JCAH
volume XXXI:2
AHAC

JOURNAL OF CANADIAN ART HISTORY | ANNALES D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART CANADIEN 2010

Studies in Canadian Art,

Architecture and the

Decorative Arts

Études en art,

architecture et arts

décoratifs canadiens

Volume XXXI:2

2010

JOURNAL OF CANADIAN ART HISTORY | ANNALES D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART CANADIEN

Address | Adresse :
Concordia University | Université Concordia
1455, boul. de Maisonneuve West, EV-3.819
Montréal, Québec, Canada H3G 1M8
(514) 848-2424, ext. 4699
jcah@alcor.concordia.ca
http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/index.html

Subscription Rate | Tarif d'abonnement :
1 year subscription | Abonnement pour 1 an :
28 $ individuals | individus
35 $ institutional | institutions
Outside Canada | L'étranger
40 $ US individuals | individus
50 $ US institutional | institutions

Journal of Canadian Art History is a member of the Société de développement des périodiques culturels québécois (SODEP), the Canadian Association of Learned Journals and the Conference of Historical Journals. This publication is listed in numerous indices.

La revue *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* est membre de la Société de développement des périodiques culturels québécois (SODEP), de l'Association canadienne des revues savantes et de la Conference of Historical Journals. Cette revue est répertoriée dans de nombreux index.

Design | Maquette
Garet Markvoort, zijn digital

Copy-editing | Révision des textes :
Élise Bonnette, Luke Nicholson, Mairi Robertson, Denis Longchamps

Translation | Traduction :
Élise Bonnette

Printer | Imprimeur :
Marquis Imprimeur Inc.

Cover | Couverture :
Detail, Ivor Castle (attrib.), *Wanton destruction of the organ in Roye Cathedral – removing and smashing the pipes*, April 1917, photograph, 12 × 9.5 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19920085-309. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series 0-1419).
Détail, Ivor Castle (attrib.), *Dans les ruines de la cathédrale de Roye – les débris du magnifique orgue, dont les tuyaux ont été enlevés et fracassés*, avril 1917, photographe, 12 x 9.5 cm, Collection d'archives George Metcalf, Musée canadien de la guerre, MCG 19920085-309. (Photo officielle du Corps expéditionnaire canadien, 0-1419).

Back issues of the *Journal of Canadian Art History* are available at the following address:
Journal of Canadian Art History
Concordia University
1455 de Maisonneuve West, EV-3.819
Montreal, Quebec, H3G 1M8
or jcah@alcor.concordia.ca
or http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/index.html

Les anciens numéros des *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* sont disponibles à l'adresse suivante:
Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien
Université Concordia
1455, boul. de Maisonneuve ouest, EV-3.819
Montréal (Québec) H3G 1M8
ou jcah@alcor.concordia.ca
ou http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/index.html

Printed in Canada | Imprimé au Canada
ISSN 0315-4297

Deposited with | Dépôt légal :
Library and Archives Canada | Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec

The *Journal of Canadian Art History* is published by subscription, with the generous support of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Concordia University; the Concordia University Research Chair in Art History; and the Gail and Stephen A. Jarislowsky Institute for Studies in Canadian Art History.

La revue *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* est publiée par l'abonnement, avec le généreux soutien de la Faculté des beaux-arts, Université Concordia ; l'Université Concordia Chaire de recherche en histoire de l'art ; et l'Institut de recherche en art canadien Gail et Stephen A. Jarislowsky.

Professor James Elkins, E.C. Chadbourne Chair in the Department of Art History and the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, came to Canada last fall to give the keynote address at the University Art Association of Canada conference, hosted in 2010 by the University of Guelph. His lecture was smart, polished, 'on message' as media pundits like to say, but it left me very puzzled. Elkins drew a grim portrait of Art History in the academy, as a discipline drowning in a wave of Visual Culture. He argued that Art History's narrowness, inflexibility, orthodoxies, and inability to fight for or even recognise the threat to its survival, virtually guaranteed its early demise. The difficulty for me was that Elkins's description matched no Department of Art History that I could think of – most damningly, given where Elkins was lecturing, it spoke not at all to the way we think, teach, and produce Canadian Art History. Since its inception, some thirty-five years ago, the *Journal of Canadian Art History* has represented our field's ways and means. Yes, the two-screen compare and contrast pedagogical method continues to be employed in some classrooms, but Canadian art historians and theorists have also had both eyes open to new approaches that pertain to our field and the role of these developments in the broader culture. Add to that the diversity of topics broached in our community of scholarship, and the tide grimly forecast by Elkins seems already to have turned.

Consider the wealth of knowledge and interests represented by the Editorial Board of this journal. Their specializations and topics include, but are not limited to: Aboriginal art (Racette); historical Quebec art (Lacroix); Canadian Modernism (Foss); caricature and print culture (Hardy); the Automatiste movement (Gagnon); institutional theory (Whitelaw); modernist architecture (Simmins); landscape art and aesthetics (Sloan); conceptual art (Wark); expatriate art practices (Prioul); photographic experience (Langford). Vastly expanding this repertoire is the interdisciplinary range of their activities. No tourists here, but a photographic historian with a solid background in geography (Schwartz); an architectural historian focusing on conceptions of gender in modernist architectural photography (Simmins); a close reader of the imbrications of artwriting and artmaking (Cheetham); a craft historian looking at industrial design (Alfoldy); a feminist art historian working through the optics of poststructuralism, psychoanalysis, and social history (Huneault); a film scholar who is also a filmmaker (Asselin). And if some of these art historians are drawn to questions of visual culture, they frame their inquiries in terms of persistent and migrating symbols (Gagnon, Sloan); nationhood and identity (Foss); or transnational expressions of Cold War ideology and anxiety (O'Brian).

This issue includes articles that represent both the adventurousness and solidity of Canadian art historical scholarship. It is not a thematic issue *per se*,

Le professeur James Elkins, titulaire de la chaire E.C. Chadbourne du département d'histoire de l'art de la School of the Art Institute of Chicago, est venu au Canada, l'automne dernier, présenter la conférence d'ouverture du colloque de l'Association d'art des universités du Canada, dont l'université de Guelph était l'hôte en 2010. Le conférencier était savant, disert, sûr de lui. Pourtant, son discours m'a laissée très perplexe. Elkins a tracé un portrait bien noir de l'histoire de l'art dans les universités, comme d'une discipline en train de sombrer dans une vague de culture visuelle. L'étroitesse d'esprit de l'histoire de l'art, son inflexibilité, ses orthodoxies et son impuissance à reconnaître la menace, et encore moins de lutter pour sa survie, garantiraient pratiquement sa prochaine disparition. Ce qui me posait problème, c'est que ce que disait Elkins ne s'appliquait à aucun des départements d'histoire de l'art que je connais – et le pire, étant donné le lieu de la conférence, c'est que cela ne reflétait pas du tout notre manière de penser, d'enseigner et de produire l'histoire de l'art canadien. Depuis leur création, il y a quelque trente-cinq ans, les *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* ont représenté les manières de faire dans notre domaine. Certes, nous avons mis en place des structures héritées de la méthode à deux volets comparaison-contraste, mais les historiens et les théoriciens de l'art canadien ont aussi les yeux bien ouverts sur les découvertes propres à notre domaine et à la vie de ces découvertes dans la culture générale. Ajoutez à cela la diversité de sujets que nous abordons dans notre communauté, et le sinistre raz-de-marée prédit par Elkins semble avoir déjà reculé.

Considérons la richesse de savoirs et d'intérêts représentée par le comité de rédaction des *Annales*. Leurs spécialités et sujets comprennent, sans s'y restreindre : l'art autochtone (Racette), l'art historique du Québec (Lacroix), le modernisme canadien (Foss), la caricature et la culture de l'imprimé (Hardy); le mouvement automatiste (Gagnon); la théorie institutionnelle (Whitelaw); l'architecture moderniste (Simmins); le paysage et l'esthétique (Sloan); l'art conceptuel (Wark); les pratiques artistiques des expatriés (Prioul); l'expérience de la photographie (Langford). L'éventail interdisciplinaire de leurs activités dépasse largement ce répertoire. On n'y rencontre pas des touristes, mais un historien de la photographie avec de solides connaissances en géographie (Schwartz); un historien de l'architecture qui s'intéresse aux conceptions de genre dans la photographie architecturale moderniste (Simmins); un lecteur attentif des imbrications de l'écriture et de la production de l'art (Cheetham); un historien de l'artisanat qui examine le dessin industriel (Alfoldy); une historienne de l'art féministe dont le travail passe par l'optique du poststructuralisme, de la psychanalyse et de l'histoire sociale (Huneault); un spécialiste du cinéma qui est aussi réalisateur (Asselin). Et si certains de ces historiens de l'art sont conduits à des questions de culture visuelle, ils formulent leurs recherches en termes de symboles persistants et changeants (Gagnon, Sloan); de nation et d'identité

but certain themes tie the articles together. Conceptual art, a very timely pursuit in light of the recent exhibition, *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965–1980*, is critically examined by Adam Lauder and Eduardo Ralickas.[1] Lauder's article focuses mainly on a milestone exhibition organized in 1970 by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. His investigation deals efficiently with how Canadian artist IAIN BAXTER&, then president of N.E. Thing Co., participated in an American exhibition, to consider the more interesting problem of how the philosophy and protocols of BAXTER&'s practice might have inflected MOMA's exhibitionary model. Ralickas looks at a Conceptual work that appropriates an entire collection and, through exhibitionary strategies, seeks to suppress the curatorial voice, a voice that is nevertheless heard, or rather seen, by Ralickas in the gallery apparatus. Lauder and Ralickas are both emerging scholars, and it must be added that Ralickas is not strictly speaking a Canadianist, but a theorist of German Romanticism. Let it be said here and now that the *Journal of Canadian Art History* wants to hear from scholars who detect parallels between ideas developed elsewhere and the Canadian context. Indeed, Rosemarie Tovell's account of Homer Watson's attempt to translate a British marketing model to his Canadian homeland speaks to this question as a study of importation. As Tovell explains, what was sauce for the British goose was not sauce for the Canadian gander. All three of these articles have something to tell us about cultural mentalities and institutional structures and their bearing on the circulation and understanding of images and objects, as does Laura Brandon's essay on four World War I photographs, in which she discusses their verbal contextualizations for British and Canadian viewers. This issue also includes two book reviews: the *Journal* welcomes back a faithful contributor and astute analyst of the institutional frame, Monique Nadeau-Saumier, as well as a newcomer to the circle, historian Graham Broad, whose long-term interest in Painters Eleven is complemented by his knowledge of Canadian consumer culture.

These thumbnail sketches of collaborators and contents are intended to expose some of my hopes for the *Journal.* Canadian art history has its house in good order: time to throw open the windows to emerging scholars, to visitors from adjoining houses with something to tell us about the field. The *Journal* has long functioned as an instrument of consolidation, confirmation, circulation, and debate. This will continue – in fact, it will expand, as from Volume 31 onward, the *Journal* will appear twice a year. One of these issues will be organized thematically, sometimes by guest editors; the other, edited in-house, will be a venue for new scholarship, submitted or commissioned, long or short, the short form allowing conference papers to be revised and published, as Laura Brandon has done for us here. Long-time subscribers to

(Foss); ou d'expressions transnationales de l'idéologie et de l'anxiété de la guerre froide (O'Brian).

Le présent numéro présente des articles qui représentent aussi bien l'esprit d'aventure que la solidité de la science en histoire de l'art canadien. Ce n'est pas un numéro à thème, mais certains thèmes relient les articles. Adam Lauder et Eduardo Ralickas examinent l'art conceptuel, une recherche très opportune à la lumière de *Trafic. L'art conceptuel au Canada 1965–1980*[1]. L'article de Lauder est centré principalement sur une exposition marquante organisée en 1970 par le Museum of Modern Art de New York. L'artiste en question est IAIN BAXTER&, alors président de N.E. Thing Co. L'enquête de Lauder montre de manière efficace comment cet artiste canadien a participé à une exposition américaine, pour aborder la question plus intéressante de savoir comment la philosophie et les protocoles de cette pratique ont pu infléchir le modèle d'exposition du MOMA. Ralickas examine une œuvre conceptuelle qui s'approprie une collection entière et cherche, à travers des stratégies expositionnelles, à supprimer la voix commissariale, voix cependant entendue, ou plutôt vue, par Ralickas dans la disposition de la galerie. Lauder et Ralickas sont eux-mêmes des chercheurs émergents. À vrai dire, Ralickas n'est pas à proprement parler un canadianiste, mais un théoricien du romantisme allemand. Disons d'entrée de jeu que les *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* souhaitent entendre la voix de chercheurs qui détectent des parallèles entre des idées développées ailleurs et le contexte canadien. Nous en trouvons un exemple dans le compte-rendu que donne Rosemarie Tovell de la tentative d'Homer Watson d'exporter un modèle britannique de commercialisation dans son pays d'origine, le Canada. Mais, comme l'explique Tovell, ce qui était bon pour l'un ne l'était pas forcément pour l'autre. Ces trois articles ont quelque chose à nous dire sur les mentalités culturelles et les structures institutionnelles et leurs rapports avec la circulation et la compréhension des images et des objets. C'est ce que fait aussi Laura Brandon dans son analyse de quatre photographies de la Première Guerre mondiale et de leur contextualisation verbale pour les spectateurs britanniques et canadiens. Ce numéro comprend aussi deux recensions de livres. Les *Annales* sont heureuses d'accueillir une fidèle collaboratrice et fine analyste du cadre institutionnel, Monique Nadeau-Saumier, ainsi qu'un nouveau venu, l'historien Graham Broad, dont l'intérêt de longue date pour Painters Eleven s'insère dans sa connaissance de la culture de consommation canadienne.

Ces courtes présentations des collaborateurs et du contenu visent à exprimer certains de mes espoirs concernant les *Annales*. Tout est en ordre dans la maison : il est temps d'ouvrir grand les fenêtres aux chercheurs émergents, aux visiteurs des maisons voisines qui ont quelque chose à nous dire. Les *Annales* ont longtemps été un instrument de consolidation, de confirmation, de circulation et de débat. Cela va continuer – et, en fait, s'accroître, car, à compter du volume

the *Journal* will also have noticed a new look, thanks to the sensitive design treatment of Garet Markvoort.

I am honoured to have been entrusted with the *Journal of Canadian Art History*. For that I thank Sandra Paikowsky, a founder of the *Journal*, who stays on as publisher and member of the Editorial Board; she will also be our first guest editor with her two-part *Festschrift* for François-Marc Gagnon. As I have gotten my feet wet, Brenda Dionne Hutchinson along with a devoted team of copy-editors and translators have provided continuity and support. I have been touched by the encouragement of colleagues, most notably by Brian Foss, former Associate Editor of the *Journal*, now the Chair of its *working* (the stress is Brian's) Editorial Board. The Members' and anonymous readers' contributions to this issue have been gratifying and illuminating, both for the authors and myself.

To summarize my objectives as editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Canadian Art History*, I would simply say that I want the *Journal* to reflect the many and diverse ways that we do Art History in Canada. And all I can say to Professor Elkins is "Come again soon," or better yet, treat yourself to a subscription to the *Journal of Canadian Art History*, where we will show you how it's done.

Martha Langford

NOTES

1 *Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965–1980*, organized jointly by the Art Gallery of Alberta (Edmonton), the Justina M. Barnicke Gallery (Toronto), and the Vancouver Art Gallery, in collaboration with the Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery (Montreal) and Halifax, INK, premiered at four galleries of the University of Toronto (University of Toronto Art Centre, Blackwood Gallery, Doris McCarthy Gallery, and Justina M. Barnicke Gallery), 11 September – 28 November 2010. On the closing weekend of the exhibition, the Justina M. Barnicke Gallery organized an international conference, *Traffic: Conceptualism in Canada*.

31, les *Annales* seront publiées deux fois par année. Un des numéros sera organisé par thème, parfois par des rédacteurs invités; l'autre, une réalisation interne, accueillera de nouvelles recherches, soumises ou commandées, longues ou courtes, la forme courte permettant à des textes de conférences d'être révisés et publiés, comme Laura Brandon l'a fait pour nous ici. Les abonnés de longue date aux *Annales* auront remarqué la nouvelle présentation, due à la sensibilité artistique de Garet Markvoort.

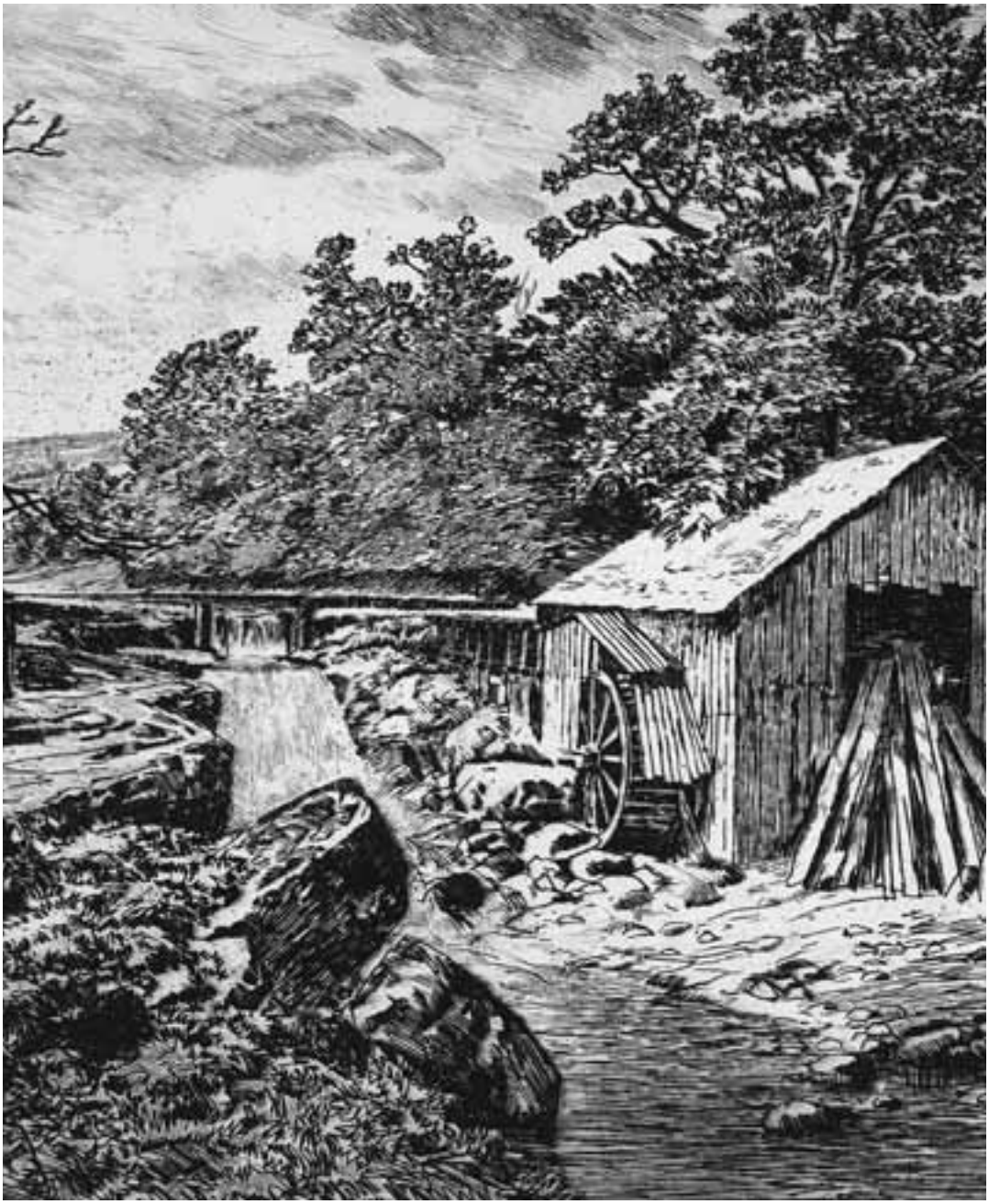
Je suis honorée qu'on m'ait confié les *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*. J'en remercie Sandra Paikowsky, un des fondateurs des *Annales*, qui y demeure à titre d'éditrice, de membre du comité de rédaction et de premier rédacteur invité pour la publication de *Mélanges* en deux parties en l'honneur de François-Marc Gagnon. Brenda Dionne Hutchinson et une équipe dévouée de réviseurs et de traducteurs ont maintenu la continuité et fourni leur appui pendant ma période d'initiation. Je suis touchée par les encouragements reçus des collègues, particulièrement Brian Foss, ancien rédacteur associé des *Annales*, et actuel président du comité de *travail* (c'est Brian qui souligne) de rédaction. Les contributions de membres et de lecteurs anonymes à ce numéro ont été à la fois gratifiantes et éclairantes, aussi bien pour les auteurs que pour moi-même.

Pour résumer mes objectifs en tant que rédactrice en chef des *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, je voudrais simplement dire que je souhaite que les *Annales* reflètent les nombreuses et diverses manières de faire l'histoire de l'art au Canada. Tout ce que je peux dire au professeur Elkins, c'est « Revenez nous voir bientôt », ou, mieux encore, « Abonnez-vous aux *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* et vous verrez ce que nous faisons ».

Martha Langford

NOTES

1 L'exposition *Trafic. L'art conceptuel au Canada 1965–1980*, organisée conjointement par la Art Gallery of Alberta (Edmonton), la Justina M. Barnicke Gallery (Toronto) et la Vancouver Art Gallery, en partenariat avec la Galerie Leonard & Bina Ellen (Montréal) et Halifax, INK, a été inaugurée dans quatre galeries de l'Université de Toronto (University of Toronto Art Centre, Blackwood Gallery, Doris McCarthy Gallery et Justina M. Barnicke Gallery) du 11 septembre au 28 novembre 2010. Un colloque international, *Traffic: Conceptualism in Canada*, a été organisé par la Justina M. Barnicke Gallery, le dernier week-end de l'exposition.



Detail of Homer Watson, *The Pioneer Mill*, State II/III, 1890, etching. (see Fig. 2)

ARTICLE

Homer Watson's *The Pioneer Mill*: The Making and Marketing of a Print in the Canadian Etching Revival

ROSEMARIE L. TOVELL

In 1890, while living in England, Homer Watson (1855–1936) made an etching after his most famous painting *The Pioneer Mill,* which, as part of Queen Victoria's collection, hung in Windsor Castle. Watson undertook the whole process of making the print, from drawing a copy of the painting, to etching and printing the plate in a limited edition on a hand operated press. In terms of printmaking at that date, it was a hybrid, part reproduction, part artist's print – a not uncommon aspect of printmaking which Sylvester Koehler, the influential American writer and curator of prints, termed "replicas."[1] As an expression of an artist's work in another medium, replicas were included in the fine art category of printmaking, as much as it had been defined in those days. In North America, during the late 1800s, replicas were highly desirable, exhibited at the most prestigious exhibition venues, and praised by the art writers. They constituted a significant aspect of the Etching Revival, a nineteenth-century movement among artists to reclaim printmaking, and etching in particular, as a creative medium. Watson's *The Pioneer Mill* was the most ambitious effort by any Canadian artist to make an etching of the highest aesthetic quality. In theory, it should have brought him attention at home as one of Canada's finest etchers and proven to be a lucrative marketing venture. Unhappily, it did neither. Nevertheless, the making of *The Pioneer Mill* offers a unique glimpse into the making and marketing of a print in the Canadian Etching Revival.

To better understand the context of Watson's career as an etcher, it is necessary to describe the evolution of the Etching Revival.[2] It began in France and Britain during the 1840s and 1850s as artists sought to reclaim printmaking. They consciously looked to the old masters such as Rembrandt for their inspiration and guide and chose etching as their printmaking medium because it was practiced by the most admired old masters. In addition, etching was able to capture the expressive line and tone of drawing, while the whole process could be done in the intimacy of one's own studio. Yet, the technique is best learnt through experimentation in the company of other etchers and this in turn led to the formation of painter-etcher societies and the exhibition venues established by these societies. The most influential

painter-etchers of this period in France were Charles Meryon (1821–1868) and the Barbizon artists, while in Britain it was Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910) and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903).

The Etching Revival also introduced new dealer-publishers who promoted the new art, not only to attract collectors, but to encourage artists to take up the etching needle in order to provide them with attractive stock. Alfred Cadart was the first such dealer-publisher who, after having established the Société des Aquafortistes, left Paris in 1866 for New York seeking out new collectors and artists. Cadart's efforts led to the foundation of the New York Etching Club in 1877; this fraternal organization not only fostered etching among its members, but also held annual exhibitions. The Club became the standard bearer for the etching movement in North America, spawning similar societies in Cincinnati, Boston, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Toronto.

The evolution of the Canadian Etching Revival is best demonstrated by the appearance of prints in several major exhibitions. In 1880, the Royal Canadian Academy gave a cursory nod to the Revival by showing the etchings of J.W.H. Watts (1850–1917) and J.C. Miles (1837–1911). However, the first significant event was the *First Exhibition of Works of Art in Black and White* organized by the Art Association of Montreal in 1881. It was an ambitious show, constituted primarily of prints.[3] It attempted to display the historical development of printmaking from Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) to Whistler. It is important to note that what was considered an "original work of art" was not as clear-cut as it is today. Etched reproductions of Rembrandt etchings were praised as much as the master's own prints, and reproductive engravings, such as William Woollett's 1776 engraving after Benjamin West's *The Death of Wolfe,* found a comfortable spot among the artist's prints executed by the modern masters such as Whistler.

Canadian painter-etchers read the British and French publications on the subject and were also interacting directly with their American counterparts. In 1884 the Association of Canadian Etchers was formed in Toronto and maintained close contact with the New York Etching Club and the Philadelphia Society of Etchers. Members of the Canadian association included T. Mower Martin (1838–1934), A. Dickson Patterson (1854–1930), and George Reid (1860–1947). With the assistance of the New York and the Philadelphia societies, the Association of Canadian Etchers mounted a large international exhibition which was shown at the Ontario Society of Artists rooms in March 1885. It is not known if Homer Watson visited the exhibition but given his friendships with Mower Martin and other members of the Association, he could well have done. A tantalizing reference in a letter from his dealer, James Spooner, suggests that Watson considered purchasing an etching, likely from the show.[4]

Watson was in England when the last major print exhibition of the decade took place in Canada. However his friend J.W.H. Watts sent him an enthusiastic report.[5] In 1888 the Art Association of Montreal mounted *The Second Black and White Exhibition, Etchings*; this exhibition confirmed an emerging evolution of connoisseurship, those concepts and criteria that made prints desirable to the private collector as significant works art. The organizers of the exhibition consciously selected what was described in the catalogue as "confined to one branch of the engraver's art, but that probably the highest – Etching."[6] The selection and the catalogue entries carefully denoted the types of proofs (e.g. signed, trial, etc), states, and where possible, catalogue raisonné numbers. Nevertheless, the selection still included what we would consider reproductions of paintings and they were treated with the same importance as a limited edition work made by painter-etchers such as Haden, Meryon, or Rembrandt.

These three art exhibitions provide some insight into the Etching Revival in Canada's two principal cities, Montreal and Toronto. Montreal evidently had a well established and sophisticated group of collectors who included prints as part of their private art collections. The catalogues to the two *Black and White* exhibitions suggest that these Montreal collections were well stocked with a handsome number of the most sought after engravings and contemporary etchings from Europe. The catalogues also record that the New York dealer Frederick Keppel lent Old Master prints and provide stark evidence that works by Canadian artists were almost entirely absent. The only Canadian artist to exhibit a *bona fide* painter-etcher print was Henry Sandham (1842–1910) in 1888, by then a resident of Boston.

This paucity of Canadian exhibitors at the Art Associations exhibitions underlined that Montreal's lack of resident painter-etchers did not incite the serious print collectors to look to the Canadian printmaking centre of Toronto. Instead, Montreal's collectors chose to acquire international work. In Toronto the dilemma was reversed; the Toronto Association of Canadian Etchers exhibition was entirely artist-generated with only one private collector, John Ross Robertson, lending two European etchings. The show was a harsh demonstration that Toronto lacked collectors of Montreal's number and calibre who could and would support the city's small community of painter-etchers. In fact, Montreal and Toronto's print collectors did not show interest in Canadian prints until the arrival of Clarence Gagnon's (1881–1942) internationally celebrated etchings during the first decade of the twentieth century, a period of renewed printmaking activity described as the Second Etching Revival.

The customs duty levied on all prints at their point of entry created a further impediment to the success of the late nineteenth-century Etching

Revival in Canada. Whether reproductive engravings or limited editioned artist's prints, duty was imposed on prints brought into the country whether for possible sale, already purchased by a private collector, or merely for loan to exhibitions. Consequently, the costs incurred by an institution or group who wished to borrow for an international exhibition were prohibitive. This duty also drove up the price of any print that a Canadian artist created abroad.

Making *The Pioneer Mill*

It was in this climate that Homer Watson undertook his own venture into the Etching Revival.

Homer Watson was born in 1855 at Doon, Ontario, the son of Ransford Watson, a mill owner. When Homer was only seven years of age, his father died and by 1870 he had also lost his elder brother. Forced to be self-reliant, Watson developed a keen ambition to succeed and, from an early age, showed an interest in art. He taught himself to draw by copying the black and white wood engravings and other illustrations in popular periodicals and books. He would later admit that "in all the early drawings I observed as closely as an engraver would."[7] Through this early training he developed a brusque and linearly dense style of pen and ink drawing that emphasised the texture and masses of Doon's rural landscape. About 1874 Watson left for Toronto, apparently to work at the Notman & Fraser Photographic Studio; this brought him into direct contact with some of Toronto's leading artists such as John Arthur Fraser (1838–1898), Lucius O'Brien (1832–1899), and T. Mower Martin.[8] In 1878, his election to membership in the Ontario Society of Artists marked his first true induction into the Canadian art community.

Two years later, upon the formation of the Royal Canadian Academy under the patronage of the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne, Watson was elected to associate membership and exhibited *The Pioneer Mill* at the Academy's opening exhibition in March 1880.[9] The painting was immediately purchased by Lorne and sent to Windsor Castle as a gift to his mother-in-law, Queen Victoria. This was an unprecedented honour for a Canadian artist and, within weeks, it was celebrated with a full-page illustration in the *Canadian Illustrated News*.[10] The following year, Lorne purchased two more canvases by Watson, *The Last Day of the Drought,* again for the Royal Collection, and *An April Day* for himself.

In 1882 Watson was duly elected to full membership in the Royal Canadian Academy. By this time he had found a Toronto dealer in James Spooner whose tobacco shop and art gallery was a few doors away from the Ontario Society of Artists galleries on King Street. That same year, Oscar Wilde visited Toronto. Watson's paintings caught his attention, and while they did not meet, Wilde's admiration for Watson's work became well known.[11]

Here was a potential introduction into the centre of London's art community. These early achievements and the warm reception of his paintings at the 1886 *Indian and Colonial Exhibition* in London prompted Watson's decision to leave the periphery of the British Empire for its centre. In the summer of 1887, he sailed for Britain and by the end of August was staying with his wife's cousin in Maidenhead, west of London.

Watson spent his first few months in Maidenhead slowly acquainting himself with the London art scene and viewing all the exhibitions and museums. George Clausen (1852–1944) was among the first artists whose paintings attracted his attention and admiration; Watson first saw Clausen's work at the London art dealership Goupil & Cie.[12] Already a well-established artist, Clausen was known for his pastoral subjects influenced by Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884) and Jean-François Millet (1814–1875). By 1884 he had begun to etch at his studio in Cookham Dene, just a mile up the Thames from Maidenhead.[13] Watson and Clausen soon struck up a friendship and by December they were visiting each other regularly. However, at this time there was apparently no discussion of etching.[14] For the time being, Watson was concentrating on painting and, in particular, on a long requested commission from Oscar Wilde, which he delivered in February 1888.[15]

By April, Watson and his wife had moved into London where he took a studio on a weekly basis on Camden Road.[16] In June Watson renewed his contact with the Marquis of Lorne, paying him a visit at Kensington Palace in order to make some "alterations" to *An April Day*.[17] Their discussion centred on Watson's paintings, Lorne expressing an interest to see more.[18] The most immediate outcome of this interview was Lorne's letter of recommendation to the French dealer Adolphe Goupil whose London branch was one of the city's most prestigious dealerships. By mid-July the London manager of "the greatest picture dealer in the world . . . came up to our studio . . . and took two to sell."[19] This exciting event took place during a visit from A.D. Patterson who was passing through London on his way to Goupil's shop in Paris to have his portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald reproduced as a limited editioned photogravure.[20]

Patterson's project, Watson's renewed acquaintance with Lorne, and his new connection with Goupil's, as well as the memories of the illustration in *The Canadian Illustrated News,* may have planted the seed of an idea to do something similar with his most famous canvas, *The Pioneer Mill*. However, nothing would happen for the time being; within a couple of weeks, Watson had joined his friend James Kerr-Lawson in Pittenweem, Scotland, for an extended visit which would last through the winter of 1888–1889.[21]

In April 1889 Watson visited Paris and by early May he had returned to London in time to see his own paintings hanging at the Royal Academy's annual exhibition. But he was not happy in London and had already begun

to contemplate a place in the country. There was no question, however, of leaving Britain: Watson was just beginning to receive recognition. In addition to the Royal Academy exhibition, his work was shown at the Royal Glasgow Institute, the Autumn Exhibition of Modern Pictures at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, and the Royal Society of British Artists. In August, a family tragedy brought the Watsons back to their relatives at Maidenhead and while they did not mind consoling their cousins over the sudden death of their daughter, Homer Watson found himself constricted by lack of space. Nevertheless, being in Maidenhead did place Watson back into Clausen's orbit and it was at this time that Clausen apparently looked over Watson's pen and ink drawings. Clausen saw immediately that their expressively atmospheric quality and their emphasis on line to create tone and texture indicated that Watson would make a very good etcher.[22] It was likely Clausen who persuaded Watson to consider making an etching after *The Pioneer Mill* rather than having it reproduced as a photogravure or steel engraving. With Watson now living close to Windsor Castle, all the threads could now be joined.

By the first week in October 1889, Homer Watson was laying plans to undertake his etching of *The Pioneer Mill.* On 7 October, Roxanne Watson wrote: "Homer wrote to the Marquis of Lorne the other day asking if he would get him permission to view the 'Pioneer Mill' at Windsor. He did so and now we are only waiting until I get better to go over and see it. Homer thinks of making an etching of it. He thinks it may take in Canada if . . . worked properly."[23] Two weeks later on 20 October, Roxanne could report: "The Marquis of Lorne secured for Homer the privilege of making an etching of the 'Pioneer Mill'. Mr. Clausen does a little in that line so he will give him a few pointers."[24]

Before work could begin, Watson was in desperate need of new accommodations and access to a press. Clausen came to the rescue with the information that fellow artist Edward John Gregory (1850–1909), also a resident of Cookham Dene, wanted to rent his house immediately and Gregory's etching press was included in the furnishings. The press was the main attraction for Watson and in early December the Watsons moved in. Within days, he was already planning to make his copy drawing of *The Pioneer Mill* and taking his first etching lessons from Clausen. Roxanne Watson wrote:

> We are settled in our home and expect to go to Windsor this week for Homer to get a drawing from "The Pioneer Mill" . . . We came here on account of the etching, there being an etching-press right in the house. Homer thought it would be so hard to take proofs as the work

> proceeded, and he began last night on a small copper-plate from his first trial. I think of going to Maidenhead to-day to get acids and other things so that he will have it ready to print to-morrow night when Mr. Clausen comes . . . We expect them [The Clausens] over to-morrow to do some printing on our press.
>
> I do not expect the first one will be quite a success, but if Homer masters the art this winter we will be satisfied, and with Mr. Clausen's assistance he should be able to do that.[25]

Watson began etching by creating small-format landscape etchings reminiscent of the small ink drawings he had made at Doon.[26] Four were etched in December 1889 and early January 1890. In January Watson mailed six proofs in two separate mailings to James Kerr-Lawson in Scotland and at least seven proofs of four subjects to Phoebe Watson in Doon.[27] Watson had evidently printed these subjects as exercises to master the medium before he undertook the large plate of *The Pioneer Mill*. Most are etched to resemble his pen and ink drawings while one, *The Faggot Gatherer*, was deeply etched in emulation of his brush and ink drawings.[28]

Phoebe Watson's shipment offers the best clue as to the order of the making of these etchings. On the back of the six proofs, now in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Watson had numbered them chronologically: numbers 1 and 2, *Hay Ricks* (states i/ii & ii/ii); numbers 3 and 4, *The Faggot Gatherer* (states i/ii & ii/ii); number 5, *Landscape with Road;* number 6 (subject and location unknown); and number 7, *Landscape with House and Road* (state i/ii). This sequence demonstrates Watson's increasing comfort with the medium as he began to explore variations in the character of the etched lines and the use of plate tone. Kerr-Lawson received the second shipment of proofs after 11 January and he thought that the second state of *Landscape with House and Road* was particularly good: "the upright with the horse [which appears only in the second state] is best [;] it expands infinitely beyond the borders of the plate and the line that radiate[s] inwards behind the dark tree gives a magical depth and charm."[29] While Kerr-Lawson found a marked improvement between the first and second set of etchings sent to him, he declared all of Watson's first efforts "a howling success" and encouraged him to take on *The Pioneer Mill* "in as large and reckless a manner as the smaller ones" and that he should add a credit line noting the royal warrant. However, as Watson began work on *The Pioneer Mill*, he made at least one additional small etching, *Landscape with Oak Trees*; the printing of this etching most closely resembles the final state printing of *The Pioneer Mill*.[30]

If Watson's five small etchings are compared to Clausen's etchings of this period, it is clearly evident that Clausen and Watson's etchings are remarkably

1 | Homer Watson, *The Pioneer Mill*, State 1/111, 1890, etching, 30.1 × 41 cm (plate), National Gallery of Canada. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada, 37239 recto)

similar in style. However, the influence of Clausen on Watson's style is debatable. It only takes a quick glance at Watson's pen and ink sketches to see that he did not have to alter his drawing style or the relatively small size and format of his images to compensate for any lack of experience with the etcher's needle. However, it can be said that Watson readily adopted Clausen's rough and ready approach to the technique of etching rather than adopting the ethereal line and the chastely printed plate typical of the refined aesthetics of etching that were preferred by the art critics and print connoisseurs. So while Clausen was clearly teaching Watson how to etch, their relationship can best be described as two kindred artists sharing an extraordinarily sympathetic aesthetic.

At the outset, Watson followed Kerr-Lawson's advice when he made *The Pioneer Mill*. The evolution of the print demonstrates Watson's efforts to create a print that was both faithful to his own style of drawing but also something that would appeal to the market place. The print was completed

2 | Homer Watson, *The Pioneer Mill*, State II/III, 1890, etching, 30.1 × 41 cm (plate), National Gallery of Canada. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada, 7899)

in three states – that is, he reworked the image between the three separate bitings of the plate in an acid bath. He began etching the plate by creating a very complete, deeply bitten composition that would likely have been very similar to the copy drawing made at Windsor Castle (Fig. 1). Additional states added elements of shading that somewhat softened the harshness of the first state and gave a greater sense of mood and depth to the composition (Fig. 2). In the final state, to further "sculpt" the image, Watson employed plate tone, which is created by deliberately leaving a residue film of ink on the surface of the plate in specific areas to give the print a painterly tonal effect (Figs. 3 and 4). In other words, without abandoning his own personal style of drawing, Watson was working towards those creamy toned, delicately etched, and immaculately printed plates, created by the most fashionable painter-etchers and master printers, and marketed by the leading dealer-publishers. And as we shall see, this final style of printing may have been influenced by the comments of his new Toronto dealer, John Payne.

3 | Homer Watson, *The Pioneer Mill*, State III/III, 1890, etching, 30.1 × 41 cm (plate), private collection (ex-coll: Lucius O'Brien). (Photo: National Gallery of Canada)

4 | Homer Watson, *The Pioneer Mill*, State III/III, 1890, etching, 30.1 × 41 cm (plate), Winnipeg Art Gallery (G-87-321). Acquired with funds from the Naylor Bequest. (Photo: Ernest Mayer, Winnipeg)

Marketing *The Pioneer Mill*

Homer Watson's plan was to market his prints exclusively in Canada with the assistance of John Payne. To understand why his career as a painter-etcher eventually failed, an examination of the Canadian commercial milieu into which Watson introduced his etching of *The Pioneer Mill* is in order.

By the mid-nineteenth century, printmaking and print collecting were dominated by highly finished engraved reproductions of paintings. The popularity of engraved reproductions began with Woollett's engraving of West's *The Death of Wolfe*, published in 1776 by John Boydell and William Ryland. It was an unprecedented and phenomenal publishing success and all those involved made their fortunes. It is said Woollett alone made between £5,000 to £7,000 on foreign sales while Boydell stated in 1790 his sales receipts had reached £15,000.[31] Painters soon realized that serious money could be made by retaining copyright of their work and having it reproduced as engravings. As a result, reproductive engravings dominated artistic endeavours as well as the international market at the expense of prints made as original works of art. Seizing on this lucrative trade, printer-publishers were set up in London and Paris and, within surprisingly little time, across the Atlantic in New York.

These quality reproductive engravings flooded into the Canadian market as early as 1790 when *The Quebec Gazette* imported from England an "assortment of landscape and other prints most superbly executed."[32] Booksellers also imported these engravings, but the most ambitious sales effort was made by the New York art dealer George Melksham Bourne who brought a large quantity of his stock to Quebec City in 1831. He was so successful with his exhibition and auction of these prints that within two weeks he had organized a second sale[33] at R.E. Kelly's auction house. At this sale, Bourne's 1830 catalogue was available to Quebec's prospective buyers and it shows exactly what Bourne had to offer: portraits of prominent people, historical scenes, genre subjects, landscapes and marines, sporting scenes, and a near complete set of *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery*.[34] For collectors, these commonly described "high class" engravings were seen as a relatively inexpensive way of decorating their home while showing the world that they possessed some sophistication.

Thirty years after Bourne's auctions, there continued to be a healthy Canadian market for these reproductive engravings which were being sold through book shops and stationary stores as well as by William Scott in Montreal and Henry J. Matthews in Toronto, both of whom were art dealers and picture framers.[35]

With the advent of the Etching Revival, dealer-publishers adapted their established relationships with the artists to the demands of this new artistic

movement. They encouraged the painter-etchers to take advantage of the Etching Revival's popularity by introducing their own work. As West's *Death of Wolfe* proved the fiscal rewards of reproductive engraving after a celebrated painting, so did Francis Seymour Haden's etching *Breaking up of the Agamemnon*, published in 1870. It launched the market for large editioned artist's etchings, earning Haden a total profit of £2,500.[36]

By the early 1880s, the interest in etchings can only be described as a craze. Because Canada did not possess any dealer-publishers, the Canadian market was dependent on imports to satisfy the demand. Scott and Matthews continued to offer reproductive engravings as well as artist's etchings which they strongly suggested were the equal of original works of art.[37] It is difficult to categorise these prints relative to our current understanding of and terminology for reproductive prints and original artist's prints. The problem lies in the fact that, although artists played a part, print dealers and publishers were mainly responsible for defining the emerging connoisseur's market.

Christian Klackner and Frederick Keppel, both prominent New York dealers and promoters of fine art etching, best exemplify the two distinct types of print dealers that flourished during the 1880s. They were also the most active of the dealers who marketed and exhibited their stock in Canada. And it was their presentation and definitions of etching that would have an effect on the marketing of Homer Watson's *The Pioneer Mill*.

Christian Klackner was among the most successful publishers of large-editioned, commercially printed etchings. Offering the painter-etchers generous payments, Klackner purchased their plates outright.[38] He then worked with the best printers available, such as the master printer Henry Voigt of the New York print shop Kimmel & Voigt.

As a dealer, Klackner's modus operandi was to appeal to the collector's wallet. In the preface to his pamphlet *Proofs and Prints*, he boldly stated that its purpose was to explain how to "invest in its products" and that print collecting could be an "intelligent investment."[39] Because the lack of an international copyright meant that "anyone can pirate them," he specialized in American artists; their plates were protected by copyright and thus the prints' "value preserved, if not to advance with time."[40] Klackner sold both reproductive engravings and artist's etchings. To make engravings more desirable to collectors, they were given a hierarchy of categories that adopted a mix of old and new designations for prints. For Klackner, each proof category was printed in specific numbers: remarque proofs (which he incorrectly anglicised as "remark proofs") were the "choicest" printed in an edition of 50. On a descending scale of desirability, he systemized the remainder of the edition as 200 artist's proofs, 100 proofs before letters, and ending with an unlimited number of "plain proofs." It is important to note

that the first two classifications in Klackner's hierarchy: remarque proofs and artist's proofs, are new designations given to reproductive engravings in response to the practice of the nineteenth-century painter-etcher.[41]

Klackner differentiated etchings from engravings; he defined etchings as "fine art" because they are created using "greater manipulation of the plate in which additional effects can be secured by leaving a film of ink [plate tone] over portions of the plate which can delineate shades of sky and water, rich sweeps of shadow."[42] Etchings could be printed by the artist or by a master printer under the instruction of the artist. They were also given their categories such as remarque proofs, artist's proofs, and so on. There was also the choice of their support – the most expensive being proofs on japan paper, then parchment, vellum, and satin, and finally plain wove paper. Prices for Klackner's etchings could range from $1.00 to $32.00, prices varied according to the subject, its proof category, and its support. There is no edition number attached to each type of proof so one must assume they were printed to meet demand.

Frederick Keppel was a completely different kind of print dealer. He was a true admirer and connoisseur of etching who saw his mission to be not simply a seller of prints, but also an educator of potential clients and protector of the market. Keppel understood that an educated and informed public was the best means to promote his product. In his pamphlet, *What Etchings Are,* he consistently stressed the creativity of the artist and the medium, noting, in direct contradiction to Klackner and his cohorts, that "there is no fixed and unalterable rule to regulate the order in which different proofs or states are issued, or the number of impressions taken from each state." He noted that a proof "may be broadly defined as an impression which bears intrinsic evidence that it is the early and consequently finest which the plate has yielded."[43]

From the old masters to contemporary masters, Keppel sold only impressions of prints pulled by the artists or under their close supervision. He wrote that the terms "states" and "trial proofs" should be applied to those impressions where the painter-etcher worked out his or her ideas towards the final composition. To underline his case, he noted that one never hears of a Rembrandt or a Whistler etching as an artist's proof but rather by its state. In other words, for Keppel, the designation of proofs was not the artificial Klackner-like categorizing for monetary worth, but a description of the creative process. However, Keppel's writings demonstrated that his own rules were not cast in stone when it came to the prints of America's late nineteenth-century etchers. In his 1908 *Illustrated Catalogue of Etchings by American Artists*, he consistently described the prints of artists such as Stephen Parrish as "artist's proof."[44] His reason for doing so most likely would

have been to distinguish his stock of artist-pulled impressions from the mass-produced artist-authorized Klackner-type impressions printed from the same plates. Keppel's need to stress the artist's involvement with the printing of these etchings was important for, by 1908, the Klackner-type prints were practically worthless.[45]

It was within this market with its competing sales strategies and conflicting attitudes to artistic intent that Watson attempted to sell his etching *The Pioneer Mill* through John Payne.

We know very little about Payne except that he was on the board of the Ontario Society of Artists Art Union from 1886 to 1891, which is the length of time that his activities can be traced with any certainty.[46] Payne's correspondence with Watson demonstrated his sincere admiration for Watson's art and indicated his familiarity with the Toronto art scene. His aspirations to become an art dealer seem to have begun and ended with his association with Watson.

Before he began working on the print, Watson consulted Payne on how to go about making a marketable etching. Payne apparently had no experience in this line and looked to Matthews Brothers for help.[47] In November 1889, after speaking with Henry J. Matthews,[48] Payne communicated his advice:

> I mentioned the Etching matter to Matthews: he does not know much about the mechanical part of the business, nor does he know a great deal about anything else in the picture line. But for all that he will be a useful man to handle your Etchings: he thinks 50 proofs, signed by you would be ample; for all these you ought to get at least $10 each and for the others $5: this of course depends . . . on the subject and its handling – if the public catches on to it you ought to have no difficulty in selling quite a 'phew' of them. You bet I will do my levelest [sic] for you if you are successful in producing it.[49]

This promise to do his "levelest" for this enterprise went beyond just selling the print. Payne believed that success included protecting Watson from the overwhelming mass marketing of the American print publishers who were flooding the Canadian market with high quality and relatively inexpensive work. Payne felt that "because if there is anything in it, the Americans are sure to copy it and sling them into Canada wholesale; it will be well to protect yourself in the States also: that is of course if the picture pans out O.K."[50]

By 2 March 1890, Payne had received impressions of Watson's etchings, both the small etchings and the first impressions of *The Pioneer Mill* (possibly like Fig 2). Now with Watson's efforts in hand, Payne's reaction to them was less than encouraging, demonstrating the abundance of problems to do with

the Canadian print market from the imposition of high customs duties, the type of competition, the conservative and penny-pinching nature of the collectors and, as result, the pricing of Watson's etchings.

> Well old man the Etchings have turned up O.K. the smaller batch came first – on which you placed a value of [£]10 – do you know there is a duty of 20 per cent on these things? – fortunately I got the Custom house appraiser to put his value on them and he knocked them down to $10. I therefore paid $2 only duty and 50 cents Brokerage fees. I don't think I can congratulate you on this batch old man – I feel sure they wont go off: not even in the O.S.A. portfolio. I wish I could write you more encouragingly but I don't feel it . . . Have you seen the 8 Etchings issued by the London Art Union Society? also 6 Etchings by the Glasgow Art Union? both sets can be got by subscribing [$]1.10 to each Society: this being so I can assure yours wont catch on at one coupon even: of course you will say that yours are proofs, but that wont go down with the average picture man who wants something pleasing which I cant conscientiously say yours are – I shall however do all I can . . . and push them – I have seen Matthews Bros. about them and he confirms my impression by saying they wont sell – they showed me some small Etchings . . . they could sell for 50 cents each: so you see the difficulties there are in your way – I am getting half a dozen mats cut for six sets to put in the O.S.A. [Art Union] Portfolio at one coupon [i.e. $5.00] each set. It's no use framing them up and charging 2 Coupons, because they wont go at that price – in fact I have my doubts their going off at all – . . . the public . . . will buy only what they are pleased with – no matter what the subject is or who the artist is. If the picture is not pleasing enough the devil himself wont make the public buy it.
>
> The four Etchings of 'Pioneer Mill' turned up O.K. These are away ahead of the small Etchings and I think you will be an A.1 Copper bottom Etcher by and by. Of course these things 'cant be done' at the first attempt – practice will bring out the better stuff that is in you – the Pioneer Mill is one of your very best subjects – the 'Stone Road' would be a good thing to Etch so also would 'Gathering Gloom' 'Flitting Shadows' – also 'Where the Upland Dips' Could you not put your own name on the Etchings: also "By Kind Permission of Her Majesty": it will cost like blazes out here. I think you ought to sign them yourself in pencil.[51]

Despite Payne's disappointment with Watson's prints, he promised Watson that "I will do all I can . . . with the Etchings; but as I remarked in my last

letter there are Etchings here by the hundred – splendid in subject, not proofs, selling for $5 or less."[52]

Apparently after reading Payne's critique of the four impressions he had sent of *The Pioneer Mill,* Watson set about reworking the image; the result was possibly the third state with its increased use of plate tone, which conformed to the more popular taste (Figs. 3 and 4). It would seem that Watson did print the plate in an edition of fifty as recommended by Matthews. Upon receiving his first large allotment of the third state impressions of *The Pioneer Mill* in late March 1890, Payne expressed his pleasure at the improvements.[53]

Of the eight known impressions of the third state of this print, two types of printing can be seen. One type is evident in the Winnipeg Art Gallery's third state impression. It is printed in raw umber coloured ink with a heavy use of plate tone and closely resembles the dark tonality of the original painting (Fig. 4). The other print variation is exemplified by the impression given to Lucius O'Brien (private collection) (Fig. 3). It is printed in a black/brown ink, with a lighter use of plate tone that allows for the more graphic qualities of the composition to be revealed. This more graphic style is in keeping with the style of etching preferred by the collectors of the day and the black/brown ink was favoured by the old masters as well as nineteenth-century painter-etchers. The brighter reddish tinted raw umber coloured ink of the other version was apparently preferred by George Clausen who used it for his own etchings. As Watson gave impressions of both types of inkings to his friends, it would seem that they pleased him equally.

John Payne was also pleased with Watson's efforts. Upon receiving his first large allotment of impressions of *The Pioneer Mill*, he wrote on 27 March:

> I have . . . the 26 Etchings of the Pioneer Mill – these etchings are extremely good and show an improvement on the small chaps – I am in hopes of doing something with them and have put them in the hands of Matthews who will frame up one for 'show.' The rest he will keep in hand and if I can work off a "phew" you bet I will – I am getting a good mount cut up for the framed chap so as to give it all the advantage possible but am afraid it will be a hard struggle to work off many of them.[54]

In a postscript to this letter Payne noted that:

> since writing the foregoing . . . I got the second batch of Etchings [of *The Pioneer Mill*] . . . The Etchings are very good and ought to go off. I can report some progress anyhow – I sold 3 of them for $5 each just now . . . I thought it as well to that some [sic] on each – if they are not

> worth that – why darn it they are nothing, I guess I shall have to let Matthews have them say at $4 each. At any rate I have asked him to return $5 but if they don't go for that figure they can be reduced – I hope to report further sales.[55]

As Watson did not follow Payne's request to include a credit line noting the Royal sanction, Payne planned to have a card printed up which was to read: "Just Published / 'The Pioneer Mill' / Artist's Etching by / Homer Watson R.C.A. / From the painting at Windsor Castle by / permission of Her Majesty the Queen." This text was duly printed on a sheet of paper.[56] A few days later Payne could report: "I have sold one more of the Etchings to Charlie Nelson for $5 so 4 have gone at that figure . . . Matthews have pawned off a couple of them and they look very well indeed. And I hope it will be the means of working off a few of them. I enclose the card I had printed. It looks O.K. and this ought to have an effect to sell some."[57] There is no further word from Payne regarding sales of *The Pioneer Mill* and apparently it was never advertised.

The only other known attempt to place Watson's etchings before the public was undertaken by his sister Phoebe at Doon. She received impressions of the small etchings as well as *The Pioneer Mill* around the end of March and began to give a few away to family and friends. She wrote to her brother telling him of a Mr. MacDonald who was opening a "picture shop" nearby. "Mr. MacDonald thought he could sell some etchings if he had them. I would send him one of these we have here but I do not know what price to put on it if you would send some out to me and give the prices I will send them up."[58] Apparently nothing came of this. Of the approximately fifty impressions Watson pulled of *The Pioneer Mill,* a handful are known to have sold and, to date, only eight impressions of the final state have been identified – seven of which have a provenance tracing them as gifts to friends from the artist or his sister.

Why did Watson's etching of *The Pioneer Mill* fail to meet the expectations of the artist, his patrons, and his dealer? One could say it was his dealer's lack of experience at promoting artist's etchings. In fact, Payne seemed confused as to exactly what market he was trying to reach. He presented the work as a prestigious limited edition artist's print but the reference to the Royal sanction suggested that it was a relatively inexpensive reproductive engraving of a painting in Queen Victoria's collection. Watson, on the other hand, seemed to understand perfectly well what he had made. By not including the printed credit line of the Royal warrant, as both Payne and James Kerr-Lawson had recommended, by printing the plate himself, and by signing each impression of the final edition, Watson placed his print firmly in the category

of those limited edition painter-etcher prints made by a distinguished class of artists, such as Clausen and Whistler.

However, Watson did bend to the North American preference to indicate this higher quality etching by inscribing on some of the impressions "Artist's Proof" at some time after the edition was signed, but never in a consistent manner. For example, of four known impressions with this inscription, they can be found in the upper right corner, the lower left corner, or on the back. And only later did Watson inscribe the Royal credit line in the margins of the impression he gave to Lucius O'Brien (private collection), while a state two impression (National Gallery of Canada) he inscribed possibly in the 1930s with the title and incorrectly dated it as printed in "1888."

Presented as neither fish nor fowl, only four impressions of *The Pioneer Mill* are known to have been sold by Payne while Matthews & Bro. only sold "a couple."[59] Furthermore, it is not known if Payne attempted to place some impressions on consignment with William Scott in Montreal: Scott handled prints by artists such as Watson, and Payne did have a business relationship with him.[60] However, the failure to sell more was most likely caused by the chief factor so clearly stated by both Payne and Matthews – the print's lack of competitiveness in a market already swamped with the cheap imports of engravings and etchings mass-produced for the North American market. Reducing the price of Watson's prints was the dealers' solution but this in turn eliminated whatever hope Watson had for something that would be a significant generator of income.

In order to compete in this market, Watson could have adopted the same tack as T. Mower Martin. Martin sold at least two of his etching plates to the New York dealer-publisher Christian Klackner but apparently Watson never entertained the idea of capitulating in this manner. Possibly it was his desire to continue as a self-sufficient painter-etcher that took priority; he was after all considering purchasing a second-hand etching press and bringing it back to Doon.[61] Another factor had to be the exorbitant Canadian custom duty on all imported prints, which was already affecting Watson's meagre profits on the prints he pulled himself in England. These customs duties were singled out as the major factor in crippling the efforts of the only Canadian artists' etching society, the Association of Canadian Etchers.[62]

All these factors surely worked against the success of *The Pioneer Mill*, but in the final analysis, the Etching Revival had very little support in Canada. No institutions, whether public galleries or artists societies, paid much attention to printmaking. Collectors were few and far between. Ironically, within days of Payne receiving the first large shipment of *The Pioneer Mill*, a proposal to revive the Association of Canadian Etchers was announced.[63] Nothing came of it. Unable to muster enough artists interested in printmaking and

lacking master printers in Canada, Canadian painter-etchers could not produce quality prints to compete with the American imports. In fact, even in the United States where the Etching Revival was such a success, it was languishing by 1890, a victim of its own popularity. Dealer-publishers had responded to the public craze for etching by furnishing inexpensive mass-produced artist's etchings that had seduced even the members of the New York Etching Club who had made a determined stand to banish these prints from their exhibitions. In 1893 the Club, which had been the standard bearer for the movement in North America, ceased to exist after it held its last exhibition. Throughout North America, the Etching Revival went into hibernation until the first decade of the twentieth century.

Returning to Canada, Watson brought his etched plates with him. But without access to a press in the small community of Doon and finding little, if any, interest in the Canadian market of the 1890s, Watson put aside his aspirations as a painter-etcher. A few impressions of *The Pioneer Mill* were given away to friends such as Lucius O'Brien, J.W.H. Watts and Professor James Mavor. Of the five small etchings, Watson probably printed editions of no more than ten impressions which were also apparently given away.[64] Watson never exhibited his prints and on the two occasions when they were placed in art shows, his friends entered them: James Mavor at the *Fifth Loan Exhibition* organized by the Art Museum of Toronto in 1912 and George Reid at the May 1936 exhibition of the Society of Canadian Painter-Etchers and Engravers.[65]

Addendum – The Restrikes

Homer Watson's etched plates have been in private hands for some fifty years and over that period several posthumous editions of restrikes have been pulled from the plates, particularly *The Pioneer Mill*. Watson's own printings can be easily distinguished from the restrikes. To begin with, Watson preferred brown inks and, in the case of *The Pioneer Mill*, he signed his prints in brown ink below the plate mark at lower right simply as *Homer Watson*. As an inexperienced printer, Watson's pulls of his small etchings tend to be relatively clumsy to our contemporary taste with so-called problems such as ink residue along the edges of the plates. The restrikes were printed by experienced printers; they are in black ink and a late twentieth-century style with wide clean margins and smoothly inked and cleanly wiped plates.

In 1952, Nicholas Hornyansky was asked to pull some restrikes from the plates for *Landscape with Oak Trees* (titled by Hornyansky as "The Oak Trees") and *Hay Ricks* (titled by Hornyansky as "Trees in a Meadow"), as well as *The Pioneer Mill*. They were printed in editions of five to ten impressions.[66]

They were signed, in pencil, below the plate: *Hornyanky Impr. Homer Watson Engr.* The restrikes examined were printed in black with a rich use of plate tone on a cream coloured thick wove paper with clean and generous margins.

In 1967, a second owner of the plate for *The Pioneer Mill* asked Fred Hagan to pull a restrike. He pulled just one impression, which he inscribed below the plate mark: *HOMER WATSON-ENG FH IMP, O.C.A. DEC 8 – 1967.* Hagan then passed the job on to Tom La Pierre who pulled an edition of twenty, printed in black on Japanese vellum. La Pierre inscribed his restrikes: lower left, *La Pierre Imp.* and lower right, *Homer Watson Engr.*[67]

A fourth restrike of *The Pioneer Mill* has recently appeared on the market and has not been examined by the author. It was illustrated in Joyner's Canadian Art auction of 29 November 2006 as lot 472 and was subsequently withdrawn from the sale. The inscription, in an unknown hand, is described simply as: lower left, *The Pioneer Mill*; and lower right, *Homer Watson Engr.*

NOTES

1 For a thorough discussion of this aspect of printmaking in the Etching Revival, see David G. WRIGHT, "American Reproductive and Replica Etchings: Reflections on the Deluxe Auction Catalogues of the 1880s," *Imprint. Journal of the American Historical Print Collectors Society* 29:1 (Spring 2004): 14–33.

2 For a brief history of the Etching Revival in Europe and the United States of America see: Rosemarie L. TOVELL, "Introduction" in *A New Class of Art. The Artist's Print in Canadian Art, 1877–1920* (Ottawa, ON: National Gallery of Canada, 1996), 25–31.

3 Thirty-three of the two hundred and sixty-five works listed in the catalogue were described as either drawings or oils.

4 James Spooner to Homer Watson, Toronto, 1 Apr. [1885]; 30 Nov. 1885; and 6 Dec. [1885]. *Homer Watson Fonds*, National Gallery of Canada (hereafter HWF, NGC).

On 30 November, Spooner wrote: "You have hit on the Etching – of all of them, the best is landscape and it is yours – with pleasure and on your own terms . . . I shall put it out of sight at once." On 6 December Spooner wrote: "You made no reference to the Etching laid aside for you, in your last letter." Spooner is not known to have been a dealer in prints but he knew several of the people involved with the Association of Canadian Etchers and he kept tabs on the sales of etchings from the show.

5 J.W.H. Watts to Homer Watson, Ottawa, 24 July 1888. *Homer Watson Collection*, Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston.

6 *Second Black and White Exhibition, Etchings*, May 1888. Art Association of Montreal, unpaginated.

7 Homer Watson to Mortimer Lamb, Doon, 29 Mar. 1909. *Mortimer Lamb Papers*, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria.

8 Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada* (Ottawa: NGC, 1979), 250. Reid gives the dates for Watson's employment at the firm as 1874–75. Further study by Brian Foss suggests that Watson was only given studio space at the photographic studio.

9 For a full discussion of Watson's painting, the reader is referred to Brian Foss's essay "Homer Watson's *The Pioneer Mill*," forthcoming in *Journal of Canadian Art History/ Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien.*

10 *The Canadian Illustrated News* XXI:18 (1 May 1880), 285.

11 Kevin O'Brien, *Oscar Wilde in Canada* (Toronto: Personal Library, 1982), 103–5.

12 Homer Watson to James Spooner, Maidenhead, 27 Aug. 1887. *T.R. Lee Collection*, Art Gallery of Ontario Archives.

13 Frank Gibson, "The Etchings and Lithographs of George Clausen, R.A.," *The Print-Collector's Quarterly* 8:2 (July 1921): 202–27.

14 Roxanne Watson to Phoebe Watson, Maidenhead, 1 Jan. 1888. HWF, NGC.

15 Oscar Wilde to Homer Watson, [London] 15 Feb. 1888. Reprinted in Miner, Muriel Miller, *Homer Watson, the man of Doon* (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1988 [revised edition of Muriel Miller, Toronto: Ryerson Press 1938]), 48.

16 Roxanne Watson to Phoebe and Mrs Watson, London, 8 Apr. 1888, and 1 July 1888. HWF, NGC.

17 Marquis of Lorne to Homer Watson, Kensington Palace, London, 11 and 14 June 1888. HWF, NGC.

18 Roxanne Watson to Phoebe and Mrs. Watson, London, 16 June 1888. HWF, NGC.

19 Roxanne Watson to Phoebe and Mrs. Watson, London, 12 July 1888. HWF, NGC.

20 "Painting Sir John A. Macdonald's Portrait," *Saturday Night* 42:32 (25 June 1927): 2; and Roxanne Watson to Phoebe and Mrs. Watson, 12 July 1888. HWF, NGC.

21 J.W.H. Watts to Homer Watson, Ottawa, 24 July 1888. *Homer Watson Collection*, Douglas Library, Queen's University.

22 Fragment of a letter from Roxanne Watson to Phoebe and Mrs Watson, Maidenhead, *c.* 20 Oct. 1889. HWF, NGC.

23 Roxanne Watson to Phoebe Watson, Maidenhead, 7 Oct. 1889, reprinted in Frank E. Page, *Homer Watson, artist and man* (Kitchener: Commercial Printing Co., [1939]), 154–5. Watson's letter to Lorne written that first week in October 1889 is reprinted in Miner, *Homer Watson*, 37.

24 The quote is reprinted in Page, *Homer Watson*, 130 and is part of a letter fragment written by Roxanne Watson to Phoebe and Mrs. Watson, 20 Oct. 1889. HWF, NGC.

25 Roxanne Watson to Phoebe Watson? [Cookham Dene, early December 1889], reprinted in Miner, *Homer Watson*, 38, and Jane Vanevery, *With faith, ignorance and delight, Homer Watson*, [Doon, On], Homer Watson Trust, 1967, 20.

26 Phoebe Watson to Homer and Roxanne Watson, Doon, 16 Jan. 1889 [sic read 1890]. HWF, NGC. Phoebe noted that, "those etchings you sent are from some of the black and white drawings Homer took with him aren't they. They look very familiar at all events . . ."

27 James Kerr-Lawson to Homer Watson, Pittenweem, 11 Jan. 1890, and after 11 Jan. 1890. *Homer Watson Collection*, Douglas Library, Queen's University; and Phoebe Watson to Homer and Roxanne Watson, 16 Jan. 1889 [sic, read 1890]. HWF, NGC.

28 It should be noted that no drawing in the National Gallery of Canada's extensive holdings of Watson ink drawings is directly related to any of his etchings.

29 Kerr-Lawson to Watson, Pittenweem, after 11 Jan. 1890. *Homer Watson Collection*, Douglas Library, Queen's University.

30 We cannot be certain if Kerr-Lawson received an impression of each of the five small etching subjects. From his correspondence only one can be identified. Phoebe received four small plate subjects in January and confirmed this number in her letter to Homer Watson, 26 Feb. 1890. HWF, NGC (the letter is incorrectly dated as 1889). The fifth small subject, while not described, is most likely *Landscape with Oak Trees,* which arrived in Doon, Ontario, by 9 April 1890, Phoebe Watson to Homer Watson. HWF, NGC.

31 Alan D. McNairn, *Behold the Hero. General Wolfe & the Arts in the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 148 and 151; and Alan D. McNairn, "Benjamin West and the Death of General Wolfe," *The Magazine Antiques* 150 (November 1996): 678–85.

32 *The Quebec Gazette/La Gazette de Québec*, 9 Sept. 1790.

33 *The Quebec Mercury*, 12, 18, 20, 23, 25 Aug. and 5 Sept. 1831.

34 *For 1830 A Catalogue of Engravings by the most esteemed artists,* Bourne Depository of Arts, New York, Grattan Printers, 22 Wall Street, 1830.

35 Scott organized its first known sale of prints in 1862. See Hélène Sicotte, "Le rôle de la vente publique dans l'essor du commerce d'art à Montréal au XIX^{e} siècle. Le cas de W. Scott & Sons ou comment le marchand d'art supplanta l'encanteur," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* XXIII:1 & 2 (2002): 6–33. In his advertisement in the *General Directory for the City of Toronto & Gazetteer . . . for 1866*, Henry J. Matthews presented himself as a "picture frame manufacturer" and seller of "English and American Engravings, Lithographs &c." The Matthews Art Gallery, the successor to Henry Matthews's establishment, advertised the store as founded in 1861. *1902 Toronto Industrial Exhibition Fine Arts Department* (advertisement on inside cover, T.I.E. exhibition catalogue).

36 Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, *Etched in Memory. The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation* (Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 44. The author cannot find a reference which states the actual edition of this etching, but Haden's profits and the continuing availability of the print suggest that the edition was well into the hundreds if not more.

37 *Thirteenth Annual Spring Exhibition*, Art Association of Montreal, 1892. W. Scott & Son's advertisement notes that they are "Importers of Important Works of Art, Fine Engravings, Etchings, Etc." *1891 Toronto Industrial Exhibition, Fine Arts Department* (unpaginated exhibition catalogue). In their advertisement, Matthews Brothers describes themselves as "Importers of High Class Works of Art, Originals, Engravings, Etchings . . ."

38 In his account book for his 1884–85 trip to New York (*Thomas Mower Martin Fonds*, Glenbow Museum Archives), T. Mower Martin notes the sale of two of his etching plates at $100 and $125. These were published by Klackner with the titles "Among the Pines" and "In the Adirondacks." They are listed in Klackner's catalogue of American Etchings, Christian Klackner, *Klackner's American Etchings, Published and Copyrighted by C. Klackner* (New York: C. Klackner, 1888), 30. The printer's proofs are in the collection of the Parish Art Museum, Southampton, NY, Dunnigan Collection 76.1.347 and 76.1.348.

39 Christian Klackner, *Proofs and prints, engravings and etchings; how they are made, their grades, qualities and values, and how to select them* (New York: C. Klackner, 1884), preface.

40 Klackner, *Klackner's American Etchings*, publisher's notice.

41 Remarque proofs have a small drawing or symbol in the margins; painter-etchers used them to test the degree of biting by the acid before the entire plate was immersed in the acid bath. By the final state these remarques were burnished out. In the late nineteenth century, artists such as Felix Buhot retained the remarques as significant features of their prints.

42 Klackner, *Proofs and prints*, 14.

43 Frederick Keppel, *What Etchings Are, a manual of elementary information for beginners* (New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1888), unpaginated.

44 Frederick Keppel, *Illustrated Catalogue of Etchings by American Artists for sale by Frederick Keppel & Co.* (New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., [1908]), 54–5.

45 Although it would take time, it was Keppel and his ilk that helped define the artist's print as we understand it today. Keppel's sales catalogues, which provided his clients with biographical details and full descriptive information on the prints, became the models of connoisseurship. Most catalogues were devoted to a single artist and authored by a leading authority and they were the best resource publications of their time. Keppel's publications and, in particular, his *Print-collector's Bulletin*, published in sixteen parts in 1908, were the predecessors of *The Print Collector's Quarterly* which he began to publish in 1911. This publication was his most significant contribution to the study of printmaking, serving as the bible for all serious art collectors and scholars until it ceased publication in 1950. Keppel's importance to Canada rested not only with the Canadian clients he served, but probably most significantly, it was his generosity as a lender to some of the most important Canadian print exhibitions in Montreal, Toronto, and Halifax. (*Second Black and White Exhibition*, Art Association of Montreal, May 1888; *Third Exhibition of Works in Black and White*, Art Association of Montreal, January–February 1907; *Fifth Loan Exhibition*, Art Museum of Toronto, April 1912; and the *Nova Scotia Provincial Exhibition*, Halifax, September 1913.)

46 A search through Toronto city directories proved unhelpful to making any further identification.

47 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 21 Oct. 1889. HWF, NGC.

48 Of the two brothers, Henry J. Matthews and William L. Matthews, Henry seems to have been the most interested in the art side of their business. Henry J. Matthews began as a picture framer, opening his shop on Yonge Street in 1861. By 1866 the business was listed at 93 Yonge Street and by 1873 he was joined by his brother William L. Matthews when the firm was known as Matthews & Bro. Around 1891 William's son Henry L. Matthews entered the business and the name was changed to Matthews Bros. & Co. In 1896, Henry J. Matthews apparently sold his part of the framing business to his brother who set up shop as Matthews Bros & Co. on Temperance Street with his three sons. Henry J. Matthews, in turn, continued at the Yonge Street venue as H.J. Matthews, specializing as an importer of "High Class Art" as well as specialty picture framing. By 1902, Henry had retired and sold his gallery, now called Matthews Art Gallery, to John Mackenzie and Walter G. Haynes while the Temperance Street framing business was now known as Matthews Bros. Limited (References: Toronto City Directories 1866–1902).

49 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 4 Nov. 1889. HWF, NGC.

50 Ibid.

51 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 2 Mar. 1890. HWF, NGC.
52 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 2 Mar. 1890, 12 Mar. 1890. HWF, NGC.
53 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 27 Mar. 1890. HWF, NGC.
54 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 2 Mar. 1890, 27 Mar. 1890. HWF, NGC.
55 Ibid.
56 One sheet has survived in Watson Sketchbook F, National Gallery of Canada. The sheet is illustrated in TOVELL, *A New Class of Art*, 71. It is interesting to note that James Kerr-Lawson had a similar idea when he wrote to Watson in January 1890: "your Pioneer Mill printed and 'by permission of Her Majesty' etc. printed or engraved on the border will set you up – here as well as elsewhere." (undated letter), *Homer Watson Collection*, Douglas Library, Queens University.
57 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 1 Apr. 1890. HWF, NGC.
58 Phoebe Watson to Homer and Roxanne Watson, Doon, 6 May 1890. HWF, NGC.
59 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 1 Apr. 1890. HWF, NGC.
60 Payne's correspondence with Homer Watson shows that he and Scott kept in touch, visiting each other's galleries. On a visit to Toronto in late November or early December 1889, Scott even took a Watson painting with him to Montreal on consignment. (John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 2 Dec. 1889. HWF, NGC.) Scott was acting as the Canadian agent for Stephen Parrish of Philadelphia selling Parrish's etchings from 1882 through to 1887 at his Montreal establishment. (Ref: Stephen Parrish Account Book, entries for 1 and 16 Dec. 1882; 2 Jan., 11 May, 22 Nov., and 6 Dec. 1883; 12 Jan., April, 3 May 1884; and 24 Jan. and 22 Nov. 1887) *Parrish Family Papers*, Free Library of Philadelphia. [Archives of American Art, roll 4409, p. 46 to end]
61 John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 12 Mar. 1890. HWF, NGC. This was possibly E.J. Gregory's press which Watson had been using. The cost was $8 and Payne encouraged Watson to buy it, even offering to raise the money. Watson did not buy it.
62 TEMPLAR, "Art Notes," *The Week* 7:17 (28 Mar. 1890): 268.
63 Ibid.
64 Payne mentions framing up "six sets" of the small prints for the OSA portfolio (John Payne to Homer Watson, Toronto, 2 March 1890. HWF, NGC). James Kerr-Lawson received at least one of each and Phoebe Watson at least two of each.
65 Two of the prints exhibited at the Canadian Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers (CPE) are in the NGC collection. *Hay Ricks* and *Faggot Gatherer* were acquired from Watson's estate. They bear Reid's inscription noting their exhibition history. Reid was President of the CPE at the time and may have persuaded Watson to enter the prints. They would have been on display just weeks before Watson died.
66 Information on the Hornyansky restrikes provided by Mrs. Hornyansky to Ian Carter, McMichael Canadian Collection, and passed on to the author (1 Mar. 1984).
67 Karl Hagan to the author, Newmarket, ON, 17 Dec. 1997, copy in author's files. The information came from Fred Hagan. The author catalogued both the Hagan restrike and the La Pierre restrike at Fred Hagan's home in December 1997.

The Pioneer Mill d'Homer Watson. La création et la mise en marché d'une estampe originale au cours de l'*Etching Revival* canadien

ROSEMARIE L. TOVELL

En 1890, alors qu'il résidait en Angleterre, Homer Watson (1855–1936) réalisa une reproduction à l'eau-forte de son tableau le plus connu, *The Pioneer Mill*, qui était accroché au château de Windsor. Il entreprit le processus de l'estampe du début à la fin, en faisant d'abord un dessin du tableau, puis en gravant et en imprimant la planche en tirage limité sur une presse manuelle. En termes de l'estampe originale, à l'époque, il s'agissait d'un procédé hybride, en partie reproduction et en partie œuvre d'artiste – un aspect assez commun de l'estampe connu sous le nom de « réplique ». Les répliques constituaient un aspect important du renouveau de l'eau-forte (*Etching Revival*), mouvement qui a vu le jour au XIX^e^ siècle chez les artistes qui voulaient se réapproprier l'estampe, et particulièrement l'eau-forte, comme médium de création. En tant qu'expression du travail de l'artiste dans un autre médium, les répliques étaient cataloguées dans la catégorie des gravures telle que définie à cette époque. *The Pioneer Mill* de Watson a été la tentative la plus ambitieuse d'un artiste canadien de créer une eau-forte de la plus haute qualité esthétique. En théorie, elle aurait dû lui valoir d'être reconnu au pays comme l'un des meilleurs peintres-graveurs du Canada et se révéler une lucrative entreprise commerciale. Malheureusement, il n'en fut rien. Malgré tout, la réalisation de *The Pioneer Mill* offre un coup d'œil singulier sur la création et la mise en marché d'une estampe originale à l'époque de l'*Etching Revival* canadien.

Homer Watson exposa son tableau, *The Pioneer Mill*, lors de la première exposition de la Royal Canadian Academy, en mars 1880, où il fut acheté par le marquis de Lorne, gouverneur général du Canada, qui en fit cadeau à sa belle-mère, la reine Victoria. C'était une reconnaissance et un honneur sans précédent pour un artiste canadien. Après la chaleureuse réception de son travail à la *Indian and Colonial Exhibition* de Londres, en 1886, Watson pouvait espérer faire carrière outre-mer et il s'embarqua pour l'Angleterre à l'été 1887.

Watson n'hésita pas à se familiariser avec le milieu artistique londonien. Il se lia d'amitié avec l'artiste George Clausen (1852–1944), dont le style et les scènes rurales étaient proches des siens. Au cours des deux années suivantes, certaines circonstances amenèrent Watson à envisager de reproduire *The Pioneer Mill* en gravure. Cependant Clausen, qui était également aquafortiste,

voyait que la manière de dessiner de Watson se rapprochait de l'eau-forte et il le persuada de graver le sujet à l'eau-forte. Watson sollicita et obtint l'appui de Lorne pour aller voir et copier son tableau au château de Windsor. Entretemps, Clausen s'employa à résoudre la question de la presse à eau-forte en intervenant auprès de son voisin et artiste E.J. Gregory (1850–1909) pour qu'il loue sa maison, déjà équipée d'une presse. Sitôt installé, Watson commença à s'initier à l'eau-forte sous la tutelle de Clausen. De décembre 1889 à janvier 1890, il fit cinq petites eaux-fortes, chacune le faisant progresser dans la compréhension des propriétés du médium afin de mieux reproduire sa manière de dessiner.

Watson entreprit l'eau-forte de *The Pioneer Mill* en janvier et février 1890, réalisant au moins les deux premiers états de l'estampe. Le premier état, sans doute très semblable au dessin réalisé au château de Windsor, était une image très complète, avec des lignes mordues profondément dans le bain d'acide. Dans le deuxième état, Watson a adouci la rudesse du premier en y introduisant des éléments d'ombre, donnant au sujet plus d'atmosphère et de profondeur. L'état final, probablement produit en mars, comportait quelques éléments de plus, mais le changement le plus important fut l'utilisation d'un voile d'encre, résidus laissés sur la planche, pour donner à l'estampe la tonalité d'un tableau.

Watson envoya toutes ces estampes à son marchand de Toronto, John Payne, qui n'avait pas beaucoup d'expérience dans la vente de gravures. Les problèmes de Payne étaient en outre aggravés par l'état du marché canadien.

Depuis que les premières gravures avaient commencé à se vendre au Canada, à la fin du XVIII^e^ siècle, les reproductions gravées importées d'Angleterre et de New York avaient dominé le marché jusque dans les années 1890. Certaines de ces gravures étaient de la plus haute qualité et prisées par les collectionneurs. Avec l'émergence du *Etching Revival* et la popularité et le prestige des estampes orginales, les marchands/éditeurs commencèrent à réquisitionner les eau-fortes. Après avoir acheté les planches gravées de l'artiste, ces marchands/éditeurs, tels Christian Klackner de New York, les faisaient imprimer en tirages soi-disant limités à des prix variés selon la manière dont elles étaient faites. On faisait appel à l'investisseur qui pouvait acheter une œuvre d'art pour aussi peu que cinquante cents. On vendait aussi bien les reproductions gravées que les eaux-fortes et elles envahissaient le marché canadien où elles étaient vendues par des marchands d'art établis tels William Scott, à Montréal, et Henry J. Matthews, à Toronto.

La confusion du marché était accrue par l'émergence de marchands comme Frederick Keppel, à New York, qui s'était donné pour mission de présenter les eaux-fortes comme un véritable médium artistique – un médium de création produit par l'imagination et la main de l'artiste – c'est à

dire, l'estampe originale. Ce sont des marchands comme Keppel, travaillant avec une expertise émergente de l'estampe, qui ont commencé à classer les estampes à tirage limité telles que nous les comprenons aujourd'hui. Pour ajouter à la confusion du collectionneur, des éditeurs à la Klackner commencèrent à utiliser la terminologie et les pratiques des beaux-arts, comme « épreuves », tirages limités numérotés et signatures d'artistes. C'est dans ces conditions que Payne a tenté de comprendre les eaux-fortes que Watson lui a envoyées en mars 1890.

Pour l'aider à commercialiser les estampes de Watson, Payne fit appel aux conseils d'Henry Matthews. Le résultat fut qu'il réduisit considérablement les premières évaluations de Watson pour accorder les eaux-fortes à une échelle de prix à la Klackner. À cause de la faible demande pour l'estampe, on demanda à Watson d'en imprimer un tirage de cinquante. Cependant, pour souligner la qualité artistique de *The Pioneer Mill*, Watson signa simplement chaque tirage à la plume et inscrivit sur quelques-unes « épreuve d'artiste » (*Artist's Proof*). Watson ne voulait ni titre ni légende sur la marge inférieure de l'eau-forte. De sa propre initiative, Payne imprima des cartes pour accompagner les eaux-fortes avec toutes les légendes requises. Ces tiraillements entre le marchand et l'artiste eurent pour résultat que l'œuvre se retrouva dans une sorte de limbes.

Il y a plusieurs raisons pour l'insuccès commercial de l'estampe. Elle ne pouvait soutenir la concurrence dans un marché déjà envahi par l'importation de masse de produits bon marché. Il n'y avait pas d'appui, au Canada, de la part des collectionneurs ou des institutions, pour un *Etching Revival* local. Le gouvernement canadien étouffait de plus tout espoir d'un tel renouveau en imposant des droits de douane exorbitants sur les gravures et les estampes importées pour la vente ou l'exposition. Pourtant, au bout du compte, une des raisons les plus importantes était qu'elle arrivait au mauvais moment. En 1890, l'*Etching Revival* en Amérique du nord languissait. Le marché s'était effondré tout comme les principales sociétés des peintre-graveurs tel le porte-étendard nord-américain, le New York Etching Club. Dans toute l'Amérique du nord, l'*Etching Revival* s'est mis en hibernation jusqu'à la première décennie du XX^e^ siècle.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette

IAIN BAXTER&: The Artist as Drop-in

ADAM LAUDER

Introduction

From now on, it is the businessman who becomes a model for the artist, as in a fair exchange of roles.

– Stéphane Sauzedde, "Questioning the Critical Potential of the Artistic Entrepreneur," 2008[1]

Information, an exhibition organized by the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in 1970, is central to an emerging literature that situates Conceptual art as labour. Though not the first exhibition of Conceptualism in North America, *Information* has always been recognized as having had greater impact than contemporary shows, according to Ken Allan, due to its unprecedented international scope and geopolitical focus, its singular catalogue, and, above all, its innovative curatorial strategy.[2] As curator of *Information*, Kynaston McShine (1935–) adopted the strategy – unusual for a group show at MOMA – of soliciting proposals from artists for site-specific works. Challenging the connoisseurial convention of selection,[3] several works by invited artists were accepted sight unseen (Hans Haacke's notorious *MOMA Poll* being the most conspicuous example). Programming replaces selection under McShine's leadership. The inclusion in published lists of exhibition participants of artists who, in the event, did not contribute to *Information* provides evidence of the disruptive effects authorized by McShine's delegation of curatorial functions. This exercise in decentralization and outsourcing of museum operations redefined the functions of artist and curator alike in far-reaching ways that have only recently been understood as symptomatic of larger economic shifts. As McShine *dropped out* of the (traditionally centralist) curatorial role, Canadian artist IAIN BAXTER& (1936–)[4] – acting in a pseudo-consultancy role as President of the legally-incorporated Vancouver-based conceptual enterprise N.E. Thing Co. (NETCO) – *dropped in* as a remote service provider.[5] BAXTER&'s participation in *Information* would, at first level, appear to have been limited to that of content provider – of electronic communications and dematerialized (anti-)aesthetic judgements (i.e., NETCO's well-known

Iain Baxter using Telecopier to Transmit Artwork, 1969. (Courtesy: IAIN BAXTER&)

1 | N.E. Thing Co., *President Seated at Telex Carrying Out 50,000-mile Transmission*, 1969, from Kynaston McShine (ed.), *Information* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 91. (Courtesy: IAIN BAXTER&)

ACT and *ART* certificates). By cannibalizing and conflating commercial and documentary conventions, NETCO's judgements and Telecopier transmissions alike destabilized conventional boundaries between art object, commercial entertainment, corporate communications, and museum apparatus. Viewed within the promiscuous mosaic of *Information*, in which art and images reprinted and enlarged – frequently without labels – from contemporary news and entertainment sources were exhibited in tandem with a variety of "information" machines lent by corporate sponsors, the confusion generated by NETCO's approach would have been considerably intensified. Yet BAXTER&'s presidential identity implies the possibility of simultaneously interpreting "products" contributed by NETCO to *Information* as consultancy services. That is, the Telex and Telecopier works contributed by BAXTER& to *Information* and its catalogue, as well as his extended correspondence with McShine leading up to the exhibition, can be seen to have served as channels through which his Company's innovative, flexible business model, based on the distributist management writings of media theorist Marshall McLuhan (a perennial inspiration for BAXTER& from 1965),[6] were able to infiltrate the MOMA (Fig. 1).

McShine's recasting of the curatorial role vis-à-vis his notorious claim in the *Information* catalogue that his "essay is really in the galleries and in the whole of this volume" (which has been variously interpreted as an arrogation

of the prerogatives of the artist or an experiment in a journalistic mode)[7] can, in light of Mary Anne Staniszewski's analysis of the newly conspicuous regime of corporate sponsorship (whose visibility was defined by prominent signage, published acknowledgements, and spectacular technologies on loan from corporations displayed in tandem with diametrically dematerialized artworks), also be understood as enacting a competing executive claim on the exhibition and, indeed, the museum as a whole, as a platform for corporate operations research and visionary strategic planning activities.

Most reports on McShine's role in *Information* focus on the enlarged scope of the curator's function. "[T]he only outstanding figure," wrote artist Les Levine in response to the exhibition, "was the curator. The curator in this situation becomes the artist."[8] Yet, Staniszewski insists that the works shown as part of *Information* "were not selected by a curator" at all.[9] Rather, McShine's decision to outsource selection responsibilities by inviting proposals for site-specific works from participating artists ensured that "the curator's role [in *Information*] was minimal."[10] In his relative non-participation, the figure of McShine sketched by Staniszewski can be seen as a counterpart of the executive "dropout" sketched by McLuhan and long-time collaborator Barrington Nevitt in *Take Today: The Executive as Dropout* (1972). In that work, McLuhan and Nevitt apply to the corporate setting McLuhan's insight that when pushed to the limit of their potential, media tend to reverse their effects: "As any executive climbs up the echelons of the organization chart, his involvement in the organization becomes less and less."[11] This McLuhanesque reading of McShine's role echoes Allan's interpretation of *Information* as coinciding with McLuhan's vision of a society paradoxically transformed by information technologies into a "'workless' world."[12] As such, *Information* must be central to any study of the Conceptual artist as art worker.

Largely responsible for a recent shift in thinking about Conceptual art as labour is a 1990 essay by Benjamin Buchloh, in which he described the practice – made famous by Sol LeWitt – of hiring third parties to execute artworks, as an "aesthetic of administration."[13] Buchloh likened the role of the Conceptual artist to that performed by the generic functionary of typical (i.e. bureaucratic) post-war American corporations. The extent to which this analogy has contributed to the current surge of interest in artists as service providers and cultural workers cannot be underestimated, and certainly Buchloh's bureaucratic paradigm is well-suited to the analysis of such administrative practices as those deployed within the context of New York dealer Seth Siegelaub's 1969 exhibition, *Office Work*.[14] At the same time, however, it presents an inadequate account of the imaginary features of the managerial culture performed by *Information* participants McShine and IAIN

BAXTER&. These figures presented themselves neither as "art workers" nor "administrators" (in the Taylorist signification of these terms as articulated by Buchloh and others). Rather, they styled themselves in the mould of the New Age executives described pre-eminently by McLuhan in *Culture is Our Business* (1970) and elaborated by McLuhan and Nevitt in *Take Today*. Although these texts were published subsequent to *Information*, the distinct contours of McLuhan's analysis of the decentralizing effects of electronic media for business and executive roles are recognizable in published texts from at least *The Mechanical Bride* (1951).[15] *Take Today* serves as the principal reference for the present study because it constitutes a convenient and witty *summa* of McLuhanist management concepts that were "in the air" by 1970.

Buchloh's analysis tacitly draws upon a discursive tradition in the social sciences that characterizes post-war America as an "Information Society." Theorists of the Information Society posit that, in the 1950s and 60s, the United States and – to a lesser extent – other developed nations underwent an unprecedented expansion of the tertiary sector (consisting of service and technical/professional or "white collar" jobs). This growth in service- and knowledge-based employment during the 1950s and 60s is associated by Buchloh and his followers with the emergence in the late 1960s of ideational, non-object-based modes of art production, exhibition, and consumption that mimicked processes of "informatization," modes that might be defined as the "de-realization" of labour and its products through digitalization.[16]

However, the techno-utopian speculations[17] catalogued by McShine in his inclusive "recommended reading" section of the *Information* catalogue speak less to the anxieties of "information-subjects" diagnosed by Eve Meltzer in her Buchloh-inflected critique of the exhibition than to the "imagined fusions of leisure and labour" discussed by Chris Gilbert in his re-assessment of 1960s cultural practices.[18] In "Herbie Goes Bananas," Gilbert has examined the complex ways in which Conceptual art was informed by transformations in labour during the 1960s and 1970s. Herbert Marcuse's theorization of unconstrained, liberated labour was particularly influential, according to Gilbert, in shaping artists' visions of the emancipatory potential of emergent forms of cognitive labour. Gilbert's analysis serves as a counterpoint to the overly literal interpretations put forward by Buchloh and his followers of Daniel Bell's influential 1973 theorization of an emerging "service economy."[19] In particular, Gilbert's paradigm provides a congenial framework for elucidating the phantasmatic economy of the executive roles performed by certain Conceptual artists, posited by cultural actors of the 1960s as being situated outside conventional bureaucratic contexts.

There is more at stake in such titular distinctions than competing claims to the corner office. Forecasting, imagineering, decision-making, and other executive services are equally characteristic of (and specific to) an economy defined by an unprecedented preponderance of dematerialized "games between people" as the subordinate, bureaucratic forms of service prioritized by Buchloh and his followers.[20] Whether or not the cognitive labour of Conceptualism can be accounted for today in strictly neo-Taylorist terms (and figurations of the Conceptual artist thereby restricted to the binary roles of rational administrator and bureaucratic service-provider, or functionary, which dominate current narratives) will have a direct bearing on how that labour is situated within broader histories of the emergence of an informational economy. Accommodating alternative[21] economic and organizational[22] models of the post-industrial condition will broaden the base of artistic projects which are admitted into, and prioritized within, those historical narratives.

In truth, where the Information Society resides in the executive fiction of BAXTER&, it does so not exclusively as a feature or symptom of a structure but also as a play of competing phantasmatic claims. Following Allan and Gilbert, this study stresses the aspirational dimensions of the organizational manoeuvres and rhetoric of actors implicated in the emergent cognitive or service economy of the 1960s. In keeping with the critical projects of Christopher May and Frank Webster,[23] I resist Bell's characterization of the (very real) features of social and organizational change that characterized this period as evidence of a complete epistemic break. Through a careful reading of critical histories and theories of the Information Society, I shift the focus onto ad hoc executive roles generated by organizational transformations during the 1960s in an effort to add greater dynamism and nuance to the structuralist analyses of the conceptual and museological milieu of the later 1960s advanced by Buchloh and David Tomas.

It is not the intention of this paper to give an overview of the long and complex career of IAIN BAXTER&; excellent introductions to BAXTER& and the N.E. Thing Co. have been written by Marie Fleming, Nancy Shaw, and William Wood.[24] Yet, whereas these authors consistently cite the influence of the thought of Marshall McLuhan on the development of BAXTER&, I perform the first close reading of an aspect of his practice in tandem with an analysis of specific texts by McLuhan. Where N.E. Thing Co. has frequently been described as a conceptual *collaboration*, I pay close attention to the *organizational* dynamics of the Company and uncover the textual foundations of its corporate structure and roles in the managerial theories of McLuhan and contemporaries. Specifically, I situate the appearance of BAXTER& as a

supernumerary middle-manager or hybrid consultant at MoMA in the course of *Information* within broader processes of (and crises in) organizational decentralization described variously by Peter F. Drucker (1946), McLuhan and Nevitt (1972), and Reinhold Martin (2005).[25]

Redundant Information

The speculative dimension of the executive conceptualisms showcased by *Information* is most evident in the contributions of artist IAIN BAXTER&, President of the conceptual enterprise N.E. Thing Co. It is significant that the Company, initially consisting exclusively of BAXTER&, only ever contained two members, both of them occupying "executive" positions. Yet, the complex ways in which these roles, as roles, were publicly negotiated by BAXTER& and his then wife, Ingrid Baxter – including the progressive promotions of the latter (culminating in her election to the position of Co-President in 1969) – remains an important area for investigation that has largely been overlooked.[26] Only A.A. Bronson and, subsequently, Derek Knight are attentive to the performative dimension of the roles enacted by Company personnel.[27]

The operational significance of the fact that, at the time of its participation in *Information*, the Company was represented by only one "President" is thrown into relief through comparison with the organizational analyses of McLuhan: "Henry Ford, one of the most antiquated and tribalistic of all industrial managers, was '*The* President.' There were no other members of the hierarchy. In dispensing with the conventional organizational hierarchy, Ford naturally resorted to the tribal form of government . . . He was ahead of his time."[28]

Somewhat counterintuitively, McLuhan and Nevitt suggest that the absolute centralism of Ford set in motion the emergence of the horizontal corporate structure: by collapsing the totality of organizational power into a single office, the organizational hierarchy was correspondingly flattened and functions dispersed (a phenomenon visible pre-eminently at General Motors). In McLuhan and Nevitt's inspired reading of the horizontal corporation (as an effect of a new technological environment of service and information), organizational flattening appears in tandem with processes of radical decentralization: the consultant, or "drop-in," replaces the "dropout" manager. Absolute centralism, the absolute concentration of power, appears as the figure of a decentralizing electronic environment (or ground). In their now famous formula, "In the world of electronic information, all centres of power become marginal."[29] Yet these transformative effects of technological diffusion and decentralization should not be mistaken for a democratic

dispersal of power. As authority and responsibility are redistributed within the decentralized corporation (devolved to semi-autonomous "branch" managers or consultants), organizational power is not correspondingly delegated, according to McLuhan and Nevitt. Rather, it is marginalized: power is no longer at the centre of things. Power divests itself of some of its former (rational) authority (e.g., local decision-making), but monopolies of power persist, invisibly, in the margins.

In place of contemporary representations of the manager-cum-technocrat, McLuhan and Nevitt envisioned the administrator of the Electronic Age as a tribal leader: "The new expert, along with the old executive, has been swept away in a flood of comedies."[30] The "stone-aged manager"[31] forecast by McLuhan and Nevitt abandons specialization in favour of an intuitive, generalist approach. In McLuhan's vision – as in the operations of NETCO – the functionary is replaced by the "many-sided man" or "artist."[32] This substitution sets the stage for the subsequent emergence of a new class of "culturally sophisticated management elites," who, according to Mark Rectanus, "have attempted to re-establish the aura of the artist's personality and artistic genius as a function of entrepreneurship."[33] In "[l]ooking to the role rather than to the individual,"[34] closer analysis of IAIN BAXTER&'s performance of futurist tropes of dematerialized and decentralized executive labour – tropes derived from current studies of the changing status of management – reveals that his artistic persona was constructed as a function of entrepreneurship, thereby participating in the earliest phase of the rapprochement of culture and business submitted to theoretical remediation by McLuhan and Nevitt (and, subsequently, by Rectanus). In part, this conflation of managerial and creative functions registers the popular impact of McLuhan's earlier (unsystematic) analyses of changing business models, cited above.

Accepting Allan's reading of *Information* as a McLuhanesque carnival of fantasized role reversals, the question advanced by the exhibition may be seen to be coterminous with that posed by the new managerial science of decision analysis: "to play or not to play?"[35] An example of the (art) official communication sent by BAXTER& via Telecopier to MOMA during *Information* underlines this ludic dimension of NETCO's practice. Parodizing the Company's own Allan Fleming-design logo, BAXTER& solicited playful responses from MOMA visitors with these (absurdly) hand-written instructions:

PLE
COMP
A
RE

Yet the executive practices enacted by McShine and BAXTER& were not all fun and games. As the representative of an autonomous corporate entity (NETCO), BAXTER&'s presence in *Information* may have spelled the utopian possibilities for creative self-management identified by Allan, but it simultaneously implied a multiplication of corporate interests and functions within the museum context that Staniszewski, Bryan-Wilson, and Tomas rightly associate with an intensification of corporate domination. Staniszewski, in particular, stresses that new corporate pressures produced a range of disturbing effects, or, in the language of McLuhan and Nevitt, "disservices," within the museum environment that they served to redefine.[36] Staniszewski's critique suggests the possibility that the duplication of executive functions effected by BAXTER&, whose very participation necessitated the introduction of an independent executive office (i.e., "President") into the already overdetermined administrative structure of MOMA, defined the space of a "counterenvironment" that troubled the integrity of McShine's curatorial procedure by drawing attention to the essential services performed by Museum management and its corporate counterparts (which might normally have remained relatively inconspicuous or, at least, maintained a semblance of autonomy).[37] The possibility of a latent (or absentee) space for disservice is elaborated by McLuhan and Nevitt, figuring as an anti- or counter-environment: "An antienvironment reveals hidden environments. Disservices become manifest, not in themselves, but in relation to other services."[38] Although some contemporary reviewers of the exhibition – notably New York critic Gregory Battcock – expressed disappointment that *Information* did not include more overtly oppositional projects (notwithstanding Hans Haacke's controversial *MOMA Poll* and John Giorno's *Dial-a-Poem*),[39] I argue that BAXTER&'s duplication of executive functions associated with McShine's reconfigured curatorial role in fact produced significant disjunctive (though not directly antagonistic) effects that have largely been overlooked. Precisely because he *avoided* the overtly critical stance of an artist like Haacke, BAXTER& could communicate through the contagion of what Stephen Wright has labelled a "genuine corrosiveness in the real."[40]

The disruptive logic of the non-oppositional, hidden environments engineered by BAXTER& is elucidated by Wright's recent, inspired reworking of a concept from information science: *redundancy*. "[T]he type of work I refer to as 'redundant,' states Wright in his study of present-day entrepreneurial conceptualisms, "inverses . . . primary-secondary logic . . . Art used to dream of becoming non art. Now it appears to have opted for a more caustic form of calculated redundancy."[41] In Wright's formula, art no longer comments on or critiques institutions (as did Pop art and, subsequently, practices of

institutional critique). Rather, it intervenes within existing commercial structures immanently and without adopting an overtly oppositional stance. Ironically, it is this very lack of antagonism that permits artists who assume the redundant posture described by Wright to import an entropic multiplication of the real from the corporate into the cultural environment. Such disruptive, but non-critical, traces of disservice and redundant information are legible today in the correspondence between BAXTER& and McShine generated during preparations for *Information*. In the "N.E. Thing Co., Iain Baxter, Canada" file in the Kynaston McShine *Information* Exhibition Research fond at the Museum of Modern Art Archives, numerous NETCO artworks, though clearly designated by the creator as "art" through the use of the Company seal and other recognized labelling strategies (in the case of Company *ACT* and *ART* certificates,[42] tautologically so), have been interfiled with Company correspondence and other records. The file contains, for instance, two *ACT* and *ART* certificates and numerous photographic works (some sent as samples leading up to the exhibition, others presumably exhibited), as well as the entirety of the Telex and Telecopier transmissions sent by BAXTER& during the course of *Information*. Within the sprawling, and otherwise meticulously classified, contents of the *Information* fond, here is an unmistakeable case of art indexed as "documentation." This concrete evidence of the confusion generated by N.E. Thing Co.'s hybrid functions (since art and documentation alike functioned in its practice as Company information that, in this instance, also duplicated some organizational functions of the Museum) recalls Douglas Crimp's meditation in "The Museum's Old, the Library's New Subject," on the disruptive capacity of Ed Ruscha's book work, *Twentysix Gasoline Stations* (1963). Having encountered the text by chance while browsing the stacks of the New York Public Library in search of material for an industrial film on the history of transportation, and initially deciding that the book must have been misclassified (as a work on transportation), Crimp subsequently recognized that "the fact that there is nowhere for *Twentysix Gasoline Stations* within the present system of classification is an index of the book's radicalism with respect to established modes of thought."[43] Similarly, the NETCO artworks that have entered the fonds of the MOMA Archives are improperly understood as curious examples of *mis*classification; rather, they function positively, as evidence of the concrete effects generated by a hybrid practice through the abrasive interplay of conventionally discrete domains or environments, in the argot of McLuhan and Nevitt.

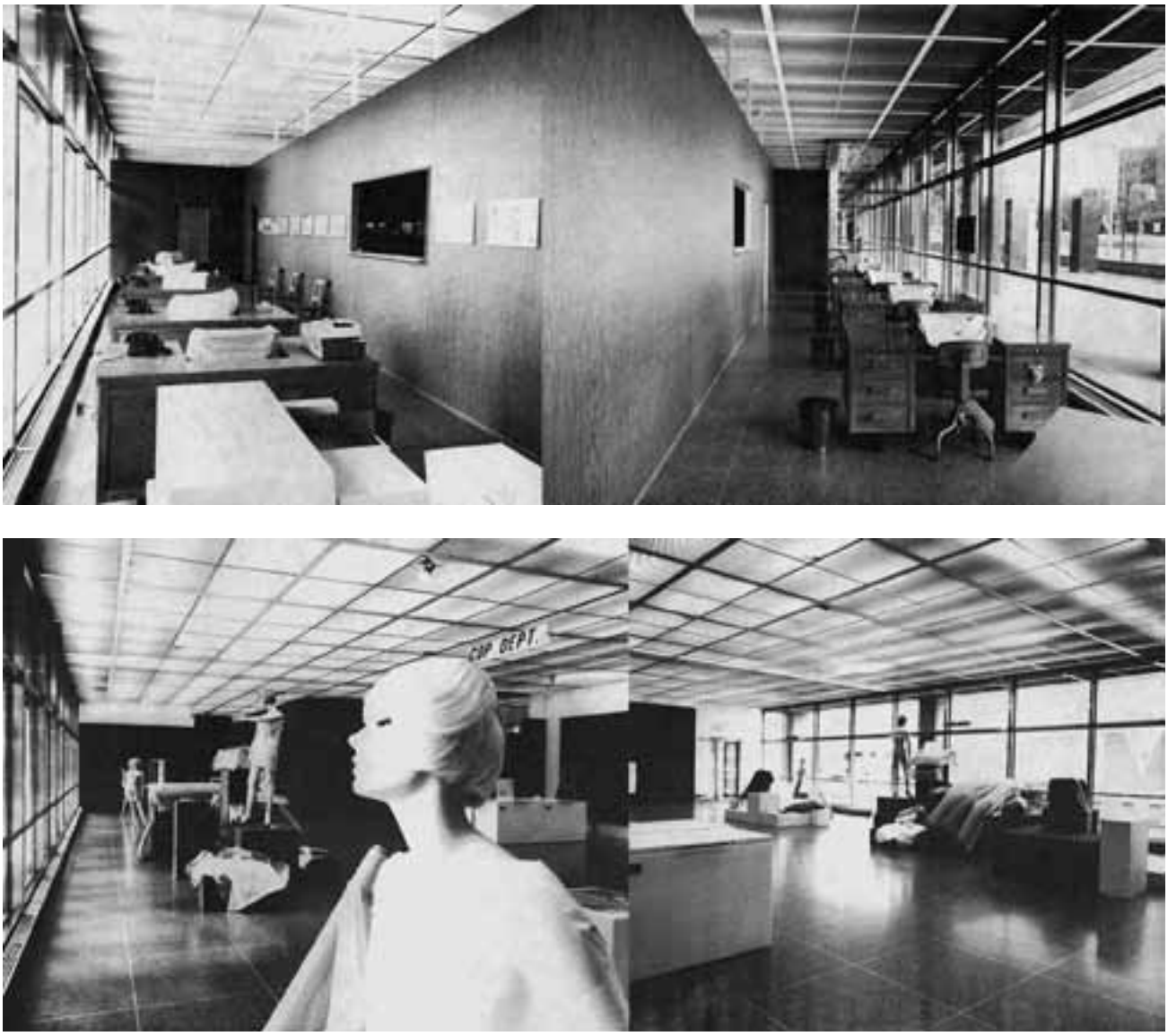
By tracing such evidence of disservice within *Information* to its origins in the management speculations of McLuhan, we may proffer preliminary answers to the provocative questions posed by Stéphane Sauzedde in his

critical study of contemporary entrepreneurial strategies in the visual arts. Sauzedde asks, "How does the artist mould this entrepreneurial model [to the prerogatives of contemporary art production and exhibition]?"[44] Treating McLuhan and Nevitt's executive as the ideal type of the role performed by BAXTER& enriches our understanding of the material and phantasmatic features of the "role characteristics"[45] specific to the executive, already circulating in literature on business, as they were adapted by BAXTER& within the context of *Information* into the "manager as creative artist" (a trope subsequently recuperated by non-artists, as described by Mark Rectanus in *Culture Incorporated*).[46]

In Julia Bryan-Wilson's provocative chronicle of conceptual labour, the genesis of *Information* is traceable to the actions of artist Vassilakis Takis on 3 January 1969. Outraged that he had not been consulted by MOMA staff regarding the Museum's decision to include his work *Tele-sculpture* (1960) in its 1968 exhibition *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age*, the artist – believing that the aforementioned piece was unrepresentative of his output as a whole – simply entered the Museum and repossessed his artwork (owned by MOMA).[47] A flyer subsequently distributed by the artist appealed for further action against museums. Significantly, Takis called for the transformation of museums into "information centres."[48] Following subsequent protests of the Art Workers' Coalition (AWC) and a series of both open- and closed-door meetings between protestors and Museum administrators, in which AWC representatives successfully negotiated demands for institutional reform, MOMA approved plans to mount *Information* in late 1969. It is noteworthy that the exhibition was conceived as an international report on the very strategies (conceptual, linguistic, and performative) deployed by protestors to mount their critique of the institution. The choice of exhibition title also signalled an appropriation of the language of protest (Takis's utopian formulation) to recuperate critical tactics *as art*. For some critics of the exhibition, *Information* was, from the outset, an exercise in Marcusean "repressive tolerance."[49] (Fig. 2)

An alternative genealogy is suggested by the contents of the "N.E. Thing Co., Iain Baxter, Canada" file. A memo dated 15 January 1969 documents IAIN BAXTER&, then President of the N.E. Thing Co., in dialogue with McShine regarding NETCO's participation in the travelling exhibition curated by McShine and mounted at MOMA concurrent with *Information* (i.e., 16 March 1969 – 16 August 1970): *New Media, New Methods*.[50] BAXTER&'s communiqué makes reference to Company "products" included in the display as well as other, unspecified items sent to McShine in response to an expression of interest from the latter: "much is in the mail to you," writes BAXTER&.[51] This exchange documents the process by which the contents of the "N.E.

2 | Installation view of the exhibition, *Information*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2 July – 20 September 1970. (Photo: Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art, Resource, NY, ART375312)



3 | N.E. Thing Co., views of *Environment* (National Gallery of Canada), 1969, black and white prints, reproduced in *N.E. Thing Co. Ltd., Vol. 1* (Vancouver: N.E. Thing Co., 1978), n.p. (Courtesy: IAIN BAXTER&)

Thing Co." file – at 52 items – grew to be one of the largest in the Kynaston McShine *Information* Exhibition Research fond.[52] Today, the heterogeneous contents of "N.E. Thing Co." file – including both documents and artworks – serve as a material record of the generative, yet destabilizing, nature of this exchange.[53]

Given the sustained interest implied by McShine's protracted exchange of information with BAXTER&,[54] it is probable that NETCO's seminal installation/performance piece *N.E. Thing Co. Environment* (National Gallery of Canada, 3 June – 6 July 1969) was not only known to McShine, but served as a "prototype"[55] for his own informational environment (Fig. 3). Under the aegis of then assistant curator of Canadian art Pierre Théberge (whose role in *Environment* Tomas likens to that of a "supply chain manager"),[56] but "spearheaded by [NETCO's] president,"[57] the Vancouver Company's installation transformed the ground floor of the Lorne Building – the converted office building[58] that then housed the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) – into a temporary trade pavilion.[59] Setting the stage for the subsequent curatorial role of McShine in *Information*, Théberge facilitated the "ambitions and requests of the artist," having been initially "surprised by the Baxters' proposal."[60] The full complement of NETCO "Departments" took up residence at the NGC for the duration of the show. Secretaries – on loan from a federal department – processed the Company's stock-in-trade, "Visual Sensitivity Information" (VSI), in makeshift offices against a "canned" audio backdrop of office work and industrial manufacture. The theatricality of the Company's installation was underlined by the performances of its President and Vice-President. Members of the public were invited to explore the office of the former (who greeted visitors dressed in comically "retro" office attire), while Ingrid Baxter joined hired models in demonstrating Company "products," including vinyl costumes.

Tomas rightly identifies *Environment* as "one of the first meta-artworks to exhibit the multiple contradictions that characterize the contemporary post-industrial artist's practice."[61] However, he confines the scope of that practice to the parameters of institutional critique. Given Tomas's resolutely analytical understanding of critical practice, it is unsurprising that he criticizes NETCO for its insufficiently antagonistic relationship to the museum and the economic sector, generally. Tomas's text registers the advent of a post-industrial paradigm, but, following Helen Molesworth,[62] its description of that shift is limited to a narrative of manual de-skilling in the wake of accelerated automation and a parallel process of cognitive re-skilling within the university.[63] While this account of the impact of new labour practices is expedient for elucidating the features of certain "post-studio" practices of institutional critique, as a description of a fantasized Information Society and

its contradictory effects, it is limited in several respects (despite the author's efforts to avoid a reductive reading).[64] Tomas's account of the coming of a post-industrial regime hinges on an anachronistic and static representation of the very "business model" on which the coherence of his historical narrative depends. The business model figures in Tomas's account as a pre-war static norm of "vertical" bureaucracy (with its hierarchies and functional division of labour) untouched by the very transformations (in the form of hybrid structures and partnerships) which, Tomas argues, were introduced into the cultural sphere through the NGC's adaptation of a commercial mandate to the cultural sector.[65] In effect, changes within the cultural sphere are posited by Tomas as effects of a cybernetic feedback loop generated by a business model that itself remains unchanged and unresponsive: a rational, vertical holdover from a previous era of functionaries and properly bureaucratic services. Thus, Tomas describes *Environment* as assuming "the material and symbolic trappings of a *traditional corporate environment*" (my emphasis).[66] Likewise, Vincent Bonin characterizes the installation as "[resembling the] administrative offices and showrooms of *an average-sized business*."[67]

Whereas Tomas's institutional critique pivots on *Environment* as a unilateral *acculturation* (whereby the museum and the artist alike were acculturated to corporate techniques),[68] I propose that the "layers of interaction or performativity" generated by the NGC installation/performance – likewise noted by Tomas – offer a more productive point of entry for situating *Environment* as a dynamic site within broader aspirations of social, cultural, and *organizational* transformation. My intention is not to refute but, rather, to amplify elements of Tomas's text in order to better understand BAXTER&'s subsequent participation in *Information* as a turning point in the emergent information economy of the late 1960s and early 1970s.[69] I argue that audience participation in the corporate theatre of *Environment* implied a two-way process, not restricted to acculturation (although this was certainly present), but also of organizational and performative transformation. As visitors were invited to participate in newly interactive environments, the museum (and by extension the corporation) itself became a site of crisis in the collective imaginary. As McLuhan and Nevitt were later to describe in *Take Today*, public participation in corporate operations was a source of considerable disturbance within organizations: "The old cast of 'diehards,' on the other hand, is holding a 'phony fort,' much as the administrative 'establishment' now finds itself in the role of 'office boy' and 'caretaker' of an abandoned operation."[70] Within this reconfigured organization, executive roles are radically redefined as responsibilities are delegated to a new breed of consumer/producers: "At the top [the executive] is like a dropout."[71] Having effected a transfer of executive control to

participatory content providers (consumers) through the introduction of cool social media (e.g., television),[72] a newly de-centred (but not powerless) management either ossifies into the reactive posture of the "diehard" or else "'steps down' when the action begins to 'seize up'."[73] The latter strategy is exemplified by the inclusive management style of BAXTER&, one which – as deployed in the context of *Environment* – threw open the (habitually shut) doors of conference room and executive office alike to the scrutiny and participation of the public and appropriated the functions of management *qua* spectacle (although, in the subsequent context of *Information*, BAXTER&'s role even more closely approximated that of another McLuhanesque type, as I will show below, that of the drop-in).

It is in this specific sense that *Environment* is accurately labelled a prototype for the hybrid service environments – the museum as "multiple-use cultural centre"[74] described by Rectanus – generated by the cultural sector in a post-industrial society: as management is transformed into an inclusive public service, the cultural consumer "steps up" to become the content of the reconfigured cultural media.[75] The "figure" of the speculative service environment staged by NETCO is thus not that of the secretary on loan from the government (as Buchloh, Bryan-Wilson, and Tomas would have it), but, rather, the consumer or user of the exhibition. In this formulation, the old functions of management, as "figure," merge with the ground of the new electronic service environment. In turn, BAXTER&'s role as "Visual Informer" is not – as Tomas posits – that of a "watchful and discerning eye,"[76] but that of the "hunter and creator of new information and roles" later described by McLuhan and Nevitt, where the leading part created by the information manager is that of the user.[77] In thus bringing the consumer into representation as a cultural actor, the executive functions of the Company Presidency dissolve in an excess of participation.

If Haacke's contribution to *Information*, MOMA *Poll*, signalled the possibility of critical participation within an institutional milieu, other gadgets showcased in the exhibition portended more sinister developments. Staniszewski identifies the monolithic "visual jukebox" or "information machine" lent by Italian manufacturer Olivetti and televisions funded by J.C. Penney Co. Inc. as symbols of the "highly visible corporate presence at *Information*."[78] She further notes that the *Information* press release prominently acknowledged the support of ITT World Communications and Xerox for the Telex and telecopier machines lent to facilitate the transmissions of N.E. Thing Co. (itself a *bona fide* corporation in its own right) for the duration of the exhibition. For Staniszewski, the appearance at *Information* of the corporation as a *visible* exhibition sponsor (through the conspicuous display of corporate logos, affixed to such monolithic company products as

Olivetti's "information machine" – perhaps the pre-eminent instance of this novel exercise in "cross-promotion")[79] inaugurated a new "interrelatedness" of exhibition design and (sometimes competing) institutional and corporate agendas.[80] A close reading of IAIN BAXTER&'s role in *Information* suggests the possibility of third term between the intensification of corporate domination spelled by Staniszewski's reading, on one hand, and the critical possibilities permutations licensed by Haacke's institutional manoeuvres, on the other. BAXTER&'s practice charts a course of non-oppositional McLuhanesque interplay between corporate and museal environments.

IAIN BAXTER&: The Artist as "Drop-in"

RENT-AN-EXECUTIVE
– "Toronto ad" cited in McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 1972[81]

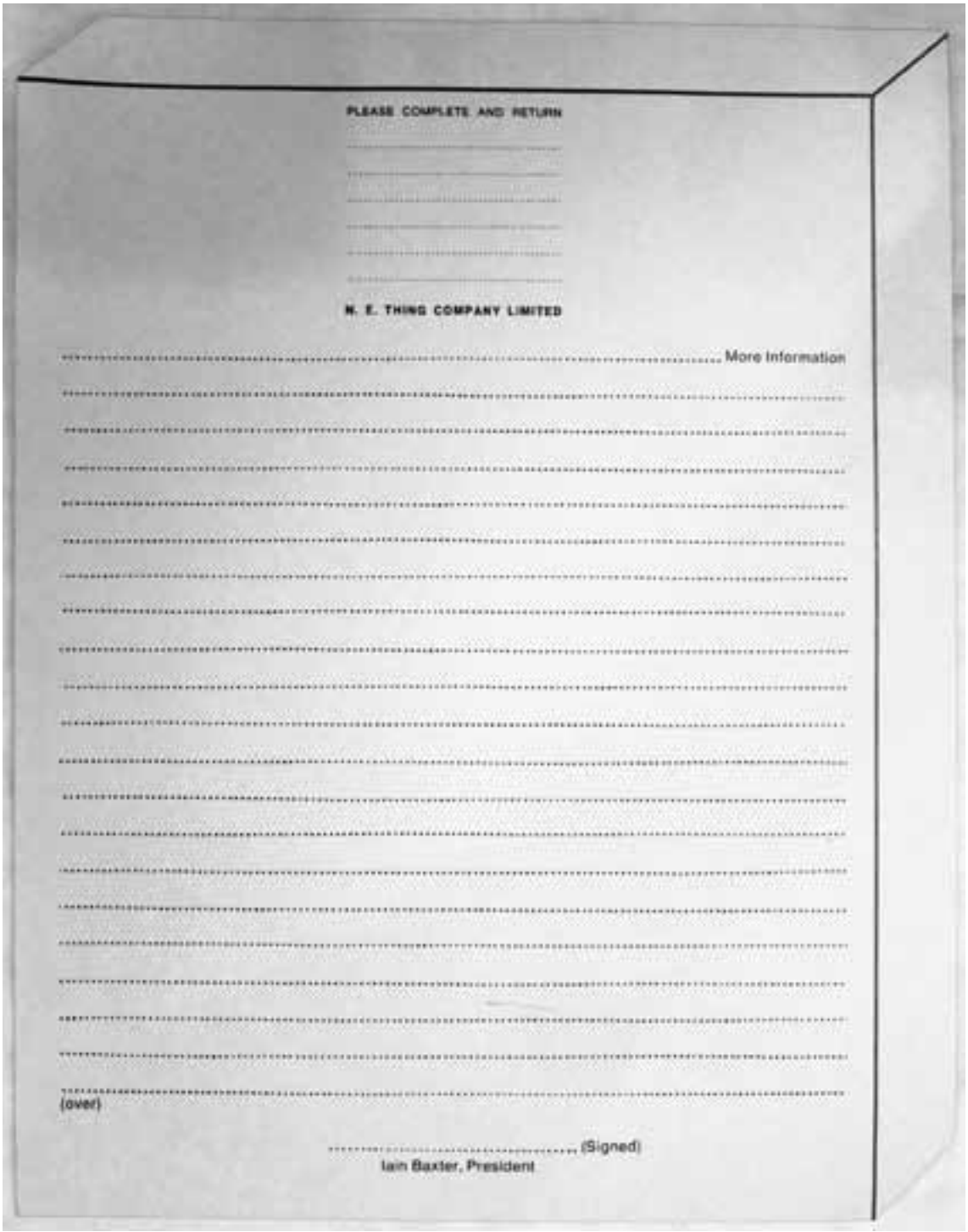
One man's dropout is another man's drop-in e.g., the consultant chooses his place of action.
– McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 1972[82]

The traditional executive functions vacated by the curator under the impact of new technologies, protest movements, and youth culture (as the savvy curator *drops out*) are re-occupied by a new breed of artist-executive. If McShine is exemplary of the curator who – matching McLuhan and Nevitt's theorization of the executive-as-dropout (and following the lead of the NGC's Pierre Théberge) – steps down to keep in touch, IAIN BAXTER& is representative of the artist-executive described by McLuhan and Nevitt who drops in to re-program the technological environment: "[T]he artist occupies the ivory tower in slow-changing society," they write; "[h]e moves to the control tower in a rapidly changing world. He alone can see the present clearly enough to navigate."[83] BAXTER&'s appropriation of the executive role must not be confused with a monopolization of power or the expression of centralizing ambitions. The "masquerade"[84] of authority performed by BAXTER& is profoundly decentralizing in its effect. As such, BAXTER& again coincides with McLuhan and Nevitt: "As all monopolies of knowledge break down in our world of information speed-up, the role of executive opens up to Everyman. There are managers galore in the global theatre."[85] William Wood has mapped the geographical dimensions of N.E. Thing Co.'s marginal practice vis-à-vis the Company's remote location in Vancouver (remote relative to the financial and symbolic "centre" of the art world, New York): "The periphery parodies the centre's claim of authority by ironically assuming that power for itself."[86] While Wood convincingly argues that peripheralism

operated within NETCO's networked practice to effect a "decentred concept of aesthetic geography,"[87] marginality also shaped the horizontal organization and operations of the Company, informing – in particular – the novel roles performed by its personnel. The horizontal structure of NETCO (the collapsing of the traditional organization tree, excluding all but executive positions) exemplified the decentralizing logic of the electric corporation analyzed by McLuhan and Nevitt. Just as McLuhan and Nevitt perceive Henry Ford's presidency, with executive inputs generating new and sometimes unexpected decentralizing outputs, so in BAXTER&'s performance of the McLuhanesque trope of Everyman-as-executive, traditionally centralist executive functions disperse into novel forms of executive labour in the (decentred) arena of consultation.

The flexibility and mobility of NETCO's corporate apparatus is consistent with the new class of executive consultants dubbed 'drop-ins' by McLuhan and Nevitt: "The 'mobile executive' is rapidly coming to the position where he [sic] can choose his place of work."[88] If, in the context of *Information*, McShine's function as dropout was to "reveal the new hidden *ground*" of electronic environments and youth culture, BAXTER&'s mandate (but not effect) as drop-in – the new *figure* in this organizational tableau – was "to prop up the collapsing foundations" of the institution under the impact of the coeval protests admirably documented by Bryan-Wilson.[89] The ludic bravado of BAXTER&'s initial communications with the curator in the months leading up to *Information* – for instance, a neon, photo-silkscreened communiqué to McShine[90] in May 1970 – announces an executive identity consistent with the role of avant-garde consultant described by McLuhan and Nevitt. Alternately visionary and self-deprecating, BAXTER&'s executive identity, as constructed in this document, coincides with the cool, non-specialist "star" of the new knowledge industries described in *Take Today* (Fig. 4).[91]

As early as *Verbi-Voco-Visual Explorations* (1967), McLuhan identified the artist as the prototype for new executive roles which, he predicted, would replace bureaucratic models under the impact of an electronic environment.[92] In the later 1960s, BAXTER& drew freely from McLuhan's management speculations in tandem with a broad selection of popular and specialist management literature to develop his role as Company President.[93] The same sources also informed the consultancy functions and roles which BAXTER& and Ingrid Baxter developed in parallel with their (internal) executive duties beginning in 1970. Following the wholesale transfer of Company operations to the National Gallery of Canada in 1969, BAXTER& experimented with an analogous (but dematerialized) logic of displacement through tactics that transformed the Company President into a "stay at home commuter" and "non-organizational man."[94] The consultancy services offered by



4 | N.E. Thing Co., *N.E. Thing Co. Letterhead*, *c.* 1969, Day-Glo green letterhead. (Photo: author)

NETCO personnel at the Data Processing Management Association (DPMA) conferences held in Vancouver and Seattle in the spring of 1970 (immediately prior to *Information*) turned previous Company functions inside-out.[95] "N.E. Thing Consults with 1% of You" declared Company literature distributed by hired models at the conference and business exposition.[96] Inserting itself at the conferences amidst such computing conglomerates as IBM and Xerox, NETCO exploited the DPMA as a platform for developing new consultancy operations, or "diagnostic service checks" to promote "Gross National Good" or GNG.[97] A last-minute invitation to participate in a panel entitled "The Human Element in the Information Processing Community" earned BAXTER& the highest audience evaluation of any participant,[98] and, following the success of its DPMA intervention, NETCO was hired as a consultant by a private company located in Renton, Washington (on the outskirts of Seattle). It is possible to reconstruct the tone, if not the unscripted content, of N.E. Thing Co.'s motivational talk – *Your Employee and Motivation* – from such surviving NETCO pronouncements as "We up your aesthetic quality of life, we up your creativity."[99] A subsequent contract in Ottawa underscores the McLuhanesque orientation of these consultancy services. According to Ann Rosenberg, NETCO's Ottawa intervention, *Consultant re Viewer Participation* (1970), involved discussions regarding "a special TV show using television for direct viewer participation."[100] Such real-world consultancy activities, with their consistent emphasis on enhancing employee/viewer involvement, encourage the possibility of mapping BAXTER&'s coeval role in *Information* onto the participatory coordinates of McLuhan and Nevitt's drop-in. As drop-in, BAXTER& served as an "instant catalyst" for the responsive social environment "imagineered" by McShine.[101]

As Tomas rightly argues, NETCO's actions should not be mistaken for (or dismissed as) mere spoof. The playful tenor of BAXTER&'s consultancy rhetoric should not obscure the serious element of play at work in his practice, nor indeed, in the horizontal corporation, or "ad-hocracy,"[102] of the information age theorized by McLuhan and Nevitt, as well as futurologist Alvin Toffler, in which NETCO – and BAXTER&'s Presidential role – are rightly situated. Indeed, play emerges as the defining characteristic of work in the electronic corporation described by McLuhan: "[r]ole-*playing* supplants job-holding just as knowledge supplants experience" (my emphasis).[103] McLuhan and Nevitt associate this emphasis on play within the post-industrial organization with the incorporation of Operations Research into management functions at all levels of the corporate hierarchy.[104] "[O]peration research forced creativity upon the entire business world because of the need to anticipate problems with solutions."[105] The speculative management theorists trace the emergence of this phenomenon to the routinization of

Operations Research during World War II and identify the subsequent decline in efficacy of executive research activity with the assimilation of open-ended inquiry and discussion into obsolete business models (thereby turning playful bull sessions into administrative disservice).[106] To alleviate the tensions between innovation and tradition inherent in institutionalized forms of non-directed and collaborative investigation, the remedy prescribed by McLuhan and Nevitt was to welcome the socially- and technically-conscious figure of the drop-in into the inner sanctum of the boardroom: "Gradually the uptight managers of the most responsible business operations conceded the necessity of sinking into the most undignified forms of mental horseplay in order to cope with their need for information."[107]

Through the stimulating presence of the non-specialist drop-in, the research activities enacted by boardroom personnel abandoned the humdrum character of the strategic exercises developed by such military-industrial think tanks as RAND in response to the agonistic logic of Cold War politics. Whereas "[t]he drab fact about 'think tanks' is that they are contrived for the mass production and packaging of scenarios and programs for the harassed Establishment,"[108] under the influence of the drop-in, the corporation is transformed into a "funhouse."[109] Although the latter concept accrues a derogatory resonance in Tomas's deployment (in relation to NETCO's NGC *Environment*), the futurological writings of McLuhan and Toffler alike elevate play environments to utopian symbols of the electronic society.

The playful environment of Expo 67, the world fair held at Montreal, was paradigmatic for McLuhan (as evinced by the media theorist's comments at a 1967 seminar organized by the Museum of the City of New York, *Exploration of the Ways, Means, and Values of Museum Communication with the Viewing Public*) of the potential for electronic media to generate a responsive "world of process."[110] In *Future Shock*, Toffler similarly chose a playful architectural environment – the flexible and versatile "Fun Palace" (1961–64, unrealized) – designed by British architect Cedric Price (1934–2003) – to exemplify the playful attitudes and behaviours of the "modular" society which he foretold.[111] If McLuhan and his associate Harley Parker (1915–1992) – an artist and scholar who served as Head of Design and Installations at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto from 1957 to 1967 and was affiliated with McLuhan's Centre for Culture and Technology at the University of Toronto (1967–1975) as a Research Associate – predicted that the synaesthetic environments of the museum were to be key sites of subject formation in the coming information society,[112] Toffler viewed such fun palaces as nodal points in an emergent cultural system which he labelled the "experience industries."[113] In Toffler's forecast, these experiential industries would provide essential services to consumers in the dematerialized "psycho-economy" of the near

future: ephemeral services for brain workers seeking "sexoticism" and other intangible novelties.[114]

The play tactics of the executive drop-in theorized by McLuhan and Nevitt evince a correspondence with the Marxian futurology of Herbert Marcuse. Although there is no evidence of a direct influence on the work of BAXTER&, Chris Gilbert convincingly argues that Marcuse's exploration of the liberationist possibilities of play set the backdrop for a fantasized synthesis of leisure and labour in the 1960s generally. In any event, Marcuse's influential discussion of the "play impulse"[115] in *Eros and Civilization* (1955) provides a congenial framework for conceptualizing the play element at work in the executive fiction of BAXTER&. Marcuse identifies play as the mediating term between the sensuous and cognitive registers of human experience.[116] (Compare this formulation with McLuhan and Nevitt, who write that, "[e]xperience is play, and meaning is replay and recognition".)[117] Marcuse further opposes the "aesthetic dimension," proper to the exercise of play, to the reality principle, which supports the prevailing regime of "repressive productivity."[118] In contrast to the disapproving light cast on play by such critics of the ludic aspects of *Information* and NETCO as Tomas or Battcock (who condemns this playful element for being insufficiently "negative" in its interface with the museological apparatus),[119] Marcuse upholds play for its capacity to "literally transform reality."[120] The compatibility of Marcuse's resolutely Marxist theory of play with certain aspects of the ludic corporate operations of BAXTER& and McShine underlines that the visions of liberated labour analyzed by Gilbert were informed by a *selective* reading of utopian literature. While not implying a critique of power structures, the play element in the executive practice of BAXTER& is improperly conceived as a collusion with the productive forces of domination. Play operates, rather, as – in the argot of McLuhanism – *interplay*, that is, the abrasive interface between social and economic strata that enacts a rhetorical transformation of work into play.[121]

Interplay is the transformative ungrounding of authority (not to be confused with power) engendered by ludic transactions that effect an open-ended interpenetration of conventionally discrete (economic, ideational, institutional, etc.) domains. "[W]e live in worlds that burrow on each other," wrote McLuhan and Nevitt.[122] It is as a form of painstaking burrowing or interplay that BAXTER&'s resonant consultative practice should be situated. In line with the anarcho-modernist institutional burrowing practiced by his former colleague at Simon Fraser University, Jerry Zaslove, BAXTER&'s dropping in can be interpreted as an exercise in "anarcho-aestheticism."[123] The ultimate burrower, the anarcho-aesthetic person is, according to Zaslove, "a drop-out person who realizes that by being formed in the image of the

group, entry into the phantasmagorical world of modernity is assured."[124] The solution is to dig deeper *in*.[125] In keeping with this Kafkaesque logic, BAXTER& has consistently employed the language of burrowing as abrasive (but non-antagonistic) interplay in his published writings and interviews. Consultation as infiltration is the thrust of BAXTER&'s commentary on NETCO in a 1974 seminar published by the Owens Art Gallery: "The N.E. Thing Company wants mainly to poke into business as the major big power base in the capitalistic structure."[126] This strategy recalls that of the consultant discussed by McLuhan: "Peter Drucker, the management consultant, has spent his whole life invading other people's business to reveal to them how little they know about it. They pay him very fancy prices for that."[127] (It is not a little ironic that McLuhan also acted as a corporate consultant – working in association with IBM at the time of the above-mentioned 1967 seminar organized by the Museum of the City of New York).[128]

A primary tool employed by BAXTER& and NETCO to engage in the "probing" activity of interplay was the electronic communications media. "You can penetrate structures using communications," stated BAXTER& in a 1979 interview with Robin White.[129] It was by employing the emergent telecommunications media of Telex and telecopier that NETCO, represented by BAXTER&, infiltrated MOMA during *Information*, thereby engaging in an unlikely but prescient form of "long distance" burrowing.[130] In addition to 24 *ACT* and *ART* certificates, N.E. Thing Co. was represented at *Information* by a series of live transmissions that permitted BAXTER& to effect an interplay of remote environments and penetrate the museum space from the Company's North Vancouver headquarters using equipment on loan from major American telecommunications companies. The *Information* catalogue reproduces a small selection of the textual and graphic communiqués transmitted by the Company President during the show. Like the telecopied works transmitted as part of the earlier project, *Trans-VSI Connection NSCAD-NETCO* (1969), BAXTER&'s *Information* transmissions reveal a playful preoccupation with themes of reproduction and multiplication. For instance, a telecopied drawing of a single large dot is labelled "TWO DOTS," an allusion to the process of optical duplication which occurs when the transmitted information is reconstituted by the receiver. Once received, the electronic message will effectively contain two dots (where formerly there was only one): one will be in the hands of the sender, the other in those of the recipient.

This technique of museological burrowing or dropping-in through fax recalls Harley Parker's proposal, at the above-mentioned 1967 seminar organized by the Museum of the City of New York, for a museum consisting entirely of sensuous facsimiles. Building on artist-futurologist John McHale's

recognition in a 1966 article in the journal *Macatre*, "The Plastic Parthenon," that reproductions of artefacts imply – in Parker's words – the "possibility of touch [that] can be a very salient factor in terms of involvement,"[131] Parker seized upon the haptic potential of the facsimile as a possible support for the synaesthetic "*new*seum" environment which he envisioned.[132]

The phantasmatic features of Parker's newseum recall Johan Huizinga's influential conceptualization of the "playground" as a symbolic space for the "temporary abolition of the ordinary world,"[133] a notion subsequently rehabilitated by the Situationists. Libero Andreotti identifies Huizinga's playground and Cedric Price's "Fun Palace" as models for Pinot Gallizio's *Cavern of Anti-Matter*, which transformed the museum space of the Stedelijk into a monumental *derive* qua playground.[134] The contents of the *Information* catalogue's "recommended reading" confirm that Huizinga's playground was also resonant for McShine.

In BAXTER&'s *Information* transmissions the contents of Parker's facsimile newseum return as playful arti*fax*.[135] In "Telexed Self-Portrait from Memory," the artist himself appeared as facsimile:

> IAIN BAXTER, PRESIDENT, N.E. THING CO. LTD.
> TELEXED SELF PORTRAIT FROM MEMORY – 1969
> FRONT SIDE: COURSE BROWN HAIR SLIGHTLY BALDING AT
> TEMPLES AND SLIGHTLY OVER EARS WIDTH OR NOSE
> NORMAL AVERAGE LIPS SIDE BURNS TO BOTTOM OF EARS.[136]

This gesture of self-copying (or cloning), which anticipated NETCO's subsequent inclusion of dummies representing the Company's Co-Presidents in their 1971 exhibition at the Sonnabend Gallery,[137] facilitated the long-distance participation of the "art-official" consultant (Fig. 5). In the paradoxical role of stay-at-home-commuter, the artist fits Toffler's description: "'outsider' working within the system . . . Thus we find the emergence of a new kind of organization man – a man who, despite his many affiliations, remains basically uncommitted to any organization. He is willing to employ his skills and creative energies to solve problems with equipment provided by the organization, and within temporary groups established by it."[138]

BAXTER&'s work as drop-in at *Information* establishes his executive fiction as a paradigm for the tactics of a subsequent generation of artistic entrepreneurs who, according to Stéphane Sauzedde, "know how to address the business world, to penetrate it, to work inside it, and possibly to carry out a subversive activity within its sphere."[139] Without engaging in the oppositional tactics of *critique* deployed by Hans Haacke, BAXTER&'s contributions to *Information* set a powerful precedent for contemporary

5 | N.E. Thing Co., *Co-Presidents of N.E. Thing Co. Ltd. Attending Exhibition of Company Products at Sonnabend Gallery, New York, 1971 (right) with Self-Portrait Project Using Dummies (left)*, both images from 1971. Documentation reproduced in *Celebration of the Body* (Vancouver: N.E. Thing Co., 1976), n.p. (Courtesy: IAIN BAXTER&)

artists in terms of generating abrasive forms of redundant information[140] as well as new (long-distance) spaces of inter/play. By drawing attention to, and duplicating, the functions of the (dropout) manager, the drop-in generates redundant organizational information in the gaps of institutional power.

Conclusion: The 'Modular' Museum as Muse

Contrary to the administrative readings of conceptual practice proposed by Buchloh, Tomas, and others, stalled as they invariably are in anachronistic and static business models and resolutely subaltern characterizations of service sector labour, my investigation of the ideal type of McLuhan's executive-as-artist has been modelled on Chris Gilbert's examination of the dialogic influence of utopian literature on the art of the 1960s in tandem with Drucker and Martin's studies of the decentralization of corporations.

In contrast to recent criticisms of the "artistic entrepreneur" mounted by, for instance, Stéphane Sauzedde, which censure the non-oppositional valence of corporate practice, I have followed Stephen Wright in choosing to explore the abrasive effects of redundant information generated by the duplication of corporate functions and roles. The non-oppositional dropping-in enacted by BAXTER& significantly troubled the coherence of the exhibition by calling attention to and doubling its corporate frame. In this precise sense, the executive manoeuvres of BAXTER& should be recognized as operating in parallel (or perhaps at tangents) to the better-known tactic of institutional critique proposed by Haacke in the context of the same show.

The executive role inhabited by BAXTER& and the institutional critique of Haacke alike are symptoms of a fantasized "managerial revolution"[141] chronicled by a diversity of speculative historians including, respectively, C. Wright Mills, McLuhan, and Toffler: "The old entrepreneur succeeded by founding a new concern and expanding it. The bureaucrat gets a forward-looking job and climbs the ladder within a pre-arranged hierarchy. The new entrepreneur makes a zig-zag pattern upward within and between established bureaucracies."[142]

The newly mobile executive who figures in the passage above by Wright Mills appears in a range of 1950s and 60s texts touting the emergence of a flexible labour market and what Toffler would later term the "throw-away" (experiential) economy.[143] As impermanence and turnover are routinized and more and more executive functions are off-loaded onto drop-ins, the abrasive effects of decentralization are imprinted onto the psychic economy of new executive roles: "It is a joke among executives of the International Business Corporation that IBM stands for 'I've Been Moved.'"[144] The drop-in practice of IAIN BAXTER& capitalizes on the abrasive potential of the comedy occasioned by the emergence of a dematerialized economy and its decentralized organizations, transforming flexible white-collar labour into a playful but nonetheless corrosive exercise in redundant authority.

Toffler's futurological theorization of a "resurgence of entrepreneurialism within the heart of large organizations"[145] echoes McLuhan and Nevitt's reflections on the tensions generated within large organizations between centralist insiders and decentralist drop-ins or vanguard cliques:

> [T]he pattern of social organization and management swings violently from stress on the entrepreneur and the virtues of the lonely individual to the close-knit and emotionally-involved group. In the diversified scope of the modern business structures, these extremes can express themselves at different levels of the same organization. Tribal cliques can grow in the shade of the old organization tree.[146]

McLuhan and Nevitt's analysis drew upon the findings of management consultant Peter F. Drucker's influential case study of General Motors – the first corporation to adopt decentralization as a strategy for "manag[ing] diversity and complexity" – in *Concept of Corporation* (1946).[147] Succeeding the "old [modernist, centralist] organization pattern"[148] exemplified by Ford, GM president Alfred P. Sloan "developed the concept of decentralization into a philosophy of industrial management and into a system of local self-government."[149] Under this system, 95% of administrative decisions are made by divisional managers;[150] central management "thinks ahead."[151] In the work of McLuhan and Nevitt, this system figures a "Court of King Arthur"-inspired "dream of decentralization."[152] Similar symptoms of a "baronial pattern of managerial bosses and autonomous groupings"[153] made their first appearances in the museum world with the decentralist approaches of BAXTER& and McShine to, respectively, *Environment* and *Information*; it is in that system that the flexible, consultative executive interventions of BAXTER& are properly located. As such, the redundant information generated by his practice may be legitimately likened to the entropic effects produced by "destabilizing manoeuvres" within the decentralized organizational complex of the 1970s described by Reinhold Martin.[154] Martin's discussion of corporate entropy lends a specifically organizational resonance to Stephen Wright's notion of redundancy: multiplication of organizational functions effected through decentralization (as distinguished from both strategies of institutional critique and the parodic performance of hierarchical techniques of administration) unleashes a corrosive oversaturation of information flows within the corporation.

Significantly, the redundant executive information to which I have drawn attention was excluded from McShine's museological retrospective, *The Museum as Muse* (1999), in which *Information* was situated by the curator as a pivot in the development of the contemporary museum. Though he is conspicuously absent from *The Museum as Muse*, there is compelling evidence that the abrasive administrative work of BAXTER& left other traces on MOMA's institutional frame. Vestiges of the Canadian artist's disservice survive today in MOMA's ongoing *Projects* series of invited installations by contemporary artists, for which, Staniszewski suggests, the site-specific installations of *Information* served as a model. There is a strong organizational correspondence between the consultative function of dropping-in instigated by BAXTER&, also at *Information* (and at the DPMA and National Gallery of Canada before that), and the invitational basis of participation in the subsequent *Projects* series: "In keeping with the new institutional practices that were introduced with the *Information* show,

for each *Projects* exhibition the Museum invited a single artist to install a piece or an exhibition in a gallery."[155] The policy of containment instituted in the fall-out of McShine's delegation of selection responsibilities to the artists of *Information* ("the first and last conceptual group show at MoMA in the 1970s"),[156] may be interpreted as, simultaneously, a manoeuvre to shield the Museum from the slings and arrows of institutional critique and a check against the abrasion generated by non-oppositional drop-ins, even as the latter's consultative labour – first realized at MoMA by BAXTER& – was responsible for carving out the entropic space for experimentation and (to a lesser degree) protest within the neutralized and politically-disengaged information flows of MoMA's apparatus in which the *Projects* later unfolded.[157] However minor the impact of subsequent interventions upon the corporatized power structure of MoMA (where power – never directly engaged in the responsibilities of production – nonetheless remains active "underground"),[158] it is significant that Staniszewski credits all challenges to MoMA's institutional practices during the 1980s and 1990s to *Projects* participants, whose activities mirrored – in their drop-in function – those of BAXTER&.[159] If the contribution to *Information* of BAXTER& may be justly credited with substantively positive (albeit structurally-contained) long-term outcomes for the Museum, it must be acknowledged that McShine's exercise in McLuhanesque tactics of decentralization and outsourcing achieved more mixed results as a large-scale rehearsal for the subsequent emergence of "satellite" or "branch" museums such as P.S.1 and, latterly, the Guggenheim franchise.[160] Perhaps the more impactful legacy of *Information*, though overshadowed by the critique of Hans Haacke, is the horizontal museum first formulated in the actions of McShine and BAXTER&.

NOTES

1 Stéphane SAUZEDDE, "Questioning the Critical Potential of the Artistic Entrepreneur," in *Les enterprises critiques/Critical Companies*, ed. Yann Toma (Saint-Etienne: Cité du design, 2008), 186.

2 Ken ALLAN, "Understanding Information," in *Conceptual Theory, Myth, and Practice*, ed. Michael Corris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 144.

3 Mary Anne STANISZEWSKI, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 269.

4 IAIN BAXTER&, who at different periods in his career has also exhibited under the moniker Iain Baxter (and is sometimes conflated with his former conceptual enterprises, IT and N.E. Thing Co. Ltd.), legally changed his name in 2005 and, more recently, has self-identified in all caps.

5 Founded in 1966 as the N.E. (Baxter) Thing Company, but subsequently renamed the N.E. Thing Company Ltd., for the sake of brevity and variety the Company will be referred to here alternately as N.E. Thing Co. or NETCO.

6 Derek KNIGHT, *N.E. Thing Co.: The Ubiquitous Concept* (Oakville, ON: Oakville Galleries, 1995), 7; IAIN BAXTER&, conversation with the author, 12 December 2010.

7 Kynaston MCSHINE, *Information* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 141; Julia BRYAN-WILSON, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009).

8 Les LEVINE, "The Information Fall-Out," *Studio International* 181:934 (June 1971): 267.

9 STANISZEWSKI, *The Power of Display*, 269.

10 Ibid., 270.

11 MCLUHAN, *Culture is Our Business* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 30.

12 Marshall MCLUHAN cited in ALLAN, "Understanding Information," 160.

13 Benjamin BUCHLOH, "Conceptual Art 1962–1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions," *October* 55 (Winter 1990): 133.

14 See, in particular, Alexander ALBERRO, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003); Vincent BONIN, "Documentary Protocols," in *Documentary Protocols (1967–1975)* (Montreal: Leonard & Bina Ellen Gallery, 2010), 17–59; BRYAN-WILSON, *Art Workers*; Chris GILBERT, "Art & Language and the Institutional Form of Anglo-American Collectivism," in *Collectivism after Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination after 1945*, eds. Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 77–93; David TOMAS, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice: N.E. Thing Co. at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, June 4 – July 6, 1969," in BONIN, *Documentary Protocols (1967–1975)*, 217–53.

15 *The Mechanical Bride* describes transformations in executive roles under the impact of the computer: "The century of spectacular prize fighting which lies behind us coincides with the era of the maulers and bruisers of industry. A more subtle age of bureaucratic and monopolistic business enterprise calls for the more complex sport of 'push-button football.' Modern football would have bored to death the tycoons of yesteryear, because they would have found in it none of the dramatization of their own lives." Marshall MCLUHAN, *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1951), 123. In *The Gutenberg Galaxy* McLuhan defines the features and causes of "changes in the world of management and of industrial organization" more systematically; for instance: "In our electronic age the specialist and pyramidal forms of structure, which achieved vogue in the sixteenth century and later, are not any longer practical . . . The 'simultaneous field' of electronic information structures, today reconstitutes the conditions and need for dialogue and participation." Marshall MCLUHAN, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002 [1962]), 140–1.

16 Franco "Bifo" BERARDI, *The Soul at Work: From Alienation to Autonomy* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2009), 108.

17 MCSHINE, *Information*, 200–5.

18 Eve MELTZER, "The Dream of the Information World," *Oxford Art Journal* 29:1 (March 2006): 126; Chris GILBERT, "Herbie Goes Bananas: Fantasies of Leisure and Labor from the New Left to the New Economy," in *Work Ethic*, ed. Helen Molesworth (Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Museum of Art, 2003), 67–81.

19 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973 [1999]), 14.
20 Ibid., 336.
21 E.g., Christopher May and Frank Webster's hyper-rationalist critiques of Information Society discourse. Christopher May, *The Information Society: A Sceptical View* (Malden, ma: Polity Press, 2002); Frank Webster, *Theories of the Information Society* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
22 E.g., McLuhan and Nevitt's decentralist model.
23 May, *The Information Society*; Webster, *Theories of the Information Society.*
24 Marie L. Fleming, *Baxter²: Any Choice Works* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1982); Nancy Shaw, "Siting the Banal: The Expanded Landscapes of the N.E. Thing Co," 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: Fine Arts Gallery, University of British Columbia, 1993), 25–35; William Wood, "Capital and Subsidiary: The N.E. Thing Co. and the Revision of Conceptual Art," in *You Are Now in the Middle of a N.E. Thing Co. Landscape*, 11–23.
25 Peter F. Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (New York: Mentor, 1972 [1946]); Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge, ma: mit Press, 2005).
26 baxter& continued to identify as President in some contexts, such as *Information*, until at least 1972 although Ingrid Baxter is cited as Co-President in internal documents from January 1969 onwards and even as President in *North American Time Zone Photo-V.S.I. Simultaneity* (1970). The uneven application of these titles is consistent with the organizational manoeuvres and pseudo-autonomous status of branch plants and consultants within the horizontal corporation described by McLuhan and Nevitt. N.E. Thing Co., "Minutes of the First Meeting of Directors of the N.E. Thing Co. LTD." (18 January 1969), Box 9, File 18, Iain Baxter Fonds, E.P. Taylor Research Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario.
27 A.A. Bronson (ed.), *From Sea to Shining Sea* (Toronto: Power Plant, 1987); Knight, *N.E. Thing Co.*
28 Marshall McLuhan and Barrington Nevitt, *Take Today: The Executive as Dropout* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1972), 17.
29 Ibid., 13. McLuhan and Nevitt clarify this logic elsewhere in the same text: "Extreme centralism of inputs breeds decentralism of outputs" (Ibid., 221).
30 Ibid., 23.
31 Ibid., 21.
32 Marshall McLuhan, "Sherlock Holmes vs. the Bureaucrat," in *Verbi-Voco-Visual Explorations* (New York, Something Else Press, 1967), u.p.
33 Mark W. Rectanus, *Culture Incorporated: Museums, Artists, And Corporate Sponsorships* (Minneapolis, mn: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 42–3.
34 McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 4.
35 Howard Raiffa, *Decision Analysis: Introductory Lectures on Choices under Uncertainty* (Reading, ma: Addison-Wesley, 1970), 10.
36 "During periods of rapid innovation and the consequent interplay of new and old services there is a complementary flood of disruption and disservice" (McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 47). "After increasing beyond some point, any service becomes a disservice" (Ibid., 82).

37 Ibid., 48.
38 Ibid., 137.
39 Gregory Battcock, "Informative Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art," *artsmagazine* 44:8 (Summer 1970).
40 Stephen Wright, "The Double Ontological Status of the Artistic Enterprise," in *Les entreprises critiques/Critical Companies*, ed. Yann Toma (Saint-Etienne: Cité du design, 2008), 191. The disruptions effected by the counterenvironments staged by baxter&, McShine, and Lippard may be contrasted with the vulnerability to co-optation of overtly critical positions diagnosed by McLuhan and Nevitt: "Marxism provides the ideal counterenvironment for the business world, bringing out its patterns and contours in strong relief" (McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 48).
41 Wright, "The Double Ontological Status of the Artistic Enterprise," 191.
42 *Aesthetically Claimed Things* (*act*) and *Aesthetically Rejected Things* (*art*).
43 Douglas Crimp, "The Museum's Old, The Library's New Subject," in *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge, ma: mit Press, 1993), 78.
44 Sauzedde, "Questioning the Critical Potential of the Artistic Entrepreneur," 185.
45 Thomas C. Cochran, "The Executive Mind: The Role of Railroad Leaders, 1845–1890," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 25:4 (December 1951): 230–41.
46 Rectanus, *Culture Incorporated*, 42.
47 Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, 13.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid., 192.
50 iain baxter&, "iain baxter& to Kynaston McShine" (15 Jan. 1969). Kynaston McShine, *Information* Exhibition Research, iv.59. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York; Lucy Lippard, *Eva Hesse* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 238.
51 Ibid.
52 Rona Roob, Apphia Loo and Amanda Sullivan, "Kynaston McShine *Information* Exhibition Research in The Museum of Modern Art Archives," http://www.moma.org/learn/resources/archives/EAD/InfoExhibitionRecordsf (accessed 15 May 2010).
53 Other files are, for the most part, limited to project proposals and correspondence; original works of art are not included.
54 On 9 February 1970, McShine's initial Curatorial Assistant on the *Information* project, Cintra Lofting, wrote to iain baxter& requesting a copy of one of the works by which netco was represented at the 1969 São Paulo Biennial: a calendar-catalogue. Cintra Lofting, "Cintra Lofting to Iain Baxter" (9 February 1970). Kynaston McShine, *Information* Exhibition Research, iv.59. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. No catalogue was ever issued for *New Media, New Methods*. On 30 April 1970, McShine wrote to Pierre Théberge requesting permission to borrow the *act* and *art* photographs that accompanied the calendar-catalogue in São Paulo – works which, McShine wrote, had impressed him when he attended the Biennial. Kynaston McShine, "Kynaston McShine to Pierre Théberge" (30 April 1970).
55 Tomas, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice," 242.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., 238.

58 For a concise history of the Lorne Building, and commentary on NETCO's critical attentiveness to that history, see TOMAS, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice."
59 Ibid., 220.
60 Ibid., 242, 244.
61 Ibid., 250.
62 Helen MOLESWORTH, "Work Ethic," in *Work Ethic* (Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Museum of Art, 2003), 25–51.
63 Ibid.
64 TOMAS, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice," 218. Tomas's attention to NETCO's "multiple frames of reference" and contradictions is exemplary.
65 Ibid., 222.
66 Ibid. William Wood similarly frames the business interests of NETCO within the static rhetoric of rationalization, arguing that the Company's standardized "Information" sheets served "as a means to standardize and systematize the entire venture" (my emphasis). WOOD, "Capital and Subsidiary," 14.
67 BONIN, "Documentary Protocols," 32.
68 TOMAS, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice," 240. This argument is more fully elaborated by Tomas as follows: "[*Environment*] marshalled activities, defined expectations, promoted work patterns, and *pioneered* a (corporate or economic) world view that gradually acculturated the National Gallery administrators and workers to the *idea* of accepting a corporation . . . as a potential and viable equivalent of an artwork" (243).
69 Michel FOUCAULT cited in RECTANUS, *Culture Incorporated*, 132.
70 MCLUHAN and NEVITT, *Take Today*, 4.
71 MCLUHAN, *Culture is Our Business*, 30.
72 For a concise introduction to McLuhan's binary classification of "hot" (i.e., non-participatory) and "cool" (i.e., participatory) media, see Marshall MCLUHAN, "Media Hot and Cold," in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 22–32.
73 MCLUHAN and NEVITT, *Take Today*, 4. The powerlessness of management in the electronic corporation is a consistent theme of *Take Today*: "The bigger the corporation, the more employees it drops out of sight. At the top, on the one hand, the executive is also swallowed by the corporation, knowing less and less about fewer and fewer people and operations: *as work enables a man to put on his public, he puts off himself*" (Ibid., 283).
74 RECTANUS, *Culture Incorporated*, 172.
75 "The TV user is the *content* of TV" (MCLUHAN and NEVITT, *Take Today*, 90).
76 TOMAS, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice," 252; N.E. Thing Co., "Some Thoughts Re: Communications and Concepts," in *You Are Now in the Middle of a N.E. Thing Co. Landscape*, 42.
77 MCLUHAN and NEVITT, *Take Today*, 281.
78 STANISZEWSKI, *The Power of Display*, 282.
79 RECTANUS, *Culture Incorporated*, 30.
80 STANISZEWSKI, *The Power of Display*, 285. Although Victoria D. Alexander and Grace Glueck stress that museum trustees (a population typically composed of

the representatives of powerful private and class interests) have, since at least the nineteenth century, exerted pressure on the institution in order to advance their personal goals or augment their prestige and, in turn, cultivated the museum as a brand, Rectanus echoes Alexander in tracing the origins of intensified corporate manipulation of the museum to the 1960s. Victoria D. Alexander, *Museums and Money: The Impact of Funding on Exhibitions, Scholarship, and Management* (Bloomington, in: Indiana University Press, 1996), 1: Grace Glueck, "Power and Esthetics: The Trustee," in *Museums in Crisis*, ed. Brian O'Doherty (New York: George Braziller, 1972); Rectanus, *Culture Incorporated*, 26.

81 Toronto ad cited in McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 280.

82 McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 280.

83 McLuhan, *Culture is Our Business*, 16. For an exploration of *Environment* as a "prototype" for the collusion of cultural and economic interests, see Tomas, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice," 248.

84 For a discussion of this concept viz. the performance of social roles, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2006 [1990]), 63–72.

85 McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 295.

86 Wood, "Capital and Subsidiary," 16.

87 Ibid., 18.

88 McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 280.

89 Ibid., 22.

90 iain baxter&, "iain baxter& to Kynaston McShine" (1 May 1970), Kynaston McShine, *Information* Exhibition Research, iv.59. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York; Ann Rosenberg, "An Illustrated Introduction to the N.E. Thing Co. Ltd.," *The Capilano Review*, nos. 8 & 9 (Fall 1975): 140.

91 McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 282.

92 By way of explicating the organizational effects of contemporary information flow, McLuhan pits Sherlock Holmes, the epitome of the "many-sided man" or "intuitive genius," against the rational administrators of Scotland Yard, "hostile to the inclusive and instantaneous grasping of situations," u.p.

93 Communication with the author, 11 Oct. 2009.

94 N.E. Thing Co., *Business Philosophy*, 1970 [manila folder printed with Company slogans]. Reproduced in *Les entreprises critiques/Critical Companies*, ed. Yann Toma and Rose Marie Barrientos (Saint-Etienne: Cité du design, 2008), 248–9.

95 "Supplement from Newsweek on 'International Data Processing Conference and Business Exposition, Seattle . . . June 23–26, 1970." Reproduced in *Documentary Protocols*, 82.

96 N.E. Thing Co., *Business Philosophy*.

97 Ibid.

98 William J. Horne, "William J. Horne to iain baxter&" (9 July 1970), baxter& papers, consulted 23 Oct. 2009.

99 Ann Rosenberg, "A Selection of N.E. Thing Company A.C.T.'s," *The Capilano Review*, nos. 8 & 9 (Fall 1975): 147; N.E. Thing Co. in Shaw, "Siting the Banal: The Extended Landscapes of the N.E. Thing Co.," 25.

100 Rosenberg, "A Selection of N.E. Thing Company A.C.T.'s," 147.

101 McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 295; N.E. Thing Co., *Business Philosophy*, 1970.

102 Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970), Chapter 7.

103 McLuhan, *Culture is Our Business*, u.p.
104 "Playfulness and creativity and invention are inseparable. Even before these playful approaches, 'value engineering' had been the name used by General Electric for techniques of meeting new competition in 'hardware' products" (McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 102).
105 Ibid., 32.
106 "One of the breakthroughs of World War II was Operations Research, which began as 'brain storming' and soon dried up as expertise" (McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 101).
107 Ibid., 102.
108 Ibid., 167.
109 Tomas, "The Dilemma of Categories and the Overdetermination of a Business Practice," 235.
110 Allan, "Understanding Information," 153, n. 35.
111 Toffler, *Future Shock*, 54.
112 See *Exploration of the Ways, Means, and Values of . . . Museum Communication with the Viewing Public* (New York: The Museum of the City of New York and The New York Council on the Arts, 1967).
113 Ibid., 200.
114 Ibid., 202, 208.
115 Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (New York: Vintage, 1955), 187.
116 Ibid.
117 McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 142.
118 Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, 193.
119 Battcock, "Informative Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art," 24.
120 Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, 189.
121 The concept of interplay is central to McLuhan's environmental theories: "[Marx] was unprepared for *interplay*, the resonant interval where new action is" (McLuhan and Nevitt, *Take Today*, 75).
122 Ibid., 105.
123 Ian Angus, "Sharing Secrets, or On Burrowing in Public" in *Anarcho-Modernism: Toward a New Critical Theory. In Honour of Jerry Zaslove* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2001), 373–5.
124 Jerald Zaslove, "Vindicating Popular Culture in Latin America," *Canadian Journal of Latin American & Caribbean Studies* (January 1998): 146.
125 Ingrid Baxter's comments in a 1975 interview with Ann Rosenberg elucidate the logic of burrowing adopted by NETCO: "I don't see it [engaging in commercial ventures] as getting out; out is the wrong word. It's getting deeper *in*, if anything. . . . We're sold *in*." Ingrid Baxter quoted in Rosenberg, "Interview/N.E. Thing Co.," *The Capilano Review*, nos. 8 & 9 (Fall/Spring 1975): 170–1.
126 IAIN BAXTER& quoted in *Investigations* (Sackville, New Brunswick: The Owens Art Gallery, Mount Allison University, 1974), u.p.
127 McLuhan quoted in *Exploration*, 65.
128 Ibid., 56.
129 BAXTER& quoted in Robin White, "Iain Baxter/N.E. Thing Co.," *View* 2:4 (1979): 15.
130 For a discussion of NETCO's use of Telex and telecopier media as a precursor to the Internet, see: Tilman Baumgärtel, "On the History of Artistic Work with

Telecommunications Media," in *Net Condition: Art and Global Media*, ed. Peter Weibel and Timothy Druckrey (Graz, Austria; Karlsruhe, Germany; and Cambridge, MA: Steirischer Herbst, ZKM/Center for ART and Media, and MIT Press, 2001), 154–61; Tilman BAUMGÄRTEL, "Immaterial Material: Physicality, Corporeality, and Dematerialization in Telecommunication Artworks," in *At a Distance: Precursors to Art and Activism on the Internet*, ed. Annmarie Chandler and Norie Neumark (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 60–71; Richard CAVELL, *McLuhan in Space: A Cultural Geography* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

131 PARKER quoted in *Exploration*, 12.

132 "I want to build what I call a 'newseum,' which consists of a building outside the museum proper, but which draws on the artefacts and materials of the museum for its shows. The idea of a newseum is that it is concern with news, any news in the world which is of great moment, whether it occurs in science or archaeological discovery or what have you, or whether it occurs on the political scene" (PARKER quoted in *Exploration*, 33).

133 Johan HUIZINGA, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955 [1938]).

134 Libero ANDREOTTI, "Play-Tactics of the 'Internationale Situationniste'," *October* 91 (Winter 2000): 38.

135 McLuhan and Nevitt play on the homophony of "facts" and "fax" in *Take Today,* 81.

136 IAIN BAXTER&, "Telexed Self-Portrait from Memory," in MCSHINE, *Information*, 91.

137 See *Co-Presidents of N.E. Thing Co. Ltd Attending Exhibition of Company Products at Sonnabend Gallery, New York, 1971*. Reproduced in *Celebration of the Body*, u.p.

138 TOFFLER, *Future Shock*, 132, 134.

139 SAUZEDDE, "Questioning the Critical Potential of the Artistic Entrepreneur," 182.

140 WRIGHT, "The Double Ontological Status of the Artistic Enterprise," 191.

141 Wright MILLS, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), 102.

142 Ibid., 95.

143 TOFFLER, *Future Shock*.

144 Ibid., 74.

145 Ibid., 133.

146 MCLUHAN and NEVITT, *Take Today*, 22.

147 DRUCKER, *Concept of the Corporation*, 11.

148 Ibid., 8.

149 Ibid., 50.

150 Ibid., 57.

151 Ibid., 53.

152 MCLUHAN and NEVITT, *Take Today*, 17.

153 Ibid.

154 MARTIN, *The Organizational Complex*, 214.

155 STANISZEWSKI, *The Power of Display*, 286.

156 Ibid., 285.

157 Ibid., 295.

158 Ibid., 285.

159 Ibid., 295–6.

160 RECTANUS, *Culture Incorporated*, 177.

IAIN BAXTER&: l'artiste devenu « Drop-in »

ADAM LAUDER

RÉSUMÉ

On reconnaît de plus en plus l'importance de l'exposition *Information*, organisée au MOMA en 1970 par Kynaston McShine (1935–), dans le champ plus large du discours de l'art conceptuel et du travail. Dans le contexte du nouvel environnement corporatif d'*Information*, les opérations surnuméraires effectuées par l'artiste canadien IAIN BAXTER& (1936–), en tant que président de l'entreprise autonome N.E. Thing Co., ont généré une interaction caustique d'informations redondantes en multipliant les fonctions de gestion traditionnellement confiées au commissaire et aux commanditaires de l'exposition et en attirant l'attention sur elles. La logique à la McLuhan d'une gestion décentralisée adoptée par McShine répondait aux représentations fantasmatiques d'une future « Société de l'information », des mouvements de contestation et de la culture jeune. L'installation performative *Environment* de N.E. Thing Co. à la Galerie nationale du Canada, en 1969, où BAXTER& s'est coulé lui-même dans le moule des gestionnaires du futur qu'avaient annoncés les premiers théoriciens du travail cognitif, tels Peter F. Drucker (1909–2005), C. Wright Mills (1916–1962), Daniel Bell (1919–), Alvin Toffler (1928–) et, en particulier, Marshall McLuhan (1911–1980), bien qu'ignorée dans des rapports précédents sur *Information*, l'a probablement aussi influencée. À mesure que le musée se transforme en jeu technologique, selon la théorie de McLuhan et de son associé Harley Parker (1915–1992), le commissaire abandonne (drop-out) ses responsabilités administratives et l'artiste les reprend (drop-in) en tant que conseiller expert en s'appropriant les technologies des communications et des réseaux corporatifs. La logique non oppositionnelle, mais néanmoins dérangeante, de ces rôles à la McLuhan trace une voie parallèle, mais distincte, vers la stratégie plus familière de la *critique* institutionnelle déployée par Hans Haacke (1936–) à l'intérieur de la même exposition.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette

Introduction à l'archimur. Réflexions sur la voix et le commissaire (autour de l'exposition *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*)

EDUARDO RALICKAS

« Meine Herren », fuhr [. . .] Fichte fort, « denken Sie die Wand ». [. . .]« Haben Sie die Wand gedacht? » fragte Fichte. « Nun meine Herren, so denken sie denjenigen, der die Wand gedacht hat[1] *».*

I

Dans *Détruire la peinture,* Louis Marin évoquait les thèses d'Émile Benveniste sur la distinction entre histoire et discours, dans les termes suivants :

> L'histoire est donc caractérisée par un mode spécifique d'énonciation consistant à effacer, à exclure les marques de l'énonciation dans l'énoncé : dans l'histoire, l'énonciation ne s'énonce pas. Le récit est un discours à narrateur absent. Les événements de l'histoire *semblent* se raconter eux-mêmes dans le récit sans renvoyer à l'acte producteur du récit[2].

J'inscris ma réflexion actuelle dans la foulée de ce texte célèbre non pas tant pour effectuer un geste de dénégation de ma propre voix dans le récit (historique) qui va suivre, mais bien parce que je souhaite ouvrir une parenthèse dans le discours marinien afin de poser une question nouvelle, que ce même discours fonde, autant en possibilité qu'en raison : *comment s'articulent voix et récit, espace et réflexivité dans le discours de commissaire en art contemporain ?*

Aussi, dans le même texte, Marin postulait-il (en renvoyant également à la théorie de l'énonciation de Benveniste) : « par opposition à la voix qui est toujours au présent, l'écriture serait toujours au passé[3] ». En prenant pour cadre de ma réflexion l'acte d'exposer les œuvres d'autrui dans un espace institutionnel d'art contemporain, cette dernière citation donnerait lieu à la proposition que voici : par opposition à la voix du commissaire, qui est toujours au présent, le récit que raconte l'exposition (envisagée en tant que « texte ») serait toujours au passé. Dès lors, comment présent et passé,

As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted, vue de l'installation, 2009. (Photo : David K. Ross. Avec le concours des commissaires et de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

énonciation et énoncé, sont-ils liés ? Autre question : si, comme l'écrivait encore Marin, « il n'y a jamais que des récits, des histoires, et les sujets de parole, locuteurs, allocutaires ne se constituent tels que de s'en emparer, que de se les approprier, que d'en faire des discours[4] », il s'ensuit que le propre du commissaire (ce qui constitue son « libre arbitre » pour ainsi dire) est d'agir en opérant des *choix* narratifs, en laissant ainsi l'empreinte de sa propre voix (sa voix de sujet) dans le récit-système qu'il met en place (et qui le constitue à son tour). Conséquence : le commissaire n'est tel que dans la mesure où le récit *est*. Mais *ce* commissaire n'est tel que dans la mesure où le récit est raconté de *telle* ou *telle* façon.

Qu'adviendrait-il, cependant, si le commissaire se donnait pour tâche, précisément, de se soustraire de son propre libre arbitre ? De mettre en place un système/récit *qui parle pour lui*, et peut-être même qui parle *de* lui, de sa disparition (et ce, non pas seulement au niveau de l'énonciation, comme c'est sans doute le cas dans tout récit de type historique, mais également au niveau de l'énoncé : de ce sur quoi porte ce qui est narré) ? De façon plus générale : l'exposition aurait-elle quelque chose à voir avec l'extinction de la voix commissariale ? Le cas échéant, comment penser cette voix dans le cadre du récit historique qui est très précisément *structuré* par son déni ? Il me semble que dans le contexte actuel (qui gère le double héritage de Harald Szeemann et de l'art conceptuel) la résurgence de la figure du commissaire-artiste (ou de son *Doppelgänger* : l'artiste-commissaire) dans les biennales, foires et institutions muséales d'art contemporain, appelle une telle réflexion sur le lien entre les stratégies « administratives[5] » employées dans la mise en salle de l'art actuel et les instances énonciatrices des récits d'exposition.

Pour ma démonstration, je choisis un cas d'exposition particulièrement frappant. Je le choisis très précisément pour son caractère « hyperbolique » (au sens rhétorique). À vrai dire, il s'agit d'un cas paradigmatique d'*égicide commissarial* qui permettra d'approfondir la problématique de l'énonciation historique et les modalités de sa mise en espace[6].

Le point d'amorce de ma réflexion est une comparaison (que je tiens pour heuristique) : de même que le récit iconique (le tableau d'histoire) est le lieu où se joue la spatialisation des procédés de signifiance du langage écrit par le biais de moyens proprement picturaux, de même le récit d'exposition (le récit que constitue l'exposition d'objets se déployant sous le mode de l'énonciation historique) est constitué par une syntaxe spatialisée (la mise en espace de tableaux, cartels, lumière, etc.).

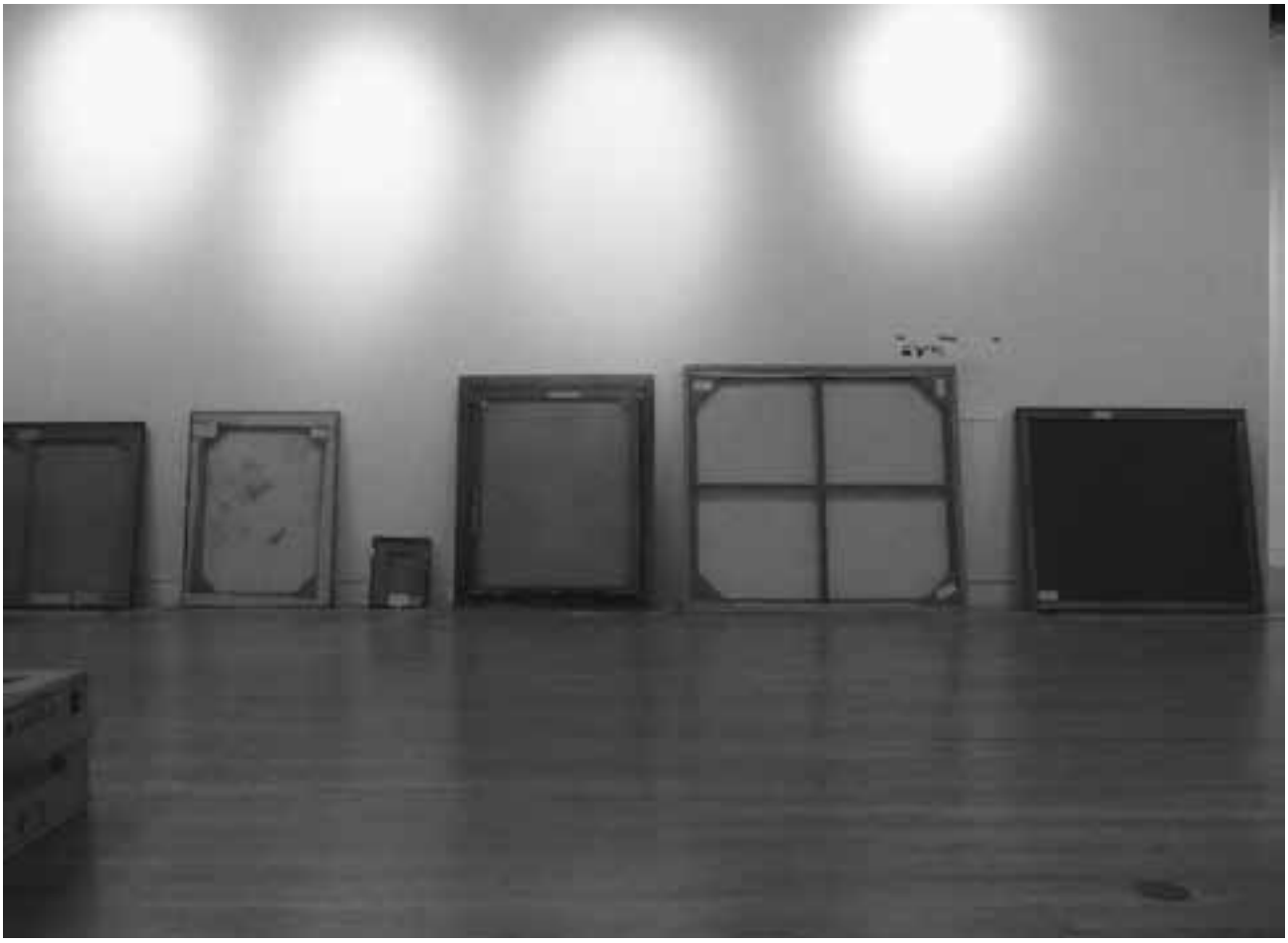
II

Entre le 11 mars et le 17 avril 2009, la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen de l'Université Concordia accueillait un projet d'exposition des commissaires-

artistes Rebecca Duclos (1967–) et David K. Ross (1966–) qui avait pour titre *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*[7]. Titre à tout le moins littéral, puisqu'il décrit à la lettre le processus expositionnel constituant l'œuvre à laquelle le spectateur était convié à assister. À l'instar des pratiques conceptuelles des années 1960, la proposition de Duclos et de Ross consistait à mettre en place un système leur permettant de générer une exposition *sans récit ni commissaire*. À vrai dire, dans cette exposition radicalement « objective » (puisque sans sujet), il s'agissait d'exploiter un système (institutionnel) déjà en place et – si l'on ose dire – de lui *donner* la parole *in situ*, de sorte que la voix des commissaires devait s'effacer devant cette « approche non narrative en matière de commissariat d'exposition [*non-narrative curatorial approach*] » dans laquelle « la collection est essentiellement son propre commissaire [*the collection essentially "curates" itself*][8] ».

En effet, la démarche des commissaires consistait à sortir de l'entrepôt de conservation jouxtant les salles d'exposition la quasi-totalité des œuvres gisant dans la réserve. Avec l'appui des employés de la galerie (techniciens à l'accrochage, personnel administratif, bureau de la direction) et d'un groupe d'étudiants spécialement embauchés pour ce projet ambitieux, l'enjeu était de *tapisser*[9] tous les murs de l'institution, de gauche à droite et de haut en bas, à raison d'une œuvre à la fois, dans l'ordre préétabli par le système d'entreposage. Dans le cas d'œuvres sculpturales, les commissaires avaient prévu une salle spéciale afin de les exposer. Ainsi la galerie devait-elle répéter en public, du moins idéalement, la disposition invisible de l'archive. Les critères d'entreposage étant radicalement différents des critères esthétiques, cognitifs ou pédagogiques déterminant d'ordinaire le geste commissarial, le spectateur devait se mesurer à un accrochage sans récit d'exposition perceptible où voisinaient des œuvres relevant de catégories pour le moins disparates. C'est ainsi que des œuvres phares représentant les principaux courants de l'art canadien de l'après-guerre (signées par des artistes canoniques, comme Paul-Émile Borduas (1905–1960), Geneviève Cadieux (1955–), Pierre Dorion (1959–), Guido Molinari (1933–2004), Michael Snow (1928–) et Gabor Szilasi (1928–), entre autres[10]), côtoyaient des échantillons de démarches artistiques à valeur esthétique ou historique négligeable et dont les manuels d'histoire de l'art ne disent mot, tant ces productions ont eu un impact minime sur la critique d'art ou les instances marchandes de leur époque (Fig. 1–6).

Mais cette répétition en salle de l'ordre de la réserve visait non pas tant à constituer un nouveau système de signification ou d'interprétation (un nouveau texte) qu'à *présenter* (au sens d'une *Darstellung*), sans exégèse explicite, le système de constitution, d'archivage, de conservation et d'administration de la collection en tant que tel. De sorte qu'une part importante du budget alloué à ce projet a été investie dans le montage et le



1–3 | Rebecca Duclos et David K. Ross, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, 2009. Vues de l'installation. (Photos : David K. Ross. Avec le concours des commissaires et de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

4 | Rebecca Duclos et David K. Ross, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, 2009. Vue de l'installation. (Photo : Paul Litherland. Avec le concours de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

démontage. Dans l'esprit d'une analyse immanente des systèmes, très proche des propositions sociologiques d'une Andrea Fraser[11], le souci critique de Duclos et de Ross englobait *tous* les aspects fonctionnels de l'institution qu'ils parasitaient : dès le 11 mars l'« œuvre » que constituait l'événement *As Much as Possible* donnait à voir l'équipe des techniciens travaillant dans l'espace de la galerie ; au fil des jours, le visiteur pouvait assister au « tapissage » progressif et systématique de tous les murs de l'institution, ce processus se concluant dès qu'on avait atteint le maximum possible d'œuvres selon les limites intrinsèques de l'institution[12]. Cette étape signalait le moment du vernissage (qui a eu lieu le mardi 31 mars 2009) – et la volonté de mise en scène totale des commissaires, puisque le vernissage faisait partie intégrante de l'œuvre. Ensuite, l'équipe technique procédait au démontage, processus qui opérait la réplique en ordre inverse de la première moitié du projet (le montage). Ces diverses étapes de réalisation ayant été franchies plus rapidement que prévu,

5 | Rebecca Duclos et David K. Ross, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, 2009. Vue de l'installation. (Photo : David K. Ross. Avec le concours des commissaires et de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

les derniers jours de l'exposition ont proposé une Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen sans image où l'on pouvait contempler des marques indicielles, derniers signifiants visibles du système de la collection désormais redevenue invisible : murs troués, traits à la mine de plomb pour indiquer l'emplacement des œuvres, constellations de cernes lumineux ponctuant l'espace (les projecteurs étant encore allumés . . .)[13].

Bien que la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen soit une institution culturelle dont le mandat privilégie la diffusion et l'interprétation de l'art contemporain, elle est également la dépositaire d'une collection d'œuvres d'art (au sens large) constituée entre 1962 et 2003 (année où la direction actuelle a déclaré un moratoire sur les acquisitions). Cette collection, comptant plus de 1 700 œuvres d'artistes québécois et canadiens, comporte également des objets issus de diverses pratiques culturelles (terres cuites précolombiennes, objets de culte africains, ustensiles de type « Canadiana » dont une « saucière et louche

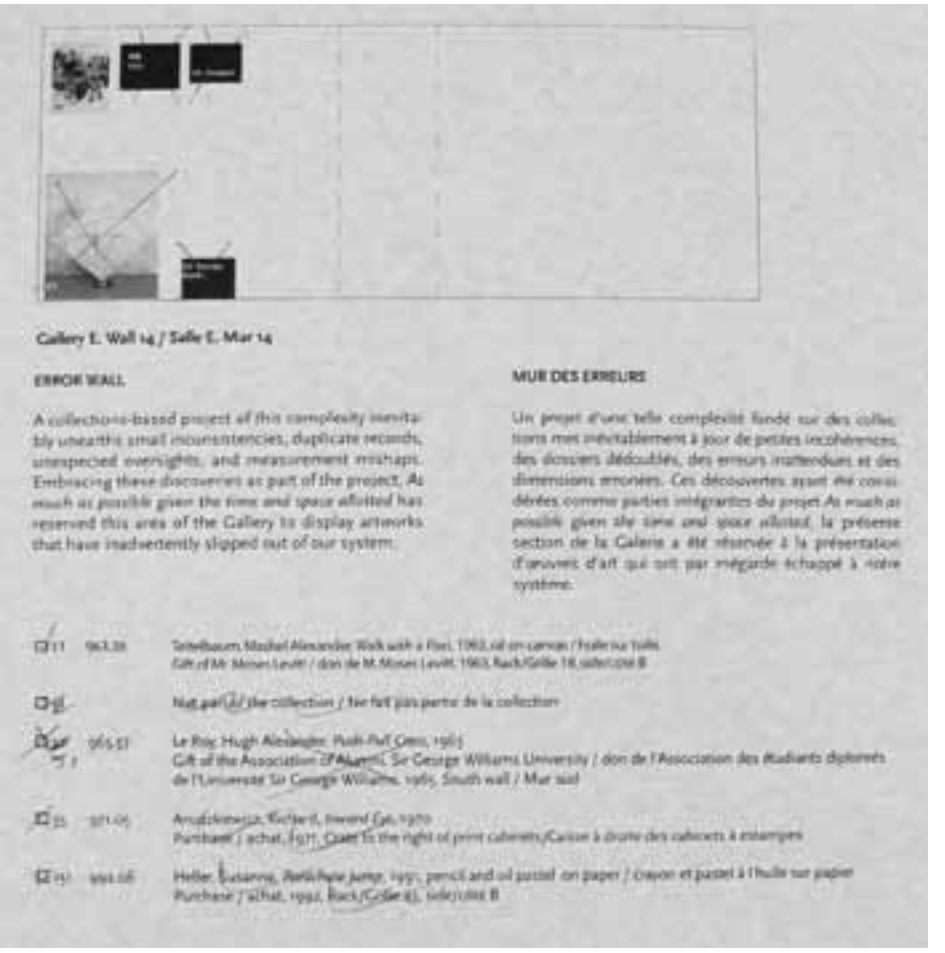
6 | Rebecca Duclos et David K. Ross, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, 2009. Vue de l'installation. (Photo : Paul Litherland. Avec le concours de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

de la St-John's Stone Chinaware Company, Québec », etc.). Bref, ce sont là des objets sans rapport les uns avec les autres, car il ne s'agit pas d'une collection encyclopédique ni thématique, et encore moins d'une collection résultant du goût personnel d'un seul individu visionnaire ayant voulu confronter des œuvres d'art du XX^e^ siècle avec des artéfacts ethnographiques anciens ou modernes. En effet, des facteurs politiques, économiques, esthétiques et sociaux ont déterminé l'acquisition d'une grande part de ces objets au fil de six mandats de direction, si bien que la conservatrice actuelle chargée de gérer ce patrimoine parle de la « composition multidirectionnelle » de cette collection dont « l'orientation du contenu n'apparaît pas évidente[14] ». Et pour cause : la mise en commun de ces œuvres résulte d'un document, l'ancienne Politique d'acquisition, constitué de critères qui « prêtaient à l'interprétation,

réduisant ainsi leur valeur de filtre contre diverses pressions extérieures[15] ». À la lumière de cela, le titre de l'exposition, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted,* se positionne de façon critique, sous le mode de l'écho ironique[16], vis-à-vis de cette collection sans orientation que seul un énoncé peut englober de façon exhaustive : *le plus possible étant donnés le temps et l'espace alloués.*

Mais le projet de Rebecca Duclos et de David K. Ross ratissait encore plus large. En travaillant à partir de ce fonds qui témoigne, comme un index, de la structure sociale, économique et politique du *artworld* montréalais de la seconde moitié du XX^e^ siècle (et, éventuellement, de ses renvois d'ascenseur), leur souci n'était pas de faire passer au tribunal de la muséologie tous les acteurs ayant joué un rôle dans la constitution de cette collection. À cette critique des individus et des fonctions, ils opposaient une critique de toute subjectivité possible. Et leur projet se déclinait à partir de quelques paramètres fort simples qu'ils manipulaient comme de puissants outils de critique institutionnelle. De façon insolite, cet étalage systématique suivait tout bonnement la logique de *ce qu'il y a*, ne prétendant produire aucun sens nouveau, c'est-à-dire aucun sens s'ajoutant à, ou venant infléchir, le sens de la collection ainsi dévoilée.

Dans cette optique, le geste commissarial de Duclos et de Ross relève d'une conception instrumentale de la rationalité[17]. Sans doute le mot d'ordre ici est-il *pragmatisme* : les œuvres ont été accrochées sur la seule base de critères pragmatiques (maximiser la visibilité). Les caisses gisant au centre de la galerie principale y avaient été déposées pour des raisons pragmatiques (dégager l'entrepôt afin de permettre aux travailleurs d'accéder plus facilement aux œuvres suspendues sur les châssis de conservation). Les vides laissés entre les tableaux n'étaient pas motivés pas un souci esthétique : ils relevaient d'une démarche purement pragmatique (il s'agissait de l'espace minimal permettant à la main d'une personne d'accrocher deux œuvres côte à côte). Le pragmatisme du projet était si profond qu'il englobait même les *limites* et les *erreurs* du système ou de l'institution. En effet, outre les limites architecturales de l'espace en tant que tel, les commissaires se sont heurtés à une contrainte muséologique : il ne leur était pas permis d'accrocher des œuvres au ras du sol[18]. Par ailleurs, des erreurs administratives (relatives aux dimensions des œuvres) dans la base de données de la collection ont contraint les commissaires à créer un nouveau « type » de mur dans les salles de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, qu'ils ont nommé « le mur des erreurs ». Ce mur avait pour fonction d'exposer les œuvres qui, en raison de leurs dimensions réelles, ne pouvaient être accrochées en respectant l'ordre d'entreposage de la collection, l'espace qu'on leur avait prévu étant insuffisant. Dans tous les cas, les auteurs de *As Much as Possible* ont tout simplement composé avec ces



7 | Rebecca Duclos et David K. Ross, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, 2009. Détail du cartel du mur des erreurs. (Photo de l'auteur. Avec le concours des commissaires et de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

contraintes en les intégrant dans la logique, à la fois souple et totalisante, de la raison instrumentale. Dès lors, on constate à quel point le projet visait à embrasser et à mettre en scène de façon exhaustive ce qu'il convient d'appeler les conditions de possibilité institutionnelles du discours de commissaire[19].

D'ailleurs, les commissaires ne revendiquaient aucune compétence spécialisée (réflexion sur l'histoire de la modernité artistique) ou aucun talent personnel (goût, sensibilité, compétence individuelle pour la disposition d'objets dans l'espace). Seul un « génie » leur était dévolu : le génie de *l'administration*[20]. Ainsi, l'« œuvre » exposée était le processus technico-administratif lui-même, condition de possibilité matérielle de la mise en exposition de l'art. En témoignent les cartels installés sur tous les murs :

à défaut de proposer une explication, voire une interprétation, ceux-ci n'affichaient que des listes d'inventaire, des annotations manuscrites des commissaires relatives à la gestion des murs, et des maquettes représentant le projet d'accrochage de chaque mur (Fig. 7). À partir du moment où le système s'est décidé (à savoir : au moment de la conception, où des bases de données répertoriant la collection ont servi à « simuler » le projet en amont de sa réalisation[21]), les commissaires ont cédé le pas au réseau administratif qu'ils ont engendré, de concert avec les dispositifs préexistants de l'institution d'accueil :

> Cette méthodologie muséologique fait qu'une série de *sélections impartiales* suscite une appréciation privilégiant le processus plutôt que la provenance. De fait, notre rôle [en tant que commissaires] a été grandement *administratif* dans ce projet[22].

En un mot : la collection n'a pas été exposée ; elle s'est exposée. Mais on ne tardera pas à constater qu'il y a là un glissement, un transfert, voire une délégation de la part de subjectivité revenant aux commissaires à l'entité *technico-administrative* constituée par l'exposition, de sorte qu'il appartenait maintenant à l'exposition-système de porter le pronom réflexif que l'on emploie d'habitude, du moins en français, pour désigner l'autonomie des personnes[23]. Système *absolu*, au sens étymologique du terme (« parfait » puisque « sans relation », « autonome », « indépendant »), l'exposition se conjuguait désormais à la première personne du singulier : *je*. Mais il s'agit là d'un *je* paradoxal, puisqu'impersonnel : un *je-machine* en personne.

III

Cela posé, il est loisible de se déprendre du récit autorisé[24] des commissaires pour entamer une réflexion d'un autre ordre. En effet, il nous semble que la richesse de *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted* tient au fait qu'on y *démontre,* de façon spatialisée, *l'impossibilité* de déléguer la voix du commissaire à un système expositionnel. Pour le comprendre, il suffit de se pencher sur un concept sans lien apparent avec notre problématique, à savoir ce que Gérard Genette nomme l'*architexte*. Selon notre hypothèse, la spécificité du projet de Duclos et de Ross est d'opérer une topologisation du processus d'architexture, si bien que ce que le parcours-discours de *As Much as Possible* engendre, ce n'est rien de moins qu'une théorie de l'exposition comme texte affichant ses propres modes d'énonciation. Nous appellerons cela l'*archimur.* Qui plus est, en se constituant comme une exposition sur les conditions énonciatrices de l'acte expositionnel en tant que tel, *As Much as*

Possible s'avère être le processus par le biais duquel la *voix* des commissaires se fait entendre dans l'énoncé qui, pourtant, était censé en assurer l'extinction . . .

À notre connaissance, il appartient au théoricien français Jérôme Glicenstein d'avoir été le premier à penser, de façon systématique, la problématique expositionnelle en fonction des catégories narratologiques de Gérard Genette. Dans un ouvrage récent intitulé *L'art : une histoire d'expositions* (2009), Glicenstein se propose d'approfondir le phénomène de l'exposition comme une construction d'ordre textuel. Dans cette optique, les auteurs d'une exposition « visent à produire du sens par la mise en relation [d'objets] entre eux, avec le lieu et avec des textes ou certains éléments visuels[25] ». À quoi l'auteur ajoute (et on croirait lire une description de *As Much as Possible*, véritable traité de la méthode en matière d'expositions) : « Et si le sens d'une exposition ne relève pas tant des objets présentés que des jeux de relations qu'ils suscitent, toute la difficulté consiste à qualifier aussi précisément que possible ces relations, à les décrire et à les évaluer[26] ».

Selon Glicenstein, à titre d'entité textuelle, l'exposition est le vecteur d'une série d'opérations *entre* des textes, c'est-à-dire ce que Gérard Genette a appelé la *transtextualité*[27]. Et de fait, Glicenstein reprend les cinq modalités de la transtextualité proposées par Genette (à savoir : l'intertextualité, la paratextualité, la métatextualité, l'hypertextualité et l'architextualité[28]) afin de les *appliquer* (l'expression est de Glicenstein) au champ des expositions.

Ainsi, Glicenstein postule que le texte-exposition génère « un ensemble de relations internes (dans la forme même de l'exposition) et externes (entre différentes expositions)[29] ». Afin de clarifier cette distinction, il s'appuie sur les cinq modalités de la transtextualité genettienne, à savoir :

> Genette distingue notamment entre l'intertexte (utilisation littérale d'autres textes dans un texte littéraire sous la forme de citations ou d'allusions), le paratexte (c'est-à-dire tout ce qui encadre le texte proprement dit : titre, préface, remerciements), le métatexte (ce qui se réfère au texte à partir de l'extérieur : commentaire, critique), l'architexte (ce qui définit et classe le texte dans un ordre plus vaste : le genre auquel il appartient) et l'hypertexte (ce qui dans le texte ne se comprend que par rapport à d'autres textes préexistants : parodie, pastiche, mais aussi notes de bas de page).

Cela posé, le propos de Glicenstein consiste alors à passer d'un régime textuel à un régime visuel sans déterminer au préalable si une telle « application » à caractère unidirectionnel, que l'on gagnerait sans doute à envisager en termes d'une « conversion », n'est pas elle-même susceptible de produire de *nouvelles* valeurs :

> Ces catégories pourraient en fait largement être appliquées au monde des expositions : l'intertexte existe ainsi lorsqu'on reconstitue une exposition à l'intérieur d'une autre exposition (par exemple, la reconstitution de l'exposition Picabia à la galerie Dalmau de Barcelone, à l'intérieur de l'exposition « Dada » au Centre Pompidou). Le paratexte dans une exposition est encore plus courant : ce sont les titres, cartels, notices, catalogues, documents supplémentaires qui accompagnent une visite. Le métatexte, comme pour un texte littéraire, ce sont les références à l'exposition et qui lui sont extérieures (une autre exposition sur le même thème ; des critiques et commentaires). L'architexte, peut quant à lui correspondre au genre d'une exposition (monographie, exposition de groupe, exposition thématique, biennale, etc.), voire à des sous-genres (exposition documentaire sur un thème spécifique, historique, scientifique . . .). L'hypertexte, en revanche, est rarement visible dans une exposition (quoique bien présent dans le catalogue) : ce sont par exemple les expositions auxquelles ont participé précédemment les objets présentés (ou auxquelles ils participeront ultérieurement). Il en existe parfois une forme un peu particulière avec l'ajout sur les cartels de la provenance de telle ou telle œuvre (nom de collectionneur, de musée, date et mode d'acquisition, bibliographie . . .)[30].

Ce passage appelle une série de commentaires. Tout d'abord, l'analyse de Glicenstein semble osciller entre plusieurs *niveaux,* sans précision supplémentaire. Ainsi est-il parfois question des *objets* montrés *dans* une exposition (œuvres, cartels, etc.) et parfois d'autres *expositions*, antérieures ou futures. Mais l'ambiguïté que nous cernons ne résulte pas uniquement de la distinction, proposée par Glicenstein, entre ce qui est « interne » et « externe » à l'exposition conçue comme texte. Ce glissement entre l'élément (l'objet) et la totalité (l'exposition) semble indiquer une insuffisance théorique dans les thèses avancées par cet auteur : en effet, il n'est jamais question dans son raisonnement d'envisager l'exposition comme un texte de façon *radicale*, c'est-à-dire comme un tout, si bien qu'on serait tenté, à partir de cette citation de Glicenstein, d'émettre des doutes quant à la pertinence d'employer le concept de textualité pour analyser le champ expositionnel. Sans doute est-il fécond de concevoir l'objet « exposition » comme une entité textuelle ; mais pour remplir les exigences méthodologiques d'une telle démarche, il incombera à l'analyste d'employer le concept de textualité de façon conséquente, c'est-à-dire en logeant l'analyse au sein d'un seul niveau épistémologique.

Pour le dire autrement, Glicenstein estime (à juste titre nous semble-t-il) que la pratique d'englober des reconstitutions d'expositions historiques dans

des expositions contemporaines est une pratique intertextuelle (c'est-à-dire citationnelle). En revanche, lorsqu'il s'agit d'analyser en quoi le concept de paratexte est pertinent, il se borne à mentionner que le « paratexte *dans une exposition* est encore plus courant [que l'intertexte] : ce sont les titres, cartels, notices, catalogues, documents supplémentaires qui accompagnent une visite ». Or, dans le premier exemple, l'exposition s'avère une totalité textuelle à part entière fonctionnant comme vecteur de transtextualité alors que dans le second, l'exposition n'est plus analysée comme une entité textuelle, mais bien comme un ensemble contenant des éléments qui sont envisagés comme des paratextes. Dans cette optique, quel est le statut transtextuel de l'exposition *en propre* ? Peut-on inscrire le texte-exposition sous le signe du paratexte ? Sans doute est-il vrai que le paratexte nous force à sortir du texte (afin de le mettre en relation avec d'autres éléments qui en infléchissent le sens), mais est-ce le cas avec le métatexte ? Et l'hypertexte ? C'est moins certain. Toujours est-il que, dans le champ littéraire, un texte peut se décrire comme un métatexte tout en demeurant un texte. De surcroît, il peut agir à titre de commentaire critique (métatexte) et faire office de parodie (hypertexte) et ce, simultanément. En le postulant, on n'aura pas pour autant transgressé le principe d'immanence du texte en question. Un tel principe est-il pertinent pour penser l'exposition ? Ainsi, une série d'interrogations demeurent sans réponse : une *exposition* peut-elle *être* un hypertexte (et non pas en *contenir*, dans le catalogue) ? Une autre peut-elle fonctionner *à titre de* métatexte (et non pas mettre des métatextes à la disposition des visiteurs) ? Et l'exposition-paratexte, est-ce possible ? À cela nous répondons : non seulement est-ce possible, mais cela relève aussi de la pratique courante dans le champ des expositions de l'art contemporain.

En effet, il est loisible de recenser plusieurs cas où l'acte d'exposition constitue *en soi* un dispositif de paratextualité. Mais nous nous bornons à signaler l'*archétype* de cette stratégie expositionnelle que tous les artistes contemporains « citent », ne serait-ce qu'involontairement, en concevant leurs propositions artistiques comme des paratextes : il s'agit du projet d'exposition *Douglas Huebler: November 1968*. Dans cette exposition, qui a marqué la genèse de l'art conceptuel new-yorkais, l'artiste Douglas Huebler (1924–1997) a collaboré avec le commissaire Seth Siegelaub afin de créer une exposition dont l'existence se limitait au seul catalogue d'exposition. Selon Alexander Alberro, il s'agit de la première exposition à se déployer uniquement dans son catalogue[31]. Ainsi, on pourrait décrire et analyser un des principaux paradigmes de l'art conceptuel à l'aide du paratexte genettien, pourvu que l'on conçoive l'acte d'exposition comme un « texte » et ce, rigoureusement.

En effet, comme le signale Alberro, les œuvres que Douglas Huebler a conçues en 1968 n'étaient ni matérielles ni objectales : elles se concrétisaient

sous forme d'énoncés linguistiques imprimés. De sorte que Seth Siegelaub, entrepreneur new-yorkais qui gérait la distribution des œuvres des premiers artistes conceptuels, pouvait alors affirmer que la démarche de Huebler coïncidait parfaitement avec son champ de distribution (c'est-à-dire le catalogue d'exposition). Dans un entretien de 1969, Siegelaub postulait : « le catalogue peut maintenant agir à titre d'information primaire de l'exposition [. . .] Dans certains cas, le catalogue peut tenir lieu de l'exposition[32] ». Huebler aurait ainsi inventé un nouveau paradigme expositionnel : l'exposition-paratexte.

Dès lors, le paratexte revêt un visage (économique/politique/matériel) inédit *que l'acte se bornant à appliquer la pensée de Genette à la pratique expositionnelle ne permet pas de thématiser pleinement*. En effet, le paratexte duquel relève l'exposition-catalogue de Huebler s'inscrit dans le champ de *distribution* des images. Par suite, le *sens* du paratexte est indissociable de ses *usages* dans ce contexte élargi où la textualité circule et est consommée. Ainsi, notre démarche *transforme*, autant qu'elle « applique », les catégories de Genette, dans la mesure où l'art de l'exposition les aura préalablement transformées . . .

Par souci d'exhaustivité, il convient d'interroger en quoi les quatre autres modalités de la transtextualité infléchissent les productions expositionnelles contemporaines et, inversement, en quoi la pratique d'exposition est un vecteur de transformation de la narratologie textuelle. Nous nous limitons à quelques remarques.

L'exposition-hypertexte recouvre des cas où l'entité expositionnelle tisse un texte *nouveau* (une nouvelle exposition) en se greffant à un texte primitif (à une exposition antérieure) vis-à-vis duquel il maintient une relation de transformation (parodie, déformation, etc.). Sans doute le cas emblématique au Canada est le projet de Michael Snow qui a pour titre *Plus Tard* (1977)[33]. Pour mémoire, *Plus Tard* est une installation dans laquelle l'artiste a exposé vingt-cinq photographies couleur prises dans l'ancienne salle du Musée des beaux-arts du Canada (alors appelé la Galerie nationale du Canada) où étaient accrochées à titre permanent des œuvres de Tom Thomson et du Groupe des Sept. La démarche de Snow a consisté à photographier les tableaux en employant (de façon ironique) les procédés de la *straight photography :* ainsi l'artiste a-t-il documenté les œuvres picturales en misant sur les propriétés intrinsèques du médium photographique (le flou, le cadrage, le temps d'exposition, les angles optiques), en sorte que ses clichés transformaient radicalement leur référents, l'enjeu étant d'insister sur la puissance picturale de la photographie et sur son absence de neutralité. Dans plusieurs photographies, on voit des pans de mur et des éléments appartenant au contexte d'exposition des tableaux. Toujours est-il que *Plus Tard* a été conçue

comme une exposition *sur* une exposition, c'est-à-dire comme un hypertexte ayant pour hypotexte une entité expositionnelle close. Ainsi, Snow s'approprie la relation hypertextuelle en la dotant d'une dimension médiatique nouvelle.

Quant à l'exposition-intertexte, Glicenstein, avons-nous déjà signalé, a parfaitement raison de renvoyer aux nombreux cas d'expositions citant d'autres expositions, à même le parcours qu'elles proposent aux spectateurs. Ainsi dans *Emily Carr. Nouvelles perspectives sur une légende canadienne* (Ottawa, Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 2006), il était question de reconstituer une salle de l'exposition *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art* tenue en 1927 à Ottawa dans l'ancienne Galerie nationale du Canada. Les valeurs culturelles, politiques et sociales de la pratique d'exposition ayant évolué, cette « répétition » créait du sens nouveau (que l'on gagnerait à approfondir en se penchant sur d'autres modalités transtextuelles : le métatexte et, éventuellement, l'hypertexte)[34]. Dès lors, il convient de parler d'intertexte *historicisé*, dans la mesure où cette exposition non seulement met une exposition antérieure entre guillemets, mais révèle aussi la part formatrice de mentalités révolues dans la mise en espace d'objets culturels provenant de la culture d'autrui[35].

Le cas de l'exposition-métatexte est courant dans l'art actuel, dans la mesure où il relève de la problématique générale de la mise en exposition de la marchandise. En effet, l'exposition-métatexte se veut un commentaire, voire dans certains cas une démonstration critique des enjeux sociaux, culturels et politiques de l'acte expositionnel au sens large. Nous renvoyons à la démarche exemplaire de l'artiste anversois Guillaume Bijl (1946–) consistant à reprendre tels quels des dispositifs d'étalage et à les déplacer dans les lieux de l'art. En effet, les « Installations de Transformation » de Bijl (que l'artiste définit comme relevant de la « réalité dans une irréalité ») sont constituées de dispositifs employés communément dans divers contextes expositionnels. Ainsi *Concise History of Prehistoric Man* (1996) montre-t-il ce qui constitue une exposition d'histoire naturelle. *Auction House* (1992) expose les modalités de monstration d'objets dans une maison de vente aux enchères. *Komponisten-Sterbezimmer* (1991) met en scène la reconstitution muséale d'espaces privés. Et *Horizon Systems* (1992 et 1994) expose l'exposition en milieu corporatif[36]. Dans tous les cas, l'artiste mise sur l'écart entre le contexte artistique et le contexte d'origine des dispositifs exposés afin d'opérer une réflexion critique sur ces derniers, à partir d'eux-mêmes (c'est-à-dire sans les transformer matériellement).

Cette logique d'exposer non tant ce que montre la vitrine, mais bien la vitrine elle-même en tant que dispositif de monstration, remonte sans doute au versant critique du *Pop Art* (Claes Oldenburg, 1929–), au *Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles, Section des Figures* de Marcel Broodthaers

(1924–1976) (Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, 1972), à l'exposition réalisée par l'artiste Louise Lawler (1947–) chez Metro Pictures (New York) en 1982, à partir des œuvres des autres artistes de la galerie, et à la *Boîte en valise* (1935–1941) de Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968). Par ailleurs, les expositions-métatexte de Bijl infléchissent la catégorie genettienne qu'elles s'approprient, de sorte que le processus expositionnel y substitue une fonction que le métatexte chez Genette ne remplit pas : celle de dévoiler le texte d'origine *en tant que dispositif expositionnel qui est fatalement impliqué dans le champ du sensible*. En effet, chez Genette le métatexte ne s'inscrit pas dans une relation d'ordre intermédial vis-à-vis du texte qu'il commente (*Être et Temps* de Heidegger ne nous apprend rien sur le *dispositif de lecture* que constituait la première édition des *Idées directrices pour une phénoménologie* de Husserl, et encore moins sur la pluralité des usages de ce livre en tant qu'objet culturel et marchandise). En revanche, les installations de Bijl, en tant que métatextes, portent très précisément sur le dispositif de présentation du texte-exposition dont elles opèrent le métadiscours. En présentant ces dispositifs, elles présentent ce qui en constitue les modalités de présentation et d'usage.

En dernière analyse, pour aborder le champ expositionnel en termes narratologiques, il convient de transformer la narratologie afin de rendre compte aussi bien des *valeurs* (sociales, économiques, politiques, affectives) des « textes » en question que de leurs *usages*. En un mot, s'il y a narratologie des expositions, celle-ci s'inscrira dans la logique du sensible ou ne sera pas[37]. En ce qui concerne la question de l'architexte, Glicenstein se trompe, nous semble-t-il, en insistant uniquement sur le genre. Et pour cause : chez Genette, nous le verrons à l'instant, l'architexte recoupe bien *plus* que les « genres et sous-genres » dont il est question chez Glicenstein. Ce « plus », il convient maintenant de l'analyser.

IV

Selon notre hypothèse, *As Much as Possible* est un cas emblématique d'exposition-architexte. À ce titre, ce projet porte très précisément sur les instances énonciatrices de l'exposition comme récit. Mais en cernant et en encadrant sa dimension architextuelle en tant que problème, non seulement cette exposition réfléchit-elle sur ses propres conditions d'énonciation, mais aussi (et cela est sans doute plus intéressant) elle contient des traces d'une énonciation à la première personne. Pour le comprendre, il convient de revenir sur le concept de l'architexte chez Genette.

Dans un dialogue quelque peu comique faisant office de conclusion du livre *Introduction à l'architexte*[38], Gérard Genette écrit ceci :

> [L'architexte est] cette relation d'inclusion qui unit chaque texte aux divers types de discours auxquels il ressortit. Ici viennent les genres, et leurs déterminations déjà entrevues : thématiques, modales, formelles, et autres (?). Appelons cela, comme il va de soi, l'*architexte*, et *architextualité*, ou simplement *architexture* . . .[39]

Cette définition a été complétée quelques années plus tard par des précisions plus techniques : « l'architexte, ou si l'on préfère l'architextualité du texte (comme on dit, et c'est un peu la même chose, "la littérarité de la littérature") [est] l'ensemble des catégories générales, ou transcendantes – types de discours, modes d'énonciation, genres littéraires, etc. – dont relève chaque texte singulier[40] ». À quoi Genette ajoute : « seul l'architexte, sans doute, n'est pas une classe, puisqu'il est, si j'ose dire, la classéité (littéraire) même[41] ».

Dans cette perspective, l'architexte serait un sous-ensemble de l'opérateur *transtextualité*, c'est-à-dire « la transcendance textuelle du texte [qui se définit par] tout ce qui le met en relation, manifeste ou secrète, avec d'autres textes[42] ». La liste de Genette[43], reprise par Glicenstein, comporte les quatre modalités de la transtextualité que nous venons d'approfondir. À la fin (et donc au sommet ?) de son énumération, Genette place l'architextualité, cinquième type « le plus abstrait et le plus implicite[44] », qu'il définit dans les *Palimpsestes* en insistant davantage sur la question de la constitution des genres littéraires, bien qu'il n'y ait aucune raison d'abandonner les autres termes de la définition, soit « les modes d'énonciation et les types de discours », car « le genre n'est qu'un aspect de l'architexte[45] », comme on ne tardera pas à le signaler, d'ailleurs, dans la fortune critique de ce néologisme.

En effet, dans un commentaire sur les thèses genettiennes publié en 1983, Jean-Marie Schaeffer a insisté sur la non-équivalence des termes de l'énumération figurant dans les *Palimpsestes*. Selon Schaeffer :

> [il y a] une différence cruciale entre l'architextualité et les autres formes de transtextualité : chaque hypertexte possède son hypotexte, chaque intertexte son texte cité, chaque paratexte son texte qu'il enveloppe, chaque métatexte son texte-objet, alors que s'il y a bien de l'architextualité, il n'y a par contre pas d'architexte, sinon en un sens métaphorique. Les catégories de l'intertexte, du paratexte, du métatexte et de l'hypertexte définissent des couples relationnels de textes, alors qu'il n'en est rien dans le cas de l'architextualité[46].

Dans la mesure où ce raisonnement porte principalement sur la question de la relation entre les textes littéraires et leurs genres, Schaeffer remet en cause la thèse de Genette selon laquelle l'architextualité serait

issue d'une relation d'appartenance. Il postule, cependant, que « dans le cas des modes d'énonciation et des types de discours, nous avons bien une relation d'appartenance, puisque tout texte appartient en effet soit au mode narratif, soit au mode dramatique, soit au mode mixte, de même qu'il appartient à tel ou tel type de discours[47] ». Puisqu'il n'entre pas dans notre propos d'approfondir la question générique[48], mais de nous pencher sur la problématique des modes d'énonciation, il suffit de noter, comme le signale Schaeffer, que l'architextualité des modes d'énonciation est constituée par une relation d'appartenance. Par ailleurs, passer du genre au mode n'est pas étranger à la démarche narratologique :

> l'usager de la langue doit constamment, même ou surtout si inconsciemment, choisir entre des attitudes de locution telles que discours et histoire (au sens benvenistien), citation littérale et style indirect, etc. La différence de statut entre genres et modes est essentiellement là : les genres sont des catégories proprement littéraires, les modes sont des catégories qui relèvent de la linguistique, ou plus exactement de ce que l'on appelle aujourd'hui la *pragmatique*[49].

À partir de ces quelques remarques, nous avons acquis une définition opératoire de l'architextualité qui nous permettra d'envisager des cas issus du champ expositionnel, constitué des « textes » que sont les expositions d'œuvres d'art créées par autrui et prises en charge par un commissaire.

V

La richesse de *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, avons-nous déjà affirmé, tient au fait que le projet s'est constitué comme une réflexion sur l'instance énonciatrice en régime expositionnel. Ainsi, la spécificité du projet de Duclos et de Ross a été d'opérer une *spatialisation* du processus d'architexture et donc de proposer une topologie de l'énonciation. En cela, le concept de Genette se prête bien à l'exercice : « L'architexte est [. . .] omniprésent : au-dessus, au-dessous, autour du texte, qui ne tisse sa toile qu'en accrochant, ici et là, à ce réseau d'architexture[50] ». C'était comme si Genette avait proposé malgré lui et avant Glicenstein une théorie du commissariat . . . Véritable exposition-architexte, *As Much as Possible* s'approprie le concept genettien d'architexte en l'investissant d'une dimension sensible nouvelle qu'il convient d'approfondir en s'appuyant sur le contexte institutionnel dans lequel il s'inscrit ici : le mur.

Ainsi, dans le projet de Duclos et de Ross, le mur ne fonctionne plus comme un dispositif d'exposition neutre : à cette fonction « naïve » les

commissaires ont substitué une fonction critique, celle consistant à concevoir et à travailler le mur comme un lieu de présentation *en personne* de la structure du pouvoir de l'institution, de son pouvoir d'institution de récits. Cela est d'autant plus pertinent dans le cas des murs de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, puisque ce cube blanc moderniste est situé dans un immeuble postmoderne (hébergeant une bibliothèque universitaire, les bureaux de plusieurs départements académiques et des locaux offrant des services aux usagers) qui est le lieu de travail et d'étude d'une communauté multiculturelle et polyglotte, aux antipodes du paradigme moderniste auquel est associée l'architecture des salles d'exposition. D'ailleurs, dans les dernières années, la programmation de la Galerie a investi à plusieurs reprises l'écart entre le dispositif architectural du *white cube* et les pratiques relationnelles ayant caractérisé une grande part des productions actuelles. C'est dire à quel point les usagers de cet espace ne s'inscrivent plus dans l'*habitus* de ceux qui l'ont conçu.

Dans le cas de *As Much as Possible*, le mur blanc, système de monstration situé idéologiquement et historiquement, accueille et transforme un système de conservation afin de le défamiliariser, en sorte que le mur se veut le lieu privilégié de l'analyse, d'une analyse qui ne se démontre pas par concepts mais qui se montre et se présente *in concreto*, dans l'expérience sensible du spectateur. Par suite, le mur ne s'adresse plus uniquement à l'œil de ce dernier mais plutôt à sa raison (à sa capacité à réfléchir à partir de ce qui se présente à son corps dans l'espace) ; il se transforme et devient une entité relationnelle, équivoque et polysémique, synthèse impure des conceptions institutionnelles, phénoménologiques, sociales, esthétiques et historiques de ce qui constitue un mur d'exposition.

Mais n'y a-t-il pas là un impensé qui demeure en retrait, pour ainsi dire, et qui mérite d'être mieux éclairé ? Concevoir le mur comme le médium d'une critique opérant par pure présentation sensible, n'est-ce pas là reconduire la conception naïve selon laquelle le mur se veut un *locus* vide, un instrument neutre ? Le mur en propre n'est-il pas toujours déjà un lieu orienté et doté de sens que l'on peut investir, exposer, et qui est impliqué dans toute critique institutionnelle en matière d'exposition, quelle qu'elle soit ? À cette interrogation, qui relève d'une critique institutionnelle immanente, les concepteurs de *As Much as Possible* répondent (peut-être malgré eux[51]) : le projet de la Leonard et Bina Ellen se veut un architexte du mur d'exposition. À ce titre le mur devient *archimur*, il dévoile, tout en cachant, et véhicule, tout en refoulant, ce qui constitue le propre du mur dans toute institution muséale : *le mur est le sujet de l'énonciation du récit d'exposition.*

Qui parle ? L'institution sans visage. Quel est son langage ? La topologie du mur, nom que revêt le discours historique en régime expositionnel.

Comment le sait-on ? En regardant l'archimur. Mais c'est quoi au juste un archimur ? C'est un mur *que l'on ne peut pas voir*, mais qui parle du pouvoir de la visibilité et de la mise en récit de l'art : c'est le mur envisagé comme sujet de l'énonciation des contenus qui y figurent.

Lieu de l'efficacité du pouvoir de l'institution, le mur est aussi la condition de tout récit d'exposition. Et *As Much as Possible* en est la démonstration patente, puisqu'il y a manifestement un écart entre l'intention et les effets du système dont les commissaires ont été les acteurs : « une approche non narrative en matière de commissariat d'exposition (utilisant un système de sélection d'œuvres d'art qui s'appuie uniquement sur l'emplacement [des œuvres] dans la réserve) produit un déploiement de juxtapositions d'une richesse surprenante, ainsi que des comparaisons et des lectures par association[52] ». Or il convient de distinguer le moment de la *conception* du projet (sur lequel porte essentiellement cet énoncé) du moment de sa réalisation, le second étant plus fécond et sans doute plus imprévisible que le premier. Il se pourrait que le récit autorisé des commissaires ne corresponde pas parfaitement aux *effets* qu'a produits la mise en espace effective du système sur le spectateur réel.

En parcourant les salles de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, le spectateur averti aura sans doute constaté que le système administratif de *As Much as Possible* a, malgré tout, engendré des effets de sens et ce, pour des raisons qui ne relèvent pas seulement (ou pas spécialement) du caractère quasi-gratuit des juxtapositions d'œuvres sur les murs[53]. Tout comme les signes linguistiques nonmotivés et nonressemblants, ces juxtapositions d'œuvres ont institué, en l'exposant, un *langage expositionnel* à part entière dont la matrice est le langage tel que conçu par Ferdinand de Saussure dans son *Cours de linguistique générale* : après tout, il s'est agi d'un système sans centre et potentiellement infini composé de signes arbitraires s'inscrivant dans une logique oppositionnelle ouverte. À la différence près, cependant, qu'ici le processus générateur du sens a été *spatialisé*, de sorte que le récepteur était implicitement convié à reconstituer des syntagmes en effectuant des parcours indéfinis dans l'espace.

Geste topologique s'il en est, l'inscription temporaire de signes picturaux sur les murs institutionnels de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen a eu pour effet de signaler que les œuvres de *As Much as Possible* ne visaient aucunement le *regard* du spectateur. Paradoxalement, le souci de visibilité totale a eu pour conséquence une exposition dont l'intérêt premier n'a pas été qu'on regarde telle ou telle œuvre. Ce qu'il y avait à voir à Concordia, le temps d'une exposition, était ce qu'il y a de plus invisible en matière de muséologie : le mur comme instance énonciatrice qui se dénie dans ce qu'il énonce en montrant.

Il est frappant de constater à quel point la volonté de système (c'est-à-dire la volonté d'arbitraire, qui est le pendant de la volonté de délégation de la voix commissariale) n'a pas pu esquiver un des paramètres fondamentaux définissant le mur comme vecteur communicationnel : la cimaise. En effet, tout comme le mur (historique) investi par les tapissiers des *Salons* (que le projet de Duclos et de Ross envisageait d'un œil ironique, avons-nous signalé) les murs de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen possédaient un centre de gravité invisible à partir duquel s'est déployé tout un système de valeurs différentielles et, par extension, un récit d'exposition, fût-il des plus primitifs : les œuvres, placées à la hauteur de l'œil du spectateur (mur phénoménologique) étaient de fait dotées d'une valeur plus importante que les œuvres situées près du plafond et que celles, encore moins importantes, placées près du sol. Cette topologisation du sens est une donnée inaliénable relevant de l'énonciation de tout récit d'exposition (et là, le *white cube* de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen rejoint le Salon Carré du Louvre). Mais dans le cas de *As Much as Possible*, exposition sans récit apparent, il s'est agi *de réfléchir sur le mur, en le montrant, en tant que sujet de l'énonciation.* Cela s'est fait grâce au concept nodal du projet : transformer les murs de cette institution universitaire en archimurs.

Dans cette perspective, le mur est ce qui tient lieu de sujet de l'énonciation du récit expositionnel. Quel mode de discours professe-t-il ? Nous l'avons déjà signalé : le récit historique qui dénie son énonciation. Mais en dernière analyse ce déni a eu pour condition un geste que nous tenons pour le comble des paradoxes qui ont été exposés : la mise en espace de la *voix* des commissaires.

Il est tout de même fascinant de constater que le retour de la voix des commissaires dans le projet voulant la taire a eu pour occasion la mise en place d'un système que nous avons qualifié d'absolu. En voulant instaurer un système total, embrassant l'ensemble des vecteurs constitutifs de l'institution muséale contemporaine, cette exposition a été la démonstration en acte de l'impossibilité de supprimer le sujet-commissaire.

Une question demeure en suspens : comment *expose*-t-on un archimur à autrui ?[54] La réponse (qu'on aurait tort d'envisager comme une métaphore, tant elle relève d'un geste pragmatique inaliénable) : *en l'éclairant*. Mais que signifie éclairer dans ce contexte ? Puisqu'on ne peut pas *tout* éclairer dans une luminosité omniprésente qui serait aussi tout à fait aveuglante, éclairer signifie ici : *opérer un choix*. Ainsi, de façon générale, on pourrait dire que l'éclairage directionnel est l'index spatialisé de l'intentionnalité des commissaires d'exposition.

Cependant, dans le cas de *As Much as Possible*, il s'est avéré que ce choix n'a pas été exercé. L'éclairage était l'impensé du projet : à notre connaissance ni les commissaires ni les techniciens n'ont manipulé les projecteurs

8 | Rebecca Duclos et David K. Ross, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, 2009. Vue de l'installation. (Photo : David K. Ross. Avec le concours des commissaires et de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

directionnels afin d'éclairer telle ou telle œuvre au profit de telle ou telle autre. En revanche, les commissaires ont choisi d'éclairer l'espace d'exposition à l'aide des néons que l'on n'utilise d'ordinaire que pour faciliter le montage (et très rarement pendant les périodes d'exposition) afin de signaler que *As Much as Possible* s'inscrivait dans une logique qui n'était pas tout à fait celle de l'exposition. Il n'en demeure pas moins, cependant, que les projecteurs directionnels ponctuaient tous les murs de leurs cernes lumineux et que ceux-ci n'avaient rien à voir avec le système de monstration, appliqué de façon conséquente *sur tous les plans*, sauf celui ayant trait à l'éclairage de l'ensemble (qui est sans doute le plan le plus important, puisqu'il est l'ultime ressort de l'intelligibilité de tous les gestes effectués auparavant dans le projet)[55].

Prenons le mur 13 situé dans la salle E à titre d'exemple (Fig. 9). Comme dans la plupart des cas, l'éclairage visait davantage les pans de mur entre les cadres, voire les zones périphériques des images, et non les œuvres en soi. Une image était sensiblement moins éclairée que les autres : il s'agit du *Portrait d'Elizabeth Savage* (vers 1918–1919) signé William Brymner (1855–1925)

9 | Rebecca Duclos et David K. Ross, *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*, 2009. Vue de l'installation. (Photo de l'auteur. Avec le concours des commissaires et de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Montréal)

(accroché à l'extrémité droite de la paroi). En revanche, une grande œuvre sur vélin de Tony Scherman (1950–), *The Head of M. Robespierre* (1997), volait la vedette, puisque la tête de Robespierre qui y est représentée dans la partie supérieure baignait à peu de choses près dans le cerne lumineux éclairant cette partie du mur[56]. Ce concours de circonstances impliquant les paramètres conceptuels dictant l'accrochage et un éclairage à caractère « moyen » (au sens statistique) produisait néanmoins des effets narratifs : dans ce cas, le Brymner cédait le pas au Scherman en matière d'importance dans la mise en espace de la collection. Il n'en demeure pas moins, cependant, que le caractère aléatoire de l'éclairage faisait en sorte que les écarts entre les œuvres étaient illuminés de façon inhabituelle. Par conséquent, le mur lui-même et l'éclairage directionnel devenaient des protagonistes à part entière dans le texte expositionnel.

Il importe peu, d'ailleurs, de savoir si le *choix* d'employer les projecteurs directionnels n'a pas été appliqué consciemment. En effet, il semblerait qu'au début du processus, on (qui ?) a dirigé cet éclairage de façon plus ou moins régulière sur tous les murs afin de maximiser la luminosité (Fig. 1 et 8). Ce geste de monstration, si minimal fût-il, relève d'une volonté de parole, d'une visée communicationnelle, du désir qu'autrui voie *ce qu'on a cerné*. Il n'en demeure pas moins que l'éclairage était sans raison, ce qui signifie qu'il ne s'inscrivait nullement dans la logique omniprésente du système. Qu'est-ce à dire ? Ceci : l'éclairage relevait du libre arbitre des commissaires, de leur volonté d'expression, qu'ils ont laissée pour compte, inavouée. Signalons que le choix de ne pas exercer un choix relève tout de même du champ de l'intentionnalité . . . Mais *le fait* que l'espace était ponctué de ces cernes lumineux, alors que les murs avaient été envisagés comme des archimurs, c'est-à-dire comme des dispositifs qui ne répondaient pas à des critères de *visibilité*, témoigne de la volonté d'un *je* commissarial qui cherche à interpréter le système qu'il a mis en branle. En tant que *je*, l'éclairage directionnel serait donc *à tout moment* l'index de celui qui opère, *in absentia*, la présente instance de monstration.

L'éclairage directionnel, dispositif d'intentionnalité s'il en est, est l'index de la voix des commissaires, qu'ils le veuillent ou non. Dans cette optique, l'éclairage directionnel est au mur qu'il éclaire ce que le mur énonciateur est au récit d'exposition qu'il instaure : une instance énonciatrice qui ne s'énonce pas, un dispositif transitif dont l'opacité demeure en retrait. En termes narratologiques, on pourrait dire cela autrement (ce qui est la même chose) : le récit d'exposition signé par un commissaire a pour focalisateur le mur-énonciateur et pour voix la lumière directionnelle qui le rend visible[57]. Aussi la subjectivité des commissaires est-elle l'ultime condition du système mettant en scène leur propre disparition. En se pliant rigoureusement à la logique de l'effacement de l'énonciation, les commissaires ont littéralement éclairé d'un nouveau jour le mur comme instance énonciatrice et démontré, ce faisant, que ce dernier, rendu visible, ne peut être que le véhicule de leur propre voix.

Ainsi, *As Much as Possible* a été la scène d'une série de dénégations énonciatrices dont le moteur est une énonciation inaliénable. Cette analyse, amorce d'une narratologie d'exposition, confirme et entérine, par d'autres moyens, la thèse de Benveniste selon laquelle « L'acte individuel d'appropriation de la langue introduit celui qui parle dans sa parole [. . .] La présence du locuteur à son énonciation fait que chaque instance de discours constitue un centre de référence interne. Cette situation va se manifester par un jeu de formes spécifiques dont la fonction est de mettre le locuteur en relation constante et nécessaire avec son énonciation[58] ». C'est ainsi que le récit de l'égicide commissarial a pour mode d'emploi le geste de spatialiser la

voix que l'on cherche à taire. En dernière analyse, *As Much as Possible* a été avant tout une apologie de la *finitude* : la finitude des personnes ayant pour tâche de mettre en branle le système absolu est la raison principale pour laquelle ce même système manquera toujours d'atteindre à son absoluité, et c'est pourquoi il est encore possible de parler de critique institutionnelle, même si l'institution porte le nom, redoutable, d'absolu.

NOTES

1 « "Messieurs", poursuivit Fichte, "pensez le mur" [. . .] "Avez vous pensé le mur ?" demanda Fichte. "Maintenant, messieurs, pensez ce [celui, l'instance pensante] qui vient de penser le mur" ». Ces propos pédagogiques, tenus par Johann Gottlieb Fichte alors qu'il enseignait la Doctrine de la science à Iéna (1794–1799), ont été rapportés par Henrik STEFFENS dans *Lebenserinnerungen aus dem Kreis der Romantik*, Jena, E. Diedrichs, 1908, p. 106.

2 Louis MARIN, *Détruire la peinture*, Paris, Gallimard, coll. « Champs arts », 1997 [1977], p. 35. C'est Marin qui souligne.

3 *Ibid*., p. 36. Cf. Émile BENVENISTE, « La nature des pronoms » et « De la subjectivité dans le langage », *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, t. I, Paris, Gallimard, coll. « Bibliothèque des Sciences humaines », 1966, p. 251–66.

4 *Ibid*., p. 37. Cf. Émile BENVENISTE, « L'appareil formel de l'énonciation », *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, t. II, Paris, Gallimard, coll. « Bibliothèque des Sciences humaines », 1974, p. 79–88.

5 L'expression est de Benjamin H.D. BUCHLOH. Cf. « Conceptual Art 1962–1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions », *October,* vol. 55 (hiver 1990), p. 105–43. Mais mon propos s'inscrit également dans une réflexion d'un autre ordre : il s'agira ici en quelque sorte d'une critique de l'administration, au sens où l'entendait Hannah ARENDT : « And one can debate long and profitably on the rule of Nobody, which is what the political form known as bureau-cracy truly is » (*Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil,* London, Penguin Books, 1992 [Viking Press, 1963], p. 289). Dans cette perspective, ce texte se veut une pièce à verser dans le dossier de l'analyse du discours idéologique (qui dénie son dispositif de présentation au nom de l'Objectivité qui semble « se » présenter ainsi, « d'elle-même »).

6 Le néologisme égicide a été proposé par Jacob Rogozinski. Par égicide, cet auteur entend toute proposition visant la suppression du sujet de l'énonciation ; l'énoncé paradigmatique de l'égicide est : *« je suis mort »*. Voir ROGOZINSKI, *Faire part. Cryptes de Derrida*, Paris, Lignes & Manifestes, 2005, p. 50 *sqq*. Voir également ROGOZINSKI, « Contre les égicides », dans *Le moi et la chair. Introduction à l'ego-analyse*, Paris, Cerf, 2006, p. 19–91.

7 Pour traduire littéralement: « Le plus possible étant donnés le temps et l'espace alloués ». En dérogeant de la convention de l'institution d'accueil, l'exposition n'avait pas de titre français. Nous rangeons la démarche conjointe de Duclos et de Ross sous la rubrique « commissaires-artistes » dans la mesure où Rebecca Duclos agit à titre de

commissaire d'exposition depuis plusieurs années et David K. Ross signe des projets monographiques en tant qu'artiste dans des institutions muséales. *As Much as Possible* est un projet de collaboration les engageant à titre de commissaires.

8 Nous traduisons. Rebecca Duclos, « This Double Bind », dans *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted* (publication accompagnant l'exposition éponyme), Montréal, Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, Université Concordia, 2009, n.p.

9 Nous employons ce terme à dessein. Selon le récit autorisé des commissaires de l'exposition, l'accrochage de *As Much as Possible* renvoie autant à l'engouement des artistes conceptuels des années 1960 pour tout ce qui relève du « système », qu'à la disposition des œuvres dans les *Salons* de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture. Pour mémoire, le *tapissier* était l'académicien à qui l'on désignait la fonction d'accrocher les œuvres. Selon Diderot : « On appelle le Tapissier du Salon celui que l'Académie choisit pour ranger et placer les tableaux. Cet emploi est important. On y peut favoriser les uns et desservir les autres » (Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, édition critique et annotée, présentée par Else Marie Bukdahl et Annette Lorenceau, Paris, Hermann, 1984, p. 74). Ainsi était-il question de hiérarchie. L'accrochage de *As Much as Possible* est donc à lire, du moins en partie, comme une critique du proto-commissaire qu'était le tapissier – critique aboutissant au projet de néantisation du tapissier par ses propres moyens.

10 Nous les mentionnons en ordre alphabétique.

11 Andrea Fraser est une artiste américaine issue de la seconde génération de praticiens se réclamant de la mouvance de la critique institutionnelle. Elle pratique une critique des institutions en effectuant des performances *in situ* qui détournent les fonctions des acteurs du monde de l'art ainsi que leurs textes. Une sélection de ses écrits théoriques et de ses scripts a été publiée dans le recueil Andrea Fraser, *Museum Highlights. The Writings of Andrea Fraser*, ed. by Alexander Alberro, Cambridge, Massachusetts, mit Press, Writing Art Series, 2005.

12 Ces limites sont de différents ordres : architectural, juridique, économique, physiologique et muséologique. Nous y reviendrons.

13 Les commissaires ont documenté le processus du début à la fin dans une vidéo que l'on peut visionner sur leur site Web : < http://graphicstandards.org/AMAP.htm >. Le site de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen contient un inventaire détaillé des œuvres exposées et les dates d'accrochage : < http://ellengallery.concordia.ca/fr/expositions_asmuchaspossible.php >.

14 On remarquera l'emploi de la litote dans ces deux formulations.

15 Mélanie Rainville, « Pour une confrontation des écarts », dans *As Much as Possible, op. cit.*, n.p.

16 Cf. Dan Sperber et Deirdre Wilson, « Les ironies comme mentions », *Poétique*, vol. 9, n° 36 (novembre 1978), p. 399–412. En clair, l'accrochage de style « salon » dans *As Much as Possible* fait écho à une pratique culturelle afin de manifester une distance ironique. Selon la définition que proposent Sperber et Wilson dans cet article célèbre, l'ironie a pour condition minimale qu'un locuteur s'exprime à propos d'un énoncé donné, plutôt qu'à propos de ce dont un tel énoncé traite (p. 404). À partir de cette distinction entre *emploi* et *mention*, ces auteurs postulent que l'ironie a lieu quand « le locuteur fait écho à une proposition d'une manière propre à manifester qu'il la désapprouve [. . .] parce qu'elle manque de vérité (et, partant, de pertinence) [ou] parce qu'elle manque directement de pertinence. Pour le destinataire, comprendre de tels énoncés, c'est reconnaître à la fois le caractère de mention-écho et l'attitude

du locuteur vis-à-vis de la proposition qu'il mentionne. Toute l'interprétation découle de cette double reconnaissance » (p. 407). D'ailleurs, « les normes sont générales, partagées, sans cesse invoquées et donc toujours assez présentes à l'esprit pour que leur mention prenne le caractère d'un écho » (p. 410). La mention de la norme (historique) « accrochage salon » s'avère donc un écho ironique qui, dans le cas de notre exposition, est mis en relation avec l'histoire de la genèse de la collection, qui se résume en une phrase (que l'on est en droit de lire comme un écho de l'ancienne Politique d'acquisition) : « le plus possible étant donnés le temps et l'espace alloués ».

17 En cela ils sont tout à fait conséquents : dans les sociétés modernes, la raison instrumentale a souvent été pensée comme le pendant de ce que Charles Taylor appelle « *the ethic of subjectivism* ». Voir Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 509 *sqq*.

18 L'espace entre le sol et les œuvres situées au bas des murs avait été déterminé en suivant les consignes du personnel de la galerie, en vue de la protection matérielle des œuvres. Quant à l'espace entre le plafond et les œuvres accrochées au haut des murs, il était motivé par des raisons économiques et physiologiques : il s'agissait de la hauteur maximale à laquelle les techniciens pouvaient accéder à l'aide du matériel technique disponible, tout en assurant la sécurité des œuvres et leur propre sécurité au travail.

19 Celles-ci sapent le peu de liberté que l'on aurait pu imputer aux commissaires dans le contexte de cette exposition.

20 La nature institutionnelle de ce projet les a contraints à faire une grande part (invisible) de leur travail avant le début de l'accrochage. En effet, ils ont participé à plusieurs réunions de production en présence de la direction de la galerie ainsi que des membres du personnel administratif.

21 Ces bases de données contiennent des informations sur chaque œuvre : le nom de l'artiste, le titre de l'œuvre, la date de production, le médium et les dimensions. Outre les documents internes de la Galerie Leonard et Bina Ellen, la collection est répertoriée dans deux bases de données : *Artefacts Canada* du Réseau canadien d'information sur le patrimoine (< http://www.pro.rcip-chin.gc.ca/artefact/index-fra.jsp >) et *Info-Muse* de la Société des musées québécois (< http://infomuse.smq.qc.ca/Infomuse/f_MasterLayout.cgi?la=f&db=1&style=1&realm=1 >).

22 Rebecca Duclos, *op. cit.,* n.p. Nous soulignons.

23 Cf. Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, t. I, p. 260.

24 Nous employons l'expression de Jean-Marc Poinsot en l'adaptant au récit de commissaire. Cf. *Quand l'œuvre a lieu. L'art exposé et ses récits autorisés*, nouvelle édition revue et augmentée, Dijon, Les Presses du Réel, 2008 [1999].

25 Jérôme Glicenstein, *L'art : une histoire d'expositions*, Paris, puf, coll. « Lignes d'art », 2009, p. 85.

26 *Ibid*.

27 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Paris, Seuil, 1982, p. 7 *sqq*.

28 Genette propose cette typologie dans *Introduction à l'architexte*, Paris, Seuil, 1979, et il y revient dès les premières pages des *Palimpsestes, op. cit*.

29 Glicenstein, *op. cit*., p. 105.

30 *Ibid*., p. 106–7.
31 Alexander Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), mit Press, 2003, p. 72.
32 « The catalogue can now act as primary information for the exhibition [. . .] In some cases the exhibition can be the catalogue ». *Ibid*., p. 73.
33 Cette installation a été montrée pour la première fois à Paris dans le cadre d'une rétrospective consacrée à l'artiste (Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1977).
34 Voir Charles C. Hill, « Généalogie de l'art canadien. L'exposition sur l'art autochtone et moderne de la côte ouest du Canada en 1927 », dans *Emily Carr. Nouvelles perspectives sur une légende canadienne* (catalogue d'exposition), sous la dir. de Charles C. Hill, Johanne Lamoureux et Ian M. Thom, Ottawa, Musée des beaux-arts du Canada (2 juin – 4 septembre 2006), 2006, p. 92–121.
35 En clair, l'exposition-intertexte ne peut se réduire à la définition de l'intertexte que propose Glicenstein : « l'utilisation *littérale* d'autres textes [. . .] sous la forme de citations » (nous soulignons). Ici, la répétition est production. Pour une analyse des reconstructions d'expositions historiques, nous renvoyons à Elitza Dulguerova, « L'expérience et son double. Notes sur la reconstruction d'expositions et la photographie », *Intermédialités*, n° 15, « Exposer/Displaying » (printemps 2010), p. 53–71.
36 Ces œuvres sont reproduites dans Stephan Berg, et al., *Guillaume Bijl* (catalogue d'exposition), Anvers, Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst (13 avril – 9 juin 1996), 1996, p. 54–7, 60–1, 66–7, 73. Voir également Guillaume Bijl, *Guillaume Bijl*, Bruxelles, Galerie Isy Brachot, 1986, p. 35 (l'œuvre *Boutique* de 1985 étant particulièrement pertinente).
37 Sans doute appartient-il à une analyse d'un autre ordre de vérifier la justesse de ces quatre transformations, que nous proposons ici à titre heuristique.
38 Gérard Genette, *Introduction à l'architexte*, Paris, Seuil, 1979. Cet opuscule, qui fut d'abord publié sous forme d'article dans la revue *Poétique*, a été repris dans le recueil *Théorie des genres,* sous la direction de Gérard Genette et Tzvetan Todorov, *Paris*, Seuil, coll. « Points », 1986, p. 89–159. Sauf exception, nos citations renvoient à cette troisième parution du texte de Genette.
39 Genette, « Introduction à l'architexte », p. 157. C'est Genette qui souligne.
40 Genette, *Palimpsestes, op. cit*., p. 7.
41 *Ibid*., p. 18.
42 *Ibid*., p. 7.
43 Du moins celle qu'il propose dans *Palimpsestes*, p. 8 *sqq*.
44 *Ibid*., p. 11.
45 *Ibid*.
46 Jean-Marie Schaeffer, « Du genre au texte. Notes sur la problématique générique », dans Gérard Genette et Tzvetan Todorov (éds.), *Théorie des genres, op. cit*., p. 196. Ce texte a paru pour la première fois dans la revue *Poétique*, n° 53 (1983), p. 3–18.
47 *Ibid*., p. 196.
48 La question générique est : *le discours d'une exposition s'inscrit-il dans le genre épique, lyrique ou dramatique ?* À notre sens, cette question est peu féconde, du moins sous cette forme. C'est pour cela que nous avons choisi de nous pencher sur la question de l'énonciation qu'une interrogation sur l'architexte permet de poser.
49 Genette, « Introduction à l'architexte », p. 142. C'est Genette qui souligne.

50 *Ibid*., p. 158.

51 Ou peut-être grâce au silence qu'ils se sont imposé.

52 Rebecca Duclos, *op. cit*., n.p. Nous traduisons.

53 L'accrochage de *As Much as Possible,* en ne visant qu'à répéter le système de l'entrepôt, était censé produire du sens relevant de juxtapositions aléatoires [*chance juxtapositions*] c'est-à-dire de probabilités plutôt que de la prédétermination [*probabilities rather than predetermination*]. Cela a pour effet, selon Rebecca Duclos de produire des relations paratactiques [*paratactical relationships*]. Cf. Duclos, *op. cit*., n.p. En envisageant le mur comme sujet de l'énonciation du récit d'exposition, nous postulons que la cohésion paratactique de *As Much as Possible* n'est pas uniquement du ressort d'une logique probabiliste.

54 En misant sur la dimension énonciatrice, nous ne voulons pas secondariser d'autres branches de la sémiologie, notamment celle ayant trait à la *réception* des énoncés qui nous intéressent (et à leur articulation par autrui). Comme le signale Francis Jacques dans *L'espace logique de l'interlocution* (Paris, puf, coll. « Philosophie d'aujourd'hui », 1985), on doit à C.S. Peirce « l'idée proprement géniale que l'opération symbolique de la pensée est dialogique en son fond, dans sa légalité profonde » (p. 185). Par ailleurs, selon E. Benveniste, il y a seulement deux pronoms primitifs : le *je,* instance énonciatrice au présent, et le *tu* (à laquelle le premier s'adresse). Ainsi toute énonciation est-elle dialogique et c'est bien le cas dans *As Much as Possible* : le mur-énonciateur vise un allocutaire précis, à savoir le spectateur (idéal ?) en sa qualité d'agent capable de prendre en charge une critique du lieu dans lequel il se meut. Ici, l'allocutaire ne remplit pas une fonction « passive » (la contemplation esthétique ou la constitution de récits comme fin en soi). Sa fonction est de réfléchir. Toujours est-il, cependant, qu'à la différence du locuteur benvenistien, un tel spectateur est loin d'être universel : il doit posséder des compétences culturelles, historiques et linguistiques très poussées qui lui permettent de produire du sens à partir du caractère *in situ* du projet.

55 Lors d'une conférence publique tenue à la galerie, le mercredi 25 mars 2009 entre 12 h 30 à 13 h 30, nous avons demandé aux commissaires d'expliquer ce qui a motivé l'usage des projecteurs directionnels. David K. Ross nous a signalé que cela relevait d'un impensé.

56 Nous citons ce cas à titre d'exemple. Ce genre d'effet narratif était omniprésent, de sorte qu'il était possible de se borner à envisager l'ensemble de l'accrochage comme un récit dont la genèse était aléatoire. Cependant, l'intérêt du projet n'était pas là : il nous semble que l'importance de cette exposition réside dans la façon dont elle a thématisé le mur et l'éclairage comme instances énonciatrices du récit d'exposition. S'attarder uniquement aux récits, c'est ne comprendre qu'une moitié (certes inaliénable) du projet.

57 Cf. Mieke Bal, « Narration et focalisation. Pour une théorie des instances du récit », *Poétique*, nº 29 (février 1977), p. 107–27 ; et Gérard Genette, *Figures III*, Paris, Seuil, coll. « Poétique », 1972, p. 183–267.

58 Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, t. II, p. 82.

Introduction to the *archimur*: Reflections on the Curatorial Voice (with reference to the exhibition *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted*)

EDUARDO RALICKAS

This essay addresses the practice of exhibition curating from a narratological point of view. Based on the research of Émile Benveniste and Louis Marin on the enunciatory parameters of linguistic and iconic narrative structures, Eduardo Ralickas contends that, in the narratological sense of the term, an exhibition curator's *voice* is subject to a process of spatialization that ultimately affords it a material presence within the shape of the exhibition it authors. This paper thus aims to determine which of the elements that constitute the act of exhibiting carry an enunciatory charge. It thereby seeks to make a contribution to the emerging field of the narratology of exhibitions and to shed new light on the nature of curating.

The author's argument is presented in his consideration of an exhibition organized by artist-curators Rebecca Duclos (1967–) and David K. Ross (1966–) entitled *As Much as Possible Given the Time and Space Allotted* (Leonard & Bina Ellen Gallery, Concordia University, 11 March to 17 April 2009). His interest in this project lies in the fact that its curators play a highly original role. In fact, it is an example of what Ralickas terms "curatorial egocide": it is an exhibition explicitly conceived to silence the voice of its authors.

Duclos and Ross modelled their project on conceptual art practices from the 1960s; their intent was to circumvent the curator's role and create an autonomous system, a structure designed to generate an exhibition without an intentional narrative. To achieve these objectives, the curators made use of an existing system: the Leonard & Bina Ellen Gallery's collection of artworks and artefacts. Working alongside the Gallery's staff and a group of students selected for the task, Duclos and Ross attempted to empty the Gallery's holdings from the conservation facilities adjacent to the exhibition space. Following the same order in which it had been stored, they proceeded to hang the collection, one work at a time, until the exhibition space reached its maximum capacity. Since the qualitative, generic, and aesthetic criteria that determine the conservation of artworks differ radically from the aesthetic, cognitive, and pedagogical considerations that inform curatorial choices, *As*

Much as Possible's putative spectator must come to terms with an exhibition with no apparent narrative.

Having analyzed how the *As Much as Possible* project transforms its curators into neutral administrators, Ralickas contends that the project's originality resides in the fact that it addresses the act of exhibiting in narratological terms. Accordingly, he maintains that *As Much as Possible* can be described as an *architext,* a term originated by literary theorist, Gérard Genette. However, when applied to Duclos and Ross's project, Genette's textual concept is altered because it is also endowed with the medial and spatial character of an exhibition narrative.

Ralickas continues the demonstration of his thesis by proposing a methodological plan to determine the extent to which narratological concepts are pertinent to the understanding of exhibition-based narrative practices. He proceeds with a critical examination of Jérôme Glicenstein's innovative research in which Genette's narratological theory is applied to the field of exhibitions. Based on Glicenstein's work, the author proposes a heuristic approach to the narratology of exhibitions that recognises that narratological concepts are transformed by the medial, spatial, and narrative aspects of exhibition practices. Genette's main narratological operations: intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality, and architextuality, thereby shift in meaning as Ralickas argues for a new approach to exhibition narratives that also acknowledges the imperative of epistemic coherence, a topic that is given scant attention in Glicenstein's work

The paper ends with a detailed analysis of the *As Much as Possible* project's focus on the enunciatory properties of light and wall space; the project is thereby regarded as a paradigmatic case of a new, hybrid category: the "architext-exhibition." The author demonstrates that this exhibition can be regarded as a metadiscourse on the act of exhibiting and as such, it also relates to the enunciatory aspects of exhibition narratives. As it frames its own architextual conditions, Duclos and Ross's project not only exhibits its own enunciatory framework, but it also displays traces of first-person enunciatory acts.

With this theoretical framework in place, focus can be turned to two of the project's elements that carry an enunciatory charge: namely the exhibition's walls and its lighting apparatus. The walls function as the subject of enunciation of pragmatic linguistics, which has undergone a process of spatialization. Ralickas argues that the exhibition's directional lighting, the very foundation of the act of exhibiting and the core element of *As Much as Possible*, is the tangible index of the voice of the project's curators. The author then revisits Benveniste's and Marin's theses and concludes that the relationship between the directional lighting and the wall it illuminates

is equivalent to what the wall as enunciator is to the exhibition narrative it frames, namely an enunciatory device that is never spoken, a transitive apparatus whose opacity is not reflected upon. This conclusion allows Ralickas to reformulate the terms of the debate on the value of the role assumed by the administrators of *As Much as Possible* around an ethical statement: the spatial conditions of curatorial egocide relies, from a pragmatic point of view, on the very voice of the agency it seeks to suppress.

Eduardo Ralickas

Detail of *29th Infantry Battalion advancing over "No Man's Land" through the German barbed wire and heavy fire* (see Fig. 2)

Words and Pictures: Writing Atrocity into Canada's First World War Official Photographs

LAURA BRANDON

The Canadian War Museum (CWM) possesses a little-known photography collection of some 80,000 catalogued images. About 40 percent of this collection relates to the First World War (1914–18). With the exception of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) albums, which contain some 6,800 official prints, and a considerable number of black and white professional portraits, the bulk of the images are the work of regular soldiers, nurses, and other military personnel. In recent years the collection has increasingly become a source of illustrations for books, films, documentaries and, more recently, web and internet projects. Deserving of thoughtful interpretation, it has not to date been the subject of any extensive academic exploration.

Most studies of Canadian First World War photography have been carried out using the somewhat similar Library and Archives (LAC) collection, which for decades has been better known than the CWM's. In part, this is because the LAC traditionally employed a number of trained photographic archivists with an academic interest and commitment to the collections they were responsible for. To date, the CWM has not emulated this approach, although its collections, like LAC's, are now more accessible thanks to web-based databases. Whether, in today's electronic world, the staff of national institutions should subject their collections to internal academic analysis or concentrate on standardized descriptions of their holdings is another debate, although both have a role to play in forwarding public knowledge of our material heritage.

One of LAC's former photography archivists, Peter Robertson, was the first to explore the CEF photographs in his 1972 book, *Relentless Verity: Canadian Military Photographers since 1885*. His 1978 article in *History of Photography*, exposed an admittedly limited contemporary readership to the very real presence of fake war photography.[1] By then, most of the soldiers who had denounced the practice in their own time were dead. His colleague Andrew Birrell, in his brief 1978 article in *Photo Canada*, identified a further example of the practice of faking, which is discussed below.[2] Authors such as former LAC archivist and current CWM historian Tim Cook have revisited their conclusions and given them an important larger context but have not

contributed new visual analysis.[3] Others have responded to theoretical concerns as much as to the need for formal analysis. David Alexandre's MA thesis, *Looking through Ruin: Canadian Photography at Ypres and the Archive of War*, examines specific First World War photographs and their post-war appropriation and, like Robertson and Birrell, he used imagery from the LAC collection. Alexandre argues that, "the archive is an accumulative institution capable of incorporating a variety of conflicting narratives without ruining its authority."[4]

While recognizing that Janina Struk's and Barbie Zelizer's recent writings on Holocaust atrocity and war photography are studies of photographs from another period and mindset, their approach is relevant to an analysis of First World War imagery. Struk's 2004 book on interpreting Holocaust images, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence*, questions the nature of such photographs as documentary evidence and argues that, more often than not, their provenance and true meaning take second place to the uses to which political interests have put them. At different times, and in different contexts, what mattered about such images, Struk suggests, "was what they appeared to show."[5] Zelizer, in her 1998 book, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye,* writes that the published photographs of the 1944 liberation of Poland's Majdanek camp "offered only generalized interpretations of what the images depicted . . . The words alongside the images, authenticated the depictions at their side, but they did so in broad language that rendered them generic representations of the atrocities . . . The photographs guided publics to the broader story of atrocity. The photos thereby were set in place as symbols of context."[6] In developing her theme of photographs as symbols of a larger context, in "When War is reduced to a Photograph," Zelizer writes that war imagery tends to reflect existing commonly-shared thinking about conflict as opposed to "actually reflecting how war is waged."[7] Drawing on Roland Barthes's work on semiotics, she refers to the twinning of the 'denotative' and the 'connotative': the 'denotative' being associated with verisimilitude and realism, i.e. what the photograph depicts, and the 'connotative' with symbolism, or what the photograph means.[8]

While neither the history of First World War fake photography nor the events of the Holocaust are central to this article, they do provide some useful parallels to the story of First World War atrocity images and supply an entry point to their analysis. In both cases, new meaning was constructed out of existing photographs to make very specific points that the public could then accord with their own views of what such imagery should look like. To show how this was achieved in the context of vilifying the enemy during the Great War, this study will consider four official Canadian First World War

photographs presented as powerful images of atrocity in wartime exhibitions and publications. Source material was drawn from the souvenir catalogues for the three wartime touring Canadian official photography exhibitions that originated in London, England, copies of which are found in the CWM library;[9] the sleeves of the original glass negatives housed in LAC;[10] and the War Museum's albums of prints compiled from these negatives sometime after 1919.[11] We cannot reliably assign authorship to any of the contemporary writing associated with these sources although the images can be credited based on the photographer's service dates. The three official Canadian photographers, all British, Ivor Castle, Harry Knobel, and William Rider-Rider, worked overseas successively from 1916 to 1919.

The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines 'atrocity' as an extremely wicked or cruel act, especially one involving physical violence or injury. Rape, murder, and torture are typical examples involving humans, but the wanton destruction of religious structures, for example, or the razing of crops, also fall within the definition. War involves many acts of this kind and the circumstances in which they would not be considered atrocities are generally enshrined in international laws and conventions. The recent debates surrounding the U.S. practice of "waterboarding" demonstrate that views on torture depend on the practitioner's perspective. Combatants, however, need to believe that war is only brutal when practised by the enemy and thus atrocity stories were widely distributed by the Allies (and similarly by their enemies) through means that included cartoons and magazine stories. Dutch cartoonist Louis Raemaekers (1869–1956) attained a world-wide reputation with his anti-German cartoons that focussed on the unspeakable fates meted out to Belgian and French civilians. It is estimated that his drawings reached a newspaper circulation of 300 million in the United States alone during the war. His images include one featuring the British nurse Edith Cavell, *Thrown to the Swine: the Martyred Nurse* (1916), which shows her dead body on the floor of a barn while rotund pink pigs, identified as Germans by their distinctive helmets, eat her.[12] Many believed the atrocities Raemaekers depicted to be true following the publication of the widely disseminated *Bryce Report* of May 1915 that purported to have documented, based on 1,200 witness depositions, the systematic murder and violation of Belgians by German soldiers during their invasion of Belgium, including details of rape and the slaughter of children. Indeed, Raemaekers played a role in ensuring this result by creating illustrations that drew on the Report following its publication. According to historian Suzanne Evans, Raemaekers successfully "depicted the war as a religious battle between good and evil."[13]

The Canadian First World War official photographs housed in the Canadian War Museum present no comparable images of obvious atrocities.

Furthermore, while the descriptive captions that accompany each picture in the post-war albums and the original sleeves containing the glass negatives very occasionally allude to atrocities, the word 'atrocity' is never mentioned. This apparent absence of atrocity images and text might imply that this evil did not exist or, perhaps, when photographers viewed potentially horrific situations, respect for the dead and sensitivity to the living took precedence. We know, however, from the catalogue captions for photographs displayed in wartime exhibitions that atrocity was meant to be visible and its absence was not an issue of respect or sensitivity. During the war, violence was made present when the text associated with the atrocity-free photographs injected new meaning. Described as a "murdered orchard," a picture of felled trees took on new meaning and the absent was made present.

At the beginning of the war, Canadian soldiers were allowed to carry cameras with them while on active duty.[14] In early 1915, however, the authorities effectively banned the possession of such equipment by officers or men in their units as a matter of security. In 1916, the newly created Canadian War Records Office under Sir Max Aitken, later Lord Beaverbrook, successfully petitioned the Canadian War Office for the right to allow official photographers to accompany the forces to the front lines. The goal was to create an historic record, but Beaverbrook also wanted to ensure that the civilian population knew what was going on. He believed that this documentation, which also included film, diaries, magazines, books, and art, could serve as an adjunct to propaganda in wartime through publication and exhibition, and still maintain its role as an historical document after the war. All the photographs were passed by a censor before they could be viewed publicly. Those that were not passed are marked in the albums as "not for sale or reproduction."

Working with heavy equipment including glass plates (the eventual negatives) and often far from the action, the work of the official photographers was almost immediately published in newspapers, magazines, and books and exhibited for sale. According to the final 1919 souvenir catalogue, millions visited the touring exhibitions between 1916 and 1919. Indeed, the first exhibition, which opened in London in December 1916, was so successful that it afterwards travelled in Canada and the United States for two years, acting as an effective propaganda machine in support of the war, especially at its two known Canadian locations, Ottawa and Toronto. The two most prolific photographers on view were Ivor Castle (1877–1947) and, particularly, William Rider-Rider (1889–1979). Between them, they covered the war from August 1916 to its end. Both were newspaper photographers, seconded from the British *Daily Mirror*, and both had, as a result, an instinct for photographs that told a story. In Castle's case, he had also learned how

to construct a more meaningful photograph by putting parts of several photographs together. Indeed, Castle's constructions (never publicly described as such and, possibly even today, not all identified) were widely popular and played a significant role in drawing the public into the exhibitions.

Castle's image entitled *The Taking of Vimy Ridge* was the highlight of the second exhibition of Canadian war photographs, which opened in London in July 1917 soon after the important April Canadian victory at Vimy Ridge (Fig. 1). Reproduced with the massive dimensions of 11′ × 20′ (3.35 × 6.09 m), the photograph could be purchased for the unbelievable sum of 120 pounds, the price of a house for some people. It was not, however, a single shot. It was made up from two photographs, only one of which included dead bodies, with a little artistry applied to create the explosions in the sky (Figs. 2 and 3).[15] A note on the back of the glass negative for the un-peopled shot implies its future use: "Trim and print out shell in centre of plate." The shell, however, remains in the constructed photograph. The bodies in the composite, however, are closer together than in their original shot, suggesting some trimming at the centre. What is important is that when no authentic photograph existed, the composite photo *had* to exist in order to provide an expectant public with an image that accorded with what they anticipated in any depiction of such a significant battle. This meant that the Vimy Ridge photograph had to include dead Canadian bodies to accord with common perceptions of the cost of victory.

The First World War was different from its predecessors in terms of the vast numbers of soldiers fighting – tens of millions – and the sheer quantity of horrible injuries they received from the powerful machinery used. With rare exceptions such as Castle's constructed photograph discussed above, depicting the dead was frowned on for religious, ethical, and social reasons. In the finding aid that accompanies the CWM albums among the suitable subjects listed are generals and their troops, men on bicycles, but no victory shots and definitely no *identified* members of the more than 60,000 Canadian dead prior to burial. Ironically, because of Beaverbrook's expressed support, depicting the enemy's dead was slightly more acceptable. "Sir Max says cover up the Canadians before you photograph them as much as you like, but don't bother about the German dead," reported Captain Wilfred Holt-White to Lieutenant-Colonel R. Manley Sims.[16] As the photograph discussed above attests, this clearly was not always achieved.

However, there was a significant lack of photographic evidence of death and the Canadian War Records Office found other ways to visually document it. Photographs of carefully tended burial plots and cemeteries were the predominant means used to record the cost of war and lend dignity to the mangled remains that lay below. This, however, did not deal with the lack of

1 | Unattributed, *The Second Exhibit, Grafton Galleries*, July 1917, photograph, 10 × 11.1 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19930003-299. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series M262q).

2 | Ivor Castle (attrib.), *Photograph taken during the Battle of Vimy Ridge – 29th Infantry Battalion advancing over "No Man's Land" through the German barbed wire and heavy fire*, April 1917, photograph, 9.5 × 12.3 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19920085-915. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series 0-1162).

3 | Ivor Castle (attrib.), *Photograph taken during the Battle of Vimy Ridge – Canadians occupying old German third line trenches*, April 1917, photograph, 9.8 × 11.1 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19920085-941. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series 0-1188).

4 | Unattributed, *A crucifix in a cemetery recently shelled by the Boche – note two German graves*, June 1917, photograph, 9.7 × 12.3 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19920085-436. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series 0-1533).

visual documentation of atrocity. In this instance, text and photograph were combined to create a symbolic language that could readily impart particular messages to those who viewed the photographs without causing distress by showcasing real violence. In essence, atrocity was visually absent, but symbolically present, just like the dead. To achieve this, the caption writers had to draw on existing notions of the nature of atrocity and give new meaning to their selected photographs. The Canadian and British public, which included the staff of the Canadian War Records Office, acquired most of their knowledge of atrocities from listening to the stories of others about Belgian babies being stabbed and French women being raped and from reading their papers and magazines and seeing Raemaekers's cartoons. The organization's staff thus chose texts that aligned the exhibited photographs

with known propaganda and, furthermore, laid the atrocities at the enemy's door because in their eyes only the enemy was capable of such brutality.

The four photographs discussed below show how text was used to 'connote' stronger meanings in photographs that already 'denoted' a related interpretation. The four photographs I have selected to demonstrate this process also show how the twinning of 'denotative' and 'connotative' associated with Barthes's works in Canadian official war images. In the first picture, a Canadian soldier is looking at a German grave marker in a damaged cemetery. Titled *Even the Grave is Not Sacred*, it was included in the second exhibition of Canadian war photographs (Fig. 4).[17] Oddly, for such a seemingly innocuous photograph of a broken stone, it was marked "Not on sale." Not only its title but its catalogue caption explains its unsuitability for purchase. "While the Allied Troops treat the dead, friend or foe, with the same care and the same reverence, the Hun is quite incapable of such humanity . . . in the section of this 'God's Acre' which the Germans appropriated for their own dead, they erected 'suitable memorials' to their own fallen, they blasted the bodies of the hated French from their tombs and left them uncovered and uncared for to rot still further into decay."[18] In the exhibition such images were contrasted with pictures of Canadians carefully tending their comrades' graves. This undoubtedly ensured that any photograph of a destroyed cemetery could be understood as the result of German action and the enemy's lack of respect for the dead. There is no hyperbole in the text accompanying the destroyed cemetery photograph in the post-war album; the war is over and demonization is no longer required. It states simply: "A crucifix in a cemetery recently shelled by the Boche – note two German graves."

Four entries later in the second wartime exhibition catalogue, one reads the title, *What the Germans did to Vraignes* (Fig. 5).[19] This print is also marked "not on sale" and the text rather than the photograph explains the reasons. "There will never be a more complete illustration of a German orgie [*sic*] of destruction than is represented in this picture . . ." it begins before going on to explain that the little town was not shelled but set on fire by the retreating Germans. "When the fire was done its work," the caption continues, "great chain cables were threaded through the windows [of the remaining buildings]. To either end were hitched horses. The animals were then flogged until the chains burst through what remained of the standing walls, and brought the buildings tumbling down." Here again, the purpose was to engender a conclusion that ruined towns and villages were the result of German action and in addition, to ensure that the animal-loving British public knew that horses were badly treated. The caption in the post-war album and on the glass negative sleeve references a village rather than a town; without overstatement, it reads factually: "Village of Vraignes recaptured

5 | Ivor Castle (attrib.), *Village of Vraignes recaptured from the Germans in the Great Advance*, March 1917, photograph, 7 × 16 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19920085-110. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series 0-1107c).

from the Germans in the Great Advance." To some degree, this may confirm Beaverbrook's belief that photographs could be an adjunct to propaganda in wartime and become an historical document after the war.

The third photograph is of the destroyed French cathedral of Roye and is titled *The Gate of Destruction* (Fig. 6).[20] It was also not on sale at the second exhibition. The caption opens by stating that it "illustrates the most inexplicable piece of Hun psychology on record . . . [the Germans] blasphemously blew up the House of God."[21] Putting the enemy on the wrong side of God was an important part of the Allied propaganda message. In the popular wartime Canadian War Records publication *Canada in Khaki,* a double-page spread on pages 110–11 of volume 2 features six photographs of ruined churches; one of the individual captions includes the loaded words, "A violated sanctuary." While the short album caption for Roye Cathedral is a little closer in tone to that of the catalogue it specifies the organ only: "Wanton destruction of the organ in Roye Cathedral – removing and smashing the pipes." The caption on the negative sleeve is similarly worded.

The fourth photograph, titled *The Murdered Orchard*, was for sale at the second exhibition for eight pounds, ten shillings (Fig. 7).[22] This title is far more chilling than the image, and certainly implies atrocity. The caption reads: "The wanton destruction of these trees can only be stigmatised as

6 | Ivor Castle (attrib.), *Wanton destruction of the organ in Roye Cathedral – removing and smashing the pipes*, April 1917, photograph, 12 × 9.5 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19920085-309. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series 0-1419).

7 | Ivor Castle (attrib.), *The wanton destruction of the Hun – every tree and orchard in the evacuated area is cut*, March 1917, photograph, 9.5 × 12 cm, George Metcalf Archival Collection, Canadian War Museum 19920085-059. (Photo: Canadian Expeditionary Force series 0-1058).

'murder.' To prevent their being of any use to the advancing troops, the Germans took the life of each one by severing its trunk." Standing in for the photographer, as figures do regularly throughout the official pictures, the two figures act as witnesses to the destruction. Again, the album and negative sleeve captions are close: "The wanton destruction of the Hun – every tree and orchard in the evacuated area is cut." In Christian iconography, trees symbolize life lived in accordance with God's plan: the tree's annual cycle refers to life, death, and resurrection. In the context of the exhibited photograph, the destroyed trees may refer not only to the atrocious loss

of human life in the war but also to the Crucifixion, a theme that would resonate with a public that increasingly looked to the Christian faith for an explanation for the war's destructiveness. If Christ's death on the cross was redemptive, then the deaths of millions of soldiers on the battlefield were redemptive too. The equation of trees and bodies was also the subject of war poems. British poet and soldier Edmund Blunden wrote of the battlefield in *Thiepval Wood* (1916): "Ember-black the gibbet trees like bones or thorns protrude/From the poisonous smoke." Although this poem was not published until a decade after the war's end, it clearly shows the mentality of the period with its intersections of the natural and human worlds. Perhaps Canadian military doctor John McCrae's ubiquitous poem *In Flanders Fields* (1915) is even more pertinent; generations then and now equate the poppy with the dead.

With its veneer of verisimilitude and its association with witnessing, photography was a promising medium for documenting atrocity. The Canadian War Records Office, however, was faced with a dilemma because there were no photographs of atrocities. This was particularly problematic when it came to exhibitions. Official photographer Ivor Castle had to superimpose two images taken from behind the lines in relative safety to create an image of impending victory at human cost in his photograph, *The Taking of Vimy Ridge,* and the Canadian War Records office had to connote meaning from images that denoted something somewhat more prosaic. By aligning the meaning of hundreds of photographs of ruins, broken trees, churches, and cemeteries with existing expectations about the prevalence of wartime atrocity, the Canadian War Records office was able to give a documentary presence to violence despite its absence from the official photographic record, but one coloured more by propaganda than by reality.

NOTES

1 Peter Robertson, *Relentless Verity: Canadian Military Photographers since 1885* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); Peter Robertson, "Canadian Photojournalism during the First World War," *History of Photography* 2, no. 1 (January 1978): 37–52. Canadian First World War photography is also discussed in Jane Carmichael, *First World War Photographers* (London: Routledge, 1989).

2 Andrew Birrell, "The war to end war," *Photo Canada* 2, no. 5 (November–December 1978): 61–8.

3 See Tim Cook, "Documenting War and Forging Reputations: Sir Max Aitken and the Canadian War Records Office in the First World War," *War in History* 10 (July 2003):

265–95 and "Over the Top: Iconic war image not what it seems" in *100 Photographs That Changed Canada,* ed. Mark Reid (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2009), 36–7.

4 David Alexandre, *Looking Through Ruin: Canadian Photography at Ypres and the Archive of War,* ma Thesis, University of British Columbia, 2000, ii.

5 Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 38.

6 Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 60.

7 Barbie Zelizer, "When War is reduced to a Photograph" in *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*, ed. Stuart Allen and Barbie Zelizer (London: Routledge, 2004), 116.

8 Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation,* trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). Barthes's 1964 essay describes the analogical relationship between the photographic image and the real world as 'denotative.' The 'connotative' he understands as rhetorical, in that it delivers meaning.

9 *Catalogue of the Canadian War Photographs Exhibition,* 1917; *Catalogue of the Canadian War Photographs Exhibition (Second Exhibition)*, 1917; *New Exhibition of Canadian War Photographs in Colour*, 1919. The date of the first exhibition refers to when it was seen in Glasgow and is not the date of the first viewing, which was 1916. These catalogues are in the cwm's Hartland Molson Library.

10 These are part of lac's Department of National Defence fonds.

11 At the cwm, these are known as the Canadian Expeditionary Force official war photographs and a contemporary finding aid is part of the album series. The acquisition number of the whole is 19920085, with each individual image having its own subsequent number.

12 http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/ARTraemaekers.htm (accessed 3 November 2010).

13 Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 65.

14 See Andrew C. Rodger, "Amateur Photography by Soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Archivaria* 26 (Summer 1988): 163–8.

15 The photograph of the bodies in the cwm album is numbered 0.1188 (19920085-941). Combined with cwm's 0.1162 (19920085-915) it becomes the lac's 0-1162.

16 Quoted in Robertson, "Canadian Photojournalism," 41.

17 cwm 0.1533 (19920085-436).

18 *Catalogue of the Canadian War Photographs Exhibition (Second Exhibition)*, 11.

19 Ibid., 11–12. cwm 0.1107c (19920085-110).

20 cwm 0.1419 (19920085-309).

21 *Catalogue of the Canadian War Photographs Exhibition (Second Exhibition),* 15.

22 Ibid., 19. cwm 19920085-059 (0.1058).

Les mots et les images : inscrire l'atrocité sur les photographies canadiennes officielles de la Première Guerre mondiale

LAURA BRANDON

Les photographies canadiennes officielles de la Première Guerre mondiale (1914–1918) conservées au Musée canadien de la guerre (MCG) ne montrent aucune représentation évidente d'atrocités. Nous savons pourtant, d'après les légendes des images présentées lors d'expositions en temps de guerre, que les atrocités étaient censées être visibles. Pendant la guerre, le Canadian War Records Office (CWRO) a compensé l'absence d'atrocités et montré la violence en se servant des textes associés à ces photographies pour leur donner un sens nouveau. Décrite comme un « verger assassiné », une photo d'arbres abattus prenait une nouvelle signification et ce qui était absent devenait présent. Pour montrer comment cela a pu être réalisé dans un contexte visant à discréditer l'ennemi pendant la Grande Guerre, j'ai étudié quatre photographies canadiennes officielles de la Première Guerre mondiale présentées au public comme de puissantes représentations d'atrocités. Par ces exemples, je montre comment, en retravaillant le sens de centaines de photographies de ruines, d'arbres brisés, d'églises et de cimetières, exposées dans des lieux publics, pour les accorder aux attentes concernant la prévalence d'atrocités en temps de guerre, le CWRO a pu donner une présence documentée à la violence en l'absence d'archives photographiques officielles, présence qui reflétait cependant davantage la propagande que la réalité.

Ma source principale se trouve dans une collection peu connue et étudiée de quelque 80 000 photographies cataloguées du Musée canadien de la guerre. Environ 40 pour cent de cette collection se rapporte à la Première Guerre mondiale. Ces images, qui méritent une interprétation attentive, n'ont, jusqu'ici, fait l'objet d'aucune exploration savante approfondie. Ce qui a été fait a presqu'exclusivement utilisé la collection à peu près semblable de Bibliothèque et Archives Canada (BAC), qui, pendant des décennies, était mieux connue que le MCG. Toutefois, en utilisant les albums du Musée de photographies de la Première Guerre mondiale, compilés quelque temps après 1919 cependant, et trois catalogues souvenirs du MCG d'expositions tournantes de photographies canadiennes officielles provenant de Londres, ainsi que les pochettes des négatifs sur verre originaux conservées au BAC à partir desquels les photographies des albums ont été reproduites, j'ai pu reconstruire

la démarche photographique canadienne officielle concernant les atrocités du temps de guerre.

Tout en reconnaissant la difficulté inhérente qu'il y a à utiliser comme exemples des photographies d'une autre époque et témoignant d'un état d'esprit différent, je me suis inspiré, pour aborder ce sujet, des écrits récents de Janina Struk et de Barbie Zelizer sur les atrocités de l'Holocauste et la photographie de guerre. Se fondant sur le travail de Roland Barthes en sémiotique, Zelizer se réfère au jumelage du « dénotatif » et du « connotatif » : le « dénotatif » étant associé à la vraisemblance et au réalisme, c'est-à-dire ce que la photographie représente, et le « connotatif » au symbolisme, ou ce que la photographie signifie. J'examine aussi la pratique officielle de réaliser des images composites à partir de plusieurs photographies afin de donner à un public curieux des images qui s'accordent à l'idée qu'il se faisait de la guerre, alors que de telles images n'existaient pas. Bien que les événements de l'Holocauste et la fabrication de fausses photographies ne soient évidemment pas au cœur de cet article, ils fournissent des parallèles utiles à l'histoire des images d'atrocités de la Première Guerre mondiale et une porte d'entrée à leur analyse. Dans les deux cas, un nouveau sens a été construit à partir de photographies existantes afin de présenter des idées très spécifiques qu'on pourrait ensuite associer à l'idée qu'on se faisait de cette sorte de représentation.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette

Painters Eleven: The Wild Ones of Canadian Art

IRIS NOWELL

Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2010
364 p.

Graham Broad

This is the first book devoted to Painters Eleven, a collective of abstractionists who worked out of Toronto and region from 1954 until the group's dissolution in 1960. Art by members of the group remains a staple of many commercial galleries in central Canada and is often found on display in public buildings in Ontario. At least three members of the group, William Ronald, Harold Town, and Jack Bush earned some measure of international acclaim and Clement Greenberg once described Bush as among the best painters North America produced in the twentieth century. However, published studies of Painters Eleven have been limited to exhibition catalogues, book chapters, and Ronald Belton's *Theatre of the Self*, a short but good biography of the group's mercurial founder, William Ronald. By itself, then, the fact that this is the first work of its kind makes it a welcome addition to Painters Eleven literature.

Nowell, whose previous books include a biography of Joyce Wieland and a memoir of her long relationship with Harold Town, says in her introduction that she considered this book hers to write. She seems to have put her past association with several members of Painters Eleven (the last surviving, Tom Hodgson, died in 2006) and their families to good use, having received from them various diaries, letters, recollections, and rare photographs. The book consists of individual biographical chapters on each of the group's members, interspersed with short and at times perfunctory chapters on the group's creation, its heyday, and its dissolution. The biographical chapters are deeply affectionate, even reverential, but are thorough and will serve students and scholars of Canadian art as useful works of reference. Nowell's decision to depart from chronology makes for somewhat erratic and at times repetitious reading, especially where the lives of the artists converge. But in focusing on the members as individuals rather than as a collective, she also reminds readers that Painters Eleven existed only briefly, and numbered eleven for less than three years (Oscar Cahén died in 1956; Ronald resigned in 1957). No photograph of the eleven together exists.

One is reminded, too, of what a diverse group of personalities the eleven were. Though they found common

purpose in their shared commitment to abstraction, Nowell describes many nights of hard drinking in smoke-filled rooms, nights that sometimes culminated in alcohol-fueled rages and even fisticuffs between some of the group's younger members. It is hard to imagine that such evenings held much appeal for the introverted Kazuo Nakamura or the group's most senior members, the underappreciated and deeply spiritual Jock Macdonald, and Hamilton art teacher Hortense Gordon, who was nearly seventy when the group was formed.

These biographies are lively and make for diverting reading, but do they contribute anything new in terms of situating Painters Eleven in the broader historical and cultural circumstances of the era? Nowell's approach is strictly matter-of-fact, narrative, and anecdotal rather than deeply analytical. Perhaps by choice, she renders the cultural contours of 1950s-era Canada in a decidedly two-dimensional fashion. The historical context of the group's establishment in the early 1950s, for instance, is the subject of a chapter of just three pages; the group's dissolution at the turn of the decade, when the whole of Canadian society was on the cusp of a cultural revolution, gets two pages. Although the stated goal of the Massey Commission was to foster uniquely Canadian cultural development in the face of what many perceived to be American cultural imperialism, and some later artists, including London's Greg Curnoe, saw abstract expressionism as precisely that, the commission is the subject of a single paragraph in a chapter devoted to art dealers who helped advance the group's career. In this respect, then, the book offers less insight than *The Crisis of Abstraction in Canada* by Denise Leclerc (who, admittedly, contributes a warm foreword to this volume), Roald Nasgaard's *Abstract Painting in Canada*, or even such older mainstays as J. Russell Harper's *Painting in Canada: A History* and Dennis Reid's *Concise History of Canadian Painting*.

Instead, *Painters Eleven: The Wild Ones of Canadian Art* works best as a big, colourful, sumptuously illustrated coffee-table book, featuring nearly three hundred reproductions of the eleven artists' work. Nowell has selected the best gallery works to reproduce but has also tracked down many fine paintings in private collections. Moreover, one should not be churlish about the significance of the technical achievement of photo-reproduction and precise colour correction. The group's work has never been presented so well.

Admirers of abstraction will find many of these works breathtaking. Some members, including Hodgson, a two-time Olympian who liked to produce big, muscular abstract expressionist canvases, and Oscar Cahén, a talented illustrator who Nowell describes as the group's artistic center-of-gravity, seem due for major studies of their own. Walter Yarwood's post-Painters Eleven career as a sculptor finally gets due consideration. Jack Bush's colour-field paintings of the 1960s and early 1970s, which seem to have staked out a mid-point between the serene contemplativeness of Mark Rothko and the often severe work of Barnett

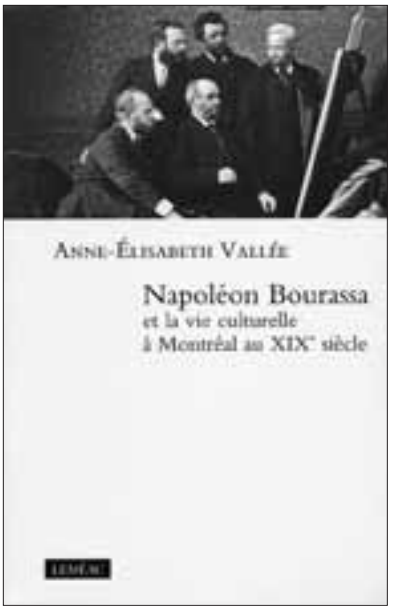
Newman, continue to impress, as do Harold Town's understated monoprints of the 1950s. But it is also hard to escape the conclusion that some members, including Ronald, stopped evolving artistically after the 1950s, and that some of their early abstracts seem blandly decorative or simply slapdash, works by painters groping their way towards understanding a new artistic vocabulary.

In art history, the modernist perspective sometimes implies that there was something wrong with artists who continued to paint portraits and landscapes while the vanguard was making the bold leap into the nonrepresentational. So it is refreshing to discover, near the end of the book, a photograph of an aging Yarwood painting a small, rather delicate landscape, as if abstraction for him was not so much the end-point in a teleological process as a style that held his interest for a time. This in turn makes one wonder about Nowell's claim that Painters Eleven were "plotting an artistic coup" (297) in the allegedly stolid English Canadian art scene. Inevitably, the history of Painters Eleven begs comparison to the group's slightly earlier counterparts in Quebec, *Les Automatistes,* whose members are inextricably linked to an early shot across the bow in Quebec's Quiet Revolution, Paul-Émile Borduas's incendiary pamphlet *Refus Global*. In the light of that group's genuinely revolutionary manifesto, Painters Eleven's goals appear more straightforwardly commercial. Nowell, however, casts them in the familiar heroic mold, placing the group at the forefront of a movement that acculturated Canadians to the aesthetic language of abstraction.

Undeniably, Canadians' aesthetic tastes were sometimes reactionary in the early 1950s, and Nowell describes the alienation that the group's members felt in this often-stultifying environment. But there is also good reason for regarding Painters Eleven as *part of* rather than the start of any "coup." Winnipeg's Bertram Brooker had exhibited geometrical abstracts in Toronto as early as the 1920s; some former members of the Group of Seven, most notably Lawren Harris, painted surrealist and abstract works throughout the 1930s and 40s, and of course the *Automatistes* had come and gone before Painters Eleven was even founded. By the early 1950s, Cubist, surrealist, and abstract works were commonplace in juried shows, they were mainstays of the magazine *Canadian Art* and beginning to appear in the collections of major public galleries.

Moreover, the Canadian public did not live in the cultural hinterland often ascribed to them. They vacationed Stateside, watched Hollywood movies, listened to American radio, and increasingly watched American television. Above all, they read American magazines, and presumably the tens of thousands of Canadian subscribers to *Life* magazine had seen its feature article on Jackson Pollock in 1949. By the time the Painters Eleven mounted their first show in Toronto in 1954, the days of the paint-splattered bohemians were already coming to an end. The many fans of the group will feel vindicated

by the overdue appearance of a book about them and will admire this work's beautiful reproductions. Some students of Canadian art history, however, might wonder if Nowell's assertion that Painters Eleven were "the wild ones" of Canadian art is better suited to their individual temperaments than to their art.



Napoléon Bourassa et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIX^e siècle

ANNE-ÉLISABETH VALLÉE

LEMÉAC, Montréal, 2010
255 p.

Monique Nadeau-Saumier

Ce livre est une version remaniée pour publication d'une thèse de doctorat en histoire de l'art, *La contribution artistique, pédagogique et théorique de Napoléon Bourassa à la vie culturelle montréalaise entre 1855 et 1890.* Soutenue à l'UQÀM en 2009 par Anne-Élisabeth Vallée, cette thèse a été élaborée sous la direction de Laurier Lacroix[1].

En publiant ce condensé de sa thèse, l'auteure permet à un plus large public de prendre connaissance d'un aspect jusqu'alors pratiquement ignoré de la vie de Napoléon Bourassa. En effet, si Bourassa a joui d'une certaine notoriété comme peintre et architecte durant la dernière moitié du XIX^e siècle, son implication et son rayonnement dans plusieurs domaines de la vie culturelle de Montréal restaient, jusqu'à la publication de ce livre, des dimensions très méconnues de sa longue carrière.

Le texte d'introduction fait part de faits déjà connus et n'innove pas vraiment au plan biographique, son intérêt se situant à un autre nouveau. Basé sur une recherche poussée des nombreux écrits publiés et de la correspondance de Napoléon Bourassa, le livre permet au lecteur de mieux saisir l'importance du rôle qu'il joua dans le développement de la vie culturelle montréalaise durant la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle. Sont aussi mis en lumière certains aspects de sa personnalité qui ont contribué à affirmer la présence significative de Bourassa dans le domaine culturel et artistique de Montréal, en particulier, et du Québec, en général.

Né dans une famille prospère, sur la rive-sud de Montréal, le jeune Napoléon entre adolescent au Collège de Montréal, où s'amorce le début d'une longue et fructueuse relation avec les Sulpiciens.

Déjà éveillé aux arts et aux lettres par l'un de ses professeurs, sa rencontre avec le peintre Théophile Hamel, et l'amitié qui s'installe rapidement entre eux, confirmeront les aspirations du jeune Bourassa pour une carrière d'artiste peintre. Sans doute conseillé par son mentor Hamel, Napoléon Bourassa quitte le pays pour l'Europe en 1852, à l'âge de 25 ans. L'argent fourni par son père ne lui permettant pas de fréquenter les grands ateliers, il visite les galeries à Florence et s'initie au dessin sous l'influence des tableaux de grands maîtres. Après Florence, il se dirige vers Rome où il cherchera à rencontrer Frederick Overbeck, membre fondateur du Groupe des Nazaréens, pour lesquels Bourassa a une grande admiration.

Revenu au pays après une visite à l'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1855, Napoléon Bourassa s'installe à Montréal sur la rue Bonsecours. Il rencontre alors Azélie Papineau, fille cadette de Louis-Joseph Papineau, qu'il épousera en 1857, après avoir vaincu les réticences de son célèbre beau-père qui craignait que sa fille ne soit confrontée à des problèmes financiers liés au métier d'artiste.

Quelques paragraphes résument l'union du couple Azélie/Napoléon, union qui fut troublée par les problèmes de santé mentale d'Azélie, et par les déboires financiers qui forceront le jeune couple à demander l'aide de Papineau. Ce dernier donnera du travail à son gendre sur sa seigneurie de la Petite-Nation, à Montebello. On apprend peu sur les cinq enfants issus de ce mariage, si ce n'est qu'Azélie décède prématurément à l'âge de 34 ans, peu de temps après la naissance de leur fils, Henri.

Alors que sa carrière artistique prend son essor dans les années 1870, Bourassa doit composer avec la responsabilité de cinq enfants en bas âge, la mort de son ami Théophile Hamel, et de son beau-père. Durant les années 1880 et 1890, il est confronté à l'échec de deux entreprises de décoration d'église dans lesquelles il s'était beaucoup investi. Il s'oriente alors de plus en plus vers des projets d'architecture aux États-Unis et à Montebello, et s'éloigne de la vie culturelle montréalaise. Revenu vivre à Montréal en 1904, Napoléon Bourassa décède en 1916 à Lachenaie, lors d'une visite chez son fils Henri, à l'aube de ses 89 ans.

Le premier chapitre du livre relate les débuts de Napoléon Bourassa dans la vie culturelle montréalaise. Dès son retour d'Europe en 1855, il devient membre de nombreuses associations littéraires, religieuses et artistiques[2]. Ses activités dans les mouvements associatifs vont de simple membre, participant occasionnel, conférencier invité, administrateur à membre fondateur. Le lecteur découvre sans grande surprise que Bourassa privilégie les réseaux d'individus et d'associations qui partagent ses valeurs et ses aspirations, c'est-à-dire le développement d'une culture canadienne-française basée sur la nationalité et la foi catholique. On comprend que les contacts fréquents avec les membres de ces réseaux associatifs aideront le jeune artiste à obtenir des commandites et faciliteront le développement de sa carrière.

Par ailleurs, et fait moins prévisible, on apprend aussi que Bourassa participe activement aux associations d'artistes et fréquente les institutions dédiées aux beaux-arts, lesquelles sont largement dominées à son époque par des canadiens-anglais de confession protestante. Dès 1865, il participe aux expositions de l'Art Association of Montreal et publie régulièrement des articles sur le sujet. Il sera l'un des rares artistes canadiens-français parmi les membres fondateurs de l'Académie royale des arts du Canada, dont il est nommé vice-président lors de sa fondation en 1880[3]. S'agit-il, selon les mots de l'auteure, « d'une détermination à collaborer à la mise en place d'un environnement propice à la création artistique[4] »? Ce qui est certain, c'est que Napoléon Bourassa admirait l'esprit d'association qui existait chez ses compatriotes d'origine anglaise, alors que, selon lui, « Nous autres Français d'origine, nous disputons longtemps au commencement de toute entreprise, nous disputons encore au milieu, et nous nous disputons presque toujours à la fin[5] ».

Bourassa s'implique dans la fondation de la *Revue canadienne,* périodique qui vise à promouvoir la littérature française en Canada. Il y contribue plusieurs articles sous divers sujets et son premier roman historique *Jacques et Marie, Souvenir d'un peuple dispersé* est publié dans la revue sous forme de feuilleton, de 1865 à 1866. Ce premier roman d'un auteur canadien-français à s'intéresser à la déportation des acadiens connaîtra une fortune critique assez favorable. La *Revue canadienne* servira également à diffuser les écrits politiques de Napoléon Bourassa dont les prises de positions plutôt libérales sur la Confédération canadienne permettent aujourd'hui de nuancer sa réputation de conservateur et d'ultramontain.

En plus de révéler l'importante contribution de Napoléon Bourassa dans la sphère culturelle de Montréal, le livre offre au lecteur un bon aperçu du contexte dans lequel il évolua durant la deuxième moitié du XIX[e] siècle. Pour ce qui est des domaines littéraire et artistique, l'auteure retrace l'histoire des bibliothèques, cabinets de lecture, revues et mouvements associatifs dédiés à la promotion de la culture. Souvent embryonnaires et généralement de courte durée, ces regroupements et associations d'écrivains et d'artistes auront néanmoins jeté les assises pour plusieurs autres mouvements qui ont enrichi la vie culturelle à Montréal vers 1900, et que Bourassa lui-même a été en mesure d'apprécier durant les dernières années de sa vie[6].

Les premières activités professionnelles de Bourassa dans le domaine artistique fournissent la matière du chapitre suivant. Toutefois, on remarque que l'auteure accorde une grande latitude temporelle à ces « premières activités ». En fait, on y trouve l'essentiel de la production picturale et sculpturale de Bourassa depuis son retour d'Europe à l'âge de 28 ans et jusqu'en 1867, alors qu'il a atteint l'âge mur – pour l'époque – de 40 ans. Bref, c'est une longue et importante

partie de la carrière artistique de Napoléon Bourassa qui est décrite dans la première partie de ce chapitre.

Dès le début, on constate que Bourassa dénonce la précarité du métier d'artiste à Montréal. Il va même illustrer cette précarité – qu'il connaît trop bien – par une de ses rares caricatures. À la précarité, s'ajoute la frustration de ne pouvoir se consacrer à la peinture d'histoire et à la décoration d'église, ce dont il avait rêvé tout au long de sa formation artistique basée sur la tradition académique. Napoléon Bourassa ne reçoit que des commandes de portraits et de tableaux religieux, pour la plupart venues des membres de sa belle-famille et de son entourage clérical. Toutefois, belle exception qui ranime ses espoirs, son grand tableau allégorique, *Apothéose de Christophe-Colomb* est présenté à l'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1867, ce qui suscite des commentaires favorables dans la presse montréalaise.

La deuxième partie du chapitre traite de la *Revue canadienne* et d'autres revues littéraires et artistiques. Elle met en lumière les critiques d'art publiées par Bourassa dans quelques unes de ces revues spécialisées. Il y déplore que le manque de connaissances du public en général ne permette pas de stimuler la réflexion sur l'état du milieu artistique dans la métropole. Dans certains de ses écrits, Bourassa constate que la pratique de la copie, encouragée par le clergé, laisse peu de place à la créativité des artistes et porte ombrage à la création d'une véritable école canadienne[7]. Le lecteur a déjà constaté que, lors de son séjour à Florence, Bourassa n'avait guère apprécié le travail de son compatriote, Sébastien Falardeau, qui s'était mérité une réputation enviable au Québec comme copiste.

Le troisième chapitre est consacré à l'engagement et aux activités de Bourassa dans le développement de l'enseignement des arts industriels et des beaux-arts. On fait le point sur la formation des premiers Mechanics' Institutes à Montréal et dans la province, mis sur pied par des industriels pour fournir aux ouvriers une instruction de base, lecture, écriture, arithmétique et surtout, des cours de dessin linéaire, ornemental et architectural. Ces écoles, généralement dirigées par des anglophones, étaient peu fréquentées par les jeunes ouvriers de langue française. C'est pour remédier à cette lacune, qu'en 1865 l'élite francophone de Montréal met sur pied l'Institut des artisans canadiens de Montréal destiné à la formation de la classe ouvrière chez leurs compatriotes, dont Bourassa assumera la présidence en 1869.

Pour ce qui est de la formation en beaux-arts à Montréal, Bourassa privilégie deux approches pédagogiques complémentaires. L'apprentissage traditionnel à l'atelier du maître et la formation dans une école d'enseignement. Mettant en pratique la première approche, il initie un jeune apprenti, Victor Morin[8], aux rudiments du dessin et des techniques picturales en atelier pour qu'il puisse l'assister dans la réalisation de la décoration de la chapelle Nazareth. Dans le but d'améliorer les aptitudes en dessin de son élève,

originaire de Saint-Hyacinthe, il l'inscrit aux cours du soir offerts par le Conseil des arts et manufactures de Montréal. Cette première tentative de formation en atelier n'aura pas le résultat escompté[9].

Bourassa reprendra l'expérience plus tard et avec plus de succès. C'est ainsi que, parmi les artistes qui suivirent une formation en atelier sous sa direction, on trouve Louis-Philippe Hébert qui deviendra l'un des plus célèbres sculpteurs du Québec au XIX^e siècle. D'autres jeunes apprentis de Bourassa feront carrière dans la décoration d'église, tels François-Édouard Méloche et Toussaint-Xénophon Renaud.

L'importance de Napoléon Bourassa comme théoricien d'art canadien-français fait l'objet du chapitre suivant. On y découvre l'étendue de son érudition et l'énergie qu'il consacre à propager sa conception particulière de l'art, surtout l'art chrétien, auprès de ses concitoyens. Par le biais de nombreux articles et conférences, Bourassa milite pour l'élévation du statut social de l'artiste, ce qui assurerait l'essor d'une école canadienne-française, basée sur des valeurs religieuses et le culte de la nation.

Développé durant ses études classiques, et alimenté par son séjour en Europe, son intérêt pour l'histoire et l'histoire de l'art le conduit à monter une importante bibliothèque personnelle, dont l'étendue et la diversité font de lui un grand érudit. Les théories sur l'art et l'esthétique chrétienne de Bourassa sont fondées sur l'étude sérieuse des grands auteurs dont il connaît parfaitement les textes.

Le dernier, et le plus long chapitre du livre, est consacré à l'historique et l'analyse iconographique des grands projets de décoration murale réalisés par Bourassa au cours de sa longue carrière. Durant son séjour en Europe, Bourassa a réalisé que la période la plus inspirée de l'art chrétien est celle des Trecento et Quattrocento de l'art italien, par son recours à la peinture murale et à un style épuré. Napoléon Bourassa s'impose bientôt comme le spécialiste montréalais de cette forme d'art. Fidèle à cette influence et fort de ses contacts avec les Sulpiciens qui encouragent une pratique semblable dans l'art religieux, il réalisera coup sur coup, de 1870 à 1880, deux importants projets de décors religieux, la chapelle de l'Institut Nazareth[10] et la chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. Pour la réalisation de ce dernier projet, Napoléon Bourassa s'improvise architecte car il maîtrise très bien le vocabulaire architectural utilisé pour les temples chrétiens au cours des siècles. Toutefois, il s'assure de la collaboration de l'architecte Adolphe Lévesque pour la vérification des plans et la surveillance du chantier[11].

Napoléon Bourassa considère que l'artiste canadien doit aussi chercher son inspiration dans le caractère national et propose, sans succès, pour le Palais législatif de Québec des projets de peinture murale qui témoignent des moments les plus marquants de l'histoire de la nation. La décoration de la cathédrale de Saint-Hyacinthe, un ambitieux projet de Bourassa qui ne fut jamais réalisé[12], est l'objet d'une longue et détaillée description du cycle

iconographique prévu et des recherches poussées de l'artiste pour en recréer un authentique cadre historique.

Vers la fin de sa carrière, d'importantes commandes viendront confirmer la vocation d'architecte de Bourassa. En 1892, de nouveaux mécènes, les Dominicains, récemment implantés en Nouvelle-Angleterre, lui confient la réalisation de l'Église Sainte-Anne, à Fall River, au Massachusetts. Durant la même période, Napoléon Bourassa sera l'architecte désigné de l'église Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours, à Montebello[13].

Durant ses dernières années, Bourassa se consacre de nouveau à la peinture de chevalet. C'est alors qu'il réalise l'un de ses tableaux les plus connus, que d'aucuns considèrent comme son chef-d'œuvre, *La peinture mystique*. Bourassa exécute lui-même le magnifique encadrement, parfaitement intégré à cette allégorie qui résume, en quelque sorte, son allégeance à l'art religieux.

En conclusion, l'auteure propose une révision de la fortune critique de Napoléon Bourassa, vu par certains comme un précurseur dans la sphère culturelle québécoise au XIX^e^ siècle, et par d'autres comme l'un des acteurs les plus rétrogrades de son époque. Alors que son rôle véritable restait encore indéterminé – des pans entiers de son oeuvre et de ses écrits ayant été négligés auparavant – Anne-Élisabeth Vallée souhaite que son ouvrage jette un nouvel éclairage sur le rôle important joué par Napoléon Bourassa dans les domaines pédagogique, théorique, et artistique du Québec de son époque.

Souhait réussi, après la lecture, on est en mesure d'apprécier la diversité du talent et l'étendue des intérêts de Bourassa pour la littérature, la politique, l'histoire de l'art, et de mieux évaluer son exceptionnelle contribution à l'enseignement des arts visuels et au développement de l'art mural religieux.

Ceci dit, il faut noter quelques bémols, dont le plus important est que le livre, version condensée d'une thèse de doctorat, souffre d'une approche méthodologique trop académique. Cela se sent surtout dans la construction des chapitres, chacun doté d'une conclusion qui aurait pu être intégrée dans le cours du récit.

Pour ce qui est du séjour à Rome de Napoléon Bourassa, on apprend que rien dans sa correspondance et ses récits ne permet de confirmer qu'il ait réussi à rencontrer Frederick Overbeck. Il est regrettable que le livre ne parle pas de la vocation particulière des artistes nazaréens et de l'influence majeure qu'ils eurent sur l'art religieux en Europe au début du XIX^e^ siècle. En plus de fournir des informations utiles au public non spécialisé en histoire de l'art, quelques paragraphes sur le sujet auraient permis de mieux comprendre les théories sur l'art religieux qui ont guidé l'œuvre de Bourassa et sous-tendent ses écrits sur le sujet. Bref, il s'agit d'une occasion ratée de faire un point global sur la question car elle conditionne toute l'aventure intellectuelle et artistique de Napoléon Bourassa.

Le texte comprend plusieurs notes qui réfèrent à une correspondance de Papineau avec son fils Amédée, et au

décès en 1862 de Julie Bruneau Papineau. Ces notes, dont le but est de fournir des informations supplémentaires, sont trop fragmentaires pour être utiles au lecteur. On peut s'interroger sur Amédée Papineau qui reçoit les confidences de son célèbre père. Où se situe-t-il parmi les enfants de Papineau, et qui était Julie Bruneau Papineau ? Ce manque de renseignements essentiels ne nous permet pas de mieux situer Bourassa dans sa belle-famille, ce qui aurait facilité la compréhension de ses relations familiales et d'affaires avec la dynastie du célèbre tribun.

Même problème concernant les cinq enfants issus du mariage Papineau/Bourassa, dont on apprend peu de choses. On découvre, à travers quelques extraits de lettres adressées par Napoléon, qu'il se confie souvent à son fils Gustave, dont la mort accidentelle en 1904 viendra assombrir ses dernières années. Quel était ce fils que Bourassa a souvent pris pour confident, et quel rang occupait-il dans la fratrie ? Et quels étaient les sentiments de Napoléon envers son célèbre fils cadet, Henri[14].

Toutefois, la plus grande carence de l'ouvrage réside dans son manque flagrant d'illustrations. Cela se ressent tout au long du livre, mais plus particulièrement dans le dernier chapitre où des reproductions des dessins préparatoires de Bourassa auraient fourni au lecteur des exemples concrets du style hiératique qui, selon lui, se prêtait mieux à la décoration murale que le style naturaliste. Tout amateur d'art qui a le moindrement étudié sa production picturale sait que Bourassa a été l'un des plus prolifiques dessinateurs de son époque et que tous ses projets d'art mural religieux ont fait l'objet de multiples esquisses, souvent mises au carreau. La reproduction de certaines de ces esquisses aurait donné un meilleur aperçu du projet et permis d'en alléger la description. D'autant plus que ce dernier chapitre s'avère long, répétitif et fastidieux, et qu'il donne l'impression d'une réflexion inaboutie. À force de voir défiler sous ses yeux le texte qui décrit le cycle iconographique de la vie de Saint-Hyacinthe, le lecteur éprouve un peu de lassitude. Convenons cependant qu'il n'est guère facile d'exprimer par les mots seuls la complexité et la richesse de l'ambitieux projet de représenter le cycle de la vie de Saint-Hyacinthe auquel Bourassa a consacré huit années de sa production artistique.

En conclusion, en peut affirmer que cet ouvrage tombe à point car il ajoute une dimension jusqu'ici méconnue à la carrière et la vie de Napoléon Bourassa. Les recherches d'Anne-Élisabeth Vallée fourniront un élément important de l'exposition *Napoléon Bourassa. La quête de l'idéal*, que le Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec inaugurera en mai 2011. Son texte s'ajoutera à ceux de Paul Bourassa et Mario Béland, tous deux conservateurs au MNBA, dans le catalogue de l'exposition. On y trouvera une version définitive du parcours exceptionnel de l'un des artistes canadiens les plus importants du XIX^e^ siècle que l'histoire de l'art avait trop délaissé jusqu'ici.

NOTES

1 Cette thèse s'inscrit dans la récente perspective de recherche sur Napoléon Bourassa dont l'œuvre fera l'objet d'une exposition au Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec au printemps de 2011, suivie d'un colloque à l'automne. On constate que de telles initiatives tombent à point, la dernière publication conséquente sur la vie et la carrière de Napoléon Bourassa remontant à plusieurs années. Voir Raymond Vézina, *Napoléon Bourassa (1827–1916): introduction à l'étude de son art,* Ottawa, Éditions Elysée, 1976, 262 p.

2 On note, entre autres, que Bourassa assumera en 1863, la présidence de l'Union catholique, association littéraire et religieuse créée par les Sulpiciens pour contrer l'Institut canadien, tout comme le Cabinet de lecture paroissial, auquel Bourassa adhère dès 1857.

3 C'est d'ailleurs une photo prise lors la participation de Bourassa au Comité de placement des tableaux de la première exposition de l'Académie royale des arts du Canada, à Ottawa, en mars 1880, qui orne la page couverture du livre. Pour en savoir plus long sur le rôle qu'a joué Napoléon Bourassa dans les premières activités de l'Académie royale des arts du Canada, voir le texte de Charles C. Hill, « To Found a National Gallery / Fonder une Galerie nationale. L'Académie royale des arts du Canada 1880–1913 », dans *Journal*, n° 36 (mars 1980), Galerie nationale du Canada, Musée nationaux du Canada, Ottawa, 8 p.

4 Pour reprendre les mots de l'auteur, on peut ajouter que, par le choix du tableau, *Légende du berceau : l'enfant sourit aux anges*, pour son morceau de réception à l'Académie royale des arts du Canada, Bourassa n'aura pas « contribué à la mise en place d'un environnement propice à sa propre création artistique » en ce qui concerne la collection permanente de la Galerie Nationale (aujourd'hui le Musée des beaux-arts du Canada). Ce morceau de réception, d'une banalité digne de l'imagerie sulpicienne, et un bas-relief du profil de Louis-Joseph Papineau, en plâtre peint, acheté de l'artiste en 1901, sont les seules oeuvres de Napoléon Bourassa qui figurent dans la collection nationale du Canada.

5 Voir l'extrait d'un texte de Bourassa tiré d'un article paru dans *Revue canadienne,* vol. 1, n° 3 (mars 1864), reproduit à la page 17 du livre.

6 À ce sujet, on pourra consulter l'ouvrage collectif, sous la direction de Micheline Cambron, *La Vie culturelle à Montréal vers 1900,* Montréal, les Éditions Fides et la Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 2005, 413 p.

7 Pour connaître l'importance de la copie dans l'art canadien au XIX[e] siècle, voir le texte de Laurier Lacroix, "Créer en copiant", dans son essai « Entre la norme et le fragment », p. 65–8, publié dans Mario Béland, *et al.*, *La peinture au Québec, 1820–1850,* Musée du Québec, 1991, 605 p.

8 Aucun rapport avec son homonyme, le notaire de Saint-Hyacinthe, président de la Société Royale du Canada en 1938.

9 Alors que la formation technique du jeune apprenti se déroule assez bien, son développement intellectuel et moral – que Bourassa estime aussi important – est plus problématique. Il ne sera plus question de Victor Morin après le projet de la chapelle Nazareth.

10 L'Institut Nazareth et sa chapelle furent démolis lors de la construction de la Place-des-Arts de Montréal en 1960.

11 Pour en apprendre plus long sur les réalisations de Bourassa et ses commanditaires sulpiciens, on peut se référer au texte de Jacques Des

Rochers "L'importante contribution des Sulpiciens à l'art mural" dans son essai « Stratégies culturelles sulpiciennes : les beaux-arts », chapitre 20, p. 546–56, publié dans Dominique Deslandres, *et al.*, éd. *Les Sulpiciens de Montréal Une histoire de pouvoir et de discrétion – 1657–2007,* Montréal, Éditions Fides, 2007, 670 p.

12 D'importants travaux de réfection à la toiture de la cathédrale de Saint-Hyacinthe vont retarder le projet de décoration murale. Puis ce projet sera abandonné, sur décision de la nouvelle administration du diocèse. Après huit années de travail sur le cycle décoratif proposé, Bourassa encaisse ce revers, non sans amertume, comme une déception de plus.

13 L'Église Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours et l'Église dite Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes se méritent la cote Exceptionnelle (B) dans l'inventaire des lieux de culte du Québec, ce qui vient confirmer le talent de Bourassa comme architecte et décorateur d'église. Ce classement est le résultat de l'évaluation et de la hiérarchisation des lieux de culte du Québec réalisés entre 2004 et 2006 par un comité d'experts mandatés par le MCCCF pour chacune des zones administratives de la province.

14 En raison de tous les personnages qui gravitent autour de Bourassa, un index aurait probablement été souhaitable.

LAURA BRANDON is the Historian, Art and War, at the Canadian War Museum. She is the author of *Art or Memorial? The Forgotten History of Canada's War Art* (2006) and *Art and War* (2007), a survey of Western war art. Her exhibition, *A Brush with War: Military Art from Korea to Afghanistan,* is currently travelling across Canada (2009–12). She holds an M.A. in Art History from Queen's University and a Ph.D. in History from Carleton University.

GRAHAM BROAD is assistant professor of Canadian history at King's University College at the University of Western Ontario. He has written for *Ontario History, The Urban History Review, The Beaver, Canadian Military History, Canadian Literature,* and *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*. His textbook, *Canada: A Country of Change* (co-authored with Matthew Rankin), is in use throughout the Manitoba school system. His study of consumer culture on the Canadian home front, *A Small Price to Pay: Canadian Consumers and the Second World War*, is forthcoming with UBC Press.

ADAM LAUDER is W.P. Scott Chair for Research in e-Librarianship at York University where he is developing an electronic catalogue raisonné of the work of IAIN BAXTER&. He is also the author of a chapter on the N.E. Thing Co. in *Byproduct: On the Excess of Embedded Art Practices* (2010). Lauder was the curator of *It's Alive! Bertram Brooker and Vitalism*, an exhibition devoted to Canadian modernist and advertising executive Bertram Brooker that was organized and circulated by the Art Gallery of Windsor. He has also published essays on Brooker in *Hunter and Cook* 3 (2009) and *The Logic of Nature, The Romance of Space* (2010). His interview with curator Vincent Bonin appears in *C* magazine (December 2010).

MONIQUE NADEAU-SAUMIER est détentrice d'un doctorat en histoire de l'art de l'UQAM. Sa thèse « Un espace et un lieu de culture, le *Art Building* de Sherbrooke, 1887–1927 » a été publiée en version abrégée, aux Éditions GGC, en 2008. Elle a enseigné l'histoire de l'art et la muséologie à l'Université Bishop's, tout en assumant le poste de directrice administrative du Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est à la même université de 1987 à 1995. Elle a fourni plusieurs articles à la *Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est / Journal of Eastern Townships Studies,* publiée par le CRCE.

EDUARDO RALICKAS est doctorant au Département d'histoire de l'art et d'études cinématographiques de l'Université de Montréal et au Centre d'histoire et de théorie des arts (CEHTA) de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris. Sa thèse, intitulée « Naissance de l'art

performatif. Étude sur les prémisses du moment romantique en Allemagne », porte sur la genèse du paradigme de la performativité artistique ayant motivé les pratiques esthétiques et politiques du premier romantisme allemand. À titre de critique d'art, il a publié plusieurs essais dans des périodiques canadiens. En 2010, il a été le commissaire de l'exposition *Raymonde April : Équivalences I–IV*.

ROSEMARIE L. TOVELL is the former curator of the Canadian Prints and Drawings collection at the National Gallery of Canada. Her publications include catalogues raisonnés of the prints of David Milne, Betty Goodwin, Clarence Gagnon (with Michèle Grandbois), and the Canadian works of James Smillie (with Mary Allodi). Her catalogue on the Canadian Etching Revival, *A New Class of Art*, *The Artist's Print in Canadian Art 1877–1920*, won the Ewell L. Newman Book Award from the American Historical Print Collectors Society. She continues to lecture and write on Canadian Prints and Drawings in both Canada and the United States.

Announcing

TWO NEW RESOURCES FOR CANADIAN ART HISTORY

CANADIAN EXHIBITION REVIEWS ONLINE

An online, full-text database with reviews of the annual exhibitions of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, the Art Association of Montreal and the Ontario Society of Artists (1873–1940).

ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL SCRAPBOOKS

An online, full-text version of the Association's scrapbooks from 1864 to 1948, scanned from originals held at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

http://cwahi.concordia.ca

Canadian Women Artists History Initiative · Réseau d'étude sur l'histoire des artistes canadiennes

Concordia University

National Gallery of Canada

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

The *Journal of Canadian Art History* welcomes submissions of previously unpublished manuscripts. One printed copy and a digital file are required; both should include a short abstract. Send printed copies (including photocopies of images) to the editorial office address below. Send digital files to jcah@alcor.concordia.ca. Typescripts for articles should not exceed 8,000 words, excluding endnotes. Essays should not exceed 4,000 words. Reviews of exhibitions and books are assigned by the editor-in-chief; proposals from reviewers are invited.

MANUSCRIPT STYLE

Double-space throughout, including text, extracts, quotations, and endnotes. The *Journal* follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th Edition, and *The Oxford Canadian Dictionary*.

PROCEDURES

Manuscripts will be reviewed by the editor-in-chief, in consultation with the editorial board. Suitable manuscripts will go through peer-review, to be returned to the author with recommendations. Acceptance for publication will be contingent on completion of revisions. Accepted manuscripts will be copy-edited and returned to the authors for approval. Proofreading is the author's responsibility. Authors will provide summaries of their articles or essays for translation. Authors are also responsible for obtaining permissions to quote extracts or reproduce illustrations.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Legible photocopies or low-resolution files are acceptable for first review. Final acceptance of illustrated submissions is conditional upon receipt of high-resolution TIFF files; these will be requested upon initial acceptance. Given the sometimes long delays in obtaining publishable image files, authors should demonstrate that they have initiated the process by contacting copyright holders, but should not order files before acceptance. A separate list of captions, including all necessary credits and permission lines, should be submitted with the accepted manuscript, along with photocopies of evidence of permissions granted.

MAILING, CORRESPONDENCE, INQUIRIES

Martha Langford, Editor-in-chief
Journal of Canadian Art History
1455 de Maisonneuve West, EV 3.819
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, H3G 1M8
jcah@alcor.concordia.ca
http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/

Les *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* accueillent avec plaisir des textes inédits. Un exemplaire imprimé et un fichier numérique sont exigés; les deux doivent être accompagnés d'un court résumé. Les exemplaires imprimés (y compris des photocopies des illustrations) doivent être envoyés à la rédaction, à l'adresse ci-dessous, et les fichiers numériques à jcah@alcor.concordia.ca. Les articles ne doivent pas comporter plus de 8 000 mots, y compris les notes de fin de document. Les essais ne doivent pas dépasser 4 000 mots. Les recensions d'expositions et de livres sont attribuées par la rédactrice en chef. Vous êtes invités à soumettre des propositions de recensions.

PRÉSENTATION

Double espace dans tout le document, y compris le texte, les extraits, les citations et les notes de fin de document. Pour le style, les *Annales* se basent sur *Le Ramat de la typographie* et les dictionnaires *Robert* et *Larousse*.

MARCHE À SUIVRE

Les textes sont révisés par la rédactrice en chef, en consultation avec le comité de rédaction. Les textes pertinents sont soumis à un processus de révision par les pairs et retournés aux auteurs avec recommandations. Ils ne seront pas publiés avant que les révisions n'aient été complétées. Les textes acceptés seront soumis à une correction d'épreuves et retournés aux auteurs pour approbation. La correction d'épreuve est de la responsabilité de l'auteur. Les auteurs devront fournir des résumés de leurs articles pour traduction. Les auteurs sont aussi responsables d'obtenir les autorisations de citer des extraits ou de reproduire des illustrations.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Des photocopies lisibles ou des fichiers en basse résolution sont acceptables pour une première révision. L'acceptation finale d'illustrations est conditionnelle à la réception de fichiers TIFF en haute résolution. Ceux-ci seront exigés lors de l'acceptation initiale. Vu les délais parfois longs pour l'obtention des fichiers d'illustrations publiables, les auteurs devraient démontrer qu'ils ont entamé le processus en communiquant avec les titulaires des droits d'auteur, mais sans commander les fichiers avant l'acceptation du texte. Une liste séparée de légendes, y compris tous les crédits et autorisations nécessaires, doit être soumise avec le texte accepté, ainsi que des photocopies prouvant que les autorisations ont été accordées.

COORDONNÉES, CORRESPONDANCE, DEMANDES DE RENSEIGNEMENTS

Martha Langford, rédactrice en chef
Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien
Université Concordia
1455, boul. de Maisonneuve ouest, EV 3.819
Montréal (Québec) H3G 1M8
jcah@alcor.concordia.ca
http://art-history.concordia.ca/JCAH/