-1960s as an "erotics of art" arising from a collage principle of juxtaposition between form and content.⁵³ The cultivation of this new sensibility was seen as a means to unhinge desire from patriarchal family structures, rigid gender roles and the commodity form – social formations that were reinforced by images circulating through the books, magazines, radio and films of the public sphere as ideals for an expanding middle class.

⁵² See, David S. Rubin, *Optical and Visionary Art Since the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2010); *Summer of Love: Art of the Psychedelic Era*, ed. Christoph Grunenberg (London: Tate Publishing, 2005); and *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, ed. Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012). For a discussion of painting and psychedelic states of mind in Vancouver, specifically, see the exhibition catalogue, *Paint: A Psychedelic Primer*, ed. Monika Szewczyk, (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2006).

⁵³ Quoted in Craig J. Peariso, "The "Counterculture" in Quotation Marks: Sontag and Marcuse on the Work of Revolution," in *The Scandal of Susan Sontag*, 155-170 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 155, 169 n. 19.

When I address the “utopian” dimensions of conceptual nationalisms, I draw from Ruth Levitas’ theory of a utopian impulse arising from an experience of the psychic state of lack or an affective state of longing; as she argues, “everything that reaches to a transformed existence is, in this sense, utopian.”⁵⁴ Following Levitas, utopia is not a “blueprint” to be worked towards as a goal, but rather a “hermeneutic method” pursued through a desire to live otherwise. It is hermeneutic because the method assumes that the social relations of possible futures already exist as repressed forms of knowledge that have been devalued in the context of post-industrial economies.⁵⁵ Interesting in this regard is Levitas’ understanding of political theory and government policy as utopian genres, which can be subjected to critique through the same method as one might read the alternate worlds proposed in the pages of speculative fiction.⁵⁶ The 60s and 70s did see a proliferation of utopian nationalisms – from the rogue New Democrat *Waffle Manifesto: For An Independent Socialist Canada*⁵⁷ to Léandre Bergeron’s revisionist working-class history *Petit manuel d’histoire du Québec*,⁵⁸ to Harold Cardinal’s appeal for Treaty rights to be respected as First Nations, Inuit and Métis people took their place as “colourful red tiles” within the Canadian mosaic.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the closest “blueprint” I could find which corresponds to the process of countercultural utopian yearning in the case studies is the notion of a “genuine federalism” as antidote to “the disguised statism of Trudeau” proposed by George Woodcock, anarchist scholar and editor of *Canadian Literature*.⁶⁰ Although generally dismissive of the communal experiments of the counterculture, and the art and literature associated to it, Woodcock’s “anti-nation” nonetheless compared the aspirations of the “Aquarian Age” to the utopian socialist tradition of thinkers such as Charles Fourier.⁶¹ Drawing on Fourier’s dream of libidinally linked, self-sufficient

⁵⁴ Ruth Levitas, *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 7.

⁵⁵ Ruth Levitas, xvi.

⁵⁶ Ruth Levitas, xiv.

⁵⁷ Melville Watkins, Charles Taylor, Laurier LaPierre and et al., *The Waffle Manifesto : For an Independent Socialist Canada* (Winnipeg: Canadian Dimension, 1969).

⁵⁸ Léandre Bergeron, *Petit manuel d’histoire du Québec* (Éditions québécoises, 1970).

⁵⁹ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969), 15.

⁶⁰ George Woodcock, “A Plea for the Anti-nation,” *The Canadian Forum*, April 1972: 19.

⁶¹ Bracketing Woodcock’s plea for the Anti-nation are on the one hand, *Canadian Literature* 33 (1967), a thematic issue addressing “Publishing in Canada,” that has minimal coverage of small presses associated to

cooperatives as the structural opposite to the hierarchical organization of a nation-state, Woodcock's blueprint imaginatively abolished the regional divisions of Confederation in favour of a network of locally-organized centers of production. The resulting rebalancing of power dynamics between urban and rural communities was, he argued, a means of "reversing the direction of technology, to use it for the simplification rather than the complication of production, for the reduction in size of manufacturing units and power grids, for the recycling of materials and the use of renewable forms of energy, like sunshine and the tides."⁶² Woodcock cautioned the Left against parochial nationalism and centralized state bureaucracies; rather he proposed a dream of the Canadian anti-nation as prototype for a post-national world.

In stark contrast to this dream of utopian socialism, social historian Ramsay Cook itemized a series of dystopian effects emerging as an official discourse of Canadian national identity paralleled the transition to a post-industrial economy: "the persistence of poverty in the midst of plenty, inflation, regional economic disparity, a slowly awakening concern with the disgraceful state of our Eskimo, Indian, and Métis communities, tax policies, a new agricultural crisis and, above all, the pollution of our atmosphere."⁶³ Cook's dystopian list reflects concerns also addressed in the following chapters. This serves as a reminder that utopias must incorporate elements of the existing world; as Kenneth M. Roemer explains, these are the "perceptual origins" necessary for a readership to feel that the narrative has personal meaning for them.⁶⁴ In this respect, these case studies seem to conform to Penny Cousineau-Levine's observation that a Canadian imagination as manifested through photography implies the "interpenetration of two social realities, one 'here,' another 'elsewhere,'" although the case studies in the following chapters show that this interpenetration produces many conflicting Canadian imaginaries, rather than just one.⁶⁵

the counterculture; and on the other, *Canadian Literature* 57 (1973) a thematic issue urging editors to "Publish Canadian!" that includes wider coverage of presses such as Coach House Books and Talonbooks.

⁶² George Woodcock, "A Plea for the Anti-nation," 19.

⁶³ Ramsay Cook, *The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971), 4.

⁶⁴ Kenneth M. Roemer, *Utopian Audiences: How Readers Locate Nowhere* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 84.

⁶⁵ Penny Cousineau-Levine, *Faking Death: Canadian Art Photography and the Canadian Imagination* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 181.

Returning to Wieland's *True Patriot Love* with this interpenetration of two social realities in mind, one could consider how the existing scholarship discusses the book-work as a supplement to the works in the gallery exhibition. Marie Fleming, for instance, emphasizes how the catalogue works as a "scrapbook" collecting ideas for future works, but also as an autobiographical reflection on Wieland's self-assigned role as a cultural activist.⁶⁶ *True Patriot Love* uses serialized black and white images, hand-written script and printed texts in French, Inuktitut syllabics and Gaelic to appropriate and transform a pre-existing unilingual English publication on Arctic flora issued by the Queen's Printer in 1964, into a highly complex and contradictory signifying field.⁶⁷ Wieland dismantled the original printed volume and paper-clipped, pinned or hand-stitched additional materials to the pages: photographs, contact sheets, quilting, knitting and embroidery. Hand-written marginalia in both English and French add commentary to these tipped-in images. Readers fondle a fabric Canadian flag glued inside the front cover; flip through stiff glossy pages and tissue interleaves; and discover, in a pocket on the back cover, several more pages to be unfolded: a scale map of Canada devoid of typical geographic markers, an exhibition checklist and an essay on her films that is printed in red ink on vibrant pink paper; and, printed in red ink on cream paper, a bilingual interview taking place between Wieland and curator Pierre Théberge – with Michael Snow as imperfect translator. As meanings shift through bilingual code switching between Wieland, Théberge and Snow, for instance, the emphasis is the pleasure derived from friendship bonds rather than cultural dissonance. Likewise, the composition through photomontage combines multiple fragments together, producing a network of relative meanings, which simultaneously point to external sources. Images depict works existing elsewhere in an exhibition setting, but also repeat the historical iconology of a Canadian national culture.

The hand-written marginalia adds an element of personal intimacy to Wieland's reprinting of official symbols, making the aura of the hand of the artist central to a narrative in which photography, film and technologies of reproduction feature as major

⁶⁶ Marie Fleming, "Joyce Wieland," in *Joyce Wieland*, 17-115 (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 82-83.

⁶⁷ The underlying structure of *True Patriot Love* is taken from an official publication issued by the Department of the Secretary of State, "Bulletin 146," which catalogued varieties of flora found in the Canadian-owned territories of the Arctic.

themes. Photographic images operate in a complimentary relationship to text that Roland Barthes' has described as "relay," as found in cartoons, comic strips and film.⁶⁸ The linguistic message of the text works 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."⁶⁹ Despite the presence of the artist's body implied by the hand-rendered script, the image captions do not guide the reader towards a biographical interpretation of the works. Rather, four modes of signification (hand-rendered lettering, semantic caption content, photographic image, photographic subject) work together as fragments that contribute to a larger narrative, which is dependent upon the reader's reception. There is a recurring preoccupation with technologically enhanced perception and altered consciousness.

Wieland's dream-like photcollage also incorporates an Inuit shamanic myth featuring the erotic empowerment of female sexuality (fig. 6). Kristy Holmes has argued that this inclusion "romanticizes" Inuit society and culture as pre-contact and therefore, instrumentalizes the myth in support of Wieland's New Left inflected patriotism.⁷⁰ This claim overlooks Wieland's juxtaposition of traditional storytelling to a contemporary newspaper clipping recounting an incident in which "Eskimos" (Inuvialuit) of Sachs Harbour (Ikahuak) directly challenge the policies of Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In *True Patriot Love*, the moments when Wieland appears to conform to tropes of official national culture (such as official bilingualism or essentializing Indigenous peoples as pre-contact cultures and past history), yet simultaneously diverts their function, are crucial moments of disidentification for a conceptual nationalist. Throughout the following chapters, I will draw upon José Esteban Muñoz's term, "disidentification," to describe a mode of political address for subjects whose identity formation occurs as "the enacting of self at

⁶⁸ Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text*, 32-51 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 41.

⁶⁹ Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 41.

⁷⁰ Kristie A. Holmes, "Joyce Wieland as Cultural Worker: Ecology, Nation, and New Leftism in *True Patriot Love*," in *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, ed. Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault, 256-268 (Montréal: Galerie Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010), 264. For an extensive discussion of Wieland's engagement with the politics of the New Left see Johanne Sloan, "Joyce Wieland At The Border: Nationalism, the New Left and the Question of Political Art in Canada," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* 26 (2005): 80-107.

precisely the point where the discourses of essentialism and constructivism short-circuit.”⁷¹ This moment of conflict supposedly occurs at the threshold where “fixed identity dispositions” arising from racial, gendered or sexual stereotypes circulating in the multiple media forms (print, television, film, radio) that constitute the public sphere fail to align with the “socially constructed narratives of self” that limit the performance of identity, or conditions of visibility to social roles defined in relation to these stereotypes.⁷² Muñoz has developed this theory to account for a powerful mode of survival employed by minoritized subjects who do not correspond to the normative values of American citizenship, reinforced through mass-media sources, which privilege white heteronormativity. He argues that disidentificatory practices produce acts of counterpublicity that “resist the social matrix of dominant publicity by exposing the rhetorical/ideological context of state power.”⁷³ I use the term disidentification, even with reference to artists such as Wieland who might not immediately be considered as “queer” or “of colour,” because it recognizes that essentializing categories of race and sexuality *including* “whiteness” or “heteronormativity,” are a set of historically-determined fixed identity positions with a limited range of publicly accepted social roles.⁷⁴

I want to argue that it is through a comparable process of disidentification that *True Patriot Love* invests the visual symbols underpinning Canadian national identity with an erotic ambiguity that manifests as Romantic irony and self-parody. *Eros* is deployed in a struggle for control of what Reg Whittaker and Gary Marcuse have described as the Cold War “symbols of legitimacy in Canadian society”⁷⁵ within which Wieland attained a sense of self. This social context emphasized a patriarchal family structure with distinct gender roles dividing the masculine realm of public life in the work place from the feminine realm of private life in the home. Social class stratification was bound up with shifting understandings of race and ethnicity, as concepts of a bi-racial relationship between Canadians of British and French ancestry shifted into a register of a

⁷¹ José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Colour and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 6.

⁷² José Esteban Muñoz, 6.

⁷³ José Esteban Muñoz, 168.

⁷⁴ For instance, these social scripts include “mysogony,” which performatively reinforces fixed masculine and feminine identity categories. José Esteban Muñoz, 199.

⁷⁵ Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, 24, 17.

bi-cultural, and ultimately, a multi-cultural model of ethnicity. Within this context, non-conforming expressions of sexuality were suppressed through legal prosecution, but also through mechanisms of censorship, which curtailed freedom of expression in the arts.

The standards of public morality to which Wieland's erotics responded were informed by British legal precedent, which clashed with artists' embrace of pop culture forms.⁷⁶ Indistinct boundaries between high-art and mass culture genres, including pornography, meant that social mores regarding sexuality and gender roles were publicly challenged. When the *Eros '65* (1966) show at Toronto's Dorothy Cameron Gallery was raided by police seven images were confiscated. Many of the images depicted scenes of feminine sexual pleasure, which the court later ruled were morally objectionable on the grounds that they depicted lesbian couplings.⁷⁷ In 1967, the Swedish film, "I am Curious (Yellow)" was similarly banned from Canadian theatres.⁷⁸ The first film to show simulated (heterosexual) sex on screen in a public movie theatre was a casualty of Canadian obscenity laws still reeling from debates in the early 1960s regarding the moral influence of novels, such as D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928). More recently, Muñoz has recognized the complexity of identity formation in relation to pop culture media reception in Canada, noting for instance, that as an importer of US pornography, Canada is, "on the level of the erotic imaginary, colonized by a US erotic image hierarchy."⁷⁹ Although Muñoz's discussion of disidentification and erotic imaginaries reflects upon the media environment in the last decade of the 20th century, it nonetheless corresponds remarkably well to Jonathan Katz's recuperation of the politics of *eros* as a liberation discourse deployed by artists, such as Wieland, associated with the countercultures of the 1960s and 70s. Whereas Muñoz seeks to elucidate post-Stonewall performances of "identities-in-difference," Katz returns to an earlier historical moment in search of a "nuanced, but less politically useful, distinction between essentializing and universalizing visions of sexual difference," which I too will rely upon in my discussion

⁷⁶ Andrew Horall, "'Adult Viewing Only': Dorothy Cameron's 1965 Trial For Exhibiting Obscene Pictures," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 34, no. 1 (2013): 58.

⁷⁷ Andrew Horall, 61.

⁷⁸ Pierre Berton, *1967: The Last Good Year* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1997), 112.

⁷⁹ José Esteban Muñoz, 92.

of conceptual nationalisms.⁸⁰ More specifically, Katz uses Marcuse's term, "polymorphous perversity," to describe a sense of collectivity arising across countercultures from the universal experience of erotic desire. He claims this exploration of psychic drives as an earlier precursor to identity politics which define LGBTQ identities as a binary opposite to "straight," and as an inventory of "in-group practices and customs;"⁸¹ rather he explains, within the countercultures from which women's liberation, gay and lesbian liberation arose, the opposite of "straight," or heteronormative national citizenship may simply be "sex."⁸²

In the pages of *True Patriot Love*, Wieland produces a counter-history for Canada by channeling the painter Tom Thomson through a personal vision of feminist ecological eroticism (fig. 7). This vision is reflective of both her British immigrant working-class background and experience of countercultural social scenes in Toronto and New York City.⁸³ The iconography of the book-work attests to Wieland's identification with the nationalist sentiments associated to the remote wilderness imagery painted by the Group of Seven. Also evident is her identification with George Grant's lament for a fading vision of Canadian nationhood, which defined sovereignty in terms of self-rule and cultural autonomy for a Dominion of the British Commonwealth.⁸⁴ Grant described this

⁸⁰ Jonathan D. Katz, "Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros," in *21st Century Gay Culture*, ed. David A. Powell, 13-29 (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 13.

⁸¹ Proven politically effective within the framework of rights-based legal claims, this form of activism echoes the ethnicity model of nationhood (recall the 1990s rallying cry to the Queer Nation in response to the HIV/AIDS crisis).

⁸² Muñoz later also applied his theory of disidentification to pre-Stonewall, and "preidentarian" activations of *eros* in *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

⁸³ Wieland published several comics in *evidence* (1960-1967), a literary magazine that featured the work of a (primarily male) group of poets and artist-friends who formed a scene around the Dorothy Cameron Gallery and Isaacs Gallery. These comics are a parodic take on artists, gallerists, and patrons and the issues effecting the Toronto art world who would have been the public for the *Eros '65* show (and quite possibly, the Swedish film). These comics were produced at the same time Wieland and Snow moved back and forth between Toronto and New York City, finally relocating there from 1962 to 1971. In this sense, comic strips are a pop culture genre that Wieland transposed into a literary magazine as a means to explore her ambivalent feelings regarding gender roles in the arts and power structures arising from Toronto's peripheral relationship to New York. The serial form and themes of the comics are repeated in *True Patriot Love*. Jane Lind, *Joyce Wieland: Artist on Fire* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 2001), 124, 136.

⁸⁴ In the interview included in *True Patriot Love*, Wieland hesitates as she fights to describe the exhibition as a celebration of the country, rather than its requiem, saying, "it's a country that maybe we no longer can, in any sense, direct its fate..." Her melancholy sentiment echoes the thesis of George Grant's *Lament for a Nation* (1965), in which he declared, "Canada's disappearance as a nation is a matter of necessity." George

national imaginary in terms of a frugal, agrarian, community-oriented haven, which he contrasted to an American “way of life” driven by technocratic government, consumerism, racial violence and the Vietnam War. The distinctions Grant makes between small-scale community aligned with natural rhythms, versus corporate structures reliant upon technological progress are reflected in the tensions Wieland creates throughout *True Patriot Love* between *poesis* (nature) and *techne* (technology, rationality, culture); as Kirsty Holmes has observed, “she literally cut and pasted her own narrative of the nation over the *techne* or logos of an official government document.”⁸⁵ The national vision proposed by *True Patriot Love* is therefore consistent with Grant’s appeal to artists and writers who imagined Canada as a pastoral alternative to the American military-industrial complex.

Nonetheless, Wieland significantly diverges from Grant in her belief that the death of a Canadian national vision rooted in a Red Tory tradition does not automatically imply branch-plant assimilation into a corporate culture underpinning US cultural hegemony.⁸⁶ Instead, Wieland uses the disintegrating fragments of the earlier world-view as building blocks that can be redeployed towards a vision of Canadian culture drawing from feminist and ecologically sound principles, which are enabled by the visual technologies allegorized as themes throughout her book-work. In this sense, Wieland’s utopian vision is dependent upon the reinvention of the landscape genre through the technological mediation of photographic processes. Sloan notes that this produces the visual experience of a “dreamlike, associative process;”⁸⁷ as the viewer’s eye travels across the printed page, “the utopian promise of landscape art can, we discover, be the outcome of a technological glitch or a photographic blur.”⁸⁸ Wieland uses the camera as a visual technology, which maps out a different kind of perspective of the landscape to that

Grant, *Lament for a Nation : The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, 2nd Ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), 7.

⁸⁵ Kristie A. Holmes, 259.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of Red Toryism in relation to other forms of Canadian leftism see Ian McKay, *Rebels, Reds, Radicals : Rethinking Canada's Left History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005), 49-50; for an overview of the national imaginary produced by this line of political thought see Charles Taylor, *Radical Tories: the Conservative Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1982).

⁸⁷ Johanne Sloan, “Conceptual Landscape Art: Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow,” in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art*, ed. John O'Brian and Peter White, 73-84 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 78.

⁸⁸ Johanne Sloan, “Conceptual Landscape Art: Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow,” 78.

of representational painting; at the same time, the glitches and blurs engage in an ironic play with the mutability of national myths as they are repeated across print media. The National Gallery of Canada published Wieland's *True Patriot Love*, within one year of Dennis Reid's landmark exhibition catalogue, *The Group of Seven*. As part of her own catalogue of national icons, Wieland includes images of Tom Thomson's painting, *The West Wind* (1917), lifted by the camera from the pages of a book, along with a brooding image of Thomson at the end of a dock with his dog.⁸⁹ Although Wieland draws upon Thomson and the Group of Seven for their symbolic value to a national mythology, she uses the figure of Thomson and *The West Wind* as pre-existing signifiers that can be invested with libidinal energy thereby altering their meanings. In snapshots she has included of a film script titled *True Patriot Love: A Canadian Love, Technology, Leadership and Art Story*, for instance, we encounter an eroticized version of a painter whose desire is fused with his lover and with the natural environment. Their preference for organic agrarian techniques is presented as antidote to industrial technological dominance: "Scene Ten... they decide to run off together... he will paint and they will do organic gardening... and in this way they will be the most modern of people and bypass the technological age before it takes right over."

Wieland's erotic nationalism garnered controversial reception by audiences taken up with the patriotic fever of the post-Centennial period; Barry Lord's accusation that the *True Patriot Love* exhibition was a "burlesque of our national symbols" is a frequently quoted example of this.⁹⁰ Lord's reception of Wieland's work is important because it demonstrates a pattern repeated throughout the following case studies where a revolutionary Marxist position conflicts with an approach associated with countercultural, or psychedelic Left, aspirations for social change through an aesthetic transformation of the social imaginary. Formerly the editor of *artscanada* magazine and curator of the *Painting in Canada* exhibition in the Canadian Government Pavilion for Expo '67, Lord later advocated for a "people's art" through NC Press, the publishing arm of the Canadian

⁸⁹ Although a full-page black and white reproduction of the *The West Wind* (1917) was featured in Reid's catalogue, a difference in page lay-out suggests Wieland photographed hers from a different source. Featured prominently, however, is the image of "Tom Thomson at Lake Scugog, c. 1911" in Dennis Reid, *The Group of Seven* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1970), 50.

⁹⁰ Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Towards a People's Art* (Toronto: NC Press, 1974), 214.

National Liberation Movement. Lord drew on Marxist-Leninist and Maoist theory to argue against American imperialism and in favour of realist painting in keeping with the national tradition of the Group of Seven. In this regard, he lumped together artists working with multi-media installation, conceptual art and Pop art, using Wieland as an example of how these styles, which he perceived as reflecting the influence of cultural imperialism, use “some of the worst aspects of cultural nationalism... [reviving] the myths and symbols of our country, without making any claim to political power.”⁹¹ Lord’s negative perception confirms that the “real” site of political engagement for *True Patriot Love*, as for other conceptual nationalisms, lies within the affective dimension of nationalism as it interpolates the individual through aesthetic experience.

Michael Warner considers this kind of play with the performative effects of language, or *poesis*, as the basis for the formation of a “counterpublic.” Warner argues that social imaginaries are formed as the result of an aesthetic experience rooted in visual perception, “the direction of our glance can constitute our social world.”⁹² This process occurs as the signifying effect of texts or visual elements is imprinted upon our consciousness: “Texts clamour at us. Images solicit our gaze,” yet at the same time, the reader is burdened by their agency to choose what messages gain their attention.⁹³ The reader’s cognitive processing of the concepts expressed within a text’s content therefore determines what publics are created and expanded to include others. Readers can participate in multiple discursive publics over time, experiencing more than one type of collective identification. Barry Lord may not agree with Wieland’s politics, but as a critic of her work, he is nonetheless a member of a public who she attracts through the appropriation and distortion of national symbols.

The process of disidentification with symbols of Canadian nationhood, which Wieland performs, can lead to the formation of a “counterpublic sphere” made up of individuals who share a similarly distorted relationship to the cultural norms circulated within a dominant public sphere.⁹⁴ Warner draws on Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of dialogic

⁹¹ Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada*, 215.

⁹² Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics,” *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 62.

⁹³ Michael Warner, 62.

⁹⁴ José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Colour and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 7.

genres to explain how these pre-existing norms are distorted through acts of appropriation.⁹⁵ Dialogism is a quality of multi-genre literary works, which denote multiple points of view converging within authorial consciousness. This is made visible to the reader through the framing and re-presentation of linguistic expressions through multiple styles, a literary technique that can also be extended to visual representations that act as “semiotic material.”⁹⁶ Conceptual book-works, like those discussed in the following chapters, which import fragments from preexisting contexts also reproduce the ideological connotations of the appropriated content; however, the meaning of these fragments can be distorted through a trick of Romantic irony which Bakhtin describes as “double-voiced discourse.”⁹⁷ Like Wieland’s *True Patriot Love*, the case studies discussed in the following chapters solicit readers who have experienced similar problems of identification with the symbols of a national culture. Notable in this regard is the influence that Wieland’s erotic nationalism seems to have had upon her contemporaries, as can be seen in an enthusiastic review of *True Patriot Love* in General Idea’s *File* magazine that claims the book-work is the artists’ “very favourite” and a stark contrast to the Centennial-period proliferation of catalogues featuring Tom Thompson and the Group of Seven.⁹⁸ I argue that this readership forms a counterpublic that shares a social imaginary arising from the conflicted experience of identification with, and alienation from, the official symbols of Canadian nationhood (and as seen in Chapter IV, an emerging Québécois nationhood).

Warner has claimed that certain kinds of artistic publics can cohere as counterpublics, just as they can also be generated through the code switching of bilingualism, as well as through explicit expressions of sexuality (as it transgresses the social norms separating “private” life and the public sphere); all of these figure as strategies of conceptual nationalism in my case studies.⁹⁹ I want to argue that the case studies I have chosen exist at an intersection between avant-garde literary and artistic publics and a wider countercultural and even, a potential “mainstream” readership. As

⁹⁵ Michael Warner, 78.

⁹⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 185.

⁹⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin, 185.

⁹⁸ “Catalogue” *File* 1.2&3 (May-June, 1972): 57-59

⁹⁹ Michael Warner, 86.

will be further revealed throughout the following chapters, this discussion of counterpublics also relies upon Karis Shearer's description of the literary presses and artists featured in these case studies as a "mutually reinforcing network of peers," as authors such as George Bowering or Michael Ondaatje also took on the expanded roles of critic, editor and publisher, ultimately reaching expanded academic readerships and widespread acclaim for the literary genres they both practiced and championed.¹⁰⁰ This reach is significant because, as Warner explains, while a counterpublic can be restricted to the members of a sub- or countercultural group, it also has the potential to continuously expand and eventually generate transformative politics as the process of alternate world-making troubles the values of a dominant culture.¹⁰¹ The case studies all *aspire* to reach wider audiences beyond a specialized public made up of artists, intellectuals, or art patrons. However, these wider audiences are not necessarily the mass audiences that the historical avant-garde hoped to influence; instead the expansion of readers occurs through subcultural or countercultural identifications. The nature of this wider readership, therefore, is not equivalent to the national public sought out as the popular audience for official discourses of nationalism, nor does it correspond to the goals of public policy in Québec and Canada, which favoured the democratization of the arts.¹⁰²

Conceptual nationalisms, Conceptualism in Canada

My argument for conceptual nationalisms considers "conceptualism" to be a set of artistic strategies that prioritized ideas and the structure of language over the visual experience or objecthood of a work of art. It is now understood that these neo-avant-garde strategies emerged in many areas around the globe, alongside an equally widespread experience of locally situated national liberation movements, New Left social activism and the creation

¹⁰⁰ Karis Shearer, "Imago & the Canadian Long Poem : The Cultural Work of George Bowering," *Open Letter* 14, no. 4 (2010): 13-29. See also her thesis on the topic: Karis Shearer, "Constructing Canons : Postmodern Cultural Workers and The Canadian Long Poem," *PhD Thesis*. (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 2008).

¹⁰¹ Michael Warner, 86.

¹⁰² For a discussion of government policy regarding the democratization of the arts see Anithe de Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture: Création collective underground au Québec* (Montréal: M Editeur, 2015); Diana Nemiroff, "A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada, With Particular Reference to Véhicule, A Space and the Western Front," (MA Thesis, Concordia University, 1985); and Vincent Bonin, "Here, Bad News Always Arrives Too Late: Institutional Critique in Canada (1967-2012)," in *Institutions by Artists*, ed. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina L. Podesva, 49-79 (Vancouver: Phillip Editions, 2012).

of countercultural worlds. Significant in this regard, is the claim made in the exhibition catalogue accompanying the 2012 exhibition, *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965-1980*, that the literature which covers the development of conceptual art in Canada is mainly produced (and read) by the artists and writers themselves, thereby circulating as a “whispered history” in “alternative publications.”¹⁰³ I consider the case studies discussed in the following chapters to be examples of some of these “alternative” publications. As conceptual book-works, the nature of their contribution to this “whispered art history” falls into a register of *poesis* rather than critical debate. Throughout the case studies, I draw from a body of art historical scholarship that helps elucidate the link between conceptual strategies engaging with communications media and a critique of state ideology. By “state ideology” I mean, the official discourse of Canadian nationhood circulating throughout the Centennial period, which overlaps with articulations of nationhood emerging from the Quiet Revolution in Québec (figs. 9, 10, 11).

The nationalistic fervour whipped up around Canada’s Centennial year falls within the temporal scope of the Conceptual art movement, which Lucy Lippard defined according to the “dematerialization” of the work art “in which the idea is paramount and the material form is secondary, lightweight, ephemeral, cheap, unpretentious.”¹⁰⁴ Recent art historical scholarship that reconsiders conceptualism as a global phenomenon revisits Lippard’s definition of conceptual art while recognizing the work of artists in locations deemed peripheral to an avant-garde centred in New York. In this revised geography of a global art world, emphasis is placed upon the parallels between conceptualism and the aspirations expressed by the social movements of the late 60s and early 70s, rather than a narrative of recuperation of this utopian drive by market forces.¹⁰⁵ An important moment in this reconsideration of conceptual art was the exhibition *Global Conceptualism: Points*

¹⁰³ “Introduction,” in *Traffic : Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980* (Montréal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2012), 14.

¹⁰⁴ Lucy Lippard, “Escape Attempts,” in *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*, vii-xxii (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), vii.

¹⁰⁵ Lucy Lippard, *Six Years : The Dematerialization of the Art Object From 1966 to 1972...*, 2nd. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1997]); “dematerialization” is taken up again in Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver and Rachel Weiss, “Foreword,” in *Global Conceptualism : Points of Origin, 1950s-1980*, i-x (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999). For the narrative of recuperation of the neo-avant-garde in New York by the art market due to the success of these artists in mimicing the strategies of branding and advertising, see Alexander Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003).

of Origin, 1950-1980 (1999), which revived Lippard's concept of dematerialization in order to foreground how the "linguistic turn" in visual art shifted the centre-to-periphery relations of the art world and political economy on a global scale. Dematerialization meant that artists de-emphasized the preciousness of a meticulously crafted object such as a painting or a sculpture. Aesthetic experience instead took form based on the model of a linguistic proposition. As the material form was secondary to the idea, the concept could be communicated using a commodity form of relatively lower-value, such as linguistic statements or documentary photography published in a book or magazine. Although conceptual artists would also undertake live performances, and work in film, video, and sound recording, the ephemeral nature of these performative acts foregrounded the role of documents and documentation in their transmission. This meant that the objecthood of conceptual art often took on the material form of print culture.

In their choice to use print media, artists were inspired by a utopian desire to "radicalize the reception of art."¹⁰⁶ According to Gwen Allen's study of fleeting and precarious artists' magazines, the social utopianism of titles such as *Artforum*, *Avalanche*, *Art-Rite*, or *0 to 9*, was contingent upon their ephemerality and the potential for failure inherent to publishing endeavours motivated not by profit, but by the "artistic, social and political ideas they sought to convey."¹⁰⁷ The majority of Allen's case studies reflect the aspirations of communities of artists centred in New York City, and this influences Allen's positioning of the magazine as an exhibition site for artists engaged in a countercultural movement of "alternative" artist-run spaces operating outside of a "mainstream" museum and commercial gallery world. Although my study parallels Allen's in its emphasis on the utopian desire to generate publics through avant-garde art; it would be an oversimplification to describe the complex relationship between the case studies discussed in this thesis and museum, artist-run or commercial gallery worlds as oppositional. Instead, I focus on how print media forms enabled artists located in geographically peripheral areas to renegotiate their relationship to their local context, while at the same time reaching out to potential readerships existing in multiple sites

¹⁰⁶ Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines : An Alternative Space For Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011), 1-2.

¹⁰⁷ Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines*, 8.

including, but not limited to, New York City as the post-war art world centre.¹⁰⁸ For instance, Allen describes the artists represented in *File* magazine as “doubly-marginalized,” meaning that these artists were working on the margins of a Canadian art world, but were also under subject to American mass-media hegemony.¹⁰⁹ I disagree with Allen’s characterization of *File* as marginalized within a Canadian context, however, seeing it instead as exemplary of the link between countercultural dreams of networked autonomy and a national identity rooted in the paradigms of communications technology. This particular strain of national culture unique to the Canadian context meant that strategies of institutional critique did not originate in New-York style “alternative” venues with an oppositional position to public galleries and museums.¹¹⁰ In this regard, I am most interested in how the work of General Idea has subsequently become a canonical example of how artists could deploy communications technologies, specifically print media forms, as a means to produce counterpublicity. In this regard I draw attention to how this counterpublicity was produced in response to a national specialized art press, literary small press and mass-culture publishing industry that was heavily subsidized in order to compete in a media environment dominated by a specialized art press, literary and mass-culture titles imported from the US.

I propose “conceptual nationalism” as a variant of conceptualism that is useful for understanding how an overlapping artistic and literary neo-avant-garde responded to an official discourse of Canadian nationalism as it took physical form across print media. In this respect, I draw from Peter Osborne’s observation that the strategies underlying conceptual book-works and magazine pieces were influenced, in part, by artists’ desire to assume the role of critic themselves due to the effect critical discourse has as it defines or influences the production and reception of art.¹¹¹ One function adopted by such book-works, Osborne observes, was an “ideological analysis of advertising and other socially dominant sign systems.”¹¹² In contrast to the engagement with analytic philosophies of

¹⁰⁸ In the pages of *Artforum*, Australian art historian Terry Smith described this centre-periphery relationship, which upheld the hegemony of art world centres over other regions in the world as “The Provincialism Problem,” *Artforum*, September 1974: 54-59.

¹⁰⁹ Gwen Allen, *Artists’ Magazines*, 148.

¹¹⁰ Vincent Bonin, “Here, Bad News Always Arrives Too Late”

¹¹¹ Peter Osborne, “Survey,” 23.

¹¹² Peter Osborne, “Survey,” 40.

language most frequently associated with Joseph Kosuth's critique of high art, for instance, the conceptualist work of Adrian Piper, Ed Ruscha, Mary Kelly or Martha Rosler favours a semiotic approach aligned with Roland Barthes' understanding of images as a semantic field, and myths as the repetition of ideological messages through mass-culture forms.

This thesis also recognizes the convergence between the linguistic turn in conceptual art and literary movements such as concrete, visual and sound poetry that emphasize the materiality of the signifier in language. Critic John Noel Chandler's observation in the pages of *artscanada*, "as art dematerializes, poetry materializes," succinctly acknowledged print media and gallery exhibitions to be points of intermedial convergence between visual art and writing.¹¹³ In this respect, the description of presses such as Talonbooks, Coach House Books, and House of Anansi as "artist-run," based on a shared utopian impulse to "seize the means of production," is a strong indication that the overlap of social worlds and aesthetic preoccupations between small presses and artist-run galleries emerging in the same period warrants investigation.¹¹⁴ With a slightly different focus upon process over product, Pauline Butling has described the overlap between small presses and artist-run centres in this period using the metaphor of a rhizomatic network of "kinetic activity," which she explains arises from Fluxus-based correspondence activity that was "adapted to the Canadian literary field following the example of Michael Morris and others at the Western Front."¹¹⁵ This thesis considers the activities leading up to the founding of artist-run centres such as Western Front (1973), Art Metropole (1974), and Véhicule Art (1973) in order to explore a curious inconsistency in how the material forms of print media were used in these two "artist-run" contexts. Conceptual artists adopted the book as a cheaply produced and distributed commodity form whose serialism offered an alternative to the aura of painting and

¹¹³ Quoted from a review of the exhibition catalogue for *Concrete Poetry and Exhibition in Four Parts*, Fine Arts Gallery, UBC. Alvin Balkind, curator (1969). John Noel Chandler, "Incoherent thoughts on Concrete Poetry" *artscanada XXVI*, issue 134/135 (August 1969): 11-13.

¹¹⁴ Stephen Cain, "Imprinting Identities: An Examination of the Emergence and Developing Identities of Coach House Press and House of Anansi Press (1967-1982)," *PhD Thesis* (Toronto: York University, 2002), 24, 43. See also Kathleen Scherf, "A Legacy of Canadian Cultural Tradition and the Small Press: The Case of Talonbooks," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 25, no. 1 (2000): 137.

¹¹⁵ Pauline Butling, "One Potato, Two Potato, Three Potato, Four: Poetry, Publishing, Politics, and Communities" in Pauline Butling and Susan Rudy, *Writing in Our Time*, 30-31, 46, n. 2.

sculpture. In contrast, writers publishing in experimental genres through small literary presses chose unconventional bindings, unusual typography and artisanal printing methods because they conceived of their direct involvement with the material processes of publishing as a subversion of the capitalist mode of production which drove a subsidized Canadian publishing industry.¹¹⁶ Either way, in this moment of dematerialized art and materialized writing, print culture in Canada became an ideologically charged “symbolic battle-ground.”¹¹⁷ Government policy makers in Canada recognized publishing to be a cultural industry, alongside TV, film and music, subject to stimulation and subsidization as in other sectors in the national economy. Furthermore, the celebration of national identity was bound up with the establishment of a literary canon, which is why 1967 was also a significant date for the publishers of the books that I will be addressing.

The *Global Conceptualism* exhibition included works I address in this thesis, such as Wieland’s book-work, *True Patriot Love*, and the first issue of *File* magazine; however, Peter Wollen’s catalogue essay discussing conceptualism in North America and its cultural critique glossed over the relationship between these works and the pervasive nationalist discourses of the time.¹¹⁸ Likewise, complex cross-border relationships between American and Canadian artistic production and reception were downplayed, as well as the extent to which artists in Canada established relations with other “peripheral” global regions in the post-war period. Consequently, another important reference for this thesis is the exhibition, *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965–1980* (2010-2013), which employed an overarching pan-Canadian framework in order to display regional manifestations of conceptualism across the country. This curatorial strategy had the effect of making border-crossing activities visible, while also highlighting nationalism, nationhood, and national boundaries as reoccurring themes in the work of artists such as Joyce Wieland, Greg Curnoe, N.E. Thing Co., Roy Kiyooka, General Idea, Bill Vazan and Ian Wallace. Although these themes were repeated in many of the art works featured

¹¹⁶ Stephen Cain argues this can be understood as an extension of the utopian tradition of William Morris’ Kelmscott Press, in “Imprinting Identities,” 25, 28. Pauline Butling advances a similar argument when discussing Coach House Press and bpNichol’s practice in terms of a gift economy, in “bpNichol and a Gift Economy: The Play of a Value and the Play of a Thing,” in *Radical Writing of Our Time*, 70-71.

¹¹⁷ Paul Litt, 40.

¹¹⁸ Peter Wollen, “Global Conceptualism and North American Conceptual Art,” in *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s-1980s*, ed. Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver and Rachel Weiss, 73-85 (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999).

in the exhibition, the curatorial essays generally avoided dealing with the subject of nationalism, preferring instead to emphasize a repositioning of a “psychic geography” of an international art world through reoccurring “questions concerning language, body, identity, location and geography” posed by artists working in Canada alongside their international peers.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, the affective dimension of utopian nationalisms persists as a subtext throughout the exhibition and its catalogue, beginning with Jane Wark’s acknowledgement that many American conceptualists were attracted to Canada as a “refuge” from racial conflict and the military draft.¹²⁰ National feelings appear again in Vincent Bonin’s observations regarding the synthesis between Québécois identity and the French language, McLuhan’s media theories and the critical sociology of Marcel Rioux, which encouraged artists in Québec to share utopian dreams of national sovereignty.¹²¹ Grant Arnold, Catherine Crowston, William Wood and Bonin’s essays all touch on conceptual strategies of mapping through communications technologies as a means for artists to transcend regional isolation through international contacts; however, only Arnold and Wood remark on artists’ peripheral position not only in relation to the art world centre of New York, but also in regards to a feeling of regional isolation within Canada, where Toronto served as the English-language cultural centre, and Ontario as a regional centre for state government. Through a discussion of magazine and art publishing, Bonin alludes to Montréal’s position as the vibrant centre for a French-language revival driving the Quiet Revolution; however, his focus remains a linguistic divide perpetuated by conditions of English-language hegemony.¹²² In a discussion of Vera Frenkel’s “*String Games: Improvisations for Inter-City Video* (1974), Wood likewise perceives the “persistence of at least ‘two solitudes’” in the communications difficulties arising between Toronto and Montréal.¹²³

These nationalist subtexts to *Traffic* demonstrate how curatorial anxieties related to presenting “a single unified picture” of the nation deflected attention from the “psychic

¹¹⁹ “Introduction,” in *Traffic*, 14.

¹²⁰ Jane Wark, “Conceptual Art in Canada: The East Coast Story,” in *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965-1980*, ed. Grant Arnold and Karen Henry, 17-37 (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2012), 18.

¹²¹ Vincent Bonin, “Language Is Not Transparent,” 39-40.

¹²² Vincent Bonin, “Language Is Not Transparent,” 42.

¹²³ William Wood, “Dated Conceptualism: London, Toronto, Guelph,” in *Traffic*, 64.

geography,” essentially a national imaginary, modeled by the exhibition itself.¹²⁴ As a contribution to this art historical discourse of conceptualism in Canada, my argument for “conceptual nationalisms” therefore takes up the preoccupation with nation, nationhood and nationalism made visible by the *Traffic* exhibition’s curatorial strategy and the accompanying catalogue essays. I will argue that a variety of utopian national imaginaries arise from the reoccurring “questions concerning language, body, identity, location and geography”¹²⁵ posed by artists working in Canada as they emerge alongside a network of artist-run centres and publishers, which the *Traffic* exhibition also celebrated as “a unique aspect of the Canadian art world.”¹²⁶ In *Traffic*, as in my case studies, these utopian projections are revealed as artists such as Joyce Wieland, Roy Kiyooka, Suzy Lake, Image Bank and General Idea, Bill Vazan, Tom Dean and *Fusion des Arts* explored the narratives of identity underpinning the Centennial period’s redefinition of the Canadian psyche: the relationship between the individual, community, and the corporate body; the performative dimension of gender and sexuality; and the technological extension of bodily sensation and consciousness.

I assert that for certain artists, Canada held symbolic value as a site where the relationship between state ideology (a discourse of official nationalism) and a conceptualist critique of the art object as a commodity were intrinsically intertwined. This close relationship between the shaping of national culture through public policy tied to the economic value of labour, and a conceptualist critique of the institutions of culture is what is made visible in the counterpublicity of works of conceptual nationalism. Alexander Alberro has recently argued that conceptual artists harnessed the publicity function of print media to their own benefit as the savvy circulation of information contributed to their successful promotion on an international art market.¹²⁷ However, the *Global Conceptualism* exhibition demonstrated that the recuperation of the utopian aspirations of conceptual art by market forces in New York should not be generalized as a global experience, particularly with regard to local contexts where artists used conceptual strategies to critique the relationship between cultural institutions and state

¹²⁴ “Introduction,” in *Traffic*, 14.

¹²⁵ “Introduction,” in *Traffic*, 14.

¹²⁶ “Introduction,” in *Traffic*, 14.

¹²⁷ Alexander Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003).

ideology.¹²⁸ William Wood (invoking Alberro) argues that General Idea's *File* magazine should be analyzed in relation to Toronto's "longstanding role as the national centre for English-language communications, marketing and financial and corporate administration."¹²⁹ However accurate Wood is in naming Toronto as a national centre, his brief discussion of *File* magazine's project of creating "the conditions for generating visibility" does not sufficiently address the complex paradox of Toronto's position in the early 1970s as a centre for the production of discourses of cultural nationalism, which imagined Canada to be a space where global forces of cultural and economic hegemony could be counteracted.¹³⁰

In this respect, my argument for conceptual nationalisms is informed by Benjamin Buchloh's notion of an avant-garde dialectic between modernisms grounded in the traditional identity formations of the nation-state and those internationalist styles aspiring to post-national identities (Pop art, Fluxus, Minimalism and Conceptual art). Buchloh specifically contrasts a link he perceives between the work of Joseph Beuys and a trauma-induced "cultural amnesia" experienced in post-war Germany; to the "uncontaminated modernity" from which the work of Richard Serra or Robert Morris emerged.¹³¹ Like other critics of the case studies cited in the following chapters, Buchloh's strict Marxist framework is accompanied by anxieties regarding these internationalist styles as an "affirmative mimesis" of American post-war hegemony and the workings of advanced global corporate capitalism.¹³² Buchloh perceives this condition of affirmative mimesis in the "aesthetics of administration" of conceptual art – the contracts, charts, lists, diagrams and filing systems that stand in as the representational forms of transactions in the corporate world and post-war models of technocratic government.¹³³ In my own discussion of conceptual nationalisms, however, I am less

¹²⁸ Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver and Rachel Weiss, "Foreword," in *Global Conceptualism*, vii-viii.

¹²⁹ William Wood, "Dated Conceptualism: London, Toronto, Guelph," 67.

¹³⁰ William Wood briefly addresses what he perceives as the "ideological idiocy" of radical nationalisms but generally avoids the topic of left-leaning nationalisms in "Dated Conceptualism: London, Toronto, Guelph," 57, 69.

¹³¹ Benjamin Buchloh, *Neo-Avantgarde and Culture Industry: Essays on European and American Art from 1953 to 1975* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), xxi.

¹³² Benjamin, H.D. Buchloh, *Neo-Avantgarde and Culture Industry*, xx-xxi.

¹³³ Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962-1969: From the Aesthetics of Administration to the Critique of Institutions," *October*, no. 55 (Winter 1990): 105-143.

interested in proving how the communications and publicity-based forms taken by these case studies are reflective of an economic infra-structure; rather, I want to recognize how these works express a utopian impulse. Significantly, this impulse looks back to the historical avant-garde as a source of repressed forms of knowledge that were devalued in the context of post-industrial economies.¹³⁴ In this sense, I follow Buchloh's understanding of aesthetic experience as one of the defining conditions of "publicness," as well as his proposal that the neo-avant-garde's resistance to these economic forces lies in its "aesthetic capacity to construct the mnemonic experience."¹³⁵

My focus on the print culture associated with an emergent artist-run culture particular to Canada, reflects upon an intrinsic link between conceptualist practices, artist-run galleries, and the public funding made available during the Centennial and post-Centennial period. Two other exhibitions *Documentary Protocols I* (2007) and II (2008)¹³⁶ did convincingly demonstrate the importance of print culture (books, magazines, administrative files) to the formation of counterpublics attracted by an emergent artist-run culture in Canada.¹³⁷ However, Bonin's framing of dematerialized artworks and administrative files through Buchloh's "aesthetics of administration" leads to the conclusion that by 1975, countercultural dreams of "self-determination" had been subsumed within the labyrinthine bureaucracy of funding agencies as artists conformed to a cultural industries model of artistic entrepreneurship.¹³⁸ Furthermore, Bonin has also argued that any political efficacy these earlier models might have had dissipated as funded artist-run galleries were not able to maintain or expand their counterpublics, marking the "end of utopia."¹³⁹ Butling, by contrast, emphasizes continuity between earlier and later generations of writers and artists, which can be found in a shared

¹³⁴ Ruth Levitas, xvi.

¹³⁵ Benjamin Buchloh, *Neo-Avantgarde and Culture Industry*, xxv.

¹³⁶ These two exhibitions were accompanied a catalogue *Documentary Protocols/Protocols Documentaires (1967-1975)*, Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault, eds. (Montréal: Galerie Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010).

¹³⁷ For an earlier attempt to work out the ideas in this thesis, see my essay, "Publishing as Alternative Space," in *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, ed. Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault, 305-324 (Montréal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010).

¹³⁸ Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)* (Montréal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010), 27.

¹³⁹ Vincent Bonin, "Here, Bad News Always Arrives Too Late: Institutional Critique in Canada (1967-2012)," in *Institutions by Artists*, ed. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina L. Podevsa, 49-79 (Vancouver: Fillip Editions, 2012), 64-69.

countercultural desire for social transformation; as such, she describes the aspirations underpinning lobbying structures such as the Association of National Non-Profit Artist-run Centres (ANNPAC, formed in 1976) as “an organizational enactment of network consciousness.”¹⁴⁰ My scholarship differs from Bonin’s, and more closely resembles Butling’s approach in that my case studies are a subset of documents, which demonstrate that these counterpublics were formed through a common experience of disidentification with the fixed identity dispositions and social roles prescribed for artists within the policy goals of national programs (both within and beyond the arts). Also unlike Bonin, who sees the collection and preservation of the material culture of these artist-run projects in institutional settings such as public gallery exhibitions, and library, archives or museum collections as a form of “house arrest,”¹⁴¹ I consider the continued circulation of these materials within cultural institutions to contribute to a mnemonic experience of utopian yearning, which ultimately is what makes these acts of counterpublicity recognizable to new generations of readers.

In order to show how works of conceptual nationalism explore language, bodily sensation, and consciousness as they combine to produce an understanding of space and place, I draw from Peter Wollen’s discussion of the conceptual strategy of “mapping” as a performative speech-act operating at multiple levels of verbal and visual semiotic code. Wollen argues that these different registers combine the affective dimension of Situationist psycho-geographic free-association with the systematic notation and documentation of events occurring at specific coordinates.¹⁴² In a similar manner to the case studies in this thesis, Robert Smithson’s “Incidents of Mirror-Travel in the Yucatan” is an act of mapping as it occurs within print media forms such as books and magazines. Smithson’s article, published in *Artforum*, parodies a journalistic writing style and the sequencing of a photojournalistic essay in order to map a dialectic between a desert “site” in the natural world and the magazine page as “non-site,” or mediated image.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Pauline Butling, “One Potato, Two Potato, Three Potato, Four: Poetry, Publishing, Politics, and Communities” in Pauline Butling and Susan Rudy, *Writing in Our Time*, 30-31, 46, n. 2.

¹⁴¹ Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)* (Montréal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010), 50.

¹⁴² Peter Wollen, “Mappings: Situationists and/or Conceptualists,” in *Rewriting Conceptual Art*, ed. Michael Newman and Jon Bird, 27-46 (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 29, 35-36.

¹⁴³ Robert Smithson, “Incidents of Mirror-Travel in the Yucatan”, *Artforum* 8.1 (1969).

Conceptual mapping therefore works to link imaginary and real worlds. In order to understand this act of conceptual mapping in relation to a national tradition of Canadian art, I am indebted to the combined scholarship of *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art*,¹⁴⁴ in particular Johanne Sloan's analysis of *True Patriot Love* and Michael Snow's *La Région Centrale* (1971) as works of "conceptual landscape art,"¹⁴⁵ which use communications technologies to reinvent the Euro-Canadian tradition of landscape painting. In the post-Centennial period, this tradition was defined in the popular imagination by a revival of the Group of Seven through museum exhibitions and catalogues and also across popular genres as diverse as calendars and board games.

In my case studies, artists engage with existing forms of publicity (media) through the revival of Dada photomontage and the psychoanalytic provocation of Surrealism. As will be seen, an important influence was the revival of similar strategies by an American literary and artistic neo-avant-garde, who used alternative systems of communication and distribution, such as the mailing lists and referral systems developed by Fluxus, which overlapped with those used by concrete, visual and sound poets. Also significant is the relationship between these communicative networks and the performance-based intermedial events emerging out of milieus such as Black Mountain College or Judson Dance Theatre. Although these art historical movements have at times been considered as separate and distinct, Peter Osborne gathers them all within the broad "terminological variety" of conceptualism, which bridges the linguistic models used by artists as strategies of negation and institutional critique, with those that infiltrate the cultural codes active in everyday life.¹⁴⁶ In a similar manner, Liz Kotz's study of language as visual object across musical modernism, Black Mountain poetics, sound and concrete poetry, Fluxus, Pop and Conceptual art has also been an invaluable reference.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, Marjorie Perloff has provided important insights regarding the overlap between structural linguistics, manual and mechanical recording technologies and information systems as

¹⁴⁴ *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, ed. John O'Brian and Peter White (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

¹⁴⁵ Johanne Sloan, "Conceptual Landscape Art: Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow," 73, 78.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Osborne, "Survey," in *Conceptual Art*, 12-51 (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 17.

¹⁴⁷ Liz Kotz, *Words to be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2007), 7.

she investigates the revival of these techniques by Conceptual writers who are responding to a digital media environment dominated by visual technologies.¹⁴⁸ In order to explore the paradigm of information technologies as it manifests through print culture in an earlier historical moment, however, I have relied upon Eve Meltzer's argument that the theoretical discourse of structural linguistics can be both "thought and *felt*" through conceptual "aesthetics of information" perceptible in the grids repeated in forms such as lists, graphs and charts.¹⁴⁹ I understand this to mean that it is possible to read conceptual works as affective responses to the identity categories assigned by pre-existing systems and institutions. When emotional responses and embodied experience emerge from the gaps between these allegorical information systems, this can be read as a sign of identification (or counteridentification, or disidentification) with a symbolic order – such as the cultural codes determining inclusion and exclusion from national groups.

In these case studies, references to an overarching political situation are expressed at a personal level and frequently through allegory or metaphor rather than overt sloganeering (in line with the feminist position that the personal is political). The focus upon an affective dimension positions conceptual nationalism as a kind of "Romantic Conceptualism," that variant of conceptual art recently proposed by Jörg Heiser and Ellen Seifermann, which shares ironic modes with the nineteenth century movement in visual art and literature.¹⁵⁰ Heiser contrasts the closed systematic rationalism associated with analytic conceptualism to the fragmentary or open forms of Romantic conceptualism, arguing that the latter works through affect and emotional responses on a continuum with the mystical dimensions of abstract expressionism. He explains that Romantic conceptualism's negation of abstraction lies instead in the suppression of the heroic figure of the artist, which is where it also diverges from the nineteenth century celebration of genius. Rather than conveying an affective state through the "confession of

¹⁴⁸ Marjorie Perloff, *Unoriginal Genius: Poetry by Other Means in the New Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁹ Eve Meltzer, *Systems We Have Loved: Conceptual Art, Affect, and the Antihumanist Turn* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 11.

¹⁵⁰ Jörg Heiser, Ellen Seifermann, et al. *Romantic Conceptualism*. Nürnberg : Kunsthalle Nürnberg; Bielefeld : Kerber Verlag, 2007.

an artistic soul,” the artist tests “the limits of intimacy by communicating those limits.”¹⁵¹ When authorship is suspended and the work requires a reader to complete its meaning, these ambiguous intersubjective gestures of self-exposure make visible the shifting boundaries between private psychological states and the interconnectedness of public life.

Following Peter Burger and Benjamin Buchloh, Blake Stimson has recently observed that the New-Left-inspired critique of the institution of art pursued by a conceptual neo-avant-garde centred in New York lacked the “social utopianism” which informed the historical avant-garde.¹⁵² This thesis argues, in contrast, that the conceptual nationalisms emerging from a Canadian context are expressions of utopian desires for an alternate social order by an overlapping literary and artistic neo-avant-garde. These desires are made evident through artists’ reflexive engagement with the collapse of high art genres into the model of cultural industries increasingly preferred by national cultural policy and funding agencies. Gregory Betts has recently argued in this regard that Canadian artists and poets working in the 60s “retained an avant-garde sense of history, a revolutionary if vague sense of life in Canada being potentially fulfilled in the future,” explaining that it was only in the mid-1970s that this lingering revolutionary rhetoric was increasingly put towards revealing, rather than overturning, an invisible ideological order.¹⁵³ In this sense, these case studies emerge at a transitional moment when it was still possible for artists and writers to believe that changes to the institutions of the art or literary world would alter the social order, that is, that an aesthetic revolution of visual style and language use could alter a wider horizon of socio-political experience defined at the level of national culture. At the time, these aspirations most successfully permeated Francophone mass audiences; nonetheless, recent scholarship, art historical exhibitions and revivals by artists who engage in neo-conceptual relational or social practices indicate that these social utopias continue to resonate for present-day readers across multiple language groups.

¹⁵¹ Jörg Heiser, “Moscow, Romantic, Conceptualism and After,” *e-flux Journal* 29, November 2011, <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/moscow-romantic-conceptualism-and-after/> (accessed 07 April 2013).

¹⁵² Blake Stimson, “The Promise of Conceptual Art,” in *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson, xxxviii-lit (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), xlvii.

¹⁵³ Gregory Betts, *Theory of the Avant-Gardes in Canadian Literature: The Early Manifestations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 73-74.

Imprinting utopias in words

My engagement with print culture is inspired by methods developed by Robert Darnton, scholar of print culture in eighteenth century pre-Revolutionary France, who proposes that the life of a book can be understood through the metaphor of a “communications circuit.”¹⁵⁴ This model demonstrates how “the most ordinary sort of books” engage with ideological conditions, not only through the discursive content of the text, but also in their status as objects emerging from particular sociological conditions.¹⁵⁵ Darnton’s model recognizes a constellation of people involved in the life cycle of a printed text: the author, the publisher, the printer, the distributor and the reader. These roles often overlap and are affiliated to private or public institutions in varying capacities. Both people and institutions are influenced by the intellectual, economic and political forces of the period. In this way, the printed page can be studied both for its discursive content and as a material trace of the conditions of its period of production. In order to trace the dynamics of this communications circuit active in the case studies, I pay close attention to the paratextual elements of the book such as colophon, acknowledgements, dedications, publisher’s imprint, prefaces and back-cover blurbs.

Kenneth M. Roemer’s study *Utopian Audiences: How Readers Locate Nowhere* is also an important reference. Alongside a semiotic reading of the case studies, I pay attention to documented sources attesting to the reception of these book-works and artists’ magazines in their contemporary period. This reception occurs through intertextual references embedded in other art works, or within third-party book and exhibition reviews. Archival research has allowed me to uncover correspondence between authors, editors, artists and granting agencies, as well as other practical information on the economics of publishing these books. Depending upon the availability of these sources, the completeness of this information varies within each case study. I have also considered recent scholarship and criticism addressing the case studies as further examples of reader reception. Although Roemer combines his archival research and textual analysis with a formal interview process, I have relied upon secondary sources such as existing scholarship or biographies to glean information about the

¹⁵⁴ Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 67.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Darnton, 67.

personal lives of the artists and authors discussed. While occasionally I have resorted to informal interviews, whenever possible I have attempted to confirm information in documented sources in order to shift the status out of the register of “whispered” gossip or anecdote. Roemer has also written extensively about the importance of design and the incorporation of visual elements within the text as “visual cues” which aid in the reception of the imaginary worlds conjured by books. Following his attention to the way visual imagery and text “interrupt” each other across the sequence of pages, I also pay attention to the way the material qualities of book design (size, typography, page layout, paper stock, ink colour) is integral to the meaning produced by the textual content of the book.¹⁵⁶

Visual art objects dematerialized in gallery settings, while language materialized in the books published by a new generation of literary presses that sprung up around the Centennial year. This parallel movement across distinct fields of visual and literary artistic expression makes the printed artefact key to the case studies of this thesis. Talonbooks was founded in 1967, in the same year, at Coach House Press, Victor Colman’s editorial direction linked the press to a poetic community constituted by a North American network of poets and artists.¹⁵⁷ Although Véhicule Press and Éditions Médiart appeared later, in 1973, it will be argued that they emerged as a result of contact with poets and artists who benefitted from the funding models put in place to support these Centennial-year presses.¹⁵⁸ Although this thesis draws extensively from scholarship produced within the field of CanLit (Canadian Literature), my argument relies upon an expanded definition of the “book,” which reaches beyond the conventional boundaries of literary studies responding to a particular canon of texts. I draw instead upon the scholarship of the *History of The Book in Canada* (2004-2006), which captures a diversity of printed material within an expanded definition of “book history” that includes all manner of printed documents: “portable, accessible and adaptable, however stapled,

¹⁵⁶ Kenneth M. Roemer, 38.

¹⁵⁷ Kathleen Scherf, “A Legacy of Canadian Cultural Tradition and the Small Press: The Case of Talonbooks,” *Studies in Canadian Literature* 25, no. 1 (2000): 131-132.

¹⁵⁸ Kathleen Scherf notes 1973 as the year in which the small press movement in Canada cohered as a recognizable national project, due in part to the Canada Council’s translation grant program first made available in 1972, 132.

glued or bound into magazines or books.”¹⁵⁹ This means that this thesis considers works of poetry or prose to be objects of material culture comparable to other genres of publishing including, but not limited to, souvenir photo albums, exhibition catalogues, conceptual book-works, Royal commission reports and policy papers, activist pamphlets, countercultural or “straight” newspapers, and pop culture magazines. Alongside the expanded definition of format, this thesis also draws from the *History of the Book in Canada* to understand the post-Centennial context for publishing as an extension of a longer twentieth century process of “imprinting the nation in words,” as various aspects of print culture were significantly influenced by government policy tied to a project of nation-building.¹⁶⁰ I also draw from Richard Cavell’s argument that the canon forming the basis of studies in CanLit is a “Cold War literature,” produced with the support of the Canada Council for the Arts with the goal to define and preserve a national culture from the threat of American influence.¹⁶¹ Foundational examples of this criticism from the post-Centennial period include Margaret Atwood’s *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972) and Northrop Frye’s *The Bush Garden* (1971), both published by House of Anansi Press, also the publisher of Michael Ondaatje’s *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems* (1970).

To further outline my approach to print culture, I would like to introduce Michael Ondaatje’s *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems* (1970) as a literary work, which I argue is an example of conceptual nationalism comparable to Joyce Wieland’s *True Patriot Love* (fig. 12). These two works, which have received extensive scholarly attention in distinct fields, serve as examples from which to map out a highly complex terrain of competing Canadian nationalisms, perpetuated, in part, by their institutional publishers. These competing nationalisms influenced both the composition of the respective works and their reception. In this respect, the aesthetic strategies of these books are reflective of overlapping artistic and literary social worlds that assume

¹⁵⁹ Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, "Coda," in *History of the Book in Canada. Vol. 3, 1918-1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 515-521 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 515.

¹⁶⁰ A.B. McKillop, "Imprinting the Nation in Words," in *History of the Book in Canada. Vol. 3, 1918-1980*, 13-24 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

¹⁶¹ 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, 85-92 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2007), 86.

countercultural positions. This leads to highly complex disidentifications with symbols of official national culture, and the ethnicity model implicit within nationalist discourse.

Ondaatje's *The Collected Works* can be considered an example of conceptual nationalism for two reasons. Firstly, the narrative features Canada as geopolitical space and as social imaginary; the book's reception therefore reflects widespread preoccupations with the question of national identity, which were amplified when the book won a Governor General's Award. Secondly, Ondaatje discusses poetry in terms that are remarkably similar to Joseph Kosuth's "One and Three Chairs" (1969), which has become a classic work of conceptual art. Kosuth's idea for the work is expressed as a set of instructions for a gallery installation. Exhibition installers follow these instructions to select a chair; produce a full-size photograph of the chair; and produce the image of a dictionary definition of "chair." The images are then hung on the wall at either side of the chair. This arrangement reflects upon the relationship between an object (chair), image (photograph of the chair), and words (dictionary definition), ultimately questioning the limits of the photographic image and of language in the representation of reality. Because anyone can choose the "real" object (the chair), these limits of representation are also removed from a direct relationship to Kosuth as author of the work. Ondaatje has requested that his writing be considered on similar terms, specifically using the metaphor of "a chair" to describe the limitations of the representation of reality in poetry and prose. Even though the autobiographical function of his work is widely recognized by critics, he reminds his readers,

The thing here is to remember constantly is that the poem is not real life; the poem is a poem, the poem is a work of art. It's an artifice, it's a chair, it was made by somebody, and what is involved is what happens when you put the chair into a room. What is involved also is how the person made the chair, and what is important is the other chairs the person has made.¹⁶²

The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems is a polyvocal book-length poem set in the American West. From the first page, when readers are presented with a blank square instead of a picture of the outlaw as promised by the caption, they are

¹⁶² Quoted in Ed Jewinski, *Michael Ondaatje: Express Yourself Beautifully* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1994), 50.

made aware of the imaginary place, impossible to document with a photograph, in which the story takes place. The geography of this place is unreliable and yet recognizable to readers because it is based on the tropes of Hollywood Westerns, dime store novels, and pseudo-historical accounts, interspersed with existing landmarks and objectively verifiable facts. The narrator's voice remains similarly unstable throughout the narrative as Ondaatje inhabits multiple characters – the poetic “I” is sometimes the outlaw, Billy the Kid; at other times, it is the voice of Pat Garrett, the man sent to kill Billy as a representative of the Law. Although *The Collected Works* is entirely written in a vernacular English, Ondaatje includes a detail in his character description of Garrett – that at the age of fifteen, he secretly taught himself how to speak, read and write in French. This language acquisition remains private throughout his lifetime, as Garrett conceals his skill and refuses to make use of this language in any public way. He does not even share an imaginary francophone community by reading “French books.” Curiously, this section on covert language acquisition directly precedes Garrett's self-imposed disciplinary desensitization as he binge drinks in preparation for his future role in law enforcement as a ruthless killer. These coextensive references to language and the disciplinary effects of the law could be read as a moment of disidentification with a national policy of official bilingualism in an author whose own English language acquisition occurred as a member of the affluent Burgher class in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), which were responsible for the administration of British colonial rule.¹⁶³

Benedict Anderson's oft-quoted theory of the nation as an “imagined community” argues that standardized language and content in print media plays a crucial role in developing a national consciousness shared by otherwise geographically dispersed and culturally distinct populations.¹⁶⁴ In contrast to Anderson's theory, the field of studies defined by national histories of the book recognizes that state borders cannot stop the circulation of books, neither do institutions such as copyright or cultural funding fully control book production or the circulation of ideas to transnational reading publics. Nonetheless, book scholars are quick to point out that the nation-state remains the most

¹⁶³ Ondaatje was naturalized as a Canadian citizen in 1965, arriving by way of England in 1962. Lee Spinks, 2.

¹⁶⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

powerful form of government to date; as Carole Gerson recently explained, “the nation is hard to escape when institutions of culture are still nationally defined,” and continues to dictate legislative frameworks impacting the form and content of books, reading publics, the missions of public archives and libraries, eligibility and evaluative criteria for research and cultural funding as well as national languages.¹⁶⁵ In this respect, Gerson and Jacques Michon have observed that the combined scholarship of the *History of the Book in Canada* demonstrates the effect of print media throughout the twentieth century in Canada to be a division of reading publics through the standardization of English and French language presses; and simultaneously, an affirmation of the social identity of aboriginal peoples, visible minorities and ethnic groups whose mother tongues were other than English or French.¹⁶⁶ Likewise, small presses contribute to the circulation of dissenting cultural and political views. Although these processes were accelerated in the period following the Centennial, and have been the subject of much criticism and debate in the field of literary studies since the 1980s drawing upon postmodern, post-structuralist and post-colonial theory, *History of the Book in Canada* nonetheless shows that while national imaginaries were cultivated through the standardization of English- and French-language presses, the overall effect of print on Canadian society throughout the twentieth century was not to centralize culture, but rather to create a plurality of imagined communities and subjectivities that derived from participating in multiple readerships.¹⁶⁷ Less well represented in *History of the Book in Canada* is the formation of “counterpublics,” a readership formed not in response to rational debate and discourse, but through a process of *poesis*, or affective world-making. This thesis aims to address this gap.

¹⁶⁵ Carole Gerson, Martin Lyons, Jean-Yves Mollier, Jacques Michon and Michael Winship, “Inheriting the National Histories of the Book,” *SHARP 2015: The Generation and Regeneration of Books*. Longueuil, Québec, 7 July 2015.

¹⁶⁶ The combined scholarship of *History of the Book in Canada* identifies a division along linguistic lines between Québec and English Canada specific to the twentieth century. This division was entrenched through parallel cultural institutions and divided readerships. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, “Editors’ introduction,” in *History of the Book in Canada. Vol. 3 1918-1980*, 3-9 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 3-9.

¹⁶⁷ See also, Trish Loughran, “Books in the Nation,” in *Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* Leslie Howsam, ed. (Windsor: University of Windsor, 2015), 36-52.

Ondaatje's *The Collected Works* is most often discussed as an example of the postmodern long poem genre because his revival of the myth of Billy the Kid through unreliable documentary sources reveals historical knowledge to be a socially constructed phenomenon.¹⁶⁸ Although a structuralist understanding of the relationship between form and content (signifier and signified) is important to my discussion of this book as “conceptual nationalism,” I would like to focus instead on how it supports Ondaatje's reoccurring preoccupation with technologically enhanced perception and altered consciousness, as it intersects with his mapping of an imaginary geography that points to a utopian desire shared within Ondaatje's “real” social world. Lorraine York observes that it is through these covert and camouflaged references to real world relationships that Ondaatje creates a counter-myth, “one that stresses community, webs of relationships... over the lone gun image of the West.”¹⁶⁹ Like Wieland's *True Patriot Love*, Ondaatje's *The Collected Works* uses the book as a medium to create a counter-environment to the nation.

Book historians Eli McLaren and Josée Vincent have described the nation, not as a cultural form to be preserved and protected through nationalistic discourse, but rather as a “grid” which could be used to describe the conditions of cultural production and to measure the flow of material objects and ideas within and beyond boundaries.¹⁷⁰ In this sense, this thesis uses book history methods to pay attention to the mutability of texts – their ability to take multiple forms, to migrate from one place to another as these forms travel in time and space, but also as they are cited and repeated through reprinting, translation, or remediation. This method also recognizes the simultaneous effect on the social imaginary of broadcast media such as television, radio and film, and the ability for books to imitate these media forms, just as Joyce Wieland's *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique* and Michael Ondaatje's *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems* incorporate tropes of landscape painting, Hollywood Westerns, structuralist film and comic strips. Helpful in this respect is Richard Cavell's contribution to *History of the Book in Canada*, which highlights the importance of Marshall

¹⁶⁸ Lee Spinks, *Michael Ondaatje* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 53.

¹⁶⁹ Lorraine York, *Literary Celebrity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 134.

¹⁷⁰ Eli McLaren and Josée Vincent, chairs, “Inheriting the National Histories of the Book,” *SHARP 2015: The Generation and Regeneration of Books*. Longueuil, Québec, 7 July 2015.

McLuhan's work to the print production of artists and writers attentive to the "materiality of the book as signifier" in the production of counter-environments where media forms overlap.¹⁷¹

McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1964) proposed that shifts in technologies have larger ideological effects: print culture inaugurated social change that included the emergence of the concept of the individual, the consolidation of nations as a form of government and collective identification, as well as the reorganization of human sensorial experience to privilege sight and linear perspective in pictorial representation. In the 1960s, McLuhan understood communications technologies such as television and radio to be ushering in a moment of transition into a new ideological space. He argued that these electronic media revived qualities of oral culture as they paralleled the older media space of print. In contrast to these new modes of communication, the specific effects of print culture became evident and could be studied. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), expanded these theories to reflect upon the social change effected through film, television, and radio, leading McLuhan to predict the end of national cultures and the revival of collective identification through tribal affiliation. He believed artists and writers were in a unique position to reveal the shifting cultural environment due to their attention to form and material properties. McLuhan's transnational reception in the 1960s, and significant impact on countercultures across North America and beyond meant that by the early 1970s, McLuhan was both countercultural reference and "television intellectual" broadcast into living rooms everywhere.¹⁷²

In the 1960s, Billy the Kid was similarly both mainstream movie hero and countercultural reference.¹⁷³ Because the story of Billy the Kid and the larger myth of

¹⁷¹ Richard Cavell, "Marshall McLuhan and the History of the Book," in *History of the Book in Canada. Vol. 3, 1918-1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 88-90 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 90.

¹⁷² Mark Watson, "The Countercultural "Indian": Visualizing Retribalization at the Human Be-In," in *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, 208-223 (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 214; Gregory Betts, *Theory of the Avant-Gardes in Canadian Literature*, 241.

¹⁷³ Billy the Kid features as the object of gay desire in Jack Spicer's *Billy The Kid* (Enkidu Surrogate, 1959), or as masculine film archetype in Michael McClure's play *The Beard* (1965). bpNichol humorously amplified masculine sexual anxiety in *The true eventual story of Billy the Kid* (Toronto: Weed/Flower Press, 1970).

Manifest Destiny in the American West has been repeated across multiple media forms aimed at popular audiences around the globe, this reflexivity between form and content can be interpreted as a rejection of the ideological control of American media hegemony.¹⁷⁴ In *The Collected Works*, Ondaatje explores themes of extreme violence and moral ambiguity by positioning Billy the sympathetic outlaw as foil to Garrett the corrupt lawman. A collage of voices is repeated in the material design of the book, as poetry and prose alternate across page spreads in sequences that mimic montage techniques in film. Hollywood cinema contributed to the process of this transmission of the myth alongside fiction and non-fiction genres in print, several sources of which are deliberately appropriated by Ondaatje in the construction of the book.¹⁷⁵ Famously, when Ondaatje and bpNichol were jointly awarded the Governor General's Award for their retellings of the Billy the Kid legend, former Prime Minister Diefenbaker gave a press conference where he criticized the awarding of a Canadian prize to books with American content, setting off a wave of publicity which, in the end, would help to sell more books to a wider readership.¹⁷⁶ Dennis Lee, Ondaatje's editor at House of Anansi, further ensured the appropriation of the American myth into a Canadian canon of literature.¹⁷⁷ Lee's literary criticism, alongside the books he published through House of Anansi press, helped to define this canon based on distinctively "Canadian" themes reflecting an anti-technology, cultural isolationist stance similar to that espoused by George Grant in *Technology and Empire* (also published by the press in 1969).

Although House of Anansi published *The Collected Works*, Coach House Press printed the book. This co-publishing relationship is significant because the two presses

¹⁷⁴ This position would have been articulated by Canadian cultural nationalists such as Dennis Lee in this period as "American imperialism." A more recent activation of this argument from a post-colonial scholar reflecting upon Ondaatje's identity as a Sinhalese-Canadian can be found in Lucia Boldrini, "The Anamorphosis of Photography in Michael Ondaatje's 'The Collected Works of Billy the Kid'," in *Image Technologies in Canadian Literature: Narrative, Film and Photography*, ed. Carmen Concilo and Richard J. Lane, 31-46 (New York: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009), 32.

¹⁷⁵ Appropriated mass culture sources include: an etching of Billy taken from the cover of the Five Cent Wide Awake Library, a "dime novel" series dating from 1881 and dialogue transcribed from a 1969 comic book, *Billy the Kid and the Princess*. Appropriated non-fiction genres include: Walter Noble Burns' *The Saga of Billy the Kid* (Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926); or Mark H. Brown and W.R. Felton, *The Frontier Years: L.A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1955).

¹⁷⁶ Ed Jewinski, 83.

¹⁷⁷ Dennis Lee, *Savage Fields: An Essay in Literature and Cosmology* (House of Anansi, 1977); see further discussion in Stephen Cain, "Imprinting Identities," 128, 225.

had differing philosophies regarding nationhood. Both presses emerged from their founders' common experience of Toronto's Rochdale College, a countercultural free-school and communal living environment that attempted to channel utopian desire into practice. Stephen Cain has argued that this earlier experience at Rochdale contributed to a sense of "family" or "community" fostered at the two presses, and as their list of authors shows, these kinship circles sometimes overlapped.¹⁷⁸ However, the presses differed in their contribution to a national imaginary during the post-Centennial period because, as Cain observes, Anansi's "isolationist, monolithic and aggressively nationalist" approach contrasted to the "internationalist, multiple, and ironically nationalist" leanings of Coach House Press.¹⁷⁹ As part of a project to define a distinct Canadian identity through shared literary references, House of Anansi mimicked the editorial and design conventions of industry publishers such as McClelland and Stewart as a means of reaching a wide readership and educational market. Titles produced for a countercultural readership, such as Mark Satin's *Manual for Draft-Age Immigrants to Canada* (1968),¹⁸⁰ mimicked informational pamphlets produced by the Queen's Printer. Like Wieland's *True Patriot Love*, the *Manual* deploys the visual language of an official government document in order to cultivate an image of Canada as a safe haven for escapees from the American war machine; unlike that of *True Patriot Love*, Anansi's mimesis is done without irony because Canada, in its existing state, is already the utopian alternative they envision to the United States.¹⁸¹ Coach House Press, on the other hand, took a McLuhanesque approach to experimenting with technological change, the book as medium, and the aesthetic effects of photo-mechanical reproduction of image and text.¹⁸² Also in keeping with McLuhan, expressions of nationalism and conceptions of nationhood reflected semiotic identification with the nation-state *and also* patterns of community that took other geographic forms. In this sense, official national symbols were most likely to be

¹⁷⁸ Dennis Lee helped to found this organization, where Stan Bevington and Victor Coleman were both employed.

¹⁷⁹ Stephen Cain, "Imprinting Identities," v.

¹⁸⁰ Over 60,000 copies of this pamphlet were sold between 1968 and 1971. David McKnight, "Small Press Publishing," in *History of the Book in Canada, 1918-1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 308-318 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 313

¹⁸¹ David McKnight, "Small Press Publishing," 313.

¹⁸² Stephen Cain, "Imprinting Identities," 90.

employed as self-parody in a double-critique of American imperialism and Canadian nationalism.¹⁸³

I argue that *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid* is a work of conceptual nationalism because the covert web of social relations with which Ondaatje maps out his poetic community acts as an ironic counterpart to the strains of cultural and economic nationalisms circulating in his social milieu. In this regard, Sheila Watson's review of *The Collected Works* provides a different entry point to understanding the book as a work of conceptual nationalism. Novelist, close colleague of McLuhan, and editor of *White Pelican*, a magazine which reflected the interests of an earlier Canadian avant-garde Vorticist movement, Watson linked the two explicit mentions of Canada in *The Collected Works* to the depiction of the natural world in the Euro-Canadian tradition of landscape painting. In the first reference, Billy describes how he "criss-crossed the Canadian border" on horseback in proprioceptive terms; and secondly, Billy heads north, searching for "Captain P ___*" where he enjoys "a Canadian group, a sort of orchestra, that is the best."¹⁸⁴ Crucially, Watson recognized the importance of irony in Ondaatje's work as a position that refrains from expressions of "moral outrage," presumably regarding the hegemony of US mass-culture; instead, she focuses on how Ondaatje presents the paradoxical experience of technology (including print media) as it extends sensorial perception out into the surrounding environment. That is, media technologies are understood to be phenomena that exist externally, as in the case of national boundaries, language or media, which are then internalized through a process of identification with a particular culture.

The Collected Works features the perceptual effects of media, such as photography or film and other technologies of reproduction, as a reoccurring narrative trope. These tropes in the textual content are reflexively mirrored by the formal choice to insert uncaptioned images within the text, as seen on the cover of the first edition, which reproduces a degraded reproduction of one of Edward Muybridge's photographic sequences of moving objects, "Pandora, jumping a hurdle, saddled, rider nude."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Stephen Cain, "Imprinting Identities," 15.

¹⁸⁴ Sheila Watson, "Michael Ondaatje – The Mechanization of Death," *White Pelican* (Fall 1972): 57-64.

¹⁸⁵ Lucia Boldrini, 43.

Ondaatje has commented that this book was “the film I couldn’t afford to shoot, in the form of a book,”¹⁸⁶ and indeed, after publishing the book he would make two films: *The Sons of Captain Poetry* (1970), a portrait of his friend bpNichol, composed as a montage of image and sound; and *Carry on Crime and Punishment* (1970), a black and white short film reminiscent of Buster Keaton’s parody of Western melodrama.¹⁸⁷ The romp through a wilderness setting featured Ondaatje’s basset hound, Wallace; as well as his wife Kim, friends Tom Marshall and Stuart MacKinnon, and a crowd of children who were part of a social group gathering at Ondaatje’s “Blue Roof Farm.”¹⁸⁸ This farmhouse and barn, located outside of Kingston, was the bucolic site where Ondaatje edited *The Collected Works*; but it was also the location for many playful weekends as artists, writers and their children gathered on the porch for conversation, “nude swimming and late-night (clothed) dancing.”¹⁸⁹ bpNichol is the “Captain P ____*” featured as a Canadian reference in *The Collected Works*; likewise, MacKinnon and his wife Sally, had earlier posed on the porch of Blue Roof Farm, dressed up as the ranchers, John and Sallie Chisum, for a photograph included in *The Collected Works*. In this way, *The Collected Works* acts as a conceptual map pointing to the affective sites where friends gather in various urban and rural locations around southern Ontario.

Acknowledgements printed in the colophon of the book further extend this mapping. *20 Cents Magazine* is listed as an earlier publisher of an excerpt,¹⁹⁰ a magazine affiliated with a lively scene of visual artists gathering at the 20/20 Gallery, which included his wife, painter Kim Ondaatje, and close friends Jack Chambers, Robert Fones and Tony Urquhart who similarly tackled brutal subject matter through neo-Dada montage techniques in painting, film, text and sound performance.¹⁹¹ This London scene also welcomed Coach House writers arriving in Toronto from the west coast, as Cain has argued that Coach House Press became “the site for the book-form publication of many

¹⁸⁶ Quoted in Lee Spinks, 51.

¹⁸⁷ For instance, *The Frozen North* (1922) a parody of William S. Hart’s *Hell’s Hinges* (1916) and *The Narrow Trail* (1917).

¹⁸⁸ Ed Jewinski notes that the filming took place elsewhere but that the setting is very close to that at the Blue Roof Farm outside of Kingston, 90-91.

¹⁸⁹ Tom Marshall quoted in Ed Jewinski, 88.

¹⁹⁰ Michael Ondaatje, “The Left-Handed Poems,” *20 Cents Magazine* (January 1970).

¹⁹¹ Ed Jewinski, 74.

of the *Tish* writers,” such as George Bowering, as well as peripherally related figures such as Roy Kiyooka and bpNichol.¹⁹² Also listed in Ondaatje’s acknowledgements of previous publication is the volume of *The Story So Far* (1971) edited by Bowering, which included a cover design by General Idea – soon to be the publishers of *File*. Not only a publisher of books, Coach House was a node in a counterpublic held together by gossip and anecdote shared in person and through intertextual references in print.

In a similar manner to Wieland’s book-work, *The Collected Works* emphasizes an experiential moment *before* it is assimilated into a historical discourse; as Lee Spinks has argued in this regard, “Billy perceives his world dissolving into flows of affect and desire... a mode of feeling that propels him towards the ‘periphery’ of his own body.”¹⁹³ Billy’s witnessing or subjugation to extreme conditions has a ritualized effect leading to a heightened state of perception. Alcohol, insanity, sex and drugs function similarly as gateways to perfection or destruction; or in Freudian terms, they exaggerate the dynamic between *eros* and *thanatos* as those unconscious psychological drives influencing behaviour at a level of instinct. In this way, Ondaatje’s attention to shifts in consciousness induced by overlapping visual technologies is comparable to the dream-state induced by Joyce Wieland’s photographic play with the symbols upholding national myths in *True Patriot Love*. While recovering from being wounded, Billy describes his perception of Sallie Chism as a “picture now sliding so she with her tray and her lamp jerked up to the ceiling and floated down calm again and continued forward crushing me against the wall only I didn’t feel anything yet.”¹⁹⁴ Billy’s cinematic vision plays a part in “crushing” a singular identity out into the surrounding environment, but Billy also fights against this amorphous state as he struggles to direct the camera which records the scenes of his life in the narrative text.¹⁹⁵ Spinks argues that the visions of transformation that Ondaatje offers to his readers are “not utopian in their emphases” because Billy, terrified by these altered states of consciousness, reasserts his autonomy through the imposition of his will upon others.¹⁹⁶ I argue instead that the fragmented form of *The Collected Works*

¹⁹² Stephen Cain, “Imprinting Identities,” 55.

¹⁹³ Lee Spinks, 54.

¹⁹⁴ Michael Ondaatje, *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, 34.

¹⁹⁵ Lee Spinks, 71.

¹⁹⁶ Lee Spinks, 68.

and the emphasis on affect and desire fits well with the utopian impulse of conceptual nationalism, as Ondaatje explores states of extreme bodily duress and pain that open up a threshold which can be moved through into another state of consciousness.

Mapping conceptual nationalisms

Joyce Wieland's *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique* and Ondaatje's *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems* serve as examples of conceptual nationalisms which can be further compared to the case studies discussed in the following chapters. Taking *True Patriot Love* and *The Collected Works* as coordinates on a conceptual map, Chapter II "Conceptual Art Trips" is a reading of Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* (Talonbooks, 1975) that extends this process of mapping out to the west coast and Vancouver, before making a meandering way back east again. Frequent references to Marshall McLuhan, alongside historical symbols of Canadian nationalism such as Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven, suggest that Kiyooka's conceptual mapping is an extension or reinvention of the Euro-Canadian landscape genre, which uses the book to produce a "counter-environment" to the nation.

Conceptual nationalisms, as they manifest in the pages of book-works and artists' magazines, engage with the symbols of an official national culture because at some level the artist has internalized the values underpinning this national dream. Nonetheless, it is precisely the legibility of these official symbols that creates the conditions for it to circulate as counterpublicity forging alternate national imaginaries by imbuing these official symbols with alternate meanings. As the act of publication transposes details of private or personal experience into a public register, these disidentificatory performances challenge the fixed identity positions and the limited range of publicly accepted social roles repeated across mass-media sources which uphold the dominant society they represent.¹⁹⁷ These disidentifications have a utopian potential to attract an expanding readership, and indeed, the case studies included in this thesis all *aspire* to do so, with varying degrees of success over time. Crucially, although they do overlap, the readership that coheres as a counterpublic through this process of disidentification is *not equivalent*

¹⁹⁷ For instance, these social scripts include "mysogeny," which performatively reinforces fixed masculine and feminine identity categories. José Esteban Muñoz, 199.

to the national public sought out as the popular audience for official discourses of nationalism.

The early 1970s is often held up as an end point for the countercultural dreams of the 1960s; however, in my discussion of conceptual nationalisms, I follow recent scholars of the sixties who take the position that the desire for liberation articulated by this generation was not simply the precursor to a globally hegemonic “third spirit of capitalism” heralded by the management models of networked and flexible creative industries;¹⁹⁸ rather, it also transformed over the years into evolving forms of political and cultural activism.¹⁹⁹ I argue that the book-works and magazines that feature as case studies in this thesis are some examples of how this transmission of a utopian impulse to future generations of readers can occur; nonetheless, an open question remains as to whether (and how) the national framework that proved effective for these particular aesthetic interventions continues to be meaningful for readers who believe they live in a post-national world.

¹⁹⁸ Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso Books, 2007); see also Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture : Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

¹⁹⁹ See for example, Ian McKay, “Sarnia in the Sixties (Or The Peculiarities of the Canadians),” in *New World Coming : The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*, 24-35 (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2009); Suzanne Staggenborg, *Social Movements* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2008); Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

Chapter II : Trans-Canada Conceptual Art Trips

The front and back covers of *Transcanda Letters* show a multi-coloured illustrated map of the country, overlaid by black and white snapshots of the east and west coast that are clasped in the left and right hands of the artist (fig. 13). 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. The two snapshots confirm Roy 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.

Roy Kenzie Kiyooka was *Nisei*, a second-generation Japanese Canadian, a visual artist and a poet.²⁰⁰ *Transcanada Letters* reproduces 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 are arranged in a conceptual grid.²⁰¹ Within *Transcanada Letters*, a conceptual "aesthetics of information" is present in the typographic grid underlying the arrangement of letters on the page, in the seriality of photographs printed in halftone patterns, and in the "informational genres" Kiyooka chooses as the form for his texts, such as grant reports or event programs. As John Guillory has observed, this

²⁰⁰ Roy Kenzie Kiyooka was born in Moosejaw, Saskatchewan, 1926; died in Vancouver, 1994.

²⁰¹ 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.

appropriation of “nonart” informational genres makes them comparable to high art, when all media are considered to be forms of communication.²⁰² In *Transcanada Letters*, the play between image and text, or content and typographic arrangement, introduces multiple semantic registers to the book; it also 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.

Dates and return addresses included with each letter are a collection of temporal and geographic coordinates, which track Kiyooka in his travels east- and west-ward through multiple geographic locations across Canada, southwards into the United States, and westwards across the Pacific Ocean to Japan. The “transcanada” narrative thus begins with a description of the artists’ first visit, in his late 30s, to Japan. Curiously, the personally transformative travel experience is conveyed as if the reader were eavesdropping, as the details are filtered through an interim report on his activities filed with the Canada Council for the Arts. Kiyooka’s next geographic displacement is signaled by a letter without an addressee, perhaps a draft of a poem, sent from Montréal, Québec. 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 compliment 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 are the unusual choices he made for word- or line-breaks in prose; these linguistic code-switches are also present in pages of concrete poetry; or in his mimesis of formatting required for project budgets and reports. Likewise, a series of citations throughout *Transcanada Letters* attests to Kiyooka’s eclectic reading habits in which multiple cultural references converge – biographies of Tom Thomson, *artscanada*, Marshall McLuhan’s *Gutenberg Galaxy*, *Playboy*, Herbert Marcuse, Walt Whitman and William Blake are some examples. His 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

²⁰² John Guillory, “Genesis of the Media Concept,” *Critical Inquiry* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2010): 347.

narrative threads chronicle the collaborative development of several projects with small publishers such as Talonbooks and Toronto's Coach House Press, as well as with respected museum and gallery directors – but also reveals the nomadic conditions imposed by his employment in teaching positions scattered across the country.

The disjunction between the “imaginary” world mapped out within the pages of the book through fragmented references to “real” geo-political sites is one aspect of what makes *Transcanada Letters* a comparable work of conceptual nationalism to Joyce Wieland's book-work, *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique*, and Michael Ondaatje's *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*. Also shared between these books is a preoccupation with technologically enhanced perception and altered consciousness, which intersects with the mapping of a locality emerging from a utopian desires shared between Kiyooka's social world of friends, family and colleagues. Throughout *Transcanada Letters*, Kiyooka revisits his personal experience of racialized identity as it was formed in relation to a national culture, as he continues to engage with symbols of the Dominion of Canada in which he grew to maturity. Kiyooka plays with the shifts in signification for the national flag, the landscape paintings of the Group of Seven, and the heroic figure of Tom Thomson, which were reinvested with new meanings in Canada's Centennial period. This semiotic play occurs with an acute awareness of the role of visual arts and literature in the shaping of a national imaginary. In this sense, Kiyooka uses the book as a material form, which he recognizes to be imbued with ideological properties. For instance, a letter addressed to Phyllis Webb describes the psychoanalytic theme of Margaret Atwood's *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Literature* as a national imaginary constituted “via mainline W.A.S.P. eyes.”²⁰³ Significantly, in the same letter, Kiyooka counter-proposes a west coast “shamanic spirit” and the poetic principle of *polis* to offset Atwood's national imaginary. Atwood's thematic guide emphasizes Canadian author's use of Indigenous peoples as symbols of “something in the white Canadian psyche” – usually a fear of their own victimization, or the wish for access to natural or spiritual realms that surpass civilization.²⁰⁴ Neither of these positions account for Kiyooka's

²⁰³ Dear Phyllis, Vancouver, BC / '72, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

²⁰⁴ Margaret Atwood, *Survival : A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1972), 91.

combination of a reference to First Nations spiritual practice with an ideal for democratic community based on the model of the Greek city-state. His “shamanic spirit” is not a symbol, but rather the transcription of a lived experience, specifically that of his participation in Vancouver poets’ adaptation of Charles Olson’s principles of projective verse throughout the 1960s to their local context.

As will be further discussed below, many Vancouver poets generated personal mythologies in relation to an acutely localized experience of place and poetic community. This experiential relationship to place and poetic community was mapped in relation to the pages of magazines such as *Tish* (1961-1969), and to publications issuing from Talonbooks and Coach House Press. This poetic practice of *localism* negated the abstract symbolism that sustained national cultures (exemplified at the time by Atwood’s thematic approach); nonetheless, Kiyooka also acknowledges in a letter to Frank Davey that by the early 1970s, the regional marginalism expressed by the *Tish* poets, or publishers such as Talonbooks, had become an integral contribution to a national imaginary constituted by the post-Centennial body of literary criticism that defined a canon of CanLit: “you shiT-Poets are getting shoved into Can/ Lit – / where you damned well deserve to p-e-e-r.”²⁰⁵ *Transcanada Letters* shares a similarly ambivalent affective relationship to the mythology of Canadian nationhood, as a work of conceptual nationalism that uses both the poetics of localism and conceptual photography to explore the affective experience of belonging to a larger social formation.

Transcanada Letters was published in 1975, marking Kiyooka’s returned to Vancouver following a period of travel and itinerant teaching positions. He was a sociable individual with a gift for gathering friends around him in each city where he took up residence. *Transcanada Letters* testifies to the textured terrain of a world made up of multiple connections between family, friends and colleagues, which signify through complex levels of disidentification with official forms of national culture, and also with the countercultures within which he circulated. 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 US. Kiyooka’s reworking of the

²⁰⁵ Dear Frank D. 12/5th/’72, Vancouver BC. *Transcanada Letters*, np.

Trans-Canada Highway as a symbol of nationhood therefore 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.²⁰⁶ In this sense, Kiyooka’s first-hand experience of a message of national unity and cosmopolitanism conveyed through the Expo ’67 World’s Fair contrasts strongly with his admiration for the working-class politics of the Québec separatist movement. Likewise, his participation in the Expo ’70 World’s Fair in Kyoto, Japan, generates observations upon the inconspicuous role that Canadian art and culture played on the world stage in comparison to the global influence of American pop culture. But the “Americanization” of Japanese culture also leads Kiyooka to caution that independence for Québec would expose the fledgling nation to the effects of American hegemony. This anti-imperialist sentiment also surprisingly echoes in his use of the term “branch-plant” to describe the Nova Scotia College of Art in Halifax, where Kiyooka taught alongside dissenting American conceptual artists.

Unimaginable nations and poetic communities

Kiyooka’s book of correspondence was conceived of as a “twin” publication for *Roy K. Kiyooka: 25 Years*, the catalogue for a touring exhibition organized by the Vancouver Art Gallery.²⁰⁷ As a survey of Kiyooka’s career to date, this exhibition and its two publications marked his success as an established Canadian artist. *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

²⁰⁶ Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, ed. Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), xxx.

²⁰⁷ The exhibition travelled from The Vancouver Art Gallery, 21 November - 16 December, 1975; to University of Calgary, January, 1976; The Art Gallery of Windsor, 20 February - 28 March, 1976; The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, April 1976. Talonbooks was the publisher of *Transcanada Letters*, and is also listed as the printer for the exhibition catalogue (published under the imprint of the Vancouver Art Gallery). This combination of commercial printing and in-house publishing was a common mode of financing for the press before its financial restructuring in 1975. It also reflects overlaps between visual art and literary worlds that are less visible if only referring to the bibliography of authors published under the Talonbooks imprint.

Transcanada Letters as the “contrary geography” of a *Nisei* reading the country from west to east, a negation of the traditional Euro-Canadian narrative of settlement, east to west.²⁰⁸ 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.”²⁰⁹ For Kamboureli, *Transcanada Letters* is an example of how to take a recognizable symbol of national unity – the Trans-Canada Highway – and divert its use value from social, cultural or trade policies enacted by those institutions that regulate identity in a national context. I want to argue that *Transcanada Letters* is a conceptual book-work, which reflexively moves between image and text as an expression of conceptual nationalism. I also want to explore aspects of the book that are “polymorphously perverse” in their exploration of the erotic drive and mutable identities, and therefore not so directly related to questions of “Asian Canadian” identity as it has been articulated as a political project through the critical histories of social movements and cultural activism.²¹⁰ In order to do this, I will use terms such as “diasporic subjectivity,” “pacific nation” and “poetic community,” which describe affective experiences of national belonging that do not correspond to representation within a geo-political nation-state.

Transcanada Letters communicates an ambivalent sense of place that hovers in-between shifting psychic states. This mutable sense of identity is also reflected in the fragmented and process-based intermedial forms (such as the conceptual book-work) that Kiyooka works within. Identity shifts and media overlaps are consistent with Kamboureli’s description of an “unimaginable community” predicated upon different temporal and spatial relationships than that of centre-to-periphery, and the parallel effects of linguistic code switching that informs diasporic subjectivities.²¹¹ In this respect, Lily

²⁰⁸ Roy Miki, “Tom Thomson as/in Roy Kiyooka” in *The Artist & The Moose, A Fable of Forget* (Burnaby : Line Books, 2009), 143.

²⁰⁹ Smaro Kamboureli, “Preface,” in *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki, vii-xv (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), x.

²¹⁰ Alice Jim, “Asian Canadian Art Matters,” *Diaaalogue*. (July 2010) Asia Art Archive. <http://www.aaa.org.hk/Diaaalogue/Details/863> (accessed 20 March 2016).

²¹¹ Smaro Kamboureli, “Preface,” in *Trans.Can.Lit*, xii.

Cho has explained the affective experience of diasporic subjectivity as it conflicts with citizenship status as an “agonized relationship to home...the perpetual sense of not quite having left and not quite having arrived.”²¹² I understand this to mean that disidentification, for Kiyooka, occurs where cultural traditions locating identity in an ethnic heritage originating “elsewhere” intersect with an understanding of the body as a discursive site produced according to cultural norms reinforced through print or electronic media such as television or radio. This means that at the same time that Kiyooka forms part of the reading public participating in the national imaginary anthologized in Margaret Atwood’s *Survival: A Thematic Guide To Canadian Literature* (even though he rejects her premise, he has nonetheless read her argument), Kiyooka also participates in the counterculture’s adoption via Marshall McLuhan of a post-national “tribal” identity conceived of as mobile, small-scale collectivities undefined by territory, but linked together via communications technology.²¹³

These late 1960s countercultural “tribal” formations could be considered as a continuation of an earlier avant-garde counterpublic, cultivated in the 1950s through the open form poetics of projective verse and the intermedial, prototypical “Fluxus happenings” developed at Black Mountain College while under the direction of Charles Olson. According to Stephen Voyle, Black Mountain poetics and related intermedial practices are not simply “a set of principles to be adhered to, but... a set of flexible strategies to be adapted” for the creation of affective bonds of poetic community as a counter-measure to Cold War nationalisms.²¹⁴ These strategies persisted within the countercultures of the second half of the 1960s and early 70s due to their subsequent use and adaptation over time by multiple authors, including Denise Levertov, Robert Duncan, Jack Spicer, Allen Ginsberg, Michael McClure and Gary Snyder (each of whom, save Duncan, is named by Kiyooka in *Transcanada Letters*). Voyle explicitly ties this concept

²¹² Lily Cho, “Diasporic Citizenship: Contradictions and Possibilities for Canadian Literature,” in *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, ed. Smaro Kambourelli and Roy Miki, 93-109 (Waterloo, Ont: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 99.

²¹³ Mark Watson discusses the wide-spread influence of Marshall McLuhan’s theories upon countercultural community formations in, “The Countercultural “Indian”: Visualizing Retribalization at the Human Be-In,” in *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, 208-223 (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

²¹⁴ Stephen Voyle, *Poetic Community: Avant-Garde Activism and Cold War Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 40, 89.

of “poetic community” to the Vancouver scene by addressing the *Tish* poets.²¹⁵ Lara Halina Tomaszewska has similarly described the “pacific nation” as a social imaginary that links Vancouver artists and poets to an American neo-avant-garde through the shared practice of projective verse and intermedial performance. Tomaszewska further argues that the inclusion of Vancouver within this west-coast imaginary was crucial to making it a transnational space that extended beyond the boundaries of the US. So-called after the Vancouver-based magazine, *Pacific Nation* (1967-1969), edited by Robin Blaser and Stan Persky (fig. 14), Tomaszewska has argued that this transnational social imaginary, like other national imaginaries, took form as individuals identified with specific codes and practices conditional upon language and territory, although the “family apparatus” was materialized through myths of artistic and poetic affinities rather than kinship bloodlines.²¹⁶ Friendship networks become the means to decouple patriarchal family structures from origin myths. Kiyooka’s adaptation of open form poetics and intermedial practices while in Vancouver can be considered as his own right of passage for participation in the social imaginary shared by this pacific nation.

As part of Kiyooka’s expanded practice of the time, *Transcanada Letters* operates at the intersection between the literary and visual arts. In this respect, George Bowering noted at the time of publication that “this book made of thousands of words offers the most accurate pictures of the country ever presented by one of its major artists. By one of its finest writers.”²¹⁷ If one considers Kiyooka to be primarily a visual artist, as he was at the beginning of the series of letters in 1966, one could analyze his turn to poetry and photography as a negation of his practice as a painter. If one considers Kiyooka to be primarily a writer, as he was at the end of the series of the letters, it could be analyzed as a pivotal point for his voice as it developed through open form poetics. However,

²¹⁵ Stephen Voyce, *Poetic Community*, 89.

²¹⁶ Lara Halina Tomaszewska, “Borderlines of Poetry and Art : Vancouver, American Modernism, and the Formation of the West Coast Avant-Garde, 1961-1969,” (PhD diss., Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2007). In a letter from Robin Blaser to Roy Kiyooka, Blaser discusses two issues of *Pacific Nation* he will mail to Kiyooka to help him prepare an introduction to Blasers’ reading as part of the Sir George Williams Poetry Reading Series in Montréal. Letter from Robin Blaser to Roy Kiyooka, 03/22/1969. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.1.7 Kiyooka Correspondence, Blaser. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

²¹⁷ George Bowering, “Roy Kiyooka’s Poetry (an appreciation)” in *Roy K. Kiyooka : 25 Years* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1975), np.

Kiyooka was involved in a hybridized intermedial practice almost from the very beginning of the 1960s, and many of his earlier publishing experiences anticipate *Transcanada Letters*' use of the book as intermedial form. This study therefore does not approach *Transcanada Letters* as an example of formal innovation that works against canonical modes of writing or visual art production. Instead, it acknowledges the book-work to span a transitional period as Kiyooka developed his voice as a poet – as such it shows a movement from a more traditional line to a structural play between visual and linguistic signs. *Transcanada Letters* also hovers across a transitional moment in Kiyooka's move from the visual language of abstract painting towards conceptual photography. This taking up of photography and writing also coincided with a move towards increasingly personal content, which would become more pronounced in the photoseries of the 1980s, such as *Okinawa* (1984). A grid of twenty-five silver prints employ double exposure as a means to overlay portraits of individuals and snapshots of places that hold significant meaning to the artist's life, but also reference tensions arising from the Vancouver neighbourhood's layered history as pre-War Japan Town and post-war skid row.²¹⁸

Kiyooka has inserted a series of photographs between his pages of letters, notably family portraits and a multi-page collection of road trip memories. An essay by Sheryl Conkelton discusses Kiyooka's photographic grids as a "personalized formalism,"²¹⁹ and Grant Arnold notes the presence of Charles Olson's poetics of "localism" in his brief discussion of the photo series as a work distinct from the book;²²⁰ otherwise, *Transcanada Letters* as a whole has been under-theorized as a work of visual art. Before engaging further with this art historical scholarship, I would first like to acknowledge that literary scholars who have engaged with *Transcanada Letters* tend to focus on the textual

²¹⁸ In *Pacific Windows*, the sequel to *Transcanada Letters*, Smaro Kamboureli made the editorial decision to reproduce *Okinawa* (1984) between page 152, a description of the hard city life occurring outside of Kiyooka's studio on Powell Street (located in the Downtown East Side of Vancouver), and page 153, a letter to Joy Kogawa, an author and activist in the Japanese Redress movement. The images in this photoseries juxtapose signifiers of Asian ancestry and the aesthetics of the city of Vancouver through the technique of double-exposure and the sequencing implied by the grid. Kiyooka, Roy, *Pacific Rim Letters*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2005).

²¹⁹ Sheryl Conkelton, "Roy Kiyooka: "...The Sad and Glad Tidings of the Floating World..."", in *All Amazed For Roy Kiyooka*, ed. John O'Brian, Naomi Sawda and Scott Watson, 101-115 (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002), 105, 109.

²²⁰ Grant Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference : Conceptual Art On The West Coast," 98.

content of the book, treating the pictorial elements as illustration, secondary to the text. The 2005 reprint of *Transcanada Letters* has reduced the book from quarto to octavo format and has done away with the striking cover illustration and the full-bleed images of the title and end pages.²²¹ Furthermore, intrusive margins have been added around the eighteen-page photographic series, which was originally printed so that the gridded images extended to 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 aesthetic decisions. Talonbooks, the original publisher of *Transcanada Letters*, was a poetry imprint, but also supplemented their funds as the printer of exhibition catalogues and other materials that reflected the interests of overlapping countercultural and avant-garde social milieus in Vancouver. *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 book was a commodity produced for the book 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."²²² By the standards of the publishing industry, the countercultural attitude assumed by Kiyooka's conceptual book-work was one of excess.²²³ Reconsidering *Transcanada Letters* as a conceptual book-work, 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 value, or the misleading "cheap paperback" appearance of the book. Visually, the pages of textual content seem to outnumber the images included in *Transcanada Letters*; however, on a closer reading, the

²²¹ Roy Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli, 370-377 (Waterloo, Ontario: New West Press, 2005). Scott Toguri McFarlane, notes a similar shift in aesthetics when *StoneDGloves* was anthologized in *Pacific Windows*, in his essay, "Un-Ravelling 'StoneDGloves' and the Haunt of the Hibakusha," in *All Amazed For Roy Kiyooka*, ed. John O'Brian, Naomi Sawada and Scott Watson, 117-147 (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002), 119.

²²² Email to the author from Karl Seigler, 6 June 2014.

²²³ 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, sales steadily declined in subsequent years. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.7.3 Kiyooka Correspondence, Talonbooks. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC.

images (over 576) outnumber the pages of text. Furthermore, these images are not subordinate to the letters' contents. As in Michael Ondaatje's *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid* (discussed in Chapter I), Kiyooka's images and text coexist in a supplementary relationship as each simultaneously signify on different registers. Taken together, the relay between image and text reveals a larger semiotic structure at play.

Despite a trim size that more closely resembles an exhibition catalogue, *Transcanada Letters* nonetheless has the relatively humble appearance of a "cheap paperback," which lends itself to comparison with the conceptual book-works of Ed Ruscha. Although the choice of a quarto format (9 ¾ x 12in) resulted in a high production value that was incompatible with a vision of small press publishing as a subsidized profit-seeking industry, the soft-cover perfect binding, relatively inconsistent print quality, poor contrast between lights and darks in the images, and show-through of text between pages means that *Transcanada Letters* appears to have more in common with paperback genres than high-quality art books. Furthermore, as in Ruscha's travel narratives, such as *Twenty Six Gasoline Stations* (1965), the sequencing of the pages in *Transcanada Letters* acts as an ordering system which arranges banal snapshots according to a grid. Sianne Ngai has observed that due to conceptual photography's "aesthetics of administration" 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.²²⁴ Grant Arnold similarly detects a continuity between Kiyooka's work in serial photography in *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia* (1971) and Jeff Wall's *Landscape Manual* (1969-70) because both works contrast the private, undefined space of the car with the public use of transportation routes. Arnold argues that in the sequence of photographic views taken from the window of an automobile, these transportation routes stand in as a sign of the "anti-organic" structural grids underpinning the circulation of labour in the economy.²²⁵ However it is important to note that unlike the Ed Ruscha's gas stations, or the defeatured landscapes of Wall's *Manual*, Kiyooka's images are *not* generic or banal, instead they convey what Ondaatje

²²⁴ Sianne Ngai, "Merely Interesting," *Critical Inquiry* 34 (Summer 2008): 777-817.

²²⁵ Grant Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference : Conceptual Art On The West Coast," 98.

described as “commonplace moods” when he read the book.²²⁶ Kiyooka’s approach is therefore distinct from the “analytic” conceptualism adopted by Jeff Wall, in which a neutral, impersonal stance is affected as a critique of the alienating effects of the “gridded” urban environment. Instead, when the *Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove* photoseries is considered within the context of the pages of *Transcanada Letters*, both image and text work with Romantic irony as the rational process implied by the repetition of serial forms is contrasted to the messy subject of bodies, emotions and sensuality (fig. 15). This contrast between gridded systems and embodied sensorial experience lends itself to discussions of socially constructed subjectivities, specifically as this pertains to revealing the limits that determine representation of the subject in the public sphere.

Kiyooka’s peers in Vancouver also produced works in which conceptual photography works to recover modes of perception and affective sensibility which might otherwise be repressed by fixed identity dispositions. As part of a personal narrative documenting two nation-wide trips, Michael de Courcy’s *By Air: Montreal – Vancouver, November 28, 1969 – By Land: Montreal – Vancouver, November 7-13, 1970*, overlays the two perspectives derived from travelling across the country on different modes of transportation. N.E. Thing Co.’s *North American Time Zone Photo – V.S.I. Simultaneity* (1970) is a portfolio of snapshots taken by four individuals on a coordinated schedule across six different time zones.²²⁷ Serial photography is used as a visual technology that can bridge great distances, even as each image is indexed to individual experience; furthermore, for N.E. Thing Co., the banal snapshot performed “acts of aesthetic approval” which reframed ordinary experiences as objects of aesthetic interest.²²⁸ Ian Wallace and Bill Vazan’s collaboration, *Canada in Parentheses/Canada entre*

²²⁶ Letter from Michael Ondaatje to Roy Kiyooka and Daphne Marlatt, May 19, 1976. Verona Ontario. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.6.8 Kiyooka Correspondence, Ondaatje. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

²²⁷ The six photographers are N.E. Thing Co., Vancouver, BC, Pacific Standard Time; Harry Savage, Edmonton, AB, Mountain Standard Time; Ken Lohead, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Central Daylight Time; Gerry Ferguson, Halifax, NS; Jack Chambers, London Ontario, Eastern Daylight Time; Atlantic Daylight Time, Chris Pratt, Mount Carmel, Newfoundland, Newfoundland Daylight Time; subjects included: Time, Nude, Cityscapes, Air, Fire, Water, etc. An edition of *North American Time Zone Photo – V.S.I. Simultaneity* (1970), was consulted in the collection of the Simon Fraser University Gallery, Burnaby, BC.

²²⁸ Charlotte Townsend-Gault similarly compares *Transcanada Letters* to N.E. Thing Co.’s *Portfolio of Piles* (1968) in “The Unobvious of the Obvious,” in *You are Now in the Middle of a N.E. Thing Co. Landscape: Works by Iain and Ingrid Baxter, 1965-1971*, ed. Nancy Shaw, Scott Watson and William Wood (Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1993), 66-67.

parentheses, 13 August 1969, also uses photography to document two linguistic signs (parentheses) as traces left on the two coasts of Canada by the bodies of the two artists.²²⁹ Both the photographs and an accompanying telegram coordinate the two bodies in space and time, mapping the nation between them as if it were an afterthought to their act of interpersonal communication. Finally, Carole Itter's *Personal Baggage* (1972) photoseries, initially published as a book-work, *The Log's Log* (1972), documents a durational performance that involved relocating a cedar log via the Canadian National Railway from a beach in Robert's Creek, British Columbia to Lockeport, Nova Scotia. This performance was Itter's contribution to the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange*, an event organized by Kiyooka, which will be further discussed below. In a manner similar to *Transcanada Letters*, Itter's book-work pairs serial photography documenting a live performance, with the ensuing media coverage of this aesthetic event as if it was of general news interest.²³⁰

Throughout the travel narrative of *Transcanada Letters*, a tension likewise arises between the conceptual strategy of mapping and landscape imagery, which borrows multiple tropes from the picturesque, the pastoral and the sublime. These genre references bring *Transcanada Letters* into dialogue with a Euro-Canadian landscape tradition whose pictorial conventions were being reinvented through camera-based visual technologies, just as communications media were adopted in the Centennial period as a national value for their role in linking dispersed parts of the country together. This conceptual approach to landscape art, which sometimes took material form as a book-work, draws attention to the visual tropes and technological processes which encourage identification with depictions of the natural world as a signifier of Canadian nationhood.²³¹ As Conkelton has suggested, a helpful comparison can be made between the work of Kiyooka and his

²²⁹ Tomaszewska argues that Ian Wallace's practice reflects a milieu of intermedial practices and literary magazines commonly shared with Kiyooka. Lara Halina Tomaszewska, "Borderlines of Poetry and Art," 192-194.

²³⁰ In the late 1960s and early 70s, Itter published books of poetry through *He She It Press*, she also organized poetry readings at Beau Xi Gallery, where she worked. Correspondence between Itter and Kiyooka frequently address their writing practices and interest in the media form of the book. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.2.11 Kiyooka Correspondence, Itter. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

²³¹ Johanne Sloan, "Conceptual Landscape Art: Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow," 73, 78.

contemporary, Michael Snow.²³² Take for example, *Michael Snow / A Survey* (1970), a book-work produced as the exhibition catalogue for his solo show at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Regardless of the book's "subject" (which would be Snow himself), this book-work ultimately engages with the limits of representation as determined by the specific qualities of photography and its processes. Two opening page spreads juxtapose Snow's graphic layout for the catalogue (carefully mapped out on graph paper) with the gridded sequential narrative of text and image in a comic strip the artist drew as a child. Corresponding pages of the catalogue assume the form of a souvenir album, tracing the artists' family lineage back to the 1800s. The photomechanical printing process therefore equalizes biographic material with the documentation of artistic works and art historical accounts of the artist's career. Just as Snow's *Authorization* (1969) examined photographic representation as a time-based process involving both subject and viewer, the reader of his catalogue is likewise made aware of its function of conferring an authorized status on the artist through the serialized accumulation of photographs contained within the pages of the catalogue.

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 book-work to show how photography and photomechanical reproduction technologies produce flattened representations of entities in the "real" world. Adelina Vas has argued this catalogue is an integrated part of Snow's interrogation of the photographic medium's "mechanism and artifice."²³³ In contrast, the narrative of *Transcanada Letters* is indexed to Kiyooka's body as he moves across space and time, because he treats the camera as an extension of his body, rather than as tool for analytic observation. Furthermore, the series of letters addressed to multiple correspondents reasserts Kiyooka's position as the author of the work through a chain of intersubjective and intertextual references. Without prior knowledge of the specific codes that describe his intimate relationships, such as an in-

²³² Sheryl Conkelton, 114.

²³³ Adelina Vlas, "Michael Snow Photo-Centric: Expanding the Field of Photography," in *Michael Snow: Photocentric*, 6-18 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2014), 7.

depth knowledge of the milieu that the array of correspondents describes, or the personal history of the author, *Transcanada Letters* becomes recognizable to the reader only through its generic forms: a travelogue, a personal diary, a series of letters, a series of landscapes described in pictures and in words. In this regard, Kiyooka's photographs engage with the "performativity of documentation" discussed by Phillip Auslander.²³⁴ His photographs stage identity in an analogous mode to speech acts, which require a reader's reception to complete the event.

To discuss *Transcanada Letters* as a work of conceptual nationalism, I want to take up Glen Lowry's challenge to consider the book-work in terms of its affinities to an American poetic and artistic avant-garde. Lowry has observed that Kiyooka's poetics, informed by projective verse as developed at Black Mountain College, were intrinsically tied to his understanding of formalist aesthetics, specifically New York School abstraction of the 1950s and 1960s.²³⁵ I would like to pay particular attention to how these movements valued the aesthetic act for its potential effect upon real social relations. For instance, Kiyooka's engagement with the New York School of abstract painting can be traced to his exposure to Barnett Newman's aesthetic theory at the 1959 Emma Lake Workshop. Newman emphasised the ritual effect of the imaginary in shaping real social relations, as in his 1947 essay, *The First Man Was an Artist*, in which he claimed "the aesthetic act always precedes the social act...It is important to keep in mind that the necessity for dream is stronger than any utilitarian need."²³⁶ Throughout the 1950s and 60s, Black Mountain College had its counterpart in the New York School's intellectual milieu of The Club. Figures such as John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Robert Rauschenberg, and Ray Johnson moved between the two locations – and through Vancouver's avant-garde and countercultural milieus as they participated in events such as the Festival of Contemporary Art (1961-1971).²³⁷ This earlier circulation of people and

²³⁴ Philip Auslander, "The Performativity of Performance Documentation," *PAJ* 84 (2006): 5.

²³⁵ Glen Lowry, "Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters*: Re: Reading a Poet's Prose," *West Coast Line* 38, no. 36 (2002): 32, n.1. Glen Lowry, "Afterword," in *Transcanada Letters*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli, 370-377 (Waterloo, Ontario: New West Press, 2005), 370.

²³⁶ Barnett Newman, "The First Man Was an Artist (1947)," in *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book By Artists and Critics*, ed. Herschel B. Chipp, 551 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

²³⁷ For a detailed overview of the artists, poets and intellectuals who came to Vancouver through the Festival of Contemporary Art (1961-1971), see Lara Halina Tomaszewska, "Borderlines of Poetry and Art :

ideas nuances histories that date conceptual photography in Vancouver from the late 1960s.²³⁸ Instead, I agree with Grant Arnold's claim that conceptualism in late 1960s and early 1970s Vancouver emerged as hybridization between conceptual art, as it has come to be defined through strategies of negation and institutional critique, and Fluxus interest in chance operations and the experience of life through art.²³⁹ Arnold specifically mentions Roy Kiyooka and his correspondents in *Transcanada Letters*, such as Carole Itter and Michael Morris, as examples of artists who incorporated both modes into their practice. Also significant is Arnold's linking of avant-garde strategies to an "anarchic" social scene in which lifestyle politics countered the "culture of the commodity."²⁴⁰ By discussing the images that Kiyooka has included within *Transcanada Letters* as a series of "family portraits," I will argue that in keeping with the countercultural politics of *eros* in this period, Kiyooka's conceptual nationalism replaces shared language, blood or territory with the psychological drive of libido as a universalizing biological trait.

When *Transcanada Letters* was published in 1975, it symbolized a moment when it was possible to believe that a counterpublic of readers, made up of the correspondents indexed by Kiyooka's book, could expand and counteract the national imaginary produced for the readership of widely-distributed magazines, such as *artscanada*. As an example of a response to Kiyooka's act of counterpublicity through *Transcanada Letters*, Michael Ondaatje acknowledged his own identification with the affective charge produced through "a lovely thick commonplace book of moods." In the same letter, Ondaatje anticipated that the "common" experience expressed through Kiyooka's letters would reach a wider public through a chain of references circulating through other magazines, "And then this morning saw... a review by Wilfred Watson on it in NeWest Review, Have you seen that yet? Which is good and serious and its about time people

Vancouver, American Modernism, and the Formation of the West Coast Avant-Garde, 1961-1969," *PhD Thesis* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2007).

²³⁸ See the combined essays in *Intertidal: Vancouver Art and Artists* (Antwerp and Vancouver: Museum van Hedenaagse Kunst Antwerpen and Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2005) which emphasize the arrival of Robert Smithson and Dan Graham in the city in 1969, and the influence on future photo-conceptual practices.

²³⁹ Grant Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference : Conceptual Art On The West Coast," 89.

²⁴⁰ Grant Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference : Conceptual Art On The West Coast," 88.

started talking about the book.”²⁴¹ The circle of addressees in *Transcanada Letters*, which I am arguing form a counterpublic, held the potential to expand as these same addressees were also significant figures in Canadian public life who could promote the book through personal referrals but also in wider media coverage, such as reviews. For instance, *Transcanada Letters* was promoted to a national public in the transcript of an interview with Kiyooka that was published in *artscanada*.²⁴² This argument therefore shifts the terms of a discussion of Kiyooka’s relationship to the Canadian nation in terms of exclusion and containment to that of alternate world-making. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has argued that methodologies which challenge the homogenizing effect of a national imaginary by casting a minoritarian voice as a “reminder of alterity,” ultimately reinforces the dominant myth of national origin.²⁴³ *Transcanada Letters* does not reinforce the national imaginary of the Centennial period by negating Northrop Frye’s question, taken up by Atwood, “Where is here?” but neither does it pose the regionally-defined periphery-to-centre problem articulated by Frank Davey and Fred Wah, in the *Tish* question of “the problem of margins,”²⁴⁴ rather it asks the more provocative question – when is the nation a useful form for the politics of *eros*?

Tapes, moving mirrors, projectors, strobes, dancers, and often all at once

Roy Kiyooka is a fascinating figure because he passed from a 1950s beat and jazz scene into the 1960s counterculture in Vancouver, which paralleled his transition from abstract painting to intermedial, conceptual modes. Because he travelled across Canada as he moved through various teaching positions, he was a catalyst for the countercultures and poetic communities forming in other cities as well. This section outlines how Kiyooka’s writing practice emerges from an environment of literary activities and intermedial

²⁴¹ Letter from Michael Ondaatje to Roy Kiyooka and Daphne Marlatt, May 19, 1976. Verona Ontario. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.6.8 Kiyooka Correspondence, Ondaatje. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

²⁴² “Laughter: Five Conversations with Roy Kiyooka” recorded and edited by Gerry Gilbert, *artscanada* 32, no. 4 (Winter 1975-1976), 12-16.

²⁴³ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards A History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 352.

²⁴⁴ See the two formative essays on *Tish* poetics: Frank Davey, “The Problem of Margins” *Tish* 3 (November 1961), 11-14; Fred Wah, “Margins Into Lines: A Relationship” *Tish* 4 (December 1961), 9-10. For a discussion of how these poetics relate to regional positions in Canadian Literature and to questions of identity and voice, see also Pauline Butling and Susan Rudy, *Writing in Our Time : Canada's Radical Poetries in English (1957-2003)* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2005).

experimentation in early 1960s Vancouver, as it intersected with an exploration of his Japanese ancestry and his desire to be a “Canadian painter.” Kiyooka achieved national recognition as an abstract painter while teaching at the Regina College of Art. His successes in the 1950s contributed to his feeling that in the post-war context a Japanese Canadian could “play in the same field” as artists such as Ted Goodwin, Ron Bloore, Art McKay, Ken Lochhead and Doug Morton.²⁴⁵ At the time, abstraction was the dominant form of modernism in Canada, and it could be argued that the newly established federal and provincial granting systems and a small, but present, domestic market acted as equalizers for “Canadian painters,” like Kiyooka, of diverse ethnic and class backgrounds.²⁴⁶ Accordingly, John O’Brian has explained Kiyooka’s exclusion from the national exhibition that defined the Regina Five, as well as his comparatively brief mention in Clement Greenberg’s discussion of abstraction on the Prairies,²⁴⁷ as a consequence of his “geographical displacement”²⁴⁸ from Regina to Vancouver, rather than in terms of systemic discrimination. A useful point of comparison may also be Kiyooka’s inclusion in exhibitions at the Galerie du Siècle alongside leading Montréal hardedge painters, which associates him to a movement that was tied to the assertion of Québécois identity on an international stage. By the mid-1960s, however, styles of abstraction informed by the New York School were increasingly viewed as a form of American cultural hegemony by Canadian artists. Scott Watson explains that in the late 1960s, international styles engaged with technologies of communications media were interpreted to be counter-hegemonic and could be embraced as a distinctly “Canadian art.”²⁴⁹ From this perspective, Kiyooka’s collage and poetic practice is consistent with his early aspiration to be a “Canadian artist.” Photographic images and printed language

²⁴⁵ *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*, 93 min., directed by Fumiko Kiyooka, 2010.

²⁴⁶ Following the recommendations of the Massey Report, this equalization takes place in the elevation of the masses through education and appreciation of “high art” forms as distinct from the popular forms of mass media – mainly originating from the United States. This has since been critiqued as an assimilationist model, from multiple fronts, though was considered populist at the time. Karen A. Finlay, *The Force of Culture : Vincent Massey and Canadian Sovereignty* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2004), 247.

²⁴⁷ Clement Greenberg, “Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today,” *Canadian Art* 20 (March/April 1963), 91.

²⁴⁸ John O’Brian, “White Paint, Hoarfrost, and the Cold Shoulder of Neglect,” in *Roy Kiyooka*, 19-25 (Vancouver: Artspeak, Or Gallery, 1991), 23.

²⁴⁹ Scott Watson, “Urban Renewal : Ghost Traps, Collage, Condos and Squats (2005),” *Ruins in Process : Vancouver Art in the Sixties*, <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/urban-renewal> (accessed 24 February 2012).

circulating in books and magazines were technologies of mass communications, which Kiyooka would have understood to also have an effect on the perception of reality through the media theory of Marshall McLuhan and with reference to Black Mountain poetics.

Kiyooka's forays into painterly abstraction in the 1950s began while on scholarship to the Instituto Allende in Mexico. There, his exposure to the politically committed, populist and avant-garde social realism of Diego Maria Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco, was complemented by visits to the Mayan, Inca and Aztec ruins, from which these muralists drew inspiration.²⁵⁰ Travel to these sites was interspersed with "ebullient parties" and experimentation with the heightened perceptual states induced through hallucinogens such as peyote.²⁵¹ His exploration of altered consciousness would continue throughout the 60s using LSD and marijuana.²⁵² Kiyooka relocated to teach at the Vancouver School of Art in 1959, where he developed a distinctive hardedge geometric style by the mid-1960s. Nonetheless, in the early 1960s, one of his first projects was to organize an intermedial event with three of his students at the Vancouver School of Art. The event combined projected images clipped from old magazines with a polyphonic arrangement of prerecorded music to create a multisensory environment.²⁵³ The faculty and students of the art school formed the audience for this event, but the experience also echoed developments in the city's intimate, thriving beat culture gathered in venues such as The Cellar Club. There, the Al Neil Trio played free form jazz and poets such as Bill Bissett performed beat and sound poetry in a smoke-filled basement atmosphere. Léonard Forest's NFB documentary, *À la recherche de l'innocence* (1964),²⁵⁴ filmed in the associative style of French New Wave cinema, provides a glimpse of the mix of gritty urban atmosphere, beat poetry readings and

²⁵⁰ Roy Kiyooka interviewed in *Roy K. Kiyooka : 25 Years* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1975), np.

²⁵¹ Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 279.

²⁵² *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*, 93 min., directed by Fumiko Kiyooka, 2010.

²⁵³ Telephone interview with Carole Itter, 10 July 2014. Itter remembers that this event occurred prior to the 1963 Poetry Conference. It could have coincided with the 1962 Festival of Contemporary Arts, which included performances by John Cage and Merce Cunningham. Itter remembers Kiyooka was so impressed by the costumes Robert Rauschenberg contributed to Cunningham's choreography that he went backstage to speak with him.

²⁵⁴ The English version of this NFB documentary is titled *In Search of Innocence*, 27 min, directed by Léonard Forest, National Film Board of Canada, 1964.

modernist painting which thrived in the downtown bohemian scene of early 1960s Vancouver. Margaret Atwood explains that this early 1960s scene was the precursor of the countercultures that would emerge in the late 1960s,

In the late 50s early 60s, there was a real bohemian world that was different from the rest of the world. There really was the straight world and then there was this more underground-type of thing. So there were no hippies yet, but there were hippie-like people... The straight world was Doris Day so there was much more of a bohemian underground and Roy would have been part of that.²⁵⁵

The reverie of slippery genres and spontaneous social scenes gathering around The Cellar Club continued in the mid-1960s at the Sound Gallery, which later became the Motion Studio. A short review in *Tish* 37 (June 1966) describes the intermedial experience of the Sound Gallery as being “overwhelmed by the Al Neil Trio... Tapes, moving mirrors, projectors, strobe, dancers, and often all at once... the police have been told that people are happy here, happier than those in the licenced shit across the street.”²⁵⁶ The activities of this “unlicenced” venue would be formalized with the creation of Intermedia Society in 1967, a collaboratively-organized venue which aggregated practitioners in the city already working across sculpture, sound, music, poetry, performance, publishing, film and video.²⁵⁷ Because the idealism of the Intermedia Society encouraged widespread community involvement and an expanded understanding of what constituted “art,” its creation also sustained movement between avant-garde art practices and the concerns of a growing countercultural community. As of 1965, an increasing number of dissenting Americans migrated up the coast into Vancouver. Some took up teaching posts or enrolled as students at the University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University, others merged with the existing beat scene in the low-rent

²⁵⁵ Margaret Atwood interviewed in *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*, 93 min., directed by Fumiko Kiyooka, 2010.

²⁵⁶ Gregg Simpson, Sam Perry and Al Neil formed The Sound Gallery in 1965. This group was also involved in organizing the Trips Festival in July 1966, which included performances by the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane. Lara Halina Tomaszewska, “Borderlines of Poetry and Art,” 168, n. 96.

²⁵⁷ For a full history of the Intermedia Society, see Rebecca Fairbairn, “A Short trip on Spaceship Earth: Intermedia Society, 1967-1972,” (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991). For an overview, see Nancy Shaw, “Expanded Consciousness and Company Types: Collaboration Since Intermedia and the N.E. Thing Co.,” in *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, ed. Stan Douglas, 85-103 (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991).

Kitsilano neighbourhood, forming the nucleus of Vancouver's counterculture movement.²⁵⁸

The Georgia Straight newspaper was established in 1967 as a response to negative coverage in the city's main newspapers of these increasingly visible countercultures. Articles on the Vietnam War, sexual liberation and drug culture drawn from the Underground Press Syndicate were printed alongside local contributions such as advertisements for film nights at the Intermedia Society and a regular column from "old left" city councilor Harry Rankin, who used it as a platform to denounce unchecked urban development headed by the mayor, Tom Campbell.²⁵⁹ Although Kiyooka left Vancouver for Montréal in 1965, he nevertheless maintained ties to the downtown scene and reading the *Georgia Straight* was one means by which Kiyooka remained in touch with the activities of an artistic avant-garde as it overlapped with the city's countercultures. Most literary scholarship focuses upon the first and second editorial periods for *Tish*, when the magazine was a venue where George Bowering, Frank Davey, Fred Wah, Daphne Marlatt and other significant west coast poets of this period developed their poetics;²⁶⁰ however, this overlooks the late 1960s as a period of transition for the magazine which is important in terms of understanding participation within poetic community as a practice of counterpublicity and alternate world-making. In the late 1960s, the *Georgia Straight* shared an editor, Dan McLeod, contributors and office space with the last issues of *Tish*.²⁶¹ During this period, both publications shared preoccupations with drug culture and sexual liberation among other countermeasures to capitalism. The dedication of *Transcanada Letters* states it was "begun as a book for the G.S.W.S. in

²⁵⁸ Lawrence Aronsen, *City of Love & Revolution : Vancouver In The Sixties* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 2010), 15-17.

²⁵⁹ A strong polarization existed between the "hippies" and Vancouver's business community. The *Vancouver Sun* and *Vancouver Star*, the business community, and mayor Tom Campbell strategically exaggerated the threat that drug use and visible displays of sexuality posed to the traditional middle-class lifestyles of the West End neighbourhood, Kitsilano (the harder drug scene at Hastings and Cordova drew less attention as it did not directly affect Campbell's voter base). See further discussion of the *Georgia Straight* and other media circulating at the time in Lawrence Aronsen, *City of Love & Revolution*, 18.

²⁶⁰ See for example, Pauline Butling, "TISH: The Problem of Margins" in *Writing in Our Time*, 58 n. 3.

²⁶¹ Dan McLeod was an editor of *Tish* in the fourth editorial period before assuming editorship of the *Georgia Straight*. Pierre Coupey and Dan McLeod were the co-ordinating editors of the first issue of the newspaper. Also active in the first meetings leading to the first issue were: Milton Acorn (who funded the first issue with his Veteran's pension cheque), Rick Kitaeff, Peter Hlookoff, Tony Grinkus, Kim Foikus, Claude Jordan, Gerry Gilbert, John York, Peter Auxier, Stan Persky, John Mills, Barry Cramer, Glenn Lewis and Glen Toppings.

Halifax N.S. Sept. 71,” meaning that Kiyooka initially intended his letters to be published as an issue of the *Georgia Straight Writing Supplement*, which replaced *Tish* in 1969.²⁶² Stan Persky and Dennis Wheeler attributed the decision to end *Tish* and begin the *GSWS* to a desire for an expanded readership. They believed it was possible to reach beyond the *Tish* readership, restricted to poet-peers, by reaching out to the substantial reading public of the countercultural newspaper.²⁶³

In the pages of *Transcanada Letters*, Kiyooka’s poetics of localism are apparent in the affective relationship he has to the city of Vancouver, which is expressed in several letters written to friends with which he stays in touch on his travels. Correspondents include Glenn Lewis who, along with Gary Lee-Nova, Michael de Courcy, Gerry Gilbert, Dave Rimmer and Taki Blusinger, lived and worked at the New Era Social Club, an informal social space whose close proximity to the *Georgia Straight* offices on Powell Street led to frequent movement between the groups.²⁶⁴ Likewise, a beer parlour, the Cecil Hotel, is a repeated reference in *Transcanada Letters*.²⁶⁵ As one of the regular meeting sites for an overlapping literary and artistic scene, the Cecil Hotel is now fondly remembered as the place where the *Georgia Straight* was named,²⁶⁶ and the site also

²⁶² Early issues of the *Georgia Straight Writing Supplement* included contributions from Dan McLeod, Stan Persky, Milton Acorn, Gerry Gilbert, Jack Spicer, George Stanley, Robin Blaser, Maria Hindmarch, Jim Herndon, Dennis Wheeler, and Colin Stuart. 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.

²⁶³ At the height of its popularity, in mid-summer 1967, *The Georgia Straight*’s circulation surpassed sixty thousand (at \$0.15 per copy), distributed by street-vendors. Lawrence Aronsen, *City of Love & Revolution : Vancouver In The Sixties* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 2010), 18. “As a political problem, we want to serve a notion like: the mind of a community, or the imagination of the place, Vancouver. So instead of a couple of hundred people getting to see what’s been written, it goes directly to a large audience in the city.” Stan Persky and Dennis Wheeler, *Georgia Straight Writing Supplement 2*:(January 28, 1970), 39.

²⁶⁴ Meetings regarding the activities of the Intermedia Society would take place at the New Era Social Club as part of Glen Lewis’ “Little Hot Stove League.” The West Coast issue of Victor Coleman’s magazine *IS* 12/13 (1973) reprints minutes from the meetings, including a description of listening to an audio tape made by Kiyooka. For a discussion of the New Era Club and its effect on Kiyooka’s photographic practice see: Sharla Sava, “Roy Kiyooka: Photographing the Local From the Inside Out,” *C Magazine*, no. 60 (1998): 26-32.

²⁶⁵ For example, in Dear George and Angela, 12/15th/’71, Halifax, Nova Scotia, *Transcanada Letters*, np. Frank Davey invokes his own memories of the Cecil Hotel as a “creative” site in *aka bpNichol: A Preliminary Biography* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2012), 89.

²⁶⁶ Charlie Smith, *Cecil’s legendary stripper bar closes to make room for a new condo tower*, 3 August 2010, <http://www.straight.com/news/cecils-legendary-stripper-bar-closes-make-room-new-condo-tower> (accessed 08 October 2014).

features in the history of the gay community of Vancouver.²⁶⁷ Kiyooka also kept up correspondence with Werner Alleyn, the first director of the Intermedia Society and the sublessor of the Granville Grange, a studio Kiyooka shared with Glen Toppings, David Rimmer and Al Razutis.²⁶⁸ Letters exchanged with Carole Itter and Gerry Gilbert likewise kept Kiyooka apprised of activities at Robert's Creek, an outcrop of cottages, farms and communes on the Sunshine Coast, which he also discusses in letters to Victor Coleman, his editor at Toronto's Coach House Press.

The same year that Kiyooka's abstract painting was awarded a Silver Medal and Honorable mention at the Eighth São Paulo Bienal in Brazil, he was also a member of the organizing committee for the 1965 Festival of Contemporary Art in Vancouver. Titled *The Medium is the Message*, this festival built on Marshall McLuhan's previous visits to the city, exploring his theories of the technological environment as an extension of the body's sensorium. As in Kiyooka's earlier experiment with his students, the Festival took form as a multi-media "happening" which activated the environment as an interactive space of projected sound and light.²⁶⁹ When Kiyooka arrived at Sir George Williams University in Montréal in the same year, he again organized an intermedial "happening" with dancer Vicki Tansey.²⁷⁰ He was simultaneously involved in coordinating a reading series, alongside George Bowering (then also in Montréal), which would introduce many of the poets activating a Vancouver-based literary scene to a Montréal audience.²⁷¹

Transcanada Letters was Kiyooka's fourteenth engagement with the material processes and media spaces of publishing; his previous forays are linked both to poetry

²⁶⁷ Donald W. McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975* (Toronto: ECW Press, Homewood Books, 1996), 279.

²⁶⁸ Telephone interview with Carole Itter, 10 July, 2014.

²⁶⁹ Roy Kiyooka is listed as part of the organizing committee in a press release for the 5th Festival of Contemporary Arts (1965). Other organizers included: Helen Goodwin, Iain Baxter, David Orcutt, Cortland Hultberg, Abraham Rogatnick, Takao Tanabe, Alvin Balkind, Sam Perry, and Helen Sonthoff. McLuhan had visited Vancouver the year before for the 4th Festival of Contemporary Art (1964), where he delivered three lectures to compliment the exhibition *Art Becomes Reality* at the UBC Fine Arts Gallery. This exhibition placed pop art (at the time identified as neo-dada and new realism by curator Alvin Balkind to recognize the merging of art and life) and open form poetic practices in dialogue with McLuhan's media theory. *The Medium is the Message*, 1965. Collection of the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery Archives, Belkin Art Gallery Fond, 13.4-5.12. <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/archive/19> (accessed 12 March 2016)

²⁷⁰ A program for this event can be found in *Transcanada Letters*.

²⁷¹ Jason Camlot, "The Sound of Canadian Modernism: The Sir George Williams University Poetry Series, 1966-74," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 46 .

and to the circulation of images and text in the visual arts press.²⁷² His first book of poetry, *Kyoto Airs* (designed by Takao Tanabe for Periwinkle Press, 1964) received a favourable review in *Tish* 25 (June 1964).²⁷³ Published following his first visit to Japan, *Kyoto Airs* reflects upon a long-awaited reunion with his sister Mariko who, as a Japanese national, had been prevented from joining the family in Canada following World War II. It also remains as a trace of Kiyooka's overseas encounter that year with dissenting American poets Allan Ginsberg and Gary Snyder. Kiyooka's engagement with the open form poetics practiced by these poets continued following his attendance of the Vancouver Poetry Conference in 1963, an experience he shared with the *Tish* poets²⁷⁴ as well as David Robinson, a precocious high-school student who established the magazine *Talon* (later to become Talonbooks press).²⁷⁵ This conference welcomed Black Mountain poets Charles Olson, Robert Duncan, Robert Creeley, Allen Ginsberg, Denise Levertov and Philip Whalen to the city for three weeks, but their influence on poetic practices in the city would extend for the duration of the decade.²⁷⁶ Jack Spicer, Robin Blaser, and Stan Persky arrived in 1965, with the latter two taking up permanent residence. Following the conference, Kiyooka invited *Tish* poets, including Daphne Marlatt and George Bowering, to read for his students, and to answer questions about the poetics so

²⁷² 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).

²⁷³ Bob Hogg, *Tish* 25 (June 1964): 2.

²⁷⁴ *Tish* 21 (September 1963) responds to their three-week exposure to these poets in "the only possible form : a type of collage" made up of snippets from the journals of those attending the conference. Kiyooka's references to these poets throughout *Transcanada Letters* are made up of similarly fragmented references as they occur to him during his thought process in writing and editing the letters.

²⁷⁵ *Talon* began in 1963 as a magazine published at Vancouver High School by David Robinson and friends. In 1967 *Talon* began issuing books of poetry in conjunction with Very Stone House, an imprint associated with bill bissett. Although this partnership dissolved in 1968, the quality of the books produced attracted a project grant of \$600 from the Canada Council. Michael Hayward, "Talonbooks: Publishing from the Margins," *CMNS 870: Text and Context*, April 1991, <http://www.harbour.sfu.ca/~hayward/talon/index.html> (accessed 27 October 2011)

²⁷⁶ Warren Tallman funded Allen Ginsberg's travels from India to Vancouver via Japan in advance of the 1963 Vancouver Poetry Conference. On a postcard sent to Tallman, Ginsberg mentions meeting up with both Kiyooka and Gary Snyder while in Japan. Lara Halina Tomaszewska, "Borderlines of Poetry and Art," 78-79. For a discussion of the importance of Ellen and Warren Tallman, who left the University of Berkeley in 1956 for the English department at the University of British Columbia, on the poetry scene in Vancouver see, Pauline Butling and Susan Rudy, *Writing in Our Time : Canada's Radical Poetries in English (1957-2003)* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2005).

that the visual artists could understand how they worked.²⁷⁷ Bob Hogg reciprocated with a favourable review of *Kyoto Airs* in *Tish* 25 (June 1964).²⁷⁸

As part of his dialogue with the *Tish* poets, Kiyooka began to experiment with found photographs and photomechanical processes of reproduction (such as xerography) as they worked alongside text. 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).²⁷⁹ These collages combine the gestural mark-making of painterly abstraction with found images and text culled from popular news sources. Bowering's title is a reference to his experience as an aerial photographer for the Royal Canadian Air Force, a source of his antipathy towards war as a driver of national economies. As if in conversation with the dissenting tone of the poetry, Kiyooka's twelve compositions are disturbing and violent, reminiscent of the surreal effects of film montage. Each glimpse of horror is constrained within the balanced geometric form of an oval, a shape Kiyooka repeated in his large-scale geometric abstractions. This repetition hints at Kiyooka's ongoing interest in the "inter-face" of signifiers as they move between media, or cultural codes.²⁸⁰

His literary conversations were not restricted to the *Tish* magazine circle; however, as is shown by a dreamily psychedelic series of xerographic illustrations accompanying Dorothy Livesay's *The Unquiet Bed* (Ryerson Press, 1967) (fig. 16). The cover image is printed on a reflective gold foil paper, which enhances the seductive contours of the floral form through an optical trick unique to printing technology. Kiyooka has layered photographs of plant life underneath textures that were produced by running Lettraset transfers through the Xerox machine multiple times. The images of blooming flowers and glowing stalks become abstracted figures against a ground of delicate brush strokes. The sensuousness of the surfaces (retained even when flattened

²⁷⁷ Interview with Daphne Marlatt, 31 May 2014, Vancouver, BC. Also see Roy Miki, "Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview" in *Roy Kiyooka*, ed. William Wood (Vancouver: Artspeak Gallery; Or Gallery, 1991), 46.

²⁷⁸ Bob Hogg, *Tish* 25 (June 1964): 2.

²⁷⁹ "The Man in the Yellow Boots/El Hombre de las Botas Amarillas" *El Corno Emplumado* 16, (October, 1965).

²⁸⁰ Roy Miki, "Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview," 52.

through the offset printing process) mirrors the erotic energy of Livesay's poems.²⁸¹ 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 photocopying. The reflective surface of the shiny paper repeats motifs of self-reflection and refraction in the poetry. Within the text, Kiyooka appropriates letters written by British painter Stanley Spencer. Kiyooka melds his voice with that of Spencer, expressing his own psychological experience of trauma through language borrowed from the erotic letters Spencer composed for his dead wife.²⁸² *StoneDGloves* (Coach House Press, 1970) combined photographs and poetic texts responding to the worksite of his large-scale sculpture *Abu Ben Adam's Vinyl Dream*, commissioned for the Canadian Pavilion at the World Expo in Osaka, Japan (1970) (fig. 17). Scott Toguri McFarlane has argued that the photcollages, and the poems which overlay the images, are an "ideogrammatic assemblage" which 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 bodies of victims of the atomic bomb (fig. 18).²⁸³ This work was then the basis for his solo exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada, which was marked by his choice to eschew the standard monographic exhibition catalogue for a conceptual book-work. *The Eye in the Landscape*, Kiyooka's contribution to the *B.C.*

²⁸¹ These poems also record her movement across western Canada as a response to her exposure to the proprioceptive writing of Vancouver poets. Dorothy Livesay was writer in residence at the University of British Columbia in 1965 during which time she also attended Jack Spicer's lectures and interacted with the *Tish* group and other Vancouver-based poets. For an account of her imposing presence at the Jack Spicer lectures see Lewis Ellingham and Kevin Killian, *Poet Be Like God: Jack Spicer and the San Francisco Renaissance* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 337-338.

²⁸² Stanley Spencer (1891-1959) was a British war artist who moved away from the landscape genre as he developed a personal theology expressed as a celebration of the erotic in figurative painting. His self-portraits depict him entwined with his two wives. In a similar spirit, he continued writing letters to his wife Hilda after her death. At the time of writing his Stanley Spencer poems, Kiyooka was reading Maurice Collis, *Stanley Spencer: A Biography* (London: Harvill Press, 1962).

²⁸³ Kiyooka represented Canada at Expo '70. It was while he installed *Abu Ben Adam's Vinyl Dream*, a large-scale sculpture constructed of industrial materials, that he took the series of photographs for *StoneDGloves*. The title is shared between the book-work 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 x 40 in. to 60 x 40 in. and were installed on the floor, walls and ceilings of a gallery as an environment. The book-work stands in for the standard monographic catalogue, which might be expected to accompany an exhibition organized by the National Gallery of Canada. Scott Toguri MacFarlane, "Un-Ravelling 'StoneDGloves' and the Haunt of the Hibakusha," in *All Amazed For Roy Kiyooka*, ed. John O'Brian, Naomi Sawada and Scott Watson, 117-147 (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002).

Almanac(h) Catalogue (National Film Board of Canada, 1970) was a photographic series printed on cheap newsprint pages, which 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 (fig. 19).

National ambitions

Kiyooka's use of photographs in *Transcanada Letters* is "conceptual" because he uses seriality as a structuring device; at the same time, his use of captions and the placement of the image in proximity to the textual content of the letters play with the connotative meaning of the photographic "subject." As mentioned earlier, Sheryl Conkelton describes Kiyooka's aesthetic choices as a "personalized formalism," which uses narrative as a grid or ordering system placed over intimate content.²⁸⁴ Tension is therefore created between the affective experience of an individual, and the discursive production of a subject positioned on a grid. As Eve Meltzer has argued, this structuralist understanding of language as a system of imposed grids that discursively produce subjectivity arises from artists' anticipation of a world managed through information systems.²⁸⁵ Although the structuralist grid is present throughout *Transcanada Letters*, it is most visually striking in *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova 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. Prior to this series, Kiyooka has inserted a portrait of his grandparents and one of his siblings between his pages of letters. Following the multi-page collection of cross-country road trip memories, Kiyooka includes a group portrait of friends outside an Asian Canadian restaurant. As a book-work, *Transcanada Letters* negates the fine print photograph designated for gallery display. Instead, Kiyooka engages with photography as a technology of mass culture.²⁸⁶ By the 1960s, developments in the commercial offset

²⁸⁴ Sheryl Conkelton, 105, 109.

²⁸⁵ Eve Meltzer, 8-25.

²⁸⁶ *Long Beach to Peggy's Cove*, 1971 (567 silver gelatin prints, 41.5 x 551.25 in overall) is part of the collection of the Vancouver Art Gallery; however, Kiyooka's decision to reproduce and circulate it as an

photolithographic printing process meant that image and text were fixed to the printing plate by the common process of exposing a film negative derived from photographs taken of pasted-up layouts of elements on a grid. The book form, its textual content, and the photographs are in this sense equalized systems of signification, which gather together discreet units of relational “information.” The seriality built into this photomechanical process of reproduction is extended through the symbolic reference to historical forms, what Joel Smith has described as the “replication of pictorial formulas,” such as the studio portrait or the sequential views of travel photography, which are a subset of the landscape genre.²⁸⁷

The frontispiece in *Transcanada Letters* is captioned “Portrait of My Mother and Grandfather,” but their names are not revealed to the reader (fig. 20). This omission effaces the individual identities of the sitters, emphasizing instead the biological ties of the Kiyooka family lineage. The traditional dress of his mother and grandfather, the subdued lighting casting half their faces in shadow, and their rigid formal poses communicate that these people belong in another time and place. Gritty marks on a well-handled frame and the chips and dents marring the photographic surface contribute to the feeling that the photograph has been passed from one generation to another, repeatedly contemplated over an extended period of time. The image becomes a meditation on the affect of “aura,” as described by Walter Benjamin. Through the mediating effect of photomechanical reproduction, the emotional attachment reserved for the photographic subjects is transformed into feelings that their image is representative of a lost historical tradition or cultural heritage.²⁸⁸ Were other copies of this print made from the negative? Did they remain in hands located Japan? A reader might be tempted to ponder Kiyooka’s diasporic subjectivity, especially as his sense of Japan and his family there was largely experienced through reproductions (letters, photographs, and oral histories) until his first visit to Kochi-Ken, Shikoku as an adult. But because Kiyooka has reproduced the image again as part of *Transcanada Letters* to be circulated as multiple copies among readers

integral part of *Transcanada Letters* signals that as a serial medium, the photographic prints cross over the boundaries separating the institutional gallery space from the mass culture form of the book.

²⁸⁷ Joel Smith, “More Than One: Sources of Serialism,” in *More Than One: Photographs in Sequence*, 9-29 (Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 2008), 14.

²⁸⁸ Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York : Schocken Books, 1969), 221.

who may not trace their ancestry to these people, any nostalgic reverie is thwarted by an awareness of the historical role of the studio portrait as an indicator of the sitters' social stature as well as its function in confirming genealogical ties between generations.

Roy Miki has commented upon the “awesome presence” in Kiyooka’s imaginary of his grandfather’s social status as a former samurai in Japan, confirmed by a public monument in his honour in Kochi city.²⁸⁹ His positive identification with social status conferred through bloodlines maintains an ambivalent relationship to the racial distinctions, class expectations and gender roles experienced on both sides of the Pacific, which led to his mother’s marriage to his father (arranged within a week), and an ongoing experience of family instability despite the continuity of his parent’s duty-bound union.²⁹⁰ Taking the subsequent contents of the book into consideration (which will be further discussed below), the portrait produces disidentification with essentialist notions of Japanese identity rooted in kinship ties. Kiyooka later explained there is “something very Japanese about being reticent about ‘self,’”²⁹¹ which is a strikingly inaccurate description of the very public declarations of private emotional states performed throughout *Transcanada Letters*.

The second group portrait is a snapshot depicting six children posing in a field (fig. 21). They appear to stand on top of crusty snow as they jam their hands into their pockets against the cold. Behind them, leafless trees mark the property line. The unmistakable icon of a Toronto Maple Leafs hockey club sweater peaks out from the waistband of one of the boy’s unseasonably short pants. At first, the relationship of these children to each other remains ambiguous for the reader as the caption simply states: “Opal, Alberta: Early 1940s / *left to right*: George, Roy, Harry, Joyce, Frank and Irene.” But the image is inserted between two letters marking Kiyooka’s 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, which was a site of racially motivated hostilities

²⁸⁹ Roy Miki, “Coruscations, Plangencies and the Sybillant : After Words to Roy Kiyooka's Pacific Windows,” in *Pacific Windows*, ed. Roy Miki, 301-320 (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1997), 302-303.

²⁹⁰ Mixed-race marriages were unacceptable in Japan as well as in Canada. However, immigration regulations made it impossible for unwed Japanese women to immigrate to Canada. Kiyooka’s father returned to Japan from Canada where he married his mother; they immigrated together to Canada in 1916. From a transcription of a series of recorded interviews with Roy Kiyooka in *Mothertalk: Life Stories of Mary Kiyoshi Kiyooka*, ed. Daphne Marlatt (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1997), 177.

²⁹¹ Roy Miki, “Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview,” 48.

amplified by national policy enacted in World War II.²⁹² 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.²⁹³ 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 his later experiences. These temporal dislocations call attention to the contradiction arising between a racial category that was legally designated as one of the nation’s “other;” and Kiyooka’s later conflicted desire to contribute images to the symbolic order, which defined a national culture. Following the war, Kiyooka returned to Calgary from Opal to study under Illingworth Kerr and Jock Macdonald, 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.”²⁹⁴ 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.²⁹⁵ While studying alongside veterans who had been trained to kill people who “looked” like him, Kiyooka reflected upon his own war-time experience of conflict between an ethnic ancestry originating “elsewhere” and “Canadian” cultural norms reinforced through government policy, print and broadcast media. As *Transcanada Letters* transposes the “private” register of letters

²⁹² Roy Miki, “Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview,” 43.

²⁹³ *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*, 93 min., directed by Fumiko Kiyooka, 2010.

²⁹⁴ Roy Kiyooka interviewed in *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*.

²⁹⁵ Ron Spikett interviewed in *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*.

and family photographs into the “public” pages of the book, this implicates the reader in Kiyooka’s affective relationship to the nation-state and its symbolic order. His photographs, and letters, work together to create a kind of bond with the reader that Glen Lowry describes as “the liminal space of mutual being.”²⁹⁶ The portrait of 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. This struggle contrasts to the happy smiles of the three younger siblings huddled around the Maple Leafs sweater.

The two earlier family portraits prepare the reader for the photographic series, *Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove Nova Scotia* (1971). Comprised of eighteen pages of snapshots arranged in a grid, the layout resembles a contact sheet made up of 32 frames. The strips of miniaturized images chronicle a road trip across the country linking the west and east coast. In many images the lighting is atmospheric, imbuing industrial landscapes, domestic scenes and candid portraits with an ethereal quality. At times the image’s high contrast produces Romantic chiaroscuro effects, or completely obliterates the recognizable features of friends who seem to goof around and refuse to pose for the camera; an extended shutter speed creates a disorienting lack of focus in nighttime scenes as the van bumps along, following the curve of a bank of streetlights (fig. 22). This eclectic series of styles, captured by the camera’s exposure of film to light, is indexed to Kiyooka’s body as it is responding to the same environmental conditions marking his journey across the land.

The camera acts as an extension of Kiyooka’s body, recording his sensorial experience of the world. The reader becomes aware of an intensely personal perspective. Portraits of his lover, Krisy van Eyk, begin the journey with a full head of hair, but she later appears with a shaved head as she leaves the van to board a bus. It is only through reference to the subsequent letters that the reader can make the connection between the removal of her “lovely hair” to the story of her ending their relationship as she comes out as “gay.”²⁹⁷ Not only does this declaration of sexual identity hover on a borderline of what should remain “private,” according to the terms of the Canadian legal system at the

²⁹⁶ Glen Lowry, “Afterword,” 376.

²⁹⁷ Dear Carole, 11/4/71, Halifax, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

time, it also signals conflicts between the dating of the letters and the implied narrative of the photo series. The gridded arrangement may appear to aid in the sequential narrative of a journey, but it is really acting as a reminder of the flattening effect of the photographic process, which produces “subjects” which then circulate as representations of bodies within a public sphere regulated both by gendered stereotypes in the media and national legislation.

Kiyooka’s west to east reversal of the flow of traffic on the Trans-Canada Highway, does not completely negate the historical function of this signifier of nationhood. As an updated east-west trade route, the highway linked the two sides of the continent and positioned Canada as a mediator of economic ties between Asia and Europe.²⁹⁸ Given Kiyooka’s interest in the persistence of myths in upholding national imaginaries and kinship structures, *Transcanada Letters* can also be discussed in relation to older genres of mass-produced photographic albums and print portfolios. A comparison can be made, for instance, between *Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove Nova Scotia* and other photographic genres, which contributed to a national imaginary by “picturing Canada” through reproductions.²⁹⁹ The 19th century souvenir view album, such as George Monro Grant’s *Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is* (1882), presents a pastoral vision of the nation by foregrounding rural land formations and agrarian industries, as they are connected by the railroad to distant urban scenes.³⁰⁰ In keeping with the counterculture’s neo-rural agrarian revival as an updated mode of pastoralism, *Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove Nova Scotia* repeats these visual tropes associated with imperialism as a historical form of nationalism – though they are distorted through the dirty window of a van, as in the picturesque views of cooperatively run grain silos juxtaposed against the logos of an expanding oil and gas industry. As

²⁹⁸ Prime Minister Diefenbaker opened the Trans-Canada Highway on 30 July 1962 at Roger’s Pass. This section of the highway made direct travel by road possible between British Columbia and the rest of Canada. In the dreams of nineteenth century imperialists such as George M. Grant, this East-West trade route would position Canada as the centre of Empire, wresting power away from England. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power : Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 223-225.

²⁹⁹ Jo Beglo, “Picturing Canada,” in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume III, 1918-1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 70-74 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 71.

³⁰⁰ The album compliments George Monroe Grant’s argument for Canadian imperialism in *Ocean to Ocean* (1873), a narrative of a trip undertaken to survey a railway route to the west coast.

contradictory as it may seem, George M. Grant's pastoralism, or focus upon agrarian industry, is latent within Kiyooka's series of images. Cities appear upon the horizon; however, coastal rock formations, mountain ranges, fallow fields, barns, small town intersections, grain elevators, forests, pulp and paper mills, campsites, and cabins outnumber these skylines. Transportation infrastructure (lakes, rivers, railroad tracks, roads, gas stations, bridges) is depicted as traversing vast spaces linking urban areas and domestic spaces to these outlying rural, primarily agrarian, industries. Kiyooka even includes nostalgic views of canoes and horse and buggy rides which signify within a Red Tory tradition idealizing agrarian-based "organic community."

Surprisingly, in a letter to Glenn Lewis, Kiyooka echoes George P. Grant's lament that Canada was a "branch-plant" culture to the US, as he comments on the faculty of American conceptual artists brought to the Nova Scotia College of Art by Garry Neill Kennedy: "As for the NSCA its just another Yankee branch-plant tho thank god / the student's are mostly Maritimers"³⁰¹ This position would seem to conflict with Kiyooka's practice of conceptual photography and open form poetics, which were adopted by Canadian practitioners as part of a dialogue with dissenting American artists and poets. More interesting perhaps, is how this statement shows the powerful effect of interpolation by versions of Canadian nationhood circulating before the 1960s; specifically, how the anti-American sentiment bolstering historical forms of Canadian nationalism seemingly complemented the countercultural positions adopted by artists working in styles associated with an international avant-garde. The landscape tropes of *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia* are interspersed with communications structures (radio towers, satellites, electrical grids), which appear sporadically in the picture frame as a complimentary networked technology which links dispersed places together through the transfer of information. These visual signs place the fading Canadian pastoralism alongside a new imaginary, coalescing under the sign of the Maple Leaf Flag which heralded communications media as a new national value. Scott Watson argues, however, that a process of disidentification occurred with the Centennial year vision when countercultural explorations of LSD or altered states of consciousness were combined with McLuhan's theories of media environment. Mythologies that invoked

³⁰¹ Dear Glen, 12/27/'71, Halifax Nova Scotia, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

anti-American sentiments in order to reinforce Canadian patriotic feeling instead produced disaffection with visions of a Canadian liberal nation-state.³⁰²

Alongside views of sublime wilderness vistas, pastoral agrarian industry, and the information environment of communications towers, Kiyooka shows us images of himself accompanied by a busload of longhaired and mustachioed friends (fig. 23). “Tripping” signifies through Kiyooka’s disidentification with myths of origin that position the Canadian way of life as a kinder culture to that of the United States. Instead, Kiyooka points to the dialectical relationship between a national imaginary that provides the illusion of sovereignty while the “real” economic partnership between the two countries had contributed to Canada’s postwar prosperity and state-funded cultural programs. In its repetition of national mythologies, *Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove Nova Scotia* therefore also reaches back in time to the commercial venture of the *Portfolio of Pictures* (1924), which was produced as part of the National Gallery of Canada’s concerted effort to inculcate the nation with images of the Group of Seven’s sublime northern landscapes.³⁰³ Just as Joyce Wieland’s *True Patriot Love* rescues Tom Thomson from the earlier propagandistic venture by transforming him into a countercultural figure, Kiyooka had determined that Tom Thomson, as he worked in serial forms, was a conceptual artist.³⁰⁴

and talkt abt conceptual
art trips did you know that Tom Thomson painted
abt ninety small pics in as many days in
the Spring of 1917 just before he got it good.

For Kiyooka, Thomson’s conceptual “art trips” meant that the material process underlying his depiction of landscape imagery could be dislodged from fixed mythologies of national culture and activated again to affect a shift in consciousness.

³⁰² Scott Watson, “Urban Renewal : Ghost Traps, Collage, Condos and Squats (2005),” *Ruins in Process : Vancouver Art in the Sixties*, <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/urban-renewal> (accessed 24 February 2012).

³⁰³ For an extended discussion of the influence of the Group of Seven through the reproduction program of the National Gallery of Canada, see Joyce Zemans, “Establishing the Canon: Nationhood, Identity and the National Gallery’s First Reproduction Program of Canadian Art,” *Journal of Canadian Art History* 16, no. 2 (1995): 7-35.

³⁰⁴ Kiyooka’s interest in Thomson was developed through correspondence with curator Dennis Reid, author of *The Group of Seven* (National Gallery of Canada, 1970). For a detailed discussion of Kiyooka’s correspondence with Reid, see Roy Miki, “Tom Thomson as/in Roy Kiyooka,” in *The Artist & The Moose: A Fable of Forget*, 135-177 (Burnaby, BC: Line Books, 2009), 146-154.

Rather than discussing Thomson and the Group of Seven as producers of representations of the wilderness environment, it is a McLuhanesque version of a media “environment” that is more relevant here, one that through repetition has an effect on the Canadian reader’s psyche. When prompted by Anne Brodsky, Kiyooka produced a serial poem in the form of letters to the editor at *artscanada* titled, *letters purporting to be abt Tom Thomson*. *Transcanada Letters* reprints several excerpts from *letters purporting to be abt Tom Thomson*, just as the series of photographs printed in *artscanada* repeats images of coastal rock formations, which are also included in *Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove Nova Scotia*. Paired with a series of photographs that are at times overprinted with the poetry, these letters conveyed fragmented recollections of Kiyooka’s interactions with five members of the Group of Seven. Kiyooka uses these transpositions of text and image to create a sense of overlapping subjectivity between Thomson and himself. Winnifred Trainor (Thomson’s fabled lover) becomes a common muse figure for both men as part of Kiyooka’s meditation on Thomson’s material practice of image making. As Sherill Grace has observed, “Kiyooka reads her as radiantly *there* and fully present *because* Tom took the snapshot.”³⁰⁵ But Kiyooka has simultaneously produced an imbricated subjectivity with Anne Brodsky, the editor of *artscanada*, which troubles his relationship to the magazines’ commercial mandate to promote a national culture by cultivating a national reading public.³⁰⁶

As Arnold has observed, Kiyooka’s conceptual photography and writing are both informed by the principles of projective verse. The principles of projective verse were developed collaboratively through correspondence exchanged between Charles Olson and Robert Creeley. They jointly outlined *proprioception* as one of these poetic principles, using the physiological term to refer to responses arising within the body, specifically, as it moves through space. *Localism* is Olson’s principle of writing from one’s “locus” in

³⁰⁵ For a discussion of Kiyooka’s filtering of Tom Thomson through his own subjectivity in comparison to other artists’ and writers’ relationship to the national icon, see Sherill Grace, *Inventing Tom Thomson: From Biographical Fictions to Fictional Autobiography* (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 95-96.

³⁰⁶ Kiyooka often referenced *artscanada* as a media environment, which mediated the artists’ relationship to national culture. His 1971 performance, *Arts Canada Afloat*, is a series of more than 100 photographs of Kiyooka, Krisy van Eyk, Gerry Gilbert, and Carole Itter as they distributed pages of the magazine, which featured Jack Shadbolt and Emily Carr as symbols of a Canadian landscape tradition, along the shoreline of Vancouver Island. “Roy Kenzie Kiyooka – A Chronology” in *Pacific Rim Letters*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli, 350-354 (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2005), 353.

response to the immediate surroundings.³⁰⁷ This principle of writing from one's locus produces a personal mythology for the *polis*, an ideal for democratic community which Olson based on the model of the Greek city-state.³⁰⁸ *Polis* can be experienced both in the imagination *and* as a physical site. The practice of *proprioception* is the mapping of the poet's consciousness onto either the real or imaginary site. Proprioceptive verse therefore maps out a "landscape" in an analogous mode to the coordinating function of conceptual photography. Rather than using the camera as an extension of the eye, however, the mapping is performed using the typewriter is an extension of the writer's breath. The reader then moves across the semantic field of the page, navigating through syntax, voices and cultural codes.³⁰⁹ The following section will discuss projective verse and proprioceptive writing as it defines the geography of *Transcanada Letters* in more detail, but as a conclusion to the discussion of Kiyooka's conceptual landscape photography, I will first address how McLuhan's media theory affects Kiyooka's practice of "localism."

Kiyooka writes his *Transcanada Letters* from his "locus." However, in a letter from Kyoto to Luke Rombout at Sir George Williams in Montréal, he reveals his locus is not a place coordinated to a particular geographic territory or urban site. Instead his locus is 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’...

McLuhan theorized that centre-to-periphery geo-political patterns, "have melted away as rapidly as national sovereignties under conditions of electric speed," but that radio and television transmission proposed a different pattern of post-national human organization.³¹⁰ Because Kiyooka was strongly engaged with the media theory of McLuhan, his gesture becomes a "probe" deliberately activating the printed page as a counter-environment. As one media technology is replaced by another, the latter becomes an art form revealing the ideological effects of the receding media space. The book-form

³⁰⁷ Stephen Joyce, *Poetic Community*, 63.

³⁰⁸ Stephen Joyce, *Poetic Community*, 34.

³⁰⁹ See Fred Wah's description of proprioceptive writing in his introduction to Daphne Marlatt's collection of poetry, *Net Work: Selected Writing*, 7-21 (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1980), 15-19.

³¹⁰ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media : the Extensions of Man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 34-35.

assumed by *Transcanada Letters* may be a sign of the centre-to-periphery pattern aided by print technologies; however, it collages together text and image on the model of acoustic space, evoking the dynamic and relational space McLuhan proposed would emerge from the post-industrial electronic environment. In Kiyooka's letters, addressed to multiple geographic points and written with the oral bias of projective verse, boundaries are relative, as is the relationship of the centre to periphery. The "centre" is the locus of the individual, as their consciousness is formed in relation to other technologically mediated subjects in the world. Rearview mirrors are a repeated motif in *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove Nova Scotia* (fig. 24). The camera and its photographer are reflected back to the viewer in the side mirror of the travelling van, which simultaneously obscures the oncoming landscape. Kiyooka's choice of framing could be read through McLuhan's aphorism, "looking forward through a rear-view mirror." As a work of conceptual nationalism *Transcanada Letters* materializes in the book form, in order to point to nationhood and national imaginaries as a residue of print culture.

A heart's geography

Throughout the period covered by *Transcanada Letters*, as he travels to multiple locations, Kiyooka is continually applying for teaching positions, which would allow him to return to Vancouver. In a letter written from Halifax, while employed as the head of the Painting Department at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design and struggling through a divorce, he describes Vancouver as his "Heart's Geography."³¹¹ It is where all his family and closest friends are found, he explains, next to the Pacific Ocean, and by extension Japan. Through the identity politics of the 1980s and 1990s, Kiyooka's "Heart's Geography" has come to be defined by his diasporic subjectivity. His mother's description of the "Landscape-of-the-heart," for example, is the memory of Tosa embodied through the flavour of food.³¹² However, *Transcanada Letters* offers a highly complex meditation on identity at the intersection between diasporic subjectivities, avant-garde art and the countercultural politics of sexual liberation. I have argued that within the intermedial form of Kiyooka's book-work, the photographs of his mother,

³¹¹ Dear George Knox, 12/20/'71, Halifax Vancouver, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

³¹² Roy Kiyooka, *Mothertalk*, 159-160.

grandfather, siblings and friends were inserted between the letters as part of a highly complex signifying field. This last group portrait, as a continuation of a series is also a kind of alternative family portrait – but one that relies upon a family apparatus assembled through myths of artistic and poetic affinities, rather than kinship bloodlines, as part of a series of ever-widening, affectively produced experiences of communal identification.

A few pages after the letter in which Kiyooka describes his “Heart’s Geography,” a final group portrait is inserted in the pages of *Transcanada Letters*, preceding an eight-page summary of the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange* (fig. 25). The exchange brought eleven artists from Vancouver to Halifax between 6 and 11 March 1972 as the first half of a two-part event.³¹³ Huddling in two rows to fit inside the camera frame, a ragtag group poses outside the clapboard storefront of the “Palm Lunch” while being pelted by wet falling snow. The flatness of the image shows the camera responding to the natural light of its surroundings, as in the *Long Beach to Peggy’ Cove* series. 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.³¹⁴ The caption also identifies the Vancouver visitors: 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. Strangely, there are twenty-three people depicted in the photograph, but twenty-four names listed in the caption. The serial commas of the list contribute to the confusion. After Cheryl Druick, and before Roy Kiyooka, the caption lists “Mary, the Boss, Two Waitresses” are listed as present in the picture. Perhaps Mary is “the Boss”? Are the Boss and a waitress one and the same? Is the Boss an invisible presence, coordinating the artist’s position to the working class? Perhaps “Mary” is a

³¹³ 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.

³¹⁴ Participants from Halifax are also included in the group portrait, including Bruce Parsons, Toby MacLennan, Alistair MacLennan, Peter Zimmer, Anita Martin, David Martin, Ellison Robertson, Ian Murray, Doug Waterman, and Charlotte Townsend.

camp reference or a pre-Stonewall secret term of endearment used within this social group?³¹⁵

Kiyooka uses “letters” to create a space of imbricated consciousness with his readers. In *Transcanada Letters* the absent, anticipated voice of the addressee of a letter is filtered through Kiyooka’s response. He likewise uses the epistolary form as a deliberate enactment of polyvocal discourse through the appropriation of another’s voice.³¹⁶ In *letters purporting to be abt Tom Thomson*, this dialogic consciousness is active in the texts Kiyooka addresses to Brodsky, but it is also present in the photographic images, as in his appropriation of Thomson’s photograph of Winnifred Trainor. This is not a harmonious state of being; rather, it is a fragmented and contradictory state. Mikhail Bakhtin describes this kind of subjectivity as “dialogism,” which he also attributes as an intrinsic quality of the epistolary form.³¹⁷ Fred Wah has argued against the use of Bakhtinian “dialogism” to describe the Canadian national imaginary as decentred or without dominant discourse because this gives the false impression that all voices are equal within the discursive space produced by CanLit.³¹⁸ Furthermore, Wah explains that writers in Canada, such as Kiyooka, who are ethnically tied to non-European traditions must choose their poetics carefully as a formal tactic of camouflage, concealment or negation.³¹⁹ Perhaps for this reason, Glen Lowry encloses “letters” in quotation marks, suggesting that Kiyooka does not treat them as carriers of transparent content, but rather puts the epistolary form to a specific use.³²⁰ In this respect, Karis Shearer has also argued that in the 1960s and early 1970s, Kiyooka and his contemporaries benefitted from the undefined nature of CanLit as an area of study and cultural production. Within this void,

³¹⁵ A reprinted version of the photograph identifies one of the figures as the owner and one as a waitress; “Mary” no longer features in the caption. Virginia Solomon, “Conceptualism and Canada at the Halifax/Vancouver Exchange,” in *The Last Art College: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1968-1978*, 152-154 (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 2012), 153.

³¹⁶ For a discussion of appropriation of voice in Kiyooka’s letter-writing practice see Smaro Kamboureli, “Afterword: For What It’s Worth,” in *Pacific Rim Letters*, ed. Smaro Kamboureli, 330-349 (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2005).

³¹⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, 205.

³¹⁸ For a study of dialogism in Canadian novels, which describes it as a painful state of conflict arising when individuals internalize incompatible identity formations see Gabrielle Helms, *Challenging Canada: Dialogism and Narrative Techniques in Canadian Novels* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

³¹⁹ Fred Wah, “A Poetics of Ethnicity,” in *Faking It: Poetics & Hybridity: Critical Writing 1984-1999*, 51-66 (Edmonton, Alberta: NeWest Press, 2000).

³²⁰ Glen Lowry, “Afterword,” 370.

she argues, their multiple roles as poets, critics and publishers allowed them to anthologize themselves into the CanLit canon.³²¹ In this respect the modes of “camouflage, concealment and negation” ascribed by Wah to “minority” voices in the 1980s may be comparable to the multiple roles assumed by conceptual artists in the 1960s and 1970s which, Alexander Alberro has argued, aided conceptual artists in their “egalitarian pursuit of publicness” through the commodity forms of print culture.³²²

Roy Kiyooka later claimed to be “for all intents and purposes a white anglo saxon protestant, with a cleft tongue,”³²³ to which Roy Miki has responded with the observation that the image of a cleft tongue suggests a “perversity within the form.”³²⁴ This polymorphous sense of identity and perversity of linguistic form aptly describes the ambivalence Kiyooka conveys in *Transcanda Letters* through his simultaneous disidentification with Canadian English (experienced in Kiyooka’s lifetime as a British colonial dialect) and his mother tongue, Tosa-ben, a Japanese dialect his unilingual mother spoke at home.³²⁵ The alienation produced by linguistic code-switching as it influences feelings of national belonging can be perceived both in Kiyooka’s response to his exoticization of Black Mountain poetics – “it didn’t sound like anything that I knew as English, as a Canadian English...so that was fascinating”³²⁶ – as well as in his frustrated response to hearing his recorded voice speaking his mother tongue:

playing the tapes back enables me
to hear myself talking lousy Japanese --
dammit its sort of humiliating...³²⁷

This letter addressed to his parents and siblings in Canada describes the experience of travelling to Japan. Kiyooka explains that in Japan he feels “more at home than ever;” nonetheless, in both places a linguistic barrier continues to limit his sense of

³²¹ See Karis Shearer, “Imago & the Canadian Long Poem,” 15.

³²² Alexander Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), 5.

³²³ Roy Kiyooka, “We Asian North Americanos,” *West Coast line* 24, no. 3 (Winter 1990), 182.

³²⁴ Roy Miki, “Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview,” 49.

³²⁵ This multi-layered bilingualism is the basis for a hybrid personal language or “inglish.” Roy Miki, “Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview” 42. See also the discussion of Kiyooka’s use of the English language as an “erudite vernacular,” which produces a montage effect in Smaro Kamboureli, “Afterword: For What It's Worth,” 338-339.

³²⁶ Roy Miki, “Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview,” 46.

³²⁷ Dear Mother/ Father Brothers and Sisters, October, 1973, Vancouver, BC, *Transcanda Letters*, np.

belonging. The concept of “dialogism” describes the contradictory state produced within Kiyooka’s individual consciousness as a result of being pulled in multiple directions by competing national imaginaries.

Throughout the pages of *Transcanada Letters*, Kiyooka uses the epistolary form to reposition his body in relation to his correspondents as he moves through space and time. Kiyooka’s use of the epistolary form treats bonds of friendship as a type of interpersonal relation that acts as a countermeasure to traditional communal identifications such as family or marriage. For instance, Kiyooka writes a letter “from across / those vasty N.A. d-i-s-t-a-n-c-e-s Olson wold have us measure” to his friend, fellow poet and editor at Toronto’s Coach House Press, Victor Coleman.³²⁸ Like *Transcanada Letters*, the first volume of Olson’s *Maximus Poems* (1953) is composed as a series of letters.³²⁹ These letters are addressed to the citizens of the city of Gloucester. Stephen Voyce explains that the form of the “letter” in *Maximus* deliberately “conflates the private and the public, using a personal form for a public address,” which generates a personal mythology for a localized site as a negation of the abstract symbolism, which sustains national cultures.³³⁰ Gloucester is both Olson’s “real” hometown in Massachusetts *and* an imaginary site of *polis* – an idealized form of democracy that is also a mobile and adaptative meeting place – a site of exchange that can take place in a letter, or in a publication.³³¹ Distinctions between public and private modes of address are similarly blurred in *Transcanada Letters*. Each letter is addressed to a recipient, but also includes a return address, which coordinates Kiyooka to both a “real” place in the world and an “imaginary” site within the geography of the book. The narrative is composed as a “landscape” through proprioceptive writing, using letters and photographs as serial forms, which mediate relationships between individuals dispersed across localized geographies. As in *Maximus*, Kiyooka generates a personal mythology through his disidentification with the abstract symbols of nationhood.

³²⁸ Dear Victor, lists five “current addresses” indicating his mobility even within the region of British Columbia, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

³²⁹ Glen Lowry also observes the “Maximus-like proportions” of *Transcanada Letters* in his “Afterword” to the 2005 edition, 370.

³³⁰ Stephen Voyce, *Poetic Community*, 63.

³³¹ Stephen Voyce, *Poetic Community*, 65.

The imaginary which then results through projective verse, what Tomaszewska has called the “pacific nation” and Joyce has termed “poetic community,” creates friendship networks as a means to decouple patriarchal family structures from origin myths. In a letter addressed to Coleman, Kiyooka concludes an intensely erotic poem describing the merging of two men with a “goddess of woman” by way of a reference to “Creeley’s Pieces.”³³² Complementary to both *Maximus* and *Transcanada Letters*, Creeley’s collection *For Love: Poems 1950-1960* (Scribner, 1962) maps the bonds between friends, extending these economies of desire to an intertextual constellation of writers and artists connected to Black Mountain College. Joyce observes that there is an ambiguity to the “*mêlée* of bodies and names” within the text which creates a homoerotic “frenzy of potentially misplaced sexual identifications.”³³³ These “erotics of friendship,” are also present in *Transcanada Letters*, and as Miki has observed, Kiyooka’s appropriation of voice gives him permission to explore the “complications of (male) desire through the practices of another artist/writer,” particularly when it permits the two men to share a female muse figure.³³⁴ These homosocial triangles are significant considering Kiyooka’s affinities with Allen Ginsberg, Robert Duncan, Jack Spicer and Robin Blaser for whom, it has been argued, writing and publishing was a pre-Stonewall form of queer community building.³³⁵ This notion of queer kinship networks will be revisited and further developed in Chapter III.

Whereas Barnett Newman may have contributed to Kiyooka’s understanding of painting as a ritual experience that had an effect on real world social relations, Black Mountain poetics provided an understanding of community as a product of common linguistic practices, and of language as a structure that determined an individual’s

³³² Dear Victor, December ’71, Tobin Street, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

³³³ Stephen Joyce, *Poetic Community*, 78.

³³⁴ Roy Miki, “Coruscations, Plangencies and the Sybillant : After Words to Roy Kiyooka’s Pacific Windows,” 108.

³³⁵ For further discussion of sexuality as it pertains to poetic community in Cold War America see Lewis Ellingham and Kevin Killian, *Poet Be Like God : Jack Spicer and the San Francisco Renaissance* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1998); Michael Davidson, *The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Michael Davidson, *Guys Like Us: Citing Masculinity in Cold War Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Jonathan D. Katz, “Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros,” in Jonathan D. Katz, “Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros,” in *21st Century Gay Culture*, ed. David A. Powell, 13-29 (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008).

understanding of an external world. It also maintained that a shift in the imaginary through the creation of personal mythologies was a means of influencing real world social relations. *Transcanada Letters* borrows its epistolary form from Olson's *Maximus Poems* in order to create a meeting site in a shared poetic imaginary. But because the book is an anthology of heavily edited letters that circulated at a previous period in time, Kiyooka creates a meeting place where his past correspondents (as they are filtered through his own conflicted consciousness) can extend poetic kinship ties to a future reading public. This temporal shift indicates that *Transcanada Letters* contains its own "archive fever," in the Derridean sense that the life instinct of *eros* circulating throughout its pages is paired with the death drive of *thanatos* as an "irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement."³³⁶ Is Kiyooka's homesickness and search for origins a result of his diasporic subjectivity? Or is it a desire to return to a "polymorphously perverse" locality, as Vancouver is mapped out to be in the national imaginary of *Transcanada Letters*?

In a letter leading up to the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange*, Kiyooka describes some of the artists in Vancouver that he anticipates welcoming on the east coast as "polymorphously perverse,"

been thinking abt Our City How
its ongoing folk-Lore depends on adopting
or it's a co-opting of a second name
an alias pseudonym or wise-guise to wit an
Anna Banana, Marcel Dot, Slim Flowers
or even a Doctor and Lady Brute-like name 'em
and we've got them. theres Kitty Hawke
Art Rat, Mr. Planter's Peanut, and Other Odds
and eminent Sods including Seamus Finn
the old shoemaker's visionary Dollarton twin-
like aint we got more than our share of 'em.
and what can all these appendices be ?
is it possible that a pseudo-name is our
so called real-self and that our given name is
a mere invention (like a parental wish or
bloody whim no more than that. Or again is it
the fact of no one not even a parent thot
to name the other half we also are. Or

³³⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever : A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 91.

its mere theatralese—a vain attempt to
ambush the REAL from the other side of an arch'd
proscenium . nomatter the namings, our poly-
morphously perverse porosities know if
it knows anything the difference/s .³³⁷

Kiyooka's capitalization of "Our City" suggests that he is referring both to Vancouver proper, and also to an alternate imagined city. This imagined place is accessed by assuming an alter ego as a means to cross over to the other side of the "arched proscenium," a metaphorical division between art and life. These pseudonyms are part of a "folk-Lore," made up of the personal mythologies sustaining this imaginary place. His juxtaposition of the pseudonyms binding this group together, against the names conferred through family relations, inverts the site of an essentialized "real" self, situating it instead within the linguistic construct of the "imaginary." His line break after "poly-" emphasises the polysyllabic nature of the word, which becomes a metaphor for the liminal identities adopted through pseudonyms in this group, but also suggests polymorphous perversity to be a quality of the experiential intermedial forms that make up the common cultural practice between them and *Transcanada Letters*. Kiyooka's inversion of the site of self describes the space in which the counterpublic for Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* is formed through disidentification. Kiyooka's "transcanadian" imaginary exists both in print, in the imagination and as a mobile social formation – albeit the mobility is conditional upon federal funding agencies, as well as educational and art institutions in both Vancouver and Halifax.

The Vancouver milieu in which Kiyooka developed his writing was homosocial and Kiyooka identifies with it as such, as in his quip, "p/s aint we all members of a lavender mob viz witless homo sapiens."³³⁸ This reference to a "lavender mob" aligns his diasporic subjectivity and his status as an artist with the status of homosexuals as enemies of the state in McCarthyite America. Jonathan Katz has argued that in response to Cold War paranoia, Rauschenberg and other "same-sex-inclined" artists and poets associated with Black Mountain, and the New York School used collage forms as a means to create

³³⁷ Dear Judy, 10/4th/71, Halifax, NS, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

³³⁸ Dear Claudia Francois and Susie, 10/21/73, Richmond, BC, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

authorial diffusion and as a kind of camouflage or cloaking.³³⁹ *Transcanada Letters* similarly cloaks Kiyooka's authorship by foregrounding his array of addressees; likewise its intermedial form signifies differently across multiple publics and counterpublics simultaneously. Katz has also argued that as a discourse of sexual liberation, *eros* redefined male sexuality, as in the poetry of Kiyooka's friend, Allen Ginsberg.³⁴⁰ Katz argues that as this discourse circulated widely among the counterculture as "polymorphous perversity," it situated the body as a site of dissidence, defining "a social margin deliriously unconcerned with sexual differentiation, a ragtag band united by the loosening, not tightening, of gendered and sexual differentiations."³⁴¹

In this respect it is fascinating to note that Kiyooka describes a sense of nationhood in relation to all the women with whom he has created affective bonds, which would include those he has reached out to through his poetic technique of homosocial triangulation. This notion of a libidinally linked nationhood contrasts to other references he makes to shifting notions of Québécois national identity, which can be seen in comments regarding Robert Bourassa, René Levesque and the Front de liberation du Québec (FLQ). In a letter addressed to his friends Claudia Lapp, François Déry and Suzy Lake, who anticipate a live performance of excerpts from *Transcanada Letters* at Véhicule Art in Montréal, he writes,

- – if i could hold all the women i've known
across this vasty dominion-this ouija board-in mind
simultaneously—if i could do just this i might
get an overview of 'how' altogether we formed a dense
ly woven tapestry of which yours truly would simply
be a single (hopefully)(colourful) strand . if i
could and did then do this without the image-of-a-nation
crowding my cranium...³⁴²

This passage shows how Kiyooka adopted *eros* as a means to achieve communal identification through personal mythologies. These mythologies replace shared language, blood or territory with the psychological drive of libido as a universalizing biological

³³⁹ Jonathan D. Katz, "Committing the perfect crime: Sexuality, Assemblage and the Postmodern Turn in American Art. Epilogue," *Art Journal* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 53.

³⁴⁰ Jonathan D. Katz, "Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros," 16.

³⁴¹ Jonathan D. Katz, "Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros," 13.

³⁴² Dear Claudia Francois and Susie, 10/21/'73, Richmond, BC, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

trait. Kiyooka's recourse to friendship networks could therefore be seen as a disidentification with the gendered norms of the "family man" with which he wrestles in letters addressed to his own parents.³⁴³ From a countercultural perspective, this social role reduced male sexuality to a reproductive function in perpetuating genetic ties. Simultaneously it fused the function of labour and consumer, which Marcuse argued sustained the affluence of liberal democracies at the expense of the inhabitants of other nations.³⁴⁴ Kiyooka later commented on his choice of career saying that for a *Nisei* to become an artist was "in terms of Japanese Canadians...quite exceptional."³⁴⁵ Also unlike his parents' generation, Kiyooka and Monica Barker married for love, despite his in-laws' objection to the marriage on the basis that it was a mixed-race union, reportedly referring to their three grandchildren pejoratively as "mongrels."³⁴⁶ As he traveled to distant teaching positions, tensions arising from Kiyooka's forced mobility put pressure on the marriage, as his absence from family life was pitted against economic imperatives to "pay the mortgage."³⁴⁷ Monica Barker was a successful architect in her own right, but rigid gender roles lingering from the 1950s put her husband's career first, with the expectation that she would prioritize their children above her own professional work.³⁴⁸ The marriage did not survive Kiyooka's move to Halifax, triggering letters to Kiyooka's Mother and Father,

I willingly admit to

what you said in your recent letter about *the mess* I seem to have made with my life and that I ran away from it to Halifax 4000 miles away.³⁴⁹

These letters to his divorce lawyer, which are published alongside his shame-filled responses to his parents' disapproval, makes public matters that the Liberal government under Pearson had effectively declared a "private" affair through divorce law

³⁴³ Dear Mother and Father, 12/12th/ 71, Halifax, Nova Scotia, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

³⁴⁴ Herbert Marcuse, *Essays on Liberation*, 10.

³⁴⁵ Roy Miki, Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview," 50. Roy Kiyooka's brother George had attended night classes at the Alberta Provincial Institute of Technology and Art before the war, while working a day job at the Palliser Hotel. Roy Kiyooka, *Mothertalk*, 179, n.1.

³⁴⁶ Monica Barker interviewed in *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*.

³⁴⁷ Dear Mother and Father, 12/12th/ 71, Halifax, Nova Scotia, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

³⁴⁸ Monica Barker interviewed in *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*.

³⁴⁹ Dear Mother and Father, 12/12th/ 71, Halifax, Nova Scotia, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

reform. This privatization of sexuality, which paralleled a decriminalization of homosexuality was summed up in Trudeau's 1967 declaration "The State has no place in the bedrooms of the nation."³⁵⁰ However, women and gay liberationists were simultaneously working out arguments within countercultural newspapers, such as the *Georgia Straight*, that sexist gender roles, the regulation of sexuality, and the harnessing of their libidos to images circulating in mass media had significant consequences for participation in public life.

It has been argued that the dialogue between travel photography and conceptual art developed as a response to artists' mobile conditions of production.³⁵¹ A complex nexus of gender, class and race also appears in Kiyooka's relationship to the Canadian state, as it defined culture as a form of economic activity. Kiyooka later reflected that his ability to build a career by teaching art in colleges and university environments was due to a labour shortage in the late 50's and early 60s. His entry was "through the back door" when educational institutions were expanding to accommodate the first waves of the baby-boom and the integration of technical skills within traditional liberal college models.³⁵² Often written in an antagonistic tone, the requests for teaching positions he includes in *Transcanada Letters* evince Kiyooka's troubled relationship to mobility as a necessary condition to be a Canadian artist. In a report to a Canada Council granting officer, he reveals he was unconvinced of any economic class "mobility" held out as a post-war promise of the federally funded arts in Canada,

for the likes of us theres no such momentums
as 'upward mobilities' – only a scattering
of way-stations from coast-to-coast .³⁵³

His inclusion of bureaucratic genres of writing in *Transcanada Letters*, such as grant reports, are therefore consistent with the dulling affect of conceptual "aesthetics of administration;" however, these metaphorical "grids," standing in for social constraints, do not leave Kiyooka without agency. His colourful language, unusual syntax, disregard

³⁵⁰ Christina McCall and Stephen Clarkson, *Trudeau and Our Times : The Magnificent Obsession*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 107.

³⁵¹ Mark Godfrey, "Accross The Universe," in *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964-1977*, ed. Matthew K. Witkovsky (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), 57-65.

³⁵² Roy Miki, "Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview," ed. William Wood (Vancouver: Artspeak Gallery; Or Gallery, 1991), 51.

³⁵³ Dear Suzanne Rivard Lemoyne, 10/17th/72, Vancouver, BC, *Transcanada Letters*

for capitalization and other rules of English grammar reveal subjectivity formed in a conflicted relationship to the bureaucratic demands of national arts and culture policy. But his decision to include the reports as part of his *Transcanada Letters*, also implies that the national agency constitutes Kiyooka's reading public in a similar manner to the other addressees of his letters. This relationship was also played out in Kiyooka's organization of the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange*. In lieu of transporting himself back to Vancouver, Kiyooka leveraged seven thousand dollars of funding from the Canada Council to mobilize a group of friends to travel eastward. The laborious process of organizing is chronicled in *Transcanada Letters* through correspondence with Carole Itter, Gerry Gilbert, Glenn Lewis, Marguerite Pinney, Doris Shadbolt, Alvin Balkind, as well as Robert Elie and Suzanne Rivard Lemoyne at the Canada Council. Significantly, he again references the poetics of *localism* to describe the *Exchange* as a "proprioceptive party" – explicitly marking it as an event that coordinated the bodies of himself and his friends to both an imaginary and a real environment, thereby recreating his "Heart's Geography."

When is the nation a useful form for the politics of eros?

When Kiyooka returned to Vancouver in 1973 to take up a teaching position at UBC, Kiyooka wrote to Doris Shadbolt comparing shifts in the weather to changing cultural trends, asking: "What ever happened to the concept of an 'avant garde' — did it also blow away?" Perhaps he found that the artistic practices of the city, which manifested as material traces of countercultural imaginaries, had dissipated with the disintegration of Intermedia in 1972, and the retreat of Vancouver's artists to rural areas in the face of urban development.³⁵⁴ Kiyooka likewise left behind the geographic locality of his earlier downtown bohemia; after a short-lived experiment to transform a defunct power plant in Masqui into a communally owned live-work site, he settled on a disused blueberry farm in Richmond. In his description of the derelict farm as "the sum of all the poor sod i have known," he recognizes this relocation to rural ruins as both an imperfect act of countercultural neo-agrarianism *and* a return to origins through memories of the soil

³⁵⁴ Scott Watson, "Urban Renewal : Ghost Traps, Collage, Condos and Squats (2005)," *Ruins in Process : Vancouver Art in the Sixties*, <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/urban-renewal> (accessed February 24, 2012).

depicted in the earlier photograph of his siblings.³⁵⁵ This move to the country parallels Image Bank's retreat to Babyland at Robert's Creek, which preceded the founding of the artist-run centre the Western Front (1973) as a communal live-work environment. These events will be further discussed in the next chapter as the imaginary geography of *Transcanada Letters* overlaps with the lists of addresses in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* (Talonbooks, 1972).

If *Transcanada Letters* poses the question, *when is the nation a useful form for the politics of eros*, the answer seems to be: when the counterpublic it attracts to an alternate national imaginary shares a utopian yearning to transform real social relations. Kiyooka later described the state of being elucidated in *Transcanada Letters* as "athwarted."³⁵⁶ His transformation of a preposition into a verb captures the effect produced as his body crosses the nation from side to side, mapping the continent through proprioceptive verse and conceptual photography. This mapping produces a personal mythology, derived from disidentification with the abstract symbolism of those myths that sustained Canada as a liberal democracy. This means that Kiyooka internalized a desire to contribute to the symbolic order of Canadian nationhood; but at the same time, multiple other social imaginaries, or states of associative belonging, simultaneously compete for space within his consciousness. He exists in multiple registers of identification with geo-political nations and psychic states all at once. *Transcanada* signifies as a federally funded route for the circulation of people and goods, which crosses a "real" geo-political space. But it also suggests that the doubling up of diasporic and countercultural imaginaries produced within the pages of the book takes readers beyond this space, as they trip further into another state of place.

³⁵⁵ Dear Sheila, Nov. '73 frm: the sod at the back of the lot, Richmond BC. *Transcanada Letters*, np.

³⁵⁶ Roy Miki, "Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview," 51.

Chapter III: Why Not CANADADA?

This chapter will argue that the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* (Talonbooks, 1972) is a work of conceptual nationalism, despite the claim to internationalism in its name. Directories are a curious publishing genre, as they have no intrinsic content value; rather, the book becomes a container for lists of names and addresses, the linguistic indices that make it possible to conceptualize connections between entities that exist beyond the bound pages. For this reason, it is difficult to describe the *Directory* as a self-contained dream-like associative narrative, as seen in the case studies of previous chapters. Instead, the *Directory* functions as an entry point to a fantasy world that these artists created by soliciting the attention of readers through their lists. The *Directory* is one of many access points to this self-referencing network of desire. As a result, this case study moves away from a discussion of the book-work as a material thing with a concrete relationship to an author, focusing instead upon the *Directory* as a site where an exchange of libidinal energy can be traced. In this sense the book-work functions as a nodal access point to a wider network of affective relationships, the tracing of which reveals the historical significance of their adoption of this print-based form in the post-Centennial period. As will be further elaborated below, the names and addresses listed in this directory describe the participants in an artistic and literary scene, for which Vancouver's Intermedia Society was one of several common meeting sites. On one hand, the list suggests a regionalized localism cultivated in relation to the multi-locational sense of associative belonging shared between the city's varied countercultures; on the other, there is a national dimension to the geography indexed by this book, as numerous addresses connect Vancouver to Toronto.

The *Directory* communicates a sense of localism that Roy Kiyooka described within his *Transcanada Letters* as arising from the "polymorphously perverse porosities" fostered in Vancouver's countercultures. As discussed in Chapter II, Kiyooka observed that this libidinally charged scene was associated with physical sites located around the city, nevertheless, many of the artists involved also generated an alternate sense of place, collectively reimagining their relationship to the city through the adoption of pseudonyms and other liminal identities. These mutable identities paralleled the expanded genres, process-based and intermedial forms that made up a set of common cultural practices

shared between them. The production of poetry, artists' magazines, and conceptual book-works, such as the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, was part of their shared exploration of print media alongside other aesthetic forms as communications tools enabling the processes of utopian community building.

The Image Bank *Directory* is organized as an alphabetical listing of over 270 names, civic addresses, text-based image requests, and reprints of appropriated images. Each name and address is accompanied by a short series of linguistic statements which function as an "image request" for pictures desired by the person named in the listing. On each left-hand page, and sometimes appearing across two-page spreads, more than 90 images are reproduced in black-and-white. Each picture is surrounded by a thick white border that acts as a reminder that these visual fragments had a previous life, but are now transposed into the book-work through the processes of photomechanical reproduction. These images seemingly complement the textual listings of requests printed on the right hand pages, but no explicit correlation is made for the reader. Instead, the pictures and image requests can be arranged into multiple groupings according to the reader's interpretation. For the purpose of discussing the *Directory* as a work of conceptual nationalism, I will broadly lump them together into the following categories, which parody aspects of post-Centennial Canadian nationalism as discussed in previous chapters: 1) Camp patriotism, as seen in an image showing starlet Marilyn Monroe flirting with a member of the Canadian Royal Mounted Police; 2) Satirical responses to US politics – for instance, a photocollage showing President Richard Nixon wearing lederhosen while balancing on the knee of Adolph Hitler; 3) Kitsch jokes, as in an advertisement for Carnation Milk depicting a child with a creamy moustache that has been further eroticized with an added caption "LHOOQ" (a sideways reference to Marcel Duchamp's appropriation of the Mona Lisa's "hot ass"); 4) Glamour shots, including images of iconic Hollywood rebel James Dean; 5) Gender bending and cross-dressing performances, as in images of the fabulous retro drag queens of "Club My-O-My;" and, finally, 6) Primitivist imagery, which includes several pictures of Indigenous peoples from various parts of the world, as well as the snapshots of nude romps in the woods. This chapter will focus on camp patriotism, primitivist imagery, and gender bending, especially. Furthermore, while discussing these categories, it is important to note that the

Directory exists as both a single edition book-work, and as a series of reprinted lists featured in early issues of the Toronto-based artists' magazine *File*, also first published by General Idea in 1972 (fig. 26). This inter-city transposition of content between a book and magazines consumed and produced within Canadian borders underlines the significance of the *Directory* as a work of conceptual nationalism, in particular as it intersects with an erotic imaginary that had a questionable legal status under national law, when expressed in print.

Image Bank was a collective project, begun in Vancouver in 1969 by Michael Morris, Vincent Trasov, and Gary Lee-Nova.³⁵⁷ Adopting the pseudonyms Marcel Idea, Mr. Peanut and Art Rat, they used the postal system to collect, collage and re-circulate images appropriated from mass-market magazines. Image Bank collectively conceived of their artistic activities as a communications-based process of image circulation, deploying metaphors of information processing systems: “as artists we are information, resource, image banks concerned with data covering the spectrum from cultural awareness to professional knowledge... Feedback resulting from exchanges of information has created a kind of decentralized filing system.”³⁵⁸ Lee-Nova and Morris developed this conceptualist strategy as an extension of their earlier work, which transposed mass-media conventions and graphic vocabularies into hard-edge abstraction. When their practices shifted from painting to film and sculptural environments in the late 1960s, their earlier modernist investigations of scale, seriality, surface and visuality were supplanted by a conceptual exploration of pre-existing systems of communications, such as the postal system, and pre-existing cultural forms, such as the letter, the postcard, the annual report and the directory. Prior to meeting Morris and Lee-Nova, Trasov had travelled the South Pacific working as a seaman on board an international freighter; had visited the USSR; and had experience campaigning for a local NDP candidate, who was also his father.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ Michael Morris (b. Saltdean, England, 1942-) Vincent Trasov (b. Edmonton, Alberta, 1947-) and Gary Lee-Nova (b. Toronto, Ontario 1943-).

³⁵⁸ Image Bank, *Annual Report* (Vancouver: Intermedia Press, 1972), np.

³⁵⁹ Morris met Trasov when he was canvassing door-to-door for his father, federal New Democratic Party candidate George Edward Trasov, in the Vancouver Quadra riding. In the 1968 election G.E. Trasov received 14.96% of the vote, coming in third. His mother was active in “The Voice of Women,” an anti-nuclear group. The Trasov family was frequent visitors between Canada and the USSR, where relatives continued to reside. The Trasovs are descendents of Doukhobor exiles who chose Canada as the destination for their utopian society. Email to the author from Vincent Trasov, 16 December 2013.

Image Bank's preference for subcultural code-switching over direct political action could be understood as an aesthetic response to Trasov's socialist background and family experience of a lifetime of Leftist politics fought through conventional channels.³⁶⁰ In 1969, rather than building on his political experience campaigning for the NDP, Trasov instead engaged with the politics of utopian aesthetics. His first work, "Flammable," was a ritual performance filmed by Gary Lee-Nova in which Trasov doused 16 objects with gasoline and ignited a blazing inferno.³⁶¹ This foray into video and performance art was inspired by a utopian vision of purification in the material world, which Trasov conveyed through an homage to Yves Klein's work with acetylene torches.

Image Bank's correspondence activities were primarily based out of an apartment that Morris and Trasov shared as lovers. The work performed in this domestic space was part of a wider field of intermedial experiments and collaborative work environments fostered within an array of organizations including Talonbooks, the Intermedia Society, the New Era Social Club, the Vancouver Art Gallery, Douglas Christmas' Ace Gallery, and various other meeting places in the city such as bars, studios and private homes.³⁶² This means that the primary site of reception for this correspondence was a private domestic environment; nonetheless, this initial reception was also made public through exhibitions in galleries and museums and by republishing content in books and magazines – a tendency that resembles the strategies of Ray Johnson and other artists involved in Fluxus exchange networks.³⁶³ For instance, the *Directory* was modeled after an international listing of gay bars sent by Johnson to Morris in 1968 (fig. 27).³⁶⁴

³⁶⁰ Trasov's father lost his speech from a stroke following his unsuccessful campaign of 1968. Trasov later campaigned for Mayor of Vancouver in the 1974 civic elections in the persona of Mr. Peanut, the same year that his father passed away. As a candidate, Mr. Peanut never spoke. Instead, his campaign platform acted as a critique of conventional political mechanisms through absurd performative gestures. Email to the author from Vincent Trasov, 16 December 2013.

³⁶¹ Scott Watson, "Vincent Trasov: Word Paintings," in *Vincent Trasov: Word Paintings*, 5-10 (Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1991), 5.

³⁶² 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," 132.

³⁶³ Morris and Trasov contributed a work to an exhibition that displayed works sent to the museum in response to requests sent out to the New York Correspondence School (NYCS). *Ray Johnson: New York Correspondence School*, Whitney Museum of American Art, 2 September - 6 October, 1970, curated by Marcia Tucker. Image Bank's mailing projects included: Image of the Month Mailing (1970); Image Bank Postcard Show (1971); *Legal Tender: Image Bank Annual Report*, (Intermedia Press, 1972), the Marcel

An imaginary elsewhere

The sending of this covert list of gay bars across the US/Canadian border has particular resonance in the historical moment when conceptualist strategies favouring communication-based collaboration intersected with a definitive shift in the public expression of gender identity and sexual orientation. In 1968, the riots at Stonewall in New York City, which demanded public recognition of gay and lesbian civil rights, paralleled reforms to the Canadian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1968-69 (Omnibus Bill C-150). While the riots continue to stand as a symbolic moment in the shared imaginary of a North American gay rights movement, the Canadian legal reforms taking place in the same period decriminalized homosexuality as long as it remained within the realm of private life, and therefore a non-political, non-public concern. The radical forms of publicness enacted during the protests at Stonewall therefore compete as an historical narrative with the adaptation of Canadian statute to provide for individual freedom in private life.³⁶⁵ Whereas the latter legal reform places the emphasis upon equal rights as the end game of a political movement based in sexual identity, the memory of Stonewall calls queers out of the closet in a mass movement towards social revolution through sexual liberation. The mimeographed list of addresses upon which the Image Bank *Directory* is modeled stands as an example of pre-Stonewall print culture that addressed a secret public, which cohered both on the page and in “real” life places (e.g., bars, cruising grounds) through an understanding of covert, coded references. Once they found each other, this secret public was also accustomed to understanding local experience in relation to an international community. With reference to pre-Stonewall forms of print culture, this chapter will work through the image categories of camp patriotism, primitivist imagery and gender bending as they are deployed in the *Directory*, and in the reprinted content in *File* magazine, as they shaped an alternate national imaginary for the post-Centennial period.

Vancouver artists received unprecedented media coverage in the late 1960s. As Scott Watson and Grant Arnold have noted, this national and international attention

Duchamp Fan Club Cultural Ecology Project (1973); and the Image Bank Request Lists regularly published in *File* until 1975.

³⁶⁴ See entry 63 in the checklist for the exhibition, *Ray Johnson : How Sad I am Today...*, 145.

³⁶⁵ Terry Goldie, “Queer Nation?,” 19.

contributed to artists' understanding of media representation in conceptual terms, that is, as a system that imposes identity categories and social roles at the same time that it creates crucial conditions of visibility for artists working in peripheral areas.³⁶⁶ In an article exemplary of this trend, founding editor of *Artforum*, Philip Leider, held up Ed Ruscha as an example for Vancouver artists to emulate. Leider praised Ruscha's ability to surpass the provincial conditions of Los Angeles, as he produced work of an "international character" comparable to an avant-garde centred in New York.³⁶⁷ In the *Directory*, an image request is listed alongside Ed Ruscha's address in LA. Reportedly, he "Says thank you to all his fans everywhere." Not coincidentally, the understated cover, choice of generic typography and sequenced juxtaposition of image and text in the *Directory* resembles the conceptual book-works of Ruscha, which similarly combine generic snapshots and objective description to create narratives through indexation and enumeration. Both Ruscha's book-works and the *Directory* relocate the authorial role of the artist from the creation of the images to the archival administration of them through sequential ordering of image and text.³⁶⁸ On one hand, the *Directory's* homage to Ruscha is an articulation of these artists' desire to transcend the relative isolation of Vancouver through media representation – a desire which is also evident in the *Directory's* listings for international art magazines such as *Studio International* or *Flash Art*, as well as in the addresses included for critics such as Harald Szeemann, Germano Celant and Lucy Lippard, renowned for their contribution to the discourse defining the major art movements of the 60s and 70s. On the other, Ruscha's listing, like many other listings in the *Directory*, is an *invented* relationship reflecting Image Bank's desire to be recognized by their addressee, in ways which suggestively surpass the goals of international art world celebrity or mass-media exposure.

³⁶⁶ Vancouver's art scene was reviewed in six articles between 1967 and 1970: Philip Leider "Vancouver: Scene With No Scene" *artscanada* (June/July, 1967); Alvin Balkind, "Vancouver" *Artforum* (May, 1968); Barry Lord "Canada: The Stir in Vancouver" *Art in America* (May, 1968); Lucy Lippard "Vancouver" *Art News* (September, 1968); and David Thompson "Canadian Scene" *Studio International* (October, 1968); Alvin Balkind, Peter Slade "Vancouver Scene and Unscene" *Art in America* (January 1970). N.E. Thing Co. was the first Canadian to be reproduced on the cover of *Art in America* (May-June 1969). Grant Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference: Conceptual Art On The West Coast," 85-88; Scott Watson, "Mirrors," 65-66.

³⁶⁷ Philip Leider, 3.

³⁶⁸ Matthew S. Witkovsky, "The Unfixed Photograph," in *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964-1977*, ed. Matthew S. Witkovsky, 15-23 (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011), 18.

The semantics of Ruscha's image request can be contrasted with a listing for Robert Rauschenberg's address in New York City, alongside a request for "Images from earth." Rauschenberg had visited Vancouver several times in the 1960s, just as Vancouver artists had also visited him and his colleagues in New York and Los Angeles.³⁶⁹ In the *Directory*, the conflated words of Rauschenberg's image request lends itself to polysemous readings as it could be interpreted as a message coded on two levels: the more universal, "From earth;" or the more personal, "From me dear." This compressed language resembles the layered surfaces of Rauschenberg's combine paintings and set designs, in which multiple coded registers hold the potential to signify to a secret and general public simultaneously. Rauschenberg's surfaces accumulated linguistic material through appropriation, responding to a landscape saturated by advertising and other mass culture forms by using photomechanical reproduction to index objects taken from other media contexts.³⁷⁰ Tension arises when this process of linguistic and pictorial accumulation works to veil personal expressions of desire, as Jonathan Katz has argued; this effect is particularly acute in works where Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns signal each other as lovers.³⁷¹ Watson has similarly remarked upon a disjunction between the lived experience of a permissive social milieu in Vancouver, and the coded references journalists used to describe this tangle of artistic expression, life and loves in press coverage. For instance, throughout the 1960s, journalists made vague allusions to private or personal content in Morris' work as covert references to his desire for other men, which could not be openly expressed in public at the time.³⁷² In keeping with this indeterminate state of visibility in the press, a comparison between Ruscha's *Directory* listing to that of Rauschenberg's demonstrates how conceptual "aesthetics of administration" might be used to conceal a politics of *eros* activated through a neo-avant-garde revival of collage and montage techniques. The object of desire becomes difficult

³⁶⁹ On a trip to Los Angeles in 1967, Morris introduced Robert Rauschenberg to Douglas Christmas, who invited Rauschenberg to exhibit at the Douglas Gallery (Ace Gallery). While visiting Vancouver for his show, *Rauschenberg: Booster and 7 Studies* (July 14-31, 1967), he brought with him other members of Experiments in Art and Technology and the Judson Theatre Group Deborah Hay, Yvonne Rainer and Steve Paxton. In 1968, Morris stayed with Rauschenberg during a trip to New York to meet Ray Johnson, with whom he had begun corresponding. Scott Watson, "Mirrors", 69; "Chronology to 1971," 151-153.

³⁷⁰ Liz Kotz, *Words to be Looked At*, 116.

³⁷¹ Jonathan D. Katz, "Committing the Perfect Crime," 53.

³⁷² Scott Watson, "Mirrors," 74-78.

to define as the poor-quality image reproductions and procedural lists of the *Directory* repress the erotic jolt that accompanies the image requests. In this way, the public articulation of conscious (and unconscious) libidinal drives exists in constant tension with systems, such as mass-media representation, that impose fixed identity categories or social roles.

Existing scholarship focuses upon the Image Bank project as it allowed a generation of Vancouver artists to transcend regional isolation through the combination of a distinct sense of locality and aggressive cosmopolitan curiosity unleashed through international concrete poetry and Fluxus exchange networks.³⁷³ Watson in particular has downplayed connections to a national canon, emphasizing instead Morris' ambition and parody of international styles as a forerunner to Image Bank's participation in internationalist movements. For instance, when discussing the historical resonance of Image Bank and others in their generation, he writes: "At the very time Canadian literature and art were consolidated in Eastern Canada, Vancouver went its own way to establish itself as a node in multiple international networks of poetry and art."³⁷⁴

Watson's claim raises the question of how "international" the Image Bank *Directory* really is. Surprisingly, Toronto is the location with the third largest representation (with 36 entries).³⁷⁵ In a ranking of other geographic locations represented in the *Directory*, Toronto comes after Vancouver (65 entries); New York City (43 entries); and before various locations in California including Los Angeles and San Francisco (32 entries, together). The *Directory* therefore maps a relationship between Vancouver and Toronto at a similar frequency with which it creates ties to New York, LA or San Francisco, and at much higher frequency than to locations in England (13); Germany (9); France (6); Italy (4); or Czechoslovakia (4), among others.³⁷⁶ The so-called "international" imaginary of the directory therefore conflicts with Watson's claim that the art world centres against which Vancouver artists defined themselves at the time were London, New York, and

³⁷³ Reid Shier, "Vancouver," in *Art Cities of the Future: 21st Century Avant-Gardes*, 297-319 (London: Phaidon, 2013), 298; Scott Watson, "Mirrors," 79; Scott Watson, "Hand of the Spirit," 8; Sharla Sava, "Determining the Cultural Ecology," 18; Craig J. Saper, *Networked Art*, 20-22.

³⁷⁴ Scott Watson, "Urban Renewal : Ghost Traps, Collage, Condos and Squats," 47.

³⁷⁵ This count includes London, Ontario and surrounding areas.

³⁷⁶ Other countries represented are Australia (2); Switzerland (2); Japan (2); Mexico (1); Uruguay (1); Poland (1); Denmark (1).

Los Angeles, as Toronto also appears to be a cultural centre of some importance to them in the early 1970s.³⁷⁷ If Ottawa was home to the National Gallery of Canada and the bureaucratic centre from which Canada Council funding was issued, Toronto could have been perceived as a national cultural centre at this time, due to the concentration of English-language visual arts publishing bolstered by Centennial-period spending. This flurry of publishing included national coverage provided by issues of *artscanada* magazine; historical studies issued by the University of Toronto Press or Oxford University Press;³⁷⁸ and titles aimed at a general readership such as those put out by McGraw-Hill Ryerson and McClelland and Stewart that tended to focus upon the Group of Seven Painters.

Discussion of Image Bank's activity on a national scale is dominated by scholarship addressing their early collaborations with General Idea, in order to set up a longer discussion of *File* magazine.³⁷⁹ For instance, although Phillip Monk observes the magazine's "founding role of disseminating Image Bank Request Lists" in order to bring visibility, or "mirror" the activity of an artistic counterpublic made up of people involved in correspondence art, the focus of this argument quickly shifts to *File* magazine as it increasingly mirrored the activities of General Idea, post-1973.³⁸⁰ While drawing upon scholarship that discusses both the international and national reach of the Image Bank project, I am interested in discussing the *Directory* as a work of conceptual nationalism in relation to Grant Arnold's recent claim that Image Bank's publishing activities "can be linked to an avant-garde tradition of counter-media," which offers alternate modes of public address to those required for full participation in the media space upholding the

³⁷⁷ Scott Watson, "Mirrors," 66. Centre and periphery relationships are relative, though Los Angeles might have been perceived as a centre for Vancouver artists, artists working in west-coast cities such as Los Angeles or San Francisco nonetheless understood their position to be peripheral to New York. Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, xxix-xxxi.

³⁷⁸ See, for example, J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada, a History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966) and Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973).

³⁷⁹ Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols*, 40-42; Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines*, 148; Virginia Solomon, "Sexuality and Signification: Episodes of General Idea's Subcultural Politics," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013), 92. Fern Bayer, ed. *General Idea 1968-1975: The Search For The Spirit*, 13-16 (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1998), 50.

³⁸⁰ Philip Monk, *Glamour Is Theft: A User's Guide To General Idea* (Toronto: The Art Gallery of York University, 2012), 29.

society it represents.³⁸¹ For the purpose of my study, “society” is understood as ordered through the exclusionary logic of national identities, which in the post-Centennial period was symbolically invested in concerns regarding hegemonic conditions of media production and reception in Canada. The *Directory*, as a work of conceptual nationalism, can be understood in terms of the symbolic value that the international recognition of a neo-avant-garde in Vancouver held for a Centennial-year Canadian imaginary. In 1967, the reputation that the city had accrued throughout the 1960s, led the Canada Council to award an unprecedented \$40,000 grant towards establishing the Intermedia Society as a hub for communications-based, technologically-driven artistic activities aligned with Centennial-year policy.³⁸² Furthermore, press coverage at this time often discussed the city’s artists and the activities of Intermedia in national terms, that is, as representative of avant-garde art produced in Canada.³⁸³

Keeping in mind this media image, which celebrated Intermedia and Vancouver’s artists as exemplars of Canadian modernity, it is curious to note that the publisher’s imprint for the *Directory* locates the site of production as “Vancouver, Canadada.” This nonsensical geographic location is repeated in Joyce Wieland’s request for images of “Canadada,” clearly a reference to the erotic national imaginary conjured by her 1971 *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique* exhibition and book-work (as discussed in Chapter I). In the *Directory* Wieland is listed as residing at her old address in New York, but she requests, “Made in Canada, Canadada contents, true patriot love images.” This invented request, like that of Ruscha’s, is another example of the projected relationships through which Image Bank shaped their own affective sense of belonging, but this time it is articulated in relation to a national imaginary specific to a countercultural reinterpretation of Canadian iconography.³⁸⁴ Wieland’s exhibition and book-work provided an example of how the technologies of print culture could be used to create a

³⁸¹ Grant Arnold, “Reference/Cross Reference: Conceptual Art On The West Coast,” 92.

³⁸² Grant Arnold, “Reference/Cross Reference: Conceptual Art On The West Coast,” 88.

³⁸³ “Vancouver: Scene With No Scene” *artscanada* 25.6/7 (June/July 1967): 1-8; Barry Lord’s essay, “Canada: The Stir in Vancouver” *Art In America* (May, 1968) and David Thompson’s “Canadian Scene” in *Studio International* (October, 1968) are examples of national framings for the art produced in Vancouver.

³⁸⁴ Wieland’s cross-country conceptual language- and technology-based film *Reason Over Passion* (1968) was produced following a trip from Toronto to Vancouver, made on the occasion of *Joyce Wieland Retrospective, 1957-1967*, a solo exhibition of her work held at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1968. Marie Fleming, “Joyce Wieland,” in *Joyce Wieland*, 17-115 (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 85.

media inversion, that is, to produce a McLuhanesque counter-environment within the nation. However, Image Bank's erotic imaginary differs somewhat from Wieland's; as Arnold explains, their alternate mode of publicness is "closely intertwined with the articulation of sexual identity through the sense of irony, camp, and overt homoeroticism."³⁸⁵ Notable in this respect is Sharla Sava's observation that the Image Bank network encompassed a cohort of "Canadian" correspondents "deeply invested in imagining a homosexual aesthetic."³⁸⁶ Moreover, Sava likens the kind of publicness enacted by Image Bank to that proposed by poet Robert Duncan, who argued that homosexuals should participate in public life by belonging "in" a special grouping that linked homoeroticism with the history of modern art and "out" in a society that, in an ideal mode, would operate without oppression.³⁸⁷ Image Bank's simultaneous appeal to avant-garde and countercultural publics similarly reflects an oscillation across identity formations that express feelings of alienation through their anticipation of a different world. The tension between identification on a national or international register produced by the *Directory* can therefore also be discussed in terms of the conceptual limits for gay life in Canadian cities prior to the 1970s, and the tendency to look elsewhere for community – to Europe or to sites such as New York's Greenwich Village. This imaginary "elsewhere" for gay life, Terry Goldie has argued, was produced partly in response to mass media representations imported into Canada through American-dominated distribution chains.³⁸⁸ As will be further discussed below, in the Image Bank *Directory*, media images that reinforce identification with heteronormative family values and American patriotism are subverted and recontextualized, this act of appropriation allows sites in Canada to be mapped as reference points within an international queer geography.

³⁸⁵ Grant Arnold, "Reference/Cross Reference: Conceptual Art On The West Coast," 92.

³⁸⁶ Sharla Sava, "Determining the Cultural Ecology : Ray Johnson and the New York Correspondence Dance School of Vancouver," in *Ray Johnson : How Sad I am Today...*, 11-26 (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1999), 22.

³⁸⁷ Robert Duncan visited Vancouver in 1961, which was the catalyst for the creation of *Tish*. He returned for the 1963 *Vancouver Poetry Conference*. See Duncan's renowned essay, "The Homosexual in Society" *Politics* (March 1944): 209-210. See also, Rebecca Solnit, *Secret Exhibition: Six California Artists of the Cold War Era* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1990), 33.

³⁸⁸ Terry Goldie, "Queer Nation?," 16.

Through a revival of the strategies of counterpublicity performed by the historical avant-garde, “Canadada” is produced as an imagined sense of place accessed by assuming an alter ego, exchanging fetishes and performing ritual acts. The conflation of Canada with “Dada” suggests a nonsensical geography that positions the publication within a tradition of avant-garde counterpublicity, specifically those magazines and books published by earlier generations of artists who forged international connections and created new mythologies as a performance of a different mode of publicness during a historical periods of heightened nationalism and military conflict.³⁸⁹ The artists indexed by this *Directory* engage in these processes as they aspire to cross over to the other side of a metaphorical division between art and life, thereby conjuring a new world into existence. As a work of conceptual nationalism, the *Directory* points simultaneously to two planes of existence: firstly, towards geographic locations (often major cities) where the activities of everyday life takes place, and secondly, to the symbolic value these sites hold across multiple imaginary communities. The sites where the neo-avant-garde gathered in Vancouver, for instance, fostered a sense of localized artistic community, at the same time that they held symbolic value to a post-Centennial national imaginary due to media coverage. The ambiguous code-switching that takes place throughout the *Directory* signifies across local, national and international frames of reference, as the book-work attracts multiple publics (and counterpublics) all at once. This solicitation of mutable registers of associative belonging enacts a performative mode that José Esteban Muñoz has termed “queer futurity,” with specific mention of the correspondence networks fostered by Ray Johnson.³⁹⁰

In order to elaborate upon how the practice of queer futurity might be compatible with a work of conceptual nationalism, I want to draw attention to the Image Bank *Directory* as a conflicted site where public and private expressions of homosexual desire collide on the printed page. Brian Mossop, a journalist in the early 1970s for *The Body Politic*, has remarked that the decriminalization in 1969 of “certain sexual acts between two adults aged 21 or over in private...had not by itself changed much in the everyday

³⁸⁹ Sven Lüttiken, *Secret Publicity: Essays on Contemporary Art* (Rotterdam: NAI, 2006), 30.

³⁹⁰ José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 127.

lives of homosexuals.”³⁹¹ This tension between a legal status and lived reality meant that print media became a testing site for the boundaries between public and private expressions of sexuality. Keeping in mind Watson’s observations on the limits of representation of homosexuality in the press, he has otherwise characterized the social scene surrounding Image Bank in the late 60s and early 1970s as a place of polymorphous sexual exploration, writing that as “‘family-values’ took second place” for an artistic milieu in which erotic desire was fuelled by curiosity for new experience, distinctions between “gay” and “straight” sexual preferences dissolved in favour of countercultural ways of life.³⁹² Watson’s description of a deliriously unconstrained social milieu echoes the work that José Esteban Muñoz and Jonathan Katz have done to describe the overlap between aesthetics and the social worlds of a neo-avant-garde associated with Black Mountain College or New York’s Greenwich Village as sites of queer utopian belonging, where they consider “preidentitarian” or “polymorphously perverse” states of being to be intrinsically intertwined with intermedial practices.³⁹³ Many of the artists that Muñoz and Katz discuss, including Robert Rauschenberg, Ray Johnson, Yvonne Rainer, John Dowd and General Idea (among many others), were visitors to Vancouver and feature in the Image Bank *Directory*. It could be said that the *Directory* is similarly invested in mapping out the kinship relationships necessary for a queer geography, within which the camp patriotism of Canadada plays an important role.

Virginia Solomon has argued that much of the activities of Canadada anticipated present-day strategies of queer futurity, as the class-based dialectic of the Left was replaced by an understanding of identity as socially constructed, and of sexuality as interpersonal relationships that extended beyond “bedroom practices” relegated to the

³⁹¹ I use the term “homosexual” throughout this chapter as the adjective that these artists were responding to in this historical period as they created new conditions within which to articulate desire. In this sense, I follow Brian Mossop’s use of the term.

³⁹² Scott Watson, “Hand of the Spirit,” 21.

³⁹³ Jonathan D. Katz, “Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros,” in *21st Century Gay Culture*, ed. David A. Powell, 13-29 (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008); Jonathan D. Katz, “Committing the Perfect Crime: Sexuality, Assemblage and the Postmodern Turn in American Art. Epilogue,” *Art Journal* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 38-53; José Esteban Muñoz, *Crusing Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

realm of private life.³⁹⁴ Solomon has likewise observed that cross-country travel and correspondence exchange performatively enacts Canadada, giving the example of Image Bank and other Intermedia colleagues' participation in the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange* (1972) organized by Roy Kiyooka. Solomon's scholarship foregrounds General Idea and *File* magazine, after giving consideration to earlier collaborations with Image Bank,³⁹⁵ my argument differs in that I focus on a period preceding the publication of *File*, when the Vancouver artists had comparatively more experience as visual artists, in comparison to the members of General Idea, who were then associated with countercultural theatre and literary milieus in Toronto. By shifting the focus to this earlier period it is possible to appreciate the significance the *Directory* holds in a history of conceptualism specific to its development in Canada, as it parallels countercultural movements invested in the politics of *eros*. Furthermore, as in other case studies of conceptual nationalism, specifically, the *Directory* emerges as a focal point for a clash between fragmenting discourses of the Left, which had differing views on the political value of art and aesthetics. This clash, precipitated by the publication of *File*, is an important event marking the moment when Image Bank redefined their sense of locality by extending their imaginary geography eastwards towards Toronto. The temporal indeterminacy of this shift, as one affective relationship to place dissolves while an address list representing a circuit of friends and potential lovers opens up a series of undefined future possibilities, is how Muñoz describes an indeterminate state of "queer futurity" experienced by those involved in Ray Johnson's New York Correspondence School.³⁹⁶

Erotic Canadian cartographies

The correspondence activity that led up to the publication of Image Bank's *Directory* began when Morris, then acting curator at the Vancouver Art Gallery, received an unsolicited letter from Johnson. The contrarian New Yorker was attracted to an image of Morris' painting *The Problem of Nothing* (1966) reproduced in the May 1968 issue of *Artforum* magazine. The graphic flatness and tonal variance in *The Problem of Nothing*

³⁹⁴ Virginia Solomon, "Sexuality and Signification" 41, 84-85, 261. This is comparable to Gwenn Allen's discussion of *File* magazine's "queering" of mainstream media in the late 1970s, in *Artists' Magazines*, 147-173.

³⁹⁵ Virginia Solomon, "Conceptualism and Canadada at the Halifax/Vancouver Exchange," 153.

³⁹⁶ José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 127.

worked especially well in the register of black and white, which was the standard of the art press at the time. Likewise, its visual pun combining Op Art formalism with comic book speech bubbles plays with the boundary between high modernism and pop culture forms. Both Johnson and Morris were interested in the photographic reproduction and circulation of high art forms in mass media, and the relationship this had to a celebrity status for the artist. The act of sending a letter to an artist featured in the pages of a magazine was Johnson's deliberately unsettling parody of the "paranoid logic" of a fan when confronted with an admired celebrity.³⁹⁷ Johnson's own listing in the *Directory* includes a request for images of the sexually precocious and stupendously popular child-star Shirley Temple.³⁹⁸

The New York Correspondence School (NYCS) was Johnson's name for a complex system of sending letters and collages through the mail. These letters linked multiple artists who did not previously know each other, according to his personal identification with some aspect of their lives or practice. The centrality of Johnson to this network was consistently reinforced as he could drop and reinstate participants in the NYCS at will. This preoccupation with mechanisms determining who has status, or who was "in" or "out" of the group, reflected his ambivalent relationships to the artists of the American neo-avant-garde who were his contemporaries.³⁹⁹ Following the example of John Cage's silences as space for indeterminate chance operations, Johnson proposed inversion as an alternative avant-garde strategy to that of negation. For instance, his initial letter to Morris explained that he was interested in "nothings," as he had "performed 'nothings' during the years of 'happenings,'" thereby deliberately countering

³⁹⁷ Craig J. Saper, *Networked Art*, 38.

³⁹⁸ In the 1930s, the Fox film production firm sued novelist Graham Greene for reviews he wrote of Shirley Temple films, which included observations regarding the lascivious effect she had upon male audience members. By 1969, Temple had moved beyond on-screen seduction to secure political influence, when President Richard Nixon named her the US representative to the 24th General Assembly of the United Nations. Michael Thornton, "Shirley Temple: The Superstar Who Had Her Childhood Destroyed by Hollywood" *Mail Online*. 18 April 2008, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-560626/Shirley-Temple-superstar-childhood-destroyed-Hollywood.html> (accessed 08 March 2016).

³⁹⁹ Johnson attended Black Mountain College (1945-1947) concurrent with the presence of John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Josef Albers, Elaine de Kooning, and Charles Olson. He also lived in the same apartment building in New York as Cage, Cunningham, Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg and had earlier served as treasurer of the American Abstract Artists Group (1951-1953). Likewise he shared acquaintances, correspondence, and a fascination with glamour and celebrity with Andy Warhol. Nonetheless, through deliberate tactics of obscurity, he maintained a peripheral relationship to Abstraction, Pop, Fluxus and Conceptual art.

the choreography of performance-based events by providing a contextual framing for undefined content.⁴⁰⁰ His adoption of the corporate identity of the NYCS was a similarly stylized parody of the alternative distribution networks created by Fluxus artists through their circulation of assemblings and event scores.⁴⁰¹

Cage's musical notation allowed intermedial or performance-based works of visual art to be expressed in language, a technique that formed the basis of Fluxus event scores. Although they could be read aloud or performed as actions, event scores more often emphasised aesthetic experience as something internal, based on the cognitive model of the act of reading.⁴⁰² This focus on cognitive reception as the site for aesthetic experience is an attractive strategy for artists who wish to trigger covert identification with repressed desires through a complex layering of visual codes. Glenn Lewis later observed how Johnson's tactic of inversion became crucial to the artists associated with Intermedia in Vancouver with whom he would correspond: "Ray Johnson was the opposite side of the coin to that kind of minimalist conceptual art which says less is more. He worked on the reverse which says more is less."⁴⁰³ This triggering of covert identifications with repressed forms of sexuality, or secret obsessions, shaped the distinct role Image Bank assumed as a conduit for Canadian artists' participation in a Fluxus-inspired "eternal network."⁴⁰⁴ For instance, as a follower of the philosophy of Charles Fourier, the inventor of this eternal network, Robert Filliou, was himself attracted to

⁴⁰⁰ Letter to Michael Morris from Ray Johnson, May 4, 1968. Reproduced in *Ray Johnson : How Sad I am Today...*, 17.

⁴⁰¹ Craig Saper, *Networked Art*, 114.

⁴⁰² Liz Kotz, *Words to be Looked At*, 63.

⁴⁰³ Glenn Lewis quoted in *Vancouver: Art and Artists, 1931-1983*, (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983), 63.

⁴⁰⁴ The *Directory* combines Image Bank's mailing list, compiled by Morris since 1966, with the "Fluxus West" list of addresses that Ken Friedman brought with him to Vancouver in 1970. Listings for Alison Knowles, Daniel Spoerri, Ben Vautier, Filipe Ehrenberg, Geoff Hendricks, Dick Higgins, Joseph Beuys and Robert Filliou encourage an understanding of the image requests as Fluxus event scores, which place an emphasis on the erotics of reader reception. See also, Baerwaldt, Wayne, *Under the Influence of Fluxus* (Winnipeg: Plug-In Gallery, 1993); Scott Watson, *Hand of the Spirit Documents of the Seventies from the Morris/Trasov Archive* (Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1992); Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)* (Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010); Craig J. Saper, *Networked Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); and several essays that describe Image Bank in this capacity in *At a Distance: Precursors to Art and Activism on the Internet*, ed. Annmarie Chandler and Norie Neumark (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005).

Image Bank and General Idea's practice of correspondence art, which reflected his own interest in the radical potential of play and the pursuit of pleasure.⁴⁰⁵

A recent exhibition has positioned Image Bank's networks of desire – or, as Watson describes them, “sensations of international communities organized around ‘special tastes’ – as an outgrowth of Morris’ early exposure to concrete poetry in Europe, with particular attention paid to his role in co-curating, with Alvin Balkind, the *Concrete Poetry Show: An Exhibition in Four Parts* (1969).⁴⁰⁶ It is of note that as co-curator Morris would presumably have had access to the contact information of the artists and poets included in the show; however, the addresses in the Image Bank *Directory* overlap only with Ray Johnson – who was included in the earlier show at the invitation of Morris – and with local contributors including bill bissett, Judith Copithorne, Gerry Gilbert, Gary Lee-Nova, and Edwin Varney, whose shared locus would have been Intermedia, and prior to that, the pages of bill bissett's eclectic *Blewointment* magazine (1963-1970).⁴⁰⁷ The sense of locality indexed by the Image Bank *Directory* therefore seems to have more in common with *The Collage Show* (1971),⁴⁰⁸ an exhibition in which critic Joan Lowndes slyly observed libidinal pulsations of “intermedial penetration” were made visible in “a mysterious substructure that has existed in Vancouver for about five years in the form of

⁴⁰⁵ Proposed by Robert Filliou and George Brecht in 1965, the eternal network (in the original French, *La Fête permanente*) imagined that the activity of making art no longer occurred through an avant-garde dynamic of rupture and renewal; rather, artistic activity took place as a continuous process shared between an interconnected group who found each other through a “poetical economy” of shared aesthetic affinities. Likewise, Filliou and Brecht believed that as the activities formerly relegated by the avant-garde to an autonomous sphere of art would collapse into the rituals of everyday life, individual consciousness could thereby be transformed through aesthetic experience. From this perspective, the personal accumulation of artists' archives worked as a foil to the static institutional collections of museums and art galleries. In a similar manner, artistic culture would be communicated subconsciously through dreams and anecdote as a “whispered art history.” See *Robert Filliou: From Political to Poetical Economy* (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1995).

⁴⁰⁶ *Concrete Poetry: An Exhibition in Four Parts*, Fine Arts Gallery, University of British Columbia, March 28-April 19, 1969.

⁴⁰⁷ Although not listed in the separately published *International Image Exchange Directory*, bill bissett and *blewointment* magazine feature in the “Artists' Directory” printed in the first issue of *File* magazine. Like Kiyooka and the *Tish* poets, Gary Lee-Nova attended the 1963 Vancouver Poetry Conference. Lee-Nova also contributed a series of collages using geometric forms and celestial charts to *blewointment*, which show a shared interest with bissett in visual forms as an iconic language operating on a cosmic plane. *blewointment*, vol. 5, no. 2 (June 1967).

⁴⁰⁸ *The Collage Show*, 23 March, 1971 – 10 April, 1971, Fine Arts Gallery, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, curated by Christos Dikeakos.

mailings between artists, or private showings.”⁴⁰⁹ Significant in this respect is Intermedia Press publisher and poet Ed Varney’s remark that the term “Canadada” was used to describe the experience of participating in overlapping concrete poetry and visual art correspondence networks *prior to 1972*, the year that the *Directory* and *File* magazine were published.⁴¹⁰ In this earlier period, Varney perceives the locus of the correspondence activity of Canadian artists to be Vancouver, noting that the publication of the Image Bank *Directory* was a catalyst for opening up this circle to wider participation.

If Morris’ role as co-curator of the *Concrete Poetry Show* gives some indication of how local and international neo-avant-gardes overlapped, his own artistic contribution to this exhibition helps shed light on the complexity of Image Bank’s later participation in counterpublic networks of desire. Morris’ own contribution to the *Concrete Poetry Show* consisted of a series of graphic *Letter Drawings*, one of which was earlier reproduced on the cover of the *Intermedia Newsletter* (vol. 1 no. 5, 1968). Morris also proposed a book of “concrete poetry,” which, though never printed, did anticipate much of the ambiguously erotic collages later circulated by Image Bank. Provisionally titled *The Problem of Nothing*, this book would be constructed from collages of photographs of male friends, reproduced in the grey-scale tonalities of a photocopy machine, made available through Intermedia (fig. 28).⁴¹¹ Although comparable to the Pop collages of Richard Hamilton or Eduardo Paolozzi, the pages of Morris’ book more closely resemble the scrapbooks compiled by Monte Punshon (ca. 1930), or Tim Wood (ca. 1965), now recognized as a key material culture form for the ephemeral archives which preserve pre-Stonewall lesbian and gay affect.⁴¹² As personalized collections of snapshot portraits, lovingly pasted onto album pages alongside imagery clipped from magazines or newspapers, each of these books catalogue covert instances of longing.

⁴⁰⁹ Joan Lowndes, “Don’t ask what these collages mean” *Vancouver Sun*, April 3, 1971 reprinted in the exhibition catalogue for *The Collage Show* (The Fine Arts Gallery, UBC, 1971). The catalogue itself takes the form of an unbound assemblage magazine housed in a box. Image Bank’s “Bulletin Board” contribution to the show included material from: Ant Farm, Victor Coleman, General Idea, Richard Hamilton, Joan Lowndes, Ed Ruscha, and David Silcox, among others.

⁴¹⁰ Edwin Varney, “The View From Canadada: 1968-1972” in *Eternal Network: A Mail Art Anthology.*, ed. Chuck Welch, 41-45 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1994), 44.

⁴¹¹ Scott Watson, “Mirrors,” 77.

⁴¹² Catherine Lord and Richard Meyer, *Art & Queer Culture* (London: Phaidon, 2013), 87, 122. Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Duke University Press, 2003), 135.

Furthermore, in the same year that the *Concrete Poetry Show* took place, Robin Blaser's magazine, *Pacific Nation*, boasted a cover image designed by Morris (fig. 14).⁴¹³ The issue also features Charles Olson's poem "The Ridge," and a contribution by collage artist Jess Collins titled "Gallowsongs." Blaser's masthead identifies Morris as a "martini glass," a wink towards the entertaining and exuberant social scene surrounding a circle of poets including Warren Tallman, Robin Blaser and Stan Persky. In Morris' cover image, the motif of a stylized erect phallus is crowned by a radiant sun, which rises against a black sea of horizontal stripes. The imagery, which Morris describes as a combination of both Freudian drives, *eros* and *thanatos*, is part of a larger series, "Mechanix Illustrated" (1969), which resemble the experiments in aesthetic form of the *Letter Drawings*.⁴¹⁴

Morris' "Mechanix Illustrated" series was later incorporated into the cover design of Victor Coleman's *Stranger* poems (Coach House Press, 1972). This continuous reprinting of Morris' graphic illustrations associates his forays into concretism with the literary magazines where the poetic communities of American and Canadian modernism thrived. Likewise, an image request attributed to Jess Collins in the *Directory* is an indication that the social formation that Blaser conceived of as a "pacific nation" extended eastwards to include the artists and writers surrounding Toronto's Coach House Press (as previously discussed in Chapter II). *Directory* image requests also include listings for Victor Coleman, Stan Bevington, Robert Fones, Greg Curnoe, David Hlynski, and General Idea who were all associated with Coach House, as was bpNichol.

The same year that the *Directory* was published, and that *File* magazine was issued by General Idea, bpNichol produced a sound poetry record titled *CaNADAda* (1972) as part of The Four Horsemen. Stephen VOyce describes this record as an example of how a collaborative writing group produced a "'counter-environment' within the nation" by using communications technologies to supplement physical sites of community.⁴¹⁵ With reference to bp Nichol's involvement in *grOnk*, Stephen VOyce has

⁴¹³ *Pacific Nation* 2 (1969). Morris' discovery of Robin Blaser's *Moth Poems* (1964), in which mirrors and shifting identities both feature as motifs, led to a friendship with the poet and his social group upon Morris' return to Vancouver from London in 1966. Email from Michael Morris to the author, 12 November 2012.

⁴¹⁴ This phallic motif also appears in an earlier version in a poster (titled *Image*) advertising a performance directed by Helen Goodwin, which took place at the Douglas Gallery (Ace Gallery) February 1 and 2 February 1968. Email from Michael Morris to the author, 12 November 2012.

⁴¹⁵ Stephen VOyce, *Poetic Community*, 210.

further argued that for the neo-avant-garde in Canada, the Fluxus concept of the eternal network went beyond the narrow sphere of activity of “mail art” to operate as a deterritorialized political community that linked the local to the international as a means of bypassing parochial nationalisms.⁴¹⁶ This sense of associative belonging within a counterpublic that circulates intertextual references through intermedial forms such as mailing lists, publications, exhibitions, sound recordings, and live performance is where affinities arise between the Image Bank *Directory* and the communicative function of concrete poetry networks. Caroline Bayard describes magazines such as bpNichol and David Alward’s *Ganglia* (1965), which later became *grOnk* (1967-1981), as a “conceptual apparatus” that uses the printed page as a site of international exchange which simultaneously functions to connect writers on the west coast with eastern Canada.⁴¹⁷ Bayard’s description of a literary conceptual apparatus also aptly applies to the function of language in Image Bank’s *Directory* and Image Request Lists printed in *File*. Their procedural lists facilitated the exchange of images and texts as a performative act of mapping desire. This mapping between bodies created a representation of territory for a new spatial and social paradigm – that of “Canadada.”

The publication of the Image Bank *Directory* (1972) parallels the release of the first three issues of General Idea’s *File* magazine (1972-1989). A reprint notice in the *Directory* states, “these requests first appeared in *File* magazine issues 1, 2, and 3,” declaring the *Directory* to be an archival undertaking, or an act of anthologizing previously established relationships. But the invented relationships that are activated through the indexing function of the *Directory* points to future feelings of associative belonging that will be made between readers of both the *Directory* and *File* magazine. As content is shared between these publications, this act of documentation transposes Image Bank’s and General Idea’s cross-country collaborations in performance and video onto the printed page, thereby forging an expression of conceptual nationalism that

⁴¹⁶ Stephen Joyce, *Poetic Community*, 204, 209.

⁴¹⁷ Although he was featured in the *Concrete Poetry Show* (1969) alongside Morris, bpNichol is not featured in the Image Bank Image Request List until *File* 2, no. 3 (1973), where he is attributed the request, “Send Clouds, images of H’s, Dick Tracey in non-comic strip.” bpNichol’s first contact with European-based concrete poets occurred when his work was rejected by George Bowering for *Imago*. Bowering instead gave him an address list including Cavan McCarthy and Bob Cobbing (England), and Ian Hamilton Finlay (Scotland), which led to contact with Pierre Garnier and Henri Chopin (France). See Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 105.

simultaneously looks to the past as it enacts the potential for a different kind of social world. This section sketches out some collaborations between these two groups, particularly as they show how a particular sense of locality fostered around Vancouver's Intermedia Society served as a common reference point for artistic community shared between General Idea, Image Bank, and other multi-locational contributors to Canada. Following an erotic exchange of letters that kept Image Bank and General Idea connected across great distances, Coach House Press would act as a site that extended this sense of belonging into Toronto. This focus on the early period during which their practices merge on a national scale shows how the process of creating feelings of associative belonging has a relationship to conditions of visibility and public recognition in print media at both a national and international level.

General Idea – also a collective project formed in 1969, in which the artists adopted pseudonyms – included Michael Tims (AA Bronson), Slobodan Saia-Levy (Jorge Zontal), and Ron Gabe (Felix Partz). At the time, Tims, Saia-Levy, and Gabe were part of an amorphous cast of playful characters drawn to Coach House Press and to Rochdale College, Toronto's notorious experiment in communal living and radical pedagogy.⁴¹⁸ These artists shared Image Bank's sexually dissident proclivities, just as both groups shared an affective bond to the particular sense of locality defined by activities surrounding the Intermedia Society.⁴¹⁹ Prior to the formation of General Idea in 1969, Saia-Levy and Tims both had contact at different times with the cooperative McLuhanistic experiments in poetry, film, video and contemporary dance and

⁴¹⁸ Fern Bayer and Christina Ritchi both account for this period in essays contributed to *General Idea 1968-1975: The Search For The Spirit*, ed. Fern Bayer, 13-16 (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1998). Robin Simpson elaborates on connections to Theatre Passe Muraille, Coach House Press, the Underground News Syndicate, and the Canadian Whole Earth Almanac in, "What We Got Away With: Rochdale College and Canadian Art in the Sixties," (MA thesis, Concordia University, 2011).

⁴¹⁹ Following through on prior experience in the countercultural press and in writing pornographic novels under the pseudonym AA Bronson, Michael Tims interned in the late 1960s at Coach House Press. Tims contributed both text and images to a number of Coach House publications, such as *IS* (vol 9, Fall 1970) and *Snore Comix* (no. 3, 1970). Jorge Zontal's *Shoe Journal* was published as *Snore Comix* (no. 5, 1971). General Idea designed and illustrated the volume of *The Story So Far* (1971) edited by George Bowering (a collection of essays containing excerpts of Michael Ondaatje's *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*). Members of General Idea collaborated with Victor Coleman and Dennis Young to create an image and text piece titled *Fumeti (sic)*, 1970) printed in Frank Davey's periodical, *Open Letter* (2nd series, no. 2, summer 1972). AA Bronson also provided the cover design for Talonbooks' English translation of Michel Tremblay's play *Hosanna* (1974).

performance at Intermedia.⁴²⁰ Saia-Levy and Michael Morris also worked together on Intermedia's first grant report to the Canada Council in 1968.⁴²¹ The relationship between the artists involved in Image Bank and General Idea deepened as they exchanged letters, many of which could be described as "polymorphously perverse," although they increasingly included advice from Morris to the younger artists regarding access to funding or support for bringing projects such as *File* magazine to fruition.⁴²² Morris was primed for writing such grant reports through administrative experience at Intermedia, but also through positions such as acting curator at the Vancouver Art Gallery (1966-67), and as Programming Curator for the Center of Communications and the Arts at Simon Fraser University (1967). He was also a beneficiary of several Canada Council grants and awards as an artist active at an international scale. Ray Johnson began sending letters to General Idea in 1970, the year after Morris invited him to visit Vancouver for the opening of *Concrete Poetry: An Exhibition in Four Parts*.

Image Bank and General Idea's exchange of personal letters led to intermingling identities and artistic practices. Early letters show a mutual fascination with mediated bodily sensations and the legal and aesthetic regimes that define pornography as a genre across media. Jonathan Katz has noted this interest is reflective of *eros* as a liberation discourse active in the work of artists responding to the homophobic environment of a dominant culture that regulates sexuality in terms of distinct identity categories and social roles.⁴²³ In 1970, Michael Morris wrote to Michael Tims, "We are planning our first porno movie 'I am Curious Grey Scale' and Myra wants to get it off with her new relaxor vibrator peanut she got for Xmas. We are delighted with your penis prints and have put them with the climax polaroids."⁴²⁴ The film title, "I am curious Greyscale" is likely a

⁴²⁰ While training in psychoanalytic techniques for group facilitation in communes, Tims visited the Simon Fraser University Centre for Communications and the Arts in 1968, where he met Iain Baxter of N.E. Thing Co and was introduced to the activities of Intermedia. Saia-Levy participated in performance workshops held at Intermedia led by the dancer Deborah Hay, who was also a founding member of the Judson Dance Theatre in New York City. Christina Ritchi, "Allusions, Omissions, Cover-Ups: The Early Days," 14-15.

⁴²¹ "Chronology to 1971" in *Letters: Michael Morris & Concrete Poetry*, 147-159 (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2015), 151.

⁴²² Fern Bayer, ed. *Search for the Spirit*, 50.

⁴²³ Jonathan D. Katz, "Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros," 13.

⁴²⁴ Myra Peanut was also known as Mary Jo Kopechne, wife of Warren Knechtel (also known as Chicken Bank, and Sally Peanut). Letter from Marcel Dot (Michael Morris) to Michael Tims, December 27, 1970.

reference to “I am Curious – Yellow,” the Swedish film (discussed in Chapter I), which was banned from theatres in Canada as the first film to show simulated heterosexual sex in a mainstream public cinema. In lieu of viewing this film, or their amateur pornography, together the details of “vibrator peanuts,” “penis prints” and “climax polaroids” turn letters on the page and the postal system into an equivalent imaging technology. Through these letters, the members of Image Bank and General Idea become a temporally and spatially extended orgy made up of multiple senders and receivers of erotic desire. A final mention of Anne Brodsky (then editor of *artscanada*) at the end of the letter connects the sexually charged media environment shared by these artists into the national imaginary experienced by the readership of this art magazine.

A related series of letters and photographs exchanged between General Idea and Image Bank in 1971, were re-published in the literary magazine *White Pelican* (fig. 29). Their inclusion alongside contributions from Elizabeth McLuhan or Wilfred Watson attests to the appeal their letter-writing practice had for editors concerned with media theory, as it intersected with a Canadian avant-garde in dialogue with international artistic and literary modernisms.⁴²⁵ The reprinted letters document several collaborative projects undertaken by the groups, including the planning process leading up to the *1971 Miss General Idea Pageant*, which took place at the Art Gallery of Ontario.⁴²⁶ As an allegory for the art world, its stars and hierarchies, this choreographed spectacle repeated the conventions and archetypes of star-systems perpetuated through television and film. In keeping with the conversational tone of celebrity gossip that this event encouraged, their letters combine fastidious project administration with coy name-dropping and suggestive innuendo. Curiously, the use of pseudonyms is not consistent at this early stage and there is a resulting slippage of identity as Michael Morris and Michael Tims write to each other, so much so that as the series progresses, the reader is left wondering which Michael is the sender or the recipient.

AM_MMorris_7326, Art Metropole Fonds, Art Metropole Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON.

⁴²⁵ “Michael Morris and the Image Bank” *White Pelican* 2, no 1 (Winter 1972), 18-34. Wilfred Watson, one of the editors of *White Pelican*, is featured in the *Directory* as requesting: “Images of clichés becoming archetypes.”

⁴²⁶ *1971 Miss General Idea Pageant*, Art Gallery of Ontario and A Space, 1 October 1971.

This intense period of letter-writing and artistic collaboration contributed to a growing sense of community shaped in relation to national cultural funding models. Letters from 1971-1972 attest to dire financial straits, as both groups explicitly discuss finances apologizing for bounced cheques – “we are broke as usual”⁴²⁷ – and lamenting precarious living conditions—“we have not found a place to live, as we have run out of money.”⁴²⁸ Hopes and frustrations are expressed regarding applications pending at the Canada Council for the Arts and at the Local Initiatives Program (LIP). Designed to alleviate unemployment in a youth demographic, the LIP used definitions of “community” that responded to countercultural concerns of the time.⁴²⁹ This meant that artists such as Image Bank and General Idea who held an interest in information flows, communications media, and representation of marginalized identity could access funds – especially if they could articulate their vision in terms of alleviating poverty through job creation, and as a national concern.⁴³⁰

A letter from Michael Morris shows how he used experience gained through the grant applications of the Intermedia Society to advise General Idea regarding their request for funding for the first issue of *File*:

the idea for a national tabloid is great and has gotta get done with or without manpower how can we help? ... remember they would want to create more jobs so don't have to be to [sic] elaborate on content eg – provide work for one typesetter Dec. 1-1971-May 31, 1972 – layout artist the same etc. it obviously is needed so if you outline how you would realize the project (existing resources) that you have an accountant to organize the books and supporting letters from say Ann [sic], Mario and maybe Susanne Rivard (also Dennis Young?) it should be enough – try to get it together as soon as possible they intend to process quickly–
431

The passage indicates the degree to which these artists were willing to frame their projects as “job creation” rather than “art” in this period. But it also raises questions

⁴²⁷ Marcel, Dear Ron, Nov. 8, 72. AM_MMorris_7326_2, Art Metropole Fonds, Art Metropole Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON.

⁴²⁸ Dear Marcel, unsigned, undated letter on Coach House Stationary, Morris/Trasov Archives 20.9, General Idea, 1971-1972, Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery Archives, University of British Columbia, Vancouver B.C.

⁴²⁹ Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, 44-48

⁴³⁰ An article in the first issue of *File* provides a biting analysis of the situation in these terms, see Stu Broomer, “The Newest Utopia: New Questions, Old Information” *File* 1(April 1972): 15, 24.

⁴³¹ Dear Paul Granada and Co. [undated, ca. 1971]. AM_MMorris_7326_4, Art Metropole Fonds, Art Metropole Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON.

about why Image Bank and General Idea would define their joint project in terms of an imagined community whose interests could be represented by the sensationalized content of a “national tabloid” that nonetheless required supporting reference letters from members of a legitimate national and international art press: Anne Brodsky, editor at *artscanada* and Mario Amaya, editor of *Art and Artists Magazine*, London.

File's tabloid format has been recognized as a trait it shared with *Life*, a magazine aimed at a general readership. *File*'s tabloid format has also been discussed, as it resembles Willoughby Sharp and Lisa Bear's *Avalanche* (1970-1976) and Andy Warhol's *Interview* (1968-).⁴³² Notwithstanding the validity of these comparisons, I would like to draw attention instead to how the magazine mirrors the gossip columns of tabloids such as *TAB Confidential* (1956-9), reflective of pre-Stonewall forms of print culture in Toronto, that preceded the brazenly public articulation of gay liberation in the pages of magazines such as *The Body Politic* (1971-1987).⁴³³ Notably, the ambiguity affected by Image Bank and friends seems to have been misread by the editors of *Avalanche*, as Morris wrote to General Idea with reference to one of their members, “I always thought that Pascal had transcended gender, isn't that what its all about. Liza Bear thought we were transsexual? Thank you but was quite nice despite that.”⁴³⁴ This short quip echoes the manner in which ambiguous references were deployed throughout the *Directory* listings and image requests as a means to redirect libidinal attachment away from commodity forms, corporate structures, and, I would add, nationalist feelings, which relied upon fixed identity dispositions. Image Bank therefore seems to perform what Muñoz has observed to be the utopian yearning of intermedial practices occurring at a “preidentitarian moment” when avant-garde interdisciplinarity paralleled an ambiguous flow between normative categories of gender and sex – as will be further discussed

⁴³² Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines*, 148.

⁴³³ For a discussion of the representation of gay and lesbian sexual orientation in print prior to the *Body Politic*, and the relationship that the magazine then made between historical international working-class movements that aimed to mobilize the masses and gay liberation, which aimed to make public and mobilize homosexuals as a mass public see Brian Mossop, “1974: The Wiemar Republic Comes to Gay Toronto,” in *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture*, ed. Kathy Mezei, Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2014), 399-415.

⁴³⁴ Dear Michael, July 23, 1973, AM_MMorris_7327_4, Art Metropole Fonds, Art Metropole Collection. National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives.

below, their relationship to race is complicated by their revival of avant-garde primitivism.⁴³⁵

The relationship between the print media forms of the tabloid and directory are discussed in the minutes of a meeting taking place in 1972, between a loose group of participants who decided on the activities of the Intermedia Society, Glenn Lewis' "The Little Hot Stove League," (fig. 30):

ARTISTS DIRECTORY: Mr. Peanut discussed project at Coach House in Toronto for address list of International Artists to be published. M. Timms [*sic*] to publish Canadian addresses.

M. Timms [*sic*] discussed ARTISTS TABLOID (MONTHLY) as a free space for artists to plug into. Liaison with Image Bank Request List. Not so much interested in artifacts as gossip of ongoing: rumors, fake events, etc., classifieds, personal columns.⁴³⁶

This process of jointly mapping Canadian addresses within an international geography was further extended to the production of a celebrity cover image for the first issue of General Idea's *File* magazine, featuring a portrait of Mr. Peanut (Vincent Trasov in a hand-crafted costume). The Planter's Peanut corporate spokes-character is shown posing against the Toronto skyline as seen from Ward's Island, a pastoral cottage-country setting merely a short ferry ride away from downtown. Trasov's presence in the city, and on this secluded island, is tied to events occurring at both local and national levels. But there is an allegorical international dimension to the image as well. Mr. Peanut is an iconic image associated to an American corporation that infiltrated living rooms everywhere with processed snack food. Toronto (and Vancouver) is therefore two places that Mr. Peanut is distributed to. However, Trasov has sublimated his own advertising-induced desire to consume these imported peanuts by merging his body and identity with an internationally renowned commodity fetish. As he stands on the shoreline of Ward's Island in 1972, Mr. Peanut/Trasov is also making his own way across international

⁴³⁵ José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 116.

⁴³⁶ The transcript is dated 23 February 1972. The meeting was held at the Vancouver Art Gallery, and the minutes are published in the West Coast Issue of *IS magazine* (12/13, 1973) edited by Victor Coleman and George Bowering. See "Notes From The Little Hot Stove League," np.

borders either traveling to or from New York City and sites such as Food Restaurant in SoHo.⁴³⁷

At the time this cover photo was taken, Trasov was in Toronto for an extended stay in order to print an edition of postcards at Coach House Press. These postcards accompanied the *Image Bank Postcard Show* (1971), which circulated to several public gallery venues as part of the National Gallery of Canada's extension program.⁴³⁸ His sojourn coincided with the *1971 Miss General Idea Pageant*, when Michael Morris was crowned "Miss General Idea." Although hosted by the museum, a public institution, the *Pageant* relied upon the pool of correspondents shared between Image Bank and General Idea to solicit the *Pageant* contestants.⁴³⁹ Monk has explained that the camp parody of the *Pageant* was an act of mirror inversion, as it elevated the subcultural world of the correspondence network at the same time that it devalued the museum.⁴⁴⁰ I would argue, however, that their spectacle did not devalue the museum so much as it reveled in simulation as a tactic that allowed a counterpublic to take over the museums' function within the public sphere.⁴⁴¹ Rather than framing the correspondence network as a subculture, which would imply it held no interest in transforming the dominant culture, the *Pageant* took place as an act of counterpublicity through which their otherwise "invisible network" attempted to expand its influence and enact transformative politics. Following their failure to transform the museum through a parody of spectacle, *File* magazine emerged as the public space in which General Idea and Image Bank could continue to make their invisible network, visible.

⁴³⁷ Several of the Vancouver participants in the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange* extended their visit to the east coast in order to travel to New York. Glenn Lewis presented a performance at the New Food Restaurant in SoHo, 19 March 1972. The menu of the meal, which he cooked, is reprinted in the *Directory*. A photo-essay chronicling the trip to Halifax and New York is published as "National News" in *File* 1 (April 1972): 6-7.

⁴³⁸ A box set of 80 post cards was printed by the Coach House Press. A selection was made from over 5,000 postcards available for exhibition. The exhibition first took place at the Fine Arts Gallery, University of British Columbia, 13-30 October 1971, curated by Alvin Balkind. It circulated through the extension department of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. A page included in the *Legal Tender Image Bank Annual Report* (1972) lists an itinerary of 15 locations across Canada for the Image Bank Postcard Show in 1972-73.

⁴³⁹ Out of 13 mail-order responses, the winning entry was a photograph of a bare-footed Michael Morris (taken by Vincent Trasov) wearing the requisite brown taffeta dress, as he assumed a pose reminiscent of Man Ray's androgynous portrait "Marcel Duchamp dressed as Rose Sélavy" (1921).

⁴⁴⁰ Philip Monk, *Glamour Is Theft*, 160.

⁴⁴¹ William Wood has made a similar observation regarding their anticipation that artist-run centres would replace museums in the public sphere in "Dated Conceptualism: London, Toronto, Guelph," 59.

When the *Directory* and *File* were published in 1972, it was increasingly critical for Image Bank to map a different conception of space and of their relationship to national and international community. Urban development pushed the countercultures out of Vancouver's city centre into the countryside and surrounding coastal areas. When Morris and Trasov were evicted from their apartment in the West End, they bought shares of a property named Babyland at Robert's Creek.⁴⁴² Lee-Nova disengaged from Image Bank about the time that the first issue of *File* was published, amidst conflict regarding the role of aesthetics in the formation of new social realities.⁴⁴³ The discord occurred in a period when the artistic experiment of the Intermedia Society disintegrated from within under the pressure of writing an application for a Local Initiatives Program (LIP) grant, which aimed to employ over 70 people.

Artists involved in Intermedia had used Opportunities For Youth (OFY) funds to research "all community oriented communications projects" in the city. The resulting list of over 50 organizations positioned Image Bank's correspondence network as equivalent to organizations, ranging from Cool-Aid youth Communication Project, the Woman's Centre, Vancouver Free University, and the Neighbourhood radio society, to the *Progressive Worker* newspaper and the Vancouver Welfare Rights Organization. When Gary Hovind approached *The Grape*⁴⁴⁴ to publish the directory listing on Intermedia's behalf, however, the happy assumption that artists' communications projects could coexist with initiatives organizing around socio-political issues came under fire. Gary Lee-Nova reportedly challenged the project as "abstract irrelevant bullshit" in a "Little Hot Stove Meeting" at the New Era Social Club.⁴⁴⁵ The editors at *The Grape* repeatedly "lost" the photo-ready copy of the community list when it was delivered ready for press. Shortly after the publication of the first issue of *File* magazine, an anonymous article

⁴⁴² Keith Wallace, "On the Set at Babyland," 36.

⁴⁴³ Gary Lee-Nova announced his withdrawal from the activities of Image Bank with a "Dead Letter Funeral" event held in September 1972. Keith Wallace, 46, note 1.

⁴⁴⁴ *The Grape* formed as an offshoot of the *Georgia Straight* and its *Writing Supplement*. By 1972, Dan McLeod had been accused of assuming an autocratic and profit-driven model for the countercultural newspaper.

⁴⁴⁵ Letter from Gary Hovind, 01 March 1972, "At the Little Hot Stove League meeting of March 1st, it was postulated by Gary Lee-Nova that the progress reported of the Overview project was abstract irrelevant bullshit" Morris/Trasov Archives 20.1, Image Bank Early Correspondence, 1969-1970. Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery Archives, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC.

launched a barbed critique at artists' groups such as Image Bank, the New Era Social Club, and Toronto's General Idea, saying that, "instead of realizing solidarity with oppressed groups elsewhere in this society they decided to develop a competitive alternative parallel to the existing stupidity, that would legitimize their activity and give them the mysterious aura of the 'official.'"⁴⁴⁶ When later referring to the *Grape* article, Glenn Lewis sadly remarked to Robert Filliou that they never resolved their "difficulties with the Marxists, as artists... what artists are doing is not being seen by political people, people involved in Marxist dialectic as what artists should be doing."⁴⁴⁷ This marks the publication of the *Directory* as a key moment of transition for the sense of community and place that the urban imaginary of Vancouver held for Image Bank in relation to future aspirations for "Canadada" as a point of queer convergence between national and international connections.

A letter from Michael Morris to Ron Gabe makes it clear that Image Bank and General Idea do not consider "job creation" projects such as the *Directory* and *File* to be a route to the middle-class lifestyles, which accompanied the promise of equality for homosexuals in Canada, as long as their sexual identity remains a private affair:

"The L.I.P have put a lot of people through it and its been disturbing to see how so many people have been hyped up by them in such a middle class fashion. I find it hard to think of them as any more than business as usual which I assume is what they are all about."⁴⁴⁸

Morris uses the phrase "business as usual" as an ironic acknowledgement of artists' status as surplus labour in a faltering national economy, whose role has been redefined by bureaucrats as a "specialist with communications skills to offer."⁴⁴⁹ In effect,

⁴⁴⁶ Anonymous. "FILE: The Great Art Tragedy" *The Grape*, Vancouver, 24-30 May 1972. It is widely accepted that Dennis Wheeler, then the west coast representative of the National Gallery of Canada, and also a co-editor of the *Georgia Straight Writing Supplement* with Stan Persky, wrote this article. The article also accuses these groups of "shitting on their own homosexuality... the problem of homosexuality as an actual way of life receded into the pageantry of camp parody." For further discussion of the incident and the unstable relationship of camp to the politics of the Left in this period, see Watson, "Hand of the Spirit," 22-23; Virginia Solomon, "Sexuality and Signification," 99; Philip Monk, *Glamour Is Theft*, 67; and Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines*, 171.

⁴⁴⁷ "Robert Filliou, Gerry Gilbert, Glen Lewis, Ed Varney and Vincent Trasov" Recorded at the Western Front, August, 1973. *The Intermedia Catalogue: The Michael de Courcy Archive*. <http://intermedia.vancouverartinthesixties.com/voices/017> (Accessed 09 October 2014).

⁴⁴⁸ Letter from Michael Morris to Ron Gabe, Feb. 3 1972. AM_MMorris_7326_3, Art Metropole Fonds, Art Metropole Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON.

⁴⁴⁹ Diana Nemiroff, "Par-al-lel," 184.

Morris disidentifies with the categorization of cultural work as something that can be measured in relation to the performance of the national economy. Likewise, after the *Pageant* took place at the Art Gallery of Ontario, General Idea ceased thinking of themselves and their network of correspondents as underground artists; instead they came to think of themselves parasitically as the “suckessors” to the Group of Seven, whose work formed the core of the gallery’s collection.⁴⁵⁰ General Idea intended to suck out the mythic content of the wilderness landscapes, preserving the structure but filling it again with something else. Initially, that something else would be the counterpublic assembled and made visible through their “Canadian internal art scene ‘house organ,’” *File* magazine – which prominently featured the Image Bank “Request List” and “Artists’ Directory.”⁴⁵¹

Significant to this process of conceptual mapping would be the shift in sense of locality that took place when the Intermedia Society dissolved in 1972, as the locus of Canadada shifted out of Vancouver’s downtown neighbourhood to Robert’s Creek, a collection of small farms and hippie communes carved out of the rainforest on the Sunshine Coast. Roy Kiyooka refers affectionately to Robert’s Creek several times in *Transcanada Letters*, at one point describing it as a “Sechelt Haven” for Carole Itter and Gerry Gilbert.⁴⁵² In the early 1970s, Victor Coleman had likewise contemplated permanently relocating Coach House Press there from Toronto: “All of us here are talking, vurry seriously, about moving our whole operation out to Robert’s Creek in three years. It sounds pretty crazy when we talk about it; but it is a sure fuckin possibility; we’ve analyzed all the drawbacks... on paper it looks good, & we’ve the desire to...”⁴⁵³ Stephen Voyle has similarly discussed Robert’s Creek as a site of poetic community where bpNichol and Steve McCaffrey came in contact with figures such as Fluxus publisher Dick Higgins.⁴⁵⁴ One of the properties at Robert’s Creek, named “Babyland,”

⁴⁵⁰ Fern Bayer, ed. *Search for the Spirit*, 64.

⁴⁵¹ “Local Initiatives Program Application, General Idea, Toronto, November 1971” transcribed in *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, 146.

⁴⁵² Dear Gerry/Carole, 8/23/’71, Halifax, Nova Scotia, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

⁴⁵³ Letter from Victor Coleman to Roy Kiyooka, Toronto, MSC 32.1.13 Kiyooka Correspondence, Coleman. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

⁴⁵⁴ Stephen Voyle notes a meeting there between Dick Higgins, Alan Kaprow and Steve McCaffrey in either 1976 or 1977, in *Poetic Community*, 250. Much earlier than this, *File* 2, no. 1/2 (April/May 1973) includes a photograph of Steve McCaffrey with the caption “use the term coined by Toronto poet Steve

had earlier been the site of Intermedia-related activity, such as the Mushroom Festival of 1969, when the attendance of several pregnant women inspired the name (fig. 31). Image Bank later became co-owners of Babyland, sharing the property with poet and visual artist Carole Itter and ceramicist Mick Henry. Black Mountain College was a model for the avant-garde community that Image Bank (by then only Morris and Trasov) hoped to cultivate at this site.⁴⁵⁵

Where then, is Canadada? Is it a geographic location or a discursive site? Keith Wallace has identified Canadada as the location letters arrive at when addressed to “General Delivery, Robert’s Creek, B.C.”⁴⁵⁶ – a physical place. Virginia Solomon locates Canadada more discursively, going so far as to claim that it “was its own art movement” occurring in the overlap between a sexual subculture and a sub-set of performance-based Fluxus practices which used the postal system to create a parallel world with an alternate social order.⁴⁵⁷ Also with reference to overlaps between concrete poetry and Fluxus mailing lists, Craig Saper has described Canadada as a Situationist-inspired *détournement* of both the nation and the historical avant-garde, further arguing that the pun on nationhood parodies Cold War logic by alluding to “alien invaders just to the North of the United States.” This logic of Cold War paranoia resonates with the neo-avant-garde’s desire to revive the political efficacy of strategies such as appropriation, montage and visual word play as an expression of counterpublicity.⁴⁵⁸ The use of these strategies by Image Bank and their correspondents is politicized as their complex coding of sexual identities also carry with them the historical knowledge that people who could be publicly identified as homosexual were persecuted as enemies of the state in both Canada and America, as they were perceived to be a moral threat to the security of the nation.⁴⁵⁹

McCaffrey ‘Canadadaists’” indicating that “Canadada” was a shared imaginary linking multiple groups invested in a revival of avant-garde strategies as a response to isolationist strains of Canadian nationalism. Several of the people and the pseudonyms listed in the *Directory*, including Victor Coleman, Stan Bevington and Robert Filliou were visitors to Babyland between 1972 and 1974. For an account of these visits see, Keith Wallace, “On the Set at Babyland,” in *Hand of the Spirit : Documents of the Seventies from the Morris Trasov Archive*, 29-47 (Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1994), 38-39.

⁴⁵⁵ Keith Wallace, “On the Set at Babyland,” 38.

⁴⁵⁶ Keith Wallace, “On the Set at Babyland,” 38.

⁴⁵⁷ Virginia Solomon, “Sexuality and Signification,” 41.

⁴⁵⁸ Craig J. Saper, *Networked Art* (Minn. : University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 56-57.

⁴⁵⁹ Kinsman, Gary, “The Canadian National Security War on Queers and the Left,” in *New World Coming : The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*, 77-86 (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2009). For a

Camp patriotism

Camp patriotism is produced through the homoerotic parody of tropes of national culture, with particular attention to the role of the artist, and of communications media, in the production of these tropes. Roland Barthes similarly recognized modern myths to be the byproduct of images circulating through pop-culture genres; within this “second-order semiological system,” he argued, existing signs were given connotative meanings that naturalized them as signifiers of national culture.⁴⁶⁰ In the *Directory*, camp patriotism emerges when the tropes of natural scenery, which historically helped to define Canadian nationhood, oscillate between the aesthetic registers of high art and mass culture. When this scenery frames figures that provoke disidentification with heteronormative gender roles, a traditional link between bloodlines, kinship structures and depictions of territory is disrupted. In the Image Bank *Directory*, the ironic distance affected by camp patriotism towards national myths is most visible in a photograph that captures the starlet Marilyn Monroe as she is posed in a canoe at the foot of a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer (fig. 32). In this image, the wilderness environment of Banff National Park surrounds both Monroe and the Mountie, the casual flirtation between the two is picturesque as the tree line around the lake recedes into a hazy mountain range. Taken by Glenn Lewis when he was a teenager working as a dishwasher at a nearby hotel,⁴⁶¹ the photograph attests to the power of Monroe’s allure for a young fan, but also leaves open the possibility that the Mountie (or the natural scenery) is the true object of desire. Either way, it could be argued that this formative moment shaped Lewis’ conception of female beauty, masculine comportment and the Canadian wilderness, as a man-made fantasy. Whereas the image captures Monroe as an iconic international brand, the stereotypically “Canadian” Mountie and mountain vistas are commodities whose iconic status remains comparably weak. The national park is available for lease as a film set, which means that it could be populated by cowboys and reframed as the “American west” in the B-movie *River of No Return* (1954) (fig. 33). Image Bank’s choice to feature this image in the

discussion of how homophobic concepts were mobilized by a national liberation movement in Québec, see, Robert Schwartzwald, “Fear of Federasty: Québec's Inverted Fictions,” in *Comparative American Identities: Race, Sex, and Nationality in the Modern Text (Essays from the English Institute)*, ed. Hortense J. Spillers (New York: Routledge, 1991), 175-195.

⁴⁶⁰ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paladin, 1973), 129.

⁴⁶¹ Jamie Benidickson, *Idleness, Water, and a Canoe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 16.

Directory makes apparent the psychological effects of media upon feelings of national belonging in much the same way as does Michael Ondaatje's *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid* (as discussed in Chapter I); that is, it explores how the Western as genre of film generates affective bonds between American mythology and young minds residing in Canada. Implicit within the desire driving Lewis' voyeuristic gaze is the process by which the film's revenue stream would return to American producers, when the film was distributed to a Canadian movie-going audience.

Unlike Michael Ondaatje's appropriation of American mythology into a Canadian literary canon, however, the camp patriotism of the *Directory* recontextualizes the image of Monroe and the Mountie in order to invert a post-Centennial Canadian imaginary, as it is bound up with the networking function of communications technologies. Susan Sontag famously recognized the importance of inversion to the register of camp aesthetics, which celebrates the enjoyment of cultural forms that were considered in "bad taste" according to the standards of high culture. In this regard, an aesthetic judgement of "beauty" can be bestowed upon mass-culture forms such as Hollywood B-movies. Likewise, beauty can be perceived in the exaggeration of sexual characteristics, as seen in the archetypes portrayed by movie stars. In Lewis' image, the hyperfemininity symbolized by Monroe, or the maleness of the Mountie, are examples of these archetypal figures, though one is a movie star and the other represents good government. Conversely, camp beauty can be perceived in the act "of going against the grain of one's own sex,"⁴⁶² a concept of gender-reversal which is dependent upon the psychoanalytic model of inversion. Because this model understands identity formation according to a binary relationship between biologically determined genders, it can lead to an understanding of homosexuality as a "perversion" due to qualities or behaviour believed to be unnatural. Camp patriotism, then, is a stylistic play upon the artifice of movie stars and national symbols of authority, which culturally reinforce binary assumptions of gender. Furthermore, the camera lens captures these gendered stereotypes as they are framed in a natural landscape that flips identities between a national park in Canada and a stretch of river in the American West. Camp patriotism recognizes that the ethnicity model of nationhood, as it is reinforced

⁴⁶² Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp" (1964) in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*, 275-292 (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1969), 279.

through heteronormative family relations, and feelings of nationalism, produced in relation to depictions of territory, are likewise artificially induced.

At the time that Lewis' image was reprinted in the Image Bank *Directory*, Hollywood films and pop culture magazines had symbolic value as a hegemonic set of references because it was widely believed that the experience of a unified Canadian national culture was foiled by an onslaught of media content produced in the US. Although Lewis' image of Monroe was taken as an impromptu snapshot, it unknowingly emulates the voyeuristic gaze of pop-culture tabloid photographers, just as it instinctively reproduces the compositional tropes of the landscape genre that photography borrows from painting. The image could be said to appropriate the high-art genre of landscape painting into pop-culture photography, which was then reappropriated again as the image was reprinted in the pages of a conceptual book-work. The symbolic value of the source material, which Image Bank and their correspondents appropriated to artistic ends, therefore allowed a sense of "place" and associative belonging to be mapped simultaneously at local, national and international registers. However, as seen in the image of Monroe, their expression of camp patriotism also alludes to a kinship structure and corresponding national imaginary that is more difficult to define, as it lurks within the connections made in their address lists.

Many of the drawings, photographs and recycled images and texts circulated by Image Bank were similarly clipped from sources such as *Fortune*, *Life* or *National Geographic* magazine. Since the 1950s, these pop-culture titles had helped a predominantly white, middle-class readership affirm their values in the face of a rapidly shifting world shaken by civil rights struggles, decolonization movements, and news coverage of the war in Vietnam.⁴⁶³ These magazines also helped reinforce the post-war conversion of the ethnicity model of identity as it was based in extended family, to signify instead a link between the suburban nuclear family and the nation.⁴⁶⁴ This discursive move was achieved, in part, as the pages of these magazines romanticized

⁴⁶³ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 38, 103.

⁴⁶⁴ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 38, 170.

domesticity and the mother-child bond in images that reflected this heteronormative dream back upon the minds of their readers.

As discussed earlier, the photo essays of magazines such as *Fortune*, *Life* or *National Geographic*, did not reflect the sense of artistic community and quotidian experience fostered within the social milieu from which Image Bank emerged. Nor did these artists identify with the stereotypes of heterosexual desire acted out in Hollywood film. Furthermore, the local and national art press used coded references when discussing the connection between artistic expression and their relatively permissive milieu. Watson reads these codes as allusions to an “air of subterfuge and glamour” in the work of Michael Morris, for instance, which encourages a link to be made between camp aesthetics based in parody and a gay subculture.⁴⁶⁵ David Silcox has similarly described Morris as having an “Aubrey-Beardsley-like decadent quality,” yet another coded reference to the way in which camp parody functions as the means to process the world as an “aesthetic phenomenon.”⁴⁶⁶ In this register of camp aesthetics, where Image Bank operated, gender and sexuality, and by extension national identity, are roles that are performed, rather than natural dispositions. Or, as Muñoz has otherwise observed of Ray Johnson’s NYCS as a social structure functioning through queer futurity, “every genealogy is a fiction” that can be altered by aesthetic means.⁴⁶⁷

The fictional genealogies facilitated through the Image Bank *Directory* work through multiple registers of inversion. Their performative play with gendered stereotypes, or parodic code-switching between high and low culture references, are analogically related to their McLuhanesque inversion of communications media. These multiple registers of inversion within the *Directory* lend themselves to the production of a “counter-environment,” as print overlaps with other media forms. For example, Lewis’ use of photography to transpose the iconic image of Marilyn Monroe from film set onto the printed page acknowledges the close relationship between cinema and the printed word (whether in film script or the adaptation of novels). McLuhan recognized that the close relation between “the reel world of film and the private fantasy experience of the

⁴⁶⁵ Scott Watson, “Mirrors,” 63.

⁴⁶⁶ David P. Silcox, “An Outside View,” in *Vancouver: Art and Artists, 1931-1983*, 153-159 (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983), 157.

⁴⁶⁷ José Esteban Muñoz, *Crusing Utopia*, 121.

written word” meant that the crossover between the media environments of film and books had a phantasmagorical effect on human consciousness.⁴⁶⁸ However, unlike the novels that are the typical genre adaptation for film, the *Directory* is a print media form that emulates the data processing capabilities of electronic information systems. Image Bank’s choice of the *Directory* as aesthetic form parodies the symbolic function of communications media within a post-Centennial national imaginary, which depended upon these technologies to create a link between regions, at the same time as these localized areas (predominantly urban) reached outwards in a cosmopolitan gesture towards other nations in the world. If at first the *Directory* appears to map people and places in ways that align with this technocratic vision of nationhood, the book-work in fact proposes “Canadada” as an inverted national imaginary formed through an exchange of images, which provoke desire and disidentification with national symbols in their readers.

The print media form of the *Directory* is key to the book-work’s inversion of an official national imaginary, as it was promoted through a subsidized publishing industry. A “marketing catalogue” featured in the second issue of *File* maps out a media space as it discursively defined a stereotyped idea of Canadian culture according to visual arts production.⁴⁶⁹ Most major publishers listed offer books about Tom Thomson, Lawren Harris, and The Group of Seven in general, to which the anonymous reviewer responds with comments such as, “Guaranteed to cause insomnia.” The art magazines with the largest print run, *artscanada* and *Vie des Arts*, are respectively described as “trending towards conservative spaciness,” and “dull but the only French language publication we know of.” Their mapping of a media space that is reflective of a nationally subsidized publishing industry shows to what degree Image Bank and their correspondence network disidentified with the social role of an artist as it was determined by a mythology upholding a national culture. In stark contrast to their overwhelming ennui, Joyce Wieland’s *True Patriot Love* is praised as “our very favourite.” Other positive mentions go to offerings from small presses such as Intermedia Press and Coach House Press, with special appreciation shown for US-based publisher Grove Press’ “pornographic style.”

⁴⁶⁸ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media : the Extensions of Man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 286.

⁴⁶⁹ “Catalogue” *File* 1, no. 2/3 (May-June, 1972): 57-59

As the *Directory* was distributed by Talonbooks, for which Coach House Press served as “spiritual sister and mentor,”⁴⁷⁰ the social imaginary of Canadada could be said to be shared between a counterpublic of readers attracted to *File*, but also to the output of small presses that crossed implicit boundaries distinguishing high art from illicit mass-culture genres, specifically pornography. The *Directory*, or *File*, attracted new readers, who identified with their ironic play with symbols of a national identity cultivated through major English-language publishers. In this sense, the camp patriotism of their imagery is comparable to the internationalist outlook, ironic nationalism, and media experimentation cultivated by small presses such as Talonbooks and Coach House Press.⁴⁷¹ *Books in Canada*, a trade magazine for the national publishing industry, printed a review of the *Directory* alongside *File* magazine and the “West Coast” issue of *IS* magazine, edited by Victor Coleman and George Bowering. The article notes that these books and magazines revive Dada precedents, firmly establishing these works as a continuation of a high culture avant-garde tradition of counterpublicity; however, the reviewer explains, rather than bring non-art objects into an art-world context, these artists move back and forth across this boundary as they also seek to “intrude their restive, irreverent artistic consciousness into normal everyday situations,” treating their everyday environment as a realm of aesthetic experience.⁴⁷² This commentary upon the politics of *eros* enacted by the *Directory*, is printed between a review of Farley Mowatt's history of the Canadian Arctic, *Tundra* (McClelland & Stewart, 1973), and Gordon Donaldson's popularized account of Canadian origins in British conquest, *Battle for a Continent: Quebec, 1759* (Doubleday, 1973). When the secret network of desires latent in the pages of the *Directory* or *File* is made visible in an industry trade publication, this act of counterpublicity performs a surreal split in the national imaginary, producing a different space – that of Canadada.

Primitivist post-national “tribal” identities

The counterpublic cultivated through the *Directory* and the image request lists printed in *File* is not limited by the distribution and promotion of these publications to a national

⁴⁷⁰ Kathleen Scherf, “A Legacy of Canadian Cultural Tradition and the Small Press,” 144.

⁴⁷¹ Stephen Cain, “Imprinting Identities,” v.

⁴⁷² Walter Klepac, “Getting it All Apart,” *Books in Canada* 2, no.3 (July-September 1973): 11-12.

public; moreover, these publications seek to leverage whatever symbolic value Canada might have within international contexts. A letter from Image Bank's Michael Morris to General Idea's AA Bronson explains: "*File* is a must on all the better coffee tables in Southern California and rumor has it that Canadada is the new dark continent."⁴⁷³ His appropriation of the loaded term "Dark Continent" to describe "Canadada" as a mysterious place of ritual and magic that is just beginning to have contact with colonial invaders performs a kind of self-exoticization that is reliant upon countercultural perceptions of the country as a utopian alternative to the US. Furthermore, references to primitivist tropes such as fetishes and ritual performances throughout the *Directory* (and *File*) invoke the countercultures' adoption via Marshall McLuhan of post-national "tribal" identities, conceived of as mobile, small-scale collectivities undefined by territory but linked together via communications technology.⁴⁷⁴ Although not featured in the separately published *Directory*, the "Artists Directory" printed in *File* does include an address for McLuhan at the Centre of Communications at University of Toronto. McLuhan's address doubly codes Toronto as a centre for a national imaginary invested in communications technology *and* as a site for countercultural imaginaries that use communications media to map out alternate conceptions of tribal community to that of existing nation-states. In the *Directory*, an address for Ken Coupland similarly works across these two spaces of national and tribal belonging. As publisher of the *Canadian Whole Earth Almanac*, Coupland connects Toronto's Rochdale College with international exchange networks facilitated through countercultural magazines such as the *Whole Earth Catalogue* and *Radical Software*.

Image Bank conceived of their cabin retreat at Babyland, which was without running water or electricity, as a stylization of neo-rural countercultural utopias, which could be performed as a means to constitute avant-garde artistic community. As a revival of a Surrealist strategy for the desublimation of desire, Image Bank documented activities

⁴⁷³ Letter from Marcel [Michael Morris] to A.A. Bronson [Michael Tims], Chicken Bank, Vancouver, June 13 1972. AM_MMorris_7326_1. Art Metropole Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON.

⁴⁷⁴ Mark Watson discusses the wide-spread fascination of Marshall McLuhan for the counterculture in, "The Countercultural "Indian": Visualizing Retribalization at the Human Be-In," in *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, 208-223 (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

taking place at Babyland, later circulating these photographs as fetish objects that could facilitate access to altered states of consciousness. In this remote setting, their friends, including General Idea, used lens-based technologies (still camera, video and film) to frame a dense thicket of wilderness as a movie set for a cast of curious characters acting out their desires. These images are subsequently arranged into a series of film stills, which treat the landscape as a “set” and the subjects as “actors” engaged in a process of making a fantasy world (fig. 34).⁴⁷⁵ The images then became “fetish” objects circulated through the *Directory* listings and reprinted in the pages of *File*, with the intention of igniting the desires of other (mainly urban dwellers) who shared similar aspirations for fantasy role-play in rural settings.⁴⁷⁶ In this way, the *Directory* and *File* produce a counterpublic of readers who identify with a social formation imagined through Image Request Lists and simultaneously acted out at Babyland. This process of networking bodies across imaginary and real geographic sites is not only in keeping with the sensation of poetic community fostered through Black Mountain poetics but is also aligned with the conceptualist practice of “documenting behaviour,” which Peter Wollen has explained takes place through the systematic notation and photographic documentation of events occurring at specific coordinates.⁴⁷⁷

The final photograph included in the *Directory* shows a male nude surrounded by a lush thicket of wildflowers and ferns (fig. 35). The figure is turned away from the reader/viewer, assuming the function of the Romantic pictorial device of the *Rückenfigur*, which places the subject in the landscape as a surrogate for the viewer’s experience of a sublime encounter. Bushes and trees block out any compositional device such as a horizon line, creating an overwhelming sense of vegetation and an oddly flattened depth of field. His buttocks are caressed by sunlight, as the reader is made aware of how this

⁴⁷⁵ Keith Wallace, “On the Set at Babyland,” 36.

⁴⁷⁶ See, for instance, the cover image of a canoe floating on a sunny lake filled with colour bars and “colour inserts” of geometric forms constructed from colour bars in a grassy setting included in *File* “Special double issue” 2, no. 1/2 (May 1973). The location represented in these images is indexed to a structure of feeling, rather than a distinct location, as can be seen in the cover image of a canoe, or a related photo on page 30 depicting a lithe male nude directing a camera at the watercraft, which was taken at Lake Yogo (Mixal Lake in Pender Harbour, BC) but that nonetheless read as if they are part of the same fantasy landscape as featured in the Babyland photos series. This is in part because the accompanying texts by AA Bronson and Victor Coleman (Vic d’Or) discuss Robert’s Creek. Keith Wallace, “On the Set at Babyland,” 43.

⁴⁷⁷ Peter Wollen, “Mappings: Situationists and/or Conceptualists,” 35-36.

body is shaped by the surrounding environment – but the environment surrounding this figure is not entirely “natural.” An imposing plank of wood extends to the right of his torso, propped up upon a sawhorse. The curious object introduces depth of field to the image while humorously alluding to the size of his penis. A grey-scale pattern has been painted onto the plank, serving as a visual reminder of the photographic processes involved in creating still and moving images.

In this depiction of a sublime encounter with the coastal forest, the visual play between figure and ground pushes the reader/viewer’s experience beyond the picture frame and its representational function. The wooden greyscale plank brings attention to the photograph as a carefully composed signifying field. Furthermore, because the image was created and then reproduced in print through multiple instances of exposing film to light, an analogy is drawn between photographic and semiotic processes, alluding to a transfer of energy taking place on multiple registers both material and mental. The nude body and the coastal forest signify as an iconic image of “nature” but this signification is contingent upon the material processes of imaging technologies, which communicate concepts within the mediated environment of “culture” (both high and low). While the mental image prompted by this photograph induces an affective response to the symbolism of an awe-inspiring natural environment, it also encourages the viewer to consider how their experience of the image is influenced by its containment within the informational environment of the *Directory*. This conceptual movement beyond the edge of the photographic frame creates an effect that Roland Barthes also attributes to erotic photographs, which he argues activate desire rather than presenting the sexualized body as a fetish, that is, as a commodity to be consumed.⁴⁷⁸ The activation of desire allows the viewer to see beyond the objectifying effect of the camera lens; instead, the viewer enters into an imaginative engagement with the subject of the picture as if they were continuing to move around, performing quotidian activities in a location that is situated elsewhere.⁴⁷⁹ Grant Arnold has described this particular style of image produced by Image Bank as “nature boy eroticism.”⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁸ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 58.

⁴⁷⁹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 78.

⁴⁸⁰ Grant Arnold, “Reference/Cross Reference: Conceptual Art On The West Coast,” 94.

In the *Directory*, the image of the male nude in the wilderness is accompanied on the right-hand page by requests for “images of the hard edge grotesque, visual sandwiches” or “pictures of his mother-in-law dancing for Busby Berkeley” or “basic art examples of local colour and general nonsense,” any of which give rise to peculiar interpretations of the photograph. As in Wieland’s *True Patriot Love* and Ondaatje’s *The Collected Works*, images and captions work together in the *Directory* through a relationship of “relay” which makes the reader an active participant in the book’s narrative action. In order to find a caption that might identify the place or person depicted in the image, the reader is forced to flip to the “List of Illustrations” at the end of the *Directory*. Once the list is consulted, however, the reader discovers that there are no page numbers assigned to the image captions, which again induces them to action, flipping back and forth between the pages. If the reader is sufficiently driven to spend the time deciphering correspondences between the image and captions they will discover the title of the image is “Light On Babeland,” but not before their attention has shifted away from the content of the picture to the aesthetic experience produced by the procedural compilation of data, the structural sequencing of the book, and the effect this has had upon the amplification or suppression of their desire.

“Light-On Babeland” is comparable in composition and tone to other photo series taken at Babyland, such as *Colour Bar Research* (1972-1974) and *On the Set at Babyland* (1972-74). These photo-series similarly frame bodies within the sublime coastal scenery as they are posed next to wooden blocks painted to emulate the greyscale and colour test strips of film and television (fig. 36). The “colour bar” props were hand-painted by artists who visited Babyland. This labour force was subsidized with LIP funding that was accessed through Intermedia, which means that these world-making activities can be understood to emerge from the intersection of labour and cultural policy, as it was experienced on the west coast.⁴⁸¹ In this sense, the inversion of pictorial conventions of the Euro-Canadian landscape tradition occurs in the *Directory* using a vocabulary of visual tropes particular to the region, as seen in the post-impressionist work of Emily Carr or the post-war lyrical abstraction of Jack Shadbolt. Depictions of natural scenery included within the *Directory* feature coastal forests, First Nations spiritualism, and the

⁴⁸¹ Keith Wallace, “On the Set at Babyland,” 43, note 8.

effects of industrial and urban development. However, earlier tropes signifying a mystical relationship to the natural world have been updated in the *Directory* to reflect the non-linear perspective of a McLuhanesque media environment. Rather than depicting the landscape through tricks of linear perspective, as a painting would, these listings use information (e.g. the image requests, the addresses linked to them) to link bodies cybernetically across space and in the mind of the reader.

Image Bank uses landscape imagery as a backdrop for personas populating a fictional movie set. These personas stand-in for an improperly internalized sense-of-self, which calls out to a readership that sees itself reflected in this imagery.⁴⁸² As such, Image Bank uses the trope of mirror reflection as a metaphor for imaging technologies, which produce an aesthetic experience of inversion and displacement. On one hand, the mirror signifies recognition by the other, as mimesis plays a role in identity formation. On the other, the displacement of forms in the reflective surface opens up a portal to an inverted conception of space and place. A distinction can be made between the symbolic function of mirrors and landscape imagery for Image Bank, as these tropes were shared with General Idea. For General Idea, the act of mimesis produces a Warholian simulacrum of the image world of television pageantry and lifestyle magazines, as they use mirrors to shine a beam of light onto landmarks, people and buildings. In project notes, they described this non-Euclidean composition process as “Essentially landscape painting,” and Fern Bayer has explained that *File* magazine was an extension of this process.⁴⁸³ Working together, these artists explored how act of mimesis, symbolized by their use of mirrors, operated on an invisible boundary demarcating their covert image world from the mass media and specialized art press it uses as source material. For instance, the ephemeral archive of letters shared between the two groups includes a few well-meaning missives sent from prospective readers, which are rubber stamped with the identification “Borderline Case.”⁴⁸⁴ This stamp indicates that someone from the “general” public identified with the messages conveyed by their joint publishing efforts – even if these

⁴⁸² Scott Watson, “Hand of the Spirit,” 16.

⁴⁸³ General Idea project notes quoted in *General Idea 1968-1975: The Search For The Spirit*, ed. Fern Bayer, 13-16 (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1998), 57. Philip Monk, *Glamour Is Theft*, 76.

⁴⁸⁴ See, for example, a number of letters reproduced in *IS* magazine (no. 12/13, 1973) from prospective readers enquiring about the first issue of *File* magazine.

correspondents were not fully versed in the coded language through which they formed their counterpublic. The “Borderline Case” may have been judged by the artists as too straight for their world, but the designation could also indicate someone who did not understand the ironic distance Image Bank and General Idea affected from reality.⁴⁸⁵ Like the review in *Canada in Books* discussed above, these borderline cases indicate that although coded communications create an artificially bounded space of containment, their act of media inversion also opens up a gap through which a “general” public can disidentify with the official symbols of Canada – thereby creating a sense of associative belonging to Canadada as a peculiar inversion of the national imaginary.

Primitivist tropes featured throughout the *Directory* and *File* indicate a shared fascination for the Dada and Surrealist artists of an earlier avant-garde who believed in the transformative function of talismans and rituals. Whereas Dada exoticized the performance of African tribal ritual chants, embracing unfamiliar linguistic structures as a rejection of European civilization, Surrealism evoked the North American tribal fetish object for its perceived power to access the realm of the unconscious and the erotic drive.⁴⁸⁶ From a Euro-centric point of view, these “primitive” cultures appeared to be similar in that they emphasized the process of making “art” over visuality, as well as the contextual use of aesthetic objects.⁴⁸⁷ Image Bank and General Idea similarly understood aesthetics to be a kind of political action, which takes place on a cultural plane – it has the power to transform human relationships to the object world and therefore alter the nature of perception.

Ritual performance, flames, nudity and mirrors would feature as recurring themes in book-works, performances films and videos produced between 1970 and 1971 by both Image Bank and General Idea. Some of these works would share the title “Light-On,” an allusion to the role mutual recognition plays in the shaping of identity, and to the transfer of physical and psychic energies that shape the relationship between human

⁴⁸⁵ For a discussion of General Idea’s fascination with mental health see Virginia Solomon, “Sexuality and Signification,” and Phillip Monk, *Glamour is Theft*.

⁴⁸⁶ Jack Flam, “Introduction,” in *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History*, ed. Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 12-14.

⁴⁸⁷ Jack Flam, 6.

consciousness, technology and the surrounding environment (both natural and media).⁴⁸⁸ This juxtaposition of primitivist tropes such as ritual fetishes with modern communications technologies borrowed from the media theory of Marshall McLuhan but also from the structural anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who studied “primitive” societies not as a means to define these cultures, but in order to reveal “mythical thought” that persisted in modern societies whose relations were mediated by writing, photography and scientific objectivity.⁴⁸⁹ In assuming the language of cybernetic information processing to describe their activity as artists, that is, as the consolidation of an “invisible network”⁴⁹⁰ within an “information economy,”⁴⁹¹ Image Bank and General Idea parodied the professional identity of the “modern theorists of documentation” who Lévi-Strauss believed drew upon post-war information theory to rediscover mythical thought.⁴⁹² Because information theory extended the study of messages to “natural” domains, such as biology, Lévi-Strauss understood “the universe of information to be an aspect of the natural world.”⁴⁹³ Essentially, the linguistic models of structural anthropology allowed Image Bank to understand kinship and, by extension, nationhood, as socially produced. Through Lévi-Strauss, Image Bank understood the affective feeling of group belonging to take place as a result of a common semiotic identification with a “memory bank” of cultural signifiers, or myths. Image Bank understood this memory bank to be the

⁴⁸⁸ In Michael Morris’ *Alex & Roger*, a photographic series printed as a booklet for the National Filmboard’s *B.C. Almanac* (1970), the serial images portray two male nudes on a secluded area of a beach; one reflects sunlight onto the other using a hand-held mirror. This photographic series is related to a black and white film, *Light On* (1970-71), which Image Bank made with Gordon Kidd and Martin Bartlett. Fern Bayer describes *File* magazine as an extension of General Idea’s *Line Project* (1970) and *Light On* (1971). The former established temporary community between a set of participants located across the city through written instructions, communications technologies, performance event and documentary photography. The latter is a video they shot with Paul Oberst. While travelling across Ontario with video equipment and two large rotating mirrors in aluminum frames, they used the mirrors to reflect a beam of light onto landmarks, people and buildings. The project notes describe *Light On* as “Essentially landscape painting,” that used mirrors to visualize a non-Euclidean sense of space via a beam of light. AA Bronson visited Vancouver in March 1971, where he collaborated with Image Bank and Michael Goldberg to make *Fire/Mirror Video* (1971). Flames form a ritual circle but its closure is disrupted by the displacement of the landscape in the mirror reflections. The flames also stand in as a visual metaphor for a “line of fire” as it links the mirrors in physical space at the same time it reflects light back onto the artists.

⁴⁸⁹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 18.

⁴⁹⁰ “Some Juicy and Malicious Gossip” *File* 1, no. 1 (April 1972), 3.

⁴⁹¹ Image Bank, *Annual Report*, np.

⁴⁹² Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, 267.

⁴⁹³ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, 269.

imaginary world conjured by mass-media representation, which in turn had an effect on cultural expression in the real world.

Important to a discussion of the *Directory* as a work of conceptual nationalism is how these primitivist themes signal Image Bank's disidentification with the concept of First Nations as pre-modern cultures, an assumption that Myra Rutherdale and Jim Miller have recognized was necessary to the Centennial period discourse of Canadian identity.⁴⁹⁴ The Image Bank *Directory* simultaneously repeats racialized stereotypes of pre-modern subjects, while sardonically acknowledging Indigenous peoples to be active participants in the discursive production of modern societies and modern identities. For instance, a troubling ambiguity arises in the *Directory* through the juxtaposition of an image captioned "Brazil's Suyá Indians Discover the Outside World" (fig. 37) and an image request for "Images from the National Geographic of cultural exploitation of indigenous peoples" fictionally attributed to Doris Shadbolt, curator of *Arts of the Raven: Masterworks of the Northwest Coast*, which took place at the Vancouver Art Gallery in the Centennial year. The image request could be interpreted as an ironic commentary made by Image Bank upon Shadbolt's presentation of Indigenous artists working in traditional Northern styles of the Northwest Coast, as creators of masterworks of high art, rather than as producers of artefacts for ethnographic study. Postcolonial scholar Maria Crosby has recently critiqued this curatorial approach because, although it advocated for an understanding of First Nations peoples as "modern" peoples, the exhibition positioned traditional forms with a social function as works of art divorced from cultural context.⁴⁹⁵

The photograph that Image Bank has chosen to accompany Shadbolt's supposed image request appears to be clipped from the pages of *National Geographic*, as it depicts two men in tribal dress inspecting an issue of the magazine. Non-Western peoples were regularly depicted peering at photographs of themselves in the pages of the magazine, a genre of portraiture which Catherine A. Lutz and Jane A. Collins have argued reinforced racialized tropes by positioning cultures according to a hierarchical scale of self-

⁴⁹⁴ Myra Rutherdale and Jim Miller, "It's Our Country," 153.

⁴⁹⁵ Marcia Crosby, "Making Indian Art 'Modern' *Ruins in Process: Vancouver Art in the Sixties*, <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/urban-renewal> (accessed 24 February 2012).

awareness and civilizational development.⁴⁹⁶ It is not clear whether the inclusion of this image in the *Directory* works as a satire of *National Geographic*'s reinforcement of racial stereotypes. The request Image Bank attributes to Shadbolt essentializes Indigenous peoples as victims of exploitation in the media; just as the Kisêdjê (Suyá) men's apparent fascination for media representation is consistent with the interest Image Bank had in the historical role that so-called "primitive" cultures have played as a "reversible mirror," which as Jack Flam has observed, helped the artistic avant-garde assume a position of otherness to "modern" identities.⁴⁹⁷ Ultimately, their appropriation of the image repeats racial stereotypes through countercultural media channels. The two men hold a copy of *National Geographic* upside-down, which works as a visual pun for the media inversion McLuhan proposed between written and oral cultures in the electronic media environment of the Global Village (fig. 38).⁴⁹⁸

Gender bending and inverted ethnicity models

As mentioned earlier, Mr. Peanut is featured as a cover image for the first issue of *File*; the *Directory* reciprocates this publicity function with a sequence of images showcasing General Idea's Jorge Zontal, filed under "G." These before-and-after photographs show "Jorge sans girdle" and "Jorge avec girdle" as part of a sequence which also includes collages featuring "Borderline" full-frontal male nudity (fig. 39), concluding with a film still depicting "Star Bondage." In Zontal's photo sequence, his scraggly beard contrasts with a girlish figure achieved by wearing fetish gear (fig. 40). Fern Bayer writes that as part of the General Idea *Evidence of Body Binding* (1970) series, these images reveal "the merits of the girdle under a rubber overall."⁴⁹⁹ Bayer has discussed *Evidence of Body Binding* as an instance of "inner media research" for General Idea.⁵⁰⁰ These activities of dress-up and costuming explored the body as medium with reference to McLuhan's theory that an environment imbued with electronic communications technologies would have biological consequences. General Idea also contributed drawings and photographs

⁴⁹⁶ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane A. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 207-209.

⁴⁹⁷ Jack Flam, "Introduction," *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art*, 6.

⁴⁹⁸ In the *Directory* image requests, "Media inversion" is a tactic associated with the San Francisco-based group, Ant Farm.

⁴⁹⁹ Fern Bayer, ed. *Search for the Spirit*, 49.

⁵⁰⁰ Fern Bayer, ed. *Search for the Spirit*, 50.

related to this series to the *Image Bank Postcard Show* showing bodies bound up in rope, zipped up in rubber bondage suits, or reflected in mirrors. The insertion of General Idea's images within Image Bank's structures of distribution and display (and vice-versa) works as a cybernetic visual metaphor for the interface between biological tissues and networked structures. It also indicates an interest shared by both groups in how this transformation of the body through communications technologies was bound up with subcultural expressions of sexuality and transcendence of fixed identity categories.

The before-and-after pictures of Zontal are a visual pun that appropriates a constraint, typically used to "beautify" female bodies, as commentary upon the limitations placed upon male experience of sexuality. The aim of this inversion ultimately seems to be the transcendence of gender. This aspiration to transcendence is further accentuated as gender ambiguity contrasts with the "Borderline" images featuring sculpted muscular bodies and stereotypically macho activities such as welding. Furthermore, the image sequence filed under "G" closes with stylized androgyny (fig. 41). A film still reminiscent of a Busby Berkeley production depicts three nude nymph-like feminine beauties in classical poses. Long, flowing blond hair accentuates their nakedness, as breasts and pubic area are concealed. The concealment of genitals, slender figures and humorously exaggerated wigs creates uncertainty in the viewer regarding the biological sex, rather than performed gender, of these people. Further compounding the sense of artificiality is the shackling of their upheld arms to what appears to be the top layer of a wedding cake, for which these figures serve as ornamentation. Like the girdle in the previous sequence featuring Zontal, the chains fixed with metal star emblems force the bodies into staged poses. The caption attributed to the image, "Star Bondage," hints at the role films and other forms of mass culture play in instilling gender roles and standards of beauty, which are then acted out in everyday life as part of the social construct of the family.

Similar gender bending polymorphous perversities reappear throughout the *Directory*, which returns us to the question of why *File* magazine was conceived of as a monthly national "tabloid" for artists that would feature a directory modeled after an international listing of gay bars. Prior to the mid-1960s and the rise of countercultural newspapers, the gossip columns of Toronto tabloids such as *Hush Free Press*, *The*

Rocket, *Justice Weekly*, *TAB Confidential*, and *Flash* used coded language to communicate news of interest to a covert gay and lesbian readership.⁵⁰¹ These tabloids contributed a sense of belonging to a marginalized “secret public.” Nonetheless, the coded celebration of non-normative pleasure ran parallel to content that attracted a wider readership (and greater profits) through a sensationalized exposé of homosexual “perverts” – meaning anyone engaged in sexual activity deviating from heterosexual norms (fig. 42).⁵⁰² The gossip columns of a pre-Stonewall era tabloid press attracted a readership seeking information on sexuality, but their curiosity was also satisfied by materials circulated through advertising pages. In this respect, the sharp wit of the gossip columns in *File*, and the feature articles devoted to news from an invisible network of (mostly) Canadian artists strongly resemble these earlier examples. Likewise, the layout of the “Artist’s Directory” pages which Image Bank provided to *File* look much like the classified listings found at the back of tabloid newspapers. Small advertisements are inserted between the address listings for artists, some of which include sexual innuendo or even covert offerings of sexual services.

Notably, this appropriation of pre-Stonewall genres of print culture for the purpose of cultivating an artistic counterpublic seems to have been appreciated by Ray Johnson as an inversion of the critical discourse defining Conceptual art as an avant-garde movement. The *Directory* includes a listing for Lippard cheekily requesting “A photo of your copy of Pop Art.” Johnson in turn responded to Image Bank’s *Directory* with praise: “The Image exchange directory reads much better than Six Sex Years by lippard.”⁵⁰³ Morris has commented that this reference to Lippard’s canonical *Six Years of Dematerialized Art* resonates with Johnson’s displeasure at having been left out of her chronicles of Pop Art, conceptualism and the ensuing discourse on the dematerialization of the art object.⁵⁰⁴ In contrast to Lippard’s omissions or systematic classifications of

⁵⁰¹ David S. Churchill, “Mother Goose’s Map: Tabloid Geographies and Gay Male Experience in 1950s Toronto,” *Journal of Urban History* 30, no. 6 (September 2004): 828.

⁵⁰² Donald W. McLeod, “Publishing Against the Grain,” 326.

⁵⁰³ Letter from Ray Johnson to Michael Morris, 21 May 1973, reproduced in *Ray Johnson : How Sad I am Today...*, 80. The pun which alters the title “Six Years” to “Sex Years” is akin to a Freudian slip, an error which reveals subconscious feelings.

⁵⁰⁴ When Lippard omitted Ray Johnson from her *Pop Art* book, Johnson sent out a command to his correspondents to “Send Slips to Lucy Lippard,” indirectly pointing to what he considered an oversight. Michael Morris, “Ray Johnson: An Appreciation,” in *Ray Johnson: How Sad I Am Today...*, 9. Likewise,

artists and aesthetic forms within art historical movements, Johnson describes his copy of the Image Bank *Directory* as “really beautiful” precisely because it is “complicated.” His observation accompanies a page torn out from the *Directory* depicting Dana Atchley of Ace Space Co. reclining on a beach wearing panty hose (fig. 43).⁵⁰⁵ A trick of perspective aligns his crotch with a gushing stream of water, alluding to a powerful ejaculation of desire into the atmosphere. Johnson writes, “ain’t he cute?” further suggesting that Johnson preferred the *Directory*’s ambiguous references to bodies, sexuality and unstable identity formations. These strategies of camouflage and coding discouraged reification of the artist in art criticism and mass media, while simultaneously calling out to others who might instead build an image world in response to indeterminate feelings of desire.

Johnson’s review of the *Directory* reinforced the sense that artists working the relatively peripheral location of Vancouver could participate in an international artistic avant-garde centred in New York City. Johnson’s review simultaneously speaks to the symbolic value the city of Vancouver might have had as a site where post-Stonewall articulations of gay desire were worked out across public and private registers and in relation to broader countercultural concerns. Scott Watson and Sharla Sava have both discussed Image Bank’s networking activity in relation to post-Stonewall articulations of gay identity as they were worked out through high art, mass media and in the events of everyday life. Although both acknowledge that changes in Canadian statute had an effect upon what could be articulated publicly with regards to desire, Sava and Watson emphasize the events at Stonewall as they contributed to a social imaginary based in an extra-national movement for gay liberation.⁵⁰⁶ While building upon their claims, I want to

Lippard’s 1970 show “955,000” held at the Vancouver Art Gallery omitted Image Bank artists, favouring instead Christos Dikeakos, Duane Lunden, George Sawchuk and Jeff Wall. Furthermore, Lippard had earlier described Morris’ painting as reflective of a Canadian tendency to be “hung up on a conventional Post-Painterly Abstraction and Op or Hard-Edge direction, introduced several years ago by a cross-country Greenbergian insemination program.” Lippard, Lucy. “Vancouver” *Art News* (September 1968), 69. For a discussion of why Lippard was mistaken in her assessment of Greenbergian influence in Vancouver see, Scott Watson, “Mirrors,” 66.

⁵⁰⁵ Fluxus “Notebooks,” or assemblage magazines, were a model for the mailing and archiving activity of Image Bank. They were conceived as an inexpensively produced magazine, with one page provided by each contributor. The compiled pages were reproduced as an anthology then redistributed to the contributors, who were then also the immediate reading public, although wider distribution would reach other readers. Image Bank’s participation in Dana Atchley’s *Ace Space Notebook* (1970) and *Space Atlas* (1971) are significant in this regard.

⁵⁰⁶ Scott Watson, “Hand of the Spirit,” 20-21; Sharla Sava, “Determining the Cultural Ecology,” 19-22.

focus instead upon how the recycling of media content through image request lists inverts a social imaginary associated with a nationally-bound geopolitical space.

In the pages of the *Directory*, as in *File*, their list-making activity produces a disidentificatory performance of national identity in a space where conflict arises between explicit (public) and coded (private) expressions of desire. In Toronto, the first issue of *The Body Politic*, a newspaper which called for gay liberation as a form of revolutionary politics, preceded the first issue of *File* magazine; nonetheless, the city of Vancouver was home to the largest queer community in Canada, earning a reputation as “San Francisco of the North” due to cross-border travel and public displays of sexually liberated behaviour, which clashed against a general atmosphere of conservative restraint. Taverns and hotel bars traditionally separated single men from “ladies and escorts” as a means of upholding moral standards which considered single women in bars to be of ill repute. In keeping with these moral standards, the straight owners of bars frequented by gay patrons would not tolerate public displays of affection.⁵⁰⁷ One of these bars, the Castle, was the site of the country’s first gay “kiss in,” which took place in 1971. In the same year, the city’s first public protest for gay rights took place on the steps of the provincial court-house (now the Vancouver Art Gallery), not far from the New Era Social Club, a venue frequented by Image Bank and friends. Despite the significant presence of gay and lesbian cultures in the city, Terry Goldie has observed a shared imaginary which located queer community elsewhere than Canada, arguing that this was due, in part, to imported mass-media representations arriving via American-dominated distribution chains.⁵⁰⁸ As a result, Goldie explains, “the reworking of American trash as a vehicle for Canadian sophistication”⁵⁰⁹ was one of the ways by which queer Canadians sorted out their identities, as a very public expression of gay liberation competed with the private freedom bestowed by legal reform. Goldie’s description aptly describes the cut-up technique through which Image Bank recycled media images produced elsewhere but imported into Canada. Ultimately, Image Bank’s joint publishing ventures with Toronto’s General Idea and their inter-city dynamic of sexually-charged correspondence and image

⁵⁰⁷ Lawrence Aronsen, *City of Love & Revolution*, 72.

⁵⁰⁸ Terry Goldie, “Queer Nation?,” 16.

⁵⁰⁹ Terry Goldie, “Queer Nation?,” 16.

exchange contributed to a sense that queer places could exist in Canadian cities too. Furthermore, the weirdly erotic photographic series that Image Bank and General Idea produced at Babyland also provided a glimpse of gay life in rural areas, a detail necessary for the inversion of a national imaginary nostalgically rooted in pictorial representations of wilderness.

Their surreal reinvention of the landscape genre as national trope through collage and appropriation is amplified by the use of conceptualist list-making strategies. A nation-state is upheld by a kinship structure based in an ethnicity model dependent upon heteronormative sexual practices (signified in the print media of post-war years by middle-class “family values”). Image Bank’s image request lists, on the other hand, replicate the logic of the ethnicity model by creating feelings of associative belonging through their appropriation of the mass-media content that defined those very family values. It is in this way that the secret listings of gay cruising grounds, such as the one sent to Morris by Johnson, found new purpose in post-Stonewall print culture. As Christopher Nealon has remarked, the emerging genre of list-making signified a quest for kinship comparable to the act of tracing ancestry through genealogical charts – even as it drew from an understanding of identity as socially produced rather than biologically determined. As list-making replicates an ethnicity model in order to build a sense of communal identification, Nealon describes it as a means of wrestling with a problem of how to “feel historical’ despite a daily problem of feeling pathological.”⁵¹⁰ This means that the appropriation of the ethnicity model always also contains traces of the inversion model proposed by psychoanalysis, which can lead to an understanding of homosexuality as a “perversion” due to qualities or behaviour believed to “naturally” occur within the opposite sex. However, as will be seen below through the example of William Burroughs’ *Naked Lunch*, what was judged a “perversion” on one social register was conversely acknowledged to have a refined aesthetic value if it was judged by a specialized readership to be “literature;” or, alternately, if it appealed to a counterpublic of readers who shared camp taste standards.

The inspiration Image Bank drew from Brion Gysin and William Burroughs’ “cut-up” technique in film, literature and collage has shaped an understanding of their

⁵¹⁰ Christopher Nealon, *Foundlings*, 177.

activity as a subversive practice challenging a globally hegemonic order – be it a Western artistic tradition invested in notions of individual genius, modernity’s ideological investment in progress, or normative “family values” as foundation for the nation-state.⁵¹¹ However, the image request listed for William Burroughs in their *Directory*, “Ideas for camouflage in 1984,” suggests a different way to understand the effects of this technique when adopted by Lee-Nova and Morris. Both artists developed their practices in the 1960s, in this period they left Vancouver to study in London, but also made contact with dissenting authors and artists from the US.⁵¹² Burroughs would have held symbolic value for them as an author with a similarly international trajectory. His novel *Naked Lunch* had been banned from publication by Grove Press in the US prior to 1962 due to obscenity laws; nonetheless, the book was in circulation in Europe as of 1959, published by Olympia Press. In 1963, the threat of seizure from the Toronto Police Department morality squad caused the novel to be withdrawn from circulation by its Canadian distributors, McClelland and Stewart, even though this decision countered the ruling of a special advisory committee, which considered the novel’s “obscene” contents to have literary value.⁵¹³ In effect, the book’s status as a high-art genre of literature “camouflaged” content that would have been considered obscene in mass culture forms. The problem was not the law per se, but rather, those in authority who were not acculturated to these high-art references, thereby erroneously judging the book to be “perverse” and unsuitable for public consumption (fig. 44).⁵¹⁴

The Obscene Literature Committee disbanded in 1972, the year the *Directory* was published, which means that the archive of publications that Image Bank and their correspondents drew upon for their activities of cut-up and collage would have been

⁵¹¹ Gary Lee-Nova is the pseudonym of Gary Nairn. One of the first artists in Vancouver to change his name, his alter ego is a reference to William Burrough’s novel *Nova Express* (Grove Press, 1964). Lee-Nova’s filmic engagement with mass media images as a kind of linguistic code controlling psychic states drew from a “cut-up” literary technique shared with William Burroughs, Brion Gysin, and Tristan Tzara. The two other members of Image Bank shared this interest; and their collective name, “Image Bank” is also a reference to *Nova Express*. Scott Watson, “Hand of the Spirit,” 9-10.

⁵¹² Gary Lee-Nova and Michael Morris both received Canada Council scholarships to study in London, Morris at the Slade School of Art (1965-1966) and Lee-Nova at the Coventry School (1961-1962). Lara Halina Tomaszewska, 110-111.

⁵¹³ Pearce J. Carefoote, “Censorship in Canada” *Historical Perspectives on Canadian Publishing* <http://hpcanpub.mcmaster.ca/case-study/censorship-canada> (accessed 20 April 2016).

⁵¹⁴ Scott Watson has similarly noted Morris’ interest in both the “gay high art Surrealism” of Jean Genet and Cocteau, as well as a “Pop gay Surrealism” of Busby Berkley films, “Mirrors,” 66.

subject to approval by this advisory board. The Committee was appointed by the Attorney General in the early 1960s to recommend publications for withdrawal from sale if its content might correspond to the definition of obscenity in the Criminal Code. Convening four “experts” from Toronto, the committee was initially put in place in order to avoid criminal prosecutions of publishers and authors. The committee did not view their covert role as censorship, but rather as a public service to determine what might be “objectionable” representations of sexuality.⁵¹⁵ Because the legal definition of obscenity was in flux, the degree to which the representation of sexuality was “objectionable” depended on moral and aesthetic standards set by the committee. Works with literary value, such as Burroughs’ *Naked Lunch*, were therefore not withheld from circulation. However, the committee did make distinctions between depictions of “normal” and “perverse” sexual representations in mass-culture genres; the former included heterosexual coupling and nudity as conveyed within the pages of magazines such as *Playboy*. Perversions included “lesbianism, homosexuality, and masochism, brutality and sadoism”⁵¹⁶ – many of which are reflected in the *Directory* image requests. Explicit depictions of these practices within the Image Bank *Directory* may test the discursive limits of the representation of sexuality in mass-culture forms, but more subtle allusions work to attract a counterpublic that understands the value of high-art forms to be in the privileged space it provides for surpassing these limits.

Why not Canada?

Image Bank’s *Directory* deserves attention because it was produced at a moment when new forms of publicness were being articulated as the relationship between sexuality, kinship structures, territory and national identity was redefined in Canada. Given this broader social context, the *Directory*’s appeal to simultaneous and overlapping avant-garde and countercultural readers actively contributed to the formation of poetry scenes and sites of artist-run culture, such as the Western Front (1973) and Art Metropole (1974), now recognized as essential meeting points for the development of conceptualist

⁵¹⁵ Attorney General Roberts quoted in Bruce Ryder, “Undercover Censorship: Exploring the History of the Regulation of Publications in Canada,” in *Interpreting Censorship in Canada*, ed. Peter Klaus and Alan C. Hutchinson, 129-156 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 147.

⁵¹⁶ Proceedings of the Obscene Literature Committee quoted in Bruce Ryder, “Undercover Censorship,” 148.

practices in Canada.⁵¹⁷ Because these artist-run venues were also important to the practice of expanded literary genres, including the live performance of poetry, the *Directory* also warrants consideration in relation to the literary histories covering experimental forms favoured by small presses in this period, as the Fluxus myth of an eternal network has been adopted.⁵¹⁸ Presently, the *Directory* is absent from literary histories of Talonbooks. When it is mentioned, it is discussed as a commercial job comparable to the catalogues published for the Vancouver Art Gallery or UBC Fine Arts Gallery.⁵¹⁹ However, David Robinson and Gordon Fidler are both given design credit within the book's imprint statement. Furthermore, Trasov remembers that Talonbooks paid for the production of the book, though he recalls Image Bank did most of the production work, a recollection supported by letters exchanged at the time.⁵²⁰ In this sense the *Directory* is an important material artefact for histories of cultural production in the post-Centennial period that describe a field of artist-run production, or self-determined representation, which engaged a politics of *eros* to disrupt the official image of unified national identity.

In the early 1970s, these politics of *eros* were polymorphously perverse, that is, based upon the principle of a universal experience of desire, rather than the strategic positioning that would characterize the identity-based politics emerging in the second half of the decade. Nonetheless, as both Katz and Muñoz have argued, these preidentitarian aesthetics are an important precursor to feminist and LGBTQ activism and artistic expression, which work to create feelings of associative belongings in order to destabilize heteronormative norms of family and nationhood. Keeping in mind the inter-generational transition between *eros*, as understood to be a universal human trait based in psychoanalytic drives, and present-day queer politics which seek to negotiate identity-in-difference, in this final section I would like to think through some gendered tensions that

⁵¹⁷ Introduction to *Traffic*, 14.

⁵¹⁸ Caroline Bayard explicitly argues that artist-run venues were essential to the development of expanded poetics and related strategies of live performance across Canada, in *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 115. For a discussion of these artist-run venues as a "network" see page 82 in the same; Stephen Voyce, *Poetic Community*, 210; Pauline Butling, "One Potato, Two Potato, Three Potato, Four," 30-31, 46, n. 2.; and Keith Wallace, "Whispered Art History, An Introduction," in *Whispered Art History: Twenty Years At The Western Front*, ed. Keith Wallace, 1-8 (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1993), 5-6.

⁵¹⁹ Miriam Walker, *Literary Publishing in Vancouver: A Survey Report on the Four Major Presses* (MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1979), 71.

⁵²⁰ Email from Vincent Trasov to the author, 02 December 2013.

are apparent in the social imaginary produced within the pages of the *Directory*, specifically as they are acted out through the living arrangements that enabled Babyland to exist as a physical place.

Participation in the network of exchange facilitated through Image Bank's *Directory* is defined not by difference, but by a universality found in the bond between reified images and the erotic drive of individuals. Despite the multiplicity of desires expressed in the *Directory* image requests, the individuals behind the requests are all provided equal representation through an ordering system of postal addresses, an approach that avoids addressing the social imbalances produced by this kind systematic categorization. This procedural logic results from artists' mimesis of archival ordering systems, and Liz Kotz has further observed that the repetition of this systemic logic mirrors human subjectivity as it is produced by the technocratic bureaucracies of post-industrial information economies.⁵²¹ As images circulated within the network cultivated between Image Bank and General Idea, figures such as May Wilson, Eleanor Antin, Kate Craig, Anna Banana (Anna Lee Long), Grenada Gazelle (Sharon Venne), and A.C. McWhortle (Susan Harrison) developed correspondence art practices that could be discussed through a sex-positive feminist lens (fig. 45). I want to draw attention instead to Carole Itter's decision to drop out of this network, as the experience of fantasy role-play at Babyland did not reflect her own utopian desires, as co-owner of this site alongside Mick Henry, Morris and Trasov. In this respect, Image Bank and General Idea's *Canadada* offers a thought-provoking example of conceptual nationalism, which, though constituted through polymorphously perverse feelings of associative belonging, may nonetheless reinforce the patriarchal power structures with which they disidentify.⁵²²

Despite neighbourly proximity at Babyland, gendered tensions discouraged Itter from pursuing further work in Image Bank's correspondence network. These tensions can be traced as themes running through a series of letters Itter sent to Kiyooka while he was living in Halifax, as well as retrospectively within the pages of Itter's self-published

⁵²¹ Liz Kotz, *Words to be Looked At*, 249.

⁵²² In the early 1990s, Scott Watson described the social context within which Image Bank developed their network in similar terms: "Straight white men ruled the roost. Gays, as they still can, played the patriarchal game until asked to walk the plank. Women figured at the margin of this picture and people of colour not at all." Scott Watson, *Hand of the Spirit Documents of the Seventies from the Morris/Trasov Archive* (Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1992), 22.

artists' book, *Location – Shack* (1986) (fig. 46). This later book-work deploys conceptual strategies such as an underlying pattern of graph paper to structure each page, or the use of a photocopy machine to layer typed passages over hand-written script and repeated images of untamed vegetation. The stream-of-consciousness narrative reveals her vision of Babyland as a rural writing retreat and “free” space to which she and her daughter could escape from city life. The book also describes disharmony experienced between herself and her nearby neighbours, notably due to items such as plates and cups appropriated from the unconventional domestic space she cultivated in her small shack.⁵²³

As discussed earlier, Image Bank's interest in using the technologies of information economies to transcend gender, thereby challenging restrictive stereotypes of heteronormative “family values” is indebted to the theories Claude Lévi-Strauss. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Lévi-Strauss believed that mythical thought, and related acts of ritual transformation enabled the “nature” of a living entity to be replaced with objects that are the product of human labour. As structural anthropology assigns women a “biological” role in social reproduction that is distinct from men's role in transmitting “cultural” practices, mythical thought, as described by Lévi-Strauss, effectively removes the need for “biological” reproduction (and the role of women and children in society) because it creates a “second nature over which man has a hold, that is a mediatized nature.”⁵²⁴In this model of social reproduction through mythical thought, women are assigned the role of commodities, represented by their circulating images. This means that the challenge Image Bank' world poses to the link between family values and the nation-state is dependent upon a rejection of representations of mothering and childhood, rather than its reinvention. Consider, for instance, an image of a mother and child, which Image Bank included in their *Directory* (fig. 47). Depicted in a domestic environment dating to the 1940s, a gargantuan well-fed baby lifts the lid of a record

⁵²³ Itter posthumously edited her daughter's journal, *I Might Be Nothing* (Trafford Publishing, 2004), which chronicles Lara Gilbert's struggles with mental illness as a survivor of abuse. When I asked to be put in touch with Itter through contacts in the Vancouver art community, each intermediary responded with concern that my questions would touch upon sensitive events concerning her daughter. When we did finally speak on the telephone, I found Itter was willing to discuss life at Babyland, dependent upon what had survived in her memory. This conversation was facilitated by the series of letters I uncovered that were sent by Itter to Roy Kiyooka in the early 1970s, while she lived in Robert's Creek. At the end of our interview, I mailed photocopies of these letters back to her. Telephone interview with Carole Itter, 10 July 2014.

⁵²⁴ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, 128.

player while staring delightedly down into the eyes of a diminutive mother figure. Her face registers surprise and, perhaps, a moment of terror. Captioned “Soft Core Surrealism,” the image is a darkly humorous comment upon the erotics of Oedipal relations as well as a reminder of inter-generational cultural strife – perhaps the demure mother is afraid of the musical messages of sexual liberation that will divert this baby-boomer away from performing a biological (heterosexual) role in social reproduction. Notably, Lévi-Strauss’ view is also consistent with Freudian theories that reinforce patriarchal structures, as libido is understood to be the sublimated drive behind male artistic creativity, whereas the same drive in women, when sublimated, is reoriented towards “family life.”⁵²⁵ In this sense, the mythical thought that enables Image Bank’s kinship model is effective because it displaces erotic drive away from biological reproductive functions typically assigned to the female gender, onto images.

In this way, their mythical thought produces a kind of futurity that, as Muñoz has observed of Ray Johnson’s correspondence network, manages to do away with clichés such as “the children are our future.”⁵²⁶ Traditional family values lose affective resonance because the assumption of heterosexual reproduction is not the dominant frame of reference. Instead, the politics of *eros* works through an ironic recognition and ritual displacement of libidinal attachment to the reified forms or commodity fetishes that, as Herbert Marcuse warned, suppressed the revolutionary potential of oppressed classes in affluent democracies. Image Bank’s pictorial vision of Babyland communicated a stylized version of neo-agrarianism pursued as an extension of city life. In contrast, there was no irony in Itter’s utopian yearning for a place where she could escape social confines, transform her consciousness, write, connect to nature through the labour of gardening and dream of a future with her infant daughter.⁵²⁷ In a letter to Kiyooka, Itter

⁵²⁵ Sigmund Freud quoted in Amelia Jones, “Art and its Histories as ‘Deployments of Sexuality,’” in *Sexuality*, ed. Amelia Jones, 12-27 (London; Cambridge: Whitechapel Gallery; MIT Press, 2014), 14.

⁵²⁶ José Esteban Muñoz, *Crusing Utopia*, 49.

⁵²⁷ Carole Itter’s work was included in the expanded version of *WACK! Art and the Feminist Revolution* (2008), an exhibition held at the Vancouver Art Gallery. Critic Sarah Milroy’s observation that her “magnificent giant wooden wind chime loosely formed like a suspended grand piano falls outside of the more explicitly political focus of this show” indicates the challenge posed by the assemblage and process-based nature of her practice to a recognizable identity-based political position. It is possible to read the grand piano as a signifier of her domestic experience, which she shares with musician and assemblage artist, Al Neil. Sarah Milroy, “Wack Attack,” *The Globe and Mail*, 17 October 2008, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/wack-attack/article1064198/?page=2> (accessed 11 november 2015)

reflects upon Babyland as antidote to her crushing experience of “the city, this foul asshole that we leave in...”⁵²⁸ Before purchasing shares in Babyland, Itter contributed a postcard to Image Bank’s *Postcard Show* (1971). Titled “Map of the World” the postcard features a gridded permutation of intimate body parts, both hers and then romantic partner, poet Gerry Gilbert.⁵²⁹ Itter and Gilbert also participated in the *Halifax/Vancouver Exchange* (1972), which led to the production of Itters’ book-work *The Log’s Log* (1972), a document of her cross-country transportation of a tree from Robert’s Creek to the east coast.⁵³⁰ However, only Gilbert, who is listed in the *Directory* under the pseudonym “Canada’s National Magazine,” continued to participate in projects alongside Image Bank after their move to Babyland and the birth of their daughter.⁵³¹

It is not so much the absence of representation of childhood and maternity in Image Bank’s network that are at issue here, although its relative invisibility seems to reflect the position of this subject matter as second-rate in the hierarchy of aesthetic investigations of avant-garde art. Rather, what is at stake is the powerful provocation the archetypes of children and mothers have for a viewer, particularly with respect to Image Bank’s fascination with the legal and moral boundaries of pornography.⁵³² The 1970s

⁵²⁸ Letter from Carole Itter to Roy Kiyooka, July 29, 1971. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.2.11 Kiyooka Correspondence, Itter. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

⁵²⁹ Letter from Carole Itter to Roy Kiyooka, undated, ca. 1971-1972. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.2.11 Kiyooka Correspondence, Itter. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

⁵³⁰ Between 1971 and 1972, Itter published 5 titles under the imprint HeSheltPress, using the printing press at Bau-Xi Art Gallery where she worked and organized poetry readings. The titles were: Judith Copithorne, *Until Now* (1971); Brian Fisher, *Winter Hearts and Flowers* (1972); Brad Robinson, *Thank Goodness You Called* (1971); and two self-published books: Carole Fisher, *Cloud in My Eye* (1971) and *Fresh Brown Egg* (1971). Miriam Walker, “Literary Publishing in Vancouver,” 5.

⁵³¹ This pseudonym is an ironic acknowledgment, perhaps, of his role in publishing the regionally focused *B.C. Monthly* magazine. After publishing *radiofreerainforest* (1968), a collagist assemblage magazine that was an intermedial extension of his radio broadcasts on CFRO radio, Gilbert began *B.C. Monthly* in July 1972 (co-edited with Bob Amussen). A venue for the poetry of west-coast writers, the first issue devotes many pages to the utopian project of the Deluxe group (also an extension of Intermedia) to reclaim an abandoned mining town in the BC interior. The magazine performs a similarly nostalgic revival of an earlier literary magazine of the same title from the 1920s. Gregory Betts, “We Stopped at Nothing: Finding Nothing in the Avant-Garde Archive,” *Amodern 4: The Poetry Series*, 2015, <http://amodern.net/article/nothing/> (accessed 11 November 2015).

⁵³² Keith Wallace similarly alludes to “gay content” that would be considered “risqué” by 1990s standards, Keith Wallace in “On the Set at Babyland,” 47, n. 7. Sharla Sava notes a link between a “homosexual aesthetic” and circulating images of “bad” behaviour and prurient fantasy,” in “Determining the Cultural Ecology,” 22. Now that pornography is considered to be mass media by the Hollywood film industry and fashion label marketers, it may be time that these allusions are explicitly discussed in relation to the political economy of image production and circulation.

marks a moment when the erotic imaginary produced by mass-media imagery moved away from Romantic ideals of childhood innocence towards sexually ambiguous representations of children. This situation was paralleled by increasingly strict penalties and loose interpretive frameworks for legislation regarding what constituted “child pornography” produced by artists and amateurs, demonizing gay men disproportionately.⁵³³ As the years progressed at Babyland, Itter’s daughter and young friends were often playing in proximity to Image Bank activities. Itter remembers that Victor Coleman’s children were regular visitors to Babyland, as were Mick Henry’s.⁵³⁴ This means that images of children engaged in play populate the Morris/Trasov archive,⁵³⁵ nonetheless, these images rarely make it off of the contact sheet and into a final print in photo series that are now displayed publicly. This may be because in these images, young people are represented as aestheticized objects (fig. 48). The same stylization that renders nubile young men as “nature boy eroticism,” or the starlet figure of General Idea’s Granada Gazelle as a glamorous love interest for Mr. Peanut, creates an erotic uncertainty in images of youth. These images, which pose a challenge to age-related taboos regarding sexuality, would benefit from further discussion particularly with reference to image requests included in the *Directory*, such as that attributed to “Chicken Bank” (Warren Knechtel, also, Sally Peanut) for “evidence of pubescent mustacherie.” Several photo series featuring young people, reprinted in *IS 12/13* (1973), should also be revisited. Further attention to this imagery would open up a space where the gendered privilege of one utopian dream can be recognized in relation to another, but more importantly, to point to overarching social forces that gave rise to two distinct

⁵³³ Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 10. A record of the arrest, trial, and acquittal of Warren Knechtel (Chicken Bank) for the circulation of “child pornography” can be found in the Gay Alliance Toward Equality Fonds, 1971-1980 at the University of British Columbia Library http://rbarchives.library.ubc.ca/uploads/r/university-of-british-columbia-library-rare-books-and-special-collections/6/7/67028/Gay_Alliance_Toward_Equality.pdf, (accessed 20 April 2016).

⁵³⁴ Telephone interview with Carole Itter, 10 July 2014. See also, letters from Carole Itter to Roy Kiyooka 1970-1973. Roy Kiyooka Fonds, MsC 32.2.11 Kiyooka Correspondence, Itter. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

⁵³⁵ The Morris/Trasov archive was established in 1992 as a continuance of the Image Bank activity, which is housed at the Morris and Helen Belkin Gallery, University of British Columbia. In 1978, a New York-based company called Image Bank threatened legal action against Image Bank for infringement of trademark. “Morris/Trasov Archives” <http://www.belkin.ubc.ca/morris-trasov/morris-trasov-archive> (accessed 20 April 2016).

strains of utopian world-making, which failed in their attempt to live side-by-side and to support each other's realization. As Anne Higonnet has observed, the moral panic that "knowing" images of youth so easily trigger is reflective of a society that maintains an extreme imbalance of power between genders because it demands that both children and their mothers remain "innocently and passively dependent" and subject to idealization.⁵³⁶ Perhaps it is time to return to this archive of difficult images in order to think about how artistic subcultures can repeat the gender binaries and fixed identities, which produce patriarchal models of social reproduction – despite a desire to function otherwise.

This chapter shows how the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* contributed to producing an image of "Canadada," as an imaginary territory constituted through a utopian projection of queer futurity. Their kinship model reproduces itself through the psychological drives underlying the future tense of image requests (*eros*) and the nostalgic repetition of tropes (*thanatos*). Thus, Image Bank's utopian yearning is based in a critique, or feeling of lack in the present, but also a sense of longing which projects forward at the same time that it rifles through image fragments of the past in order to reconstitute a different vision of the future. Rather than replacing the post-Centennial national imaginary with a vision of queer futurity which transcends state power, however, as a work of conceptual nationalism, the *Directory* anticipates relationships in which the structural bond between kinship and nation, the affective experience of nationalism, or identification with nationhood are recurring tropes. As a work of conceptual nationalism, the *Directory* is related to the multi-locational imaginary territory mapped out in Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters*; but Image Bank's world moves across national and international registers through a campy disidentification with the stereotypes of both Canadian and US culture. These disidentifications can be seen throughout the *Directory* in the appropriation of hegemonic media forms such as Hollywood film or pop culture magazines, and the subsequent inversion of gendered stereotypes of masculinity, femininity, beauty and domesticity; most significantly, as these gendered stereotypes relate to normative expressions of sexuality or sexual identity upholding the ethnicity model of the nation-state. Because the model for the directory is

⁵³⁶ Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 194.

taken from pre-Stonewall print culture, conceptual strategies play with the conditions of visibility afforded by existing forms of mass media, specialized art publishing, and museum or gallery exhibition in order to explore the communication of desire across multiple coded registers. These multiple registers mean that although the *Directory* calls a counterpublic into being, not all readers of the *Directory* experience the same imagined community. With this in mind, the following chapter will shift focus to Montréal, where at least two official national imaginaries compete for psychic space, as the process of conceptually mapping a counter-environment within post-Centennial Canada must, of course, include Québec.

Chapter IV: No-Place for Linguistic Therapy

“The world has really shrunk to meet its ritual equivalents” is the only untranslatable concept in an otherwise bilingual text written by Bill Vazan. This short text is the introduction to *Contacts*, a conceptual book-work printed by Véhicule Press in 1973, which was launched alongside an exhibition of photocollages reproduced in the book at the Musée d’art contemporain de Montréal (fig. 49).⁵³⁷ *Contacts* is one of several early book-works printed on the press at Véhicule Art Inc., an artist-run gallery that opened its doors in Montréal in October 1972. Vazan was one of the thirteen founding members who chose the name for the gallery as a spatial metaphor (a vehicle as a thing, substance, or medium which facilitates transportation or consumption).⁵³⁸ Much effort was expended in the administrative life of the gallery in producing bilingual publicity, reports and meeting minutes. In this respect, Vazan’s choice to print this singular unilingual sentence resonates as a deliberate act, which raises the question of why he was unable to find a “ritual equivalent” for this phrase in the French language. Vazan’s desire to make transcultural connections was otherwise made evident through a series of photocollages, which produce a dream-like associative narrative similar to that of Wieland’s *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique*. Moreover, those narrative fragments, which gain meaning as they are ordered within the sequential structure of the book, also act as indexical references to people, places and things in a similar manner to the informational listings of the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*.

This chapter differs from the previous case studies of conceptual nationalism in the thesis, which produce social imaginaries that differ from the official Centennial vision of Canadian nationhood. In this chapter, the disidentifications that take place in relation to the Centennial vision of Canadian nationhood are further complicated by competing strains of Québec nationalism, which could be recuperated as a counter-discourse due to the symbolic value that French language use and Québécois cultural production held in countercultural circles. Wieland’s *True Patriot Love* and Ondaatje’s *The Collected Works*

⁵³⁷ *Contacts* was exhibited at the Musée d’art contemporain from 17 February to 23 March 1974. Gilles Toupin, “Bill Vazan ou de l’oeuvre d’art comme une sonde” *La Presse*, Montréal, 16 February 1974, E 14-15.

⁵³⁸ Diana Nemiroff, “A History of Artist-Run Spaces,” 125.

of *Billy the Kid* are examples of works that can be associated to a sense of locality cultivated in Toronto, and surrounding areas, at the same time that their work produces a multi-locational sense of belonging by unhinging a link between geo-political boundaries and the imaginative space of print media. Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters*, and the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* are works that arise from a sense of locality associated with Vancouver, which is contingent upon multi-locational states of associative belongings induced through the circulation of print media. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the social imaginaries produced by these books attract a counterpublic of readers, many of whom though located in Canada, used print as a communications technology which could actualize a desire to connect with other regions of the world. This chapter will discuss a group of artists and cultural workers in Montréal, as they formed a part of this counterpublic. The publications, exhibitions and events, grouped within this chapter complicate the narrative of "two solitudes" determining most cultural histories of Canada and Québec in the post-Centennial period. Instead, I argue that these book-works and events encourage readers to imagine a utopian "linguistic space" that is generated through intermedial practices, media counter-environments, which are amenable to the exploration of mutable sexualities and social roles. At the time, news media was dominated by debates over language and culture that linked territory and ethnicity. The "linguistic space" produced at Véhicule Art can be considered an expression of conceptual nationalism as it decouples language use from territory and ancestral kinship structures.

The publications I discuss are all conceptual book-works or artists' magazines produced using Véhicule's press, which address themes of sensory perception and sexual liberation as image and text work together to produce signifying fields with affective relationships to identity and community. Vazan's *Contacts*, Frank Vitale's *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York* (1973); Tom Dean's *Beaux-Arts Magazine* (1972-1973), Allan Bealy's *DaVinci* magazine (1973-1979), and the series of poetry chapbooks he issued under Eldorado Editions (1974), were conceptual projects. Likewise the exhibition *Sound as a Visual / Visual as Sound* (1973) organized by Suzy Lake and Allan Bealy; and Roy Kiyooka's *Poetry/Video/Text* (1973) performance extend the play with cultural codes into performance, sound and architectural space. These publications

and events also engage with Véhicule Art's location at the intersection between Sainte-Catherine Street and Saint-Laurent Boulevard (the "Main") as an imaginary site where political positioning occurred in relation to sexual identities.⁵³⁹

Véhicule Art gallery opened its doors in Montréal on 13 October 1972, at a temporal mid-point between the federal imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970 and the passing of the Official Language Act (Bill 22) in 1974 by the Liberal leadership in Québec. When the federal government invoked the War Measures Act as a response to the perceived threat of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) to civil peace, the arrival of the military on city streets was accompanied by the censorship of print and other news media. Prominent writers, artists, intellectuals, and labour activists were arrested or held for questioning without charge. Widely perceived as an unwelcome imposition on the autonomy of Québec provincial powers, the War Measures Act simultaneously fuelled nationalist causes driven by conflicts over language use, leading to disillusionment with federalist visions dependent upon the restriction of civil liberties. I will argue here that Véhicule Art gallery could be thought of as a space where architectural structures, administrative protocols, a printing press and aesthetic experience combined to produce acts of counterpublicity as a response to the lingering effects of the October Crisis. This counterpublicity was produced in relation to a media space dominated by ongoing coverage of competing federal and provincial language legislation.

The linguistic space produced at Véhicule Art gains complexity when considered in relation to issues of *Médiart* (1971-1973) (fig. 50) and *Quebec underground* (Éditions Médiart, 1973) (fig. 51). Both titles were produced as part of the course work undertaken by students in the Groupe de recherche sur l'administration de l'art (GRAA) at the Université de Québec à Montréal (UQÀM). *Quebec underground* was launched alongside an exhibition including several performance events and debates at Casa Loma, a nightclub situated only a few blocks east from Véhicule Art on Sainte-Catherine

⁵³⁹ For a discussion of "the Main" as a metaphorical site of drug culture and sexual ambiguity in the work of authors Michel Tremblay and Leonard Cohen, and filmmaker Frank Vitale, see Elaine Pigeon, "Hosanna! Michel Tremblay's Queering of National Identity," in *In a Queer Country: Gay and Lesbian Studies in the Canadian Context*, ed. Terry Goldie, 27-49 (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2001); W.H. New, *A History of Canadian Literature*, 2nd ed. (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); and Thomas Waugh and Jason Garrison, *Montreal Main: A Queer Film Classic* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2010).

street.⁵⁴⁰ This exhibition, and others held at Casa Loma in the same period, framed neo-avant-garde works within the architecture of a popular entertainment venue left over from a previous generation (fig. 52). In a similar manner, the publication *Quebec underground, 1962-1972* re-contextualizes press clippings and photographs from the previous decade for a younger generation of readers. Content from influential magazines of the Quiet Revolution such as *Parti pris* and *Mainmise* was reprinted alongside interpretive texts and captions written by students, including those who would later assume administrative positions at Véhicule Art. The English-language and French-language books therefore share a neighbourhood as their site of production and distribution, and there is likewise a surprising convergence of social and communications networks in the making of a shared linguistic space. I want to suggest that in this context, print culture became a mediating agent that called a utopian imaginary into existence. This social imaginary attracted a counterpublic of readers who disidentified with the ways in which national identity was aligned with cultural policy in both Canada and Québec. A comparison can be made between the linguistic space that I will discuss in this chapter and Joyce Wieland's *True Patriot Love*, which parodies policies of official bilingualism in an interview transcript that registers the pleasure derived from misunderstandings and linguistic slippages taking place between herself, her colleague Pierre Théberge, and spouse Michael Snow. Likewise, Michael Ondaatje draws attention to "French books" within an English-language publication as an access point to a social imaginary that differs from the legends of the American west. The book-works and magazines discussed in this chapter similarly play with linguistic code-switching as a means to attract a counterpublic to a conception of cultural space different from the dominant post-Centennial Canadian imaginary. As will be discussed further below, Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters*, the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, and *File* magazine all contribute to the social imaginary which is enacted within this linguistic space.

When the Trudeau government passed the federal Official Languages Act in 1969, this declared Canada to be a bilingual nation. The legislation was the projection of

⁵⁴⁰ The *Quebec underground, 1962-1972* exhibition occurred over three days 21-23 March 1973. In a review of the show, a critic noted that the club environment was a "vanishing artefact of urban folklore" from an earlier era, Robert Johns, "Quebec underground," *artscanada* 30, no. 2 (May 1973): 72.

a utopian dream that often ran counter to the regionally specific experience of language use in daily life. This language legislation had the unprecedented effect of conflating other kinds of cultural difference (ethnicity, religion) into groups based on language use, something that was acutely felt in Montréal. As Jason Camlot has observed, a “media din” paid exaggerated attention to language issues, which served to reduce community identification in the city to linguistic groups.⁵⁴¹ Sherry Simon has likewise argued that “the political tensions expressed through language took up all the space of public discourse.”⁵⁴² I will argue that Véhicule Art could be thought of as a space where a different kind of publicness was performed to counter fixed identity categories, which aligned language use with national identity. This alternate mode of publicness combined an imperfect, voluntary bilingualism with conceptual explorations of information systems, sensory perception, aesthetic experience, affect and sexuality. The counterpublic attracted to the linguistic space of Véhicule Art therefore co-exists with a linguistically divided national public sphere, which was reinforced in Canada through subsidized publishing and distribution systems targeting distinct English- and French-language readers.⁵⁴³ Rather than replicating the linguistic divides retrenched through cultural policy, this counterpublic was attracted instead to the imaginary conditions of a different experience of collectivity where cross-cultural translation occurs alongside polymorphous challenges to the gender roles and kinship structures which are reinforced through the myths upholding Canada’s national cultures – including Québec.

Transcultural counterpublics for “free” spaces

The September 1972 issue of *Médiart* includes an eight-page contribution from Véhicule Art, including a series of photographs of the newly renovated space and a street view of the gallery (fig. 53). The accompanying text announces in both English and French that:

⁵⁴¹ Jason Camlot and Todd Swift, *Language Acts: Anglo-Québec Poetry, 1976 to the 21st Century* (Montréal: Véhicule Press, 2007), 19-20. See, for example, a discussion of the effects of polarized coverage of the October Crisis in the English- and French-language press in, Robert Schwartzwald, “1970: The October Crisis and the FLQ Manifesto,” in *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture*, ed. Kathy Mezei, Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow, 105-118 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

⁵⁴² Sherry Simon, *Translating Montreal*, 56.

⁵⁴³ Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, “Editors' introduction,” in *History of the Book in Canada. Vol. 3 1918-1980*, 3-9 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

“Véhicule is the talked-about fantasy-come-true of a non-profit, non-sectarian, non-religious, non-racial, non-political, no-ulterior-motives situation/space which will function as the place where your ideas/fantasies/forms/works can become reality and will be exhibited, performed and shown to the Montréal public.”⁵⁴⁴ Both Diana Nemiroff and Vincent Bonin have observed an “absence of any aesthetic or ideological program”⁵⁴⁵ at Véhicule Art and the use of bilingualism as a “strategic apolitical stance” for artists in a city split along language and economic divides.⁵⁴⁶ This claim of an apolitical stance is highly suspect in light of the countercultural and/or Leftist tendencies of the conceptually oriented artists associated with the gallery. In this regard, Bonin acknowledges that language and its transmission through communications systems were essential to the way in which artist-run galleries imagined space in this period: “space was not defined merely by its architectural limits...[but] as the superimpositions of various systems in which information could be perceived simultaneously on material and immaterial planes.”⁵⁴⁷ Nemiroff has likewise noted the importance of the late-1960s conceptual paradigm of “art as information” to the role that the printing press was expected to play in extending the gallery as a node in a countercultural communications network.⁵⁴⁸ Considering the wording of their announcement in *Médiart*, one should ask what kind of politically motivated “fantasies/fantasies” were being worked out in this linguistically determined information space?

As mentioned earlier in Chapter I, the regional organization of *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980* encouraged a comparative reading of publications such as *Quebec underground, 1962-1972* and *Médiart* in relation to the conceptual projects pursued through Véhicule Art gallery and its press.⁵⁴⁹ This chapter therefore builds upon Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault’s related observations regarding the

⁵⁴⁴ “Véhicule est une situation/espace sans but lucrative, non-sectaire, non-religieuse, non- raciale, non-politique, sans motifs ultérieurs qui fonctionne en tant que lieu où vos idées/fantaisies/formes/oeuvres peuvent se réaliser et seront exposées, démontrées et montrés au public Montréalais.” In “Véhicule: Alternative Space, Alternative Attitude, New Situation” *Médiart* 9 (September 1972): D1-D8.

⁵⁴⁵ Diana Nemiroff, “A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada,” 138.

⁵⁴⁶ Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, 37.

⁵⁴⁷ Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, 36.

⁵⁴⁸ Diana Nemiroff, “A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada,” 143-145.

⁵⁴⁹ My essay, “Information from the Quebec Underground, 1962-1972” in *Actions that Speak / Des actions parlantes*, edited by Michèle Thériault as a supplement to the *Traffic* exhibition catalogue is an early effort at working through the questions raised in this chapter.

synthesis between Québécois identity and the French language, McLuhan's media theories and the critical sociology of Marcel Rioux, which encouraged artists in Québec, such as those represented in the pages of *Quebec underground* and *Médiart*, to identify with utopian dreams of national sovereignty for Québec.⁵⁵⁰ Bonin draws attention to the role of cultural mediation assumed by individuals, such as Bill Vazan or Normand Thériault, who were able to code-switch between cultural contexts, thereby influencing the reception of the linguistic turn in conceptual art by Francophone audiences; nonetheless, his overview of conceptualism in Montréal remains focused upon a linguistic divide which, he maintains, was reinforced by English-language hegemony, "the code they all shared" with colleagues in New York.⁵⁵¹ My scholarship differs from Bonin in that I am interested in events that show that cultural transfer worked both ways. I focus upon instances when the linguistic divide was breached; furthermore, I want to argue that as the linguistic divide was the product of historical forces such as media coverage and government policy decisions, the cultural hybridity cultivated in the space surrounding Véhicule Art is in itself a kind of political commitment. Despite alluding to Montréal's position as the vibrant centre for a French-language revival and reinvention of modern Québécois identity,⁵⁵² it is only in a brief discussion of Joyce Wieland's film *Pierre Vallières* (1972) that Bonin begins to consider the symbolic value of the French-language and the message of national independence articulated by the author of *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (Parti pris, 1968; English translation, 1971) to conceptualists from other language groups and geographic locations.⁵⁵³ Whereas Bonin seems to suggest that political leanings can only be detected in an "embryonic form of institutional critique" aimed at revealing artists' complicity within socio-economic systems that produce the violence of events such as the October Crisis, I hope to show how the politics of *eros* instead works to produce different kinds of discursive relations between language, class, ethnicity and nation.⁵⁵⁴ This chapter therefore returns to Diana Nemiroff's early

⁵⁵⁰ Vincent Bonin, "Language Is Not Transparent," 39-40; Michèle Thériault, "Intervening, Debating, Taking a Stand: Normand Thériault's Curatorial Practice, 1968-1977," in *Actions That Speak*, ed. Michèle Thériault, 75-97 (Montréal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2012), 79.

⁵⁵¹ Vincent Bonin, "Language Is Not Transparent," 43.

⁵⁵² Vincent Bonin, "Language Is Not Transparent," 53.

⁵⁵³ Vincent Bonin, "Language Is Not Transparent," 42.

⁵⁵⁴ Vincent Bonin, "Language Is Not Transparent," 53.

scholarship, which also took a comparative approach to discussing the history of Intermedia and Véhicule Art.⁵⁵⁵ Like Bonin, Nemiroff emphasizes the failure of the utopian dreams invested in artist-run galleries due to infighting and increasing pressure to conform to bureaucratic models imposed by funding agencies; however, I am interested in recuperating a secondary narrative of utopian transcultural exchange that remains latent in her research. In this respect, Nemiroff recognizes how events surrounding the creation of Véhicule Art in the early 1970s resonate with references more commonly associated to the reinvention of Québécois identity during the Quiet Revolution. In the aftermath of the October Crisis, the politics of self-determination associated with an emergent modern Québécois identity, allowed for a continued countercultural investment in nationalism as a utopian project.⁵⁵⁶ In contrast, the invocation of the War Measures Act negated the symbolic value Canada held within the countercultural imagination. The yearning for national sovereignty in Québec took precedence as a counter-narrative to militarism and imperialism perpetuated by alliances between the North American powers.

Oral history interviews conducted as part of the Véhicule Art Research Group were also useful references for this chapter.⁵⁵⁷ A common thread in the interviews is found in questions that aim to reveal that English was the dominant language of the work environment at Véhicule Art. For instance, in an interview with Serge Tousignant, Hélène Sicotte pointedly asks, “À Véhicule, ça se passait en quelle langue?” as part of a series of questions which reveal that language use in meetings and other activities taking

⁵⁵⁵ Nemiroff’s thesis was written in 1985, two years after the close of Véhicule Art; five years after the defeat of the “Yes” vote in a 1980 referendum on sovereignty association between Québec and Canada; and one year after the 1984 election of Brian Mulroney’s conservative government, which would have serious consequences for cultural funding policies. Diana Nemiroff, “A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada, With Particular Reference to Véhicule, A Space and the Western Front,” (MA Thesis, Concordia University, 1985). A summary of the research was published in *Parallogramme* (Autumn 1983), and again reprinted as Diana Nemiroff, “Par-al-lél,” in *Sightlines : Reading Contemporary Canadian Art*, ed. Jessica Bradey and Lesley Johnstone, 180-189 (Montréal: Artexes Editions, 1994).

⁵⁵⁶ For instance, Suzy Lake was held for questioning because she frequented a bar that was also a meeting site for the FLQ. Suzy Lake interviewed by Hélène Sicotte, 02 December 1994. P0007-11-0153 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal, Québec.

⁵⁵⁷ These interviews were conducted between 1991 and 1996, following the collapse of the Meech Lake accord, the founding of the Bloc Québécois, and within the context of a renewed nationalist movement galvanized by issues of language-use on public signage and in the work place leading to a referendum on sovereignty-association in 1995. The interviews were undertaken in preparation for the exhibition, *Véhicule Art inc.: recherche en cours / Véhicule Art inc.: research in progress*, curated by Sandra Paikowsky and Nancy Marelli Concordia Art Gallery, 4 April to 11 May, 1991. Also see the gallery newsletter, *Artefacts* 1, no.3 (Printemps 1991).

place at Véhicule favoured English, although French-speakers were present, as Sicotte also observes, “On sentait quand même une volonté d’aller vers les francophones par le choix de lieux, le nom,”⁵⁵⁸ to which Tousignant replies, “Ouais, mais il y en avait beaucoup aussi qui ne parlait pas français, comme Suzy Lake...” Notably, this series of questions arise from Sicotte’s desire to understand how English-language usage and the internationalist orientation of artists at Véhicule Art intersect, specifically in relation to controversial statements made in 1975 by Fernande Saint-Martin, then director of the Musée d’art contemporain, that the conceptualism practiced at Véhicule was not, as Sicotte paraphrases in the interview, “un produit authentique du milieu québécois.” Rather than emphasizing the dominance of one language group over another, or the authenticity of a particular form of cultural expression, I am more interested in trying to find examples of countercultural “linguistic therapy” which were performed as part of the cultural work taking place at Véhicule Art, as print media were used to produce a counter-environment to both Canadian and Québécois nationhood. Herbert Marcuse used the term “linguistic therapy” to describe a countercultural strategy for social transformation by aesthetic means.⁵⁵⁹ He argued that words and concepts considered “obscene” by political or corporate entities were being reclaimed and repurposed by individuals who sought to redirect their erotic drive towards cultural subversion. I want to extend Marcuse’s concept of linguistic therapy, to ask whether it can be applied to Québec’s fraught linguistic situation. In the early days at Véhicule Art, the social life of the gallery was closely bound up with the material objects of expanded literary forms, intermedial practices, and the “linguistic turn” of conceptual art; as will be seen, these conceptualist practices also fostered mutable sexualities and destabilized social roles.

Cultural production in 1960s and 1970s Québec is often discussed as separate and distinct from how those decades were experienced in English-speaking Canada, or in North America as a whole.⁵⁶⁰ Nonetheless, a common grammar between the performance

⁵⁵⁸ Serge Tousignant interviewed by Hélène Sicotte, 20 January 1995. P0007-11-0155 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal, Québec.

⁵⁵⁹ Marcuse, *Essays on Liberation*, 8-9.

⁵⁶⁰ See for example, *Déclics art et société: Le Québec des années 1960 et 1970* at the Musée d’art contemporain (1999) and the publications *Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante* (1993) or *Art et politique: nouvelles formes d’engagement artistique au Québec* (2009) which chronicle developments in the arts in Québec as they respond to the context of the Quiet Revolution; compare to

and multimedia-based work represented in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972*, and the activities at Véhicule Art did not go unnoticed at the time, as at least one critic asked what the “ideological connections” were between the performances, slide shows and wall murals at the Casa Loma launch of the publication and the “efforts of Véhicule to build a genuinely free and creative gallery” just a few blocks west.⁵⁶¹ Likewise, during the debates transcribed in pages of *Médiart* and the Véhicule newsletter, painter Guido Molinari observed that as *Quebec underground* took the form of a “scrapbook” and appropriated mass-cultural forms the strategy could be likened to conceptual art because, he argued, although both work as a negation of formalism in painting, a structure nonetheless remains.⁵⁶² By this interpretation, both conceptual art and media interventions via appropriation are comparable because they depend upon a pre-established semantic structure determining how cultural codes expressed in image and text acquire meaning for their reader.

The process of reinventing the Québécois national imaginary in the pages of books and through the live performance of poetry, theatre and song extends the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s into the early 1970s. Readers of French-language avant-garde literary and arts magazines as well pop- or countercultural titles were collectively engaged in imagining a modern Québécois identity, which Jacques Michon explains was, “no longer defined in terms of ethnicity and religion, but of a ‘space,’ a ‘nation’ – Québec.”⁵⁶³ The imposition of the War Measures Act, which led to the arbitrary arrest of artists and intellectuals, and the censorship of presses, had a significant impact upon how this expression of utopian desire responded to ideas of nationhood.⁵⁶⁴ For historians of a queer Québec and Canada, such Elaine Pigeon and Thomas Waugh, the undefined period

Global Village: The 60s at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts (2003), and *The Sixties in Canada* at the National Gallery of Canada (2005), or *Making it New (The Big Sixties Show)* at the Art Gallery of Windsor (1999), which present Québécois cultural production as distinct within a framework of Canadian national narratives.

⁵⁶¹ Robert Johns, “Quebec underground,” *Artscanada* 30, no. 2 May 1973: 74.

⁵⁶² Guido Molinari was a professor at Sir George Williams University and an internationally renowned associate of the *neo-Plasticien* painters, he is quoted in René Blouin, Lyne Lévasseur, “L’Underground se débat” *Médiart* 16 (avril-mai 1973): 3.

⁵⁶³ Jacques Michon, “Publishing Books in French,” in *The History of the Book in Canada, Vol. 3 1918-1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 199-205 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 204.

⁵⁶⁴ The election of the *Parti Québécois* in 1976 meant that aspects of this utopian imaginary could be codified through language legislation such as Bill 101. Sherry Simon, *Translating Montreal*, 103-104.

between the October Crisis and the passing of language legislation in Québec is particularly interesting because a *demimonde* of marginal characters around Saint-Laurent Boulevard then becomes the imaginary site for political positioning in relation to sexual identities. W.H. New has likewise observed of both French- and English-language writing that the metaphor of the Main (or Saint-Laurent Boulevard) was “taking on drug culture inferences during the 1970s,” in works which explored the Main as a site of sexual ambiguities.⁵⁶⁵ This metaphorical space of ambiguity, found in the plays of Michel Tremblay, the novels of Leonard Cohen and the films of Frank Vitale, offers a different sort of transcultural lens through which to read the linguistic space produced at Véhicule Art, and on the pages of books and magazines published by artists.

I will draw upon these queer readings of the urban imaginary in conjunction with Caroline Bayard’s argument that literary forms which parallel and overlap with conceptualism such as concrete poetry, open form poetics, multi-media and oral performance, can be read transculturally if viewed as engagements with language as an historical and anthropological force. For Bayard, the arrival of an international modernism in the “two Canadas” in the 1960s is characterized by the “reign of the signifier.”⁵⁶⁶ That is, by a moment when both English-language and French-language artists, writers and performers were leaving behind an understanding of words and images as mimesis, or the reproduction of things in the world. Instead they adopted structuralist models that approached language as a system in which semantic meaning arose through a network of relations between signifier (image/text) and signified (mental image).⁵⁶⁷ There are psychoanalytic implications with this approach, which lend themselves to acts of “linguistic therapy.” Countercultural practices engaged with the aesthetic forms and rhetorical styles used by mass-media and advertising, which were understood to be systems that limited an individual’s self-awareness in order for their identities to conform to the social roles required by capitalist modes of production and technocratic government. Both the accumulative narrative of Vazan’s *Contacts* and the scrapbook aesthetic of *Quebec underground* have consequences for the reader’s reception

⁵⁶⁵ W.H. New, *A History of Canadian Literature*, 2nd ed. (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 237.

⁵⁶⁶ Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 7.

⁵⁶⁷ Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 7-9.

of semantic content. As will be further discussed below, this semantic play can be seen in a section collecting responses from members of the artist's collective *Fusion des Arts* to ideas raised in a lecture delivered by French theorist Alain Badiou.⁵⁶⁸ At the time Badiou was writing in the style of the *nouvelle roman*, and his engagement with Maoist groups in Paris had led him to visit Montréal as a human rights observer for the trial of FLQ members, Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon.⁵⁶⁹

In the existing literature, *Quebec underground* and *Médiart* magazine are almost always treated as aesthetically neutral primary sources for art historical scholarship. Examples of this usage include the two volumes edited by Francine Couture, *Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante* (1993), essays in *Déclics art et société: Le Québec des années 1960 et 1970* (1999), Ève Lamoureux's, *Art et politique: nouvelles formes d'engagement artistique au Québec* (2009), and Vincent Bonin's catalogue essay for *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada*, all of which reference *Quebec underground* and *Médiart* as historical sources without considering their formal resemblance to the modes of conceptualism under discussion.⁵⁷⁰ In contrast, Guy Sioui-Durand likens the cultural importance of *Quebec underground* to that of *Parti pris* as a foundational document for an ideological movement of *autogestion* or self-management in the arts in Québec.⁵⁷¹ Anithe de Carvalho's recent polemic against the myth of an artistic "underground" in Québec of the 1960s is a testament to the inter-generational power the utopian desire for *autogestion*, or self-management, has had upon the shared imaginary of an artistic counterpublic in Québec, and I would argue in the rest of Canada as well, however indirectly.⁵⁷²

De Carvalho draws upon Peter Burger's sociological argument regarding the institutionalization of the neo-avant-garde in order to debunk the myth that intermedial

⁵⁶⁸ The lecture took place at the Bibliothèque nationale in September 1968.

⁵⁶⁹ Alain Badiou reflects upon his experience of Québec in 1968 in his recent work, *Logique des mondes, L'Être et l'Événement*, 2. Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 2006, 320-324.

⁵⁷⁰ Vincent Bonin, "Language Is Not Transparent," 42-44.

⁵⁷¹ Guy Sioui Durand, "Des projets libérantes? Les lieux d'innovation et de transgression en arts visuels," in *Déclics Art et Société: le Québec des années 1960 et 1970*, ed. Marie-Charlotte De Koninck and Pierre Landry, 151-178 (Montréal; Québec: Musée d'art contemporain; Musée de la civilisation, 1999), 178. See also Guy Sioui Durand, *L'art comme alternative: Réseaux et pratiques d'art parallèle au Québec, 1976-1996* (Paris: Les presses du reel, 1997).

⁵⁷² Anithe de Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture: Création collective underground au Québec* (Montréal: M Éditeur, 2015).

environments, which encouraged the sensorial engagement or participation of the audience, emerged from a countercultural artistic “underground” that opposed the programs of established art institutions. Instead, she shows that many of these practices were supported by the *Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec*, and the Musée d’art contemporain, which was founded in 1965 as part of the cultural policy of the Quiet Revolution. De Carvalho also argues that in the post-Centennial period, a combination of federal programs such as the Local Initiatives Program (LIP) and Opportunities for Youth (OFY), which responded to countercultural forms of organization, and Québec provincial programs supporting the values of *démocratie culturelle* (cultural democracy), led to the production of a new artistic public (“un nouveau public de l’art”).⁵⁷³ De Carvalho argues that the new artistic public was produced as the values of cultural democracy, supported by cultural policy, encouraged artists to turn away from the aesthetic forms and institutional spaces of high culture towards the activities of everyday life, as expressed through pop culture forms and folk customs. Following the events of May ‘68 in Paris, which strongly resonated in related student and worker protests taking place across Québec, the artist assumed the role of a cultural worker who facilitated experiences for a public that would participate in the production of their own popular culture. This popular culture was distinct from the high culture forms produced by an elite group of artists and intellectuals, and from the pop culture forms imposed by corporate culture upon the unsuspecting masses.

As de Carvalho understands it, this new artistic public is not a counterpublic; rather it is happily aligned with the national publics sought out by both Canadian and Québécois cultural policy. My scholarship differs in that I don’t consider the counterpublic attracted to Véhicule Art to be the same as the national public targeted by cultural policy. In this respect, this chapter foregrounds the mythologization of an artistic underground that de Carvalho wishes to contest; I am interested in exploring this myth as an ideological effect which was deliberately produced by the aesthetic form taken by *Quebec underground*. Audience or viewer participation is one way of making a bridge between the artistic practices anthologized in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972* and the conceptualisms exhibited at Véhicule Art, as the artist developed a social role in relation

⁵⁷³ Anithe de Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture*, 15.

to state funding. However, I am more interested in making the bridge through artists' appropriation of print media forms as a form of disidentification with language understood as symbol of national culture.

During the Quiet Revolution, the legacy of the *Refus Global* manifesto and the Automatiste movement gained symbolic value for a Québécois neo-nationalist project. An explosion of French-language independent publishing drew upon this avant-garde history with an acute awareness of the psychological and political implication of language issues to the reinvention of Québécois identity.⁵⁷⁴ In the visual arts, the lyrical abstraction of the Automatistes functioned as an origin point for a modernist tradition of painting in Québec, while the *Refus Global* (1948) manifesto severed ties with traditions of conservative nationalism, just as it instilled a sense of progress through continuous breaks. Formalist painting therefore held a prominent place in a newly conceived Québécois cultural history that “marginalized” other forms of artistic practice which oscillated across the boundary between mass culture and high art.⁵⁷⁵ These marginalized (ie. “Underground”) practices included the eclectic mix of *Ti-Pop*, video, performance, happenings, environments, cultural activism, poetry and publishing anthologized in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972*. As cultural policy shifts encouraged visual artists to join together as associations or unions and articulate their central role in the redefinition of Québec society, the *Refus Global* took precedence as an example of a linguistic act of cultural activism performed by visual artists. For instance, *Opération Décliv* (1968) marked the twentieth anniversary of the manifesto with a mass assembly that mirrored strategies of protest movements of the time (*Opération visage français*, 1963-1965; *Opération McGill français*, 1969; *Opération débrayage*, 1970).⁵⁷⁶ These protests were part of a movement that understood the domains of language and culture to be intrinsically linked to national identity, and importantly, to class-based politics. I argue that in the early 1970s, this so called “underground” scene of visual artists working in relation to language, rather than formalist abstraction, also encompassed the forms of conceptualism, performance, process and body-based works developing at Véhicule Art.

⁵⁷⁴ Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 120-121.

⁵⁷⁵ Michèle Thériault, “Intervening, Debating, Taking a Stand,” 82.

⁵⁷⁶ *Opération Décliv* marked the twentieth anniversary of the *Refus Global* manifesto with five days of debate regarding the role of art and artists in society, held at the Bibliothèque nationale.

Québécois identity at a cosmic level

Unlike English- and French-language publishers in Québec and Canada who targeted a single linguistic group, or used translation as a means to create access to literary works for unilingual readers,⁵⁷⁷ *Médiart*, *Quebec underground*, and book-works such as *Contacts* published on Véhicule's press assumed a transcultural readership. This readership was assumed to be able to muddle through both languages and code-switch between cultural practices. For instance, the translator for *Contacts* is unnamed, which suggests that Vazan himself is working between English and French. Challenges in translation were met earlier on in the text by oscillating between two languages, for example, by placing the English word in parentheses in order to clarify an imperfect equivalence chosen in French, as in the phrase, "Chacun d'entre eux se devait, par ailleurs, de nous fournir le témoignage photographiques d'une rencontre d'élément divers ou similaires (ce qui traduit en anglais par 'contacts')." Vazan's imperfect translation echoes the slippery syntax used in meeting minutes at Véhicule Art gallery; for instance, the agenda of a meeting held on 23 October 1973 states: "Véhicule's press – needs funds / presse de véhicule à besoin de l'argent."⁵⁷⁸ The division of English and French clauses by a forward slash might indicate that an equivalency is sought between two languages – but the equivalency is drawn between colloquial uses rather than as a bureaucratic literal translation. On the English side, the dash marks a pause as if the writer is oscillating between finishing the sentence in either language. The French version of the phrase, on the other hand, omits an article before the subject (it should read "la presse de véhicule"), as if emulating English syntax. This suggests that the equivalency lies in hybridized versions of language use in the daily administrative life of the gallery. The insistent tone of the phrase also establishes the printing press as a significant

⁵⁷⁷ Sherry Simon has argued that "translating up," that is, the incorporation of Francophone linguistic, political and cultural references into Anglophone consciousness and cultural expression, contributed to the project of making "French Québec suddenly and thrillingly modern." *Translating Montreal*, 31. The translation grants made available to small presses by the Canada Council for the Arts as of 1972 contributed to the attraction of Québec as "an eroticized and exoticized imagined community." Kathy Mezei, "1974: Small West Coast Press Talonbooks Makes a Bold Move and Publishes Four Quebec Plays in Translation," in *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture*, ed. Kathy Mezei, Sherry Simon, and Luise von Flotow, 318-330 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 324-325.

⁵⁷⁸ René Blouin is credited as the author of the procès verbale and likely prepared the agenda as well. "Vehicule Art Agenda-Meeting, Tuesday-mardi, October 23, '73" P027 Véhicule Art (Montréal) inc. Fonds. Concordia University Archives, Montréal.

counterpart to the gallery's other exhibition and pedagogical activities – so important that the press could demand monies allocated elsewhere in the small budget managed by the aspiring cooperative.

Until Véhicule Art was able to set up their own press, Thériault offered the use of several pages of *Médiart* magazine for artists' projects and the promotion of activities taking place at the gallery to a primarily francophone readership. *Médiart* was countercultural in tone, as article content playfully engaged with themes such as sexual liberation and media subversion; for instance, as a parody of a *Playboy* centrefold, one issue featured a contest to guess the identity of a hairy nude male model (fig. 54).⁵⁷⁹ A clue, "les initials de son nom sont Y.R., qu'elle a participé à l'exposition "Montréal plus ou moins", qu'elle fait des labyrinths," erroneously leads one to wonder whether this playmate is, in fact, art historian and professor, Yves Robillard.⁵⁸⁰ *Médiart* magazine also covered events in the local scene – such as exhibitions and publications at Véhicule Art or at the nearby gallery, Média Gravures et Multiples. Activities covered elsewhere included a review of General Idea and *File* magazine in Toronto,⁵⁸¹ and a report on Intermedia, Image Bank and the Granville Grange in Vancouver.⁵⁸²

Véhicule Art is often discussed as one of the first self-managed artist-run organizations in Montréal; however, another space, Groupe Média Gravures et Multiples opened its doors a year before.⁵⁸³ Although the social scenes of the two initially overlapped, the latter is now more often associated to a francophone artistic tradition rooted in *art engagé* (socially engaged art) and *Ti-Pop*, a Québécois adaptation of Pop art

⁵⁷⁹ "Playmate-of-the-month" *Médiart* 8 (July 1972): D-1–D-4.

⁵⁸⁰ More likely, the initials and image refer to Yves Robert, one of Robillard's students who participated in creating the labyrinthian multimedia environment, *Vive la rue Saint-Denis* (1968).

⁵⁸¹ Chantal Pontbriand translated and commented upon an excerpt from *File* magazine in "Des Potins à la torontoise" *Médiart* 6 (Mai 1972): F-1. This article could be compared to coverage in *Médiart* of other alternative media titles such as Tom Dean's *Beaux-Arts Magazine*, and the San Francisco-based, *Radical Software*. In the news section of *Médiart* 5 (Avril 1972) *File* is described as a "synthèse" of *Médiart* and *Beaux-Arts*.

⁵⁸² "Intermedia: Huite ans plus tard" *Médiart* (Avril 1972): F-3–F4.

⁵⁸³ Jean Noël, Yvon Cozic, Gilles Boisvert, Lise Bissonnette, Michel Leclair and Marc-André Gagné together formed the Groupe Média Gravures et Multiples in 1969. After mounting a travelling exhibition, *Packsack* (1971), the group opened a gallery space at 276 Sherbrooke Street West. Bill Vazan launched his book-work, *World Lines* (1972) at Média. Likewise, Jean-Marie Delavalle, another founding member of Véhicule Art, exhibited at Média as part of *Les Moins de 35* (1972), a multi-venue exhibition organized by Normand Thériault and the Groupe de recherche sur l'administration de l'art (UQÀM). In 1972 and 1973, Serge Lemoyne performed hockey-themed performance works at both Média and at Véhicule Art. See Luce Vermette, "Les Multiples de Média Gravures," *Vie des Arts* 18, no. 71 (1973): 29.

and Nouveau Réalisme intrinsically tied to the cultural shifts of the Quiet Revolution (fig. 55).⁵⁸⁴ Conversely, Véhicule Art is historicised as a site for post-minimal, performance and processed-based forms of conceptualism not seen elsewhere in the city.⁵⁸⁵ It also tends to be described as a place where “anglophones” convened.⁵⁸⁶ This association of the gallery to the social life and cultural production of a group defined according to language use overlooks other kinds of transcultural contact points occurring at the gallery and within the pages of publications in the period between 1970 and 1975. For example, an issue of the Véhicule Art newsletter, featuring an X marked on a map of Montréal by Vazan, also includes a reprinted transcription of a debate, first featured in *Médiart*, regarding the anthologized content in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972*.⁵⁸⁷

Vincent Bonin has similarly described *Médiart*'s content as “exclusively French” and further limited in its circulation and readership by its role of translating English content into French.⁵⁸⁸ This claim is not entirely accurate. Although French-language texts are dominant, the magazine includes English-language articles and advertisements, as some contributions from figures associated with Véhicule Art feature both languages. Likewise, the bilingual title of *Quebec underground* is worth noting, as is the reprinting of articles from San Francisco newspapers.⁵⁸⁹ There is no accent on “Québec” and the title of the book explicitly links the contents to a North-American “underground” or countercultural artistic scene.⁵⁹⁰ Thus Québécois culture is conceived of in relation to

⁵⁸⁴ See for example the descriptions given to both galleries in Gaston Saint-Pierre, “Illusions et désillusions autour de l'idée de vouloir changer le monde,” in *Déclics Art et Société: Le Québec des années 1960 et 1970*, ed. Marie-Charlotte De Koninck and Pierre Landry, 191-227 (Montréal; Québec: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal; Musée de la civilisation, 1999), 205.

⁵⁸⁵ Vincent Bonin, “Language Is Not Transparent,” 44.

⁵⁸⁶ Gaston Saint-Pierre, “Illusions et désillusions autour de l'idée de vouloir changer le monde,” 205.

⁵⁸⁷ *Véhicule Newsletter* (Montréal: Véhicule Press, 1973).

⁵⁸⁸ Vincent Bonin, “Language Is Not Transparent,” 44.

⁵⁸⁹ The articles cover the events surrounding the inauguration Armand Vaillancourt's commission for the city of San Francisco. Officially titled *Vaillancourt Fountain*, it is referred to in the popular press as *Québec Libre!* with reference to the inflammatory slogan that the artist stenciled on to the work in red paint while disrupting the official ceremonies.

⁵⁹⁰ This apparent bilingualism of the title may also be due to the rules of French orthography and typography practiced at the time. There are no accents on any of the capital letters in *Quebec underground*. To improve the ease of reading, when quoting from texts printed in all capitals in the book, for instance in the case of Robillard's editorial essay, I have converted to standard typographic use and added appropriate accents.

North American mass culture (rather than as occupying a subordinate position within Canadian federalism).

While *Médiart* circulated information about the gallery's activities, Véhicule Art Inc., and its press, received a total of \$103,000 over a period spanning a year and a half, from February 1973 to June 1974.⁵⁹¹ The purpose of the federal LIP program was to reduce unemployment through the funding of community initiatives, therefore the process of applying for the LIP grant helped shape the idea of Véhicule's press as a cooperative print shop engaged in the circulation of "alternative" information on behalf of a community of readers.⁵⁹² The grants then also supplied the salaries for the people who would execute this plan. At this moment four of Thériault's students joined the gallery in administrative positions: René Blouin, Chantal Pontbriand, France Morin and Claude de Guise. These students had all previously contributed to *Médiart* magazine or had been involved in publishing *Quebec underground, 1962-1972*. The latter was a three-volume undertaking, which gathered press clippings and other ephemera collected by Robillard throughout the 1960s – the preface names over a hundred contributors and sources for the reprinted materials.⁵⁹³ The three volumes begin with homages to "pioneers" such as socially-engaged sculptors Robert Roussil and Armand Vaillancourt; poet and signatory of the *Refus Global*, Claude Gauvreau; and Montréal's link to the European Situationist International, Patrick Straram. Other sections document artists working in groups and across media, as in Robillard's own *Fusion des Arts*, or highlights events such as the student occupation of the *École des Beaux-arts* or *Opération dé clics* as moments when activism and aesthetics converged. A section on publications includes reprints from *Parti pris* (1963-1968) and *Mainmise* (1970-1978), two influential magazines of the Quiet Revolution and countercultural movements in Québec that combined cultural expression with a political message, successfully reaching a mass-audience.

⁵⁹¹ Diana Nemiroff, "A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada," 143.

⁵⁹² Diana Nemiroff, "A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada," 143-144.

⁵⁹³ The first volume was 456 pages and was launched at Casa Loma in March 1973. The second volume, 475 pages, was launched at Casa Loma in May 1973. The third volume of 103 pages was distributed as the Summer issue of *Médiart*. The price for the first volume is listed at \$2.50 in *Médiart* 16 (1973): 29.

Vazan's *Contacts* places intimate details and references to family life within a rigorous structural approach querying the limits of visibility, in a similar manner to Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* and Image Bank's *International Image Exchange Directory*. The book-work produces a conceptual space that challenges conventions of kinship and social roles upholding national identities. *Contacts* is comprised of over 125 pages of photo-collages. It is a conceptual work in that it places documentary-style serial photographs within the typographic grid of a book. This method uses the book form as an information system within which an accumulative process takes place. Marie José Jean has argued that *Contacts* is in keeping with others that Vazan produced at the time, using a computer-generated process of global mapping, multiple site-specific interventions, and serial photography to create "a new, simultaneous form of space-time in a burgeoning society of global communications."⁵⁹⁴ The book produces the kind of borderless conception of space, as predicted by Marshall McLuhan, created through the links made between people using electronic communications technologies as extensions of their bodies. The sequencing of bodies, urban and rural sites and scraps of paper throughout *Contacts* therefore also forms a disjointed narrative through montage. *Contacts* is the result of a process of serial accumulation of banal objects of the everyday. But this accumulative narrative also signifies as a transcultural form. In a review of the book, critic Gilles Toupin (who was also a contributor) described the work as a literary undertaking, favourably comparing the book's structure to that of the French *nouvelle roman*.⁵⁹⁵

In order to produce the book, Vazan used a "request list circulated by postal network" to collect images of what he described as, "the ritualistic symbol" of the X. Photographs and contact sheets, drawings and ephemera were gathered from contributors situated in multiple locations across the globe. Throughout the pages of *Contacts*, this universal sign is captured in situ alongside the presence of people, their families, friends and everyday living environment. Vazan's treatment of the graphic sign of the "X" as a

⁵⁹⁴ See for example, his book-work *World Line* (1972). Marie-Josée Jean, "The Conceptual Works of Bill Vazan," in *Bill Vazan: Walking into the Vanishing Point: Art Conceptuel, Conceptual Art*, 54-60 (Montréal: VOX, Centre de l'image contemporaine, 2009), 59.

⁵⁹⁵ Gilles Toupin, "Bill Vazan ou de l'oeuvre d'art comme une sonde" *La Presse*, 16 February 1974, E 14-15.

universal symbol linking people, languages and cultures across the globe is reminiscent of the principles of information theory which allowed the content of human communication or biological organisms to be abstracted into machine-readable binary code. This is the same cybernetic principle that Claude Lévi-Strauss adapted to structural anthropology and his analysis of mythic thought in modern cultures, as discussed in Chapter III with respect to the Image Bank *Directory* and *File* magazine.⁵⁹⁶ About a third of the way into the pages of the book the reader comes across two photographs of Vazan's daughters, Nathalie and Danielle (fig. 56). A typewritten label identifies their location as Rawdon, Québec, where Vazan lived with their mother, Marthe Perras. The two young girls play in the countryside, smiling and holding out their hands to the camera. One interlocks her fingers creating four signs of the X in a single gesture; the other displays five Xs formed in the game "cat's cradle," as a loop of string is pulled to form complex crossover patterns. The multiplicity of these Xs signifies the girls' complex bilingualism and bi-cultural space – reflective of the convergence between biological kinship ties and the languages and cultural codes absorbed from both their parents. That there are more than two contact points in the image troubles the idea that their relationship to territory is produced through the binary relationships defining kinship in structural anthropology. Neither do these multiple Xs correspond to the myth of two founding peoples in Canada. Instead, their gesture suggests a highly complex system of signification across generations – and between urban and rural environments. The gesture provokes reflection upon the countercultural challenge that these girls pose to the earlier conservative nationalism of the Duplessis era in Québec, as analyzed through the pages of *Parti pris*, which assigned to women the domestic task of transmitting French Canadian culture in rural communities.⁵⁹⁷

In order to unpack this claim regarding Vazan's daughters, I will return briefly to consider Yves Robillard's editorial essay for *Quebec underground*, as it anthologizes a period of cultural production for a future generation of readers. The text is reprinted in

⁵⁹⁶ Paul Hayer, who was familiar with the theories of Claude Lévi-Strauss, was a source for Vazan's growing interest in anthropology. Lévi-Strauss believed information theory recognized "the universe of information as part of an aspect of the natural world." Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 269.

⁵⁹⁷ Jean-Phillipe Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel. Sexualité et masculinité dans la revue Parti-pris," *Globe : revue internationale d'études québécoises* 12, no. 2 (2009): 129-157.

each of the three volumes of *Quebec underground* and also in an issue of *Médiart*.⁵⁹⁸ Robillard states that, “le plus grand apport des dix dernières années est sans contredit d’avoir réussi à tracer notre portrait Québécois et d’être maintenant capable d’en rire et de passer à autre chose en toute confiance de nous-même,” suggesting that a Québécois identity had been successfully redefined during the Quiet Revolution, in part due to the artistic and writing practices anthologized in the book. Caroline Bayard has discussed the content anthologized in *Quebec underground*, in terms that show how the social imaginary reflected in this book parallels that produced by Vazan in *Contacts*. She argues that a “cultural internationalism” expressed in the early 1970s by figures of the Québec counterculture – such as Raoul Duguay and Paul Chamberland – emerged from an articulation of Québec nationalism in the 1960s through the decolonization discourse apparent in the pages of *Parti pris* (fig. 57). In the early to mid-1960s the magazine described the French Canadian position in Québec as that of a colonized people, through an analysis linking social class and language with French Canadian ethnicity. A new discourse arose in the late 1960s and early 1970s, within the pages of magazines such as *Mainmise*.⁵⁹⁹ Informed by an awareness of European student and worker movements of May ‘68, the aesthetic strategies of the Situationist International, and also North American countercultural movements, Bayard explains that Québec was imagined to be “an entity of its own...on a planetary level,” a place where “identity, political self-image, and historical expectations cannot be taken away from Québec, and yet, simultaneously they exist on a different and heretofore ignored level (by federalists and separatists alike) – that of the planet Earth.”⁶⁰⁰

Later in his essay, Robillard questions whether the cultural shifts of the previous decade were also “revolutionary” in the Marxist sense of shifting social and economic relations. In this respect, Robillard positions the new *Québécois* identity in relation to wider shifts in North American culture driven by consumerism and an ideology of technological progress: “je reste persuadé du fait de notre situation particulière en Amérique du nord. À la fois Américains et isolés, que nous avons la chance de vivre les

⁵⁹⁸ Yves Robillard, “La Casa Loma: Acte 4 Le 21, 22 et 23 mars” *Médiart* 17 (1973): 21-22.

⁵⁹⁹ Jean-Phillipe Warren, “Un parti pris sexuel,” 129-157.

⁶⁰⁰ Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 131-132.

problèmes de transformation technologique des sociétés d’une façon assez singulière...” Worth noting is that rather than focusing on questions of linguistic asymmetry or independence for a national group, Robillard claims that the particular nature of Québécois identity in North America could act something like a McLuhanesque counter-environment. That is, that the Québécois experience of “isolation” due to linguistic and cultural differences in North America might allow for “un peu de distance,” or a critical view upon an evolving media space of electronic technologies shared by an international artistic and literary neo-avant-garde. This resonates with the planetary consciousness aspired to within the pages of Vazan’s *Contacts*.⁶⁰¹

The shift away from a revolutionary stance that demanded that aesthetic praxis be in the service of structural socio-economic changes mirrors the shifts in liberation discourses used in magazines such as *Parti pris* and *Mainmise*. Throughout the 1960s, *Parti pris* advocated for a politically independent, secular and revolutionary socialist Québec. The argument for national liberation advanced in its pages used a combination of Freudian and Marxist theory to argue that the Roman Catholic Church contributed to the socio-economic and cultural marginalization of the Québécois people through the enforcement of sexual morality and rigid gender roles necessary for social reproduction.⁶⁰² Sexual liberation therefore furthered revolutionary goals; however, as Jean-Philippe Warren has argued, within the pages of *Parti pris*, this revolutionary praxis privileged male sexuality and was limited to heterosexual orientation.⁶⁰³ When the magazine ceased publication at the end of 1968, this paralleled the creation of René Lévesque’s Mouvement souveraineté-association (1967) and the federal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1968-69 (Omnibus Bill C-150), which shifted the status of sexuality out of public life of Canada. In this new context, the countercultural magazine *Mainmise* continued the message of sexual liberation for a readership in Québec who understood individual psychology to be influenced by society – more specifically, by the oppressive control of a Canadian political elite allied with American economic powers.⁶⁰⁴ The first

⁶⁰¹ Yves Robillard, “Présentation,” in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, ed. Yves Robillard, 5-15 (Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973), 7.

⁶⁰² Jean-Phillipe Warren, “Un parti pris sexuel,” 142.

⁶⁰³ Jean-Phillipe Warren, “Un parti pris sexuel,” 148.

⁶⁰⁴ Jean-Phillipe Warren, “Un parti pris sexuel,” 155.

issues of *Mainmise*, for instance, included articles on magic-mushroom enhanced sexual experience, Communism, Gay Liberation, Marshall McLuhan's media theories and a time-line of Rock music including numerous Black Power references. (fig. 58).

Mainmise used translation as a means to participate in the social imaginary of a larger North-American countercultural readership. In a similar manner to Vancouver's *Georgia Straight*, articles on drugs, feminism, free schools, ecology, syndicalism and self-management were taken from the Underground Press Syndicate, but a unique contribution was made as *Mainmise* translated these articles and ideas into a distinctly *Québécois* idiom.⁶⁰⁵ These repurposed texts, including comics, were published alongside local political concerns, notably issues arising from the imprisonment of members of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ). This practice of translation is comparable to the reprinting of the FLQ manifesto in the *Georgia Straight*, as it reflected the interests of an anglophone readership on the west coast.⁶⁰⁶ This strategy of aligning local concerns with a wider North American counterculture could be compared with the practice of translation at *Médiart* – and in the publications produced at Véhicule Art, such as Vazan's *Contacts*.

In this respect, the images of Vazan's daughters could also be considered in relation to a contribution to *Contacts* made by Image Bank, who, as I have argued earlier, establish queer kinship relations by sending images through their listings of addresses. The mention of a "request list" in the introduction to *Contacts* repeats a familiar trope from the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* (as discussed in Chapter III). Vazan's listing in their *Directory* requests "Images depicting business as usual on the cosmic level;"⁶⁰⁷ What could be Image Bank's return contribution to *Contacts* is a photo-

⁶⁰⁵ Jean-Phillipe Warren, "Fondation et production de la revue *Mainmise* (1970-1978)," *Mémoires du livre / Studies in Book Culture* 4, no. 1 (automne 2012).

<http://www.erudit.org/revue/memoires/2012/v4/n1/1013326ar.html> (accessed 26 May 2014).

⁶⁰⁶ The FLQ issued multiple Manifestos, although the one dated to October 1970 is the most widely recognized due to its role in the October Crisis. The English translation published in the *Georgia Straight* was an earlier version dated to June 1970, suggesting their readerships' interest in the revolutionary politics of Québec extended beyond the events of October 1970. Robert Schwartzwald, "1970: The October Crisis and the FLQ Manifesto," in *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture*, ed. Kathy Mezei, Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow, 105-118 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 115, n. 11.

⁶⁰⁷ Vazan was included in the exhibition *Sondage / Survey '69* at the Musée des Beaux-arts de Montréal alongside Ian Wallace and Michael Morris, among others. Several collaborative projects with Wallace

collage made up of a contact sheet and strips cut out of photographic portraits. Three sets of eyes capture the reader in an intense gaze as they stare out from the margins of the page. Within this framing, the contact sheet shows us a sequence depicting friends goofing around in an apartment-studio-office filled with stacks of binders and reams of paper.

The images of urban office-work are offset by Xs formed in a landscape strongly reminiscent of other photographic series taken at Babyland in Robert's Creek, discussed earlier in Chapter III. Fallen tree trunks form an X in the coastal forest, just as painted blocks of wood, their "colour bars," are strewn across a grassy knoll. A typewritten label indicates the location of Image Bank to be Vancouver. The photographs could be documenting domestic moments at the Image Bank apartment at Jericho Beach; more likely, it is the apartment they shared with Chicken Bank (Warren Knechtel) before the opening of Western Front. The combination of photographic contact sheets, portraits, close-up framing of eyes, mirrors, and other reminders of mimetic acts of recognition, recording and reflection make this simple collage a reflexive take on identity and place as transmitted through communications systems. Portraits of friends captured in a contact print include Michael Morris, Vincent Trasov, John Dowd, AA Bronson, Mary Jo Kopechne (Myra Peanut) and Anne Geach.

As sequential images included within the narrative of *Contacts*, the images of Danielle and Nathalie Vazan and that of Image Bank, show a complex approach to understanding language, collectivity and identity as discursive and structural, rather than biologically or territorially determined. Throughout *Contacts*, textual content varies from page to page, and often reflects the polyglot mix of participants linking Vancouver and Montréal to bodies in cities as far away as New Zealand, Brazil, Sierra Leone, Hungary and Japan. The highest concentration of contributions (13 out of 125) issue from Québec; out of these, four are identified with Montréal. More interesting perhaps is that four more are identified as belonging to Véhicule Art – as if the gallery itself could be classified

ensued, including the land art project achieved via telegram instruction, *Canada in Parentheses* (1969); and a contribution to the assemblage magazine project *Free Media Bulletin* (1969) produced by Wallace, Jeff Wall and Duane Lunden. Vazan likewise contributed a series of postcards to the *Image Bank Postcard Show* (1971).

alongside cities and towns as a comparable, yet distinct, geographic and linguistically-defined cultural space.⁶⁰⁸ What is this place?

Communication from no-place

In 1975, Fernande Saint-Martin, then director of the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, argued that the systems- or communications-based work associated with Véhicule Art, and with the curatorial practice of Normand Thériault, was not a form of cultural expression originating from Québec. She stated it was “un art de non-lieu” – which translates loosely to describe an art originating from no-place.⁶⁰⁹ This idea of no-place could have a utopian ring; however, Saint-Martin's statement reflects concerns of “cultural imperialism” articulated at the time by critics such as Marcel Saint-Pierre,⁶¹⁰ Laurent-Michel Vacher,⁶¹¹ and Pierre Vallières.⁶¹² Each viewed an engagement with internationalist art forms, such as conceptualism, as counter to a cultural nationalist project working towards a socially progressive Québécois identity.⁶¹³ It must be noted that this position is similar to that taken by Barry Lord (as discussed in Chapter I), who considered conceptual art to be an aesthetic form issuing from “the latest stages of decadence in US imperialist culture...”⁶¹⁴

In this respect, Bill Vazan's call upon rituals to shrink the world to a global village – “The world has really shrunk to meet its ritual equivalents,” – can be read as the trace of an ideological split within the counterculture in the period following the October Crisis and the imposition of the War Measures Act. A definitive moment of discord

⁶⁰⁸ The four contributions coordinated to Véhicule Art are the New York-based figures Sol Lewitt, Les Levine, Willhoubly Sharp and German artist Franz Erhard Walther, all of whom were part of the gallery's programming in 1973.

⁶⁰⁹ Fernande Saint-Martin, “La Situation de l'art et l'identité québécoise,” *Voix et Images* 2, no. 1 (1976): 26. The article is signed with the official title of “directrice du Musée d'art contemporain” and reflects statements made earlier in response to the exhibition *Québec 75*, curated by Normand Thériault at the Musée d'art contemporain.

⁶¹⁰ Marcel Saint-Pierre, “A Quebec art scenic tour and his ‘contradictions itinéraires’” *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 2* (Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973), 448-471. First published in *OPUS International*.

⁶¹¹ Laurent-Michel Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec* (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1975).

⁶¹² In his catalogue essay for *Camerart*, Vallières addresses similar concerns regarding the ideological function of conceptual photography. Pierre Vallières, “L'absurde fonctionnel” in *Camerart: 24 artistes du Québec* (Montréal: Galerie Optica, 1974): 42-44.

⁶¹³ Gaston Saint-Pierre, “Illusions et désillusions autour de l'idée de vouloir changer le monde,” 207-208.

⁶¹⁴ It is interesting to note that alongside Joyce Wieland's appropriation of national symbols, Lord considered Fluxus-style correspondence art projects to be exemplary of an “imperialist” cultural trend. Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada*, 213.

occurred when artists and cultural workers convened at a conference held at the Cité des jeunes de Vaudreuil.⁶¹⁵ The nature of the relationship forged between artists and official programs of national culture at both provincial and federal levels were up for debate. The goal of the conference was to create a common front in order to demand the repatriation of funds from federal agencies to Québec; however, differences of opinion regarding aesthetics and the role of artists in society made it impossible to form an alliance between disparate groups. These differences are comparable to the conflict between Image Bank's vision of Canada and Marxist approaches, which arose in the same period at Intermedia, as discussed in Chapter III. Notably, in Québec a militant strain of cultural nationalism, earlier associated with *Parti pris* was revived through a Marxist-Leninist approach inspired by Mao Zhedong's *Little Red Book*.⁶¹⁶ Rather than advocating social change through the transformation of individual consciousness at a planetary level, Maoists viewed the responsibility of the artist in society to be a direct engagement with everyday structural socio-economic inequalities. In this respect the revolutionary history of the Automatistes and the *Refus Global* was interpreted narrowly as a heritage that needed to be protected from the "cultural imperialism" of federalist Canada and capitalist America.

Because Vazan's *Contacts* shares image content and a conceptual system (correspondence art) with Image Bank's *Directory*, and therefore could also be said to share the national imaginary that is Canada, his "ritual equivalents" remain untranslatable into the French language if the cultural codes are closed to contact with outside influences. However, the limit point of language that Vazan makes visible in the failure of translation also alludes to awareness that the dream of a universal information space is contingent upon the reception of an English-language message. *Contacts* opens and closes with the image of Vazan holding together pages torn from French- and English-language dictionaries. The definitions for "X" and "Contact" reveal that although these graphic signs and word formations are recognizable across both languages, their

⁶¹⁵ The event took place as the États généraux de la culture à la Cité des jeunes de Vaudreuil, juin 1973. Anithe de Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture*, 42.

⁶¹⁶ Anithe de Carvalho, "Fin du mythe de l'art underground anti-institutionnel : L'utopie de la démocratie culturelle et l'environnement labyrinthe Vive la rue Saint-Denis ! (1971)," *Animation, territoires et pratiques socioculturelles*, no. 5 (2013): 73-88. Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 131.

process of signification differs according to cultural referents. That the failure of transmission occurs between English and French suggests that this experience is specific to the splintering of reading publics in Québec, as competing countercultures arose in this period.

Rather than being associated with a fixed identity position or national culture, language use at Véhicule art was instead conceived of as the basis for the dematerialized forms taken by conceptualist work in which the idea was primary and material form secondary. In regards to minimalist, process and performance-based practices, language could be understood as a spatial process, that is, as an aesthetic experience arising in relation to the circulation of bodies through the gallery, the surrounding neighbourhood and in response to architectural structures – including public signage. As in Sherry Simon’s study of cultural hybridity and language use in Montréal, translation at Véhicule Art represents an “illusory ideal” that occurs in moments of encounter between languages and cultural practices that surpass the identities of bounded communities.⁶¹⁷ Interesting in this regard is Serge Tousignant’s later observation that the choice of the neighbourhood in which to situate Véhicule Art was a political decision based in aesthetics.⁶¹⁸ Suzy Lake has also described the impulse to create Véhicule Art in terms that link aesthetic form to social change: “in the street things were changing, but in the galleries things were not changing.”⁶¹⁹

Véhicule Art was located in a building with a cultural history associated with an earlier era of cabarets and bordellos on the “bright light strip,” or red light district, of Montréal. In this neighbourhood, American tourists mingled on the streets with multiple generations of locally situated and economically diverse language and ethnic groups who borrowed from, and competed with each other in a popular entertainment industry built upon spectacle. As these memory fragments from earlier eras lurked within the space’s new incarnation as Véhicule Art, the gallery became what Simon describes as “*architecture parlante*,” a hybridized building that, “speak[s] less of the original

⁶¹⁷ Sherry Simon, *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 56.

⁶¹⁸ Serge Tousignant interviewed by Hélène Sicotte, 20 January 1995. P0007-11-0155 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal, Québec.

⁶¹⁹ Suzy Lake interviewed by Hélène Sicotte, 02 December 1994.

intentions of the architect than of the many histories in which buildings participate.”⁶²⁰ For instance, Tousignant remembers they found beer bottle caps between the floorboards, while renovating their second-floor loft-like space: “je sais que ç’avait été un bar parce qu’on trouvait des bouchons de bouteilles de bière un peu partout.”⁶²¹ Pat Darby, another member at Véhicule Art, recalled an inspection of the gallery by the Conseil des arts de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal led the city representative to share memories of past experiences in the space, when it was the Cabaret Montmartre, a jazz show bar of the 1930s.⁶²² Knowledge of this earlier music and entertainment scene, where Black musicians combated social repression through stage-presence and spectacular visibility, made the gallery a site where nostalgic affinities could be made between this neo-avant-garde and the city’s history of cultural resistance. Furthermore, the Café Montmartre still existed in the early 1970s, but had relocated around the corner to Saint-Laurent Boulevard under Francophone management, an enduring example of a distinctly québécois night-club experience that developed to compete with anglophone venues in the 1950s and 1960s.⁶²³ The shift in musical genre, social scene and management style over several decades meant that the history of the nightclub signified across more than one cultural space of popular entertainment and a correlation could be made between the artists’ renovation and reconfiguration of appropriated spaces and their appropriation of syntax, words, and meanings moving from one language into another.

Photographs of the gallery’s entrance show a neon sign mounted above a recessed door. The letterforms are made of glass tubing filled with an inert gas, which recalls conceptual strategies that engage with standardized industrial materials as a means of diffusing authorship, transforming the viewer of visual art into a reader. Flanked by sagging awnings and crooked hand-lettered “Vente/For sale” posters, the neon lights also position the aesthetic space of the gallery in relation to a crowded visual field of advertising and public signage on the street. Although subdued in comparison to surrounding marquees for nightclubs and restaurants bordering Boulevard Saint-Laurent,

⁶²⁰ Sherry Simon, *Translating Montreal*, 60.

⁶²¹ Serge Tousignant interviewed by Hélène Sicotte, 20 January 1995.

⁶²² Pat Darby interviewed by Henry Lehman (date unknown) P0007-11-0143 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal, Québec.

⁶²³ André-G. Bourassa and Jean-Marc Larrue, *Les nuits de la "Main": Cent ans de spectacles sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent (1891-1991)* (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 124, 226, 279 n. 152.

their glowing lights nonetheless evoke a desire to engage with street-level mass entertainment forms and language use that mixes and blends as bodies move along crowded sidewalks. Because language had a symbolic value associated to unequal social status in Québec in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a political implication to their language choice for the sign.⁶²⁴ As Sherry Simon has observed, when languages blended at this time, the insertion of English into French was considered an unwelcome invasion, whereas the converse often signified as progressive politics.⁶²⁵ The surrounding signage in this downtown streetscape would have been predominantly English; but it is also worth noting the proximity of Véhicule Art at 61 Sainte-Catherine Street west to *La Librairie Tranquille* at 69 Sainte-Catherine Street west – the legendary bookshop where the *Refus Global* manifesto was launched in 1948 (fig. 59).⁶²⁶ For an outsider, the sign above Véhicule’s door would have similarly announced the gallery to be a Francophone organization. The neon sign therefore works to associate the gallery to an avant-garde tradition of internationalism, creative and intellectual freedom in Québec; while simultaneously presenting an alienating position for members of the public who defined their community in terms of English-language usage.

Fernande Saint-Martin’s observation that the cultural expression at Véhicule Art had no origin, or was an art “de non-lieu,” could be contrasted with a statement printed in Roy Kiyooka’s *Transcanada Letters*. The letter is addressed to American-born poet Claudia Lapp and French Canadian abstract painter François Déry, two significant figures in the early days of Véhicule Art: “François -- I wouldn’t give a damn if you were even a / F/L/Q. this country belongs if it belongs to any / body the INDIANS.”⁶²⁷ Taken together, Saint-Martin and Kiyooka’s statements show how the linguistic space produced at Véhicule Art neither fits with a Québécois neo-nationalist project, nor does it reinforce a federalist model of bilingualism and biculturalism. Rather, this particular linguistic

⁶²⁴ The gallery’s neon sign predates the passing of Bill 101, *The Charter of the French Language* (1977), which legislated unilingual French-language public signage.

⁶²⁵ Simon, *Translating Montreal*, 40.

⁶²⁶ *La Librairie Tranquille* was at this address from 1948 to 1974. *Entre l’auteur et le lecteur: l’archive*. Group de recherches et d’études sur le livre au Québec (GRÉLQ) (Montréal : Université de Sherbrooke, Service des bibliothèques et archives, 2015), 35.

⁶²⁷ Dear Claudia and François, Calgary Feb. ’71, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

space prompts visitors to the gallery to consider nationhood and national identity as something constructed through language and the repetition of myths.

The linguistic space at Véhicule Art thus produces a tension between the two kinds of “archive” outlined by Jacques Derrida in *Archive Fever*. First, the “archive” describes an institutionally held collection of documents, and secondly a psychic inscription that persists in the unconscious through multiple generations. The grant reports, meeting minutes and by-laws generated as administrative records by artists working at the gallery are the institutional record for the corporate entity and a sign of the archive working as regulating filing system. When taken as a primary source of documentation for art historical research, *Quebec underground, 1962-1972* also becomes part of that institutional archive. The second meaning of archive, for Derrida, is that of an “event” marking the moment when a cultural code is naturalized as attributes intrinsic to a nation or people.⁶²⁸ This tension in the double meaning of an archive is important with respect to the assertion that the language-based visual art characteristic of Véhicule Art originates from nowhere because it is positioned as external to Québécois neo-nationalist projects of the 1970s (Barry Lord also positions it as outside of a Canadian national tradition). As Eve Meltzer observes, the “linguistic turn” of conceptual art instead aligns with the Derridian notion that “in the absence of a centre or origin, everything [becomes] discourse.”⁶²⁹ I want to argue that the scrapbook aesthetic of *Quebec underground* lends itself to similar reading as a discursive field, with reference to a section documenting a lecture on Marxist aesthetics delivered by French theorist Alain Badiou.

Faulty parallelism: Countercultural forms and national publics

A photograph of Alain Badiou delivering a lecture in Montréal is reprinted in *Quebec underground* (fig. 60). Heavy black bands frame the top and bottom border of the image, giving the impression of a contact sheet or television screen. Framed slightly off-centre, Badiou sits in a chair surrounded by figures of the Québec art scene seated on cushions or on the floor. Badiou’s head is tilted to one side, his hand is raised, fingers pressed together in a gesture that indicates he is making an emphatic statement. The men in the

⁶²⁸ Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 45.

⁶²⁹ Derrida quoted in Eve Meltzer, *Systems We Have Loved*, 18.

audience listen attentively, but the women look a little bored and one inspects her fingernails. On the floor sits a reel-to-reel tape recorder. The implied hierarchies in the image – chair/floor, attentiveness/disengagement, masculine/feminine reflect the content of the recorded debate, which has also been reprinted within *Quebec underground*. However, the book's construction provides obstacles for a reader trying to access the content indexed by both the image and the transcript without passing through layers of "local" interpretation of the French theorist. These layers of local interpretations span at least two generations.

Students of art historian Yves Robillard compiled the three volumes of *Quebec underground*. Robillard was formerly a member of *Fusion des Arts*, a group whose federal funding and interest in the integration of artistic disciplines with technology has been likened to Vancouver's Intermedia Society.⁶³⁰ As Francine Couture has observed, the *Fusion des Arts* manifestos reprinted in *Quebec underground* are also consistent with the thinking of Marcuse, for whom the sensory and sensual stimulation of the body through aesthetic experience could counteract the controlling effect of corporate mass media.⁶³¹ Following their experience of exhibiting a kinetic sculptural environment, *Synthèse des Arts* at Expo '67, the group merged their interest in mass culture and the society of the spectacle with concerns regarding cultural imperialism.⁶³² Like many Québécois intellectuals of the period, the members of *Fusion des arts* drew inspiration from Maoist political theory.⁶³³ They formed sub-committees such as "Comité d'information politique," "Art et techniques d'action sociale" and "Esthétique et art populaire," which developed a theoretical basis for artistic engagement in social and

⁶³⁰ Joan Lowndes, "The Spirit of the Sixties: By a Witness," in *Vancouver Art and Artists: 1931-1983*, 142-151 (Vancouver: The Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983), 144. See also Bonin's comparison of *Fusion des Arts* and the 5th Festival of Contemporary Arts (1965) dedicated to exploring McLuhanesque media environments in Vincent Bonin, "Language Is Not Transparent," 39-40.

⁶³¹ Francine Couture, *Art et technologie: Repenser l'art et la culture*, vol. 1 of *Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La reconnaissance de la modernité*, ed. Francine Couture, 171-222 (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), 189.

⁶³² It was at this point that Henry Saxe left *Fusion des Arts*; he would later be one of the founding members of Véhicule Art.

⁶³³ Anithe de Carvalho, "Fin du mythe de l'art underground anti-institutionnel," 81.

political spheres. Particularly important to the Comité d'information politique was the elaboration of the concept of *art populaire*, which Badiou addressed in his lecture.⁶³⁴

Robillard was actively involved in *Fusion des Arts* throughout the period that *Quebec underground* covers, and so the “scrapbook” of press clippings and other reprinted ephemera serves not only as a historical reference, but also constitutes an affective collection of his personal memories. The book reprints images and texts collected from mass media sources in the previous decade and an extra connotative meaning is added to these signifiers of an earlier age through image captions and interpretive texts – many written by the students of Robillard. Through their experience of working on the publication, these students would therefore have brought with them to Véhicule Art an awareness of how to use exhibitions and publishing as a means of building upon and reorienting the connotative meaning of pre-existing cultural myths, as well as a feeling of associative belonging. It may therefore be possible to think of the space produced at Véhicule Art in conjunction with *Quebec underground* as together they perform a kind of countercultural linguistic therapy following the repressive effect of the War Measures Act on both a post-Centennial Canadian national public, and a Québécois national public emerging from the Quiet Revolution.

Unlike the majority of images included in *Quebec underground*, the photograph of Badiou has an accompanying caption. It explains that he had earlier appeared on the Radio-Canada television channel in an encounter with government officials, an event described ironically as “un des plus magnifiques happenings jamais réalisés.” Following this performative transformation of a political event into a participatory neo-avant-garde form, the caption invites the reader to consult the transcript of the recorded lecture further on in the book. However, no page number is given. Nor is Badiou listed in the table of contents. There is no easy way for the reader to find this transcript buried within more than 400 pages of content. In fact, the transcript is printed over 80 pages later; the reader therefore has to flip through the dense pages of press clippings and texts detailing activities leading up to the dissolution of *Fusion des Arts* in 1969, following a provincial enquiry into the suitability of their work for public funding due to activities too closely

⁶³⁴ The Comité d'information politique was able to arrange this lecture due to Badiou's presence in the city as observer for the trial of Charles Gagnon. *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, 256.

resembling the revolutionary nationalism of groups such as the FLQ.⁶³⁵ Also found in these pages are essays by literary theorist Jean-Pierre Roy and poet Raôul Duguay, which draw upon Alain Badiou, Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco and Jean-Paul Sartre, among others, to wrestle with the question of what *art populaire* could be in Québec. Notably, and in contrast to de Carvalho's discussion of the values pursued through *la démocratie culturelle*, Roy seems to suggest that *populaire* does not mean "populist," in the sense that it is not defined by degree of participation, but rather by the ability to reconfigure the symbolic order responsible for the mythologies perpetuating false consciousness.⁶³⁶ For his part, Raôul Duguay adds the examples of John Cage and Antonin Artaud to Roy's references in order to describe his method of "*apostropher le public*." He argues that advertising slogans, images and other publicity forms circulating in the mass media should be appropriated in a confrontational repurposing of linguistic codes determining identity – he claims this provokes catharsis and performs therapy on a collective imagination.⁶³⁷

Titled *Pour une esthétique Marxiste*, the full transcript of Badiou's lecture is printed along with an ensuing debate in which Guido Molinari, Fernande Saint-Martin and Gilles Hénault wrestle to understand how the ideas presented by Badiou apply to the context of cultural production in Québec.⁶³⁸ Without referring to specific theorists, Badiou presented two major lines of Marxist thought emerging from French intellectual and activist circles associated with the events of May '68. He begins by explaining that artistic creation produces a kind of knowledge, which ruptures or decentres the

⁶³⁵ "Lesage demande que l'enquête sur les Jeunes Canadiens s'entende au groupe Fusion des arts" in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, 289. See also, Rose-Marie Arbour, "L'atelier libre de recherches graphiques et la guilde graphique," *Vie des arts* 22, no. 90 (1978): 31.

⁶³⁶ Jean-Pierre Roy, "Pour une problématique formaliste de L'art populaire," in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, 335.

⁶³⁷ Raôul Duguay, "Approche d'une définition du rôle efficace de l'artiste dans la société québécoise," in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, 325. Notably, Duguay's position aligns with bpNichol's poetics, which is why the two pursued collaborations after 1972. Frank Davey, *aka bpNichol: A Preliminary Biography* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2012), 172-173.

⁶³⁸ The presence of Gilles Hénault at these events also makes a generational link between the counterculture and an earlier avant-garde in Québec. In his time as director of the Musée d'art contemporain (1966-71), Hénault supported the exhibition of intermedial installations with political content. As a poet and journalist, he earlier contributed to the Communist magazine, *Combat* (1946-1947) and practiced automatic writing aligned with the convergence between aesthetics and politics in French Surrealism and Québec Automatism, in Alain Badiou, "Pour une esthétique Marxiste..." in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, 340-343.

internalized value systems maintaining the hierarchy of social class. He also explains that mass media and information systems are the means by which false consciousness is formed in exploited peoples. The first method he proposes to counter these circumstances involves the continuous and self-reflexive reinvention of artistic forms – a method aligned with his own work in the genre of the *nouvelle roman* – but one that he acknowledges is easily recuperated and converted into a commodity. The second method proposes the creation of *art populaire* through situations or objects that intervene in the everyday life of ordinary people – a proposal that approximates Situationist *dérives* or psychogeography, and also, *autogestion*, a strategy of revolutionary “worker’s self-management,” which Henri Lefebvre redefined in spatial terms as a means for the decentralized structures of grass-roots initiatives to open up a utopian gap without engaging in direct action against the bureaucratic structures of the nation-state. This gap was where the modes of production in society could be transformed through a shift in the spatial relations of everyday life.⁶³⁹ In theory, this approach would allow people to develop an awareness of their current social position and potentially prompt them to revolutionary action. Badiou acknowledges that “*la fête*,” or, organizing through games, play and leisure activities was one way for artists to contribute to the class struggle, but he was unable to explain what that actually entails – or whether it is politically effective.

The aspirations for an *art populaire*, or organization through “*la fête*,” is detectable in early programming at Véhicule Art, specifically, in the 1973 exhibition *Brother André’s Heart*, as will be further discussed below. However, the formal equivalencies in aesthetic experimentation across French-language and English-language production begin to break down when distribution and reception are considered. As Bayard points out, a “marginal” or underground position did not mean the same thing in the distinct publishing and distribution systems that developed in Québec and English-speaking Canada. Likewise, a “marginal” position did not always correspond across the regions where a network of artist-run galleries emerged in support of intermedial artistic and poetic forms. Whereas English-language publishing and neo-avant-garde practices

⁶³⁹ Klaus Ronneberger, “Henri Lefebvre and the Question of Autogestion,” in *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade*, ed. Sabine Bitter and Helmut Weber, 89-116 (New York: Sternberg Press, 2009), 110

tended to remain restricted to a specialist sphere of literary or art aficionados, French-language publishing in Québec reached out to mass-audiences with a fusion of countercultural politics, national feelings, literary attention to the effects of language, and multi-media performance.⁶⁴⁰ Bayard argues that contrary to their English-language equivalents, multi-media performance groups featured in *Quebec underground*, such as *Les Horlogers de Nouvel Age*, *Le Zirmate*, and *L'Infonie*, “did not take place in obscure art galleries or friend’s basements. They received mass exposure.”⁶⁴¹ As Pascale Brisette has also shown, live performances were delivered as mediatized spectacles, as in the example of the sensationally overcrowded event *La nuit de la poésie* (1970), which reinforced social bonds not through political content but through common experience – “*la fête*.”⁶⁴²

Ti-Pop is Brother André’s Heart

Frank Vitale, Allen “Bozo” Moyle, and René Blouin organized the exhibition *Brother André’s Heart* (1973) at Véhicule Art at roughly the same time that Vitale published *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York* on Véhicule’s press.⁶⁴³ Both *Brother André’s Heart* and *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York* show how the linguistic space produced at Véhicule Art engaged with the cultural codes of a generation of Québécois engaged in the process of reinventing its myths. But at Véhicule Art, these signifiers were decoupled from a quest for a reinvented national identity, circulating instead as alternative information from a place where cross-cultural translation occurs alongside polymorphous challenges to traditional gender roles and kinship structures that are reinforced by the myths upholding national cultures.

This exhibition and the book are worth discussing together because they show how cultural codes travel across the linguistic dividing lines of a city, just as sex and sexuality operate in the urban imaginary as disruptive spatial practices, which further

⁶⁴⁰ Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 112.

⁶⁴¹ Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 120.

⁶⁴² Pascale Brisette, “Fête urbaine et poésie en voix : Des soirées de l’École littéraire de Montréal aux Nuits de la poésie,” *Voix et Images XL*, no. 2 (119) (2015): 43.

⁶⁴³ *Brother André’s Heart* was organized by Frank Vitale, Allan Moyle, and René Blouin and took place at Véhicule Art, 10-29 July, 1973. Various textual descriptions of events exist, though I have not been able to locate photographic documentation other than a poster and black and white photograph of a Virgin Mary statuette in the Concordia University Archives.

complicate bilingual and bi-cultural dividing lines. Vitale and Moyle were friends who met in the McGill film program while studying under documentary filmmaker and founder of the National Film Board, John Grierson. René Blouin was a former student of Normand Thériault, part of the team that produced *Quebec underground*, and a contributor to *Médiart* magazine. He had recently collaborated with a colleague at *Médiart*, Marthe Adam, on a work for the exhibition *Les Moins de 35* held earlier that year at Casa Loma. The exhibition catalogue shows a technical drawing of a bed taken from the Eaton's catalogue. It is perhaps a nod towards conceptual diagrams appropriated from a classic Canadian commercial enterprise. The accompanying text is a giddy manifesto on "le lit: lieu d'équilibre de la santé psychique." For Blouin and Adam, "the bed" acts as metaphor for art as a site of creation, including an entreaty that "non-puritains" join them in testing it as a medium of communication. As Vitale and Moyle organized *Brother André's Heart*, they were simultaneously working on the feature-length film *Montréal Main* (released in 1974), in which a namesake cast moves through the neighbourhood around Véhicule Art between grungy lofts, cheap restaurants, arcades, and night clubs, all the while exploring tensions related to homosociality, homosexuality and intergenerational desire.⁶⁴⁴ In the same year, Vitale published the book *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York* on Véhicule's press, dedicated to Allan Moyle and Susan Shouten, a New Left feminist documentary filmmaker, also studying at McGill.⁶⁴⁵

Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York, and the exhibition *Brother André's Heart* can be discussed in relation to the art historical movement of *Ti-Pop*. *Quebec underground* reprints an essay written by Pierre Maheu in the mid-1960s for *Parti pris*, which defined *Ti-Pop* as a visual arts movement in Québec in keeping with the politically independent, secular and revolutionary socialist society imagined in the pages of the magazine. Maheu's essay clearly lists, "le Coeur de Frère André dans le fermol" as an icon of *Ti-Pop*. Claude de Guise, a student of Normand Thériault and Yves Robillard, who would join the administrative staff at Véhicule in 1973, wrote an introduction to

⁶⁴⁴ For an in-depth analysis of these thematics in the film and the unique social context, which allowed these themes to be explored, see Thomas Waugh and Jason Garrison, *Montreal Main: A Queer Film Classic* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2010).

⁶⁴⁵ Thomas Waugh and Jason Garrison, 73, 85.

Maheu's treatise on *Ti-Pop*, associating the movement to the *Refus Global*, and to the use of *joual* as a "forme de terrorisme littéraire" by writers such as Gaston Miron, Paul Chamberland, Jacques Brault and Gérald Godin.⁶⁴⁶ For these writers, the use of the vernacular *joual* in literary work simultaneously identified them as intellectuals allied to a francophone working-class oppressed majority, rejected colonial ties to France and acknowledged invasive, broken bits of English to be the sign of "the imprints of an English-language-using industrial system" in North America.⁶⁴⁷ For Maheu, *Ti-Pop* worked in the visual arts to create a similar tension by appropriating objects of visual and material culture. Johanne Sloan has identified the source of this tension as the "opposing iconographic legacies" at play when religious relics of an earlier era become desacralised "kitsch" objects for a 60s generation familiar with North American pop-culture forms.⁶⁴⁸

Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York includes two diary-like narratives written in the first person that chronicle an inner monologue throughout road trips up and down the east coast. These narratives could be compared to the more common countercultural trope of travel up and down the west coast or to conceptual book-works that record travel utopian narratives through documentary photography, as discussed in previous chapters; however, Vitale's experience differs in that his experience of desire, and the dream-like narrative of the book arises from an experience of physical deprivation and the psychic state of lack. Vitale parodies a documentary approach in his exploration of masculinism in America, which has a resemblance to the cinematic world constructed by Ondaatje in *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, as discussed in Chapter I. The social atmosphere latent in the travel narrative of the book includes the nadir of the Vietnam War and the withdrawal of US troops in 1973, as well as the disastrous economic impact of Canadian exports of oil to America during the energy crisis of the same year. Both of Vitale's trips pair images with textual narratives, the *Montreal-New York* journey includes line drawings by Steve Lack, another participant in the *Montreal*

⁶⁴⁶ Gérald Godin quoted in Claude de Guise, "Parti-pris," in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972, Tome 1*, ed. Yves Robillard, 96-109 (Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973), 96.

⁶⁴⁷ Malcolm Reid, author of *The Shouting Sign Painters: A Literary and Political Account of Quebec Revolutionary Nationalism* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1972) quoted in Sherry Simon, *Translating Montreal*, 30.

⁶⁴⁸ Johanne Sloan, "The New Figuration: From Pop to Postmodernism," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky, 257-277 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010), 261.

Main film. I will focus on the *Montreal-Jacksonville* journey; however, because it is composed on the page through the layering of typography over photographic images thanks to the design skill of conceptual artist Allan Bealy and the typesetting of Véhicule's press manager, Anne Nayer. These juxtapositions create nuanced meanings, which make it possible to compare the book formally to his simultaneous experiments in film and video.

The story follows Vitale as he hitchhikes from Montréal to Jacksonville, enduring cold weather and rough nights in order to attend his Aunt Rose's wedding. The geography immediately positions Vitale as an American-born immigrant to Québec in a period marked by the influx of war-resistors to Canada. That he can move across the border without fear of persecution as a draft-dodger is due to his student deferral in America and landed immigrant status in Canada.⁶⁴⁹ Likewise, Vitale is not obliged to hitchhike. He chooses to circulate in this marginal manner, risking exposure to hostile police forces, even though he tells his reader that he has access to a car. The autobiographical style, assumed position of an unmoored drifter, and themes of sexual ambiguity explored throughout the book are similar to that found in Vitale's video, *Hitch-Hiking* (1972), produced with the support of Vidéographe, using the Sony half-inch Portapak technology that the organization provided as a tool for social liberation in the project of building an independent Québec.⁶⁵⁰

In Vitale's book, full-page images and serial photographs capture patterns of light and a blurred moving landscape from the window of the car. Rather than the deadpan documentary style often associated with conceptual art, an emotional mood is conveyed. The rhythm of the images fluctuates through irregular framing. Two-page spreads are followed by multiple images and text crowded together. A lengthy passage is interrupted by a blank page, or conversely, will be continued by three or four pages of photographs emulating editing techniques used to construct film and video narratives. Text flows over photographs, working as a visual metaphor for the voiceover technique of film or video.

An ambiguous sexuality emerges through these passages layered between image and text. Vitale negotiates his feelings for Micheline, a French Canadian woman

⁶⁴⁹ Thomas Waugh and Jason Garrison, 62, n. 12.

⁶⁵⁰ Thomas Waugh and Jason Garrison, 41-42.

travelling to Miami, who picked him up as a passenger just outside of Montréal. Portraits of Micheline are lit with a romantic glow of sunlight filtering through the car window, or the low lighting of cheap motel rooms at night. An image of her inspecting the sheets for bedbugs is surprisingly sensual (fig. 61). Vitale is captivated by her as a “different type than most girls [he] would like,” a judgement which seems to have more to do with her economic status as the run-away mistress of a corporate executive than her identity as a sexually liberated, modern French Canadian woman. He earlier described her “type” in an opening passage that compares her to an underworld archetype from Hollywood movies: “She’s got frills galore, a flashy yellow mustang, a nervous cocker spaniel named Fluffy and a collection of toy horses and poodles that’d make any zoot suited cigar toten red carnationed Mafioso smile with pride.”

Vitale would like to have sex with Micheline, but she declines preferring to write in her journal to sort out her memories of her ex-lover. Vitale describes her ex as “that beautiful perfect man,” the source of her comfortable lifestyle and accessories. This vision of perfect manhood is offset by Vitale’s own self-deprecating description as provider of siphoned gas for her car – procured by hours of “illegal activity.” After Micheline refuses his advances, Vitale dreams of his friend Bozo (Allan Moyle). This escape into homoerotic fantasy allows him the release needed to negotiate his relationship to Micheline in terms other than his own sexual gratification or stereotypical gender roles. The new terms, however, are still limited by cross-cultural (mis)interpretations, as Vitale oscillates between finding common ground between them to admire, versus defining himself according to Micheline’s otherness, “a short, dyed blond French Canadian with the worst taste, but strong in every way.” Her otherness is often expressed in terms of the kitschy objects – the toy horses and poodles she is carrying around with her.

A photograph of these toys is arranged next to an imposing image of a gas station and a glowing Coca-Cola vending machine. Micheline’s childish mementos, placed next to the Coca-Cola sign, are leitmotifs that thematically echo a feminized position for the Québécois as an oppressed people as outlined in the theoretical discourse of *Parti pris*, or metaphorically in the plays of Michel Tremblay. Just as *Ti-Pop* takes a stance which combines both parody and nostalgia for the religious icons of their parent’s generation,

Micheline's kitsch objects elicit Vitale's disparaging remark regarding her bad taste – but they also ignite his desire and imagination. The climax of their ambivalent relationship occurs when Vitale and Micheline reach the gift shop of a theme park in Georgia named “South of the Border.” A nine-page photo series shows their approach towards the neon lights of a sign that reproduces yet another stereotype. This time it is a Mexican peasant wearing a sombrero. Under the sign of a different cultural “other,” the two travellers finally find commonality in their movement across borders and through desire sublimated into possession of mass-produced commodities – he as an American man from the “depressed south” who immigrated to Québec, and she as a Québécoise escaping to Miami. Vitale's camera captures Micheline cavorting amongst the tourist trinkets in the gift shop – she teases him by offering suggestively bizarre objects up to his gaze. A ceramic ashtray features two intertwined pairs of feet of an otherwise invisible post-coital couple. One foot asks the other, “man does this mean we're engaged?”

Vitale's relationship to Micheline and her kitschy toys invokes a similar feeling of unease in a present-day reader to that of the primitivism practiced by Image Bank (as discussed in Chapter II), raising the question as to whether his engagement with *Ti-Pop* is disidentification with dominant narratives, or a form of cultural appropriation. Francine Larivée raised this question herself with respect to the exhibition that Vitale helped to organize, *Brother Andre's Heart*, as will be further discussed below. The exhibition, co-organized with Allen Moyle and René Blouin, responded to the theft of religious relic preserved for 40 years at the Oratoire Saint-Joseph – a heart belonging to the Catholic Saint, Brother André. His death in 1937 had attracted hundreds of thousand of devoted pilgrims, but when his heart was stolen in March of 1973 the image of the Saint circulated as an icon of pop culture in tabloid magazines and newspapers. In the introduction to Pierre Maheu's texts in *Quebec underground*, De Guise acknowledged on behalf of the 70s generation that they were haunted still by “le fantôme de Ti-Pop,” an observation that rings true for Vitale's book-work, as well as for the exhibition *Brother André's Heart*. Less clear in De Guise's introduction are the limits of what constitutes an authentic transmission of this archive of traditions between generations of artists, or to artists, such as Vitale, that are newcomers to a culture in the midst of reinventing itself. The exhibition could be described as *Ti-Pop* in the sense that it drew inspiration from an

event that exposed existing tensions between North American pop-culture experience and religious relics debased as “kitsch” objects. But the exhibition also mobilized contact points that brought into relief the different meanings of these objects to subjects that self-identified as French Canadian, Québécois – or other. These tensions arising from differences nonetheless converge through the brazen sexuality and camp humour that shoots through the multiple layers of meaning produced by an ongoing, “very free and very open” collection of objects and events.⁶⁵¹

The organizers issued an open invitation for contributions to the exhibition, which resulted in an eclectic mix that arrived without the organizers being sure of what was happening. Endre Farkas attended the exhibition, and remembers the highlights to include, “a life-sized cross with Jesus on it with an erection,” a “lewd photo” of two lovers copulating on the altar at the Oratoire Saint-Joseph, and a confessional booth “where people went in and necked, or whatever they did.”⁶⁵² Some of what was displayed in the gallery was conceived of as works of art, an example being the environment built by Francine Larivée as an imaginative recreation of Brother André’s bedroom. The large-scale work contained a space of encounter with the body of the priest at the moment of his death, showcasing the moment when his heart was removed for preservation and display. However, when interviewed for CBC radio, Larivée expressed disappointment that the exhibition also included religious objects and images that had not been “interpreted” or altered somehow before being put on display. Larivée saw her engagement with the religious figure, Brother André, as a means of exploring the ritual significance of past “fetish” objects integral to the rites and catechism of Catholicism, which are the mythologies that define her cultural identity. In contrast, Frank Vitale’s observations in the same interview reveal that his interest in these objects was as a kind of ethnographic spectacle made from a “bizarre” cultural practice; for him the pop-culture phenomenon of Brother André’s heart was a mass-audience attraction on par with wax

⁶⁵¹ Frank Vitale interviewed in “Missing Heart Inspires Art.” CBC Radio Broadcast, *Quebec Now*, 5 August 1973. Reporter: Carole Dumas; Interviewees: Frank Vitale (organizer), Francine Larivée (artist) *CBC Digital Archives*, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/missing-heart-inspires-art>, accessed 20 June 2015.

⁶⁵² Endre Farkas emigrated from Hungary to Canada with his family fearing to escape ethnic violence which was amplified by the Hungarian Uprising of 1956. He explores this experience of exile in the poetry chapbook, *Szerbusz* (Eldorado Editions, 1974), Endre Farkas interviewed by Felicity Tayler, 9 February 2015. SpokenWeb, <http://spokenweb.concordia.ca/oral-literary-history/andre-farkas-interview-february-9th-2015/> (accessed 03 October 2015).

museums. Larivée asked him pointedly, “French Canadians know Brother André, but how would someone like you, or Americans, how do they get interested in Brother André, [those] people?” She positions him as an outsider, someone with dubious interest in the rituals and myths of a “people” that are not his own. Vitale responds using “people” to describe instead an audience demographic made up of multiple publics who read different meanings into objects, including his own register of camp appreciation: “It’s a cultural phenomenon, you know maybe people, ah its bizarre! I find it in terrible bad taste but [the Oratoire Saint-Joseph] is one of the most beautiful places I’ve been in.” What is interesting about this exchange is that it disrupts understandings of *Ti-Pop* as a cultural expression made for a restricted public (post-1960s, secularized Québécois who understand the historical significance of the cultural signs for their parents’ generation). A description of the show lists “two weeks of drag shows, wild square dancing, music (Songs from the Murky Past by diva-artist marshalore) and performances.”⁶⁵³ What effectively makes the exhibition at Véhicule Art a challenge to a fixed national identity determined by a historical relationship to the Roman Catholic Church, is the homosexuality and female empowerment through eroticism celebrated in the works and the events. Again, Farkas remembers, “... a lot of the gays in that time came dressed as priests and I remember Marsha [marshlore], she came as a nun and basically her top was off.” Farkas remembers his response to the baring of her breasts as a transformation of the religious figure of the nun as symbol of repression, “...this was a kind of liberation... it opened up the idea that all things are possible...” In the CBC interview, Vitale also discusses the exhibition as a space of ambiguity in terms of age-appropriate exposure to sexuality: “There was one kid, we had a twelve year old boy who was singing, Joey Tardiff, on country music night, and his parents came and they’re French Canadian, I was nervous that they would look around and say ok, my kid’s not singing here, but they saw Jesus’ penis, right, and they laughed.”

⁶⁵³ AA Bronson, *From Sea To Shining Sea : Artist-Initiated Activity In Canada, 1939-1987* (Toronto: The Power Plant, 1987), 71. As an exhibition organizer, René Blouin likely contributed to this description in the catalogue.

Rituals of the press

I have argued so far that the conceptual book-works printed on Véhicule's press perform linguistic therapy upon the bureaucratic and legislative processes, which align cultural production with the cultivation of national publics, which in turn, impose fixed identity positions and social roles. This claim is inconsistent with the literary production issuing from Véhicule Press after 1975. At this time, structural changes at the gallery transformed Véhicule's press into its own separate legal entity, the Coopérative d'imprimerie Véhicule, and "Véhicule Press" became an imprint for English-language poetry. Also at this time, the Vehicule Poets (Endre Farkas, Artie Gold, Tom Konyves, Claudia Lapp, John McCauley, Stephen Morrissey and Ken Norris) reluctantly self-identified as a group formed through "common sympathy arising from the shared complexity of the Montréal English lifestyle."⁶⁵⁴ Most existing literature discussing the press and these poets focuses on the period following 1976, when, as Jason Camlot has argued, the shift in social identity following the election of the *Parti Québécois* caused a "constant focus upon the contextual and cultural sense of language" in the work of Farkas, Norris and other Vehicule Poets.⁶⁵⁵ George L. Parker accordingly describes the "marginal" position of post-1975 Véhicule Press as that of a regional publisher contributing to a national literary culture.⁶⁵⁶ Conceived of in this way the press is a regional alternative to the major English-language publishing houses located in Toronto. In contrast to the slippery bilingualism of the gallery's neon sign, the Vehicule Poets deliberately chose to write their name without an accent, thereby converting the French word into bad English spelling.

I have been calling attention to that earlier, more ambiguous moment when the English language was not the defining identity marker that brought bodies into contact with the photomechanical processes of Véhicule's press. Conceived of as an information technology, the press circulated linguistic signs within intersecting discursive systems, thereby acting as a kind of cybernetic ritual fetish. Which is to say that the technology of photomechanical reproduction had the transformative power to encode bodies, their

⁶⁵⁴ Artie Gold, "Introduction," in *The Vehicule Poets*, 7-8 (Montréal: Maker Press, 1979), 7.

⁶⁵⁵ Jason Camlot and Todd Swift, *Language Acts*, 19.

⁶⁵⁶ George L. Parker, "Trade and Regional Book Publishing in English," in *History of the Book in Canada*, vol. 3, 177.

emotions and sensory perceptions into material signifiers, or in Vazan's words, the "ritual equivalents," that could then be transmitted as messages to attract a counterpublic to Véhicule's utopian linguistic space. Whereas conceptual paradigms of "art-as-information" encouraged visual artists to conceive of publishing on Véhicule's press as an act of networked communications, or a complimentary mode of public address to exhibition activity, the writers who published upon this small press preferred direct involvement with printing methods because it was seen as a subversion of the capitalist mode of production as it manifested in the Canadian publishing industry. Regardless of these differences in motivation, both depended upon the symbolic value of the book – as both a commodity and cultural form – for the success of their grant applications. In this regard, Walter Benjamin's description of fetishism in the commodity world as that which "couples the living body to the inorganic world"⁶⁵⁷ is a compelling way to think about how art dematerialized, and poetry materialized upon Véhicule's press. Printing and publishing then become rituals in a process of expressing community through the production of a collective imaginary, which is how the gallery also became an affective site of "poetic community" fostered through the pedagogy of Roy Kiyooka, George Bowering and Richard Sommer at Sir George Williams University.⁶⁵⁸

Véhicule's press was first acquired along with a photo-typesetting machine to produce Tom Dean's *Beaux-Arts Magazine*.⁶⁵⁹ This was an assemblage magazine project following a Fluxus method where artists prepared their own contributions as paste-ups conforming to a standard page size. Contributors then sent their work on to Dean who would create the films and print them by offset lithography process. The magazine becomes a material form that a conceptual artist could use to test conventions separating art from a broader visual culture. Exploration of the boundaries of visibility and sensory perception were combined with themes of sexual liberation. Tom Dean published the "Special Pornography Issue" of *Beaux-Arts Magazine* in 1973. This issue includes a provocative centrefold, which parodies magazines in the pornographic genre, but is also

⁶⁵⁷ Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century, Exposé of 1939," in *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1999), 19.

⁶⁵⁸ Jason Camlot, "The Sound of Canadian Modernism," 39, 45-46.

⁶⁵⁹ This equipment was purchased using funds Dean had received as an individual artist from the Canada Council for the Arts towards publishing the "Special Pornography" issue of *Beaux-Arts Magazine*.

similar to the appropriation of the form in the aforementioned issue of *Médiart*. The *Beaux-Arts Magazine* centrefold differs from that of *Médiart* in that the parody is not directed at a personality representing an artistic tradition, instead, a close-cropped image depicts a woman's legs spread across the Maple Leaf flag. The central focal point is her generous thatch of pubic hair. Titled "Maid in Canada," this sexy "beaver" sits atop a recently-born symbol of Canadian nationhood (fig. 62).⁶⁶⁰ Slim fingers with brightly lacquered nails casually suspend a pair of sunglasses before the bushy region, suggesting this national vision is libidinal-driven. The grainy half-tone pattern of the printed image and a pulsing colour combination of purple and pink ink further transports the reader into an altered state. When the magazine was first published it was distributed in a Vaseline-smearing plastic wrapping.⁶⁶¹ Other pages in the magazine include a scrapbook-like series of snapshots and hand-written notes titled, "Love, Drugs and Faggotry;" and a collage-essay of tabloid news clippings, "LSD and the National Bulletin." Artie Gold's poetics begin with the question/statement, "Have you ever wished to embrace your double in the evening set," followed by a disorienting litany of conflicted internalized sexual roles. This messy and haphazard collection of materials and mental conditions is only formally recognizable as a "magazine" because it is held together by the conventions of a typographic grid and the sequential structure of bound pages. Likewise, Véhicule's press is only identifiable as "publisher" because it is listed in a masthead beginning with the phrase "Beaux Arts is published and blah blah blah ...". A cybernetic understanding of human consciousness as it interfaces with information systems meant that the listing of contributor's names in the table of contents and masthead of the magazine transformed bodies present in the physical space of Véhicule Art into circulating information making connections across space and time.

Beaux-Arts Magazine was loosely modelled on the format of General Ideas' *FILE* magazine, as well as other collage-based materials circulating in international concrete poetry and correspondence art networks shared with the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* (as discussed in Chapter III). Dean's listing in the *Directory* requests, "Articles and images for 'Beaux-Arts.'" As this request situates his magazine

⁶⁶⁰ Arno Mermelstein, "Maid in Canada," *Beaux-Arts* Special Pornography Issue (1973), 38-39.

⁶⁶¹ Bronson, *From Sea To Shining Sea*, 71.

firmly within the imaginary world of Canadada, *Médiart* magazine also provided the means for *Beaux-Arts Magazine* to attract a francophone counterpublic in Québec. In the pages of *Médiart*, Chantal Pontbriand describes the magazine as a bilingual project. As an open invitation to her francophone readership, she lists Dean's address, the technical specifications for contributors, price and distribution details. Pontbriand also uses her review of Dean's magazine as an opportunity to work out theories regarding language as a kind of visual and verbal communication held in common as publicity and other forms of mass culture are absorbed through the senses,

Chacun est continuellement en présence de mots dans son décor quotidien: panneaux d'affiches, publicité, textes, lettres... Et les mots ne sont pas toujours lus mais vus. Les mots appartiennent à tous, ils ne sont pas dans leur usage courant hermétiques comme la plastique des oeuvres [sic] d'art. La parole est comprise par tous, elle est échange, contact, message, geste... La communication...véhicule d'idées.⁶⁶²

At the time, Dean was engaged with the analytic philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein and structural anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss, both of which shaped his understanding of language's limiting effects on human perception of the world, as well as his anthropological approach to human sexuality.⁶⁶³ In the collective imaginary produced throughout the pages of *Beaux-Arts Magazine*, sex and sexuality are treated as codes, modes of "communication" rather than content, in a similar manner to the queer kinships produced by the Image Bank *Directory* (as discussed in Chapter III). The pages of *Beaux-Arts Magazine* therefore combine an understanding of sexuality and kinship structures, informed by linguistics and information theory, with the perceptual play of collage and conceptual photography. For instance, the "Summer 1972" issue of the magazine prints the overtly erotic content of General Idea's "Orgasm Renewal Project" (a graph on which to record the frequency of one's orgasms) next to "Les Coins," a series of photographs taken by Serge Tousignant that explore the perceptual effect of shifting camera positions. In each frame the perspective subtly shifts as a few pieces of tape in the corner of the artists' studio transform into the image of a three-dimensional cube.

⁶⁶² Pontbriand, "Tom Dean prepares *Beaux-Arts*," F4.

⁶⁶³ *Beaux-Arts* (Summer 1972) included an article by Paul Hayer, "Structuralism and Aesthetic Experience: Some Notes and Observations on Claude Lévi-Strauss," and Dean references Wittgenstein directly in "Martha is Dead," *Médiart* 13 (janvier 1973): 28-29.

Although the content of General Idea's erotica and Tousignant's photographs may be different, they both formally address the issue of how an image signifies for a viewer/reader through mediated bodily experience.

As the gallery's first press manager, Dean resisted an organized reporting structure and avoided formalized financial records.⁶⁶⁴ When the first LIP grant awarded to the gallery was extended in July 1973, a revision of the by-laws officially established "Véhicule Press" as a division of the gallery's operations.⁶⁶⁵ The by-laws determined that fundraising and day-to-day accounting were to be maintained separately, but that these would be consolidated with the end of year accounting for the gallery. The minutes also show the gallery appointed Ann Nayer as the new manager of Véhicule Press, her first task being to register the entity in "the legally required manner."⁶⁶⁶ Curiously, their lawyer then recommended that the name Véhicule Press "be dropped."⁶⁶⁷ In July 1974, the same year in which Simon Dardick appears on the list of members in the meeting minutes, Véhicule Press finally purchased "Tom Dean's press," with a loan from the gallery for \$400.00 to be repaid in instalments of \$50.00 over a period of 6 months.⁶⁶⁸ "Véhicule Press" then became defined as an imprint for English-language poetry as one of the many entities making use of the printing equipment owned and operated by the Coopérative d'imprimerie Véhicule. Prior to this moment, the poetic community drawn to Véhicule's linguistic space shared a desire with the visual artists for a transcultural and intermedial approach to language use at the gallery. When Michael Harris and Claudia Lapp organized the first poetry reading at Véhicule Art in December 1972, an announcement for the event printed in *Médiart* combined Chinese ideograms, feminist statements and an invitation to francophone poets,

tout le monde est invite [sic]... poetes [sic] montrealais – sortez de vos caves et de vos salles universitaires!"... now montreal poets can make a home at

⁶⁶⁴ See Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Minutes, March 10, 1973. P027 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal.

⁶⁶⁵ Véhicule Art Inc., and its press, received a total of \$103,000 over a period spanning a year and a half, from February 1973 to June 1974. Nemiroff, "A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada," 143.

⁶⁶⁶ Amendment to Vehicle Art By-Laws, 1973 Meeting. P027 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983. Around this point, Guy Lavoie and Willie Wood also entered the scene as pressmen.

⁶⁶⁷ Véhicule Art Inc. Meeting November 1973. P027 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983.

⁶⁶⁸ Procès Verbal Réunion 30 juillet 1974. P027 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983.

VEHICULE art gallery. Voices will be heard twice monthly (français/anglais)[sic].⁶⁶⁹

Their desire to create a bilingual space through the shared performance of poetics largely remained an unrealized project. This is likely because francophone poets and small presses were an integral part of the cultural revolution of the 1960s and therefore comparatively more widely read and connected to a mass audience in the early 1970s than their English-language peers.⁶⁷⁰

I want to move away from issues of language use and lineages of poetic tradition to look at intermedial cross-overs between the visual arts and poetics at Véhicule Art. As words and images move across media, this opens up a space to explore mutable sexualities and alternate kinship structures, as they work outside of a historical narrative of linguistic divide.⁶⁷¹ Most writing about the early 1970s at Véhicule Art, the Véhicule Press or Vehicule Poets considers visual arts and literary production to be separate undertakings with minor mutual influence or effect on artistic or poetic production.⁶⁷² As George Bowering vaguely remembers, “it was nice to drop in at Véhicule and check out the art on the walls or wherever it was, scan the page proofs of Artie’s new book, sprawl on the floor and listen to Claudia Lapp chant her new poems.”⁶⁷³ However, Allan Bealy’s *DaVinci* magazine (1973-1979), and the series of poetry chapbooks he issued under Eldorado Editions (1974); the exhibition, *Sound as a Visual / Visual as Sound* (1973) organized by Suzy Lake and Allan Bealy; and Roy Kiyooka’s *Poetry/Video/Text* (1973) performance suggests a different interpretation of intermedial forms and events, which opens up a means to discuss how these works engage with the intersection between

⁶⁶⁹ *Médiart* 12bis (décembre 1972): 30.

⁶⁷⁰ Caroline Bayard, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec*, 120; Brisette, “Fête urbaine et poésie en voix,” 43.

⁶⁷¹ See Nemiroff, “A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada,” 146-147, for a more comprehensive list of publishing activity in this period.

⁶⁷² See, for instance, *The Vehicule Poets* (Montréal : Maker Press, 1979); *Vehicule Days: An Unorthodox History of Montreal’s Vehicule Poets*. Ken Norris, ed. (Montréal : NuAge Editions, 1993); *Impure: Reinventing the Word*. Victoria Stanton and Vincent Tinguely, eds. (Montréal : Conundrum Press, 2001); *The Vehicule Poets Now*. Tom Konyves and Steven Morrissey, eds. (Montréal : The Muses Company, 2004); Jason Camlot and Todd Swift, *Language Acts: Anglo-Québec Poetry, 1976 to the 21st Century*. (Montréal : Véhicule Press, 2007).

⁶⁷³ George Bowering, “Introduction,” in *Vehicule Poets Now*, ed. Tom Konyves and Stephen Morrissey, 1-6 (Montréal: The Muses" Company, 2004), 3.

Sainte-Catherine Street and Saint-Laurent Boulevard (the “Main”) as an imaginary site where the politics of *eros* takes place (fig. 63).⁶⁷⁴

Inside the gallery, both Allan Bealy and Suzy Lake were producing and exhibiting works at Véhicule Art that explored the signifying relationship between text and images, and objects as their referents in the world. This mutual interest would lead them to organize the exhibition *Sound as a Visual / Visual as Sound – Le Visuel comme le son / le son comme le visuel*.⁶⁷⁵ Lake and Bealy were both fascinated by the way that notations on a page could work as a transferrable language between mediums as different as film, music, dance and sound recording – as in the examples set by the Judson Dance group or John Cage’s performance scores.⁶⁷⁶ Furthermore, they organized the exhibition through the mailing list and referral system used by Image Bank and General Idea.⁶⁷⁷ An incomplete list of contributors to the exhibition includes: dancers Liza Doolittle and Margaret Dragu; filmmaker Norman McLaren; Gary Lee-Nova, Gerry Gilbert and Don Druick, all associated with Vancouver’s Intermedia Society; W.O.R.K.S. (Clive Robertson and Paul Woodrow) who performed Fluxus pieces as a process of identity transfer; a contribution from Felix Partz of a recording of people urinating at General Idea’s headquarters;⁶⁷⁸ and Italian concretist Ugo Carrega. Significantly, German neo-dada artist Klaus Groh sent a letter requesting more information on Canadada, which he wished to include in his doctoral thesis.⁶⁷⁹ Paste-ups for what looks like posters or flyers

⁶⁷⁴ See Elaine Pigeon, W.H. New and Jason Garrison and Tomas Waugh for a discussion of “the Main” as a metaphorical site of drug culture and sexual ambiguity in the work of authors Michel Tremblay, and Leonard Cohen, and filmmaker Frank Vitale.

⁶⁷⁵ *Sound as a Visual / Visual as sound* took place at Véhicule Art from 1 March 1973 – 18 March 1973.

⁶⁷⁶ Suzy Lake interviewed by H el ene Sicotte, 02 December 1994.

⁶⁷⁷ Suzy Lake, Alan Bealy and other members of V ehicule Art such as Henry Saxe appear in the “Artists’ Directory” which was printed in the three issues of *File* magazine released in 1972. The December issue has every address listed as located in “Canadada.”

⁶⁷⁸ A report on the exhibition claims that “The show did not include General Idea’s Piss tape for Barbara Rose as stated in the catalogue” in *File 2*, no. 1/2 (April/May 1973), 39. However, in recent email correspondence, Suzy Lake remembered that Felix Partz contributed a work. Email from Suzy Lake, 2 June 2015.

⁶⁷⁹ Submissions to the exhibition were ongoing. The Chronology of Activities prepared by Concordia University Archives lists the following as participating artists: Pierre Thibaudeau, Marjolaine Robert, Ron Tunis, Norman McLaren, Allan Bealy, Joe Bodolai, Ugo Carrega, Jerome Cebelak, Cyne Cobb, Lisa Doolittle, Margaret Dragu, Don Druick, Serge Garant, Gerry Gilbert, Klaus Groh, Thomas Haynes, Otto Joachim, Dennis Lukas, Tom Dean, Gary Lee-Nova, Sandra Legault, Ed Slopek, Cork Marcheschi, Norman McLaren, Ian Murray, Gino Pallidini, Northwest Mounted Valise, Jacques Palumbo, John Plant,

for the exhibition also promote a reading by Québécois poets, Michel Garneau and Raoul Duguay.⁶⁸⁰

When the French-language press announced the show, it was used as an example of how audience participation was a means to communicate difficult forms of experimental art to a mass public. Nonetheless, it is also possible to interpret the reception of the exhibition in terms of the embodied experience of intermedial forms and informational systems. Critic Gilles Toupin described the show as:

un évantail d'expériences qui furent envoyées par plusieurs artistes de différentes parties du monde. On y trouve des images en relation avec des trames sonores, de la poésie concrète juxtaposé à des sérigraphies, des oeuvres commandées par bandes sonores ou par téléphone, des jeux lumineux et sonores, des pièces mues grâce à l'énergie électrique, etc.⁶⁸¹

Toupin's focus on how the works oscillated across an intermedial space defined both by aesthetic forms and communications technologies suggests that *Sound as a Visual / Visual as Sound* worked across media through a structural model – photographs index objects in the “real” world just as sound recordings and telephones index voice; concrete poetry emphasizes the act of reading as a visual process as it draws attention to the signifying properties of iconic visual and verbal signs, just as synaesthetic and kinetic works activate the body as a multi-sensory organism responding to the environment.

Submissions to the exhibition were ongoing and the remaining documentation is incomplete; nonetheless, one work is worth discussing in relation to the linguistic space produced at Véhicule Art.⁶⁸² Two words are stenciled onto the transparent glass of a window in the gallery: “Ouvrez” and “Lift.” Outside the window we see a gridded parking lot, surrounding modernist high-rises and older industrial buildings typical of the downtown district. The words make visible the function of the transparent glass as a barrier, just as the imperfect translation and word play reminds us that as Vincent Bonin

Private Party (Gen. Idea), Clive Robertson, Chuck Santon, Pierre Thibault, Ron Tunis, Janos Urban, Paul Woodrow, Marjolaine Robert. P027 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983.

⁶⁸⁰ Both Endre Farkas and Suzy Lake remember the reading by Michel Garneau taking place. Email from Suzy Lake, 4 June 2015. Interview with Endre Farkas, 9 February 2015.

⁶⁸¹ Toupin, “Quand le son et l'image...” *La Presse*, C2, March 8, 1973.

⁶⁸² The creator of this work is unnamed, as is the photographer who produced the contact sheet. P027 Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal, Québec.

has observed, at Véhicule Art “language is not transparent.”⁶⁸³ Instead, the window-words emphasize the sensory act of looking, thereby sharing authorship with a reader-participant who senses that their body is spatially constrained by a position marked “inside” through its opposition to an “outside”. The ability to act on any desire to move between these positions or to allow for the body to fully merge with the two separate spaces is likewise contingent upon knowledge of English or French (or the facility to move between both).

When Véhicule Art’s linguistic space interfaces with other kinds of bilingual code switching, this positioning according to linguistic groupings is further complicated. Roy Kiyooka’s *Poetry/Video/Text* event took place Véhicule Art in December 1973. English would have been the commonly held language that allowed him to interface with the group. His bilingualism was marked instead by code switching into Japanese. Nonetheless, Kiyooka’s acute awareness of the tensions regarding language, identity and territory in Canada and Québec is made clear in one of his *Transcanada Letters* addressed to Claudia Lapp, François Déry and Suzy Lake. While making arrangements for the reading in Montréal he asks, “and if the Parti Quebecois get in / will i then need a ‘passport’ to travel from one strange / country to another?”⁶⁸⁴

Like the window work discussed above, Kiyooka’s intermedial performance event emphasized a world contained within the gallery space, rather than directly addressing political programs linking identity to language and territory. Photographs of the event show Kiyooka hunched over a table reading. Before him lies a flute and a tape recorder; seated to his right is Anne Nayer, behind them both the dancer Vickey Tansey strikes poses atop a ladder.⁶⁸⁵ Stephen Morrissey, a student of Sommer and Bowering and one of the first poets to participate in the reading series at the gallery, documented the event in his diary, revealing how Kiyooka combined process-based actions with recording technologies. Drawing from the material which would later be printed in *Transcanada Letters*, the reading collaged together accounts of his personal migrations with key references of international modernism; however, on the gallery windows, the national

⁶⁸³ Bonin, “Language Is Not Transparent,” 38.

⁶⁸⁴ “Dear Claudia, Francois and Suzie, 10/21/’73,” *Transcanada Letters*, np.

⁶⁸⁵ Anonymous contact sheet from the exhibition file. P027. Véhicule Art (Montréal) Inc. Fonds 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal, Québec.

imaginary produced within pages of *artscanada* magazine formed a barrier to the outside world. It is a barrier through which the light filters nonetheless, into Véhicule Art's linguistic space imbued with marijuana smoke:

walkt in and Richard was playing his flute – after a while Roy, Japanese, around 50 5'8" I'd guess, grey hair, as [someone was] sticking pages of Arts Canada [*sic*] onto the windows with masking tape, while Vicki danced – Roy's woman recorded it all on a videotape – lasted about 1/2 hour – then we all moved upstairs to hear a reading, a mixture of Gertrude Stein and Samuel Beckett that Roy put together to read with his girl while Vicki danced again – Richard played the flute and it was really a nice effect – then back downstairs where Roy read letters he's written and they were very personal about his life, letters to his children and friends and parents – they were really... fine – before Richard had offered me a toke but I don't smoke...⁶⁸⁶

Morrissey's detailed observations, noting Kiyooka's height, hair colour and ethnicity reveal the degree to which fixed identity categories were operative at the time, as do his comments upon "women" as determined by a possessive relationship to men. His uncensored thoughts indicate how the linguistic space at Véhicule Art was not "free" from these pervasive cultural restraints, so much as it opened up a space within which these categories could be recognized and contested. In his own performance, Kiyooka worked against a fixed sense of Japanese Canadian identity by telling the personal stories he would later collect in *Transcanada Letters*. As discussed in Chapter II, some of these letters include recollections of his time teaching at Concordia University in the late 1960s. In this period Kiyooka crossed linguistic lines and disciplines, exhibiting hardedge paintings at the Galerie de Siècle alongside the predominantly French Canadian *neo-Plasticien* painters, while simultaneously working with George Bowering to organize the Sir George Williams Poetry Series. Camlot has observed that this series revitalized English-language writing in the city through a dissonance produced between "competing versions of literary modernism" and varying degrees of Canadian nationalism;⁶⁸⁷ but Gregory Betts has also noted the importance of personal connections to the series'

⁶⁸⁶ Stephen Morrissey, Wednesday / December 19th / 1973, Book 35. Diaries, 1963-1991. Stephen Morrissey Literary Papers, 1963 - 2014. Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, McGill University, Montréal.

⁶⁸⁷ Camlot, "The Sound of Canadian Modernism," 31.

“predominance of Vancouver’s aesthetic interests” engaged with collagist modes and Black Mountain poetics.⁶⁸⁸

Kiyooka’s movement between language groups at this time, as well as his sensitivity to tensions between parochial nationalisms and international artistic and literary avant-gardes, is worth reflecting upon in relation to the racial tension surrounding the 1969 Sir George William Computer Riot. Richard Sommer remembers that Kiyooka then self-identified as “the only Jap in Montreal.”⁶⁸⁹ During the occupation of the university, reportedly both “whites” and “blacks” sought his partisan support. At the time, “black” was used as a racial metaphor in radical circles to show solidarity with oppressed peoples of colour throughout the world, who were on the vanguard of revolution – including French Canadians.⁶⁹⁰ Notably, Kiyooka preferred to address the issue by organizing a discussion with his students around the aesthetic qualities and signification of “black” in all aspects of life and art.⁶⁹¹ This position was invested in modernist ideas of an autonomous aesthetic realm, but it also reflects his reticence regarding claims to origin in nationalist programs – despite Kiyooka’s avowed admiration for René Lévesque as his “all time favourite politician.”⁶⁹² Later, Kiyooka’s blocking out of the windows at Véhicule Art with pages of *artscanada* suggests that this continued belief in an autonomous aesthetic realm is what allows a utopian linguistic space at Véhicule Art to be produced.

Kiyooka’s performance took place inside an exhibition featuring works by Suzy Lake and Allan Bealy. A common interest shared between all three artists was the relationship between discursive systems and social identity, and the ways in which this could take material form.⁶⁹³ Gilles Toupin’s review of the show remarks, “On croirait même que Suzy Lake écrit ses memoires à l’aide de signes et d’indices dont on se ferait

⁶⁸⁸ Gregory Betts, “We Stopped at Nothing: Finding Nothing in the Avant-Garde Archive,” *Amodern 4: The Poetry Series*, 2015, <http://amodern.net/article/nothing/> (accessed November 11, 2015).

⁶⁸⁹ Richard Sommer quoted in *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*.

⁶⁹⁰ Sean Mills, *The Empire Within : Postcolonial thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2010), 77.

⁶⁹¹ Yves Gaucher quoted in *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*. Also see the thematic issue on “Black,” *artscanada* 113 (1967).

⁶⁹² Roy Kiyooka interviewed in *Roy K. Kiyooka : 25 Years*, np.

⁶⁹³ *Suzy Lake and Allan Bealy* took place at Véhicule Art, 2-22 December 1973.

fort de dénicher les points d'identité au reel."⁶⁹⁴ Lake's interest in signifying codes across media transitioned this year into the production of serialized photographs arranged in a grid. In the work *A One Hour (Zero) Conversation with Allan B.* (1973) Lake systematically documents the performance of identity in the activities of everyday life. The gridded structure reminiscent of a contact sheet contains images of Lake, depersonalized by the white-face make-up worn by mimes, as she performs affective moments throughout a conversation with Bealy.⁶⁹⁵ Several frames are circled and singled out as if they were ideal images ready to be enlarged and reproduced. Just as Kiyooka's gridded photographic series, *Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove* (1971), printed in *Transcanada Letters*, disrupts a fixed Japanese Canadian identity, Lake's gridded photographs illustrate the performative nature of white femininity.

Lake's partner in dialogue, Allan Bealy, used Véhicule's press to playfully bridge the relationship between concept and material form across visual and literary spheres. Between 1973-1975 five issues of Bealy's *DaVinci* magazine included contributors such as Bill Vazan, Suzy Lake, Françoise Sullivan, George Bowering, David McFadden, Opal L. Nations, Endre Farkas (then Andre), Stephen Morrissey and Artie Gold as well as Fluxus contributors such as Dick Higgins, Klaus Groh and William Gaglione stemming from contacts made through *Sound as a Visual / Visual as Sound*. Each issue of *DaVinci* played with the visual presentation of texts alongside images. In No. 4 (Autumn 1975), the table of contents listing the names of contributors is displayed next to a torn segment of an index taken from another source.⁶⁹⁶ This is a clever reference to literary little magazines as affective sites of poetic community, where the texts "index" the presence of the poets' body to the page as an imaginary site.

Under the imprint, Eldorado Editions, Bealy also published a series of modest chapbooks – Ian Ferrier's *From YR Lover Like an Orchestra*, Endre Farkas' *Szerbusz*, Tom Ezzy's *Arctic Char in Grecian Waters*, and Claudia Lapp's *Dakini* – as a conceptual project (fig 64). The name of the imprint, Eldorado Editions, indexes these books to an automat diner open twenty-four hours a day, located below Véhicule Art, where poets

⁶⁹⁴ Toupin, "Suzy Lake, Allen Bealy," *La Presse*, Samedi 8 Décembre 1973, C18.

⁶⁹⁵ *Introducing Suzy Lake*, ed. Georgiana Uhlyarik (Toronto; London: : Art Gallery of Ontario; Black Dog Publishing, 2014), 68.

⁶⁹⁶ *DaVinci* 4, (Autumn 1974).

and artists could eat a cheap meal alongside sex workers and itinerant people. Patrons would be served a hot meal through a vending-machine apparatus.⁶⁹⁷ Bealy's association of the poetry written by his friends to the socially marginal space of the Eldorado juxtaposes the experience of a gridded, mechanized ordering system with their youthful explorations of sexuality and identity within the literary psychogeography of the Main. A similar tension exists between the photo-mechanical process involved in printing books on Véhicule's press and the immediacy of the manual labour required in a small, cooperatively run print shop. Because the print shop was conceived of as an extension of gallery activities, Bealy could have a direct involvement in the material production of books and magazines as a conceptual project. A Selectric typewriter was available for experimentation with line spacing and typefaces, and a darkroom in which plates and films could be produced as photo-collage, meant there was creative labour involved in an otherwise standardizing, mechanical process. The body, or the hand of the artist, is therefore present in the production of what would otherwise be mass-produced products.

In the terms of structural anthropology these books and magazines reproduce social groups through identification with non-human things (the reader's identification with texts and images). Claudia Lapp's title, *Dakini*, for instance, refers to a Buddhist deity (in Japanese, Daikin-ten) who takes female form, or in some instances is considered to be indeterminately gendered.⁶⁹⁸ The cover photograph, taken by Bealy, shows sunlight caressing the side of a seated figure. The body is unclothed, androgynous, turned away from the reader/viewer. Lapp's title draws kinship lines to Roy Kiyooka, rather than to the many mother roles she enumerates in the first poem, or to the right-wing grandfather in Florida who she later eulogizes. Likewise, a mutable sexuality is at play comparable to the intermingling of genders and "polymorphous perversity" Jonathan Katz sees occurring in the poetry of Allen Ginsberg, and which I have outlined in previous chapters' discussion of conceptual nationalisms.⁶⁹⁹ She writes,

*he shows me his
round rump*

⁶⁹⁷ Interview with Endre Farkas, 9 February 2015.

⁶⁹⁸ Monaghan, *Goddesses in World Culture*, Vol. 2. (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clio, 2011)104-105.

⁶⁹⁹ Katz, "Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros," 14.

*like a female
and in me
all sexes roused*

The poem is transcribed in Lapp's handwriting. Both her script, and her image on the cover, are captured and reproduced on the page through a photomechanical process. This indexes the material form of the book to the body of the author. Inside the book covers intimate explorations of identity take place in the verse as "gaps" in a grid, an information system, underlying the book's production and distribution.

In a similar way, Véhicule's "linguistic space" works as a kind of counter-measure to the link between language, territory and social identity in political programs prescribing official bilingualism in Canada or provincial legislation protecting the status of French as the language of public life in Québec. Instead, the "linguistic space" works as a highly complex and contradictory signifying field. Véhicule Art is a space through which spoken languages circulate as "parole," but in relation to buildings, streets, signage, printed pages and communications technologies that also work together as overlapping signifying systems. Identities and social roles are understood to be more than points on a grid; instead they are defined in relation one to the other. Affect, emotion, desire, fantasies, occur in disidentificatory "gaps" produced when fixed identity dispositions and social roles don't line up. As a kind of conceptual nationalism, the linguistic space cultivated at Véhicule Art through publications, exhibitions and events, reveals nationhood and national identity to be an imaginary state constructed through language and the repetition of myths.

Chapter V : Future imperfect

I began this thesis by proposing an art historical term, “conceptual nationalisms,” as a scholarly contribution to the historicization of conceptualism in Canada. Specifically, I am interested in how to account for the work of an overlapping artistic and literary neo-avant-garde who were responding to the ideology of Canadian nationalism as it took physical form across print media during the post-Centennial period (1967-1974). Because conceptual art strategies interrogate the conventions that uphold the social institutions of art and culture, I argue that works of conceptual nationalisms critically engage with the relationship between aesthetics and the social imaginary that constitutes a nation-state. In the post-Centennial period, the cultural policy of both Canada and Québec generated a discursive link between artistic activity, national community and the socially progressive economics of the liberal welfare state. At the same time, Canada and Québec had symbolic value as destinations where a countercultural imaginary had the potential to be acted out through real social relations. Rather than proposing an outright negation of the nation-state, the conceptual nationalisms that I have explored through several case studies instead imaginatively engage their readers in the affective processes by which inclusion or exclusion from cultural groups is experienced, that is, as internalized responses to external linguistic structures and cultural codes. Judith Butler poses an intriguing dialectic while distinguishing “those sets of conditions and dispositions that account for the ‘state we are in’ (which could, after all, be a state of mind) from the ‘state’ we are in when and if we hold rights of citizenship or when the state functions as the provisional domicile for our work.”⁷⁰⁰ Works of conceptual nationalism pose similar questions to their viewers, with regards to the discursive production of national feelings.

Three chapters addressing case studies of book-works and artists’ magazines produced in this period will hopefully have convinced my readers that these are some examples of those “alternative publications” which, to borrow a phrase cited in the exhibition *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965-1980*, have contributed to a “whispered history” of the development of conceptual art in Canada. I have also argued that this whispered history is coextensive with the small press publishing that is an object

⁷⁰⁰ Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging* (New York: Seagull Books, 2007), 2.

of study for CanLit.⁷⁰¹ As conceptual book-works, these case studies contribute to this whispered history through *poesis* rather than critical debate, meaning that the imagined communities formed by their shared readerships anticipate a generative effect upon real-world relations. That is to say, as these books accumulate a counter-public of readers who disidentify with the use of national symbols in official discourse, their shared imaginary and its accompanying sense of associative belonging should encourage this readership to act in real life as if they inhabit a different place. This whispered history has, until recently, been produced (and read) by the artists and writers themselves, and this thesis, which also includes a research-creation component, acts as both a continuation of this tradition and a contribution towards widening this readership through academic genres of writing.

As I have described it, the cultural work performed by these post-Centennial-period books and magazines is the attempt to map correspondences between a state of mind arising from a shared experience of countercultural desires, and the policy goals of juridically-defined state(s) aiming to cultivate a national public.⁷⁰² The misalignment between these two “states” produces an ironic distancing, which opens up a space where social transformation has the potential to take place through aesthetic means. Borrowing from the media theory concepts that were circulating at the time, we can say that the material form of these book-works and magazines produces a McLuhanesque counter-environment within the nation. As the signifying properties of print and “electronic” media forms overlap within the material forms of books and magazines, these works also communicate a utopian yearning through their anticipation of the social effects of advances in information technologies. Taken together, these case studies show a collective disidentification with the symbolic value print culture had for an official national imaginary. This official form of nationalism used cultural policy to encourage decentralized communication networks that would connect regional areas within the country across great distances, while at the same time reaching out to make international connections.

⁷⁰¹ Introduction to *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965-1980*, 14.

⁷⁰² I use the plural here, because as was seen in the case-studies, there are effectively two competing official national imaginaries being cultivated in the post-Centennial period, that of Canada, and that of Québec.

Within this historical context, the material forms of print culture could become intermedial environments where the fixed identity dispositions imposed through media in the interest of forging national cultures were challenged through a politics of *eros*. These book-works and artists' magazines are acts of counter-publicity that challenge the historical paradigm, whereby an ideal of the public sphere depoliticizes and displaces sexual desire, gender, human reproduction, and certain forms of non-official language use and labour into the private domain. Instead, these case studies explicitly foreground sexuality, gender, family life and friendship bonds, linguistic code-switching and creative labour, making them matters of public concern.

The foregrounding of desire brings attention to the affective dimension of nationalism as a feeling of belonging or exclusion that arises in response to the circulation of images and the performative effects of language. As "scrapbooks" made up of personal memories and appropriated symbolism, conceptual nationalisms deploy coded references in their transposition of private and public registers. Personal mythologies replace shared language, blood or territory with the psychological drive of libido as a universalizing biological trait. Within this polymorphously perverse state, appropriation, camouflage, concealment and negation are aesthetic strategies that create alternate modes of publicness and solicit extra-national associative belongings. As discussed in previous chapters, the locality of the case studies is doubly-defined in terms of territorialized sites and deterritorialized spaces of print media. The latter, I argue, can then be mapped back onto physical sites by tracing affective relationships between people and institutional structures. These bonds are reflective of a critical regionalism that differs from the regional divisions constituting the historical form of Canadian federation.

The politics of *eros* in conceptual nationalisms resonate with a wider field of publishing that is part of a political history of the representation of sexual desire in Canadian print culture. As Donald W. McLeod has observed, the readership seeking information on sex and sexuality in post-war Canada far outnumbered interest in political issues.⁷⁰³ I view this mode of counter-publicity to be a distinct characteristic of conceptualism as it developed in Canada alongside an emerging artist-run gallery and small press infrastructure. Nonetheless, this artist-run publishing and exhibition activity

⁷⁰³ Donald W. McLeod, "Publishing Against the Grain," 325-226.

was conversant with international trends, such as the transformed sensorial relationships to the spaces of art institutions which intermedial performance, film, video or sound events produced. In this sense, these works perform on multiple fronts. On one hand, they are indicative of what Peter Osborne describes as conceptualisms’ “negation of material objectivity” – as the intermedial form of the art work destabilizes the fixed identity categories of both the art object and of the artists who make the work. On the other, they perform what Osborne identifies as the “negation of established modes of autonomy of the artwork”—as existing non-art forms of publicity (media) are appropriated in order to engage with a broader range of cultural activities that make up the experiences of everyday life in a specific locality.⁷⁰⁴ Ultimately, conceptual nationalisms produce a form of institutional critique that investigates the relationship between cultural policy and the discursive forms upholding a national public sphere, which includes, but also reaches beyond, the power relations operative in art institutions such as museums, public and commercial galleries.

Joyce Wieland’s *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique* and Michael Ondaatje’s *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid* both use montage to assemble a dream-state that can be mapped out in relation to both their institutional publishers and a web of social relations that acts as an ironic counterpart to strains of post-Centennial economic and cultural nationalisms. Visual technologies are allegorized as themes throughout these books, reflecting a preoccupation with technologically enhanced perception, altered consciousness, and erotic ambiguity which parodies distinctively “Canadian” themes reflecting an anti-technology, cultural-isolationist stance. Wieland and Ondaatje emphasize the paradoxical experience of technology (including print media) as a phenomenon that exists externally, as in the case of national boundaries, language or media, and is then internalized through a process of identification with a particular culture. Wieland appropriates the iconology of Canadian nationalism that she had internalized since childhood within an archive of personal memory. As an immigrant who arrived as a young adult in 1960s Canada, Ondaatje instead draws upon Billy the Kid, a mythic figure of the American West, which serves as his shared point of reference with a

⁷⁰⁴ Peter Osborne, “Survey,” 19.

national culture that defined itself against the ideological control of American media hegemony. A utopian impulse drives both Wieland's and Ondaatje's appropriation and reconfiguration of fragments of cultural memory; their emphasis on affect and desire creates an experiential moment for their readers rather than repeating a fixed form of historical narrative. These works interpolate the individual through aesthetic experience, pointing to that affective dimension of nationalism that is the true site of their political engagement. As such, their engagement with expressions of nationalism and conceptions of nationhood reflects degrees of identification with an official Canadian national imaginary, and simultaneously, enacts a perversion of this identity through an associative sense of belonging with countercultural formations.

Roy Kiyooka's *Transcanada Letters* disrupts distinctions between the public sphere of work and the private sphere of family life. *Transcanada Letters* uses the appropriation of voice and the creation of poetic community to explore the limits of gender roles, masculine sexuality, and racial identity. In a letter he sent from Montréal to his wife Monica, 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 say she was one of the tribe Marcuse talks about in the *Georgia Straight* vol.3/no. 51 (march 28/April 3rd '69 issue)." ⁷⁰⁵ Kiyooka's reference to the theorist Herbert Marcuse and the latter's connection to both Vancouver and Montréal in this citation is worth noting. In mentioning the tripping babysitter, Kiyooka is connecting his experience of work and family life to Marcuse's theory that the counterculture's polymorphous eroticization of the body and the surrounding environment (both natural and media) was a practice of social utopianism. ⁷⁰⁶ The letter also shows how, for Kiyooka – who was travelling across the country at this time – reading the alternative newspaper was one way by which he could maintain his sense of affective belonging to a countercultural imaginary. The sense of locality that accompanied this imaginary was rooted in Vancouver but was also connected to a readership that went beyond the boundaries of established nation-states; for instance, through the translation of the FLQ manifesto, or the reprinting of content

⁷⁰⁵ Dear Monica, 4/8/'69, Montreal, PQ, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

⁷⁰⁶ Herbert Marcuse's *Essay on Liberation* covers many of the ideas he explored in a lecture at Simon Fraser University. A full transcription of the lecture was printed in the issue of the *Georgia straight* referenced by Kiyooka. Rebecca Fairbairn, "A Short Trip on Spaceship Earth," 82.

from sources such as the Underground Press Syndicate. *Transcanada Letters* shows how public forms of print media (books, magazines, newspapers) as well as private ones (his personal letters) created continuity between social scenes in the various Canadian cities in which Kiyooka worked. When the private letters are published alongside poems, grant reports, and family portraits in *Transcanada Letters*, the book form is activated as an intermedial environment where the shifts between semantic registers of image, poetics, and other appropriated informational genres echo the internal psychic processes of shifting identity positions.

Like the other artists discussed in these case studies, Image Bank understood aesthetics to be a kind of political action that takes place on a cultural plane – whereby aesthetics has the power to transform human relationships to the object world and therefore alter the nature of perception. The parody of gender roles and stereotypes, which they framed within the informational structure of the *Directory*, relied upon the symbolic value of appropriating media sources primarily produced in the U.S. – a position that was consistent with discourses of Canadian cultural and economic nationalism. Likewise, the reams of addresses published in the *Directory* signal an aspiration to internationalism, albeit one that does not completely eschew national frames of reference, as the *Directory* provides access to alternate media representation than that of the coverage provided by a nationally-defined art press. These multiple registers of semantic coding mean that although the *Directory* calls a counterpublic into being, not all readers of the *Directory* experience the same imagined community. The symbolic value of the source material, which Image Bank appropriated to artistic ends, allows a sense of “place” and affective belonging to be mapped simultaneously at local, national and international registers.

Nevertheless, a kinship structure and corresponding national imaginary that is more difficult to define also lurks within the connections made in their address lists—that of Canada. The *Directory*'s repetition of the effects of inclusion and exclusion upon competing identity formations as they map onto overlapping geographic spaces and media environments is what makes it a work of conceptual nationalism, as do the kinship lines drawn through their list-making activities and collaborations with Toronto's General Idea. This kinship reproduces itself through a visual experience that displaces erotic drive

onto objects, specifically images, producing a queer futurity. As José Esteban Muñoz points out, clichés such as “the children are our future” lose affective resonance once the assumption of heterosexual reproduction is not the dominant frame of reference.⁷⁰⁷ Instead, Image Bank’s politics of *eros* works through an ironic recognition and ritual displacement of libidinal attachment to the reified forms or commodity fetishes that, as Herbert Marcuse warned, suppressed the revolutionary potential of oppressed classes in affluent democracies. This kinship reproduces itself through the psychological drives underlying the future tense of image requests (*eros*) and the nostalgic repetition of tropes (*thanatos*). Thus, their utopia is based in a critique, a feeling of lack in the present, but also a sense of longing which projects forward at the same time that it rifles through the image fragments of the past in order to reconstitute a future. However, rather than replacing the post-Centennial national imaginary with a vision of queer futurity that transcends state power, as a work of conceptual nationalism, the *Directory* addresses the structural relationship between kinship and nation, the affective experience of nationalism, and identification with nationhood as recurring themes in the future relationships that Image Bank anticipates. Their act of counter-publicity therefore not only shifts the peripheral place of Vancouver (and Robert’s Creek) in the psychic geography of an avant-garde art world; it simultaneously works to imagine Canadada as an inversion of the nation where the affective bonds of queer community take precedence. Through aesthetic experience, Canadada emerges as both an affective relationship to real locations, *and* an imaginary site of exchange that can take place in a letter, publication, live performance or work of visual art.

The publications, exhibitions and events produced at Véhicule Art cultivated an important linguistic space that can also be situated within the geography of Canadada. This linguistic space fostered explorations of nationhood and national identity as an imaginary state constructed through language and the repetition of myths. Both aesthetic projects and the everyday administrative experiences of running the gallery were a practice of countercultural linguistic therapy. Their use of a metaphoric relationship to equate the architectural space of the gallery with the autonomous space of modernist art linked the social history of a neighbourhood on the lower Main to events taking place at

⁷⁰⁷ José Esteban Muñoz, *Crusing Utopia*, 49.

Véhicule Art gallery and also to the imaginary spaces of a number of books and magazines, including: Bill Vazan's *Contacts*, Frank Vitale's *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York* (1973), Tom Dean's *Beaux-Arts Magazine* (1972-1973), *Médiart* (1971-1973), and *Quebec underground* (Éditions Médiart, 1973). The books and magazines share a neighbourhood as their site of production and distribution, and there is likewise a surprising convergence of social and communications networks in the making of a shared linguistic space. In this context, print culture became a mediating agent that called a utopian imaginary into existence, one that reflects a counterpublic of readers who disidentified with the alignment of national identity with cultural policy in both Canada and Québec. When viewed as a series of interrelated productions, the case studies discussed in Chapter III show how Véhicule Art's publications, exhibitions, and events together challenge the retrenchment of two distinct, linguistically-defined national publics during the post-Centennial period. Book-works like *Contacts* and *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal New-York*, and related events such as the *Sound as a Visual – Visual as Sound* or the *Brother André's Heart* exhibition, encourage a counterpublic to form around a utopian imaginary that is generated through intermedial practices and media counter-environments that open to explorations of linguistic code-switching, mutable sexualities and social roles. Affect, emotion, desire, and fantasies emerge from disidentificatory "gaps" created when the fixed identity dispositions and social roles required for the production of official nationalisms don't line up.

Whereas earlier chapters focused on specific book-works published by artists and writers whose sense of locality is centred in Vancouver, the linguistic space of Véhicule Art and associated publications shows how these social imaginaries were shared with a counterpublic of readers whose sense of locality was deeply connected to public space in Montréal, where translation signalled an "illusory ideal" that aimed to surpass the identities of bounded communities.⁷⁰⁸ Because the symbolic value of language in 1960s and 1970s Québec was attached to unequal social status, there is a political implication to the conceptualist engagement with language, as it structured the production, display and reception of art and art criticism.

⁷⁰⁸ Sherry Simon, *Translating Montreal*, 56.

Neo-liberal enterprise or, nostalgia for a national public sphere?

The book-works and magazines discussed in this thesis are a form of material culture that is specific to a socio-economic context and historical period. In this sense, they are part of a reserve of cultural signs held in common – customs preserved as heritage or as a record of traditions in museums, archives and other institutions of memory. If, as Svetlana Boym has claimed, nationalism is experienced as an “historical emotion,” these historical case studies of conceptual nationalisms open up further questions in relation to more contemporary anxieties regarding globalization, economic models of creative industries and cultural activism.⁷⁰⁹ These anxieties reflect the concerns of a younger generation of artists grappling with the dismantling of the welfare state – the same welfare state that supported the post-war creation of the Canada Council of the Arts, the *Ministère des Affaires culturelles* and programs such as the Local Initiatives Program (LIP) and Opportunities For Youth (OFY), all of which provided the material conditions for the creation of the works of conceptual nationalism discussed in this thesis. For this new generation of artists, the link between an avant-garde aesthetics and political activism – at least as it was conceived of in the 60s and 70s – has been foreclosed, as the artist is increasingly held up as an example of the mobile, flexible, creative and resourcefully individualist labour that this new economy demands.⁷¹⁰

What can be gained, then, by looking back to works of conceptual nationalism in this earlier period? Boym argues that the cultural heritage objects and shared traditions that uphold a national imaginary can produce either “restorative” or “reflective” experiences of nostalgia.⁷¹¹ Whereas “restorative” nostalgia uses these cultural signifiers to consolidate a mythology that defines a fixed national identity based on mechanisms of exclusion, “reflective” nostalgia, by contrast, recognizes an unstable relationship between collective memory and individual consciousness as symbols shift and mythologies gain new meanings over time. It is in this latter sense that, I argue, works of conceptual

⁷⁰⁹ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*. (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 15.

⁷¹⁰ Many have made this argument, but for landmark studies see, Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso Books, 2007), and Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How its Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York : Basic Books, 2002).

⁷¹¹ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 15

nationalism induce a mnemonic experience for a future generation of neo-conceptualist artists whose dependence upon a publicly funded cultural infrastructure conflicts with the effects of neo-liberalism upon wider aspects of governance, which tend towards the erosion of national sovereignty.⁷¹²

It is notable in this context that Gregory Sholette has recently pointed to General Idea and Image Bank's mimetic parody of corporate structures and extensive networks of communication and exchange as a conceptual "politics of (and perhaps aesthetics of) production" that works as a mode of resistance to neo-liberal deregulation through the performative mimesis of power.⁷¹³ Sholette's point is that these two groups recognized that artists don't organize, or work, like other laborers; rather, they imitate these social functions as a fictional act of *poesis*, or alternate world-making. This mimesis may have annoyed adherents of Marxist class-based politics in the period, and has lead many scholars, including Benjamin Buchloh, Alexander Alberro, Vincent Bonin and Anithe de Carvalho, to doubt the long-term effects of conceptual social utopianism. Nonetheless, Sholette argues that when a younger generation of artists repeats these earlier examples of camouflage – and, I would add, of disidentification with the social roles proscribed by neo-liberal enterprise culture – what they end up producing is a counter-environment, as they occupy "the cast-off shell of a now-archaic, liberal, public sphere."⁷¹⁴ Most interesting is that the counterpublicity Sholette sees these fictional corporations and para-institutions generating through digital networks has the function of "calling attention to the one inescapable fact about the deregulated economy: that the superfluity of labour has become a permanent feature."⁷¹⁵ Sholette does not directly address the implied relationship between surplus labour and intellectual property in so-called creative economies; however, further historical research into the relationship between Image Bank

⁷¹² That is, the deregulation of markets, privatization of social services, environmental degradation, globalization of trade, increased mobility, and precarious labour conditions, which, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has observed, encourages national policy to prioritize the circulation of global capital over concerns such as cultural identity, ecological sustainability or social justice. Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?*, 76-80.

⁷¹³ Gregory Sholette, "Speaking Pie to Power: Can We Resist the Historic Compromise of Neoliberal Art?" in *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*, ed. J. Keri Cronin and Kirsty Robertson, 27-48 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011), 38.

⁷¹⁴ Gregory Sholette, "Speaking Pie to Power," 43.

⁷¹⁵ Gregory Sholette, "Speaking Pie to Power," 43.

and General Idea's early practice of appropriation, discourses of cultural nationalism in the period, and shifts in copyright law at the time would lead to greater insights regarding the critique of political structures and economic policy that this tactic of imitation can perform.⁷¹⁶ The following remarks take a step in that direction.

Prior to publishing the *Directory*, Image Bank released *Legal Tender: The Image Bank Annual Report* (Intermedia Press, 1972), as an assemblage mailing that included contributions from their correspondents alongside a report written to account for their use of an LIP grant. As a parody of annual reports and financial statements issued by corporations to their shareholders, *Legal Tender* claimed that there was “no copyright on that which defines the imagination.” For Image Bank this was a timely way of circumventing “scarcity economics.” Vincent Bonin has read Image Bank's project as a means to counter copyright legislation that transformed images circulating in mass media publications into intellectual property.⁷¹⁷ But their act of negation appears far more complex, if considered alongside historic shifts in the national copyright law that regulated the media environment in which they performed their creative labour. Image Bank's appropriation of the legalistic jargon of corporate bodies and intellectual property regulation dovetails with Canada's contemporaneous withdrawal from the *Berne Convention*, a move in which the country created a protectionist space by using the cultural and economic rhetoric of “copyright sovereignty” in the “national interest” to undermine the monopoly rights of international copyright holders.⁷¹⁸ In light of this parallel, Image Bank's strategy may be better described as the refusal to acknowledge copyright for published images produced beyond national boundaries in order to convert these imported images into the currency, or “legal tender,” of an alternate national

⁷¹⁶ Philip Monk is addressing this same problematic in the work of General Idea, I think, when he states: “It is not necessarily that the artist's labour is a commodity that belongs to him, but that he becomes a legal subject. Copyright is the sign of this surrender.” In “Colony, Commodity, Copyright: Reference and Self-reference in Canadian Art,” *Vanguard*, 12, no. 5/6 (June 1983):14-17; reprinted in *Sight Lines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art*, 274-283 (Montréal: Artex Editions, 1994), 275.

⁷¹⁷ Vincent Bonin, *Documentary Protocols*, 40.

⁷¹⁸ As late as 1977, reports referred to Canada as a “developing nation” in the area of intellectual property markets. Secretary of State for External Affairs, Memorandum for Consideration by the Cabinet Committee on Economic and Fiscal Policy, 8 June 1967, quoted in Sara Bannerman, “Copyright: Characteristics of Canadian Reform,” in *From "Radical Extremism" to "Balanced Copyright": Canadian Copyright and the Digital Agenda*, 17-43 (Toronto: Irwin Law, 2010), 30.

imaginary, that of “Canadada.”⁷¹⁹ This makes their recycling of images a parodic mimesis of the mechanisms of intellectual property, rather than a negation of copyright outright.

This performative act of mimesis works because intellectual property, like cultural policy, is a matter of national law, though it is historically defined in relation to the conditions of global trade agreements. According to Canadian policy, the republication of the images lifted from mass-circulation titles produced in the US, or elsewhere in the world in the *Directory* would have automatically given Image Bank copyright on the design of this new iteration, if not the copied images. Thus, their conceptual strategy of appropriation does not “counter” copyright legislation, as Bonin suggests, so much as it aestheticizes the function of intellectual property in post-industrial economies based on the exchange of commodified information. Focusing on print culture genres, Jennifer Bajorek has described this mode of irony as the “linguistic equivalent of the commodity form.”⁷²⁰ The book as object always bares traces of the human relations that contributed to its creation and circulation (as in the names, addresses and image fragments listed in the *Directory*). But the book also holds the magical property Marx ascribed to the commodity fetish, which works to conceal this history by soliciting the reader’s desire to buy it. Thus the *Directory* was promoted through trade industry magazines, and assigned an exchange value of \$5.00. The conflict between these two registers produces what Bajorek describes as “counterfeit capital.”⁷²¹ On one hand, the accumulation of image fragments from a collective unconscious is presented as a common good, which should not be copyrighted as the intellectual property of an individual or corporate author; on the other, the claim to ownership of these ideas and

⁷¹⁹ In the post-Centennial period, progressive stances on copyright reform were a national myth suitable for appropriation and inversion. Since confederation, Canada had been unable to develop a domestic publishing industry because its market was disadvantaged by both international copyright law, as determined by Britain’s signing of the *Berne Convention for the protection of Literary and Artistic Works* (1868) on behalf of its colonies, and by its geographic proximity to the United States, which ignored international law in order to produce its own domestic market and a surplus of products for export. The policy and trade agreements between both these powers required Canada to remain a net importer of copyrighted material and therefore a market to exploit. This logic persisted into the 1990s, when the United States signed on to the *Berne Convention* as part of the implementation of the *North American Free Trade Agreement*. Sara Bannerman, “Copyright: Characteristics of Canadian Reform,” in *From "Radical Extremism" to "Balanced Copyright": Canadian Copyright and the Digital Agenda*, 17-43 (Toronto: Irwin Law, 2010), 30-31.

⁷²⁰ Jennifer Bajorek, *Counterfeit Capital: Poetic Labour and Revolutionary Irony* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 6, 20-36.

⁷²¹ Jennifer Bajorek, *Counterfeit Capital*, 99.

cultural fragments is unavoidable due to the juridical framework governing the act of publication. It is only through a collective belief in the fiction of Canadada that their readership can escape from a national economy based in the principles of liberal economic and political philosophy, which use language to describe the world in terms of static objects that can be given a static identity, and then bought and sold as property.

Not all works of conceptual nationalism perform this sophisticated parody of intellectual property regimes. Joyce Wieland and Michael Ondaatje's use of appropriated material in *True Patriot Love* and *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, for instance, occurs alongside acknowledgements that permission has been granted for their use. In this sense, they have worked in accordance with the legal codes that regulate creative labour in the publishing industry, that is, they create the conditions for the unlimited resource of immaterial creative work to be contained and commodified as intellectual property. Whereas the subversion of Wieland and Ondaatje's montage aesthetics therefore remains in the realm of the symbolic, Image Bank, and their counterparts Kiyooka, General Idea, Bill Vazan, and Tom Dean, use mechanical reproduction to performatively imitate and invert a juridical structure dependent upon a discursive link between the state and national culture. Their intervention is utopian in the sense that its challenge to systems of private ownership is limited by the socio-economic conditions within which they produce as artists. As a result, conceptual nationalisms focus on testing the boundaries between private psychological states and the interconnectedness of public life. As Marcus Boone has argued, though the dematerialized, process-based strategies of conceptualism lend themselves to a destabilizing of identity – both of people and of material objects – these acts of mimesis or appropriation nonetheless remain dependent upon a claim of identification and property ownership.⁷²² According to Boone, appropriation only works as an aesthetic strategy because an object or cultural symbol must have a fixed identity in order for its theft and subversion to be recognizable. Appropriation, as an act of mimesis, is therefore different from indifference to possession, or the experience of relating to the world without imposing conditions of

⁷²² Marcus Boone, *In Praise of Copying* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010), 224.

ownership, that the diffusion of authorship might seemingly imply.⁷²³ Although the case studies I have discussed use collectivity and fragmented, process-based or open forms as strategies to negate individual genius and co-produce meaning, their politics of *eros* are enacted in spaces where private psychological states interface with the commodity forms of public life.

Both Wieland and Ondaatje were involved in the movement for artists' rights in Canada, an activist position that is arguably reflective of their non-mimetic relationship to copyright permissions in their work.⁷²⁴ This is another area where Sholette's "politics of production" call for further historical research. Sholette seems to understand Canadian Artists Representation / *Le front des artistes canadiens* (CARFAC) in light of the performance-based activism of the New York-based Art Workers' Coalition, which, he explains, acted "as if it was a bona-fide labour union, when in fact it was a short-lived, informally structured alliance."⁷²⁵ This intriguing claim would benefit from closer scrutiny of CARFAC's long-standing function as a legally-certified National Service Organization that genuinely relies upon the rhetoric of a labour union to effect legislative change.⁷²⁶ In the post-Centennial period, the focus of this activism was attaining copyright or reproduction rights for artists, as well as compensation for the exhibition of

⁷²³ For Boone, the latter is only possible if a stable identity of an owner does not exist, or as he puts it, "there is no me." Marcus Boone, *In Praise of Copying*, 224.

⁷²⁴ Wieland became an activist member of CARFAC in 1971. Barry Lord, who considered artists' rights to be an essential part of the socialist national liberation struggle he championed, saw her attendance of the First National Conference of the Canadian Artists' Representation (1971) as a kind of redemption of a "patriotic character." In 1972, Wieland participated in the Canadian Artists Representation (CAR) Artists' Protest against the hiring of an American curator at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Michael Ondaatje was a member of the League of Canadian Poets, a literary analogue to CAR, he also experienced the activism of CAR indirectly through his marriage to Kim Ondaatje, one of the movement's founders in 1968, alongside their friends, Jack Chambers and Tony Urquhart. Meetings often took place at the Ondaatje home, and their social life involved attending exhibitions of other artists at venues such as the 20/20 Gallery, the first in Canada to pay artist fees, putting into practice the ardent advocacy for artists' rights by figures such as John Boyle, Greg Curnoe, and Murray Favro.

⁷²⁵ Gregory Sholette, "Speaking Pie to Power," 38 n.2.

⁷²⁶ The Status of the Artist Act gives artists the right to bargain collectively, and be represented by agencies such as CARFAC or, in Québec, *Regroupement des artistes en arts visuels* (RAAV). See, for instance their use of the rhetoric of worker's rights in phrases such as "minimum wage" "collective bargaining" and "Taking copyright out of this equation is like the equivalent of an employer telling a union that they refuse to negotiate salaries, but will discuss vacation pay," in their reporting of the results of their legal case against the National Gallery of Canada, and subsequent fee scale negotiations (2004-2015). "Background on CARFAC-RAAV's negotiations with the National Gallery of Canada" 7 March 2013 <http://www.carfac.ca/news/2013/03/07/background-on-carfac-raavs-negotiations-with-the-national-gallery-of-canada/>, (accessed 20 April 2016).

their works. Essentially an argument for economic rights, this advocacy arose from a group of artists who were mainly based in London, Ontario. These artists used strategies of appropriation to reinforce a sense of local community built upon common historical references, while these official histories were interspersed with personal mythologies made up of anecdotes drawn from everyday life.⁷²⁷

The movement for artists' rights worked, in part, because the consolidation of a national culture was already widely promoted as a public concern.⁷²⁸ The established precedence of state support for the arts was a boon for the movement's advocates, yet from the beginning, artists who stood to benefit from a strain of cultural activism focused upon their working conditions within a national economy were suspicious of a strategy which equated the creative labour of artists to that of other sectors. In letters to Kim Ondaatje printed in *Transcanada Letters*, Kiyooka openly criticizes the "parochialism" of CAR's advocacy for artists' fees, describing their efforts as "a small gear in the congeries of politico/economico/socio/logical machinery...."⁷²⁹ In an interview, General Idea likewise provokes Greg Curnoe with questions regarding the anti-American stance adopted by Ontario-based CAR members, which they do not consider to be representative of their own sense of community.⁷³⁰ A notable example of the isolationist nationalism of CAR, which neither General Idea nor Kiyooka condoned, was a protest that took place outside of the National Gallery of Canada during the opening for Joyce Wieland's exhibition, *True Patriot Love*.⁷³¹

⁷²⁷ I am thinking here of Jack Chambers who pilfered private and public archives to create films such as *Hybrid* (1966) and *The Hart of London* (1970), while simultaneously achieving the highest market value as a painter on the Canadian market. He also spearheaded the letter-writing campaign that would develop into CAR. For further reflection on these complex paradoxes in the London scene, see Christopher Régimbal, *Institutions of Regionalism: Artist Collectivism in London, Ontario, 1960–1990*, ArcPost Online Space for Artist-Run Culture, 2012, <http://arcpost.ca/articles/institutions-of-regionalism> (accessed 02 October 2016).

⁷²⁸ Kerri J. Cronin and Kirsty Robertson, *Imagining Resistance*, 50.

⁷²⁹ Dear Kim, 9/22nd/71 Halifax, Nova Scotia, *Transcanada Letters*, np.

⁷³⁰ "Greg: Well, I know you don't really feel there is any room for you in CAR, do you? File: We find ourselves not interested actually. We might be more interested if it were a different CAR than the Toronto CAR." "Greg Curnoe: A File Interview" *File 2*, no. 1/2 (April-May, 1972): 46, 61.

⁷³¹ Despite the profusion of patriotic emblems in the *True Patriot Love* exhibition, a group of protestors distributed leaflets printed with the message, "True Expatriot Love?" concerned that Canada Council funding was available to artists, such as Wieland or Michael Snow, perceived to no longer reside in Canada. The couple had, in fact, decided to return to Toronto from New York that year. Jane Lind, *Joyce Wieland: Artist on Fire* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 2001), 193.

The tension between different modes of appropriation in works of conceptual nationalism, one which conforms to the mechanisms of intellectual property, and one which parodies these mechanisms, points to a conundrum that persists for artists and cultural workers who wish to critically engage with the relationship between aesthetics and the social imaginary constituted by the cultural institutions that fund them.⁷³² The Canada Council for the Arts, *Ministère des Affaires culturelles*, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the *Fonds de recherche Société et culture* continue to be defined in national terms while they simultaneously encourage international connections. This means that artists are supported by these institutions of culture (or others like them) even while they engage with a post-national critique of the social injustices and mechanisms of exclusion that reinforce state boundaries or produce stateless populations. Their critique of the nation-state paradoxically remains bound up with policies that are dependent upon national economies.⁷³³ Alternately, many artists also choose to advocate for the preservation of this policy framework in defense of the role artistic labour plays in society, or in other words, as a praxis of seizing the means of production in a knowledge economy. Both strategies induce the cognitive dissonance Gregory Bateson has described as the double bind, that is, the repeated experience of a contradictory message, to which the recipient can find no acceptable response.⁷³⁴

⁷³² This nagging question persists as an aesthetic concern, as can be seen in the collection of essays compiled in *Institutions by Artists*, ed. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina L. Podevsa (Vancouver: Fillip Editions, 2012); and in “Canadian Art, 1847-1985” Robin Simpson’s timeline of a history of art in Canada according to “the place of engagement of artists in Canadian culture” and the degree to which this impacts a “unified national image,” published in the catalogue *Oh, Canada: Contemporary Art from North North America*, ed. Denise Markonish, 54-61 (North Adams, Mass.: Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art, 2012). Also see articles such as Amber Berson, “Self-Determination When Cash Rules Everything Around US,” *Esse*, no. 85 (Fall 2015): 66-68; or cheyanne turions, “Youth in Revolt: Precarious Labour, the Young Curator and Sectorial Burn Out in the Media Arts,” first published in *Syphon 2*, no. 3 (2013), <https://cheyanneturions.wordpress.com/2013/11/17/1781/>, (accessed 20 April 2016).

⁷³³ As artists who receive funding from these agencies also travel extensively, cultural production in relation to national cultural institutions is not limited by a nationally-bound territory. See for instance, the recent changes to the Canada Council for the Arts Support to International Residencies Program, which now funds artists to work in any global destination, but simultaneously individualizes the artists’ responsibility to generate these opportunities (prior to application for funding) and take on all administrative negotiations which the Canada Council provided through this program until 2016. “Modifications to our International Residencies Program,” 1 March 2016, Canada Council for the Arts, <http://canadacouncil.ca/visual-arts/modifications-to-our-international-residencies-program>, (accessed 20 April 2016).

⁷³⁴ Andrew Pickering, *The Cybernetic Brain: Sketches of Another Future* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 2010), 175.

The paradoxes arising between post-national and national loci of cultural activism and affective belonging are critical to digital culture debates. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the concept of the “public domain,” as determined according to national law, became a symbolic battle-ground for international intellectual property law and post-national “free culture” movements grounded in digital culture. These movements, utopian in tone, were an extension of earlier countercultural politics and strategies of organization fuelled by affective belonging. As Martin Fredriksson explains, when people who identify with a counterculture of shared creativity “appear unable to relate to copyright, they react according to their own structure of feeling – formed by the digital, networked society – that cannot accommodate the restrictions on the free circulation and re-articulation of information and culture.”⁷³⁵ In drawing upon Raymond Williams’ term, “structure of feeling” to describe technologically-enabled shifts in social organization which conflict with formalized legal structures, Fredriksson positions this recent trend in digital culture within a Romantic tradition. As Williams has observed, in this tradition, the trope of conflict pitting “nature against industry,” and “poetry against trade,” as a means to counter a perceived “isolation of humanity and community” is an imaginative projection of the effects of successive stages of capitalism on the artists themselves.⁷³⁶ The resulting images that these artists and writers then produce allow for the aesthetic experience of going beyond actual historical events through “myth functioning as memory.”⁷³⁷ That is, they offer up a vision of a past, which can create a feeling of aspirational longing and associative belonging in groups of people that hold a disadvantaged position in the economic structure of their present-day.

Brett Gaylor’s documentary *RIP! A Remix Manifesto* (2009) is a fascinating recent example of the symbolic use of national cultural infrastructure (the NFB) and of national myths in this regard.⁷³⁸ The film argues for progressive copyright reform in light of “revolutionary” new uses of digital technologies; in this sense, music and video mashups, or remixes, are positioned as an aesthetic form produced within digital culture

⁷³⁵ Martin Fredriksson. “Copyright Culture and Pirate Politics,” *Cultural Studies* 28, no. 5-6 (2014):1022-1047, DOI: [10.1080/09502386.2014.886483](https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2014.886483), 1036.

⁷³⁶ Raymond Williams, *The Country and The City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 78-79.

⁷³⁷ Raymond Williams, *The Country and The City*, 43.

⁷³⁸ Brett Gaylor, *Rip! A Remix Manifesto*, Eye Steel Films, NFB, 2009. 86 min.

that is a revival of neo-avant-garde collage and montage techniques. The villain in the film is US economic policy, enforced through global trade agreements, which has an effect on how artistic expression is regulated alongside other kinds of intellectual property such as corporate trademarks and drug patents. Gaylor draws links between Remix artists and figures such as hackers, pirates, outlaws, countercultural agitators, or revolutionary liberationists. In a particularly memorable scene, archival footage of a Royal Mounted Police musical ride plays as the narrator describes Canada as a “pirate nation,” or haven, for countercultural critics of the six major media conglomerates situated the US. Essentially, Gaylor revived the myth of Canada as escape route for US dissidents at the same time that he deployed the national myths of US media hegemony and progressive Canadian cultural policy.⁷³⁹

The symbolic value of old media forms as they circulate in a digital economy is not an exclusively “Canadian” concern. German filmmaker Hito Steyerl, for instance, has expressed a comparable nostalgia for the “non-commercial imagery” produced through the relationship between national funding models, national publics, and cinema production.⁷⁴⁰ Though not specific to a Canadian context, her affection for the cultural products of a welfare-state model as they now circulate as degraded copies in a digital “economy of poor images” is a testament to how the privatization of the public sphere is a post-national concern, worked out as digital networks become a symbolic “battleground for commercial and national agendas.”⁷⁴¹ These economies of circulation that characterize digital culture and the related affective states of belonging are not exclusively manifested through digital media. In Canada, many artists continue to explore these processes through print and other aesthetic forms that oscillate between increasingly indistinct

⁷³⁹ This stance was possible prior to the 2012 reforms, when a Conservative government led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduced new measures such as digital lock rules in response to pressure from the US, at the same time the Copyright Act was amended to allow for reproduction for the purposes of “parody and satire” as a type of “fair dealing” in artistic work, which also brings Canadian law in line with American the policy of “fair use.” At this time, lawyer and activist Michael Geist noted that “At the moment, Canada is arguably more restrictive than even the U.S., though the digital lock rules do not carry significant penalties for individuals. Under Canadian law, it is not an infringement to possess tools or software that can be used to circumvent digital locks and liability is limited to actual damages in non-commercial cases.” Michael Geist, “Canadian Copyright Reform in Force: Expanded User Rights Now the Law,” 7 November 2012, <http://www.michaelgeist.ca/2012/11/bill-c-11-effect/>, (accessed 09 November 2012).

⁷⁴⁰ Hito Steyerl, “In Defense of the Poor Image,” *e-flux Journal*, no. 10 (November 2009), np.

⁷⁴¹ Hito Steyerl, “In Defense of the Poor Image,” np.

public and private spaces. François Lemieux's artists' magazine, *Le Merle* (2011-ongoing), for instance, uses a small print run and simple design to attract a counterpublic of readers interested in an anarchist politics of aesthetics. Articles include discussion of the effects of drastic cuts to public funding of the arts in the Netherlands in 2011 – an appropriated allegory, perhaps, for anticipated effects of cuts to the arts in Canada.⁷⁴² Jo-Anne Balcaen's self-published book-work, *Survey for Cultural Workers / Questionnaire pour travailleurs culturels* (2015) was produced as part of a residency in New York City, funded through the Canada Council for the Arts. The book records the results of an online survey comparing the labour conditions affecting artists and cultural workers across Canada and the US. Michael Maranda's multi-year online survey, "Waging Culture: The Socio-Economic Status of Canadian Visual Artists" (2007-ongoing), is supported by the Art Gallery of York University. The status of this ambitious project to collect data on the socio-economic condition of artists that is otherwise overlooked by the national census wavers is on the edge of art, but Maranda's playful data visualizations, and his adoption by a conceptual poetry movement that values the automated transcription of objective language, are two reasons why this survey could be considered an aesthetic project. Anne Bertrand's self-published book-work, *Work: 2004 – 2014* (2015) is a collage of the mental and material detritus accumulated through the lived experience of caring for her extended family as she occupied various administrative positions in artist-run organizations. The book accompanies an exhibition that firmly places her experience in relation to wider social movements in Québec, as the viewing public was made up of clients of Le Centre Saint-Pierre, a training centre for social justice organizations.⁷⁴³

Post-national meditations on the conflicted model of the nation-state in relation to family ties, ethnic heritage and communities of affective belonging also arise from the structure of feeling of digital culture, but again are not limited to circulation in digital media forms. *Model Minority, 2013-2014* is a scrap-book compilation of press clippings, images, and texts compiled over a year of artist-run gallery programming at Gendai in Toronto, that now serves as an educational kit for the discussion of Leftist politics as

⁷⁴² This is an ongoing concern of François Lemieux and Edith Brunette, as can be seen in their exhibition *Cuts to Make the Country Better*, 14 Mar 2015 to 12 Apr 2015, articule, Montréal, Québec.
<http://www.articule.org/en/projects/cuts-make-the-country-better>

⁷⁴³ Art Works for Me (l'Art et le travail), Le Centre Saint-Pierre, 4 - 30 November 2004, Montréal, Québec.

enacted by Asian-Canadians. Available in book form from the conceptually oriented Publication Studio, the work is also distributed online through a “free reading commons.” In this way, the exploration of diasporic identity enables a political project to resurrect suppressed histories and disidentify with a national myth of multicultural harmony upholding liberal democracy. Likewise, Romeo Gongora’s artist-led exhibition *Just Watch Me* (2014) transformed a gallery space into a “social club” as he invited collaborators from diverse interest groups to reactivate those multi-media and participatory forms of the 1960s and 70s that once contributed to the creation of a new Québec national public. For Gongora, the enactment of new forms of publicness through art is deeply associated to the construction of *néo-Québécoise* identity, reflecting his own family’s experience of arrival in Québec from Guatemala in the 1970s.⁷⁴⁴ The exhibition and accompanying website relied upon the appropriation of a common cultural heritage that aligns aesthetic practice with countercultural communitarianism and the reinvention of Québécois identity as a revolutionary goal.⁷⁴⁵ Furthermore, the eclectic curatorial selection and accompanying website required the gallery to negotiate a complex fee scale in order to appropriately remunerate providers of “non-art” services such as exercise classes and community-based activist workshops alongside more recognizable “art” forms such as poetry readings, film screenings and performance art. This complicated relationship between institutions, which use public funds to commission artists to produce works, and the public that these works produce is also apparent in Nadia Myre and Karen Elaine Spencer’s play with the symbolic value of colour, borders and language in a carpet design commissioned for the Quebec Room in London’s Canada House. The design for this custom carpet frames a vast white expanse with a nearly illegible hand-rendered typescript that appropriates a quote (with permission) from Gilles Vignault’s well-loved Québécois folk anthem *Mon Pays* (1974), which uses the allegory of the winter season to

⁷⁴⁴ See the Annex for a longer discussion of the extended dialogue between myself and Romeo, which leads me to make this statement.

⁷⁴⁵ This is why the exhibition framed present-day activities by dedicating each room in the gallery to past artistic works including: the interdisciplinary committees and cultural radicalism of the *Fusion des Arts* corporation; the psychedelic disco club environment Mousse Spachthèque (1966) designed by Jean-Paul Mousseau; and “Appelez-moi Ahuntsic” (1974), a participatory theatre event facilitated by Maurice Demers’ Fondation du Théâtre d’Environnement Intégral (FTEI), in which ordinary citizens could become both the new public and co-creators of their own culture. “Just Watch Me,” *Galerie Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery*, Concordia University, <http://ellengallery.concordia.ca/?piste-de-reflexion=just-watch-me&lang=en>, (accessed 20 April 2016).

describe a borderless sense of nationhood. Nadia Myre, while discussing the project in an interview, self-identified as of Algonquin and Québécois heritage while also admitting to being “proud” that the Queen is part of their viewing public. Their carpet subtly calls attention to how nationhood is constructed in a complex context of colonial heritages.⁷⁴⁶

Each of the contemporary works briefly discussed above use conceptual strategies to recuperate fragments of a countercultural memory in ways that draw attention to a widening gap between the concept of a national culture and the governing of a state. When considered in relation to the post-Centennial works of conceptual nationalism outlined in my case studies it is possible to see that there is continuity in the way that these works use unstable material forms and identity formations to solicit diasporic and other modes of affective belonging, ultimately producing subjectivities that do not align with the boundaries of the state, yet are nonetheless discursively bound to its social and cultural programs. As Spivak has observed, this paradoxical situation creates the utopian desire for the reinvention of the state in ways that go “beyond the nation-state into critical regionalisms.”⁷⁴⁷ Crucially, the work of reinvention begins with the “undoing of the connection between birth and citizenship” but does not completely reject the state as an abstract political structure that has the potential to counter the drive of global capital.⁷⁴⁸ Without the hyphenated link between the nation and the state, priorities increasingly tend towards the global, as national economies increasingly struggle to perform the

⁷⁴⁶ Nadia Myer and Karen elaine spencer interviewed by Morgan Dunlop, “Gilles Vigneault-inspired carpet maked it to Canada House” *CBC News*, 26 February 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/gilles-vigneault-inspired-carpet-makes-it-to-canada-house-1.2974513> (accessed 10 March 2015).

⁷⁴⁷ Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?*, 91.

⁷⁴⁸ Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?*, 91. Spivak uses the term “critical regionalism” to describe a transnational feminist movement emerging from the global south, this relationship between global feminisms and transnational affective networks is worth considering in respect to artists’ recent anxiety over the representation (or lack thereof) of maternalism and parenting in the social worlds associated with contemporary art in Canada and the US. See, for instance, Leah Sandals, “6 Questions About Art and Parenthood” *Canadian Art Online*, 7 January 2016, <https://canadianart.ca/reviews/on-the-parent-shaped-hole-in-the-artworld/>, (accessed 20 April 2016). Exhibitions on this subject include the multi-year, multi-platform “New Maternalisms” project curated by Natalie S. Loveless, beginning March 23-25, 2012, Mercer Union, Toronto; and “The Let-Down Reflex” curated by Amber Berson and Juliana Driever, January 30-12 March, 2016, EFA Project Space, New York. On-site childcare was an explicit part of “La Journée sans culture,” an event held as a “symbolic strike” organized in response to issues of artistic and cultural labour and activism, 21 October 2015, <http://www.journeesansculture.ca/en/>, (accessed 20 April 2016).

redistributive function necessary for the subsidized support of cultural activity (and of social programs in general). The resulting perceived disintegration of a national public sphere is one reason why the countercultural imaginaries – which seems to have been the contributions that the whispered history of conceptualist practices made to national culture – now elicit such a powerful nostalgic response. The recycling of these tropes of national identity and cultural activism as they were expressed by a neo-avant-garde holds the potential to reactivate a utopian longing in the present day. Yet, simultaneously, this framing appears anachronistic in a context in which national identity, once linked to an ethnicity model, appears increasingly irrelevant. Even worse, works addressing national identity have a reactionary potential to exacerbate the powerful emotions underlying violent forms of fundamentalism, xenophobia and hyper-nationalism.

As has been discussed in previous chapters, works of conceptual nationalism rely upon subtle strategies of appropriation, concealment and camouflage. This means that the actual historical processes, material conditions and social tensions that went into the making of these works are often concealed or distorted by aesthetic decisions made by the artist in the self-determined production of their book-works and magazines. On one hand, this register of commodity fetishism is necessary in order for the artistic labour of conceptual nationalism to continue its function of social reproduction, that is, to ensure the repetition of this mythology as a means of continuing to attract a counterpublic, not to mention fluctuating sources of public funding. On the other hand, ruptures in a dream-image produced by a neo-avant-garde in Canada are a reminder that the subversive mimesis of power structures has a complex relationship to other forms of social activism that more directly target economic substructures and juridical frameworks. Further historical research into racialized, classed, urban/rural, able-bodied and age-related tensions in this countercultural imaginary should be pursued – not to debunk the myth through cynicism, nor to advocate for a restoration of what was, from the beginning, an imperfect set of conditions harnessing artistic practice and cultural activism to public funding; but rather to record and appreciate the dialectic between the dream-image and the real material and social relations underlying its production. These more contentious fragments from the past point to areas that should resurface from the archive and be reworked in order to dissolve existing sets of affective relationships that bind together

artists and the state, thereby making room for different possibilities. In this way, neo-conceptual strategies and expanded media forms in which analogue and digital networks overlap can continue to produce images that solicit a desire to inhabit a world made up of identities-in-difference in the present tense, in ways that diverge from programs of national cultural policy increasingly shaped by neo-liberal ideals.

Bibliography

- Alberro, Alexander. "Reconsidering Conceptual Art, 1966-1977." In *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimpson, xvi-xxxvii. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.
- . *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.
- Allen, Gwen. *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space For Art*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011.
- Altshuer, Bruce. *Salon to Biennial: Exhibitions that Made History*. Vol. 1, 1863-1959. London: Phaidon, 2008.
- Amber, Arnold. "Harper is Free Expression's Biggest Rival," *Huffington Post*, March 5, 2015. Accessed April 20, 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/canadian-journalists-for-free-expression/stephen-harper-secrecy-b_7196874.html
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London: Verso, 1991.
- Anderssen, Erin, and John Ibbitson. "How Stephen Harper is Remaking the Canadian Myth," *The Globe and Mail*, May 1, 2012. Accessed July 2, 2012. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/how-stephen-harper-is-remaking-the-canadian-myth/article4104583/>
- Appadurai, Arjun. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Arbour, Rose-Marie. "L'atelier libre de recherches graphiques et la guilde graphique." *Vie des arts* 22, no. 90 (1978): 29-90.
- Arnold, Grant. "Reference/Cross Reference: Conceptual Art On The West Coast." In *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980*, edited by Grant Arnold and Karen Henry, 85-104. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2011.
- Aronsen, Lawrence. *City of Love & Revolution: Vancouver In The Sixties*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 2010.
- Atwood, Margaret. *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1972.
- Auslander, Phillip. "The Performativity of Performance Documentation." *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art*, no. 84 (2006): 1-10.
- Auther, Elissa, and Adam Lerner. *West of Center: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1974] 1984.
- Badiou, Alain. "Pour une esthétique Marxiste..." In *Quebec Underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, edited by Yves Robillard, 339-349. Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973.
- . *Logique des mondes: L'Être et l'événement 2*. Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 2006.
- Baerwaldt, Wayne. *Under the Influence of Fluxus*. Winnipeg: Plug-In Gallery, 1993.
- Bajorek, Jennifer. *Counterfeit Capital: Poetic Labour and Revolutionary Irony*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Edited by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Balkind, Alvin. "Vancouver." *Artforum* 6 (May, 1968): 68-70.

- Balkind, Alvin, and Peter Selz. "Vancouver Scene and Unscene." *Art in America* 58 (January 1970): 122-126.
- Balzer, David. *Curationism: How Curating Took Over the Art World and Everything Else*. Toronto: Coach House Books, 2014.
- Bannerman, Sara. "Copyright: Characteristics of Canadian Reform." In *From "Radical Extremism" to "Balanced Copyright": Canadian Copyright and the Digital Agenda*, 17-43. Toronto: Irwin Law, 2010.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. London: Paladin, 1973.
- . "Rhetoric of the Image." In *Image, Music, Text*, 32-51. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.
- . "The Death of the Author." In *Image, Music, Text*, 142-148. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.
- . *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Richard Howard, trans. New York: Noonday Press, [1980] 1981.
- Bayard, Caroline. *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec: From Concretism to Post-Modernism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Beglo, Jo. "Picturing Canada." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carol Gerson and Jacques Michon, 70-74. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- . "Held in Trust: The National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives." In *Essays in the History of Art Librarianship in Canada*, Art Libraries Society of North America, 2006. http://www.ifla.org/files/assets/art-libraries/history_canada_art-libraries_0.pdf
- Belting, Hans, and Andrea Buddenseig. "From Art World to Art Worlds." In *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds*, edited by Hans Belting, Andrea Buddenseig and Peter Weibel, 28-31. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013.
- Benidickson, Jamie. *Idleness, Water, and a Canoe*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Benjamin, Walter. "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century, Exposé of 1939." In *The Arcades Project*, translated by Howard Eiland. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- . "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn, 217-252. New York: Schocken Books, 2007.
- . "The Task of the Translator." In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn, 69-82. New York: Schocken Books, 2007.
- Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Bergeron, Léandre. *Petit manuel d'histoire du Québec*. Montréal: Éditions québécoises, 1970.
- Berson, Amber. "Self-Determination When Cash Rules Everything Around US." *Esse* 85 (Fall 2015): 66-68.
- Berton, Pierre. *1967: The Last Good Year*. Toronto: Doubleday, 1997.
- Betts, Gregory. *Theory of the Avant-Gardes in Canadian Literature: The Early Manifestations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

- . "We Stopped at Nothing: Finding Nothing in the Avant-Garde Archive." *Amodern* 4 (2015). Accessed November 11, 2015. <http://amodern.net/article/nothing/>
- Bayer, Fern, ed. *General Idea 1968-1975: The Search For The Spirit*. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1998.
- Blouin, René, and Lyne Léveseur. "L'Underground se débat." *Médiart* 16 (April-May 1973): 3-6.
- Boal, Augusto. *The Rainbow of Desire: The Boal Method of Theatre and Therapy*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Boldrini, Lucia. "The Anamorphis of Photography in Michael Ondaatje's 'The Collected Works of Billy the Kid'." In *Image Technologies in Canadian Literature: Narrative, Film and Photography*, edited by Carmen Concilo and Richard J. Lane, 31-46. New York: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009.
- Boltanski, Luc, and Eve Chiapello. *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Gregory Elliott. London: Verso Books, 2007.
- Bonin, Vincent. *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*. Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010.
- . "Language Is Not Transparent : Translating Conceptual Art in Montréal." In *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980*, edited by Grant Arnold and Karen Henry. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2011.
- . "Here, Bad News Always Arrives Too Late: Institutional Critique in Canada (1967-2012)." In *Institutions by Artists*, edited by Jeff Khonsary and Kristina L. Podesva, 49-79. Vancouver: Fillip Editions, 2012.
- Boone, Marcus. *In Praise of Copying*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Borgen, Maibritt. "On the Parent-Shaped Hole in the Art World," *Canadian Art Online*, February 22, 2016. <http://canadianart.ca/reviews/on-the-parent-shaped-hole-in-the-artworld/>
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Edited by Randal Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Bourassa, André-G., and Jean-Marc Larrue. *Les nuits de la "Main": Cent ans de spectacles sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent (1891-1991)*. Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993.
- Bourriaud, Nicolas. *Relational Aesthetics*. Translated by translated by Simon Pleasance and Fronza Woods with the participation of Mathieu Copeland. Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2002.
- Buchli, Victor. Introduction to *The Material Culture Reader*, edited by Victor Buchli, 1-21. Oxford: Berg, 2002.
- Bowering, George. "Roy Kiyooka's Poetry (an appreciation)." In *Roy Kiyooka: 25 Years*, np. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1975.
- . "Introduction." In *Vehicule Poets Now*, edited by Tom Konyves and Stephen Morrissey, 1-6. Winnipeg: Muses' Co., 2004.
- Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- bp Nichol. *The true eventual story of Billy the Kid*. Toronto: Weed/Flower Press, 1970.
- Brisette, Pascale. "Fête urbaine et poésie en voix: Des soirées de l'École littéraire de Montréal aux Nuits de la poésie." In *Voix et Images* XL 119, no. 2 (2015): 23-43.

- Brisson, Frédéric. "International Sources of Supply." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980. Edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 389-393. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Bronson, AA. "The Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-run Spaces as Museums by Artists." In *From Sea To Shining Sea: Artist-Initiated Activity In Canada, 1939-1987*, edited by AA Bronson, René Blouin, Peggy Gale, and Glenn Lewis, 164-169. Toronto: The Power Plant, 1987.
- . "The Transfiguration of the Bureaucrat." In *Institutions By Artists*, edited by Jeff Kohonsary and Kristina L. Podesva, 25-47. Vancouver: Fillip Editions, 2012.
- Broomer, Stu, "The Newest Utopia: New Questions, Old Information." *File 1* (April 1972): 15, 24.
- Buchloh, Benjamin H.D. "Conceptual Art 1962-1969: From the Aesthetics of Administration to the Critique of Institutions." *October* 55 (Winter 1990): 105-143.
- . *Neo-Avantgarde and Culture Industry: Essays on European and American Art from 1953 to 1975*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000.
- Burton, Antoinette. "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories." In *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History*, edited by Antoinette Burton, 1-21. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Butler, Judith, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging*. New York: Seagull Books, 2007.
- Butling, Pauline, and Susan Rudy, eds. *Writing in Our Time: Canada's Radical Poetries in English (1957-2003)*. Waterloo, ON.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2005.
- Cain, Stephen. "Imprinting Identities: An Examination of the Emergence and Developing Identities of Coach House Press and House of Anansi Press (1967-1982)." PhD diss., Toronto: York University, 2002.
- Camlot, Jason. "The Sound of Canadian Modernism: The Sir George Williams University Poetry Series, 1966-74." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 28-59.
- Camlot, Jason, and Todd Swift. *Language Acts: Anglo-Québec Poetry, 1976 to the 21st Century*. Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2007.
- Camnitzer, Luis, Jane Farver, and Rachel Weiss. Foreword to *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s-1980*, i-x. New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999.
- Canada Council for the Arts. "Modifications to our International Residencies Program," March 1, 2016. Accessed April 20, 2016. <http://canadacouncil.ca/visual-arts/modifications-to-our-international-residencies-program>
- Canadian Artists Representation/Le Front des artistes canadiens. "Background on CARFAA-RAAV's negotiations with the National Gallery of Canada," March 7, 2013. Accessed April 20, 2016. <http://www.carfac.ca/news/2013/03/07/background-on-carfac-raavs-negotiations-with-the-national-gallery-of-canada/>
- Carefoote, Pearce J. "Censorship in Canada" *Historical Perspectives on Canadian Publishing*. Accessed April 20, 2016. <http://hpcanpub.mcmaster.ca/case-study/censorship-canada>
- Cardinal, Harold. *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians*. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969.

- Cassirer, Ernst. *The Myth of The State*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
 "Catalogue" *File 1.2 & 3* (May-June, 1972): 57-59
- Cavell, Richard. *McLuhan in Space: A Cultural Geography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- . "Marshall McLuhan and the History of the Book." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 88-90. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- . "World Famous Across Canada, Or Transnational Localities." In *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, edited by Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki, 85-92. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2007.
- Chamberlain, Lori. "Ghost Writing the Text: Translation and the Poetics of Jack Spicer" *Contemporary Literature*, 26, no. 4 (1985): 426-442.
- Chandler, Annmarie, and Norie Neumark. *At a Distance: Precursors to Art and Activism on the Internet*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005.
- Chandler, John Noel. "Incoherent Thoughts on Concrete Poetry." *artscanada* 26, no. 134/135 (August 1969): 11-13.
- Chapman, Owen, and Kim Sawchuck. "Research-Creation: Intervention, Analysis and 'Family Resemblances'." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37 (2012): 5-26.
- Cho, Lily. "Diasporic Citizenship: Contradictions and Possibilities for Canadian Literature." In *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, edited by Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki, 93-109. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007.
- "Chronology to 1971." In *Letters: Michael Morris & Concrete Poetry*, 147-159. Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2015.
- Churchill, David S. "Mother Goose's Map: Tabloid Geographies and Gay Male Experience in 1950s Toronto." *Journal of Urban History* 30, no. 6 (September 2004): 826-852.
- Clarkson, Stephen, and Christina McCall. *Trudeau and Our Times*. 2 vols, *The Magnificent Obsession*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.
- Collis, Maurice. *Stanley Spencer: A Biography*. London: Harvill Press, 1962
- "Commemorations for the Bicentennial of the War of 1812" *Canada's Economic Action Plan*, Government of Canada [2009]. Accessed November 11, 2015.
<http://actionplan.gc.ca/en/initiative/commemorations-bicentennial-war-1812>
- Conkelton, Sheryl. "Roy Kiyooka: '...The Sad and Glad Tidings of the Floating World...'" In *All Amazed For Roy Kiyooka*, edited by John O'Brian, Naomi Sawda and Scott Watson, 101-115. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002.
- Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec. "Soutien aux projets pour les organismes et les commissaires indépendants." Accessed December 7, 2015.
http://www.calq.gouv.qc.ca/organismes/proj_avnumcin_circulation.htm
- Cook, Ramsay. *The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971.
- Corris, Michael. "Introduction: An Invisible College in an Anglo-American World." In *Conceptual Art: Theory, Myth, Practice*, edited by Michael Corris, 1-18. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2004

- Coté, Jean-François. "Andy Warhol: Pop In and Pop Out." In *Expo '67: Not Just a Souvenir*, edited by Johanne Sloan and Rhona Richman Kenneally, 163-175. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Cousineau-Levine, Penny. *Faking Death: Canadian Art Photography and the Canadian Imagination*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Couture, Francine, ed. *Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante*. 2 vols. Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993.
- . "Art et technologie: Repenser l'art et la culture." In *Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante*. Vol. 1, *La reconnaissance de la modernité*, edited by Francine Couture, 171-222. Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993.
- Crary, Jonathan. *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*. New York: Verso, 2013.
- Cronin, Kerri J., and Kirsty Robertson. *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011.
- Crosby, Marcia. "Making Indian Art 'Modern'." In *Ruins in Process: Vancouver Art in the Sixties*. Accessed February 24, 2012.
<http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/making-indian-art-modern>
- Curnoe, Greg interviewed by General Idea. "Greg Curnoe: A File Interview." *File 2*, no. 1/2 (April-May, 1972): 46, 61.
- Cuyás, José Díaz. "Yves Klein: Between the Spiritual Void and Cannibal Satiety." *Afterall* (May 20, 2013). <http://www.afterall.org/online/8037#.UqiAUY2vWRQ>
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Darnton, Robert. "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 65-83.
- Davey, Frank. "The Problem of Margins." *Tish* 3 (November 1961): 11-14.
- . *aka bpNichol: A Preliminary Biography*. Toronto: ECW Press, 2012.
- Davey, Moyra. Introduction to *Mother Reader: Essential Writings on Motherhood*, edited by Moyra Davey, xiii-xix. Toronto: Seven Stories, 2001.
- Davidson, Michael. *The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- . *Guys Like Us: Citing Masculinity in Cold War Poetics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Dean, Tom. "Martha is Dead." *Médiart* 13 (January 1973): 28-29.
- de Carvalho, Anithe. "Fin du mythe de l'art underground anti-institutionnel: L'utopie de la démocratie culturelle et l'environnement labyrinthe Vive la rue Saint-Denis ! (1971)." *Animation, territoires et pratiques socioculturelles* 5 (2013): 73-88.
- . *Art rebelle et contre-culture: Création collective underground au Québec*. Montréal: M Éditeur, 2015.
- de Guise, Claude. "Parti-pris." In *Quebec Underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, edited by Yves Robillard, 96-109. Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973.
- De Koninck, Marie-Charlotte, and Pierre Landry, eds. *Déclics, art et société: Le Québec des années 1960 et 1970*. Saint-Laurent, QC: Fides, 1999.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- . *On Grammatology*. Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

- Dickson, John A., and Brian Young. *A Short History of Quebec*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1993.
- Donaldson, Jesse. "A Filthy Perverted Paper": A History of the Georgia Straight." *The Dependent*, July 13, 2010.
<http://thependent.ca/featured/%E2%80%9C%E2%80%99s-a-filthy-perverted-paper%E2%80%9D-a-history-of-the-georgia-straight/?show=slide>
- d'Or, Vic. "Art D'Eco Revival In Robert's Creek." *FILE Magazine* 2, no. 1/2 (April/May 1973): 32-33.
- Duguay, Raoul . "Approche d'une définition du rôle efficace de l'artiste dans la société québécoise." In *Quebec Underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, edited by Yves Robillard, 325-327. Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973.
- Duncan, Robert. "The Homosexual in Society." *Politics* (March 1944): 209-210.
- Ellingham, Lewis, and Kevin Killian. *Poet be Like God: Jack Spicer and the San Francisco Renaissance*. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1998.
- Fairbairn, Rebecca. "A Short Trip on Spaceship Earth: Intermedia Society, 1967-1972." MA thesis, Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1991.
- Falvey, Emily. "CRUM's Playful Conceptualism," *Canadian Art*, January 12, 2015. Accessed April 20, 2016. <http://canadianart.ca/reviews/crums-playful-conceptualism/>
- Farkas, Endre. *Szerbusz*. Montréal: Eldorado Editions, 1974.
- "FILE: The Great Art Tragedy." *The Grape*, Vancouver, May 24-30, 1972.
- Finley, Karen A. *The Force of Culture: Vincent Massey and Canadian Sovereignty*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004.
- Fischer, Barbara. Introduction to *General Idea Editions, 1967-1995*, edited by Barbara Fischer, 20-23. Mississauga: Blackwood Gallery, 2003.
- Flam, Jack. "Introduction." In *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History*, edited by Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Fleming, Marie. "Joyce Wieland." In *Joyce Wieland*, 17-115. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987.
- Florida, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How its Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York : Basic Books, 2002.
- Foster, Hal, ed. *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*. 2nd ed. Vol. 2. London: Thames and Hudson, 2014.
- Fredriksson, Martin. "Copyright Culture and Pirate Politics." *Cultural Studies* 28, no. 5/6 (2014):1022-1047.
- Fried, Michael. "Art and Objecthood (1964)." In *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews*, 148-172. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Froger, Marion. "Collective Dynamics at Vidéographe (1970-1975)." In *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, edited by Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault, 293-303. Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010.
- Galloway, Alexander. "Are Some Things Unrepresentable?" *Theory, Culture & Society* 28, no. 7/8 (2011): 85-102.
- Geist, Michael, ed. *From "Radical Extremism" To "Balanced Copyright": Canadian Copyright and the Digital Agenda*. Toronto: Irwin Law, 2010.

- . "Canadian Copyright Reform in Force: Expanded User Rights Now the Law," November 7, 2012. Accessed November 9, 2012.
<http://www.michaelgeist.ca/2012/11/bill-c-11-effect/>
- Gerson, Carole, and Jacques Michon. Introduction to *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, 3-9. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- . "Coda." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 515-521. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- , Martin Lyons, Jean-Yves Mollier, Jacques Michon, and Winship Michael. "Inheriting the National Histories of the Book." Round table discussion at the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing conference, SHARP 2015: The Generation and Regeneration of Books, Longueuil, Québec, July 7, 2015.
- Gervais, André. "La double filière de la poésie québécoise des années 1965-1970." In *Les arts et les années 60: Architecture, arts visuels, chanson, cinéma, danse, design, littérature, musique, théâtre*, edited by Francine Couture, 27-36. Montréal: Éditions Tryptique, 1991.
- Ginsberg, Allen and Jack Webster, "Ginsberg and Webster." *The Georgia Straight*, April 4-10 (1969): 9-12.
- Godfrey, Mark. "Accross The Universe." In *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964-1977*, edited by Matthew K. Witkovsky, 57-65. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011.
- Gold, Artie. Introduction to *The Vehicule Poets*, 7-8. Montréal: Maker Press, 1979.
- Goldie, Terry. "Queer Nation?" In *In a Queer Country: Gay & Lesbian Studies in the Canadian Context*, edited by Terry Goldie, 7-26. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2001.
- Government of Canada, Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat. "Bicentennial Commemoration of the War of 1812, Plans Spending and Results." Last modified November 30, 2015. Accessed June 10, 2016. <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/hidb-bdih/plan-eng.aspx?Org=0&Hi=123&Pl=544>
- Grace, Sherill. *Inventing Tom Thomson: From Biographical Fictions to Fictional Autobiography*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.
- Grant, George. *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*. 2nd ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970.
- Gray, Timothy. *Gary Snyder and the Pacific Rim*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006.
- Green, Johnathon, and Nicholas J. Karolides. *Encyclopedia of Censorship*. New York: Facts on File, 2005.
- Greenberg, Clement. "Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today." *Canadian Art* 20, no. 2 (March/April 1963): 90-107.
- . "Avant-Garde Attitudes: New Art in the Sixties (1969)." In *The Collected Essays*. Vol. 4, *Modernism with a Vengeance, 1957-1969*, edited by John O'Brian, 292-303. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Groupe de recherches et d'études sur le livre au Québec. *Entre l'auteur et le lecteur : l'archive*. Montréal: Université de Sherbrooke, Service des bibliothèques et archives, 2015.

- Groys, Boris. *Art Power*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008.
- Grunenberg, Christoph, ed. *Summer of Love: Art of the Psychedelic Era*. London: Tate Publishing, 2005.
- Guillory, John. "Genesis of the Media Concept." *Critical Inquiry* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2010): 321-362.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2011.
- Hardy, Dominic. "What does the term 'settler-colonial art history' mean to you? What are the opportunities and problems of the method for writing art history in the Canadian context?" *Journal of Canadian Art History* 25, no. 1 (2014): 176-180.
- Harvey, David. *A Companion to Marx's Capital*. New York: Verso, 2010.
- Hawkes, Terrence. *Structuralism and Semiotics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Hayward, Michael. "Talonbooks: Publishing from the Margins." *CMNS 870: Text and Context*. April 1991. <http://www.harbour.sfu.ca/~hayward/talon/index.html>.
- Heiser, Jörg. "Moscow, Romantic, Conceptualism and After." *e-flux Journal* 29 (November 2011). Accessed April 07, 2013. <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/moscow-romantic-conceptualism-and-after/>
- Heiser, Jörg, and Ellen Seifermann. *Romantic Conceptualism*. Bielefeld: Kerber, 2007.
- Helms, Gabrielle. *Challenging Canada: Dialogism and Narrative Techniques in Canadian Novels*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Higgins, Hannah. *Fluxus Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Higonnet, Anne. *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
- Holmes, Kristie A. "Joyce Wieland as Cultural Worker: Ecology, Nation, and New Leftism in True Patriot Love." In *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, edited by Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault, 256-268. Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada." 2015. http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf
- Horall, Andrew. "'Adult Viewing Only': Dorothy Cameron's 1965 Trial For Exhibiting Obscene Pictures." *Journal of Canadian Art History* 34, no. 1 (2013): 57-81.
- Hubbard, Phil. *Cities and Sexualities*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Huyssen, Andreas. Introduction to *Other Cities, Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age*, edited by Andreas Huyssen, 1-23. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- "Intermedia: Huite ans plus tard" *Médiart* 5 (Avril 1972): F3-F4.
- "Introduction" in *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980*, edited by Grant Arnold and Karen Henry, 13-14. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2012.
- Image Bank. *Annual Report*. Vancouver: Intermedia Press, 1972.
- Jacob, Luis. *Golden Streams: Artists' Collaboration and Exchange in the 1970s*. Toronto: Blackwood Gallery, 2002.

- Jean, Marie-Josée. "The Conceptual Works of Bill Vazan." In *Bill Vazan: Walking into the Vanishing Point: Art Conceptuel, Conceptual Art*, 54-60. Montréal: VOX, Centre de l'image contemporaine, 2009.
- Jewinski, Ed. *Michael Ondaatje: Express Yourself Beautifully*. Toronto: ECW Press, 1994.
- Jim, Alice. "Asian Canadian Art Matters." *Asia Art Archive: Diaaologue* (July 2010). <http://www.aaa.org.hk/Diaaologue/Details/863>
- Johns, Robert. "Québec Underground." *Artscanada* 20, no 2 (May 1973): 72-75.
- Johnson, Hugh. *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005.
- Johnson, Lynda, and Robyn Longhurst. *Space, Place and Sex: Geographies of Sexualities*. Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010.
- "Just Watch Me." Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Concordia University. Accessed April 20, 2016. <http://ellengallery.concordia.ca/?piste-de-reflexion=just-watch-me&lang=en>
- Kamboureli, Smaro. *On The Edge of Genre: the Contemporary Canadian Long Poem*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- . Afterword to *Pacific Rim Letters*, by Roy Kiyooka, edited by Smaro Kamboureli, 330-349. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2005.
- . Preface to *Trans.Can.Lit: Resituating the Study of Canadian Literature*, edited by Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki, vii-xv. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007.
- Katz, Jonathan D. "Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Marcuse, and the Politics of Eros." In *21st Century Gay Culture*, edited by David A. Powell, 13-29. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.
- . "Committing the Perfect Crime: Sexuality, Assemblage and the Postmodern Turn in American Art. Epilogue." *Art Journal* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 38-53.
- Kinsman, Gary, "The Canadian National Security War on Queers and the Left." In *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*, edited by Karen Dubinsky, 77-86. Toronto: Between The Lines, 2009.
- Kiyooka, Roy. *Nevertheless These Eyes*. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1967.
- . *Transcanada Letters*. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1975.
- . "We Asian North Americanos." *West Coast Line* 24, no. 3 (Winter 1990): 116-118.
- . *Pacific Windows*. Burnaby, B.C.: Talonbooks, 1997.
- . *Mothertalk: Life Stories of Mary Kiyoshi Kiyooka*. Edited by Daphne Marlatt. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1997.
- . *Pacific Rim Letters*. Edited by Smaro Kamboureli. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2005.
- Kiyooka, Roy, and Gerry Gilbert. "Laughter: Five Conversations with Roy Kiyooka." *artscanada* 32, no. 4 (Winter 1975-1976): 12-16.
- Klepac, Walter. "Getting it All Apart." *Books in Canada* 2, no. 3 (1972): 11-12.
- Kluge, Alexander, and Oskar Negt. *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*. Translated by Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel and Oksiloff Assenka. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

- Koenig, Michael E.D. "What is KM? Knowledge Management Explained," *KM World*, May 4, 2012. Accessed November 11, 2015.
<http://www.kmworld.com/Articles/Editorial/What-Is-.../What-is-KM-Knowledge-Management-Explained-82405.aspx>.
- Konyves, Tom, and Steven Morrisey, eds. *The Vehicule Poets Now*. Montréal: The Muses Company, 2004.
- Kotz, Liz. *Words to be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
- "La Chambre reconnaît la nation québécoise," *Ici Radio Canada*, November 28, 2006. Accessed March 15, 2016. <http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelles/politique/2006/11/27/007-vote-nation.shtml>
- Lamoureux, Ève. *Art et politique: Nouvelles formes d'engagement artistique au Québec*. Montreal: Les Éditions Écosociété, 2009.
- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Leclerc, Denise, and Pierre Dussureault. *The Sixties in Canada*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2005.
- Lee, Dennis. *Savage Fields: An Essay in Literature and Cosmology*. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1977.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, [1974] 1991.
- Léger, Danielle. "Le centre d'information Artex: un mandat, et un parcours, atypiques." In *Essays in the History of Art Librarianship in Canada*, Art Libraries Society of North America, 2006. Accessed November 2, 2015.
http://www.ifla.org/files/assets/art-libraries/history_canada_art_libraries_0.pdf
- Leider, Philip. "Vancouver: Scene With No Scene." *artscanada* 25, no. 6/7 (June/July, 1967): 1-8.
- "Lesage demande que l'enquête sur les Jeunes Canadiens s'entende au groupe Fusion des arts." In *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, edited by Yves Robillard, pp-pp. Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973.
- Levant, Victor. *Quiet Complicity: Canadian Involvement in the Vietnam War*. Toronto: Between The Lines, 1986.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Levitas, Ruth. *The Concept of Utopia*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010.
- . *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Lewis, Randolph. *Alanis Obomsawin: The Vision of A Native Filmmaker*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
- Lind, Jane. *Joyce Wieland: Artist on Fire*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 2001.
- Lippard, Lucy. "Vancouver." *Art News* 67 (September, 1968): 26, 70-71.
- . *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object From 1966 to 1972...* 2nd. ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, [1973] 1997.
- . "Biting the Hand: Artists and Museums in New York Since 1969." In *Alternative Art, New York, 1965-1985*, edited by Julie Ault, 79-119. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

- , and John Chandler. "The Dematerialization of Art ." In *Changing: Essays on Art Criticism*, by Lucy R. Lippard, 255-276. New York: E.P. Dutton, [1968] 1971.
- Litt, Paul. "The State and The Book." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 34-45. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Livesay, Dorothy. "The Documentary Poem: A Canadian Genre." In *Contexts of Canadian Criticism: A Collection of Critical Essay*, edited by Eli Mandel, 267-281. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Lord, Barry. "Canada: The Stir in Vancouver." *Art in America* 3 (May, 1968): 119.
- . *The History of Painting in Canada: Towards a People's Art*. Toronto: NC Press, 1974.
- Lord, Catherine, and Richard Meyer. *Art & Queer Culture*. London: Phaidon, 2013.
- Lortie, André, ed. *The 60s: Montreal Thinks Big*, Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2004.
- Lowndes, Joan. "Don't ask what these collages mean," *Vancouver Sun*, April 3, 1971. Reprinted in *The Collage Show*. Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1971.
- . "Halifax-Vancouver Exchange: The Vancouver Art Gallery, March 26-30, 1972." *artscanada* 26, no. 2 (Spring 1972): 99.
- . "The Spirit of the Sixties: By A Witness." In *Vancouver Art and Artists: 1931-1983*, 142-151. Vancouver: The Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983.
- Lowry, Glen. "Roy Kiyooka's Transcanada Letters: Re: Reading a Poet's Prose." *West Coast Line* 38, no. 36 (2002): 16-34.
- . Afterword to *Transcanada Letters*, by Roy K. Kiyooka, edited by Smaro Kamboureli, 370-377. Waterloo, ON: New West Press, 2005.
- Loubier Patrice, and Anne-Marie Ninacs, eds. *Les Commensaux: quand l'art se fait circonstances*. Montréal: Centre des arts actuels SKOL, 2001.
- Loughran, Trish. "Books in the Nation." In *Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, edited by Leslie Howsam, pp-pp. Windsor: University of Windsor, 2015.
- Lum, Ken. "Canadian Cultural Policy: A Problem of Metaphysics" *Canadian Art* 16, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 76-83.
- Lüttiken, Sven. "Secrecy and Publicity: Reactivating the Avant-Garde." *New Left Review* 17 (Sept.-Oct. 2002): 129-148.
- . *Secret Publicity: Essays on Contemporary Art*. Rotterdam: NAI, 2006.
- Lutz, Catherine A., and Jane L. Collins. *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- MacFarland, Scott Toguri. "Un-Ravelling 'StoneDGloves' and the Haunt of the Hibakusha." In *All Amazed For Roy Kiyooka*, edited by John O'Brian, Naomi Sawada and Scott Watson, 117-147. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002.
- Mahon, Alyce. *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros, 1938-1968*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005.
- Marcuse, Herbert. *Essays on Liberation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- . "Repressive Tolerance." In *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*, by Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore Jr. and Herbert Marcuse, 95-137. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- Markonish, Denise. "Oh, Canada or: How I learned to Love 3.8 Million Square Miles of Art North of the 49th Parallel." In *Oh, Canada: Contemporary Art from North North America*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012.

- Marlatt, Daphne. *Ana Historic: A Novel*. Toronto: Coach House Press: 1988.
- Mason, Jody. *Writing Unemployment: Worklessness, Mobility, and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Canadian Literature*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Mavrikakis, Nicolas. "Écart critique," *Le Devoir*, November 9-10, 2013.
- McKaskell, Robert. *Making it New! (The Big Sixties Show)*. Windsor: Art Gallery of Windsor, 1999.
- McKay, Ian. *Rebels, Reds, Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005.
- . "Sarnia in the Sixties (Or The Peculiarities of the Canadians)." In *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*, edited by Karen Dubinsky, 24-35. Toronto: Between The Lines, 2009.
- McKillop, A.B. "Imprinting the Nation in Words." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 13-24. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- McKnight, David. "Small Press Publishing." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 308-318. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- McLaren, Eli, and Josée Vincent. "Inheriting the National Histories of the Book." Paper presented at the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing conference, SHARP 2015: The Generation and Regeneration of Books, Longueuil, Québec, July 7, 2015.
- McLeod, Donald W. *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975*. Toronto: ECW Press/Homewood Books, 1996.
- . "Publishing Against the Grain." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 322-327. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
- . *Counterblast*. 2nd ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.
- Meltzer, Eve. *Systems We Have Loved: Conceptual Art, Affect, and the Antihumanist Turn*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Mermelstein, Arno. "Maid in Canada." Special Pornography Issue, *Beaux-Arts Magazine* (1973): 38-39.
- Mezei, Kathy. "1974: Small West Coast Press Talonbooks Makes a Bold Move and Publishes Four Quebec Plays in Translation." In *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture*, edited by Kathy Mezei, Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow, 318-330. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014.
- Michon, Jacques. "Publishing Books in French." In *The History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 199-205. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Mignolo, Walter D. "Delinking", *Cultural Studies*, 21:2 (2007), 449–514.
- Miki, Roy. "Inter-Face: Roy Kiyooka's Writing, A Commentary/Interview." In *Roy Kiyooka*, edited by William Wood, 41-54. Vancouver: Artspeak Gallery/Or Gallery, 1991.

- . "Coruscations, Plangencies and the Sybillant: After Words to Roy Kiyooka's Pacific Windows." In *Pacific Windows*, by Roy Kiyooka, edited by Roy Miki, 301-320. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1997.
- . "Tom Thomson as/in Roy Kiyooka." In *The Artist & The Moose: A Fable of Forget*, by Roy Kiyooka, 135-177. Burnaby, BC: Line Books, 2009.
- . "Unravelling Roy Kiyooka: A Re-Assessment Amidst Shifting Boundaries." In *All Amazed for Roy Kiyooka*, edited by John O'Brian, Naomi Sawda and Scott Watson, 69-83. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002.
- Mills, Sean. *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2010.
- . "The Language of Liberation." In *Actions That Speak: Aspects of Québec Culture in the 1960s and 1970s*, edited by Michèle Thériault. Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2012.
- Milroy, Sarah. "Wack Attack," *The Globe and Mail*, October 17, 2008. Last updated March 31, 2009. Accessed June 11, 2016.
<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/wack-attack/article1064198/?page=2>
- Monaghan, Patricia, ed. *Goddesses in World Culture*. Vol. 2, *Eastern Mediterranean and Europe*. Santa Barbara, Cal.: ABC-Clio, 2011.
- Monk, Lorraine, ed. *B.C. Almanac(h)* Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1970.
- Monk, Philip. "Colony, Commodity, Copyright: Reference and Self-reference in Canadian Art." *Vanguard* 12, no. 5/6 (June 1983):14-17.
- . *Glamour Is Theft: A User's Guide To General Idea*. Toronto: The Art Gallery of York University, 2012.
- Morris, Catherine, and Vincent Bonin. "An Introduction to Six Years." In *Materializing Six Years: Lucy R. Lippard and the Emergence of Conceptual Art*, edited by Catherine Morris and Vincent Bonin, xv-xx. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012.
- Morris, Michael. "Ray Johnson: An Appreciation." In *Ray Johnson: How Sad I Am Today...*, 7-10. Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1999.
- Mossop, Brian. "1974: The Wiemar Republic Comes to Gay Toronto." In *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture*, edited by Kathy Mezei, Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow, 399-415. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Colour and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- . *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Murray, Laura J., and Samuel E. Trosow. *Canadian Copyright: A Citizen's Guide*. Toronto: Between The Lines, 2007.
- Musso, Pierre. *Critique des réseaux*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003.
- Napoleon, Val. *Thinking about Indigenous Legal Orders*. National Centre for First Nations Governance, 2007.
http://www.fngovernance.org/ncfng_research/val_napoleon.pdf
- Nast, Heidi J. "Queer Patriarchies, Queer Racisms, International Prologue: Crosscurrents." *Antipode* 34, no. 5 (November 2002): 874-909.
- Navas, Eduardo. *Remix Theory: The Aesthetics of Sampling*. Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 2012.

- Nealon, Christopher. *Foundlings: Lesbian and Gay Historical Emotion Before Stonewall*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Nemiroff, Diana. "A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada, With Particular Reference to Véhicule, A Space and the Western Front." MA thesis, Montreal: Concordia University, 1985.
- . "Par-al-lel." In *Sightlines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art*, edited by Jessica Bradey and Lesley Johnstone, 180-189. Montreal: Artexte Éditions, 1994.
- . "Geometric Abstraction After 1950." In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, 211-231. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- New, William H. *A History of Canadian Literature*. 2nd ed. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Newman, Barnett. "The First Man Was an Artist (1947)." In *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book By Artists and Critics*, edited by Herschel B. Chipp, 551-552. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Ngai, Sianne. "Merely Interesting." *Critical Inquiry* 34 (Summer 2008): 777-817.
- Norris, Ken, and Andre Farkas. Introduction to *Montreal: English Language Poetry of the Seventies*, ix-xii. Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1977.
- Norris, Ken, ed. *Vehicule Days: An Unorthodox History of Montreal's Vehicule Poets*. Montréal : NuAge Editions, 1993.
- O'Brian, John. "White Paint, Hoarfrost, and the Cold Shoulder of Neglect." In *Roy Kiyooka*, 19-25. Vancouver: Artspeak/Or Gallery, 1991.
- . "Wild Art History." In *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, edited by John O'Brian and Peter White, 21-37. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- O'Brian, John, and Peter White, eds. *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- Olsberg, Nicholas. "Fragments of Utopia" in *Arthur Erickson: Critical Works*, edited by Nicholas Olsberg and Ricardo Castro (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2006), 71.
- Olson, Charles. "Projective Verse." In *The New American Poetry, 1945-1960*, edited by Donald Allen, 386-397. Berkeley: University of California Press, [1960] 1999.
- Ondaatje, Michael. *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: Left-Handed Poems*. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1970.
- Ondaatje, Michael, ed. *The Long Poem Anthology*. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1979.
- Osborne, Peter. "Survey." In *Conceptual Art*, 12-51. New York: Phaidon, 2002.
- Palmer, Bryan. *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity In A Rebellious Era*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- . "New Left Liberationists: the Poetics, Praxis and Politics of Youth Radicalism." In *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade*, edited by M. Athena Palaeologu, 65-149. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2009.
- Park, Liz. "Pluralizing the Institution: On the Conference 'Institutions by Artists,'" *Afterall Online Journal*, December 20, 2012. Accessed December 7, 2015. <http://www.afterall.org/online/pluralising-the-institution-on-the-conference-institutions-by-artists#.VmWITaRPYfo>

- Parker, George L. "Trade and Regional Book Publishing in English." In *History of the Book in Canada*. Vol. 3, 1918-1980, edited by Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, 168-178. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Peariso, Craig J. "The 'Counterculture' in Quotation Marks: Sontag and Marcuse on the Work of Revolution." In *The Scandal of Susan Sontag*, edited by Barbara Ching and Jennifer A. Wagner-Lawlor, 155-169. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Perfloff, Marjorie. *Unoriginal Genius: Poetry by Other Means in the New Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Persky, Stan, and Dennis Wheeler. "[Editorial]," *The Georgia Straight Writing Supplement 2*, January 28, 1970.
- Petrilli, Susan, and Augusto Ponzio. *Semiotics Unbounded: Interpretive Routes Through the Open Network of Signs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Pickering, Andrew. *The Cybernetic Brain: Sketches of Another Future*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Pigeon, Elaine. "Hosanna! Michel Tremblay's Queering of National Identity." In *In a Queer Country: Gay and Lesbian Studies in the Canadian Context*, edited by Terry Goldie, 27-49. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2001.
- "Playmate-of-the-month." *Médiart* 8 (July 1972): D1-D4.
- Poggioli, Renato. *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Pontbriand, Chantal. "Des Potins à la torontoise." *Médiart* 6 (May 1972): F1.
- . "Tom Dean prépare *Beaux-Arts*." *Médiart* 1, no. 4 (Mars 1972): F4.
- Preziosi, Donald. "Globalization and its Discontents." In *The Art of Art History*, edited by Donald Preziosi, 403-408. London: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Rae, Ian. *From Cohen to Carson: The Poet's Novel in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Ray Johnson: How Sad I Am Today...* Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1999.
- Régimbal, Christopher. "Institutions of Regionalism: Artist Collectivism in London, Ontario, 1960-1990." *ArcPost Online Space for Artist-run Culture*, 2012. <http://arcpost.ca/articles/institutions-of-regionalism>
- Reid, Dennis. *The Group of Seven*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1970.
- . *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Richardson, Keith. *Poetry and the Colonized Mind: TISH*. Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1976.
- Richman Kenneally, Rhona, and Johanne Sloan. Introduction to *Expo '67: Not Just a Souvenir*, edited by Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, 3-22. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Ritchi, Christina. "Allusions, Omissions, Cover-Ups: The Early Days." In *General Idea 1968-1975: The Search For The Spirit*, edited by Fern Bayer, 13-16. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1998.
- Robert Filliou: From Political to Poetical Economy*. Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1995.
- Roberts, John. "Quebec underground." *artscanada* 30, no. 2 (May 1973): 72.

- Robillard, Yves. "La Casa Loma: Acte 4 Le 21, 22 et 23 mars." *Médiart* 17 (1973): 21-22.
- . "Présentation." In *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, edited by Yves Robillard, 5-15. Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973.
- Rochler, Noah. "A Nation Playing at War," *National Post*, May 5, 2012. Accessed October 15, 2015. <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/noah-richler-a-nation-playing-war>
- Rodriguez, Pablo. "Constellations and Correspondences: Transmission entre artistes/Networking Between Artists, 1970-1980." *Fuse* 35, no. 4 (2012): 36-37.
- Roelstraete, Dieter and Scott Watson. *Intertidal: Vancouver Art and Artists*. Antwerp/Vancouver: Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen/Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia, 2005.
- Roemer, Kenneth M. *Utopian Audiences: How Readers Locate Nowhere*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.
- Ronneberger, Klaus. "Henri Lefebvre and the Question of Autogestion." In *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade*, edited by Sabine Bitter, Jeff Derksen and Helmut Weber, 89-116. New York: Sternberg Press, 2009.
- Ross, Kristin. *May '68 and Its Afterlives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Roussopoulos, Dimitrios I. "Towards A Revolutionary Youth Movement And An Extra-Parliamentary Opposition in Canada." In *The New Left in Canada*, edited by Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos, 431-151. Montreal: Our Generation Press/Black Rose Books, 1970.
- Roy K. Kiyooka: *25 Years*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1975.
- "Roy Kenzie Kiyooka – A Chronology." In *Pacific Rim Letters*, edited by Smaro Kamboureli, 350-354. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2005.
- Roy, Jean-Pierre. "Pour une problématique formaliste de l'art populaire." In *Quebec Underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, edited by Yves Robillard, 329-337. Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973.
- Rubin, David S. *Optical and Visionary Art Since the 1960s*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010.
- Rutherford, Myra, and Jim Miller. "'It's Our Country': First Nation's Participation in the Indian Pavillion at Expo '67." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 17, no. 2 (2006): 148-173.
- Ryder, Bruce. "Undercover Censorship: Exploring the History of the Regulation of Publications in Canada." In *Interpreting Censorship in Canada*, edited by Peter Klaus and Alan C. Hutchinson, 129-156. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Rylski, Nika. "The Big Peace Party: The Expo Love-In," *The Ottawa Journal*, August 18, 1967. Accessed January 20, 2016. http://expo67.ncf.ca/expo_67_news_p32.html
- Saint-Martin, Fernande. "La Situation de l'art et l'identité québécoise." *Voix et Images* 2, no. 1 (1976): 20-27.
- Saint-Pierre, Gaston. "Illusions et désillusions autour de l'idée de vouloir changer le monde." In *Déclics Art et Société: Le Québec des années 1960 et 1970*, edited by Marie-Charlotte De Koninck and Pierre Landry, 191-227. Montréal/Québec: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal/Musée de la civilisation, 1999.

- Saint-Pierre, Marcel. "A QUEBEC ART SCENIC TOUR and his 'contradictions intérieures.'" Vol. 1, in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972: Tome 1*, edited by Yves Robillard. Montréal: Éditions Médiart, 1973.
- Sandals, Leah. "6 Questions About Art and Parenthood," *Canadian Art Online*, 7 January 2016. <https://canadianart.ca/reviews/on-the-parent-shaped-hole-in-the-artworld/>
- Saper, Craig J. *Networked Art*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Satin, Mark, ed. *Manual For Draft-Age Immigrants To Canada*. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1968.
- Sava, Sharla. "Roy Kiyooka: Photographing the Local From the Inside Out." *C Magazine* 60 (1998): 26-32.
- . "Determining the Cultural Ecology: Ray Johnson and the New York Correspondence Dance School of Vancouver." In *Ray Johnson: How Sad I am Today...*, 11-26. Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1999.
- Scherf, Kathleen. "A Legacy of Canadian Cultural Tradition and the Small Press: The Case of Talonbooks." *Studies in Canadian Literature* 25, no. 1 (2000): 131-149.
- Schwartzwald, Robert. "Fear of Federasty: Québec's Inverted Fictions." In *Comparative American Identities: Race, Sex and Nationality in the Modern Text*, edited by Hortense J. Spillers, 175-191. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- . "1970: The October Crisis and the FLQ Manifesto." In *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture*, edited by Kathy Mezei, Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow, 105-118. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Shaw, Nancy. "Expanded Consciousness and Company Types: Collaboration Since Intermedia and the N.E. Thing Co." In *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, edited by Stan Douglas, 85-103. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991.
- . "Citing the Banal." In *Ruins in Process: Vancouver Art in the Sixties*. Accessed November 12, 2015. <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/siting-the-banal#ref10>
- Shearer, Karis. "Constructing Cannons: Postmodern Cultural Workers and The Canadian Long Poem." PhD diss., London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 2008.
- . "Imago & the Canadian Long Poem: The Cultural Work of George Bowering." *Open Letter* 14, no. 4 (2010): 13-29.
- Shier, Reid. "Vancouver." In *Art Cities of the Future: 21st Century Avant-Gardes*, 297-319. London: Phaidon, 2013.
- Sholette, Gregory. "Speaking Pie to Power: Can We Resist the Historic Compromise of Neoliberal Art? ." In *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*, edited by J. Keri Cronin and Kirsty Robertson, 27-48. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011.
- Silcox, David P. "An Outside View." In *Vancouver: Art and Artists, 1931-1983*, 153-159. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983.
- Silverman, Kaja. *The Subject of Semiotics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Simon, Sherry. *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Simpson, Robin. "What We Got Away With: Rochdale College and Canadian Art in the Sixties." MA thesis, Montreal: Concordia University, 2011.

- . "Canadian Art, 1847-1985." In *Oh, Canada: Contemporary Art from north North America*, edited by Denise Markonish, 54-61. North Adams, MA: Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art, 2012.
- Sioui Durand, Guy. *L'art comme alternative: réseaux et pratiques d'art parallèle au Québec, 1976-1996*. Québec: Intervention, 1997.
- . "Marcel Rioux et l'alternative artistique." *Inter: art actuel* 55/56 (1992-1993): 2-9.
- . "Des projets libérantes? Les lieux d'innovation et de transgression en arts visuels." In *Déclics Art et Société: le Québec des années 1960 et 1970*, edited by Marie-Charlotte De Koninck and Pierre Landry, 151-178. Montréal/Québec: Musée d'art contemporain/Musée de la civilisation, 1999.
- Sloan, Johanne. "Joyce Wieland At The Border: Nationalism, the New Left and the Question of Political Art in Canada." *The Journal of Canadian Art History* 26 (2005): 80-107.
- . "Conceptual Landscape Art: Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow." In *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art*, edited by John O'Brian and Peter White, 73-84. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- . "The New Figuration: From Pop to Postmodernism." In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky, 257-277. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Smart, Patricia. *Refus Global: Genèse et métamorphose d'un mythe fondateur*. Montréal: Programme des études sur le Québec, McGill University, 1998.
- Smith, Charlie. "Cecil's legendary stripper bar closes to make room for a new condo tower," *The Georgia Straight*, August 3, 2010. Accessed August 10, 2014. <http://www.straight.com/news/cecils-legendary-stripper-bar-closes-make-room-new-condo-tower>
- Smith, Joel. "More Than One: Sources of Serialism." In *More Than One: Photographs in Sequence*, 9-29. Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 2008.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. New York: Zed Books, 1999.
- Smith, Terry. "The Provincialism Problem." *Artforum* 13, no. 1 (September 1974): 54-59.
- Smithson, Robert. "Incidents of Mirror-Travel in the Yucatan." *Artforum* 8, no. 1 (1969): 28-33.
- Solnit, Rebecca. *Secret Exhibition: Six California Artists of the Cold War Era*. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1990.
- Solomon, Virginia. "Conceptualism and Canadada at the Halifax/Vancouver Exchange." In *The Last Art College: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1968-1978*, by Gary Neill Kennedy, 152-154. Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 2012.
- . "Sexuality and Signification: Episodes of General Idea's Subcultural Politics." PhD diss., Berkeley: University of Southern California, December 2013.
- "Some Juicy and Malicious Gossip" *File* 1, no. 1 (April 1972): 3.
- Sontag, Susan. "Notes on Camp (1964)." In *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*, 275-292. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1969.
- Spicer, Jack. *Billy the Kid*. San Francisco: Enkidu Surrogate, 1959.

- Spieker, Sven. *The Big Archive: Art From Bureaucracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008.
- Spinks, Lee. *Michael Ondaatje*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorti. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards A History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Staggenborg, Suzanne. *Social Movements*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Stanton, Victoria, and Vincent Tinguely, eds. *Impure: Reinventing the Word*. Montréal: Conundrum Press, 2001.
- Steyerl, Hito. "In Defense of the Poor Image." *e-flux Journal* 10 (November 2009). Accessed June 9, 2016. <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/in-defense-of-the-poor-image/>
- Stimson, Blake. "The Promise of Conceptual Art." In *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson, xxxviii-lii. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999.
- Szewczyk, Monika, ed. *Paint: A Psychedelic Primer*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2006.
- Taylor, Felicity. "Publishing as Alternative Space." In *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, edited by Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault, 305-324. Montréal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010.
- . "Information from the Quebec Underground, 1962-1972." In *Actions that Speak*, edited by Michèle Thériault, 51-73. Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2012.
- . "Wayfinding Through the Technological Sublime." *Matrix* 93 (Fall 2012): 5-7.
- Taylor, Brandon. *Collage: The Making of Modern Art*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2004.
- Taylor, Charles. *Radical Tories: The Conservative Tradition in Canada*. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1982.
- The Canadian Press. "Don't count on grants, Flaherty warns arts groups," *CBC News*, June 28, 2011. Accessed November 11, 2015. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/don-t-count-on-grants-flaherty-warns-arts-groups-1.1080626>
- The Vehicule Poets*. Montréal: Maker Press, 1979.
- Thériault, Michèle. "Intervening, Debating, Taking a Stand: Normand Thériault's Curatorial Practice, 1968-1977." In *Actions That Speak*, edited by Michèle Thériault, 75-97. Montreal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2012.
- Thompson, David. "A Canadian Scene." *Studio International* 176, no. 904, (October, 1968):152-57.
- Thornton, Michael. "Shirley Temple: The Superstar Who Had Her Childhood Destroyed by Hollywood." *Mail Online*, April 18, 2008. Accessed March 8, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-560626/Shirley-Temple-superstar-childhood-destroyed-Hollywood.html>
- Tomaszewska, Lara Halina. "Borderlines of Poetry and Art: Vancouver, American Modernism, and the Formation of the West Coast Avant-Garde, 1961-1969." PhD diss., Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2007.
- Toupin, Gilles. "Quand le son et l'image..." *La Presse*, C2, March 8, 1973.
- . "Suzy Lake, Allen Bealy," *La Presse*, December 8, 1973.

- . "Bill Vazan ou de l'oeuvre d'art comme une sonde," *La Presse*, E 14-15, February 16, 1974.
- Townsend-Gault, Charlotte. "The Unobvious of the Obvious." In *You are Now in the Middle of a N.E. Thing Co. Landscape: Works by Iain and Ingrid Baxter, 1965-1971*, edited by Nancy Shaw, Scott Watson and William Wood. Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1993.
- Tuer, Dot. "The CEAC Was Banned In Canada (1986)." In *Mining the Media Archive: Essays on Art, Technology and Cultural Resistance*, 55-91. Toronto: YYZ Books, 2006.
- Turgeon, Luc. "Interpreting Québec's Historical Trajectories." In *Québec: State and Society*, edited by Alain-G. Gagnon, translated by Sarah Lyons, 51-67. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2003.
- Turions, Cheyanne. "Youth in Revolt: Precarious Labour, the Young Curator and Sectorial Burn Out in the Media Arts." Originally published in *Syphon* 2, no. 3 (2013). <https://cheyanneturions.wordpress.com/2013/11/17/1781/>
- Turner, Fred. *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Turner, Michael. "Visual Poems, Imaginary Museums." In *Letters: Michael Morris & Concrete Poetry*, 125-144. Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2015.
- Uhlyarik, Georgiana, ed. *Introducing Suzy Lake*. Toronto/London: Art Gallery of Ontario/Black Dog Publishing, 2014.
- Underhill, Frank. "Canada and the Canadian Question 1954." In *In Search of Canadian Liberalism*, 214-226. Toronto: MacMillan, 1961.
- Vacher, Laurent-Michel. *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec*. Montréal: L'Aurore, 1975.
- Vallières, Pierre. *Nègres blancs d'Amérique: autobiographie précoce d'un 'terroriste' québécois*. Montréal: Éditions Parti pris, 1968.
- . "L'absurde fonctionnel." In *Camerart: 24 artistes du Québec*, 42-44. Montréal: Galerie Optica, 1974.
- Vancouver: Art and Artists, 1931-1983*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983.
- "Véhicule: Alternative Space, Alternative Attitude, New Situation" *Médiart* 9 (September 1972): D1-D8.
- Vermette, Luce. "Les Multiples de Média Gravures." *Vie des Arts* 18, no. 71 (1973): 29.
- Vlas, Adelina. "Michael Snow Photo-Centric: Expanding the Field of Photography." In *Michael Snow: Photocentric*, 6-18. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2014.
- Voyce, Stephen. *Poetic Community: Avant-Garde Activism and Cold War Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Wah, Fred. "Margins Into Lines: A Relationship." *Tish* 4 (December 1961): 9-10.
- . Introduction to *Net Work: Selected Writing*, by Daphne Marlatt, 7-21. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1980.
- . "A Poetics of Ethnicity." In *Faking It: Poetics & Hybridity: Critical Writing 1984-1999*, 51-66. Edmonton: NeWestPress, 2000.

- Walker, Miriam. "Literary Publishing in Vancouver: A Survey Report on the Four Major Presses." MA thesis, Burnaby: Simon Fraser University, 1979.
- Wallace, Keith, ed. *Whispered Art History: Twenty Years at the Western Front*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1993.
- . "On the Set at Babyland." In *Hand of the Spirit: Documents of the Seventies from the Morris Trasov Archive*, 29-47. Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1994.
- . "Artist-Run Centres in Vancouver: A Reflection on Three Texts." In *Institutions by Artists*, edited by Jeff Khonsary and Kristina Lee Podesva, 259-271. Vancouver: Fillip Editions, 2012.
- Wark, Jane. "Conceptual Art in Canada: Capitals, Peripheries, and Capitalism." In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky, 331-347. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . "Conceptual Art in Canada: The East Coast Story." In *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980*, edited by Grant Arnold and Karen Henry, 17-37. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2012.
- Warner, Michael. "Publics and Counterpublics." *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 49-90.
- Warren, Jean-Philippe. *Une douce anarchie: Les années 68 au Québec*. Montréal: Boréal, 2008.
- . "Un parti pris sexuel. Sexualité et masculinité dans la revue *Parti pris*." *Globe: revue internationale d'études québécoises* 12, no. 2 (2009): 129-157.
- . "Fondation et production de la revue *Mainmise* (1970-1978)." *Mémoires du livre / Studies in Book Culture* 4, no. 1 (automne/Fall 2012).
- Watkins, Melville, Charles Taylor, Laurier LaPierre, et al. *The Waffle Manifesto: For An Independent Socialist Canada*. Winnipeg: Canadian Dimension, 1969.
- Watson, Mark. "The Countercultural 'Indian': Visualizing Retribalization at the Human Be-In." In *West of Centre: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977*, 208-223. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- Watson, Scott. "Art in the Fifties: Design, Leisure and Painting in the Age of Anxiety." In *Vancouver: Art and Artists, 1931-1983*, 72-101. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983.
- . "Vincent Trasov: Word Paintings." In *Vincent Trasov: Word Paintings*, 5-10. Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1991.
- . "Urban Renewal: Ghost Traps, Collage, Condos and Squats." In *Ruins in Process: Vancouver Art in the Sixties*. Accessed February 24, 2012. <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/urban-renewal> Originally published in *Intertidal: Vancouver Art & Artists*, edited by Dieter Roelstraete and Scott Watson, 30-49. Antwerp/Vancouver: Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen/Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia, 2005.
- . "Mirrors: Michael Morris's Letter Paintings and Drawings, and the Problem of Nothing." In *Letters: Michael Morris & Concrete Poetry*, 55-85. Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2015.
- Hand of the Spirit: Documents of the Seventies from the Morris/Trasov Archive*. Vancouver: UBC Fine Arts Gallery, 1992.

- Watson, Sheila. "Michael Ondaatje: The Mechanization of Death." *White Pelican* 2, no.4 (Fall 1972): 57-64.
- Waugh, Thomas, and Jason Garrison. *Montreal Main: A Queer Film Classic*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2010.
- Weibel, Peter. "Globalization and Contemporary Art." In *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds*, edited by Hans Belting, Andrea Buddenseig and Peter Weibel, 20-27. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013.
- Wershler-Henry, Darren. *The Iron Whim: A Fragmented History of Typewriting*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2005.
- Whitaker, Reg, and Gary Marcuse. *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1947-1957*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- White, Peter. "Out of the Woods." In *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, edited by John O'Brian and Peter White, 11-20. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- Whitehorn, Alan. *Canadian Socialism: Essays on the CCF-NDP*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Whitelaw, Anne. "Art Institutions In The Twentieth Century." In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky, 3-15. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and The City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Winnicot, D.W. *Playing and Reality*. New York: Routledge, 1971.
- Witkovsky, Matthew S. "The Unfixed Photograph." In *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964-1977*, edited by Matthew S. Witkovsky, 15-23. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011.
- Wolf, Reva. *Andy Warhol, Poetry, and Gossip in the 1960s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Wollen, Peter. "Mappings: Situationists and/or Conceptualists." In *Rewriting Conceptual Art*, edited by Michael Newman and Jon Bird, 27-46. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.
- . "Global Conceptualism and North American Conceptual Art." In *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s-1980s*, edited by Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver and Rachel Weiss, 73-85. New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999.
- Wood, William. "Dated Conceptualism: London, Toronto, Guelph." In *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980*, edited by Grant Arnold and Karen Henry, 65-69. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2011.
- Woodcock, George. "A Plea for the Anti-nation." *The Canadian Forum* (April 1972): 16-19.
- . *Strange Bedfellows: The State and the Arts in Canada*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985.
- York, Lorraine. *Literary Celebrity in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Zemans, Joyce. "Establishing the Cannon: Nationhood, Identity and the National Gallery's First Reproduction Program of Canadian Art." *Journal of Canadian Art History* 16, no. 2 (1995): 7-35.

Žižek, Slavoj. *Tarrying With The Negative: Kant Hegel And the Critique of Ideology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Audio and video sources

- Les Alter Citoyens, *La Charte des distractions*. 99% Media, GAPPA, 2014.
<http://chartedesdistractions.com/>
- Endre Farkas, and Felicity Tayler. "Endre Farkas Interview February 9th 2015." SpokenWeb, Concordia University. Accessed October 3, 2015.
<http://spokenweb.concordia.ca/oral-literary-history/andre-farkas-interview-february-9th-2015/>
- Forest, Léonard, dir. *In Search of Innocence*, National Film Board of Canada, 1964. 27 min.
- Gaylor, Brett, dir. *Rip! A Remix Manifesto*, Montréal: Eye Steel Films/National Film Board: 2009. 86 min.
- Kiyooka, Roy. "Roy Kiyooka at SGWU, 1966 (with Richard (Dick) Sommer)." Audio recording. December 2, 1966. 67 min. Spoken Web, Concordia University Accessed June 20, 2014. <http://spokenweb.concordia.ca/sgw-poetry-readings/roy-kiyooka-at-sgwu-1966-stanton-hoffman/>
- Kiyooka, Fumiko, dir. *Reed: The Life and Work of Roy Kiyooka*, 2012. 93 min.
- "Missing Heart Inspires Art." CBC Radio Broadcast, Quebec Now, August 5, 1973. Reporter: Carole Dumas; Interviewees: Frank Vitale (organizer), Francine Larivée (artist) CBC Digital Archives. Accessed June 20, 2015.
<http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/missing-heart-inspires-art>
- "Robert Filliou, Gerry Gilbert, Glen Lewis, Ed Varney and Vincent Trasov." Audio recording at the Western Front, August, 1973. *The Intermedia Catalogue: The Michael de Courcy Archive*. Accessed October 9, 2014.
<http://intermedia.vancouverartinthesixties.com/voices/017>

Archives and Collections

- Art Metropole Fonds. Art Metropole Collection, National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON.
- Morris/Trasov Archives. Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery Archives, University of British Columbia, Vancouver B.C.
- Roy Kiyooka Fonds. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.
- Stephen Morrissey Literary Papers, 1963 - 2014. McLennan Library Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University, Montréal, QC.
- Véhicule Art (Montréal) inc. Fonds 1972-1983. Concordia University Archives, Montréal, QC.

Illustrations

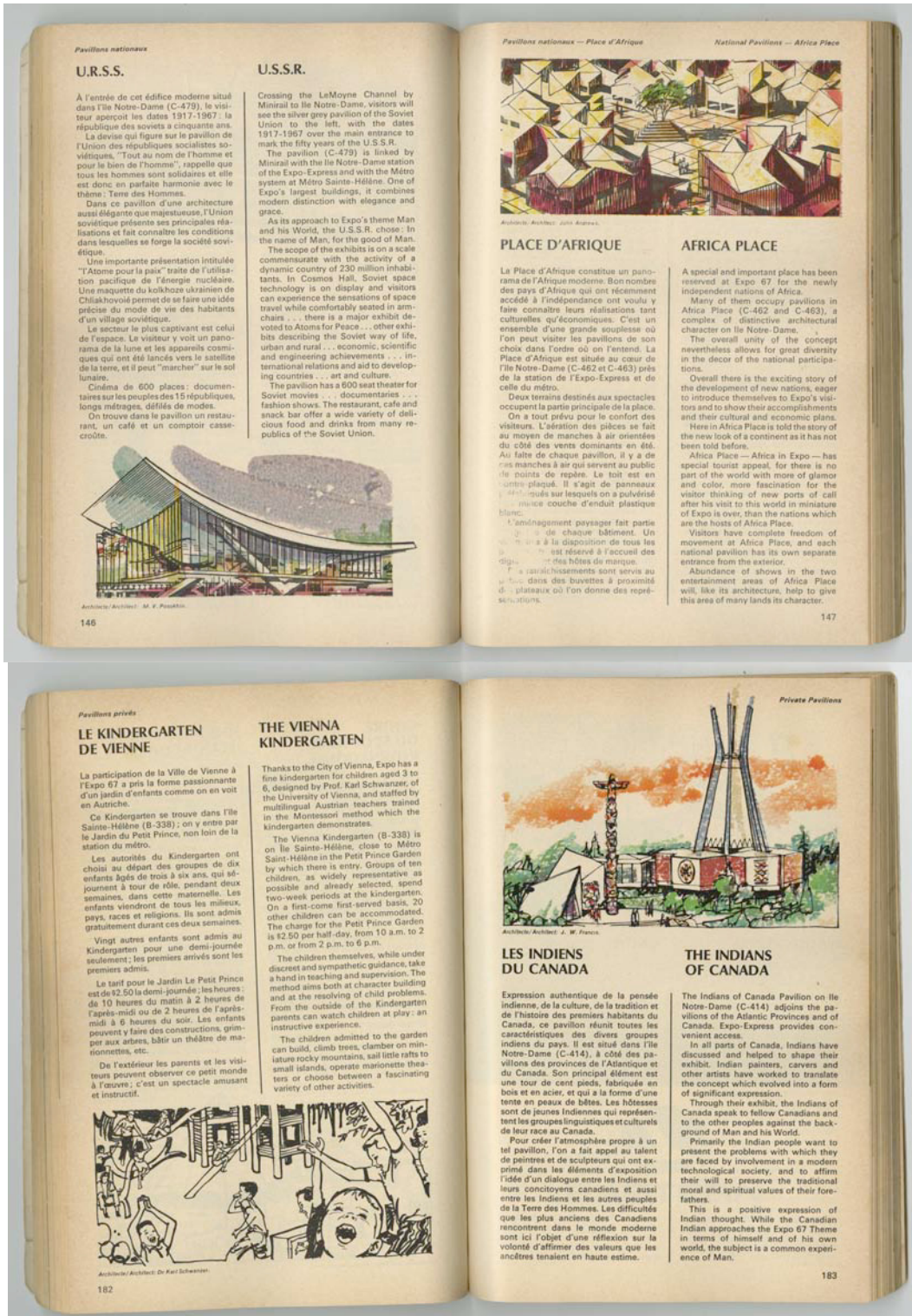


Figure 1. "National Pavilions" U.R.S.S / U.S.S.R and Place d'Afrique / Africa Place and "Private Pavilion" Les Indiens du Canada / Indians of Canada. Pages from the *Expo 67 Official Guide Officiel* (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition; McLean-Hunter, 1967), 146-147, 182-183, 20.5 x 28 cm, open.



Figure 2. “Le Train de la Confédération / Confederation Train” and “Les Caravanes / Confederation Caravans” Pages from the *Expo 67 Official Guide Officiel* (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition; McLean-Hunter, 1967), 308-309, 311, 20.5 x 28 cm, open. Photograph of crowds from Pierre Berton, *1967: The Last Good Year* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1997), np.

were willing or not, of course, every bit of Canadian sovereignty in all these fields was subject to severe limits. In the complexities of the mid-twentieth century, indeed, no government or public body (not even American ones) could escape the pressures of competing claims to power and the necessity of interdependence.

The continued intermingling of the Canadian and American peoples and their cultures has been for Canadians a cause for mounting concern. Canadians in the twentieth century read more American magazines and books than they did their own, and since 1950 have watched more American television. In 1950 there were more former Canadians in the United States than there were natives of any other foreign country except Italy, over one million in all, and several times that number born of a Canadian parent. People in the professions were particularly inclined to emigrate to the United States. The callings of about thirty percent of the Canadians who moved to the United States in 1961, for example, were listed as professional or managerial in character. But as long as four times as many dollars per capita were spent in the United States as in Canada on scientific research and development, as long as the percentage of professional workers in the American labour force was twice that of the Canadian, as long as Americans were willing to pay for universities of the calibre of M.I.T. and Stanford and Michigan while Canadians were not (although for other than monetary reasons one such Canadian institution, Toronto, might possibly be included among the two dozen great universities of North America), the attraction of the United States for highly trained Canadians would undoubtedly continue.

In spite of the fact that there were still almost five times as many Canadians moving south as Americans moving north in the 1960s, migration had been a two-way street throughout Canadian history. Among the American citizens who have become Canadians are William Van Horne and C. D. Howe—without whose labours Canada's destiny might well have taken a different course. American export of capital and technical information, as well as men, has been a major influence in helping Canada attain the world's second highest living standard. So, too, the very proximity and example of the United States have been more stimulating than inhibiting. More than that, the American presence has been one of the means, when Canadians have chosen to use it, of paying for their desire to remain independent, and culti-



This is the cultural embrace: Canadians read more American books and magazines than Canadian ones.

vating those deep national differences from the United States that our history and geography have given us. The fact that Andrew Carnegie paid for so many of Canada's first public libraries, and that American foundations financed most Canadian research in the humanities and social sciences until Canadian organizations were ready to take over that role in the late 1950s, has not diminished or threatened Canadian identity, but rather fostered it. York University in 1965, like many others in Canada, was not really the less Canadian because half its staff had received some of their graduate training in the United States, and a third of that number were actually American citizens.

Canada has always needed not less but far more exposure to the best in American culture. It is not merely that Melville and Thoreau and Mark Twain, Frank Lloyd Wright and T. S. Eliot and Jackson Pollock

Figure 3. Print culture's symbolic value in the expression of national anxieties: Image and caption from a volume of the McLelland & Stewart Canadian Centennial Library, captions were written by Pierre Burton and Ken Lefolii. William Kilbourne, *The Making of the Nation* (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1965), 91. 21 x 28 cm.



Figure 4. Canada as a utopian destination in the countercultural imaginary: Marshall McLuhan reposes in his office at University of Toronto next to a poster of beat poet, Alan Ginsberg. Pages from Pierre Berton, *1967: The Last Good Year* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1997), 266-267.

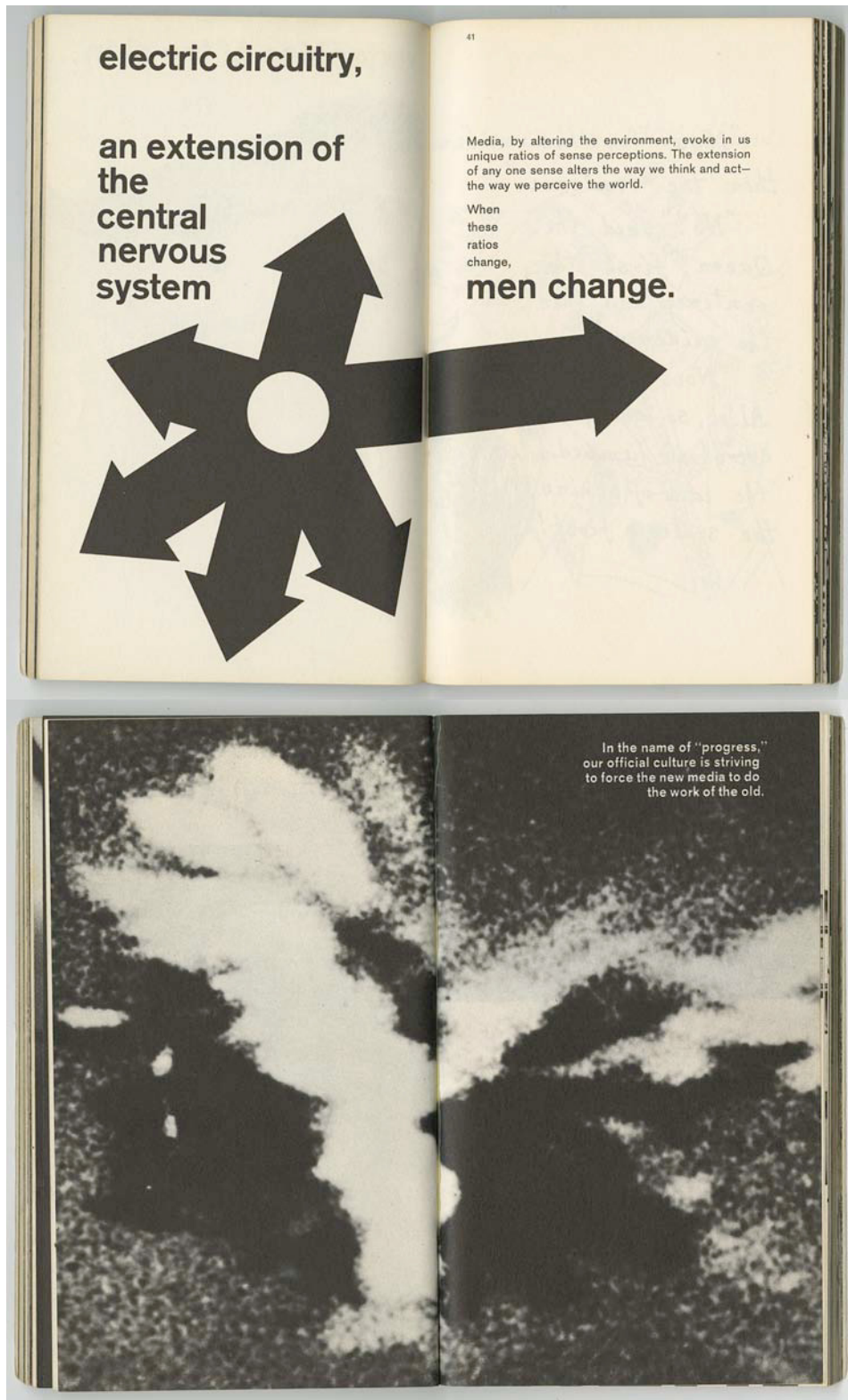


Figure 5. Popular aphorisms explaining media counter-environments from the pages of Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Media is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (Toronto, New York: Bantam Books, 1967), np. 18 x 21 cm, open.

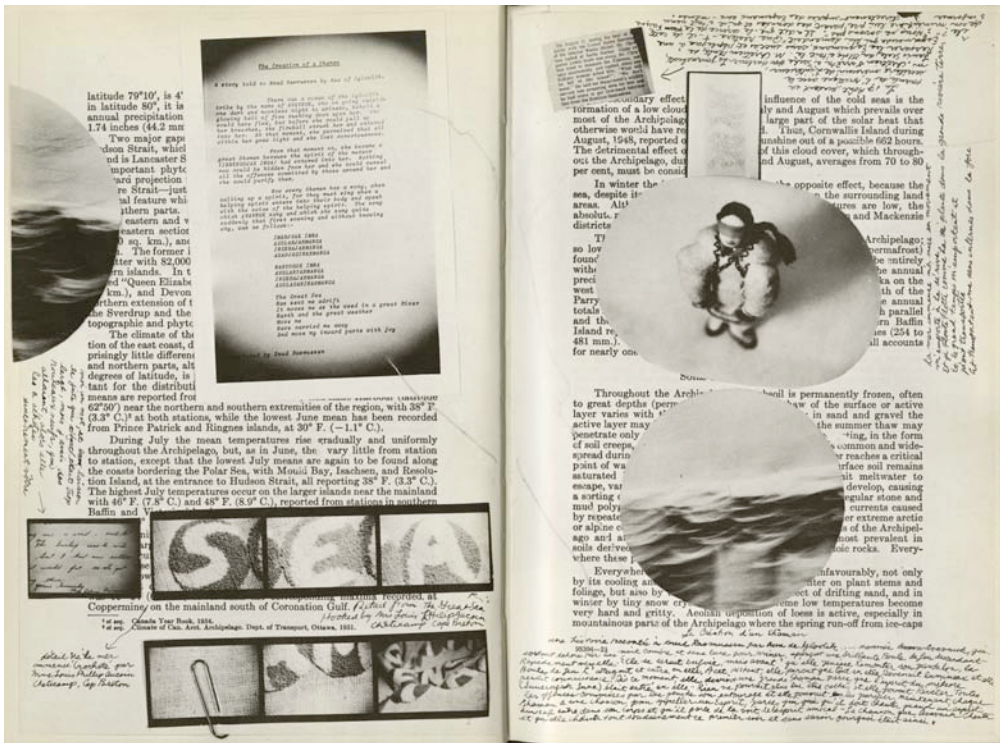


Figure 6. "The Creation of a Shaman." Two page spread from Joyce Wieland, *True Patriot Love/Véritable Amour Patriotique* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1971), np. 26 x 31 cm, open.



Figure 7. Wieland's countercultural nationalism reinvests the painter, Tom Thomson, with visionary powers. Two page spread from Joyce Wieland, *True Patriot Love/Véritable Amour Patriotique* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1971), np. 26 x 31 cm, open.

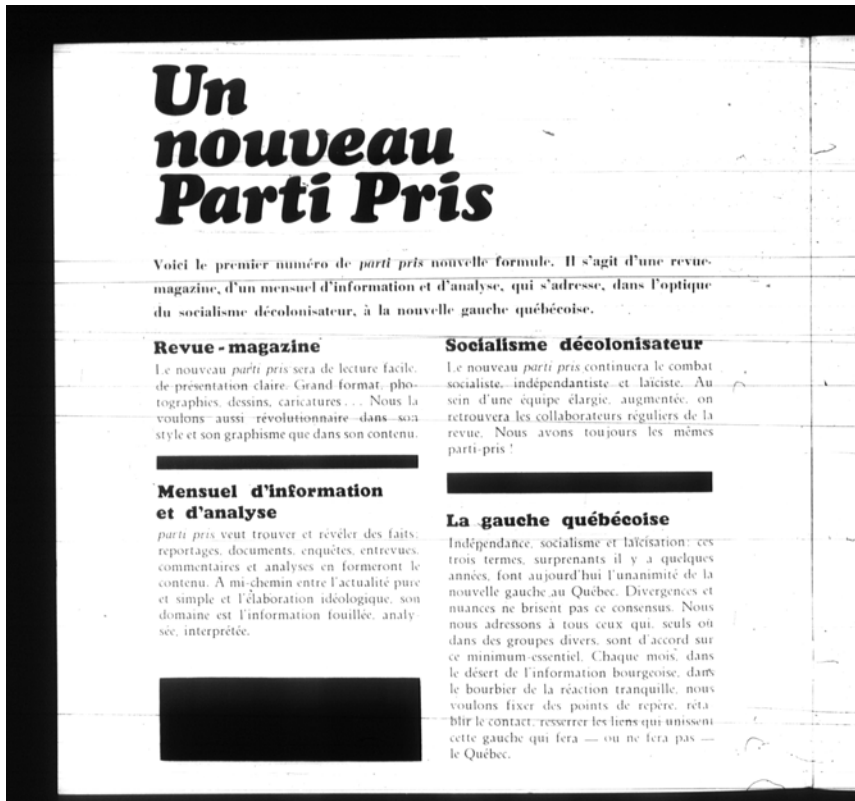


Figure 9. “Un nouveau Parti-Pris” editorial and table of contents, advocating for Québec independence following a model of “socialisme décolonisateur” (socialism and decolonization). *Parti pris* 5, no 1 (September, 1967), 19 x 24 cm.

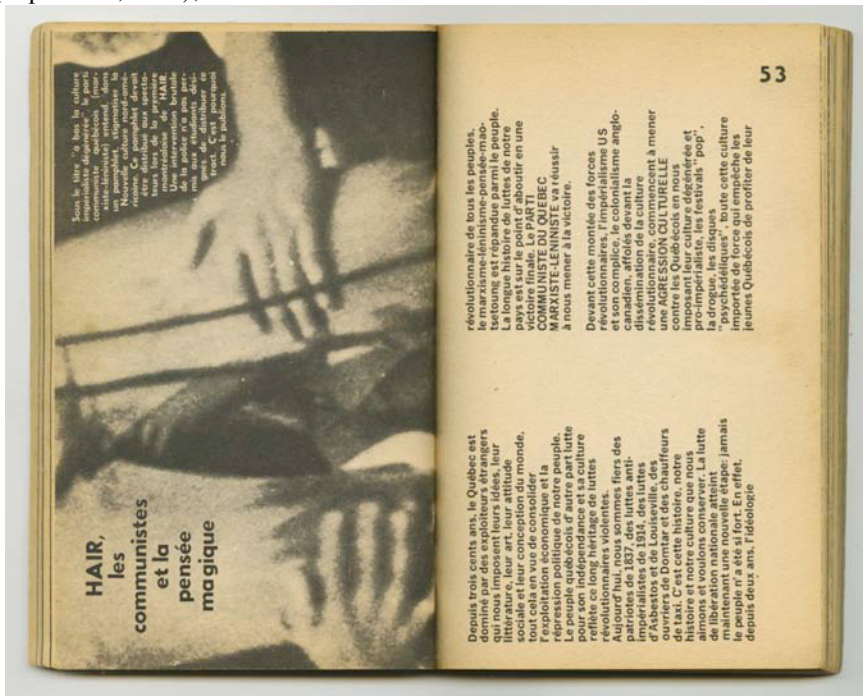


Figure 10. A tract from a Marxist-Leninist student group, reprinted in *Mainmise 2* (December 1971) circumvented censorship by the police. The revolutionary rhetoric, which sees psychedelic drugs and art happenings in Québec as symptoms of American cultural imperialism, diverges from the magazine’s usual celebration of Québécois as active participants within North American countercultures. 18.5 x 25 cm, open.



Figure 11. The magazine's usual celebration of Québécois as active participants within North American countercultures devoted to utopian imaginaries. *Mainmise* 2 (December 1971), 186-187. 18.5 x 25 cm, open.

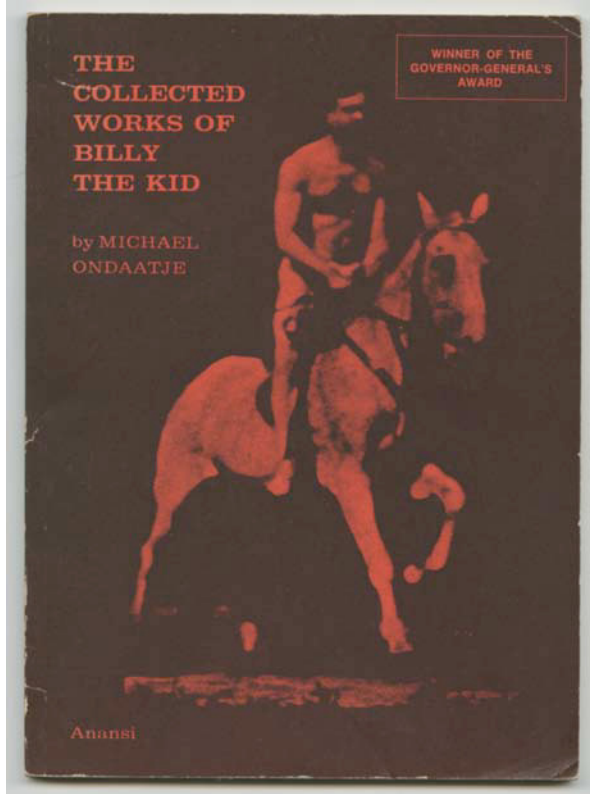
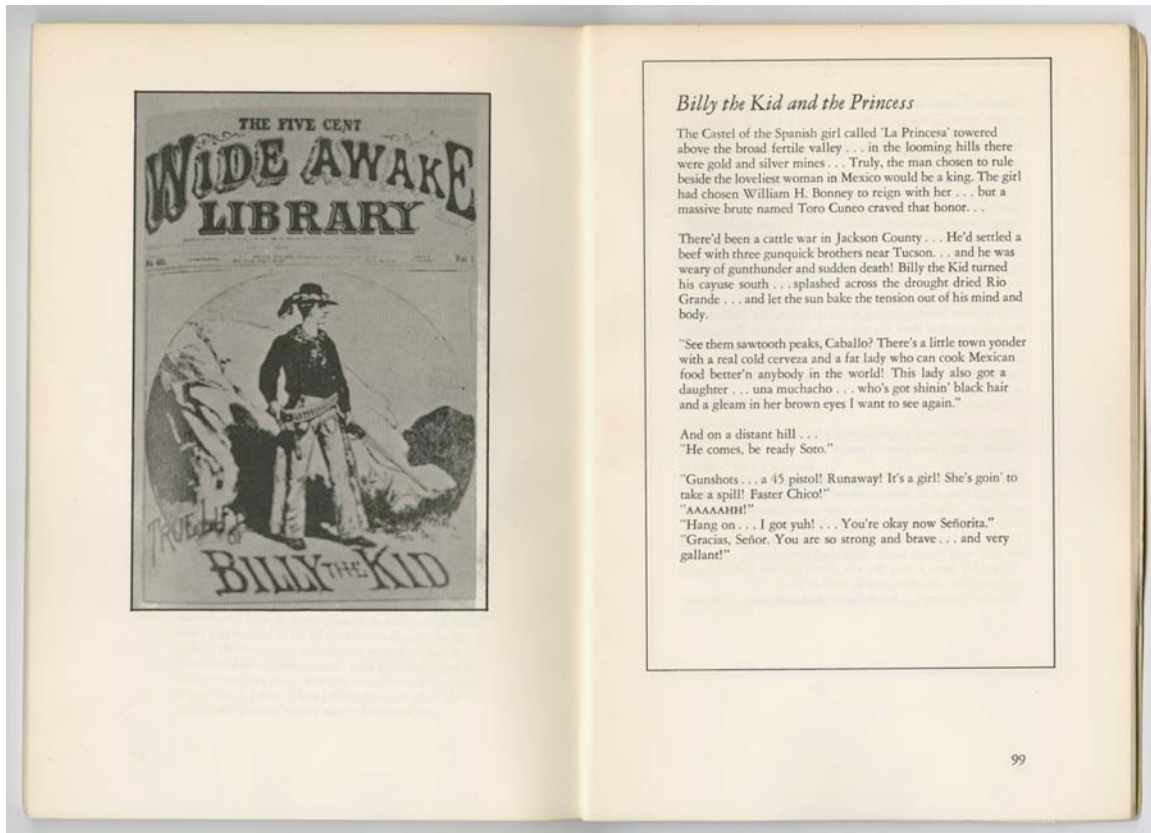


Figure 12. Appropriated images and textual references to Billy the Kid: an etching from the cover of the Five Cent Wide Awake Library, a “dime novel” series dating from 1881, and dialogue transcribed from a 1969 comic book, *Billy the Kid and the Princess*. 22.5 x 16.5 cm, open.

The cover reproduces of Edward Muybridge’s photographic sequences of moving objects, “Pandora, jumping a hurdle, saddled, rider nude.” Michael Ondaatje, *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid: The Left-Handed Poems* 2nd ed. (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1970). 22.5 x 16.5 cm.



Figure 13. Front and back cover illustration of Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters* (Talonbooks, 1975), 22 x 28 cm closed, 46 x 28 cm open.

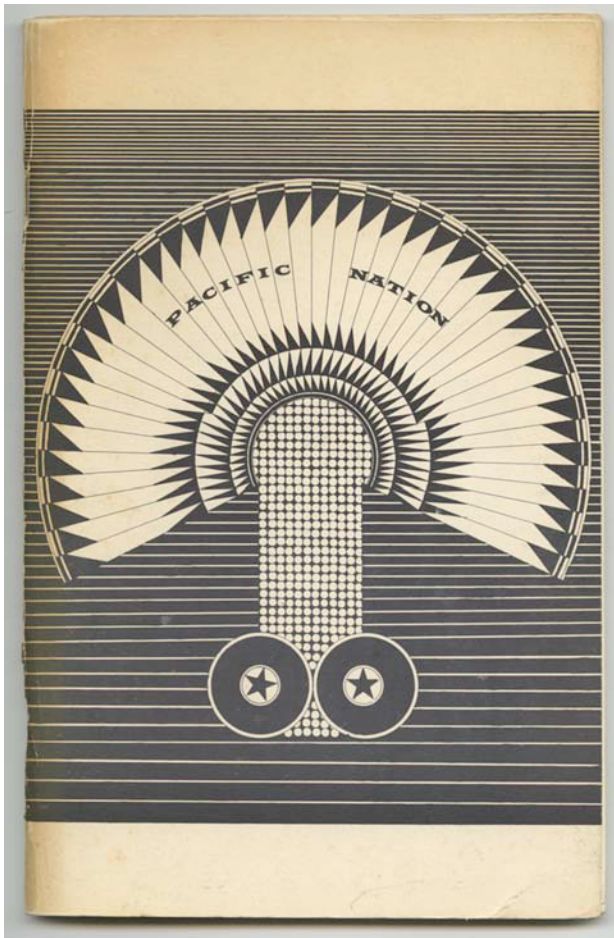
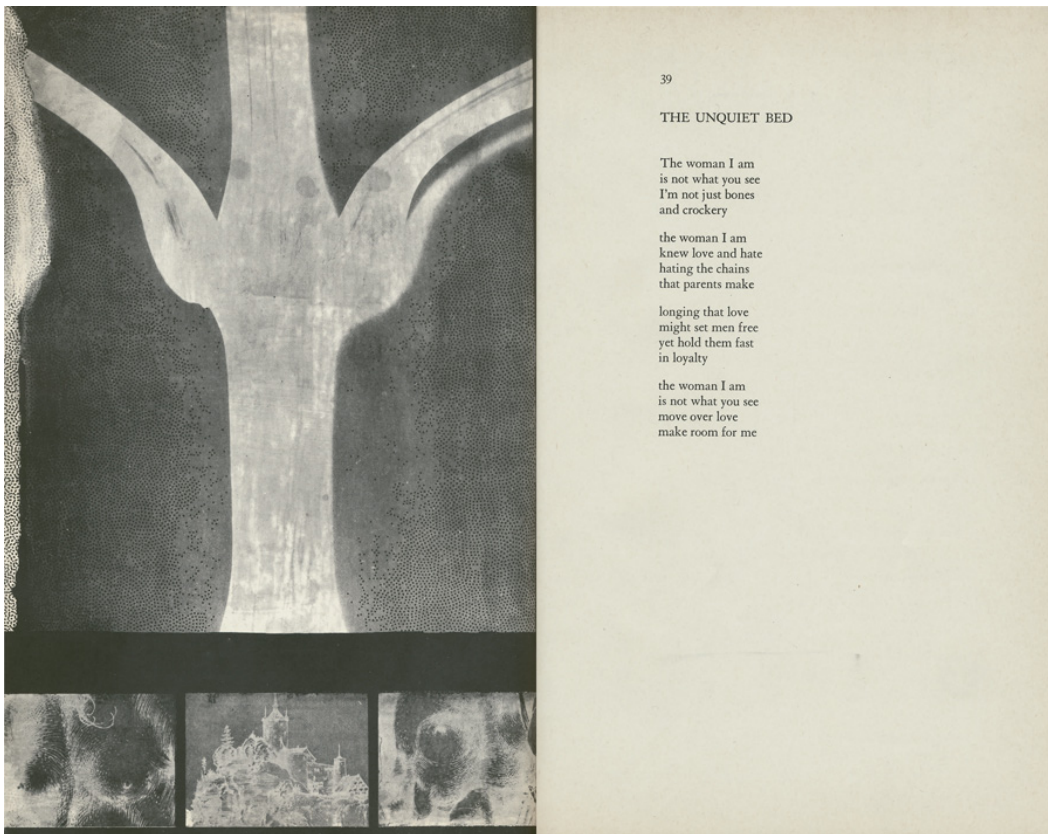


Figure 14. *Pacific Nation 2* (1969) cover illustration by Michael Morris. 16 x 24 cm.



Figure 15. Page 2 and 3 of the 18-page photoseries, "Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove (1971)," reproduced in *Transcanada Letters*, 46 x 28 cm.



THE UNQUIET BED

The woman I am
is not what you see
I'm not just bones
and crockery

the woman I am
knew love and hate
hating the chains
that parents make

longing that love
might set men free
yet hold them fast
in loyalty

the woman I am
is not what you see
move over love
make room for me

Figure 16. One of five Xerographic illustration by Roy Kiyooka included in Dorothy Livesay's book of poems, *The Unquiet Bed* (Ryerson Press, 1967), 38-39. 23.5 x 16 cm



Figure 17. Double-page spread from the exhibition catalogue, *Roy Kiyooka: 25 Years* (Vancouver Art Gallery, 1975) showing reproductions from *StoneDGloves* (Coach House Press, 1970) next to a photo series documenting the installation of *Abu Ben Adam's Vinyl Dream* at Expo '70, Osaka, Japan. 22 x 28 cm, open.

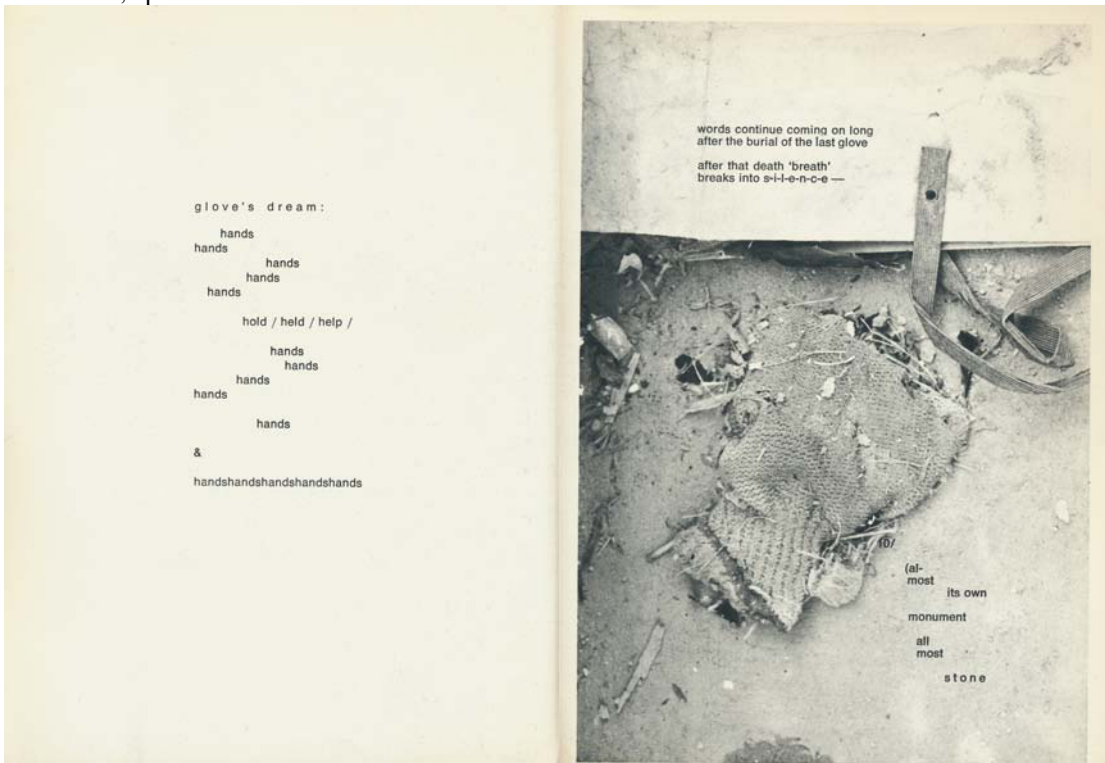


Figure 18. Double-page spread from *StoneDGloves* (Coach House Press, 1970), 23 x 34 cm, open.

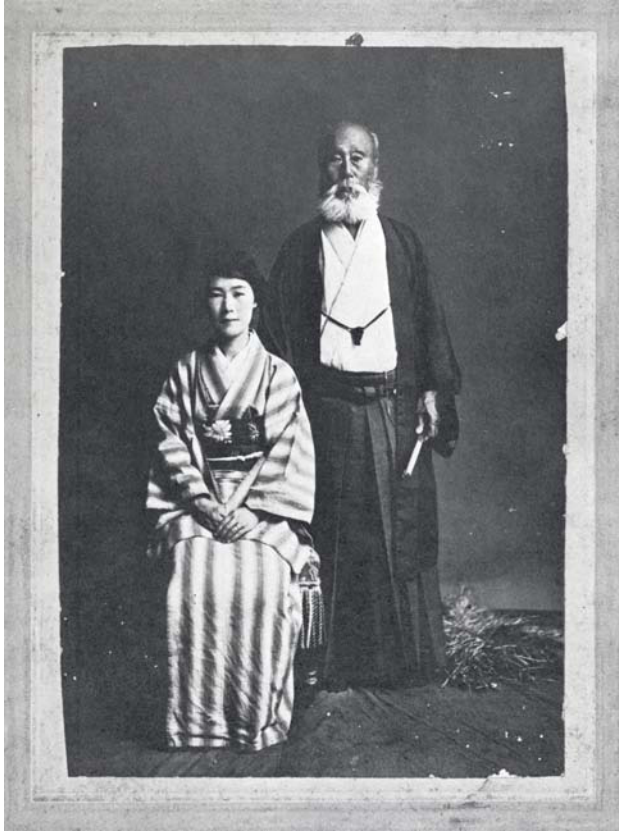


Figure 20. "Portrait of my Mother and Grandfather" reproduced in *Transcanada Letters*, 15 x 20 cm.



Figure 21. "Opal, Alberta: Early '40s" reproduced in *Transcanada Letters*, 16.5 x 23 cm. Note the show-through of ink between pages.

Opal, Alberta: Early '40s
left to right: George, Roy, Harry, Joyce, Frank and Irene

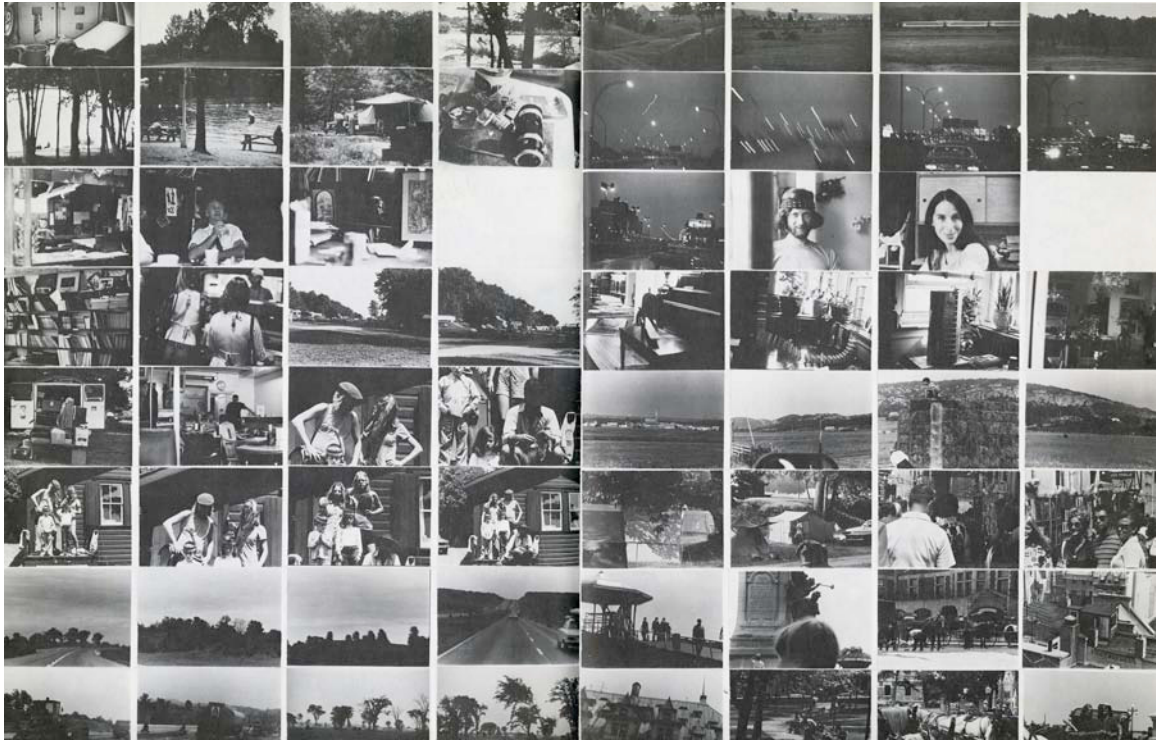


Figure 22. Page 4 and 5 of the 18-page photoseries, "Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove (1971)," reproduced in Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters*, 46 x 28 cm, open.



Figure 23. Page 6 and 7 of the 18-page photoseries, "Long Beach BC to Peggy's Cove (1971)," reproduced in Roy K. Kiyooka, *Transcanada Letters*, 46 x 28 cm, open.



Figure 24. Detail from the photoseries, “Long Beach BC to Peggy’s Cove (1971) reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Roy Kiyooka: 25 Years*, 15 x 21 cm.

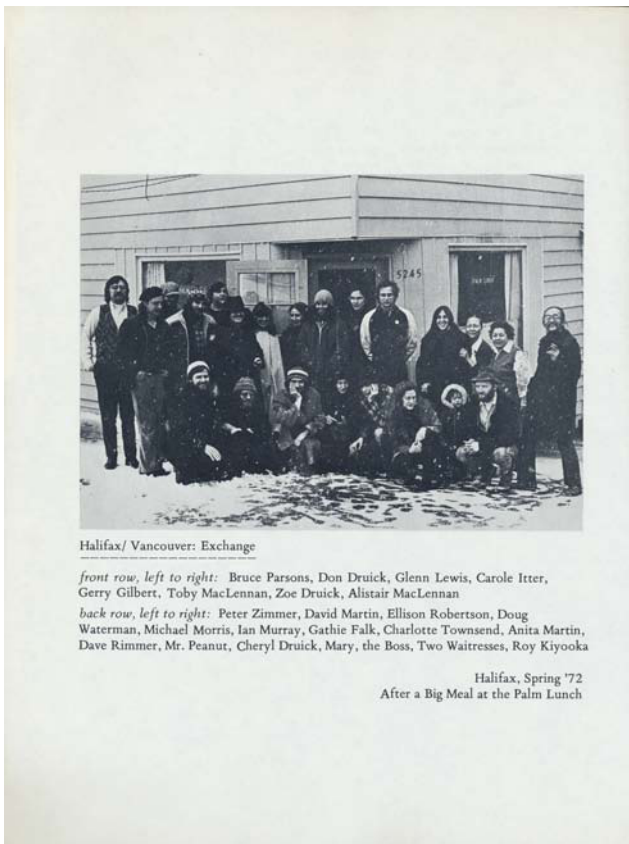


Figure 25. “Halifax / Vancouver Exchange” reproduced in *Transcanada Letters*, 23 x 28 cm.

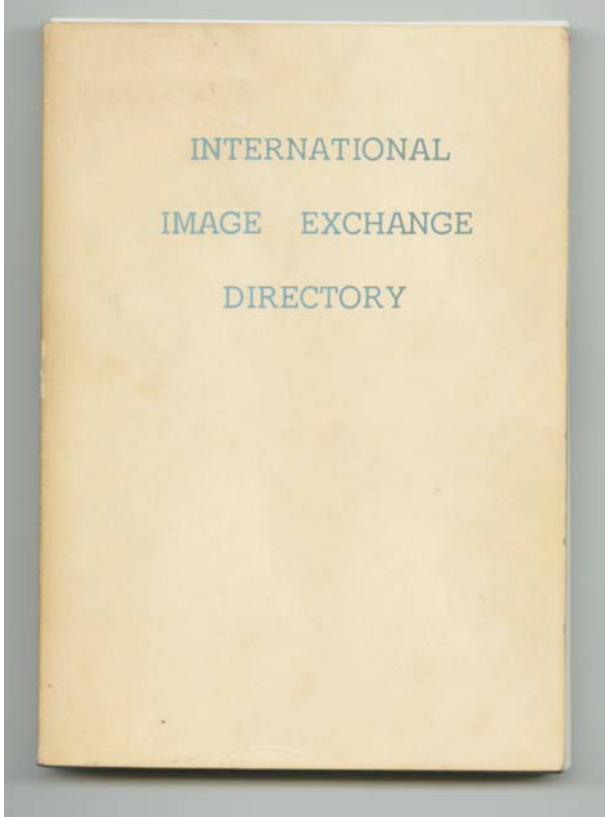


Figure 26. Cover of Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory* (Talonbooks, 1972) and of *File* (vol. 1, no. 1, 15 April 1972), "Mr. Peanut Issue."



Figure 27. "Image Bank took the idea of an Image Directory from this listing (of gay bars) sent to Johnson, altered and returned by Johnson to Image Bank" caption for an image of the listing reproduced in *Ray Johnson: How Sad I am Today...* Edited by Scott Watson (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, University of British Columbia, 1999), [152].



Figure 28. Collages for Michael Morris, *The Problem of Nothing*, 1970. Reproduced in *Letters: Michael Morris & Concrete Poetry* (Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2015), 76.

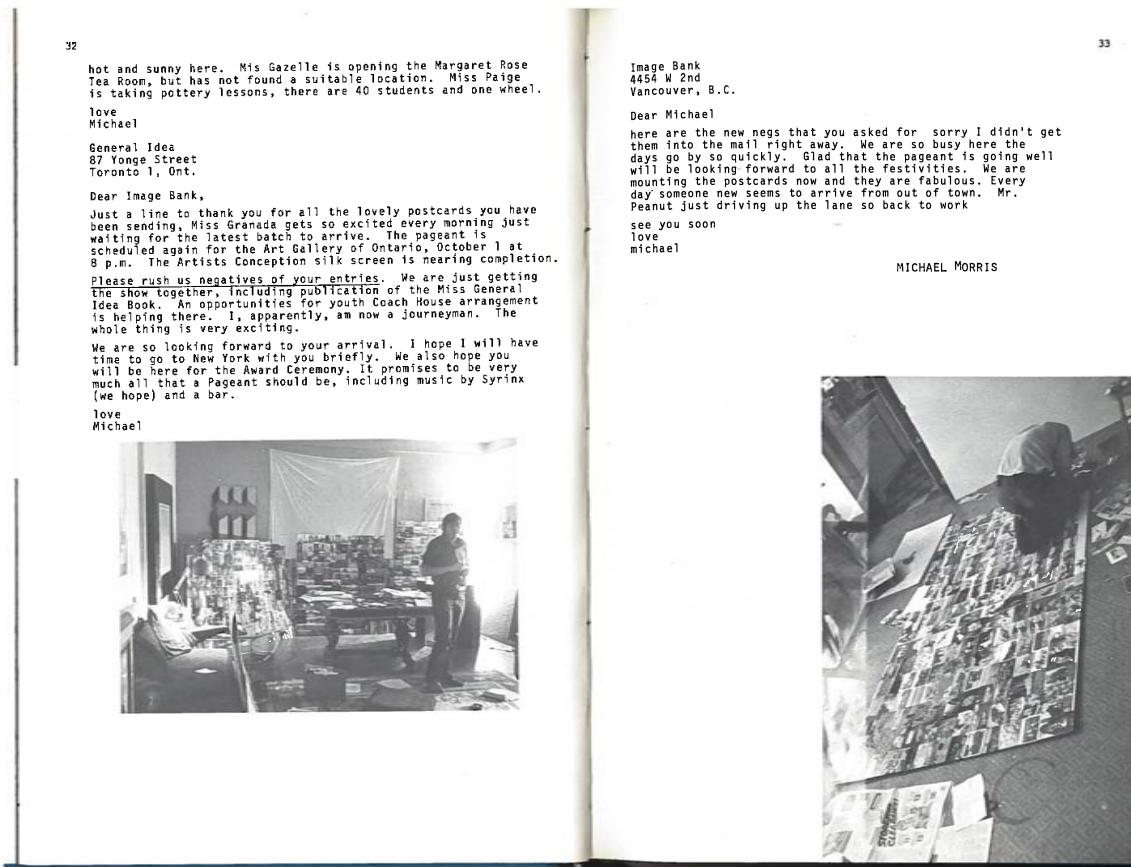


Figure 29. Images of Michael Morris preparing for the *Image Bank Postcard Show*, reproduced alongside letters exchanged with General Idea featured in *White Pelican 2*, no 1 (Winter 1972), 32-33.

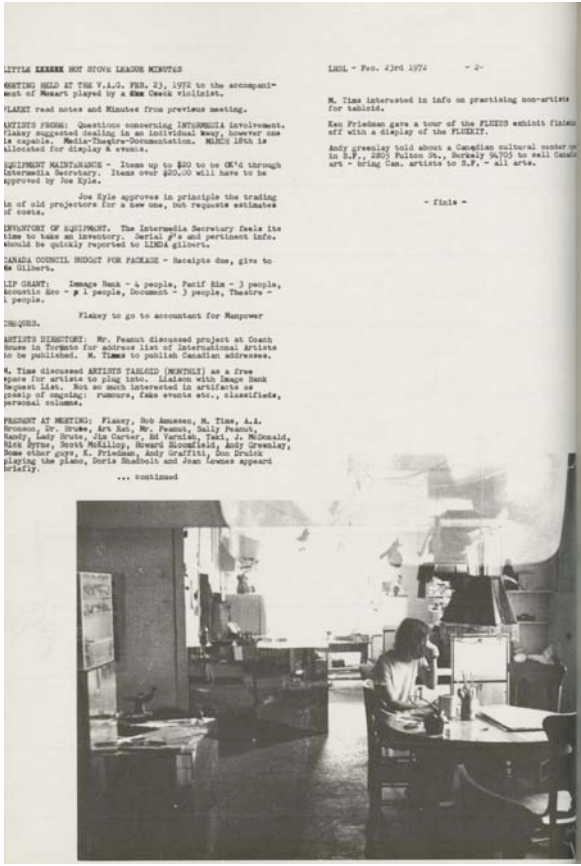


Figure 30. "Little Hot Stove League Minutes" and image of the New Era Social Club reproduced in the West Coast Issue of *IS magazine* 12/13 (1973), np.

Below, covers of *IS* 12/13 (1973) a double issue edited by Victor Coleman and George Bowering, featuring West Coast writing and art associated with *Tish* and Intermedia scenes. Photographs by Slim Flowers (Gerry Gilbert) feature Mr. Peanut (Vincent Trasov); Candy Man (Robert Fones) and Art Rat (Gary Lee-Nova). 30.5 x 22 cm, open.

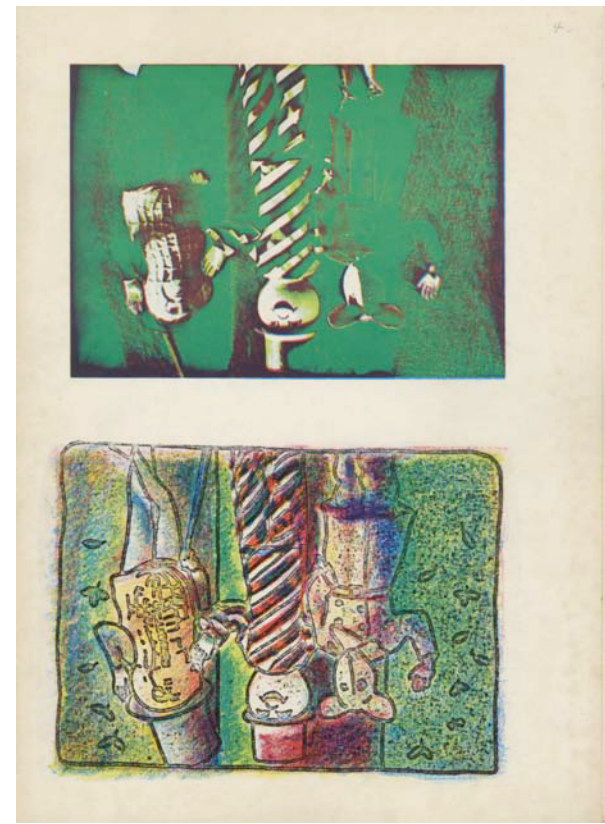
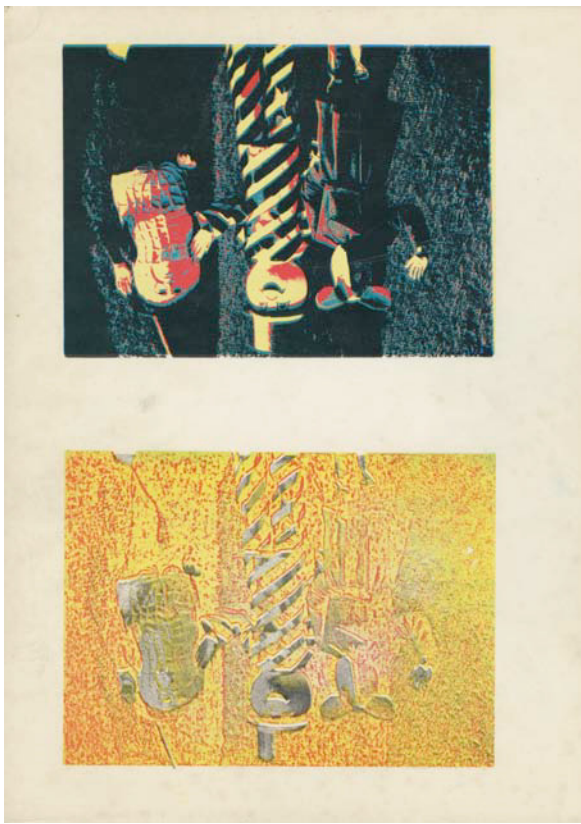




Figure 31. Mushroom Festival, October 1969, Robert's Creek. Available from The Intermedia Catalogue, 2009. The Michael de Courcy Archive , <http://intermedia.vancouverartinthesixties.com/1969/133>

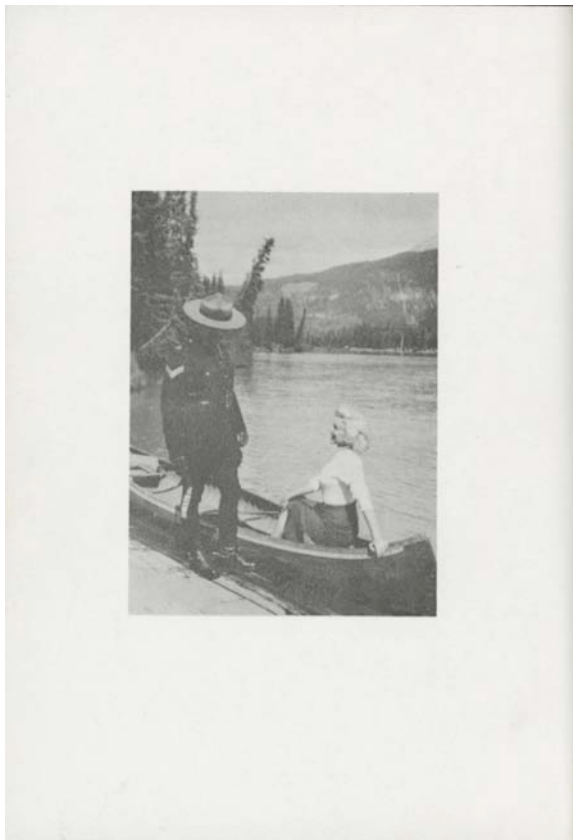


Figure 32. "Marilyn Monroe filming 'River of No Return,' Banff, Alberta – Summer of 1954 – photo by Flakey" caption for the image reproduced in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, 7 x 9.5 cm.



Figure 33. Film still from "River of No Return," (1954) Available from: <http://www.amc.com/talk/2008/04/marilyn-monroe-river-of-no-return>



Figure 34. *Children of Hollywood*, 1973, Colour Research Series, Morris/Trasov Archive. Mr. Peanut, Jorge Zontal, Granada Gazelle, and Flakey Rosehips, posing “on the set” at Babyland beside a copy of *Children of Hollywood* (McCauley, 1929), a melodrama written by Phyllis Gordon Demarest. Available from: http://michaelmorris.ca/index.cfm?PageNum_rsDetail=89&pg=detail&series=102

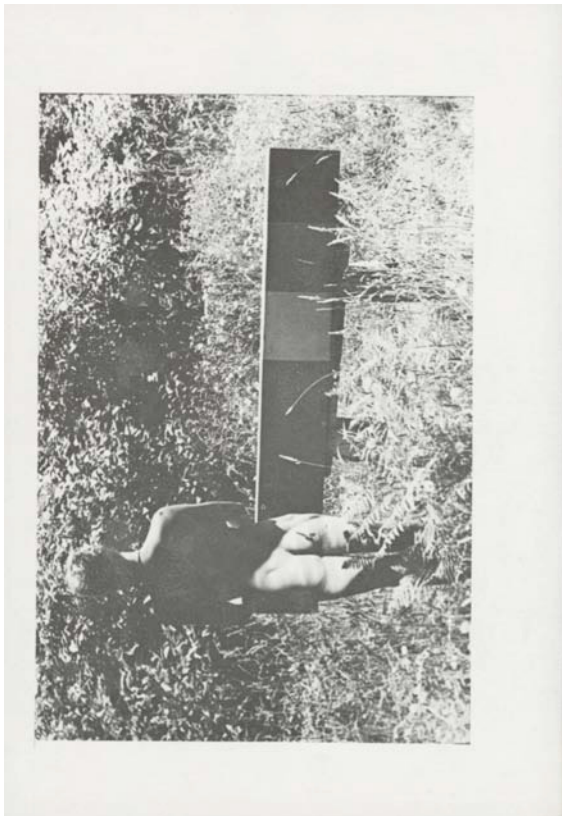


Figure 35. “Light-On Babeland. Photo – Sally Peanut” caption for the image reproduced in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, 10 x 14.5 cm.



Figure 36. *Lake Yogo*, 1972, Colour Research Series, Morris/Trasov Archive. Available from: http://michaelmorris.ca/index.cfm?PageNum_rsDetail=89&pg=detail&series=102

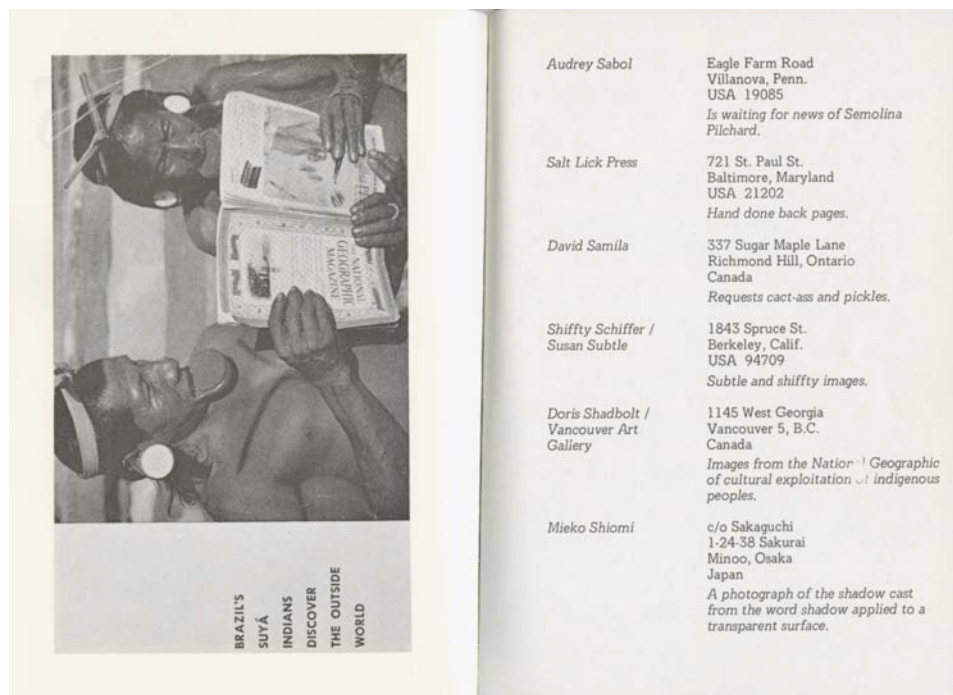


Figure 37. “Brazil’s Suyá Indians Discover the Outside World” caption for the image reproduced in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, 9.5 x 16 cm. Note Image Request attributed to Doris Shadbolt on right-hand page.

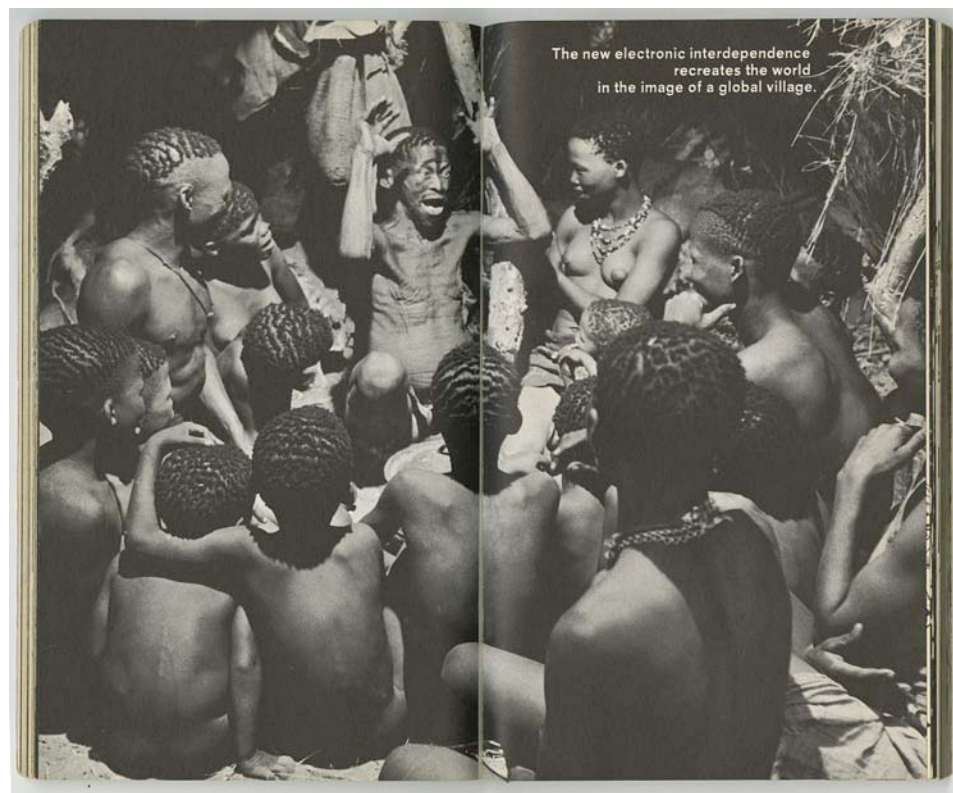


Figure 38. Tribalism in the Global Village, from the pages of Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Media is the Message: An Inventory of Effects* (Toronto, New York: Bantam Books, 1967), np. 18 x 21 cm, open.



Pierre Gaudibert / Arc
 Musee d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris
 Rue Gastonde
 St. Paup
 Paris 16e
 France
 Left over image splits.

General Idea/ File Magazine / A.A. Bronson / Granada Gazelle / Lana B. Anal / Private Partz / Mimi Paige / Paul Oberst / Pascal
 87 Yonge St. Toronto, Ontario Canada
 Images and information pertaining to Djuna Barnes, cottage industries images and fin de siecle cheese cake photos, something by mouth and candid pics of Miss Harland, dam pictures, old dolls and images of old dolls, stupid but perfect images, Easter eggs and images and info concerning Maria Callas.

Jochen Gerz
 41 rue Buffon F-75 Paris 5e France
 Would like to meet you when you come to Paris, images of reflections in series.

Dave Gilhooly
 253 Finch Ave. E. Willowdale, Ontario Canada
 Images suitable for initiation into the frog world particularly, Queen Victoria, more local diexendemons, classical erotic art.

Figure 39. "A borderline case – General Idea" caption for the image reproduced in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, 11.5 x 17.5 cm. Note Image Requests from General Idea on right-hand page.

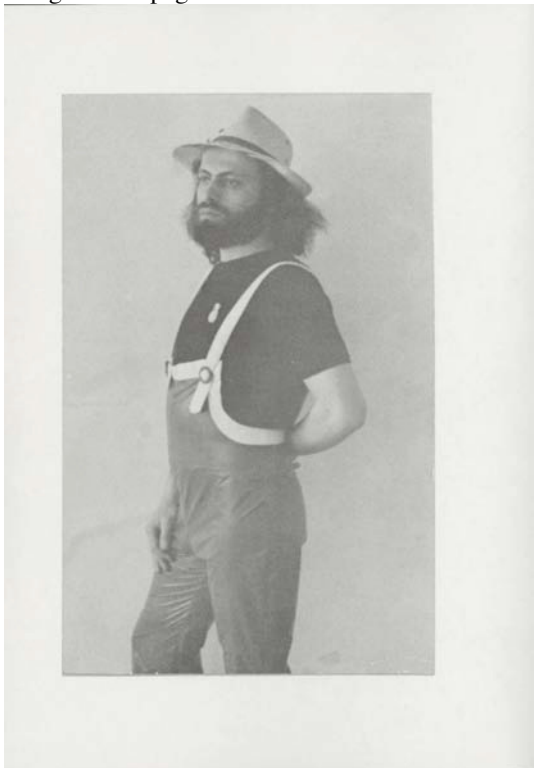


Figure 40. "Jorge sans girdle – evidence of bodybinding" and "Jorge avec girdle – evidence of bodybinding" captions for images reproduced in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, each 9 x 14 cm.

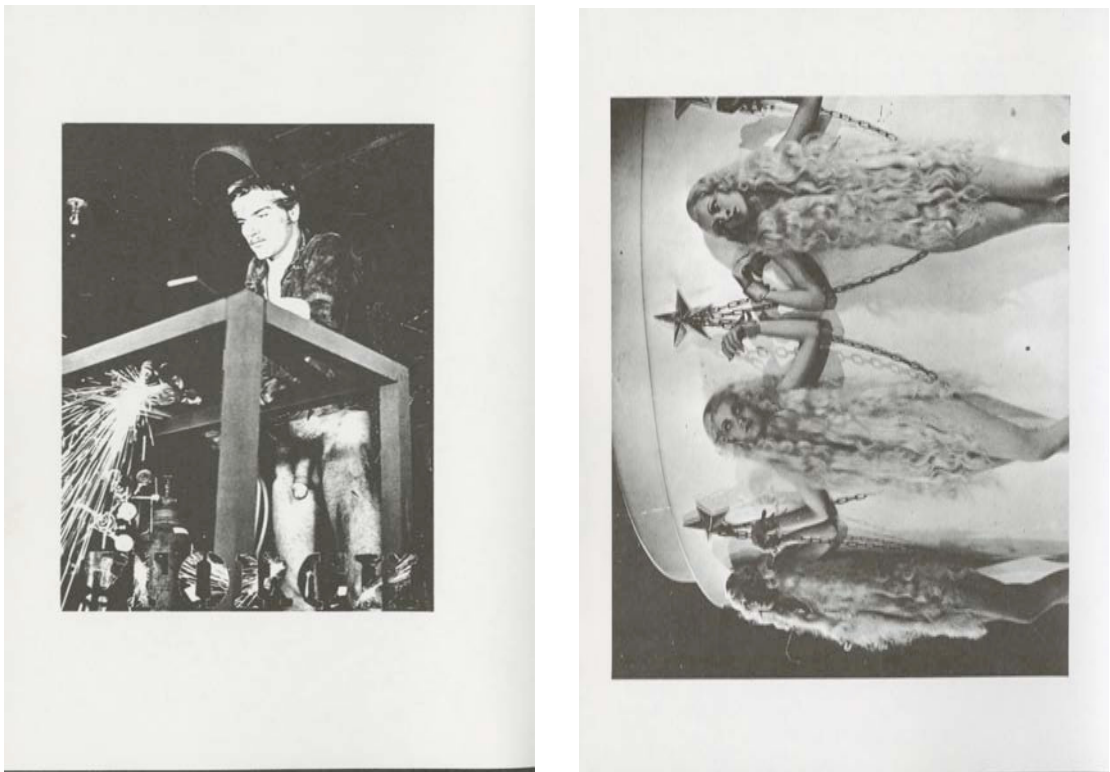


Figure 41. “Torch – Borderline Studios,” (9 x 11.5 cm) and “Star Bondage” (11 x 14 cm) captions for images reproduced in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*.

January 4, 1969 CLGA
CLGACANADA
CLGA.CA Page Three

17-Year-Old Queer In 'Drag' Dared Proposition Officer!

Sex hungry motorists who pick-up hustlers in the teardrop areas for "quickie" sessions in laneways and parking lots aren't getting what they expect. They pay for oral-genital gratification — and get it.

But they expect the task will be performed by swinging joy-gals. Instead, they are the unknowing victims of a host of "drag queens" who masquerade as women in order to gorge themselves on the sexually aroused bodies of other men.

Toronto's growing colony of male prostitutes satiate their sexual appetites by representing themselves as women. And at the same time the money they receive for their "favors" enables them to hunt full-time for the constantly needed male sex organ.

Magistrate Michael Cloney, in the understatement of the week, remarked there must be something wrong with a 17-year-old male prostitute who appeared before him.

When arrested, Clifford Martin McNab was dressed as a woman, complete with high heels and cosmetics.

After hearing the evidence presented following McNab's plea of guilty, the magistrate remanded the youth for a pre-sentence report.

"Any man going around dressed as a girl, doing what you were doing, is not acting normally," continued the magistrate expressing the obvious. "It's against the Criminal Code."

The transvestite's lawyer said the accused didn't want to take psychiatric treatment for his urge to dress in women's clothing.

"Sometimes he thinks he needed medical help, other times he doesn't," said the lawyer. "But he realizes he has a problem."

The slender swisher admitted offering sexual services to men in parked cars. He pleaded guilty to counseling a policeman to commit an indictable offense, to wit, an act of gross indecency.

Crown counsel M. A. Roell said the accused youth in girl's clothing was seen on November 6 approaching parked cars in the Dundas Street West-Spadina Avenue area.

The young transvestite drove off with several of the motorists before a plainclothes officer parked his Volkswagen on McNab's beat.

A few minutes later, the accused youth returned to the area and after hopping into the officer's car, offered to perform a sexual act for \$10.

When the officer pretended to accept the offer, he was directed to drive to a nearby laneway, Mr. Roell said.

McNab was arrested and taken into custody where he spent two weeks awaiting trial. While he was in the Don Jail, the officers brought him jeans and a sweater to wear.

The strange youth said he came to Canada from England when an infant, and was raised in the Sudbury area by several foster parents. He came to Toronto three months ago.

He has had no legitimate employment during his Toronto stay and wanders from one lodging place to another. His last listed address was an apartment on Maitland Street where he shared an apartment with two girls.

"Did you exchange clothing with them?" asked the magistrate.

"No," replied the accused. "They didn't know I did this thing."

Figure 42. Toronto tabloids: “17-Year-Old Queer In ‘Drag’ Dared Proposition Officer!” *TAB*, January 4, 1969. Available from: <http://canadianlesbianandgayarchives.tumblr.com/post/93074224106/from-the-toronto-tabloids-17-year-old-queer-in>

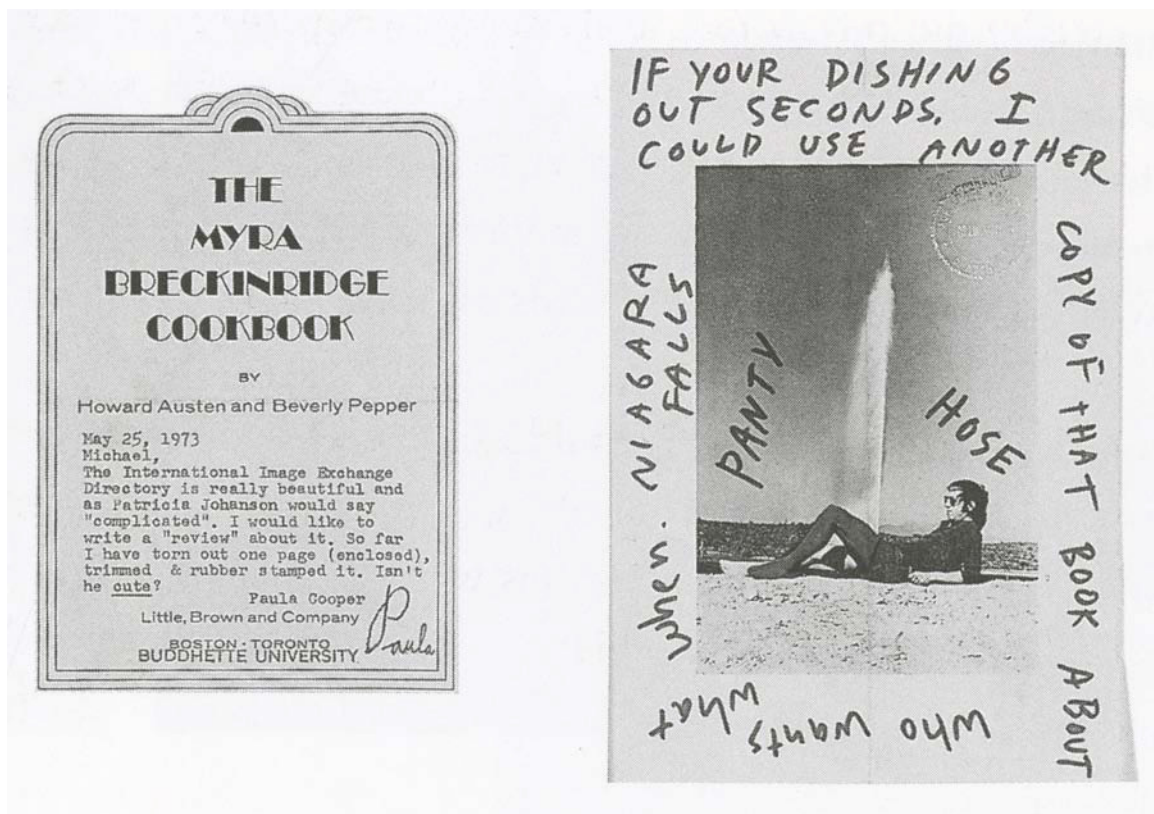


Figure 43. Ray Johnson's response to the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*. Reproduced in *Ray Johnson: How Sad I am Today...* Edited by Scott Watson. (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, University of British Columbia, 1999), 26.

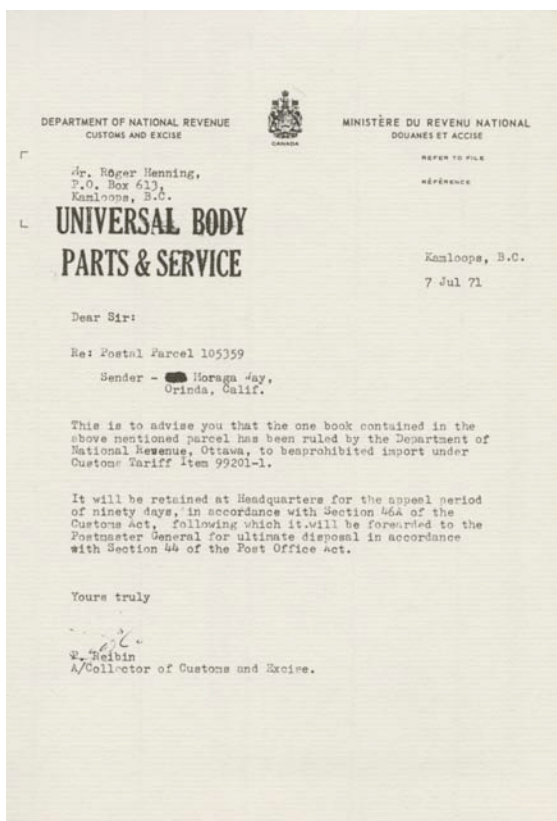
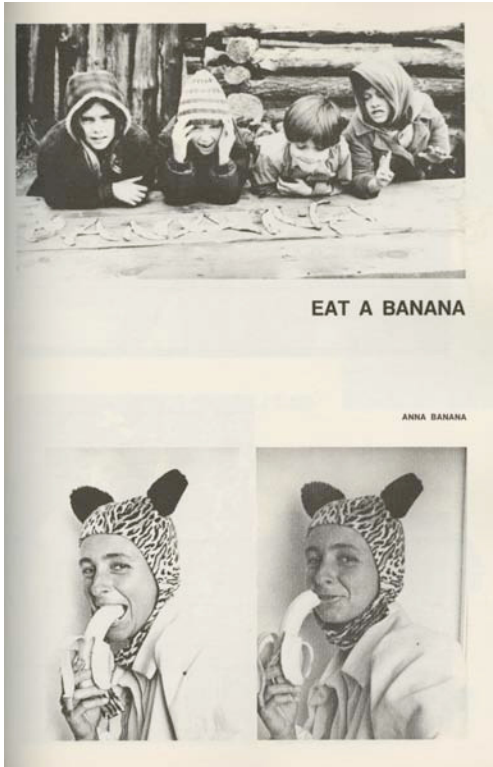


Figure 44. Evidence of cross-border censorship shared in a letter sent to Gary Lee-Nova's "Dead Letter Funeral" event. This correspondence event was announced through Glenn Lewis' New York Correspondence Dance School in September 1972. Image reproduced in the West Coast Issue of *IS magazine* (12/13, 1973), np. 16 x 22 cm.



CAROLE FISHER

TRAILER TRUCKS AND OTHER LARGE TRUCKS

that passed by the window of the loft at 300 Canal Street, New York City on Friday, March 25, 1972 between 11:45 a.m. and 12:45 p.m. (one hour). Trucks listed UNTITLED are for the following reasons: 1. no identification 2. going too fast a speed to read 3. view of identification blocked by another truck.

11:45 a.m.

1. White Rose Quality Products. 2. Untitled 3. Paper Board Trucking 4. Gene Adams Inc. 5. Waterfront Transfer 6. 3714 7. Parc Cheese Co. 8. Posa Inc. 9. Marcol 10. Caribe Express 11. Untitled (oil truck) 12. Cosmar Airport 13. Herman Transfer 14. Stevens Home Appliance Centre 15. Leonard 16. Milton Feinberg 17. Leo Stern Co. 18. Glouson 19. Untitled 20. Herz Truck Rental 21. Lostratto Carling 22. Tri Country Transportation 23. Basin Transport 24. AJF Leasing 25. Untitled 26. Dupont 27. Untitled 28. Untitled (junk) 29. Interpol 30. Untitled 31. Handy Quality Store Fixtures 32. Magoli Bros. Private Sanitation 33. IEP (beef processing)

11:50 a.m.

34. Waruch Lab. 35. Red Arrow 36. Warwick Lab. 37. Domino Processing 38. Mark Truck Rentals Co. 39. Jones Motor Co. 40. Empire Machines 41. Rivers Freight Service 42. Express 43. Globe Desk Furniture 44. Range Rental Corp. 45. National 46. PepsiCo Truck Rental 47. Rizzo 48. Untitled 49. Golden 50. Automobile Express 51. Stan Haslage 52. Untitled 53. Jones 54. Untitled (lumber) 55. Chi-Am Corp.

11:55 a.m.

56. American Wire Hanger 57. Lipshultz 58. DRT 59. Smith Transfer 60. Caldwell 61. Untitled 62. Untitled 63. Kraft Corrugated Containers 64. Magnet Supply 65. Ale 66. Freight Brokers 67. Welch Overseas Cont. Service 68. RJL 69. Aero Trucking Inc. 70. A.C. Berwick 71. Untitled 72. Mashkin Trucking 73. Mecca Trucking 74. Metro News 75. Imperia Bros. 76. Auto Hire 77. Untitled 78. N.Y. Central Freightway 79. Untitled (newspaper scraps) 80. Untitled 81. C & C Trucking 82. Rose 83. Untitled 84. Lester Follows 85. Castro Trucking 86. JRB Trucking 87. WM Spencer 88. Pep Trucking Co. 89. Majestic Wire Products 90. Charm Corp. S. C. 91. Untitled 92. Gallego Truck Leasing 93. Coca Cola 94. PDS 95. Yale Transport Corp.

12:00 noon

96. ARD Rental 97. Nasroite Co. 98. Untitled 99. MGA Leasing 100. Hackett 101. Twin Express 102. Post Jersey 103. Baxter 104. CJ Murphy 104. Manhattan Diestre 106. Untitled (pipes) 107. Fleet Transportation 108. Herz Truck Rental 109. Star Containerized Freight 110. Untitled 111. Untitled 12. Casey

Figure 45. Anna Banana, “Eat a Banana” photographs collected via image request, reproduced in the West Coast Issue of *IS magazine* (12/13, 1973). Carole Fisher (Itter) contributed a poem to the same issue in the form of a conceptual list, possibly written while in New York city after the Halifax/Vancouver Exchange. 30.5 x 11 cm, each page.

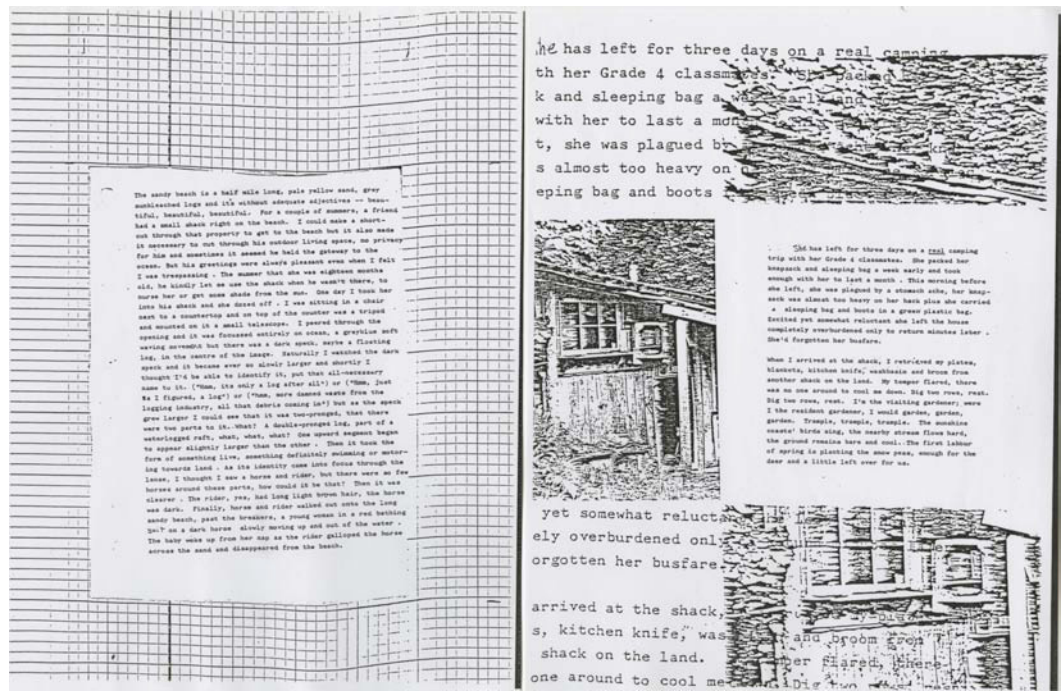


Figure 46. Pages from Carole Itter's self-published artists' book, which weaves the experience of motherhood into the quotidian experience of other relationships (good and bad) formed in the coastal forest setting of Babyland. 28 x 22 cm, each page.



Figure 47. “Soft core surrealism” caption for the image reproduced in the Image Bank *International Image Exchange Directory*, np. 15 x12 cm.



Figure 48. *Paul Henry*, 1972, *Colour Research Series*, Morris/Trasov Archive, Available from: http://michaelmorris.ca/index.cfm?PageNum_rsDetail=46&pg=detail&series=102



Figure 49. Front and back cover of William Vazan's *Contacts* (Véhicule Press, 1973), 36 x 54 cm, open.

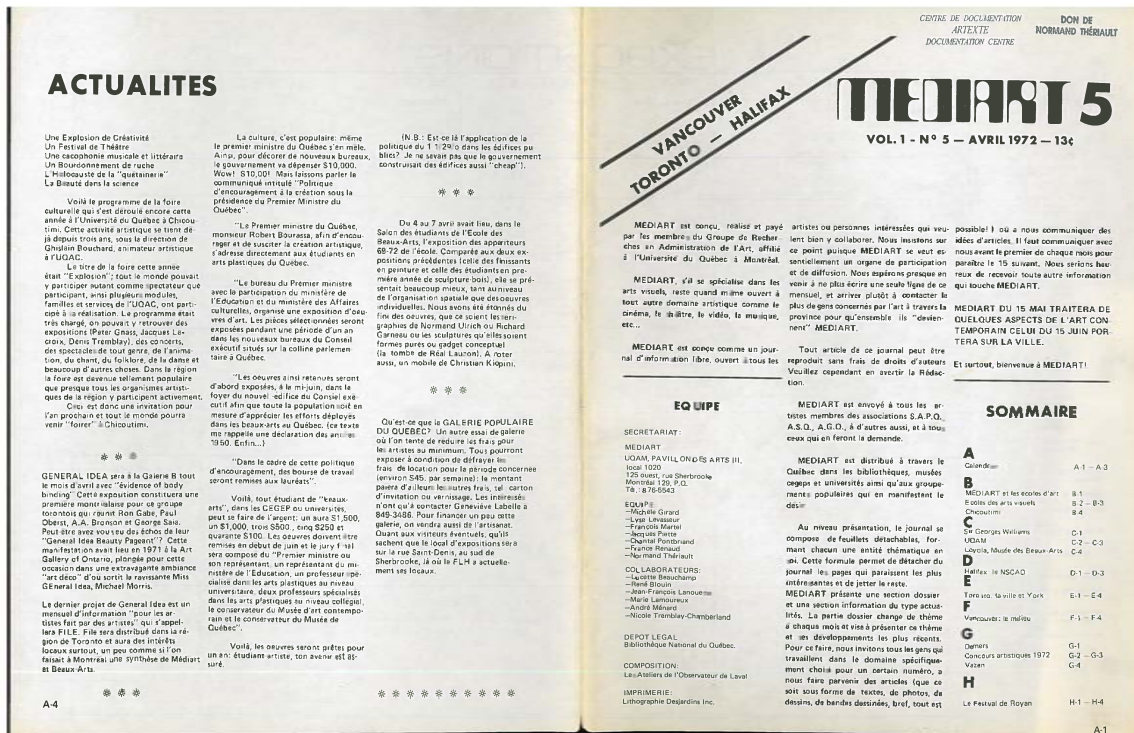


Figure 50. Front and back cover of *Médiart 5* (April 1972), 28 x 43 cm, open.

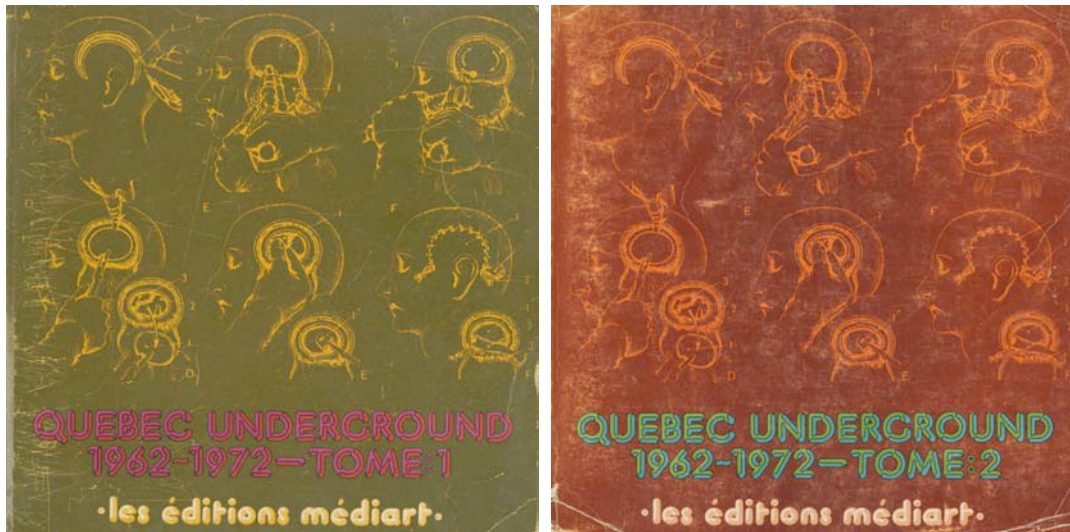


Figure 51. Cover of Volume 1 and Volume 2 of *Quebec underground, 1962-1972*, ed. Yves Robillard (Éditions Médiart, 1973). 20.5 x 20 cm.



Figure 52. Pop culture resonance of Casa Loma, chosen site for exhibitions organized by the GRAAV and Normand Thériault, which often included members of Véhicule Art. *Médiart* 17 (1973), 18. 28 x 43 cm, open.



Figure 53. Photographs of Véhicule Art under renovation printed in *Médiart 9* (September 1972), D2, D7.28 x 43 cm, open.

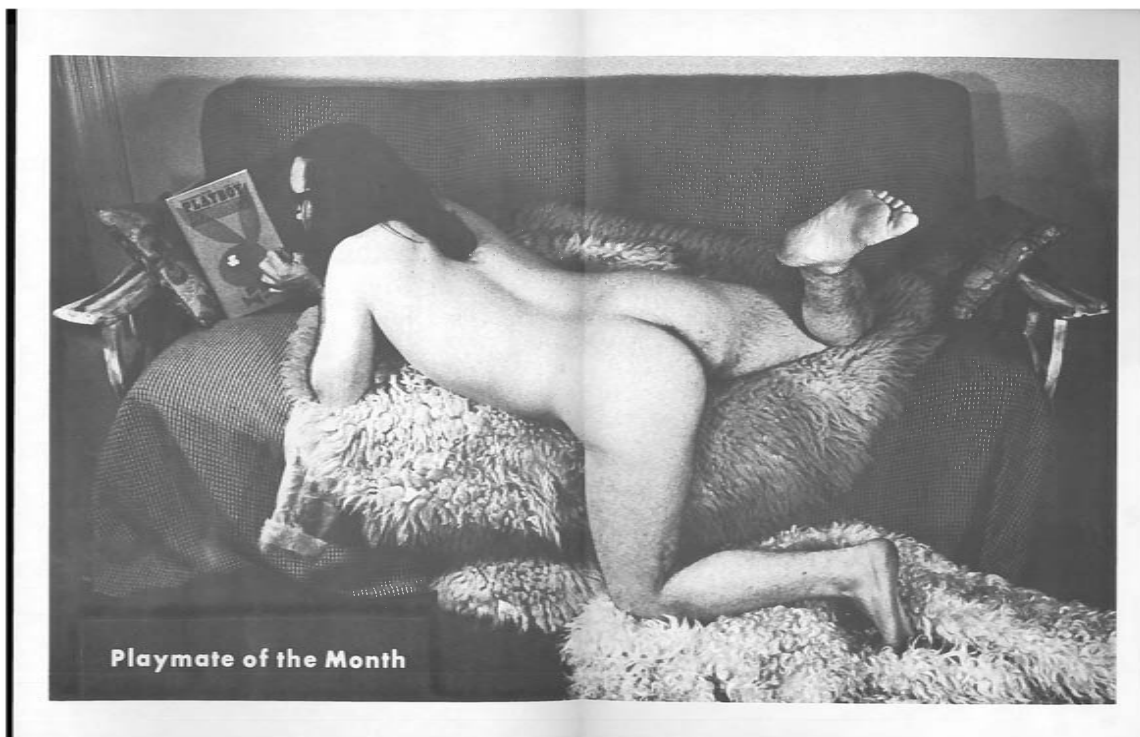


Figure 54. "Playmate of the Month" in *Médiart 8* (July 1972), D2-D3. 28 x 43 cm, open.

"MAMANKÉCÉSÁ"



- Auriez-vous oublié que vous aviez un sexe.
- L'époque des estampes japonaises est révolue; bandes de chanceux vous pourrez amener votre petite amie, votre tchum voir "MAMANKECESA", expo érotique du groupe Média.
- Des artistes tels que: Jean Noël, Yvon Cozic, Lise Bissonnette, Tom Howard, Michel Leclair, Marc Boisvert, Marc-André Gagné, Gilles Boisvert et d'autres érotiseront au grand jour, dévoileront leurs charmes discrets, leurs bibites.
- Venez voir, toucher, respirer l'atmosphère aphrodisiaque, au 276 Sherbrooke ouest, du 16 mai au 16 juin.
- Les gens de chez Média voulant ménager votre coeur ne vous permettront de voir l'expo que du mercredi au samedi entre 12 h. et 18 h.
- L'érotisme avec "MAMANKECESA" est une chose à ne pas manquer nous dit l'organisateur Gilles Boisvert, entre deux orgasmes (exercice quotidien qu'il pratique avec assiduité!)

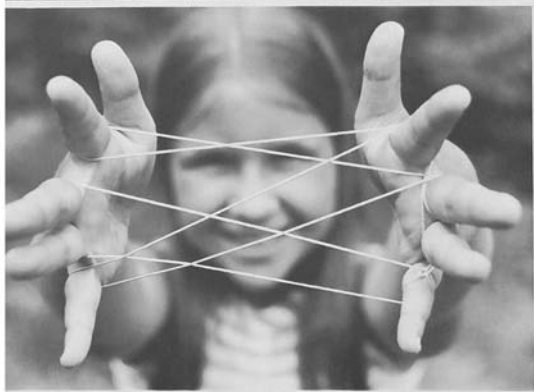
Photos et maquette par Gilles Boisvert

30



31

Figure 55. Publicity for "Mamankécésá" an exhibition focusing on the erotic at the Groupe Média gallery, 276 Sherbrooke ouest, 16 May-16 June 1973. *Médiart* 16 (April/May 1973), 30-31. 28 x 43 cm, open.



... DANIELE VAZAN... RAWDON, QUEBEC... NATHALIE VAZAN...



IMAGE BANK, VANCOUVER

Figure 56. "Danielle Vazan... Rawdon, Quebec...Nathalie Vazan" and "Image Bank, Vancouver" pages from *Contacts*, 36 x27 cm, each page.



Figure 57. Image of André Major, Gérald Godin, Claude Jasmin, Jacques Renaud, Laurent Girouard, Paul Chamberlain [ca. 1962] reproduced in the “Parti-Pris et Ti-Pop” section of *Québec underground*, Vol. 1, 94-95. 20.5 x 40 cm, open.

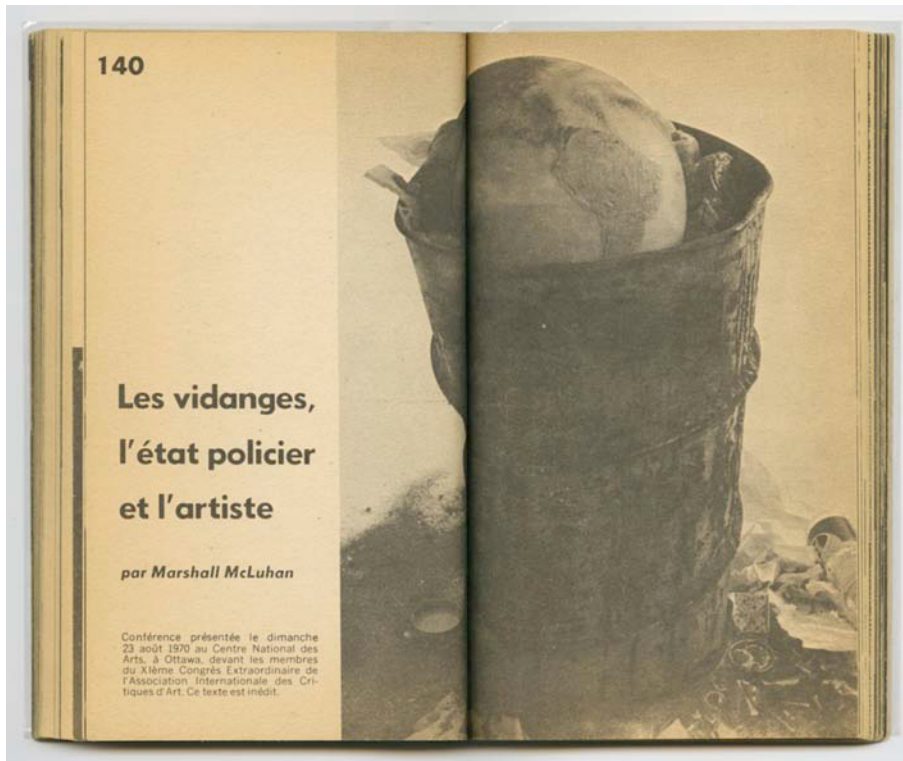


Figure 58. A translation of the complete, unedited transcription of a talk given by Marshall McLuhan at the XIème Congrès extraordinaire de l'Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art, 23 August 1970, taking place at the National Art Centre, Ottawa. *Mainmise 1* (October 1970). 140-159. 18.5 x 25 cm, open.



Figure 59. Façade of the Libreria Tranquille, 69 Sainte Catherine Street west. Reproduced in *Entre l'auteur et le lecteur : l'archive* (Université de Sherbrooke, Service des bibliothèques et archives, 2015), 35.



Figure 60. "Alain Badiou et l'esthétique marxiste" caption for an image reproduced in *Quebec underground, 1962-1972*. Vol. 1, ed. Yves Robillard (Éditions Médiart, 1973), 256-257.

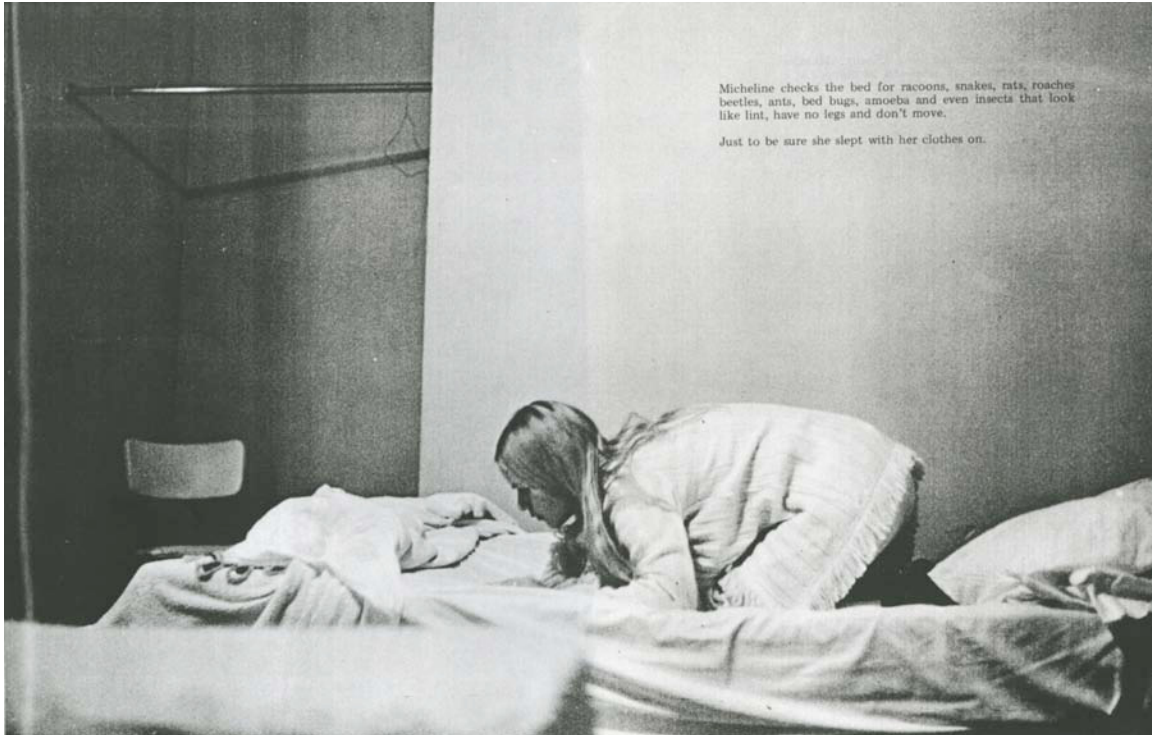


Figure 61. Images of Micheline in Frank Vitale's *Hitchhike: Montreal-Jacksonville, Montreal-New York*, (Véhicule Press, 1973), np. 23 x 35 cm.



Figure 62. Arno Mermelstein, "Maid in Canada," *Beaux-Arts Magazine* Special Pornography Issue (1973), 38-39, Published by Tom Dean on the press at Véhicule Art. 28 x 43 cm, open.

actualités

**march 3-4 mars 2:00
W.O.R.K.S. CONCERT**

**WICKLE, MONTREAL
Samedi afternoon**

JOHN BAWKES: Transplant: 20123
Standing Water (13): 090123
CLIVE ROBERTSON + PAUL WOODROW
Before asking further, we must clear
the water

DICK LOGGINS Concert No. 14 (1965)
ROBERT WILSON Whispered Arts History (1963)
ALISON KNOWLES Performance Piece R (1965)
CLIVE ROBERTSON "Dear Mr. Robertson....." (A series you right)
(A Tear Of...? Chap 2)

PAUL WOODROW Assonances
KEVIN FRIDMAN Actus (1965)
R.O.P.E.L.S. Creative Audience-2nd Variation
JOHN VAUGHAN Bakery Food (1963) / **FLUXUS**
CLIVE ROBERTSON General, Jumpy, Vocal Response
(A Tear Of...? Chap 5)

ALISON KNOWLES Shoe Piece (1965)
CLIVE ROBERTSON Here and gone of love and loss
(A Tear Of...? Chap 20)

Sunday afternoon

PAUL WOODROW Playing the Field
HELA BODINER Lecture No. 3 (1963)
CLIVE + DU ROBERTSON Book Identity Transfer
(A Tear Of...? Chap 29)
JOHN GINAR ARMAON Calligraphy
CLIVE + DU ROBERTSON Family Music
(A Tear Of...?)

MONDAY Alone /
CLIVE ROBERTSON "Lecture for Mr. Penat, Mr. Brate etc..."
(A Tear Of...? Public Performance 13)

***All pieces are performed as Identity Transfer**



PHOTO: Lise Leduc.

La Casa Loma revit! Les 22, 23, 24 mars a eu lieu l'exposition sur l'Art Underground avec spectacles, lancement du catalogue, débats, combat de boxe... MEDIART ne manquera pas de vous en donner un compte-rendu détaillé dans son prochain numéro.

En marge de l'exposition "Le son comme visuel le visuel comme son" à Véhicule, Paul Woodrow et Clive Robertson de Calgary ont exécuté le concert "Fluxus" dont vous pouvez voir le programme

TERRY PANPLIN (the geogram)



Anaïs Nin donnait les 6 et 7 mars deux conférences à McGill et SGWU. Madeleine Raoult y a rencontré: "Une femme gracieuse et douce. Des yeux vifs et tendres qui scrutent les masques. Sa présence ne permet aucune composition, aucun jeu. Elle s'est penchée depuis si longtemps sur elle, elle a observé si minutieusement, si franchement ses attitudes, ses pensées, ses desirs, son être paradoxal, qu'on a l'impression qu'elle possède une chef, celle des secrets intérieurs, inavoués ou perdus.

Anaïs Nin, par la publication de son *Journal* a découvert que sa solitude était partagée par d'autres femmes: elle a enlevé son masque et est allée vers les autres. D'autres avaient vécu comme elle la panique face à leur vie, leur vie limitée parce qu'elles n'étaient que des femmes auxquelles on demandait seulement: "Soyez charmantes, faites-nous oublier votre intelligence". "Il faut créer sa liberté soi-même". Se dégager de ces modèles séculaires de notre civilisation sur le rôle où le comportement du plagiat ou des oeuvres marginales reconnues avec condescendance. La création artistique exige que l'artiste soit en accord avec son être et qu'il ose ensuite affirmer sa vision du monde. Les femmes devront commencer par se révaloriser, croire en la valeur de leur vision du monde, comme vision non plus marginale mais parallèle et complémentaire de l'autre."

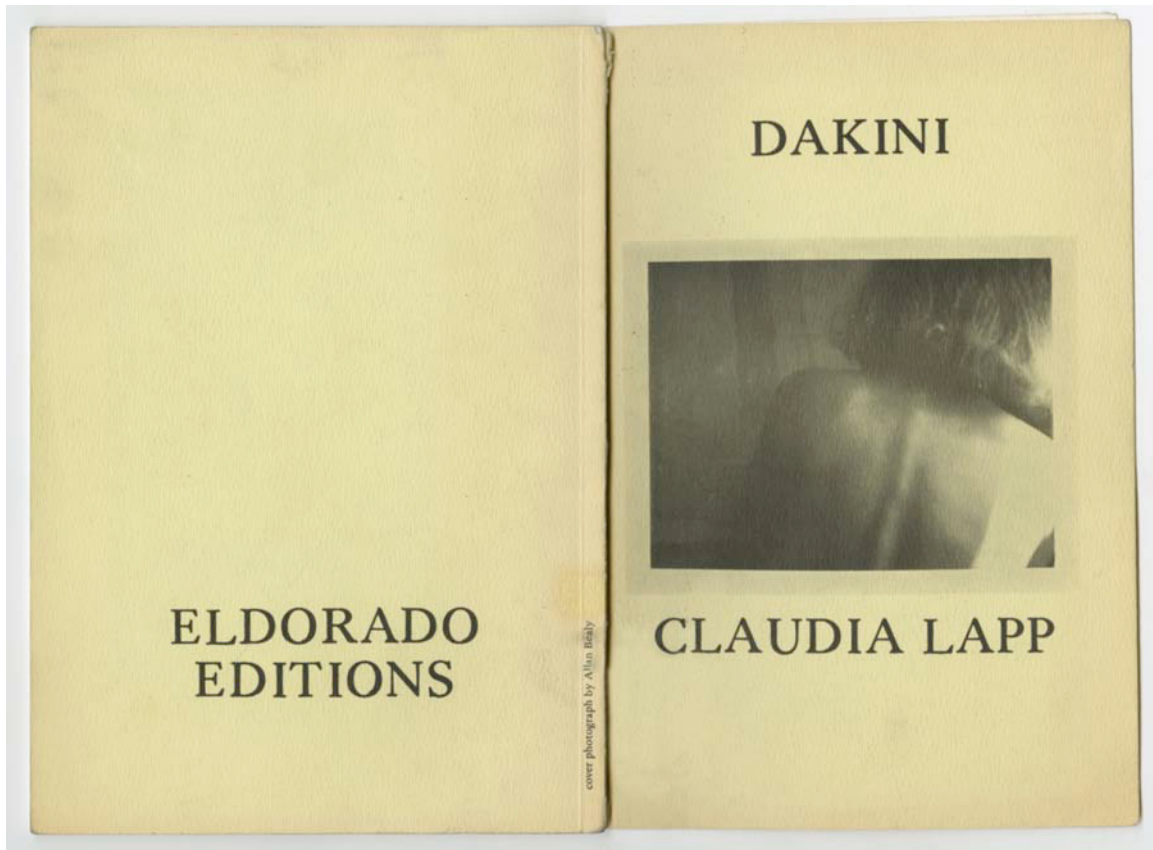
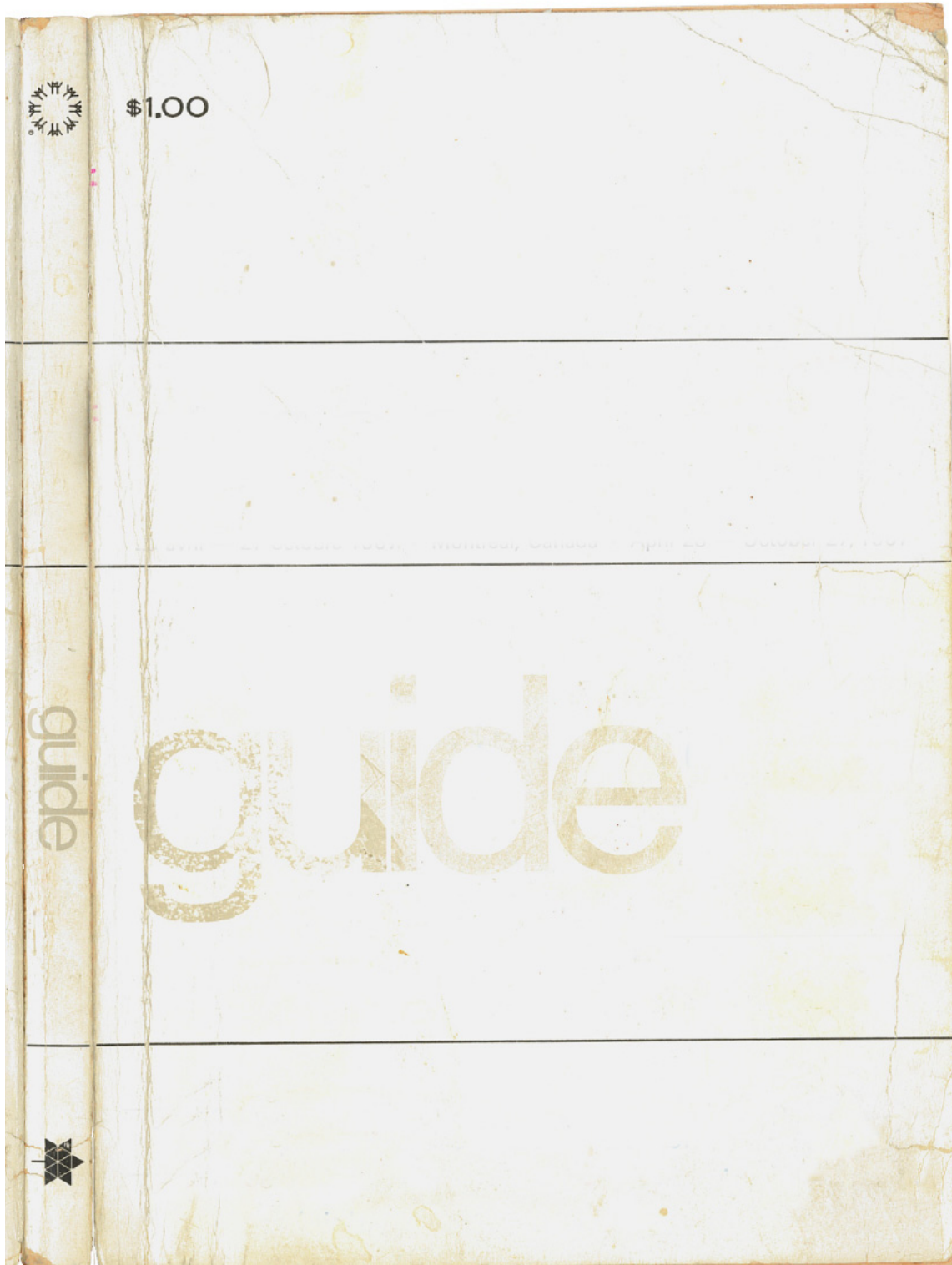


Figure 64. Cover of Claudia Lapp's *Dakini* (1974) published at Véhicule Art as part of a series issued by Allan Bealy under the imprint, Eldorado Editions. Photograph by Bealy. 22.5 x 16 cm, closed.

ANNEX



FEELING HISTORICAL THROUGH RESEARCH- CREATION

This Annex takes the form of a personal scrapbook of memories and affective moments that have surfaced while I have been working through my archival research and scholarly writing. I reflect upon five projects with intersecting themes that were publicly exhibited between 2010 and 2016:

- *Constellations & Correspondences: Networking Between Artists, 1970-1980*,¹
- *Network Consciousness / La Conscience du réseau*,²
- *Vous avez posé plusieurs problèmes à la fois et je voudrais essayer de les étaler un peu...*,³
- *119m Above Sea Level / 119m Au-dessus de niveau de la mer*.⁴

One final project, provisionally titled *Reader reception*, remains in process in the studio as I approach the end of this thesis, although I hope it will be made public in 2017, when the 150th anniversary of Confederation is celebrated nation-wide.⁵

This body of creative work was produced alongside my scholarly writing. Both my creative and scholarly work draw from a common source of archival research, yet differ in the expression of knowledge gained during this research process. My creative practice operates on a continuum, drawing on the scholarly methods of art history, print culture, and history of the book, and bridging curatorial activities and studio-based work that engage directly with some of the national histories, conceptual strategies and material techniques that I have defined as “conceptual nationalism.” Mine is a neo-conceptualist practice in the sense that I



adopt the position of artist-as-critic; I imaginatively engage with the effect that critical discourse has as it defines or influences the production, circulation and reception of art. Whereas my historical research and case study analysis has focused on how this reception occurred in conceptual book works, artists’ magazines and related exhibitions or performances of the past, my creative practice is oriented toward the “mythical” resonance of this historical reception in the present tense.

I have argued throughout the case studies of this thesis that myths are, as Roland Barthes insists, a “second-order semiological system” that takes existing cultural signs and turns them into signifiers with other connotative meanings.⁶ I too use the stereotypes of national culture as myths, which solicit the attention of a particular reading or viewing public. I prefer to think of this approach as romantic, rather than analytic conceptualism, as I use language and cultural codes to trigger the affective dimension of national feelings in potential viewers, thereby testing the communicative

limits between private psychological states and the shifting identities of a post-national world. Part of my artistic/curatorial practice takes place through involvement with the para-institutional collective, the Centre de recherche urbaine de Montréal (CRUM). The collaborative environment of the CRUM tests the communicative limits between private psychological states and shifting public identities, not only due to the intimacy derived from our way of working, but also in our continued—and mostly unsuccessful—attempts at using an incorporated non-profit to establish a space of creative freedom that is not dependent upon public funding.

Although many argue that culture is now produced, circulated and viewed in a post-national context, the persistence of peer-reviewed cultural funding at the federal, provincial and municipal levels means that art produced or displayed in Canada has likely intersected in some way with cultural policy or public funding.⁷ As I argued in Chapter I, the “nation” therefore lingers as an anachronistic grid through which cultural flows can be perceived and measured. This national grid structures *Reader reception*, which begins with a stack of collapsible cardboard archival boxes of the sort one finds in home or office supply stores. The box sitting on the top of the stack is an imperfect imitation of the two store-bought items. Constructed from Foamcore board, which lends it a crude and temporary air, the box has a plastic wood-grain veneer applied to one side, where the handle has been transformed into an oversized hole from which light emanates. Likewise, the printed grids—where dates, numeric codes or other identifying labels should be recorded to allow access to the content of the material inside—have been replaced by the



...particularly the constructions of “little machines to bring back famous literary personages. They were pieces with wood, paper, cloth, wooden dials, and antennas.”

— An interview with Joyce Wieland
Afterimage Vol. 8, No 10, May 1981.

multilingual instructions on how to apply this plastic veneer to multiple kinds of surfaces (a sign of the veneer’s circulation through the global home-hardware distribution networks). A “polar projection” map of the world, removed from an atlas, is pasted to the lid of this imitation archive box. This projection map makes the Arctic circle the geographic centre of an “air-minded age,” as described by the map’s legend. And though the map was produced in the 1950s, and therefore reflects the geo-political geography of the Cold War era, it nonetheless acts as a present day reminder of the importance of the Arctic region to the territorial conflicts of our peak-oil era (oil being the commodity from which both foam core and wood veneer are made).



On this archival box, Canada has been excised from this polar projection map, leaving a void.

A handwritten note framing the map transcribes a sentence fragment: "...particularly the constructions of 'little machines to bring back famous literary personages. They were pieces with wood, paper, cloth, wooden dials, and antennas.'" This quote from an interview with Joyce Wieland describes what I hope to be the function of the archive of cultural signifiers that my research has produced—that is, the revival of "literary personages" liberally interpreted to be the artists and writers who, I have argued, contributed to the "whispered history" of conceptualism in Canada. My own "little machine," my imitation archive box, is plugged into the wall and when one peers into the light that emanates from the hole in the side, a figure comes into view. The figure is Wieland, photographed in what I imagine to be the New York studio where



she developed her peculiar form of disidentificatory conceptual nationalism (see Chapter I for an extended discussion of this).

She is wearing a housecoat while snacking on sunflower seeds, as her kohl-lined eyes stare into the camera with a startlingly firm resolve. The shiny bangle on her left arm and tousled hair evokes a sensation of uninhibited sensuality, which the photograph, published in issue number three of *evidence* magazine (1961), transposed from a private space to public view. I've pasted the missing landform of Canada into her snacking hand, as if she were also ingesting the semiotic codes of this graphic representation as analogies for the culture within which she was raised. My choice of this cartographic fragment specifically responds to a childhood memory she has shared of a map "being pulled down on a roller... this fantastic Board of Education map, which was like... beautiful pinks and greens... the unimaginable vastness of this, which seemed even bigger as a child... the

words 'Dominion of Canada' in a big arc going across..."⁸ Notably, in my own work, which serves as an archive of memory, the excised landmass cites the print *A Mare usque ad Mare* (1987) by General Idea, which also served as the dust cover for the exhibition catalogue accompanying *From Sea to Shining Sea*, a history of artist-initiated activity in Canada curated by AA Bronson, in association with René Blouin, Peggy Gale and Glenn Lewis.⁹

The catalogue of *From Sea to Shining Sea* also included a reprint of AA Bronson's oft-quoted essay, "The Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-run Spaces as Museums by Artists," in which he describes his vision of Canadian art as "a dream projected upon the national landscape as a sea-to-shining-sea connective tissue; that is as a dream community connected by and reflected by the media."¹⁰ Bronson's essay has been an ambivalent source of inspiration and vexation for me as I developed a curatorial and artistic practice focused on documents and aesthetic acts of documentation. I consider Guy Sioui Durand's sociological study *L'Art comme alternative* to be the Québécois counterpart to the mythology put forth by Bronson, as it draws upon the sociology of Marcel Rioux (and Hebert Marcuse) to describe artist-led practice in Québec as working towards a utopian goal of self-management (*autogestion*) in conjunction with national independence (as discussed in chapter III).¹¹ My artistic practice developed primarily in artist-run centres where artists who took on curatorial modes of working were described as "coordinators."¹² This turn of phrase wishfully encouraged an engagement within the art world through non-hierarchical relationships by placing an emphasis on the

agency of artists within larger organizational units.¹³ While on the board at La Centrale/Galerie Powerhouse (2002-2006), I participated in an organizational culture that actively practiced a feminist-queer approach to treating the publicly funded artists' space as a kind of rupture in the social fabric. The board, staff and members at La Centrale were cognizant that our pursuit of an ideal caused constant and divisive tensions among us, but were nonetheless driven to enact it in praxis, however imperfectly.¹⁴ This experience piqued a now ongoing curiosity regarding the irresolvable tension in the relationship between state-sponsored programs for art and culture and the production of counterpublics. German sociologist Oskar Negt and filmmaker Alexander Kluge, for instance, have recognized that while public funding can provide for a protectionist niche for forms of expression that would not otherwise find a commercial market, it nonetheless falls short of being able to change the experience of how culture is produced for a wider public.¹⁵

At this point I want to digress from this discussion of *Reader reception* to reflect upon other creative projects that I have pursued alongside my doctoral research. In this sense, the work of Wieland, Bronson and Sioui Durand, among others, has shaped my imaginative engagement with the archive and acts of archiving. This engagement takes the form of a series of performative events or suspended moments: it is not simply an institutionally imposed protocol, but a form of mediation that occurs at many stages in the circulation of cultural objects. These artists' engagement with conceptualist strategies is characterized by the varying degrees of irony with which they

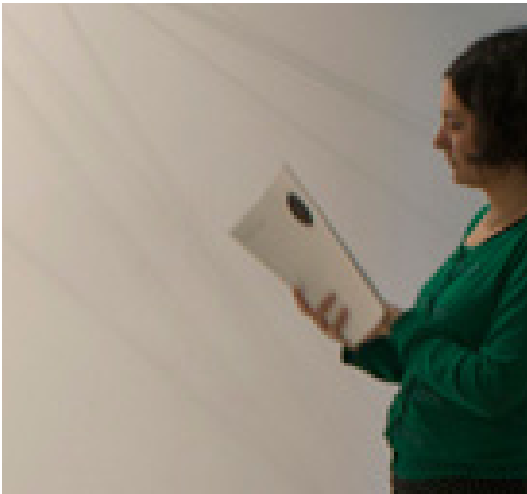
treat the identity-giving properties of systems of state patronage.

Wieland's work in particular has been discussed as an "erotic nationalism," a term that I believe extends to other works of conceptual nationalism (consider the pun on male genitalia implied in a grant application describing *File* magazine as a "house organ").¹⁶ I interpret "erotic nationalism" as referring not only to the presence of overtly sexual content in the work, but also to the work's recognition of "nationhood" as a discursive construct that relies on the affective experience prompted by media representation among reading and viewing publics. These works engage with the body's sensory relation to this media environment.

As I explained in Chapter I, the social imaginaries proposed by this tradition of artistic practice are a form of utopian fiction that incorporates references to the technological, social and political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as to concurrent shifts in artistic production.

These references form the basis of what Kenneth M. Roemer, a scholar of utopian audiences, describes as the "perceptual origins" necessary for a readership to feel that the narrative has personal meaning for them.¹⁷

The recognition of these references by future generations of readers is a crucial aspect of the text's ability to act as a cultural force, that is, to shift commonly held intellectual frameworks and even, in some cases, to lead to concrete action. Nonetheless, the body of work that I will discuss below keeps in mind that I am, and my potential public is, part of a group of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century readers—a group that, as Roemer has observed, "cannot and will not believe that humans can create perfect worlds or that writers are capable of envisioning a perfection that would appeal to many more than one reader, the author."¹⁸



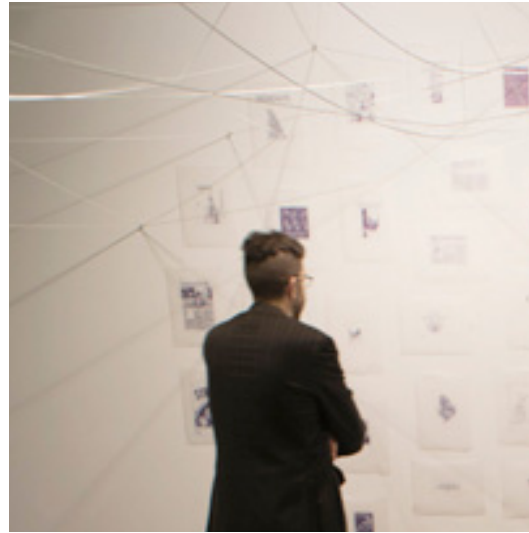
FINDING ONESELF

Several exhibitions and conferences have recently addressed the historical (and mythical) dimensions of a Canadian neo-avant-garde:

- *Tiré à part / Off Printing (2003)*,¹⁹
- *InFest: International Artist-Run Culture (2004)*,²⁰
- *Documentary Protocols I (2007) and II (2008)*,²¹
- *ResArtis: The Americas: Independent Artistic Practices in the Era of Globalization (2010)*,²²
- *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965–1980 (2010-2013)*,²³
- *Institutions by Artists (2012)*,²⁴
- *Oh, Canada (2012-2013)*,²⁵
- *Just Watch Me (2014)*,²⁶
- *This is Paradise: Art and Artists in Toronto (2015)*.²⁷

These exhibitions have appeared in a present-day artistic context marked by a historical interest in the intersection of counter-cultural impulses with various strains of conceptualism. The research-creation component of my doctoral research responds to the catalogues and other ephemera produced alongside these exhibitions and conferences—as I am a recipient of their mode of address. I am particularly attracted to printed forms that imitate other media or genres of writing, producing what Marshall McLuhan described as a “counter-environment,” where one can observe the destabilizing effects of networked technologies as identity formations are affected by the erosion of national sovereignties.²⁸

While the case studies explored throughout the main chapters of my thesis define conceptual nationalism as an art historical



category, as an artist, I consider conceptual nationalism to be in the tradition of Marshall McLuhan's manifesto, *Counterblast* (1954), which was re-printed by McClelland and Stewart as a pocketbook in 1969, making it widely available to a generation of conceptual artists alongside his other writing on media adopted around the globe. McLuhan's text was a response to Wyndham Lewis's Vorticist manifesto, *BLAST* (1914). *Counterblast* uses the typographic and collage techniques of the historical avant-garde to produce, in his words, “a counter-environment as a means of perceiving the dominant one.”²⁹ The manifesto critiqued Canada's subordinate cultural and economic relationship to England and the United States in the post-war period, but it also attacked the Massey Report's recommendations for state patronage. Stephen Voce has argued that *Counterblast* thus provided an example for the neo-avant-garde of the 1970s of how to adopt a position of cultural nationalism as a refusal of class inequity or colonial exploitation rather than as a reactionary stance “linking the land to a single ethnic or racial history.”³⁰

My doctoral work is a performance of conceptual nationalism, as I have defined it in this thesis. By this I mean that the production of knowledge occurs in relation to a place that is recognizable as “here,” yet also aspires to an imaginary “elsewhere.” Furthermore, this creative work has been supported at various stages by several funding agencies in Canada and Québec. The link between my art historical scholarship and my studio production is not direct; I have come to think of the written thesis not only as a contribution to a scholarly field, but also as “information”—that is, as a discursive media form which will reside as data within an open-access digital repository, ultimately circulating within an online citation economy. This thesis will exist, in other words, within digital networks, where a potential for global circulation and visibility is enabled by the search engine optimization of an open access repository platform (Spectrum). And yet, the related art objects remain fixed to a physical site. As in Joyce Wieland’s book-work, *True Patriot Love/Véritable amour patriotique*, the doctoral thesis becomes a genre of publishing that can change the status of painting, sculptural object, and sound performance in the studio into a photographic register (here, the representation of digital files on screen). In response to this anticipated immaterial form of visibility, my studio production has, conversely, been oriented towards allegorical materializations of the pictorial codes of painting, photography and film addressed in the case studies of the thesis.

This movement between archival research, academic writing and creative practice produces a complex signifying field. To understand this complexity as a movement

across media, I draw from artist, curator and theorist of digital culture Eduardo Navas, who observes that artists working in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century are responding to a world in which “media as a whole...is treated as a form of writing...”³¹ His view is that “*media has become discourse*” due to computational technology that flattens all modes of recording into binary code.³² I understand from Navas that an artist (such as myself), working in a neo-conceptualist mode and drawing from the collage practices of the historical avant-garde and their revival within Pop and Conceptual art, “rides on the histories of previous media, functioning allegorically...[and] uses the language of film and photography – not to mention painting – to create works that take on different forms according to specific contexts, and the viewers accept such work because the codes at play are already common knowledge.”³³

Navas’ approach differs from the collage or montage practices of the historical avant-garde, as it does not test a discursive boundary demarcating forms of avant-garde art from the aesthetic experience of everyday life. Rather, it is based on a musical model of sampling, which does not copy material in the world, but instead plucks its references from a collection of sound recordings that are indexed to events taking place in the world. Analogue mechanical recording technologies, such as the tape recorders and film cameras used by the neo-avant-garde, are understood to have an indexical relationship to sound and images “cut” out from their original context in the world, but Navas explains that with computational technologies, the act of cut/copy-and-paste instead samples from a

digital “archive of representations of the world.”³⁴ This process of appropriation produces an infinite loop of copies of copies, which is paralleled by unstable identities in media and of people, as increasingly complicated policies regulate trans-national flows of intellectual property.

Conceptualism is now considered to be a global phenomenon encompassing an intersecting set of strategies that use language as a material. As Lucy Lippard explained in the late 1960s, conceptualist strategies transformed exhibitions and publications into containers for works of art that should be viewed not as content, but as “signs that convey ideas...not things in themselves but symbols or representatives of things.”³⁵ I understand Navas’ approach to digital sampling in art historical terms as an extension of the Fluxus event score. Based in John Cage’s use of musical notation, the event score allowed intermedial or performance-based works of visual art to be expressed in fixed forms of language. Furthermore, as Kotz explains, the event score was “inseparably *words to be read* and *actions to be performed*.”³⁶ Although they could be read aloud or performed as actions, event scores more often emphasized aesthetic experience as something internal, based on the cognitive model of the act of reading.

This focus on cognitive reception as the site for aesthetic experience is significant. If nationalism is above all an emotion, I aim to reclaim the affective response to national myths through the erotics of the archive, or what Antoinette Burton describes as the “varied economies of desire” that structure nostalgic feelings “at the heart of archival encounters.”³⁷ In this sense, I reach back with reflective nostalgia to the 1960s and

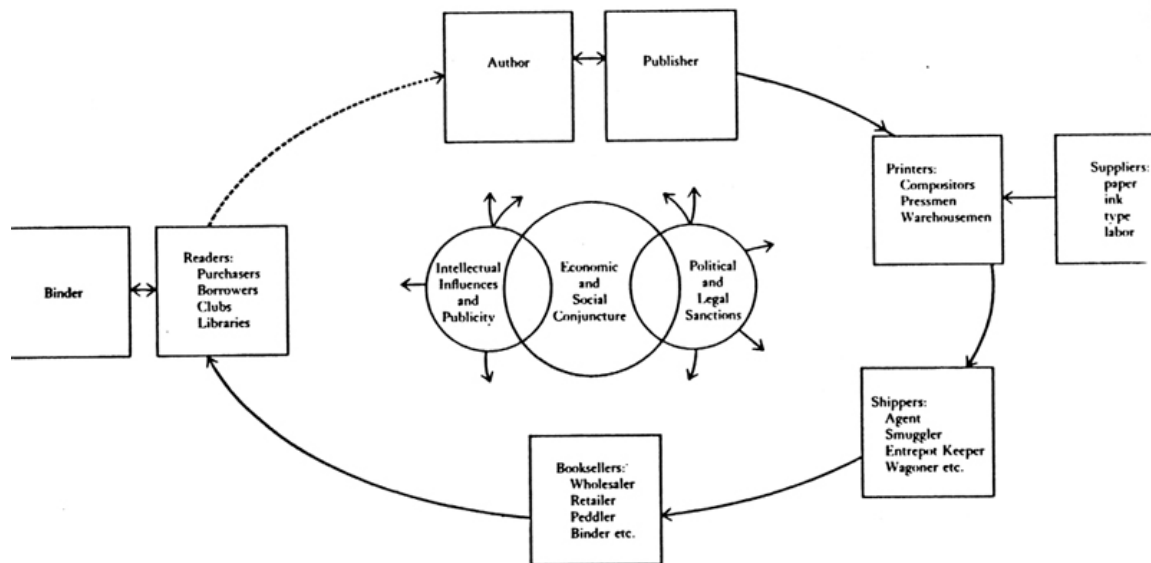
early 1970s as a moment when the high modernist discourse produced by New York-based critics such as Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried made neo-avant-garde revivals of collage or assemblage techniques and industrial technologies the aesthetic rival of large-scale abstraction. Regarding Pop Art and the rise of other intermedial forms, Greenberg lamented a “retreat to the easy” as these forms relied upon a cycle of novelty that paralleled mass media (kitsch).³⁸ Michael Fried, for his part, dismissed the “theatricality” of work that used the body as material in space.³⁹ Specifically, I am fascinated by the way in which this aesthetic debate resonated with the Leftist politics of the neo-avant-garde and how it was received in Québec and Canada in terms of the symbolic values these styles had for a complex field of nationalist movements that defined themselves against US hegemony.⁴⁰

I am interested in conceptualist practices that have an ironic relationship to pop culture genres such as books and magazines, and to Pop Art as a paradoxical movement. On one hand, the techniques associated with Pop offer a critique of a post-war public life dominated by images of American consumer products delivered in the rhetorical style of the American “ad man” in print and on TV; on the other hand, Pop also marks a moment when images of these artists and their works were sucked into the same patterns of circulation as film stars, fashion icons and consumer brands in both the popular and specialized art press.⁴¹

RESEARCH-CREATION

In epistemological terms, my scholarly writing is supported through a research-creation component that combines the two modes that Owen Chapman and Kim Sawchuck describe as “research-for-creation” and “creative presentation of research.”⁴² The first engages in what is often a collaborative or dialoguing process of gathering information, concepts, and resources in order to produce artistic expression. Far from being linear, the gathering process and the instance of expression are often mutually informed. The production of objects and experiential situations that I discuss below as my process of “research-creation” therefore occur as overlapping processes which parallel multiple revisions of the drafts for my art historical chapters. The second mode of

“creative presentation of research” works alongside traditional forms of textual inscription and transmission for knowledge produced through more traditional academic genres of writing, such as the chapter-based thesis. In effect, my creative practice allows me to indulge a constellated and associative way of thinking that, as I have discovered, does not translate easily into the rhetorical strategies required for textual argument. This fragmented way of thinking provokes dialogue with others by creating intellectual ellipses that elicit a response. Throughout my doctoral project, exhibitions, workshops and accompanying publications are treated as material forms that can be worked through to produce different kinds of knowledge—textual, kinetic, embodied, visual, relational, etc.



The communications circuit

In my mind, the two methods “research-for-creation” and “creative presentation of research” are closely related to the experience-based exchanges pursued by artists associated with Fluxus correspondence networks. As art historian Hannah Higgins explains, Fluxus artists engaged in “research” through an activity of “coproducing experiences” that generated extra-national bonds of affective belonging.⁴³ Whereas academic writing relies upon logic, rhetorical strategies, and a citational apparatus that is designed to make an argument as explicit as possible for the reader, my creative practice works through free-association; it generates indeterminate affective spaces through allusion, innuendo, metaphor, and expanded visual and tactile sensation. Ambiguity and intellectual ellipses are used as aesthetic strategies that engage the reader in generating their own semantic meanings.

My practice sometimes also includes my participation in an incorporated artists’ collective, CRUM, in which it is almost impossible to determine if an idea has originated in an individual. Instead, ideas are identified with a corporate body. This diffusion (or confusion) of authorship contrasts with the model of artistic genius, just as it challenges the single-authorship model upon which the tradition of scholarship in the humanities is based. However, the financing structure in the public gallery system that has largely supported CRUM projects is still based on the recognition of intellectual property through the payment of artists’ fees. This means that the desire to renounce attribution for the ownership of ideas, alongside whatever challenge to authorship

that our corporate structure may seem to pose, remain unrealizable utopian gestures.

The decision to work within a humanities-based doctoral program that encourages an interdisciplinary framework, on the other hand, reflected my desire to explore the slippage between epistemological categories, and by extension, intellectual identities. “Interdisciplinary,” for me, means not only the bridging of distinct academic fields of study, but also the activation of multiple kinds of intelligences (not simply linguistic or logic, but also aural, bodily-kinesthetic, spatial, interpersonal and intrapersonal through relational situations). The focus upon direct experience in relation to indirect modes such as observation and description allows for a movement between objective and subjective states, and the coexistence of rational distance with emotional engagement. In this sense, the tension between implicit and explicit identities running throughout my case studies is also present in the way that I oscillate between the performance of scholarly art historical and print culture methods—such as archival research or expository argumentation—and conceptual strategies that engage with fragments of language, image and text in order to recall repressed thoughts and desires to conscious memory. Sven Spieker has explained that both modes are analogous, as they establish relationships between two distinct sets of traces—one visible and one invisible—in order to account for forces that cannot be directly observed.⁴⁴

Unlike many of my peers, I do not hold an MFA; rather, I completed an MLIS (Master's in Library and Information Studies), a professional degree specializing in user-centred approaches to information systems (including repositories of cultural heritage, such as libraries, archives and museums). As a librarian, I developed a scholarly interest in how artists and cultural workers use publishing as a means of participating within a "community of practice." In the domain of Knowledge Management, communities of practice are understood to be groups of individuals who emphasize "the social nature of learning within or across organizations" as they associate through mediating technologies (print or electronic) according to a common interest.⁴⁵ When this kind of connectivity surfaces in a historical moment predating the internet, it is often considered to anticipate present-day experiences of digital culture driven by social media; but in the field of the history of the book, Robert Darnton's foundational model of a "communications circuit" serves as a common reference for scholars addressing publishing as a process that links multiple agents together throughout the modern period, with a particular focus upon pre-revolutionary moments.⁴⁶ Benedict Anderson's much cited theory of the nation as an "imagined community," arising from the shared experience of a reading public who may never meet in person, addresses this paradigm through a post-colonial critique.⁴⁷ These notions of multi-locational communities resonate with the internally-referencing systems of semiotic codes generated throughout Fluxus exchange networks, what Saper has described as an "intimate bureaucracy," in which an impersonal regulatory structure (the postal system) is parodied for the purpose

of producing "networks of insiders" who self-identify with a larger group according to their recognition and internalization of "idiosyncratic code systems."⁴⁸ Michael Corris also uses the term "invisible college," a term referring to a scientific community of practice, when describing the circulation of publications between artists associated with analytic Conceptual art (*Art-Language, The Fox or Red Herring*).⁴⁹ But it is ultimately the powerful image of a national artist-run network which imagined itself into being through print media—the "connective tissue...a dream community connected by and reflected by the media,"⁵⁰ as conjured by AA Bronson—that I returned to again and again to explore the disjunctive relationship between the reality I experience "here" and a dream-image that anticipates another world as it exists "elsewhere."





CURATING DOCUMENTS

My doctoral thesis and its selection of case studies arise from curatorial research undertaken in preparation for the exhibition *Constellations & Correspondences*. The exhibition featured more than 50 artists' books, artists' magazines, postcards, letters and other ephemera from the collections of the National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives (Ottawa) and Artex, an independent documentation centre for contemporary Canadian and Québécois art (Montréal).

Constellations & Correspondences took place at both locations over a period of two years and marked a point of convergence between an emerging curatorial mode of working, my professional role as a librarian (with experience working professionally at both institutions) and an artistic practice working across media and modes through a logic arising from collage that combines painting and drawing with digital imaging, publishing, performance and collaboration.

I find it interesting that David Balzer, reflecting upon the rise of artist-curators and “independent curators” in the art-world since the 1990s, has contrasted an image of the curator as a “wan librarian type, cataloguing objects in backrooms” against present-day figures such as Hans Ulrich Obrist or Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, whose media visibility and extensive international travel gives them the cultural capital to confer value via an act of selection and framing borrowed from the conceptual artists' toolbox.⁵¹ I'd like to think that my curatorial practice, which is informed by my neo-conceptualist artistic practice, challenges this image of the “wan librarian.”

Constellations & Correspondences was designed so that some items were displayed under glass while others were made available to be touched and read. These different modes of display made a subtle distinction between museum or gallery displays of objects, often sealed under glass, and library shelves and reading rooms that facilitate an embodied and

utilitarian experience of reading. There is also a tension implied between the role of curator (who acts as connoisseur of art works and as gatekeeper to a place in art history), of librarian (who facilitates access to mass-produced knowledge resources), and of artist (who repurposes the display cases and printed matter as forms with signifying properties, which could be elevated to the status of art works).

The display of books under glass was arranged geographically using the place of publication as a guide for a territorial arrangement. Conversely, the networked arrangement of publications on the accompanying exhibition pamphlet suggested the “collectivity” established by the relationships between them was based on communications patterns across a deterritorialized formation. The exhibition

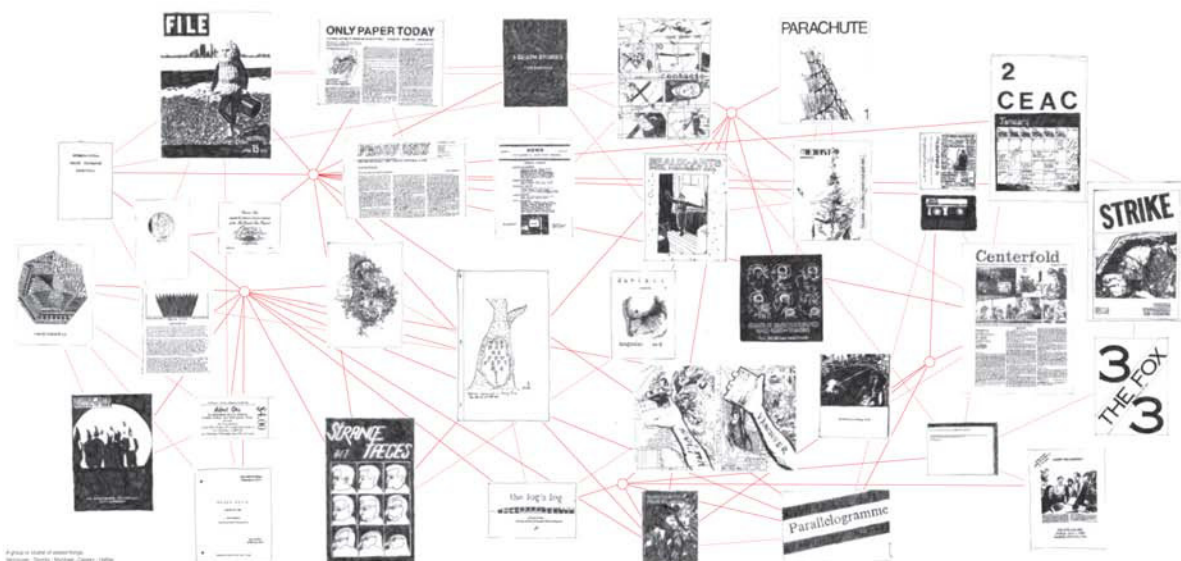
therefore works through dialectic between the fixed form of a nation-state and the deterritorialized imaginary produced for myself (and the exhibition visitors) as a reader of the books, magazines and other ephemera. Both the National Gallery of Canada and Artexite collect printed matter produced and circulated internationally (with a bias towards North American and European traditions), but their mandates are such that the cultural value of these materials is indexed according to its relationship to Canada, its cultural policies and public institutions.⁵² Artexite is especially complex as the mandate of the centre, revised amidst austerity measures in the mid-1990s, attributes cultural value based on a relationship to both Canada and Québec as nations with their own respective cultural heritages and international relations.⁵³



I appreciated a review of *Constellations & Correspondences* which described a “jarring” experience for the viewer: “On an experiential level, it forced visitors to struggle with the documents’ twofold function in the gallery: first, as objects of consultation and vehicles of the curators intentions; and secondly, as objects of consultation whose meaning is contingent on visitor’s own narrative desires and intentions.”⁵⁴ I used this dialectical approach because it treats the publications as objects that can move between different registers of value and affective experience—what Arjun Appadurai terms “commodity phases”—depending upon the context of circulation, collection and display.⁵⁵ Boris Groys has also described this oscillation as a “double abuse.”⁵⁶ On the one hand the gallery display of documents by a curator elevates them as art; on the other, as the documents are incorporated into the narrative space of an exhibition, they are simultaneously made to act as secondary illustrations to art history. Groys argues that this double abuse makes the value of these documents visible either in historical terms (use value) or as commodities (exchange value). Does the

public engage with the exhibited objects as cheap paperbacks or limited edition multiples, as research resources, or as artifacts of cultural heritage?

An accompanying pamphlet (published as part of the National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives Exhibition Series) included an essay and checklist guiding the viewer through a meandering exhibition narrative. In the essay, I framed the exhibition with reference to AA Bronson’s mythic narrative of publications as a “connective tissue” for a trans-Canadian neo-avant-garde, which engaged with newly available communications technologies and government monies to imagine itself into existence.⁵⁷ Images of book covers were arranged in a networked form on the recto of this pamphlet, echoing the trajectory of the exhibition narrative. The images were reproductions of documents in the exhibition that I had hand-traced, then scanned and composed as a map using design software. There were two reasons for this graphic act. Firstly, the tracing acted as a metaphor for the impression these texts made upon other readers’ memories and mine.⁵⁸



The second reason had to do with circumventing a national policy concerning artists' copyright. Reproduction rights and exhibition rights now accorded to artists in Canada were made possible by the convergence of cultural nationalism and collective advocacy by artists and writers during the early 1970s.⁵⁹ However, given the ongoing climate of austerity, and lean budgets at the National Gallery Library and Archives, I only had the ability to pay reproduction rights for the use of one or two images on publicity materials. I wanted the exhibition to give the viewer an experience of a cluster of interrelated objects and people, so I was reluctant to use a single work as the representation of a very eclectic jumble of publications and personalities. Paradoxically, the National Gallery's copyrights department insisted on respecting CARFAC fees for the reproduction of the objects as art works in publicity materials; yet artists were not paid exhibition fees for *Constellations & Correspondences*, presumably because this was considered to be an exhibition of documents and books, not art. This slippage in status for conceptual book-works, artists' magazines and ephemera is interesting because it reveals a gap between the cultural industries model upon which policy is developed and enforced through museum administration, and artists' activism regarding their economic rights.

Leaving aside the commodity status of art works, and returning to the realm of aesthetic experience as it works to evoke repressed memories, it can be observed that the archival aesthetics of yellowing paper, bent edges, poor-quality ink and hand-written letters encouraged exhibition visitors to unconsciously negotiate a personal

experience of reading in relation to a larger, anachronistic group narrative of nationhood. In the title of the exhibition, "constellations" refers to Walter Benjamin's method of material history, as he "grasps the constellation which his own era has formed with a definite earlier one."⁶⁰ For Benjamin, as for his contemporary, Ernst Bloch—from whom José Esteban Muñoz and Ruth Levitas draw inspiration for their discussion of utopian methods—objects, texts, and images from the past erupt suddenly with meaning in the context of the present moment, but this meaning does not remain static as it can simultaneously point towards other possible futures.

Not coincidentally, it was only while working as a librarian at Artex, supporting the curatorial research of others towards the ambitious exhibition *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965-1980*, that I realized my knowledge of publishing by artists, and its relationship to artistic community, had art historical value as a "a kind of whispered history circulated among artists and writers in 'alternative' publications."⁶¹ Anne Whitelaw has historicized the last decade of the twentieth century, when my practice developed, as the moment when this ideal of artist-run culture as an alternative network "no longer has meaning" for the production and display of art in Canada, other than as a conduit for addressing a particular audience demographic.⁶² This "loss of meaning" noted by Whitelaw parallels the rise of a post-national globalized field of artistic production and what Peter Weibel has referred to as the "rewriting" of art history in order to recognize that artists produce within a context of multiple modernities and overlapping de-centred art worlds.⁶³ I believe this movement towards a field of post-

national artistic production has contributed to the loss of meaning identified by Whitelaw. Conversely, these spaces now gain new meaning through nostalgia for a time when the idea of a national culture still held political currency. Artists could leverage this ideal to achieve their own ends, which, despite conformity to the cultural industries model adopted by policy makers, were more complex goals than simply reaching an audience demographic.

The dissipation of national identity can be a positive thing. It leads to the exploration of cultural hybridity, challenging an exclusionary logic in a period marked by accelerated international trade and mass migrations across the globe. But it is also problematic in that it challenges the limits of Canadian public funding models that grew out of a mid-twentieth century context linking countercultural dreams of networked autonomy to a national identity rooted in the paradigms of communications technology. Vincent Bonin has argued that this particular strain of “national” culture precluded the possibility for artists to use “alternative” venues to develop effective strategies for institutional critique targeting power imbalances perpetuated by museums and public galleries.⁶⁴ A tradition of “conceptual nationalism” is compelling in part because it offers a framework for discussing artistic practices that produce an institutional critique not of bricks-and-mortar art institutions, but of the ideals of national identity that aligned artist-run culture with the goals of government policy. In this respect, I consider the counterpublic that gathers around so-called artist-run culture to span a cultural field that includes academia, museums, commercial galleries and various countercultural enactments of community

through associative belonging. This counterpublic is not so much defined by sites of cultural representation as it is rooted in a shared belief that artists could perform a critical function in a society defined according to the development of national public spheres, specifically, as these artists self-determined the conditions of exhibition, publication and public reception for their own work or that of their peers.⁶⁵

When I began writing this thesis, the critical potential of conceptual nationalism seemed particularly important as the national identity promoted in the 1970s (associated with the public policy and leadership of Prime Minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau) was redefined, following the election of a Conservative majority government in 2006. “You won’t recognize Canada when I’m through with it,” is a widely quoted warning made by Prime Minister Stephen Harper at this pivotal moment.⁶⁶ The election of Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in October 2015, as I complete this thesis, shifts the terms of this reflection, perhaps placing an emphasis on how his popularity relies upon the revival of a national mythology which benefits from restorative nostalgia for the 1970s—a high point for Canada under the leadership of his father. Nonetheless, when the second iteration of *Constellations & Correspondences* opened at Artex, a series of articles appeared in the *Globe and Mail* titled, “How Stephen Harper is Remaking the Canadian Myth.”⁶⁷ Through text captions for a visual essay, the authors showed that the signs of Canadian nationhood reflecting a Liberal national vision were being actively redefined by a return to Conservative symbols: overt references to the Commonwealth and the Crown confirmed a national identity based in

THE REMAKING OF THE MYTH ANADIAN
 The Globe and Mail, 10th Anniversary, May 2, 2002; ProQuest Historical Newspapers, The Globe and Mail, pp. A11

A year after winning a majority government, Prime Minister Stephen Harper has... by promoting cherished symbols based on Liberal policies and right-wing research, ignoring excellence in the North - and introducing John Diefenbaker

God save the Queen, again
 The Queen's 60th birthday is being celebrated in a grand manner across the country. The Queen's 60th birthday is being celebrated in a grand manner across the country. The Queen's 60th birthday is being celebrated in a grand manner across the country.

Peacekeepers to buff knickers
 Canada will celebrate the 150th anniversary of Confederation in 2007. The government is planning a series of events to mark the occasion. The government is planning a series of events to mark the occasion.

THE REMAKING OF THE MYTH ANADIAN

H

Silver just doesn't cut it
 Remember the images of Greg... the silver Olympic... the silver Olympic...

Revival of Tory heroes
 History is written by the winners... Liberal historians portrayed John Diefenbaker as a struggle in power... Conservative prime minister John Diefenbaker...

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Putting his own stamp on the country's... with other icons, the new takes the... the new vision of Canadians

ANADIAN

H

A new take on newcomers
 Canada since took pride in welcoming... immigrants. Part of being Canadian could mean... the melting pot that America's immigrants were expected to become.

Silver just doesn't cut it
 Remember the images of Greg... the silver Olympic... the silver Olympic...

Revival of Tory heroes
 History is written by the winners... Liberal historians portrayed John Diefenbaker as a struggle in power... Conservative prime minister John Diefenbaker...

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a common British heritage, while the commemoration of the War of 1812 and the revival of John Diefenbaker as national figurehead acted as historical markers of sovereignty from the US (established by military means), effectively replacing the image of Canada as global peace keeper. Envisioning Canada as "the North" at once activates a mythology of Canadians as a Northern people, distinct from their neighbours to the south of the 49th parallel, but it simultaneously draws attention to the issue of Arctic sovereignty as climate change makes it possible for oil deposits to be the driver of a free-market economy.

Constellations & Correspondence was conceived at a time when the Conservative

government allocated \$17.8 million to the Department of Canadian Heritage for the *1812 Commemoration Fund*, to be distributed to local cultural initiatives.⁶⁸ This three-year finite injection into the cultural sector was part of the "Economic Action Plan," a program implemented to stabilize the Canadian economy following the 2008 global financial crisis.⁶⁹ At nearly the same moment, federal Finance Minister Jim Flaherty warned that "it's different than it used to be...we actually don't believe in festivals and cultural institutions assuming that year after year after year they'll receive government funding."⁷⁰ Though I did benefit directly and indirectly from Canada Council

funding, my exhibition did not benefit from the economic stimulation package, nor was it part of the Commemoration ceremonies. Curiously, during a visit with then Heritage Minister James Moore, I found myself explaining a connection between the migration of Loyalists during the War of 1812, fought between the United States and the United Kingdom, and the anti-war activism of the 1960s and 1970s, as “Canadian” mythologies shared between the two time periods.⁷¹ Moore did not respond to my comment, which was consistent with Conservative Party policy to control media messaging and information, thereby limiting citizen’s free expression rights.⁷² It was around this time that I began to think of artist-run culture as a national mythology with its own institutionalized cultural code, or archive of traditions that attracted a counterpublic through its own recycling of national symbols. This nationally-bound counterpublic identified with the utopian form of an affective network that simultaneously formed upon an extra-national plane.



NETWORK CONSCIOUSNESS / LA CONSCIENCE DU RÉSEAU

My ability to identify with the cybernetic metaphor of a network as a non-hierarchical, inherently democratic or liberating form is attenuated by my practical experience maintaining information technologies and developing relational databases to give public access to library collections. I am all too aware that there are inherent structural challenges to using these information technologies to produce an image of a network. As Alexander Galloway has claimed, when rendering the image of a network, the level of detail “overwhelms the human sensorium, attenuating our sense of reality.”⁷³ Furthermore, like the mythologies of Roland Barthes, the image of a network is a second-level semiological sign; as Galloway explains, “reality” is first converted into a set of data, or information, and then these abstract numbers require a further “artificial set of conversion rules,” which transforms them into recognizable semiotic signs.⁷⁴ This means that although the network may persist as a compelling image for utopian social formations, it actually represents a multi-step mimetic process that is disassociated from “real” social or material relations.

Galloway’s description of the network as a mimetic image resonates with my experience of the artistic milieu in Québec of the early 2000s as it was dominated by “relational practices,” defined by Nicolas Bourriaud as “a set of artistic practices which take as their theoretical and practical point of departure the whole of human relations and their social context, rather than an independent and private space.”⁷⁵ Patrice Loubier and Anne-Marie Ninacs chronicled

local examples of relational practices in *Les Commenceaux*,⁷⁶ in which they included an issue of the *Petite enveloppe urbaine* as a supplement. Produced by a para-institutional collective, Centre de recherche urbaine de Montréal (CRUM), of which I am a member, the *Petite enveloppe urbaine* was launched in the late 1990s as an exhibition in the form of an envelope, following the Fluxus model of an assemblage magazine. Two issues of the *Petite enveloppe urbaine* were published in the time of writing my PhD. *Petite enveloppe urbaine* No. 19 (2011) took form as part of a research residency at the Prelinger Library in San Francisco. Working in response to “information requests” issued by a network of acquaintances, I assembled a collage by browsing this esoteric collection by using Jack Spicer’s poetic method of “dictation”—

that is, by attempting to access a world memory by becoming the conduit for voices located outside my consciousness (this method will be further discussed below). As in my reading of Image Bank’s *International Image Exchange Directory* (Chapter III), the list of image requests and the collage assembled from the results of my searching is a mapping of an affective network that remained important to the completion of this doctoral thesis. *Petite enveloppe urbaine* No. 22 (2014) was produced as a workshop for children ages 6-12 attending a philosophy day camp. This workshop reflected my interests as a new mother in language acquisition, as it used a collaborative process to explore the communicative function of metaphor through manual copying techniques.

p e t i t e
e n v e l o p p e
u r b a i n e

N° 19 Août 2011
Montréal (Québec); San Francisco (California)

amanuensis^{*}

Adad Hannah | Alexandra McIntosh | Alissa Firth-Eagland | Amish Morrell |
Andre Furlani | Ann Butler | Anne Bertrand | Anne-Marie Proulx | Ardath
Whynacht | Barbara Clausen | Barbara Wisnoski | Catherine Bodmer | Chris
Carrère | Claudine Hubert | Corina MacDonald | Daniel Olson | Darren
Wershler | David Tomas | Denis Lessard | Denis Longchamps | Doug
Scholes | Emily Falvey | Eva Fromm | François Lemieux | Felicity Taylor^{*} |
Florenca Marchetti | Jacob Wren | Jake Moore | Jen Allen | Johanne Sloan |
John Latour | John Murchie | Karen Spencer | Karlee Fuglem | Leisure
Projects | Lowell Darling | Marc-Antoine K. Phaneuf | Marisa Jahn | Mark
Gaspar | Michael Blum | Michèle Theriault | Michelle Bush | Nathalie
Angles | Nicole Burisch | Peter Dubé | Rebecca Duclos | Robin Simpson |
Sarah Greig | Sarah Watson | Sarah Wookey | Simon Brown | Sturm
Husqyama | Taien Ng-Chan | Therese Mastroiacovo | Tom Sherman | Urs
Lehni | Vincent Bonin | Vincent Trasov

CRUM
Centre de recherche
urbaine de Montréal

^{*}a literary or artistic assistant,
in particular one who takes dictation
or copies manuscripts.

In San Francisco, tsunami sirens pierce the seaside air every Tuesday at noon. In this city under constant threat of extinction, Rick and Megan Prelinger have accumulated a private collection of over 40,000 books, periodicals, ephemera and government documents. Many of these documents were once in public library collections, but have been discarded as cultural memory is digitized and migrates online. In the American democratic tradition of building community through private assets, the Prelingers have opened their Library to everyone compelled by curiosity. While some of its most avid users arrive via Silicon Valley, this Library is an ark of pulp and paper, something solid that might float when rivers of information lose their wellsprings of electricity.

Tous les mardis à San Francisco, des sirènes rappellent aux habitants la possibilité imminente d'un tsunami. C'est à l'ombre de cet anéantissement éventuel que Rick et Megan Prelinger ont amassé les 40 000 livres, périodiques, documents gouvernementaux et autres publications éphémères qui deviendront, en 1983, la Prelinger Library. Bon nombre de ces documents, abandonnés dans le sillage de la numérisation omniprésente, proviennent des collections de bibliothèques publiques, et fidèle à la tradition américaine du mécénat communautaire, la Prelinger Library est justement ouverte à tous. Bien que la plupart des habitués y accèdent de façon virtuelle, l'archive demeure une véritable arche de Noé faite en papier, prête à retrouver l'océan si jamais les sirènes sonnent pour de vrai.

The Centre de recherche urbaine de Montréal assigned an amanuensis the task of soliciting search requests from fifty-seven people in different cities. The amanuensis received these requests and browsed the Prelinger Library for appropriate material. The collection is arranged as a landscape, interpolating the history of communities and their relationship to the environment. Accordingly, the act of searching must follow the contours of this topology. *Petite enveloppe urbaine* No. 19 contains the answers to their questions.

Le centre de recherche urbaine de Montréal a engagé les services d'un amanuensis (copiste) qui a sollicité des requêtes de recherche auprès de cinquante-sept individus d'un peu partout dans le monde. Le copiste a sillonné l'archive afin de répondre à ces requêtes — archive qui prend la forme d'un paysage, intercalant l'histoire des communautés et leurs contextes respectifs. Le parcours du chercheur suit donc les contours de cette topologie. La *Petite enveloppe urbaine* no. 19 en présente les retombées.

Traduction : Simon Brown

PIERRE-FRANÇOIS
OUELLETTE ART
CONTEMPORAIN
www.pfoac.com

Centre de recherche urbaine
de Montréal (CRUM)
www.crum.ca

This work is released
to the Public Domain

The notion of a mutable national imaginary, and its mechanisms of intergenerational reproduction, would appear increasingly complex as I went through the biological and cultural experience of becoming a mother partway through my doctoral studies.⁷⁷ This experience added an embodied dimension to my reflection upon processes of cultural transmission and social reproduction. While trying to appease anxieties of being a “good enough mother,” I discovered British psychologist D.W. Winnicott’s description of a “potential space” of play between the infant and the mother, a space that eventually comes to be mediated by objects.⁷⁸ Winnicott argues that this space is the locus of cultural experience, as the child forms a sense of self as an individual and negotiates this self-image in relation to the surrounding environment. Conceived of in this way, culture is an essential part of identity formation, not because it enforces conformity to a symbolic order but because it opens up a space for the exploration of

self through the relationships between entities. A week before my son’s birth, Fortner Anderson (then director of Vidéographe) called to ask if I would “curate” an issue of the organization’s newsletter based on both, my doctoral research, and in response to the recently digitized Vidéographe collection, dating from the early 1970s, now available through the Vithèque online platform. *Network consciousness/La Conscience du réseau*, my response to this invitation, became one of the projects that I would work on while negotiating my doctoral research *and* the very present experiences of early childhood. Two other mothers who were negotiating the challenges of academic and artistic milieus gifted me a copy of Moyra Davey’s anthology *Mother Reader*, a reference point to which I frequently returned in order to understand the affective responses I was having to the psychoanalytic implications of, as Davey puts it, “the irreducible question of production/reproduction.”⁷⁹





The task of producing an online newsletter quickly expanded into a multi-venue exhibition spanning Vidéographe's online spaces, Art Metropole in Toronto, Residency Unlimited in Brooklyn, and Galerie SBC in Montréal, over a total period of six months.⁸⁰ The fragmented form and traveling itinerary of the exhibition reflected my own affective network and professional connections, but also the requirements of a grant for the circulation of works from the Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec. In the language of the granting program, Toronto, like Brooklyn, was considered to be "à l'étranger," in a foreign territory.⁸¹ In this respect, I had to do some creative accounting to compensate Brooklyn-based artists for the screening of their work outside of Québec (this territorial distinction regarding CARFAC fees again reflects the national framework of copyright law). Although it is possible to discuss this exhibition in the terms of a conventional curatorial project, it is also important to note that its unfolding across multiple venues and

media platforms responds on a conceptual level to a digital environment in which the cut/copy-and-paste logic of sampling is ubiquitous across media. Vidéographe's digitized video collection now resides as infinite copies in computational networks, which the mechanical copying made possible by film, photography, photomechanical printing processes, and sound recording anticipated.⁸²

Vidéographe was founded in 1971 amidst a thriving national independence movement deploying Third-World decolonization discourse and other forms of countercultural thought emerging from the United States and France (as outlined in Chapter III).⁸³ Through access to portable video equipment, artists and activists sought to counter the ideological effects of mass-media sources. Video cameras were used as an agent for social change through aesthetic means alongside other forms of direct political action. I began to think of the digitized videos in the Vidéographe collection as an archive of traditions arising

from recent Québec history—a self-managed recording of experience made by people living through this tumultuous period. For this reason, I selected the agit-prop social documentary *La Consommation* (1973) and the psychedelic feed-back of Charles Binamé's *Réaction 26* (1971) as signifiers of genres of video that are very specific to their historical moment, but at the same time continue to speak to concerns people struggle with today.

La Consommation was produced by an anonymous cooperative, Bloc Coop, who combined Marxist-Leninist theory with comic-book illustrations to persuade an increasingly mobile generation of Québécois to remain in their traditional rural villages rather than migrating to the city. In Toronto, this odd combination of rural Québec nationalism and Marxism was projected from the window of Art Metropole onto a busy intersection on a commercial street, serving as a reminder that although the artist-run bookstore is not run using this model, the work-place culture conceives of its commercial function in terms of a cooperative endeavour.⁸⁴ A simultaneous launch of the *Atlantic-Griffin-Manifesto* (2015), self-published by restaurateur Nathan Isberg, demonstrated that the question of urban/rural divide as it affects low-cost, high-quality local food production and consumption remains an unresolved concern linking local experience to global patterns.

The pulsing visuals of Binamé's *Réaction 26* are the result of a closed circuit between a video camera and a TV monitor. Electromagnetic feedback produces a psychedelic pattern as invisible electrons are captured in the environment surrounding these media technologies. The pattern

aspires to a shift in consciousness through the cybernetic integration of the natural and human-constructed worlds, an experience that is linked to the cultural revolution of Québec through a soundtrack of soft-psych music mixing Québécois folk traditions with progressive rock.⁸⁵ *Réaction 26* was screened in Brooklyn, alongside videos by local artists Julia Oldham and Marisa Jahn (REV-) and Québec-based artists Simon Brown, Skawennati and Darsha Hewitt, who similarly address libidinal connections between human bodies, technology, language and consciousness. Although Binamé's video works almost exclusively through visual signifiers, other videos played with translations between English and French. This meant that any local specificities in the videos registered at multiple levels for a multi-lingual public attracted to the event at Residency Unlimited—an artist-led international residency program “networked” together via the support of external funding agencies that wish to export art and culture to New York City.

As in the review of *Constellations & Correspondences*, a review of *Network Consciousness/ La Conscience du réseau* again emphasized a productive state of



cognitive dissonance. This was an affective response to the contrast between the screening of two video works⁸⁶ by Toronto artist Luis Jacob as a one-night gallery event held at Galerie SBC in Montréal, and unlimited access to a different set of content through online streaming for a period of six months.⁸⁷ “La commissaire (et artiste)... a imaginé une présentation, intitulée *La conscience du réseau*, en deux parties qui pourront sembler ne pas s’associer si bien l’une avec l’autre. Au premier coup d’oeil, ces deux segments sembleront meme antithétiques et se contredire intellectuellement.”⁸⁸ The review focused on the seeming contradiction between the present tense of the single-night event—a reminder of the way people now experience daily life through the ubiquitous use of mobile cameras—and the reviewer’s experience of the six other videos streaming online. This reflection remained fixed upon the idea that video is indexical, that is, the

idea that the medium acts as a document conserving images of an event as memories, to be referred to in the future; but it overlooked the fact that the videos had been digitized, and that all the videos were housed and accessed through a database. The videos were not only indexed to real-world events but also to an older media form with a historically situated ideological meaning. In a similar act of indexing through overlapping media spaces, a still from Jacob’s video was also widely circulated alongside extracts of the curatorial essay, and shorter publicity texts were distributed through social networks (Facebook, Twitter, etc.). The video still was also reproduced in a printed poster designed by Karilee Fuglem, which was produced as a physical trace of otherwise ephemeral events, using stylized visual cues such as a psychedelic typeface and lime green and purple colour scheme, as a nostalgic throwback to the print media of a psychedelic Left.



The presence of infinite copies residing within computational networks was evoked in the reviewer's reflection upon different modes of engaging with "community" as affective networks, a concern the reviewer felt was echoed in the content of each video selected: "Par les videos qu'elle a choisies ou bien grâce aux dispositifs d'exposition qu'elle a mis en scène, elle nous parle de communautés de proximité se développant dans le court terme, mais aussi de communautés plus floues, plus disséminées, se déployant sur la durée et sur l'idée d'une mémoire collective à long terme."⁸⁹ In my curatorial essay, I had connected the videos through the common metaphor of the "network," but deliberately avoided a direct association of the term with the thematic of community. Instead, my curatorial grouping and mode of display explored how the concept of the "network" might work as a linguistic constraint, which shapes the way we interpret human behaviour through a concept applied to machines and electronic circuits. In English, "Network consciousness"

implies that our way of understanding the world is filtered through a linguistic constraint that projects whatever concept we have of what a "network" might represent onto other things that may not be like a network at all, echoing Galloway's insistence that the aesthetics of information have an inherent "logic of unrepresentability."⁹⁰ In French, "La conscience du réseau"—a translation suggested by Simon Brown (partially as a joke)—implies instead that the network is self-aware. I kept the literalness of Brown's translation (it should really be *La pensée en réseau*) because there is a slippage in meaning between the English, which references an actor or agency outside of us that may influence our perception, and the French, which references the possibility that we can achieve a collective self-awareness. In this respect, "community" is merely one example of how the metaphor of the network has been used as a utopian form bridging humans and technology since the nineteenth century.



VOUS AVEZ POSÉ PLUSIEURS PROBLÈMES À LA FOIS...

An essay that I wrote early on in my doctoral studies exploring one of my case studies, *Quebec underground, 1962-1972* (Médiart, 1973) has led several artists to seek me out and initiate collaborations.⁹¹ My dialogue with Romeo Gongora grew out of our shared fascination with *Quebec underground*, a publication that I discuss at length in Chapter IV. Our dialogue (in person and through the exchange of emails) took place over several months as Gongora prepared *Just Watch Me*, a multi-dimensional exhibition realized as a series of collaborations between Gongora and a wide-ranging group of scholars, artists, activists and other interested parties.⁹² For the duration of the exhibition Gongora transformed the white cube of a university gallery into a “social club.” In this temporary environment of ebullience, art historical accounts of socially-engaged or countercultural literary, film and artistic practices in 1960s and 70s Québec were the frame into which present-day activist-artists, performance art, literary performance and creative lifestyle activities such as DJing, yoga, and dance exercise classes, were inserted. The title is drawn from a contentious quote that marks the moment in 1970 when Prime Minister Trudeau invoked the *War Measures Act* as a response to the perceived threat of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) to civil peace. I understand Gongora’s citation of a figure of authority—who both enabled (through funding programs) and crushed (through arrests) creative expression—to be in the spirit of artist-led exhibitions that, as Bruce Altshuer has observed, historically function as sites where artists negotiate fluctuating



relationships to state patronage and the commercial market. These exhibitions are, in turn, important components of the social world that is constitutive of an artistic avant-garde.⁹³

Gongora and I began our dialogue with the idea that we could create a performance-based event responding to the happenings, dance, poetry performance and live theatre events documented in *Quebec underground*. But along the way, I developed an inexplicable psychic block towards participatory modes of engagement. Either I was resistant to participatory modes as reflective of the conditions that Eve Chiapello and Luc Boltanski have ascribed to a dominant neoliberal economic model that values networked social structures, constant interaction and connectivity through communications technologies,⁹⁴ or, I was afraid this kind of participation might lead to a restorative nostalgia, as if reenacting earlier countercultural events might overlook the fraught relationship between present-day decolonization discourse and the Québec independence movement in this period. Gongora, on the other hand, was working through the theory of “decoloniality,” proposed by Argentinean scholar Walter Mignolo, to develop a means of “de-linking”

countercultural practices from the epistemological logic of modernity—which, Mignolo argues, leads some cultures to be classified as underdeveloped in relation to others.⁹⁵ At the time, I couldn't come up with an action that would “de-link” the practices anthologized in *Quebec underground* from a complex historical context in which the counterculture in Québec and related art historical movements such as *Ti-Pop* were deeply connected to a project of *rattrapage* (or catching-up to modernity) during the Quiet Revolution and the reinvention of Québécois identity.

In keeping with my interest in national myths, I wanted instead to think about how the repetition of forms from this earlier era might work as images, texts and actions comprising an archive of traditions that could be copied and put back into circulation. What was the potential for the revival of this mythology? For instance, the sub-standard printing quality of *Quebec underground* and its reproduction of multiple generations of texts and images without clear attribution of sources lends itself well to circulation within the present-day digital image economies that Hito Steyerl associates with a hierarchy between “rich” and “poor images.”⁹⁶ Steyerl argues that poor images (dubiously scanned, uploaded and repurposed, often of poor resolution and out of focus) are the residue of protectionist national cultures—a reminder that it is possible to generate models for cultural production that counter the logic of commercial media streams.

After much argument over the intersection between nationalist movements, gender, race, class and language, Gongora and I collaborated on “copying” an image found in *Quebec underground* by creating a maquette of the large-scale kinetic



sculpture *Synthèse des Arts* (1967). The maquette was made in the spirit of *Ti-Pop* assemblages such as André Montpetit and Marc-Antoine Nadeau's *Le sous-marin jaune de la force de frappe québécoise* (1967), that is, as a combination of objects taken from everyday life, which when assembled produced a fantastical machine. The original sculpture was built by *Fusion des Arts* for an Expo '67 pavilion as a modernist integration of art with industrial design and materials. We decided to build our maquette out of the detritus of industrial processes: cardboard boxes, discarded wooden dowels, a CD-Rom (a near-dead electronic media support), and the lids from popular snacks and dips. One of the lids was printed with the brand name “Liberté,” as a parodic reference to the liberating effects *Fusion des Arts* aspired to through sensory stimulation, which ultimately could not compete for attention with the display design, posters, advertisements and other kitsch accoutrements of the World's Fair.

This question of how the utopian promise of the aesthetic experience of avant-garde art can be combined with the effect that mass-media forms has upon the popular imagination, seemed to me to be close to

what Gongora wanted to achieve with his exhibition (which at the time did not yet exist in the gallery), as it resonated with the very present experience of social movements involving networked media and mass public assembly such as Occupy, the *Printemps érable*, and Idle No More. This was why, alongside our maquette of *Synthèse des Arts*, I self-published a comic that was printed and distributed locally as part of the exhibition, and was also disseminated online through the website developed by Gongora to collect images, information, and other traces of activities.⁹⁷

The comic appropriates the transcript of a talk on Marxist aesthetics delivered by Alain Badiou at the invitation of *Fusion des Arts* (as discussed in Chapter IV) as well as a photograph of the event reprinted in *Quebec underground*. Badiou's lecture outlines two approaches to making art with a revolutionary function. The first is the art-for-art's-sake model followed by writers of the *nouvelle roman*, but the second outlines a much less well-defined notion of "art populaire," which takes on participatory modes that he describes as "la fête." As a nod to *Ti-Pop*, I distilled Badiou's explanation of Marxist aesthetic theory into more manageable sound bites that fit into speech-bubbles. Likewise the grid for the comic is an appropriated digitization of a section of *Quebec underground* that features illustrations from the countercultural press. The opening sequence of my comic shows Gongora and I, locked side by side in separate bathroom stalls, working out our feelings about memory and generational revivals of avant-garde strategies. The stalls work as a visual metaphor for the destabilization of the divide between public personas and private bodily functions—or



the public use of language and the experience of private psychic spaces— issues at the forefront of nationalist movements in Québec at the time. Moving between three languages (French, Spanish and English), our avatars ask each other how to make the Marxist theory “more like art.” On the reverse side of the page is printed an additional set of instructions for a dialogue to be performed by two voices as “invisible theatre” (*el teatro invisible*), a liberation technique developed by Augusto Boal, Brazilian director of the Theatre of the Oppressed and Member of Parliament.⁹⁸ In invisible theatre, protagonists rehearse a scene with actions that they would like to act out in real life. This rehearsal is done in front of an audience who is unaware that they are watching or participating in an improvised scene. Art penetrates life; reality penetrates fiction as a means of revealing an internalized moral voice of authority or, in Freudian terms, the superego. For me, this internalized moral voice of authority includes the lingering memory of a neo-avant-garde,

signified by *Fusion des Arts*, Badiou and Boal, whose project of social revolution through aesthetic experience has not yet been realized.

In retrospect, I am sure that this superego, made up of internalized avant-garde idealism, is what induced me to refuse an artist's fee for my contribution to *Just Watch Me*. Though responding to an affective state of heightened anxiety, I justified the choice through the rationale that an acceptance of these fees would acknowledge my copyright as author of the maquettes and the comic. This claim to authorship, and to stable identity, seemed to contradict the potential that the comic might have as it was copied and circulated infinitely through digital networks as a "poor" image.



119M ABOVE SEA LEVEL / 119M AU-DESSUS DE NIVEAU DE LA MER

My investigation of the relationship between conceptualisms, "kitsch," psychedelia, and the historical resonance of national liberation movements continued in an exhibition produced in the collaborative environment of CRUM.⁹⁹ Materially, the exhibition combined installation with performance events, sound, kinetic sculpture, photography, psychotropic plant matter and text panels. Although the exhibition grew out of collaborative work with five other people, my contribution included a fictionalized art historical narrative on which to hinge the eclecticism of aesthetic experience. I also worked over the spring and summer growing season with a friend who is an organic farmer to produce a large crop of *artemesia absinthia*, the plant that provides the psychotropic kick to Absinthe, a drink linked to the mythology of a late-nineteenth century avant-garde. The advantage to using this particular psychotrope in the gallery space was that it was legal (unlike the marijuana or LSD favoured by the '60s and '70s generation), and also only held hallucinogenic properties once it had been processed in alcohol. In short, it would not harm people (specifically, children) if they touched it in the gallery space. The plants were harvested in the fall and dried, after which I constructed a large pile on the gallery floor in a form lit with a concentrated beam of light. It had the appearance of a bush, or a minimalist sculpture.

Our exhibition was inspired by the "coordinates" exhibition, *45°30' N-73°36' W*, that took place at the Saidye Bronfman Centre and Sir George Williams University

Art Galleries in 1971. It also functioned as a parody of *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada, 1965-1980*, which historicized the “coordinates” exhibition as one of the first manifestations of conceptual art in Montréal. *119m Above Sea Level* might at first have appeared to fit within a curatorial trend of restaging historical conceptual exhibitions; however, as a reviewer noted, rather than providing historical accuracy, “intellectual rigour and politics mingle with a tongue-in-cheek sensibility to create an eccentric, yet somehow seamless exhibition.”¹⁰⁰ Following the example of Lucy Lippard’s “numbers” shows, the “coordinates” show featured the work of Canadian and international conceptualists, including N.E. Thing Co., Michael Snow, Françoise Sullivan, Ian Wallace, Sol LeWitt and Lawrence Weiner. While preparing *119m Above Sea Level* as a restaging of the “coordinates” show, we were intrigued by the continued calls the gallery received from researchers who wished to write about the historical exhibition.¹⁰¹ These inquiries were never

satisfied because the gallery has a gap in its institutional archives covering this period. The accumulation of material for our own exhibition in 2015 was meant to supplement this gap through an imaginative engagement with utopian and dystopian themes, but without directly addressing absences in the historical record.

The text panels for our exhibition reproduced a selection of index cards that were originally printed for the “coordinates” show, as a kind of information-based exhibition catalogue. We also reproduced images of the index cards in a booklet alongside the fictionalized art historical narrative, published by SBC and distributed to viewers as part of their experience of the exhibition. The narrative provided a framework that a viewer could use to engage with objects in the room, such as the pile of plant matter, archive boxes, an upended geodesic dome, an electromagnetic frequency meter and mobile phone.



Galerie_SBC_Gallery @Galerie_SBC · Jan 24

direct your consciousness towards radiofrequencies @2pm TODAY
@Galerie_SBC for Stéphane Bélainky's presentation



[View more photos and videos](#)

The printed booklet and text panels paralleled a steady stream of images, texts and text messages sent out as communications throughout the exhibition via listservs, online news sources, social media and mobile phone apps. The central logic of the booklet and text panels was visualized with the use of the Greimas square. This semiotic tool for structural analysis allowed us to draw ridiculous connections between the organic farming movement, altered states of consciousness induced through psychotropic substances, the history of conceptualism in Montréal, and the cognitive and bodily effects of electromagnetic frequency radiation (at the time this issue had inspired a fringe activist movement against HydroQuébec's upgrade to wireless "smart" meters). We suggested these conceptual relationships might result in telepathy.

Our parody of didactic museum guides and the spatial narratives of art historical exhibition design hoped to trigger associative relationships in the minds of exhibition viewers, which might lead them to reflect upon some of the cultural and socio-economic context from which our desire to restage an historical exhibition arose. For instance, the exhibition was lit with halogen spotlights. This lighting produces a disconcerting clinical light in the gallery but is the optimal light source for images that are back-lit and viewed on the LCD screens of laptops and mobile phones. At a highly abstract level, *119m Above Sea Level* contrasts the continuous circulation of information enabled by networked technology—what Jonathan Crary describes as a "24/7" cycle—to the optimal energy frequencies of the natural world, which

includes human bodies. Crary has observed that "in related ways, 24/7 is inseparable from environmental catastrophe in its declaration of permanent expenditure, of endless wastefulness for its sustenance, in its terminal disruption of the cycles and seasons on which ecological integrity depends."¹⁰²

One of the index cards that we used as an explanatory panel appropriated a quote from Afro-futurist musician Sun Ra: "One planet, one nation"—from which we took inspiration for a sound piece that pulsed throughout the gallery installation. We responded to the quote with reflective nostalgia, as it had personal meaning for us in relation to our experience of ongoing debates over the introduction of a *Charte des valeurs québécoises* by the Parti-Québécois, the most controversial section of which restricted the wearing of religious symbols by public employees. We were reminded that the "coordinates" show was produced in the early 1970s, a period marked by expanding national liberation movements in Québec that would eventually find concrete political form with the election of the Parti-Québécois in 1976. In 2013, The *Charte des valeurs québécoises* revived an unresolved issue of national sovereignty through the introduction of a policy designed to manage Québec as a pluralist society. The policy was perceived by many as harnessing negative public response to symbols of Islam (head coverings such as the hijab and the niqab) as a distraction from the social, economic and environmental effects of austerity measures experienced around the globe.¹⁰³

READER RECEPTION

Returning now to *Reader reception*, a body of work developed in the studio since the beginning of my PhD studies. The following treats the studio as a private space of research and study, as the work has yet to circulate in a public venue. This private space had a different meaning prior to the 2012 Copyright Modernization Act (Bill C-11), as it was the only legally unambiguous space in which acts of appropriation through mechanical or digital technologies were permitted. Since 2012, clear exceptions now permit appropriation for the purposes of parody or satire as “fair dealing” in artistic works. With an awareness of these shifts in national policy as it influences the production, circulation and reception of art, *Reader reception* works through McLuhanesque “counter-environments” that are produced as twenty-first-century computational networks that have become the container of print-based media forms.

Reader reception began when I found a reprint of Jack Spicer’s *After Lorca* (Coach House Press, 1974) in the Concordia University Library stacks. The book piqued my curiosity and prompted me to make a cross-country journey to visit the Contemporary Literary Collection at the Burnaby Campus of Simon Fraser University. I was intrigued by the connection the book allowed me to make between an overlapping visual arts and poetry scene in 1970s Toronto, and the earlier arrival of writers, including Spicer, whose work was anthologized by Don Allen in *The New American Poetry (1945-1960)*, in 1960s Vancouver.¹⁰⁴ Allen’s anthology became the foundational checklist for the Contemporary Literature Collection (CLC) when it was

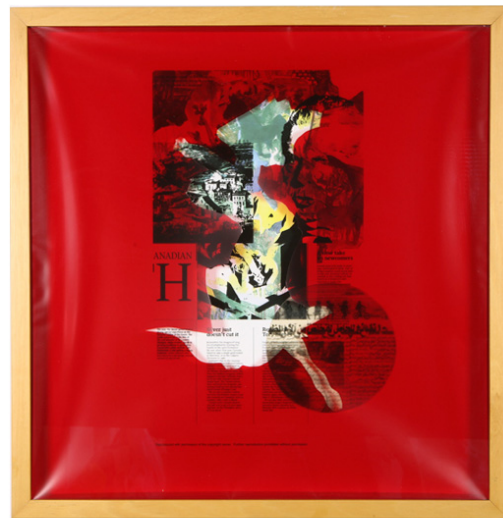


founded in 1965 by Ralph Maud, a Harvard-educated English professor who converted from “stanzas and rhymes” to free verse when he met Charles Olson in 1963.¹⁰⁵ Like the journey Wieland undertook, which led to the creation of her film *Reason Over Passion* (1968), my own cross-country journey inspired a travel narrative titled *Wayfinding Through the Technological Sublime*, which is a fictionalized account of my experiences. This text and a related series of paintings were published together in a special issue on conceptual poetry in *Matrix* magazine.¹⁰⁶ A version of the text



was also performed live as a bilingual dialogue between two voices alongside a slide show of images.¹⁰⁷ “Wayfinding” refers to the affective experience of navigating unfamiliar geographic and cultural signs in search of a poetic and artistic tradition of conceptual nationalism (in this sense, each case study in this thesis is discussed in terms of how they map out a cross-country narrative). “Technological Sublime” refers the feeling induced by my arrival at the top of Burnaby Mountain, where I was overwhelmed by the Erickson/Massey architectural design for the campus. The megastructure looked to me like a crash-landed spaceship, overrun with the flora and fauna of a breathtaking mountainscape—the perfect setting for science fiction. Which is perhaps why I was not surprised that many of the poets whose work formed the foundation of the library collection viewed the city of Vancouver and the university campuses as a utopia of intellectual and creative freedom, in stark comparison to the restraints to freedom of expression they had experienced in the US.¹⁰⁸

The reprint of Spicer’s *After Lorca* draws a hermeneutic connection between a



counterpublic made up of Coach House Press writers and readers, and an earlier San Francisco poetic community. Spicer’s refusal of copyright and an insistence on small-press editions of his books can be traced to this earlier period.¹⁰⁹ In contrast to the stealth status of the original publisher, White Rabbit Press¹¹⁰—a self-financed, off-hours appropriation of the Greyhound Bus Company’s printing facilities—Coleman’s editorial statement makes a veiled reference to “The Government,” provider of public funding that Coach House Press received from the Canada Council for the Arts, Opportunities For Youth and the Local Initiatives Project.¹¹¹

“This book has been typed on an IBM Selectric blah, blah, blah, by Robin Cones and printed by Marco Polio for the Government, with a cover from a photo by blah, blah, blah, in March, 1974.”¹¹²

I was intrigued by how Coleman’s countercultural disregard for intellectual property, as well as other material qualities of the reprint reflected Spicer’s poetic use of language, thereby creating a self-reflexive archive. The Coach House reprint of *After Lorca* was unauthorized—Coleman was

inspired by Spicer's declaration that copyright was dead—joining other already existing pirated editions produced in the US and the UK.¹¹³ The cover image was re-photographed without permission from another magazine, which included a special section on the poet. A sequential narrative occurring between the cover and title page images echoes Spicer's poetic engagement with the indexical properties of language. The cover depicts a domestic scene with Spicer relaxing in a lush garden setting. The same image is repeated on the title page, however Spicer's body is excised from the composition; the remaining blank area confirms his physical absence for the reader. I am reminded that photographs do not confirm the presence of a subject; rather they indicate its absence. The ghostly cover and title page images are printed in otherworldly phthalo blue ink. The modest beige cover cardstock and interior off-white linen pages induce nostalgic feelings. In contrast to the handwritten script used on the cover, the variation in line length, syntactic structure and typographic layout of the interior pages was made possible via an IBM Selectric typewriter, at the time a recent innovation anticipating type as it would be rendered through computational algorithms.

After Lorca contains a series of letters written by Spicer to Gabriel Garcia Lorca,¹¹⁴ interfiled between Spicer's "translations" of the dead poet's poems. His translations do not directly reference an original text; instead, his writing records a process of mediated reception of messages arriving from somewhere outside the poet's consciousness and even beyond the terrestrial realm—as radio transmissions from West Mars. Like Walter Benjamin, Spicer uses translation to create an afterlife

for the text, emphasizing an interrelated reciprocal relationship between linguistic signs that create renewed meanings for succeeding generations.¹¹⁵ This process, Lori Chamberlain argues, can be understood through his later theory of "dictation," as Spicer channels language as it arrived from elsewhere. Rather than writing a lyrical reflection upon interior sensations he negates the possibility of a fixed identity or original source.¹¹⁶ Spicer's poetics work through a network of interpersonal and intertextual relationships that extend across time through literary and pop culture references, and communicate messages to a circle of readers made up of a close group of friends named in the poems.¹¹⁷ Spicer worked in linguistic labs automated by IBM computers, which had an influence upon his indiscriminate mix of science fiction and pop culture genres with references to the Classics, Old English and Renaissance literature. Ron Loewinsohn explains that Spicer's "West Mars" is "a kind of *spiritus mundi*; a 'world memory,' speaking through the radio, being transmitted."¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Spicer wrote his poems out in long-hand script rather than using a typewriter, but his intertextual references



reflect upon twentieth century technological shifts and the convergence of writing with successive media forms. These material and imaginative shifts between forms of mediation betray a “melancholic turn,” or the condition, which Victor Buchli has argued, is a psychic state arising in response to rapid social and technological change.¹¹⁹ The melancholic figure of Buster Keaton features in two short film scripts included between the translations of *After Lorca*: “Buster Keaton’s Ride” and “Buster Keaton Rides Again: A Sequel.” Throughout these scripts Spicer makes references to chess-playing automatons, the optical effects of celluloid and the early cousins of typewriting: pianos, gramophones, bicycles, and Singer sewing machines. All these technologies of mechanical reproduction engage in an absurd desire-fuelled dance with the spirits of alcohol, mythic poets and holy ghosts.

Spicer’s approach to understanding language as a historical force and a series of mediated events in which the poet or artist has variable level of agency held more resonance for me than those of his

contemporaries, which I would encounter at later points in my research. I am thinking, for instance, of the projective verse of Charles Olson, where the typewriter provides immediacy as an instantaneous recorder of the poets’ breath lines;¹²⁰ or the “Soft Typewriter” and “cut-up” technique of William Burroughs and Brian Gyson, which considers mechanically reproduced image and text to be a disciplinary apparatus regulating behaviour, thereby determining the role of the poet or artist to be the satirical appropriation of the tool of social control.¹²¹ Projective verse gained meaning for me only when I met Daphne Marlatt on one of my trips to Vancouver. She then explained the difference between the use of historical fragments in Dorothy Livesay’s documentary poems and what I took to be her own engagement with language as an historical force. That is, whereas Livesay appropriated news fragments or scripted the voices for radio plays as static representations of past history, the appropriated fragments in Marlatt’s verse reflect an embodied experience of past events in the present (as I understand it).¹²²



Wayfinding Through the Technological Sublime includes a series of paintings that I produced in response to my embodied experience of the architectural structure and surrounding environment of the Simon Fraser University campus where the Contemporary Literature Collection is housed. Erickson/Massey's architectural strategy of repeating elements—an ever-expanding modular structure anchored to a central spine—promised a potential for infinite rearrangements.¹²³ My paintings repeat this modular trope as five sheets of watercolour paper form the substrate for a serialized view as seen through windows flanking the elevated corridors joining together multiple pavilions.

In these views, a gestural brush stroke and diluted pigment conveys an impression that tree lines, bushes and outcrops of weeds are dissolving the gridded areas of building structures. Each separate frame shows a slightly shifted perspective onto the mountain horizon, mimicking the movement of my body down the corridor. Likewise the rotation of the paper, placing the short end of the rectangle on top, disrupts the pictorial convention of horizontal framing, transforming the landscape scenery into a "portrait."

A viewer's first impression that the paintings are watercolour sketches is similarly undermined by the slow discovery that the medium is oil. In this way, two modes of representation associated with the Euro-Canadian tradition of depicting the natural world overlap, but a third mediated space is also evoked by the heavy black bands on either side of each image. These bands correspond to the real-life window frames of the Erickson/Massey design, but the flatness

of the picture plane in these areas contrasts with the illusionistic space of the landscape views, an effect that is enhanced by a taped hard-edge on the bands. The contrast between the static grid line of the serialized bands and dynamic pictorial content recalls filmstrips or photographic test sheets. A third art historical movement is therefore referenced, the "conceptual landscape art" of a 1960s and 1970s generation, which revisited the pictorial conventions of the landscape genre in relation to a shifting technological environment and notions of nationhood shaped by communications patterns across vast expanses of land.¹²⁴

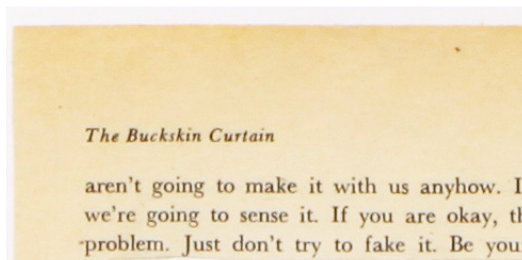
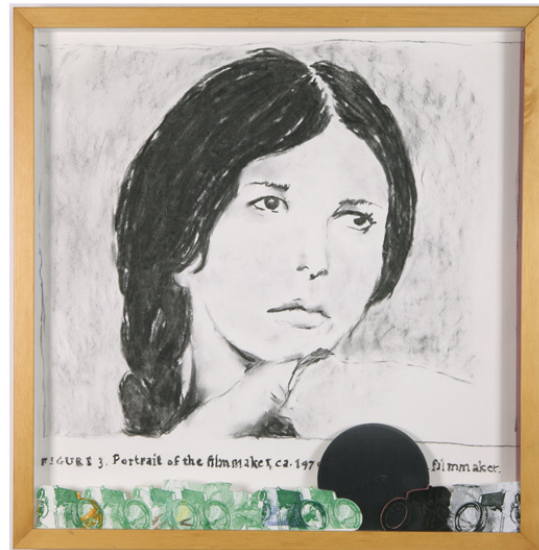
Rather than representing a particular idea of nature on the West Coast, these paintings are indexed to my affective experience of the view from a megastructure designed by Erickson/Massey as a utopian built environment whose interlocking forms were meant to foster interdisciplinary learning through the integration of disciplines, sharing and exchange of ideas and dissolution of hierarchy.¹²⁵ My affective



response arose, in part, from my own aspirations at the time for the work I would do in the interdisciplinary Humanities program at Concordia University, back in Montréal.

At SFU in the late 1960s and 1970s, cross-departmental debates engaged with feminism, Marxism and critiques of free-market economics; student strikes raged—not unlike the experience that I would have of the Occupy, *Printemps érable* and Idle No More movements as I wrote this thesis.¹²⁶ I was intrigued by how the social patterns encouraged by the Erickson/Massey design mirrored forms in the mountain's natural surroundings, but also by how this relationship between built structure and natural environment became an extension of the social movements concentrated in the urban centres. More recently, the agora designed by Erickson/Massey has served as a rallying point for student and faculty strikes against neoliberal austerity measures (2009); and the mountain—part of the unceded traditional land of the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh Nations—is a symbolic site for ecological activism and indigenous sovereignty (2014).

A series of ten assemblage boxes titled *If your land is posted keep the hell off mine* contains the traces of moments of conflict, which surfaced throughout my historical research when affective states imperfectly aligned with the discursive “grid” of a post-Centennial national culture as it aligned gender, sexuality, language, race or ethnicity, with a nationally-defined territory. This title phrase (which also features in one of the boxes as an appropriated image) uses the conditional tense in the structure of if/then. This transforms a clause, which makes a public declaration that a territory is



privately owned, into the suggestion that another relationship to land, between individuals and cultural groups, might be possible. Eight other assemblages are constructed from fragments of print and online sources, which have been copied using manual, mechanical and digital

techniques. Digital and print archival sources are reproduced as charcoal portraits of political and politicized historical figures, including the president of the Indian Association of Alberta, Harold Cardinal (1970); Abenaki filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin (1970); Prime Minister John Diefenbaker (1962); Ministre des richesses naturelles, René Lévesque (1962); Queen Elizabeth II (1953); an unnamed female member of the *Université libre de l'Art quotidien* (ULAQ), a student activist group (1968); and the riot squad responding to the race-related occupation of Sir George Williams University (1969). Charcoal drawings overlap with bits of torn pieces of actual print sources and figures clipped from a series of hand-coloured lithographs repeat the ambiguous forms found in a series of light boxes (further discussed below). Silhouettes of these amorphous animal-human-machine forms are also cut out by hand from carbon copy paper.

The image fragments contained within solid wooden frames have an indexical relationship to unresolved issues that link the mediascape of the 1970s to the present day and continue to haunt my consciousness. Three of these boxes echo the tripartite composition of the Canadian flag (red-white-red): a digital reproduction of the article “How Stephen Harper is Remaking the Canadian Myth” flanks a central panel, where a series of hand-written bibliographic citations attest to the origins of the images repeated throughout the series of assemblage boxes.¹²⁷ The relative solidity of the wooden frames containing these assemblages contrasts with the more fragile foam-core boxes and plastic wood veneer of the Wieland archives (discussed above), and with a frame holding a print of a digital



ness, if you will, and this is a sort of exterior blackness. In other words, the whole negro bit is a creation of the white world. I have speculated that if we had called ourselves light brown and dark brown and medium brown that maybe we wouldn't be in the present hangup.

Reinhardt _____
I want to object to the introduction of

photograph of my 18-month old son, who appears to be reading a copy of a book titled *The New Left in Canada* in my messy living room. References dance about his head, recalling the revolutionary moment of the Arab Spring, and the “socializing” through Facebook, which amplified localized protests against national governments, making social revolt a global concern. The two registers of “wood” pit nostalgia and kitsch against each other as they resonate within the iconography of Cadiana. Whereas the “real” wood might elicit nostalgic feelings in relation to pioneers and voyageurs—the “hewers of wood and drawers of water”—the plastic “copy” of wood draws a relationship between kitsch and the consumer products of the petroleum industry. Tension arises from these acts of appropriation as they propose a relation between two forms. One is identifiable in the other, which means the use and exchange value of the copy is measured in terms of the thing that it imitates.

This measurement of value according to verisimilitude underlies the distinction that can be made between the capacity for digital data streams and analogue forms of collage, montage or assemblage to challenge an external social structure—be it internalized, implicit codes of behaviour or an explicit system of rules encoded in national law. Analogue forms have a limit to their materiality (the degree with which they can be cut up or altered), which, Marcus Boone argues, is what allows a viewer to perceive that an implied external ideological structure has been rearranged. In contrast, the generative systems of digital technologies have potentially no limit to the way that code can be rearranged into new forms. Nonetheless, the binary code of digital



media is limited by its conditions of visibility, that is, to take a recognizable form; the code must be output through analogue means, such as a monitor display or digital photographic print.¹²⁸

For this reason, I have asked my CRUM colleague, Christian Carrière, to produce a generative sound collage, made by sampling the sources of the images and texts in these assemblage boxes, to accompany the body of work that makes up *Reader reception*. Generative music (or sound) has no fixed form because it is created by a system; furthermore, a listener’s ability to recognize the original context or source for the sound is compromised. In this case, we are using a software designed specifically for this purpose that will continually sample from, and recombine fragments of, the media sources that otherwise take shape in the assemblage boxes through analogue visual forms – and with reference to a series of bibliographic citations. When encountering my archive of memories, therefore, the viewer who engages on visual, audio and kinetic (spatial) registers with this body of work will have the sensation that the archive is “constantly updated” as it is “designed to change according to data flow,” those

qualities which Navas has argued are the reflexive function that conceptually-driven digital art works can perform in the present-day political economy, precisely because generative sampling erases the historical context of the fragments of data from which it is made.¹²⁹ In this sense, generative sound mirrors the function of search engines such as Google, which does not produce content, but rather compiles multiple sources through a complex set of proprietary algorithms. The users of this service do not think about the programmed biases of the system that produces the results of their searches, which often appear without attribution of origins.

Shortly after my return from Vancouver I produced a series of collages titled *Snow-Covered Trees*, *Autumn's Garland*, *Hot Summer Moonlight*, *Spring Ice*, by combining calendar reproductions of Tom Thomson's paintings with images lifted from photo essays and advertisements in vintage 1970s *Playboy* and *National Geographic* magazines. These magazines were collecting dust around our house. As discussed in previous chapters (Chapter I and II), Tom Thomson is an essential figure in the imaginary of a "conceptual nationalism" and must be rescued from becoming a stereotype of a national character based in the economic development of the country through the exploitation of natural resources. In my work, the calendar and magazines are kitschy objects accumulated over time as part of our everyday family life; *Playboy* and *National Geographic* reflect an interest in how desire arises in response to stylized images of human sexuality (the conventions of pornography) and armchair "educational" tourism.



These collages were re-photographed to be displayed as light boxes. Their size approximates the backlit Cibachrome transparencies produced by N. E. Thing Co. in the late 1960s, such as *Landscape* (1968), which features a panoramic landscape printed on a drive-in restaurant menu. I am intrigued by how N. E. Thing Co. (Ingrid and Iain Baxter, 1967-1978) used newly available imaging technologies such as Cibachrome transparencies to push their exploration of the relationship between family life, the urban environment and rural areas crisscrossed with transportation and distribution routes. Cibachrome transparencies mounted in light boxes

illuminate photographic images with the visual impact of billboard advertising. Nancy Shaw writes that this material form lent itself well to N. E. Thomson Co.'s investigation of how the landscape genre is not simply a mimetic depiction of the natural world, but is instead a "product of human interest."¹³⁰ Meaning that identities, which appear to be rooted in an essentialized relation to land or territory, are actually produced as subject positions through communications technologies, corporate entities, and institutions of art and culture, which include a normative nuclear family structure, and political relations between nations.

In my collage series, I appropriate four of Thomson's colourfully seductive compositions to create the ground for a tumultuous dreamscape of gendered bodies, cars, cameras and computational equipment and animals clipped from alcohol and cigarette advertisements. The readily available repackaging of Thomson's paintings—one corresponding to each season of the year, in a twenty-first century calendar—attests to the continued resonance in today's social imaginary of Canada as a place of untouched wilderness and wide open spaces. Although this image was strongly tied to an early-twentieth century nationalism seeking economic and political dominance in the British Empire through resource extraction, in the post-Centennial period it had become part of a vocabulary of kitschy Canadiana widely reproduced on calendars, posters and other pop culture trinkets.¹³¹ In my collage series, a combination of unfettered desire and lifestyle consumerism populates the images of empty wilderness. The fragmentation of bodies and recombination of arms with stereo equipment, torsos with wings, and



heads with robotic parts recasts the landscape as a libidinally charged, technologically mediated space produced through human interaction.

In order to construct the light boxes, these collages were digitally photographed and reprinted on a translucent substrate, a material that has commercial applications. This remediation flattened the textured surface built up by the initial act of collage, restoring the image to the commodified state in which I first encountered the Thomson paintings (as reproductions in a calendar) and *Playboy* models as gendered stereotypes of sexual liberation. These

multiple framings and reframings, which occur through photographic processes, are made visible by the repetition of white borders in the image composition. The edge of the torn calendar page is visible within the photograph, as is the edge of the pigment with which the photograph was printed onto the translucent substrate. Although my initial act of collage restored the aura of a handcrafted technique to mass-produced photographic images, the subsequent remediation by digital means transformed the image into binary code with infinite possibilities for reproduction across computational systems. In the first act of collage, I took a single instance of an image that stood in for the many copies of a magazine that had been distributed widely across multiple reading publics and made it into a unique object. In the second act of documentation, the potential for mass-distribution across multiple platforms was reactivated. In this sense, the images captured in the light boxes are analogous to the backlit and flattened images distributed across the immaterial space of web pages. However, the light boxes are lit with a warm yellow glow, rather than the standard cold white light that both fluorescent tubes and LCD screens share. My intention is to elicit a feeling of nostalgic desire in the viewer of the images who is struck by the absence of those material things.

To my mind, a correspondence can be drawn between the 1974 edition of *After Lorca* and the *Playboy* and *National Geographic* magazines as documents of the same “vintage.” I see the 1974 *After Lorca* reprint as Coleman’s channeling of Spicer through the IBM Selectric and AB Dick Press at Coach House Press for a younger generation of artists and poets forming their

own overlapping countercultural and neo-avant-garde publics networked via alternative magazines and small press books. *Playboy* and *National Geographic* would have been two American-owned, mass-distributed titles that the federal funding to Coach House Press was meant to counteract. Significantly, the IBM Selectric, named by Coleman in the reprint, marks the moment when typewriting entered the realm of binary code and simulation.¹³² The detachment of the letter key from the metal arm of the manual typewriter meant that typing one key could produce any conceivable symbol—leading to the choice of multiple input devices for computing technologies, simultaneously developed by IBM. It was at this moment that an invisible



modernist grid underlying book publishing mutated into the serial flexibility of computing. Darren Wershler-Henry argues that this was the moment when the distinction between the technological and the biological collapsed, producing “a discourse whose rules are determined by the functioning of software and networks, not by mechanical devices and hierarchies.”¹³³

On several visits to Vancouver, I experienced the city through the time spent travelling on buses between two archives: the Roy Kiyooka Fonds located in the Contemporary Literature Collection at Simon Fraser University, and the Morris/Trasov Archive located at University of British Columbia in the Morris and Helen Belkin Gallery. In the Kiyooka Fonds, I found a letter written by Victor Coleman in 1971, which anticipated a move for Coach House Press from Toronto out to Robert’s Creek.¹³⁴ In the Morris/Trasov Archive, I was drawn to the contact sheets, which depicted the presence of children in the fantasy world acted out at Babyland (see Chapter III). These unintended family portraits led me to reflect upon how that generation (my parent’s generation) formed future generation’s (my generation’s) sense of self and performance of social life. This led to a painting titled *A Small Cheap Barn*, which also works as a kind of unintentional family portrait following the example of Roy Kiyooka’s “Heart’s Geography,” mapped out through the accumulation of images and texts in *Transcanada Letters* (see Chapter II).

At first glance *A Small Cheap Barn* appears to work as a representational style of painting, however, as in the *Wayfinding Series*, the representational qualities of the



images are secondary to the composition of this work. There is a recognizable figure depicted in a landscape: the silhouette of an adult, miniature horse and child is nestled in the foreground as two paths diverge, leading the way into a dense wooded area. Scraps of paper collaged onto the painting surface include reproductions of nineteenth century engravings of carrots printed on newsprint fragments that have yellowed with the passage of time. A Romantic aura emanates from these etchings as they evoke a pastoral farm life nourished by homegrown vegetable plots. This nostalgic tug is the main subject of the work, as *A Small Cheap Barn* records the affective resonance of a West Coast landscape tradition through the accumulation of pictorial tropes taken from overlapping modernisms.

When Roy Kiyooka arrived in Vancouver in 1960, bringing with him the experience of the 1957 Emma Lake Workshop led by Barnett Newman, he offered a younger generation of painters an alternative to the Carr/Shadbolt tradition of abstraction. An image inset behind the trio of mother-horse-child makes a conceptual bridge between Newman’s abstraction and later queer enactments of art-as-life at Babyland. The vertical rectangle frames two diverging paths

within a seemingly impenetrable coastal forest. The composition is copied from *Hornby Suite #2* (1969), one in a series of charcoal drawings and photolithographs that Jack Shadbolt himself created in homage to Emily Carr. Reid Shier insists the importance of their lyrical depictions of the natural world lies in an “articulation of society’s margins,” a description which could equally apply to the photoseries *Image Bank* and *General Idea* later produced at Robert’s Creek.¹³⁵ In the early 1960s Kiyooka encouraged younger artists in the city, such as Michael Morris, to work in series, but I also imagine he provided the example of how to transpose the specificities of local or personal references into an internationally recognizable form.

The ground of this painting is covered in a wash of Indian red paint, which I was trying to match to a description of a prepared ground of a Barnett Newman painting as “a deep mineral that looks like an earth pigment—like Indian red or Sienna.” I read this description of his painting *Onement 1* (1948) in the second edition of *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Anti-modernism, Postmodernism*, edited by Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Bois, Benjamin H.D. Buchloh and David Joselit.¹³⁶ I was intrigued by their analysis of this work in post-structuralist terms as an “ideograph of Creation,” a sign which “emphasizes a certain circularity between its signification of the sign and the actual situation of its utterance.”¹³⁷ I understood this to mean that Newman’s decision to paint a strip of Cadmium light pigment over the taped “zip” down the centre of the composition (rather than removing the tape and painting in the zip) pushed painting beyond pictorial representation to become an object which



constitutes itself through a performative utterance. Echoing the earlier *Wayfinding* paintings, the canvas has been substituted for an oversized scroll of drawing paper. The roll has been unfurled to approximate the size of the human body (my body) and then mounted on a wooden stretcher so that a curled portion of the paper hangs off the bottom edge. To my mind this combination makes a hybrid of the physical presence of large-scale abstraction with the three-dimensional plane of collage and assemblage similar to the combine paintings of Robert Rauschenberg, the Dada boxes of Joyce Wieland, or the late-60s paintings of Michael Morris.

A Small Cheap Barn is structured by a hardedge grid, which includes a strip of masking tape that is painted over with Cadmium red. In sections where the tape has been removed, the hardedge is imperfect as the wash of “Indian red” paint bled through the taped edges. Some of the messy sections of the grid have been painted in using Naples yellow light, a pigment that mimics the colour of masking tape. The grid is simultaneously collage-object, abstract picture plane, and representational form as it also acts as a “fence” for the trio of merged figures—a

mother, miniature horse and child. The mother holds up one hand as if to caress the small boy. Her hand takes the unmistakable form of “the hand of the spirit,” an icon rescued from the trash in the 1970s and adapted by Image Bank (Michael Morris and Vincent Trasov) and General Idea (AA Bronson, Jorge Zontal, Felix Partz) to be a sign of belonging for a queer counterpublic for whom Babyland signified as a site of affective belonging.¹³⁸ Bits of paper incorporated into the painting are gestures towards the campy pastoralism this queer world adopted at Babyland: an image of a “small cheap barn” and various fruits and vegetables easily grown in garden plots are taken from an issue of *The Gardeners Catalogue* (1975), a countercultural publication equivalent in scope and subject to the *Whole Earth Catalogue*.¹³⁹ On closer inspection, the fragments lifted from the catalogue include instructions on identifying diseases, pests and parasites, which counters any idyllic impressions a viewer might share with me as induced through a nostalgic response to these image fragments.

FEELING HISTORICAL

As a work of conceptual nationalism, *Reader reception* treats the complex relationship between cultural memory and intellectual property as a medium problem. Which is to say that I aim to produce an indeterminate space where authorship is simultaneously diffused and reaffirmed. In this way *Reader reception* reveals an external structure at play—that of national cultural policy as it is historically bound up with intellectual property law. However, rather than analytically revealing this structure to its

viewer, the complex network of signs that make up this body of work deploy nostalgia as an historical emotion that has the potential to solicit a counterpublic. As mentioned at the beginning of this Annex, *Reader reception* keeps in mind that I am, and my potential public is, part of a group of readers who do not believe that humans are capable of creating a “perfect” world. Instead, the visions of perfect worlds put forth by artists and writers are subject to further translations, misreading and interpretations by their readers. In this respect, I am less interested in communicating the constraints experienced “here” in the presently existing world. Nor am I interested in the idea of what a perfect world might be. Rather, I want to think about how my experience of an archive of images accumulated over time might link me to a complex and contradictory group of people who all imagine we could exist “elsewhere,” though we likely don’t agree on what form that elsewhere could take.

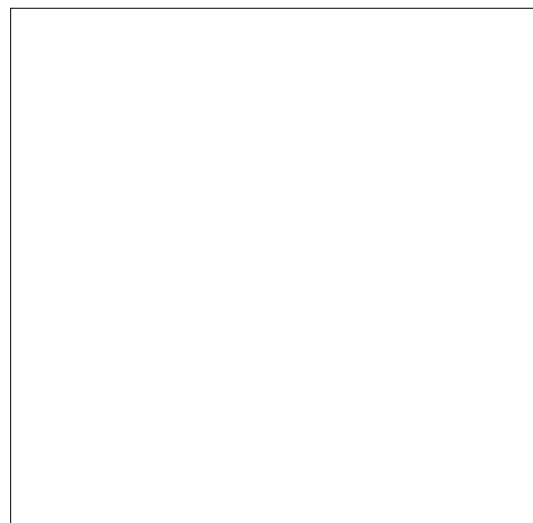


IMAGE CREDITS

All images copyright Felicity Tayler unless otherwise indicated:

Page 325. Photo: Paul Litherland. Courtesy of Artexpte.

Page 326. Photo: Paul Litherland. Courtesy of Artexpte.

Page 329 "The Communications Circuit" reproduced from Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 65-83.

Page 332 Photo: Paul Litherland. Courtesy of Artexpte.

Page 333 Photo: Paul Litherland. Courtesy of Artexpte.

Page 338 Photo: Sebastien Sanz de Santa Maria.
Courtesy of Residency Unlimited.

Page 340 Photo: Corinn Gerber. Courtesy of Art Metropole.

Page 341 Photo: Joshua Chong. Courtesy of Art Metropole.

Page 342 Photo Karilee Fuglem. Courtesy of Galerie SBC.

Page 343 Photo Karilee Fuglem. Courtesy of Galerie SBC.

Page 344 Photo: Sebastien Sanz de Santa Maria.
Courtesy of Residency Unlimited.

Page 345 Photo: Romeo Gongora. Courtesy of Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen.

Page 346 Photo: Romeo Gongora. Courtesy of Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen.

Page 348 Photo: Guy L'Heureux. Courtesy of Galerie SBC.

Page 349 Photo Megan Bradley. Courtesy of Galery SBC on Twitter.

Page 353 Production Docket, Coach House Press Fonds. LMS-0129, 1986-04, Box 85, National Library and Archives of Canada, Ottawa, ON.

END NOTES

¹ 15 September – 24 December 2010 National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives, Ottawa, ON; 16 March – 26 May 2012, Artexpte, Montréal, QC.

² 01 November 2013 – 01 May 2014 Vidéographe, Vithèque, www.vitheque.com; 12 November 2013 Galerie d'art contemporain SBC Gallery of Contemporary Art, Montréal, QC; 19 February 2014 Residency Unlimited, Brooklyn, NY; 8 February – 8 March 2014 Art Metropole, Toronto, ON.

³ 5 September – 11 October 2014, *Just Watch Me*, Galerie d'art Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Montréal, QC.

⁴ 6 December 2014 – 14 February 2015, Galerie d'art contemporain SBC Gallery of Contemporary Art, Montréal, QC.

⁵ One component of this larger work was recently included in *La Nouvelle Biennale*, 23 April – 4 June 2016 Galerie Margot Eleanor Ross Art Actuel

and Galerie Thomas Henry Ross Art Contemporain, Montréal, QC. The exhibition, developed within a commercial gallery context, is a parody of larger international biennials and an implicit deployment of aesthetics to generate counterpublicity to the programming of the 2016 Biennale de Montréal.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paladin, 1973), 129; Philip Monk, *Glamour Is Theft: A User's Guide To General Idea* (Toronto: The Art Gallery of York University, 2012), 29-35.

⁷ Ken Lum once described this as “a perfect cradle-to-coffin scenario” in “Canadian Cultural Policy: A Problem of Metaphysics,” *Canadian Art* (Fall 1999), <http://canadianart.ca/features/ken-lum-canadian-culture/> (accessed 11 November 2015).

⁸ Wieland quoted in Marie Fleming, “Joyce Wieland,” in *Joyce Wieland*, 17-115 (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 85.

⁹ *From Sea to Shining Sea*, an exhibition accounting for a history of artist-initiated activity in Canada curated by AA Bronson for The Power Plant, Toronto, 26 June - 19 August 1987.

¹⁰ AA Bronson, “The Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-run Spaces as Museums by Artists,” in *From Sea To Shining Sea : Artist-Initiated Activity In Canada, 1939-1987*, ed. AA Bronson, René Blouin, Peggy Gale and Glenn Lewis, 164-169 (Toronto: The Power Plant, 1987), 164. First printed in *Museums by Artists*, ed. AA Bronson and Peggy Gale (Toronto: Art Metropole, 1983).

¹¹ Guy Sioui Durand, *L'art comme alternative: réseaux et pratiques d'art parallèle au Québec, 1976-1996* (Québec: Intervention, 1997); see also, Guy Sioui Durand, “Marcel Rioux et l'alternative artistique,” *Inter: art actuel*, no. 55-56 (1992-1993): 2-9.

¹² Notably, La Centrale/Galerie Powerhouse, Dare-Dare, Centre des arts actuels, Skol and article in Montréal. At this time, I also worked collectively with the Centre de recherche urbaine de Montréal, which responded to our lived experience of “actual” artist-led arts administration experience and grant writing by developing a “conceptual” para-institutional art project using an idealized mode of operations in which we did not ever have to apply for grants or grow organizationally.

¹³ Keith Wallace, “Artist-Run Centres in Vancouver: A Reflection on Three Texts,” in *Institutions by Artists*, ed. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina Lee Podesva, 259-271 (Vancouver : Fillip Editions, 2012), 264.

¹⁴ At the time the gallery was the locus for relational performance practices such as Women With Kitchen Appliances (WWKA). I remember discussions with Aneesa Hashmi, then artistic coordinator at La Centrale/Galerie Powerhouse, which drew from Guy Sioui Durand’s sociological study, *L'art comme alternative: réseaux et pratiques d'art parallèle au Québec, 1976-1996* (Québec: Intervention, 1997) to understand artist-run spaces as engaged with generating an alternative to capitalist modes of production underpinning human relations.

¹⁵ Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, trans. Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel and Oksiloff Assenka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 128-129.

¹⁶ “Local Initiatives Program Application, General Idea, Toronto, November 1971” transcribed in *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, 146.

¹⁷ Kenneth M. Roemer, *Utopian Audiences: How Readers Locate Nowhere* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 84.

¹⁸ Kenneth M. Roemer, *Utopian Audiences*, 62.

¹⁹ 15-17 October 2003. Organized by *Le Regroupement des centres d’artistes autogérés du Québec* (RCAAQ), the conference addressed publishing activity across the artist-run network. Proceedings were published as *Tiré à part : actes de la rencontre / Off Printing: Conference Proceedings* (Montréal: RCAAQ, 2003). AA Bronson’s keynote talk, “Publications: Manifestos of the Artist-Run Centres” was meaningful to me as a librarian and board member at La Centrale, and it shaped my understanding of artist-run culture as a community of practice, discussed below.

²⁰ 25-28 February 2004. Held at the Emily Carr College of Art and Design, organized by Keith Wallace and Sadira Rodriguez of the Pacific Association of Artist-Run Centres in Vancouver, this ambitious conference was unprecedented in scale as it positioned Canadian artist-run culture within a global context.

²¹ These two exhibitions were followed by the catalogue *Documentary Protocols/Protocols Documentaires (1967-19975)*, Vincent Bonin and Michèle Thériault, eds. (Montréal: Galerie Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010), including my essay, “Publishing as Alternative Space,” also based on my curatorial research for *Constellations and Correspondences*.

²² 6-10 October 2010. Taking place at the Musée juste pour rire, Montréal, QC, organized by the RCAAQ in collaboration with ResArtis (Amsterdam). I presented a “performative lecture” on behalf of CRUM as part of a panel discussing international residency programs. The lecture was not a “straight” presentation of a residency program; rather, it used language (in the genre of performing a lecture) and images (PowerPoint projection) to convey the experience of residencies from the perspective of a relatively sedentary, or locally situated, group of artists. At the time one of our members, Doug Scholes, had an informal arrangement with various artist-run spaces in the city to host visiting international artists in his studio.

²³ I presented a paper based on my curatorial research for *Constellations & Correspondences* at the international conference that opened this exhibition, 26-28 November 2010 at the Justina M. Barnicke Gallery, University of Toronto.

²⁴ This international convention took place 12-14 October 2012, at the Goldcorp Centre for the Arts, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC. Building upon the groundwork laid by *InFest* (2004), this gathering of global artist-led culture addressed the provocative question: Is there a space for art outside of the market and the state? I was scheduled to present on a panel discussing artists’ networks, but had to decline participation due to childbirth.

²⁵ Although I was not directly involved in this exhibition, many of my peers were and it formed the basis of several recurring conversations. Denise Markonish, “Oh, Canada or: How I learned to Love 3.8 Million Square Miles

of Art North of the 49th Parallel” in *Oh, Canada: Contemporary Art from North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2012), 53.

²⁶ 5 September – 11 October 2014. Galerie Leonard & Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Montréal, QC.

²⁷ 28 May – 31 May, 2015. Justina M. Barnicke Gallery, University of Toronto. I presented on a panel thematically organized on the topic of *Artist, Networks, Cities*.

²⁸ In this sense, I am interested in the many artists, writers and designers who use literary and art institutions, the book form and the act of publishing and curating as catalysts for forming counterpublics and related social worlds—some examples are castillo/corrales (Paris); Slavs and Tatars (Eurasia); Primary Information (New York); Dexter Sinister (New York); Publication Studio (San Francisco, Los Angeles, Guelph, Vancouver, etc.); The Printed Web (Paul Soulellis, New York); Parasitic Ventures Press (Michael Maranda, Toronto), *Fillip* magazine (Vancouver).

²⁹ Marshall McLuhan, *Counterblast* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 5. Preface to the 1969 edition.

³⁰ Stephen Voce, *Poetic Community: Avant-Garde Activism and Cold War Culture*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 209.

³¹ Eduardo Navas, *Remix Theory: The Aesthetics of Sampling* (New York, Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 2012), 12.

³² Eduardo Navas, *Remix Theory*, 12.

³³ Eduardo Navas, *Remix Theory*, 152.

³⁴ Eduardo Navas, *Remix Theory*, 12.

³⁵ Lucy R. Lippard, “The Dematerialization of Art” in *Changing: Essays in Art Criticism* (New York: Dutton, 1971). 255-276. Rpt. from *Art International* 12.2 (February, 1968), 260.

³⁶ Liz Kotz, *Words to be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 63.

³⁷ Antoinette Burton, “Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories,” in *Archive Stories: Facts Fiction and the Writing of History*, ed. Antoinette Burton, 1-21 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 10.

³⁸ Clement Greenberg, *Avant-Garde Attitudes: New Art in the Sixties (1969)*, Vol. 4, in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, ed. John O’Brian, 292-303 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 302.

³⁹ Michael Fried, “Art and Objecthood (1964),” in *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews*, 148-172 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 161.

⁴⁰ See Chapter I and Chapter III for extended discussions of how this occurred in both Canada and Québec.

⁴¹ Brandon Taylor, *Collage: The Making of Modern Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 167-169.

⁴² Owen Chapman and Kim Sawchuck, “Research-Creation: Intervention, Analysis and ‘Family Resemblances,’” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37 (2012): 15-20.

-
- ⁴³ Hannah Higgins, *Fluxus Experience* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 189.
- ⁴⁴ Sven Spieker, *The Big Archive: Art From Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008), 37.
- ⁴⁵ Michael E.D. Koenig, "What is KM? Knowledge Management Explained," *KM World*, 4 May 2012, <http://www.kmworld.com/Articles/Editorial/What-Is-.../What-is-KM-Knowledge-Management-Explained-82405.aspx>, (accessed 11 November 2015).
- ⁴⁶ Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 65-83.
- ⁴⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. Ed. (London: Verso, 1991).
- ⁴⁸ Craig J. Saper, *Networked Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 20-22.
- ⁴⁹ Michael Corris, "Introduction: An Invisible College in an Anglo-American World," 1-18, in *Conceptual Art: Theory, Myth, Practice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.
- ⁵⁰ AA Bronson, "Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-run Centres as Museums by Artists" in *Museums by Artists*, AA Bronson and Peggy Gale, eds. (Toronto: Art Metropole, 1983).
- ⁵¹ David Balzer, *Curationism: How Curating Took Over the Art World and Everything Else* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2014), 60.
- ⁵² Jo Nordly Beglo, "Held in Trust: The National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives" in *Essays in the History of Art Librarianship in Canada*, Art Libraries Society of North America, 2006. http://www.ifla.org/files/assets/art-libraries/history_canada_art_libraries_0.pdf (accessed 2 November 2015).
- ⁵³ Danielle Léger, "Le centre d'information Arttexte: un mandat, et un parcours, atypiques" in *Essays in the History of Art Librarianship in Canada*, Art Libraries Society of North America, 2006. http://www.ifla.org/files/assets/art-libraries/history_canada_art_libraries_0.pdf (accessed 2 November 2015).
- ⁵⁴ Pablo Rodriguez, "Constellations and Correspondences: Transmission entre artistes/Networking Between Artists, 1970-1980" *Fuse* 35, no. 4 (2012): 37.
- ⁵⁵ Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3.
- ⁵⁶ Boris Groys, "On the Curatorship" in *Art Power* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008), 51.
- ⁵⁷ AA Bronson, *From Sea To Shining Sea*.
- ⁵⁸ Freud's metaphor of the "mystic pad" is a useful way to describe the working of memory as the resurfacing of images from the unconscious, as Sven Spieker shows in his study of conceptualism as it intersects with archival practices, *The Big Archive: Art From Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008), 35-50.
- ⁵⁹ The history of artists' rights in Canada begins in 1967 with Jack Chambers' refusal to allow the National Gallery of Canada to circulate slides of his work without compensation. See a description of early activism by Canadian Artists' Representation (CAR) in nationalist terms in Jane

Lind, *Joyce Wieland: Artist on Fire* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 2001), 203-205. In 2012, the importance of artists' fees in terms of a national history of artist-led culture was reiterated by Liz Park, "Pluralizing the Institution: On the Conference 'Institutions by Artists,'" *Afterall Online Journal* 20 December 2012. <http://www.afterall.org/online/pluralising-the-institution-on-the-conference-institutions-by-artists#.VmWITaRPYfo> (accessed 7 December 2015).

⁶⁰ Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 263.

⁶¹ "Introduction" in *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980*, edited by Grant Arnold and Karen Henry (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2012), 14.

⁶² Anne Whitelaw, "Art Institutions In The Twentieth Century," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky, 3-15 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010), 11.

⁶³ Peter Weibel, "Globalization and Contemporary Art," in *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds*, ed. Hans Belting, Andrea Buddenseig and Peter Weibel, 20-27 (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2013), 27.

⁶⁴ Vincent Bonin, "Here, Bad News Always Arrives Too Late: Institutional Critique in Canada (1967-2012)," in *Institutions by Artists*, ed. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina L. Podevsa, 49-79 (Vancouver: Fillip Editions, 2012), 53, 69.

⁶⁵ See Chapter III for a discussion of several exhibitions organized this way at Véhicule Art in the early 1970s.

⁶⁶ Noah Rochler, "A Nation Playing at War" *National Post*, 5 May, 2012, <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/noah-richler-a-nation-playing-war> (accessed 15 October 2015).

⁶⁷ John Ibbitson and Erin Anderson, "How Stephen Harper is remaking the Canadian Myth" *The Globe and Mail*. Tuesday, 1 May 2012. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/how-stephen-harper-is-remaking-the-canadian-myth/article4104583/> Accessed 2 July, 2012.

⁶⁸ "Bicentennial Commemoration of the War of 1812, Plans Spending and Results," *Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat*, <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/hidb-bdih/initiative-eng.aspx?Hi=123> (accessed November 11, 2015).

⁶⁹ "Commemorations for the Bicentennial of the War of 1812" *Canada's Economic Action Plan*, <http://actionplan.gc.ca/en/initiative/commemorations-bicentennial-war-1812> (accessed 11 November 2015).

⁷⁰ "Don't count on grants, Flaherty warns arts groups" *CBC News*, 28 June 2011, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/don-t-count-on-grants-flaherty-warns-arts-groups-1.1080626>, (accessed 11 November 2015).

⁷¹ For a nuanced discussion of Canadian nationalism, militarism and anti-American sentiments in the nineteenth and twentieth century see Carl Berger, *Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism*. 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 175.

⁷² Arnold Amber, "Harper is Free Expression's Biggest Rival" *Huffington Post*, 5 March 2015, <http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/canadian-journalists-for>

free-expression/stephen-harper-secrecy-b-7196874.html, (accessed 20 April 2016).

⁷³ Alexander Galloway, "Are Some Things Unrepresentable?," *Theory, Culture & Society* 28, no. 7/8 (2011): 86.

⁷⁴ Alexander Galloway, "Are Some Things Unrepresentable?," 88.

⁷⁵ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* (Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2002), 113.

⁷⁶ *Les Commenseaux: quand l'art se fait circonstances*. Patrice Loubier and Anne-Marie Ninacs, eds. (Montréal: Centre des arts actuels SKOL, 2001).

⁷⁷ *Art Histories*, curated by Marie-Josée Jean for Vox, centre de l'image contemporain, opened at the same time as *Constellations & Correspondences*. The "folklorization" of the avant-garde in the work of Slovenian artist collective IRWIN/NSK was an influence upon my understanding of artists' appropriation of state mythologies.

⁷⁸ D.W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality* (New York: Routledge, 1971), 41.

⁷⁹ Moyra Davey, "Introduction," in *Mother Reader: Essential Writings on Motherhood*, xiii-xix (Toronto: Seven Stories, 2001), xvii.

⁸⁰ *Network Consciousness/La Conscience du réseau* was developed for Vidéographe and showcased on their online platform, Vithèque 1 November 2013–1 March 2014; events took place at Galerie SBC, Montréal, QC, 12 November 2013; Art Metropole, Toronto, ON, 8 February–8 March, 2014; Residency Unlimited, Brooklyn, NY, 19 February 2014.

⁸¹ "Soutien aux projets pour les organismes et les commissaires indépendants", Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec, http://www.calq.gouv.qc.ca/organismes/proj_avnumcin_circulation.htm (accessed 7 December 2015).

⁸² Eduardo Navas, *Remix Theory*, 12.

⁸³ See Marion Froger's essay on the early years of Vidéographe, "Collective Dynamics at Vidéographe (1970-1975)," in *Documentary Protocols (1967-1975)*, 293-303.

⁸⁴ AA Bronson retrospectively laments this circumstance in "The Transfiguration of the Bureaucrat," in *Institutions By Artists*, ed. Jeff Kohonsary and Kristina L. Podevska, 25-47 (Vancouver: Fillip Editions, 2012), 46.

⁸⁵ Two of the musicians, Michel Hinton and Pierre Bertrand, would later form the band Beau Dommage, their music became part of the soundtrack for this generation's claim to cultural self-determination in the world.

⁸⁶ Luis Jacob, *Theory* (2002), and *Light On (Flashlight)*, (2013).

⁸⁷ The six online videos were: Bloc Coop, *La Consommation* 15:40 (1973); Charles Binamé, *Réaction 26* 4:18 (1971); Simon Brown, *De Boscobel à Trois-Fourches – La paramarginalité communaliste des années 70* 12:05 (20:13); Darsha Hewett, *Instructions for Experiment with CRT TV* 2:00 (2011); Skawennati, *TimeTraveller™ Episode 06* 11:00 (2010); Marisa Jahn (REV-), *The Legend of El Bibliobandido* 5:40 (2012).

⁸⁸ Nicolas Mavrikakis, "Écart critique," *Le Devoir*, Samedi 9 et Dimanche 10 novembre, 2013, E9.

-
- ⁸⁹ Nicolas Mavrikakis, “Écart critique,” E9.
- ⁹⁰ Alexander Galloway, “Are Some Things Unrepresentable?” 91.
- ⁹¹ Felicity Tayler, “Information from the Quebec Underground, 1962-1972,” in *Actions That Speak / Des actions parlantes*, ed. Michèle Thériault, 51-73 (Montréal: Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2012).
- ⁹² *Just Watch Me*, 11 September – 11 October 2014; Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Concordia University, Montréal, QC.
- ⁹³ Bruce Altshuer, *Salon to Biennial: Exhibitions That Made History*, Vol.1: 1863-1959 (London: Phaidon, 2008), 11-19.
- ⁹⁴ Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso Books, 2007).
- ⁹⁵ Gongora recommended I read an article by Walter D. Mignolo, “Delinking”, *Cultural Studies*, 21, no. 2 (2007), 449–514. In April 2015, during another wave of student strikes, Gongora gave a performance workshop for my undergraduate art history class. Drawing upon the documents of the 1968 student strikes at the École des Beaux-Arts reprinted in *Quebec underground*, he created a ritual experience that productively channeled the tensions produced between the students and myself by the administration’s requirement that faculty continue to offer classes on campus during the strike.
- ⁹⁶ Hito Steyerl, “In Defense of the Poor Image,” *e-flux Journal*, no. 10 (November 2009).
- ⁹⁷ Gongora is presently working with art historian Francine Couture to create a digital archive of all aspects of the exhibition prioritizing long-term preservation for scholarly research. Romeo Gongora and Francine Couture, “Lancement de la page Web *Just Watch Me*” Colloque Contre-culture: Existences et Persistences. October 15, 2015, Médiathèque littéraire Gaétan Dostie, Montréal, QC.
- ⁹⁸ For a hand-book describing this as a therapeutic technique see Augusto Boal, *The Rainbow of Desire: The Boal Method of Theatre and Therapy* (New York : Routledge, 1995).
- ⁹⁹ Galerie SBC, 6 December 2014–14 February 2015.
- ¹⁰⁰ Emily Falvey, “CRUM’s Playful Conceptualism” *Canadian Art*, <http://canadianart.ca/reviews/crums-playful-conceptualism/>, (accessed 20 April 2016).
- ¹⁰¹ In 2006, the Saidye Bronfman Centre for the Arts ceased its exhibition activities, becoming the Segal Centre for Performing Arts. At this time, the SBC Gallery for Contemporary Art was formed as an independent, non-profit public art gallery, which nonetheless has a relationship of historical continuity with the earlier exhibition centre.
- ¹⁰² Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (New York: Verso, 2013), 10.
- ¹⁰³ *La Charte des distractions*. Les Alter Citoyens, 99% Media, GAPP, 2014, <http://chartedesdistractions.com/> (accessed 11 November 11 2015).
- ¹⁰⁴ The publication of this anthology in 1960 brought greater recognition to the work of poets in the Black Mountain School (Charles Olson), New York School (Frank O’Hara), the Beats (Allen Ginsburg) and the San Francisco Renaissance (Jack Spicer).

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Collins, Tony Power, Jason Starnes, "On a Certain Seam of Invisible Universe", unpublished interview with Ralph Maud. 29 March 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Felicity Taylor, "Wayfinding Through the Technological Sublime," *Matrix* 93 (Fall, 2012): 5-7. As an aside, I am intrigued by the strong presence that CanLit seems to have in a present-day Conceptual writing movement. This movement recuperates strategies from the conceptualism of the 1960s and 70s so that writers can negotiate the complexities of intellectual property and mutability of text in a digital environment privileging image circulation. The presence of conceptual writing from Canada can be seen in Kenneth Goldsmith and Craig Dworkin's foundational anthology, *Against Expression: An Anthology of Conceptual Writing* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2011) in the exhibition, *Postscript: Writing After Conceptual Art* (22 June – 2 September 2013, Power Plant); likewise, Marjorie Perloff, the major theorist of the present-day Conceptual writing movement, draws upon Carolyn Bayard's study, *The New Poetics in Canada and Quebec: From Concretism to Post-Modernism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), to build her argument in *Unoriginal Genius: Poetry by Other Means in the New Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 50-52.

¹⁰⁷ Compulsive Browse Colloquium, 18–20 February 2011, FOFA Gallery, Concordia University, Montréal, QC, curated by Rebecca Duclos.

¹⁰⁸ Lara Halina Tomaszewska, "Borderlines of Poetry and Art: Vancouver, American Modernism, and the Formation of the West Coast Avant-Garde, 1961-1969," (PhD thesis, University of British Columbia, 2007), 25-40.

¹⁰⁹ Lewis Ellingham and Kevin Killian, *Poet be Like God: Jack Spicer and the San Francisco Renaissance* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 50.

¹¹⁰ The 1957 edition of *After Lorca* includes a cover illustration by collage artist Jess Collins and was published by Joe Dunn on his White Rabbit Press. The book is an artifact of an avant-garde "poetic community", active in post-war San Francisco, for whom poetry was produced within the context of a small social circle that formed a counterpublic. Stephen Voyle, *Poetic Community*, 16.

¹¹¹ David McKnight, "Small Press Publishing," in *History of the Book in Canada*, Vol. 3, 308-318 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 315.

¹¹² The reprint was a "quasi" Coach House book, included in the catalogue, but without the imprimatur. Robert Fones (Robin Cones) was responsible for the book's design. Coleman remembers he did the typesetting; it was printed by Michael Snowdon (Marco Polio) on the Coach House AB Dick press. Email to the author from Victor Coleman, 12 November 2010.

¹¹³ Email to the author from Victor Coleman, 12 November 2010.

¹¹⁴ The influence of Gabriel Garcia Lorca on American poetry in the 1950s and 60s was significant; Spicer would have been interested in the relationship to fate or fatality as he shared Lorca's view of "the writer's activity as a solitary struggle with an 'outside,' a struggle with possible mortal consequences". Lori Chamberlain, "Ghost Writing the Text: Translation and the Poetics of Jack Spicer," *Contemporary Literature* 26, no. 4 (1985), 434.

-
- ¹¹⁵ Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator" in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 73.
- ¹¹⁶ Lori Chamberlain, "Ghost Writing the Text," 428.
- ¹¹⁷ Lori Chamberlain, "Ghost Writing the Text," 435.
- ¹¹⁸ Loewinson quoted in Ellingham and Killian, *Poet be Like God*, 112.
- ¹¹⁹ Victor Buchli, "Introduction," 1-21, in *The Material Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 6. Buster Keaton is often attributed this quality of melancholy, notably in the film *The General* (1927), a story about the American Civil War told from the point of view of a train engineer, based upon William Pettiger's memoir, *The Great Locomotive Chase* (1862).
- ¹²⁰ Darren Wershler-Henry, *The Iron Whim: A Fragmented History of Typewriting* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2005), 167.
- ¹²¹ The effectiveness of Burrough's technique was demonstrated through repeated obscenity charges levelled at the expression of what has now become recognizable as queer desire, thanks in part to Burroughs' writing; however Wershler-Henry is also quick to point out that his technique of "queer typewriting" may lead to a problematic vision of social justice, in that Burroughs perceived the female sex to be part of the system of control he wished to eradicate. Darren Wershler-Henry, *The Iron Whim*, 117.
- ¹²² See, for instance, the use of historical fragments in the associative narrative of Daphne Marlatt's *Ana Historic: A Novel* (Toronto: Coach House Press: 1988).
- ¹²³ Hugh Johnson, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), 220.
- ¹²⁴ Johanne Sloan, "Conceptual Landscape Art: Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow," in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art*, ed. John O'Brian and Peter White, 73-84 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 73.
- ¹²⁵ Nicholas Olsberg, "Fragments of Utopia" in *Arthur Erickson: Critical Works*, ed. Nicholas Olsberg and Ricardo Castro (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2006), 71.
- ¹²⁶ Hugh Johnson, *Radical Campus*, 133.
- ¹²⁷ John Ibbitson and Erin Anderson, "How Stephen Harper is remaking the Canadian Myth"
- ¹²⁸ Marcus Boone, *In Praise of Copying* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 167-170.
- ¹²⁹ Eduardo Navas, *Remix Theory*, 73.
- ¹³⁰ Nancy Shaw, "Citing the Banal," in *Ruins in Process: Vancouver Art in the Sixties*, <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/siting-the-banal#ref10> (accessed 12 November 2015).
- ¹³¹ Johanne Sloan, "Conceptual Landscape Art," 76.
- ¹³² Darren Weshler-Henry, *The Iron Whim*, 255.
- ¹³³ Darren Wershler-Henry, *The Iron Whim*, 273.
- ¹³⁴ Letter from Victor Coleman to Roy Kiyooka, Toronto, MSC 32.1.13 Kiyooka Correspondence, Coleman. Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC.

¹³⁵ Reid Shier, "Vancouver," in *Art Cities of the Future: 21st Century Avant-Gardes*, 297-319 (London: Phaidon, 2013), 297-319.

¹³⁶ Hal Foster et al., *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2 (London: Thames and Hudson, 2014), 402.

¹³⁷ Hal Foster et al., *Art Since 1900*, 403.

¹³⁸ See Chapter III, for an extended discussion of the formation of this queer counterpublic.

¹³⁹ I received this catalogue from the friends of mine who operate a cooperative organic farm in Les Cèdres, west of Montréal; where they were growing the *artemesia absinthium* for *119m Above Sea Level*.