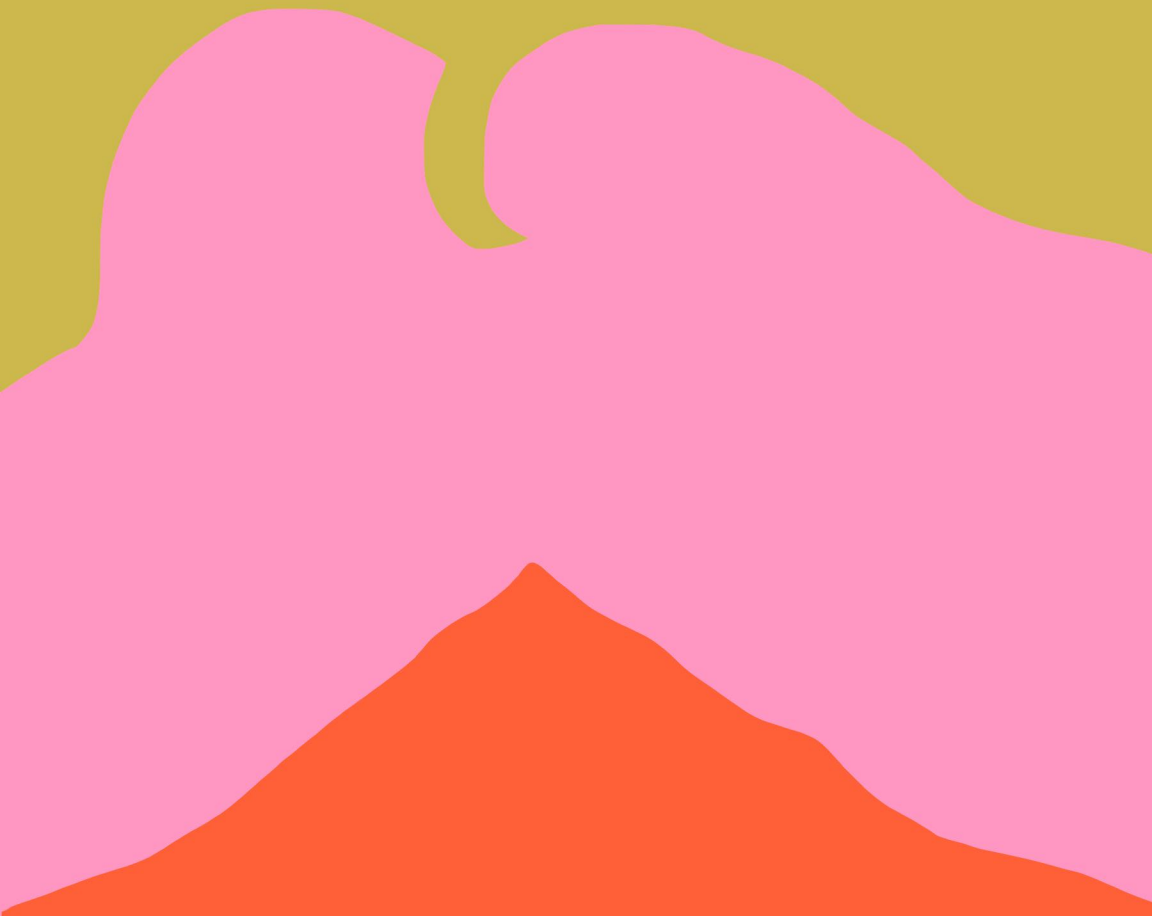
The Pornographic Delicatessen

Midcentury Montréal's Erotic Art, Media, and Spaces



Matthew Purvis

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Midcentury Montréal's Erotic Art, Media, and Spaces

MATTHEW PURVIS

Concordia University Press
Montréal

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The body text of this book is set in JJannon, designed by François Rappo and released in 2019 by Swiss foundry Optimo. JJannon revives the letters cut by seventeenth-century Swiss printer Jean Jannon, whose work was misattributed to Claude Garamond for nearly 300 years until scholar Beatrice Warde rectified this error in the 1920s.

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Acknowledgements

This book is a byproduct of a dissertation I wrote at Carleton University while pursuing my doctorate in Cultural Mediations. That project, originally intended to be a study of the erotic art that circulated within Québec and Ontario from the beginning of the 1960s until the mid-1970s, proved to be too unwieldly. In excess of 1,000 pages, it had to be pared back to the considerably more modest analysis of three Ontario artists. The text published here evolved from two short chapters which were transformed substantially in the process. While these two documents (and a book on film in the period, which has yet to be published) can be read with one another, their framing is considerably different. This is due in no small part to the historical differences between the two provinces, but also to a clearer definition of the polemical issue involved, namely in providing a historical counter to the dominance of culturalist approaches to art.

My thanks go to the three people who advised me on the original dissertation and provided some critical feedback on those initial two chapters: André Loiselle, Will Straw, and Brian Foss. In particular, I owe a debt to Brian for fighting to have me in the programme.

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people outside of institutions who have scanned and uploaded materials onto the internet on their own and without whom a great deal of obscure material would be lost.

Thanks must be also given to the artists and their estates who have been generous enough to allow work to be reproduced here. I hope that this text will help to spur on greater interest in these generally underappreciated works. Nearly all of the newspapers discussed can be easily accessed in full online through the website of the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BANQ). I would encourage readers to do so in order to see the material in context.

Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge the people at Concordia University Press for agreeing to take on this work. In particular, my editor Ryan Van Huijstee was tirelessly supportive of this project and provided great structural advice. Thanks also go to Saelan Twerdy for his additional suggestions.

Unless otherwise noted, the translations from French are my own. Since I am not a professional translator, a native speaker, or a speaker of the peculiar varieties of French that flourished in the province in the period I discuss, I acknowledge that they may sometimes be crude. I have attempted to convey the affective sense as well as the literalness of translated passages as much as possible. When a professional translation existed, I have generally used and cited them unless I felt that they missed the implications in the text which I found most relevant. Thanks to Thomas Waugh for suggesting a few alternative translations for slang terms.

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Introduction: The Erotic Environment of Montréal

As Octavio Paz points out, the great Anglo-American failing is to reduce everything (sex included) to politics.[1]
—Scott Symons

Ton style c'est ton cul c'est ton cul c'est ton cul[2]
—Léo Ferré

In October 1970, Montréal dominated the media in Canada in the aftermath of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) abducting British diplomat James Cross and the provincial Labour Minister Pierre Laporte. The ensuing events, generally termed the October Crisis, included Laporte being murdered by the group, the Trudeau government invoking the War Measures Act, and massive arrests. A few months before the Crisis, an art exhibition allowed "participating audiences the chance to rediscover unchanging social phenomena, politics and eroticism, sound and inflatable sculpture."[3] A film projection of political demonstrations was the first thing a visitor would encounter upon entering Montréal's Musée d'art contemporain, followed by a pornographic one. At its centre was a giant heart designed to beat to the rhythm of music. Both elements would be synchronized with slides projected in the space. *Pffff…Paf* ran from May 6 to 31, 1970, organized by Gilles Boisvert and created collectively with the aid of Michel St-Jean, Michelle Prévost, Yves André, Vittorio Fiorucci, Louis Daviault, and Philippe Amiguet.

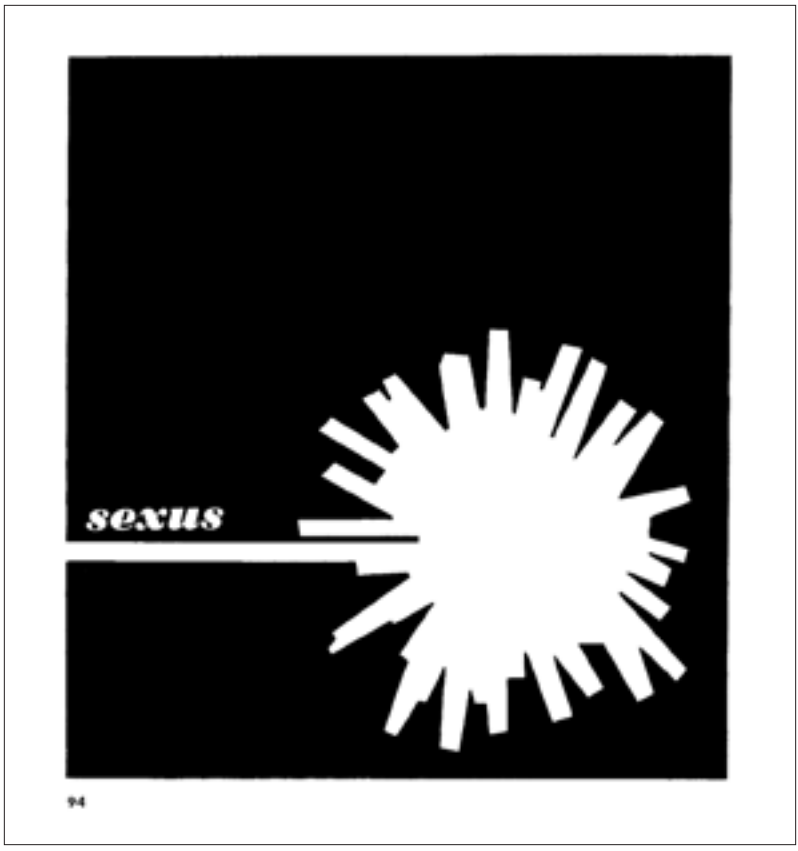
According to the short catalogue that accompanied it, the exhibition was a "dog and tail show" and spelled this out by juxtaposing Fiorucci's "pornographic" photographs, reminiscent of some of the high-contrast black and white nudes he shot for the local erotic magazine *Proscope* (Québec's variant on *Playboy*), with a film

of political demonstrations and rioting. At the centre of the space was a large mechanical heart and organs that were supposed to inflate and deflate but which were unintentionally dysfunctional when the exhibition opened. The title condensed a great deal into very little: suggestive of profanity, advertising lingo, the captions of comic books, and a pornographic magazine title, it was entirely ambiguous, intimating a comical conclusion. It also stressed the oral element, only utterable as blowing and popping.[4]

In its juxtaposition of documentary footage, erotic imagery, and a sentimental gadget, the exhibition translated the visual obsessions of the local tabloid press into the language of the gallery, while depriving the exhibition of the concrete narrative referents generically associated with journalism. The central heart stressed the mechanical quality of "love," presenting it as a bizarre and barely functional machine that was undercut by its corny quality. As a multimedia installation, it emphasized the breakdown of barriers between disciplines that was being lauded as central to progressive art. In form, it suggested a three-dimensional rendering of the erotic press that could be entered into as an environment. Although it rendered the play of passions and politics a spectacle ripe for perverse enjoyment, journalists did not oblige.

A review by Normand Thériault complained that the demonstration footage was ineffective because its imagery was already too familiar and its significance too pat while the pornographic content was understandable in voyeuristic terms—and therefore distracting. The various elements did not work in unison, he argued. Instead, they all seemed to be autonomous and non-communicating, operating more like traditional paintings and denying "participation."[5] *Le Devoir*'s Christian Allégra was even less sympathetic, declaring it "a flop." He echoed Thériault's claim that the pornography left a more lasting impression than images of police repression. Observing that the work suggested the "decadence of the West" or the unchanging duality of "Eros and Thanatos," he also stressed its lack of cohesion, adding that, while it was an environment, there was no sense of participation, and so, it was "not a Happening."[6]

Pffff…Paf fizzled but it was part of a short string of exhibitions of erotic art in the city from the late 1960s to the late '70s, most of which tended to juxtapose the erotic and the political. This was in



0.1 Advertisement in *Sexus*, October–November–December 1967.

keeping with a broader trend: in placing what had tended to be a clandestine genre within public spaces, curators of erotic art typically framed their exhibitions through progressive apologia that stressed their social value. In 1968, the First International Exhibition of Erotic Art was held in public museums in Lund, Sweden and Aarhus, Denmark, the largest and most high-profile exhibition of its kind. The works were taken from international museums and the private collection of psychologists Phyllis and Eberhard Kronhausen, who served as curators and the authors of a massive catalogue.[7] Eroticism was regarded in psychosocial terms as "not just the narrow biological drive [for sex], but sex as a driving force in all the creative aspects of life."[8] Their curation of sexual content was explicitly therapeutic rather than intended to be arousing.[9]

According to the curators, a stress on sex-as-recreation rather than procreation was politically radical because "it's not the atom bomb that's going to do us in, but simply babies —babies which we are creating ourselves, babies which we are breeding to such an extent that we are crowding ourselves out of living space, of breathable air, or drinkable water, out of everything."[10] It was, the authors contended, traditional reproductive sexuality more than war that posed the greatest threat to the world, and which its commercialization and control could curb, whether in an "enlightened" socialist or capitalist state. The great actors in the drama of the sexual revolution were less activists and the medical profession than strippers and porn stars, whose arts had considerably more educational value for the public.[11] That the "sexual revolution" had less to do with the realpolitikal realm than it did with the entertainment industry and its role in shaping libidinal investments is a contention that has subsequently been maintained and substantially expanded by Eric Schaefer, among others.[12]

The Kronhausens' much talked-about *curations*—in the double sense of rendering sex a sophisticated object of consumption and an antiseptic one—were one of the peaks of a broader trend in showcasing erotic art, usually confined to smaller galleries. This was not limited to Europe and the United States, where it was integral to the burgeoning of women's or feminist art,[13] but also appeared—with much controversy on some occasions, in Canada.[14] If for progressive civil libertarians like the Kronhausens, eroticism was identified with the enlightened repression of the dangers of traditional forms of sexuality by sublimating them through consumerism, medicalization, and the decriminalization of sex practices,[15] for someone like renegade surrealist and philosopher of eroticism Georges Bataille, the sexual revolution was devoted to the repression of the erotic, which he infamously described as "the gratification of life even in death."[16]

In Montréal during the same year as the First International Exhibition of Erotic Art, Roger Lafleur, the director general of CEGEP d'Ahuntsic, cancelled a conference planned for the institution. It would have been dedicated to examining the thought of one of Bataille's primary influences, the Marquis de Sade, and would have been open to students and the public.[17] Lafleur claimed it was his

duty as an educator to put a stop to these discussions preemptively, especially after the publicity the event had already garnered. The event was cancelled on March 24, 1968, and students were protesting in the streets the following day, threatening a strike. While this controversy opened serious divisions within the school's administration to public view, *Photo-Journal* pondered the more substantive question: "Why a conference on the Marquis de Sade? To demystify popular thinking in Québec?"[18]

At almost the same time, and with a very different tone, Mordecai Richler's Governor General's Award-winning novel *Cocksure* (1968) would satirize such events as it painted a portrait of the utopia that would transpire if the counterculture had the capacity to rule. Set in swinging London, England, the narrative focuses on a Canadian expatriate and his neurotic attempts to demonstrate his credentials as a liberal progressive. This often fails amid fears of not being antiracist or sexually permissive enough. One of the novel's lengthiest set-pieces occurs in chapter eighteen. It features the protagonist sitting through a theatrical production based on Sade's *Philosophy in the Bedroom* (1795) performed by school children at a progressive school. Sade's text becomes a hymn to the "cure-all powers of the orgasm" as the performers' assembled parents debate whether the libertine text is radical enough and discuss the best techniques for encouraging open masturbation and the cultivation of nymphomania among their children.[19]

These varied responses to the spectre of eroticism indicate that what it hinted at was controversial, and its definitions were often incompatible. Eroticism could designate the transgressive and antisocial, or it could be used to promote the kind of "repressive desublimation" that so concerned Marcuseans.[20] An affirmation of life and its pleasures, it could also be morbid, and could mark out a horror of the perverse, whether new or traditional. It could be socialist, anarchist, capitalist, internationalist, nationalist and so on.

For the erotic art produced in Montréal, all of this would take on local colour. The city's artists dealt both with the inheritance of the peculiar forms of surrealism that had been hatched there, and with a substantial state-directed remaking of the art world. The latter, in many ways, mirrored the attempt to radically reconstruct the urban environment, erasing its "decadent" and erotic

past and replacing it with a fantasy about a future in league with international norms. Within this context, a motley set of artistic styles and strategies developed as the limits of institutionally administered contemporary art were being established. Surveying this situation in the mid-1970s from a Marxisant perspective, Laurent-Michel Vacher wrote:

> Anarcho-artorism is one of the most significant dead ends in the field of artistic practices. Extremism meets irresponsibility, scandal is only an indirect appeal to admiration, playfulness and humour become instruments of social distinction, the institutional circuits of culture are confirmed and extended. A brief list of themes is sufficiently eloquent: eroticism, scatology, sadism, absurdity, diversion [*détournement*] of the usual object, parody, verbal or physical violence, wild rituals, regressions, refusals and rejections, monomania, marginality, psychodrama, etc., all of which have recently been tried out, shown, pushed to the limit, explored.[21]

Central to many of these themes and strategies, and one of the primary issues for the artists discussed in this book, was a concern with realism. The various realisms that would be advanced could not be confused with those of the nineteenth century. In the postwar era, among those associated with one strain of surrealism that evolved within the province, Automatism, there is evidence that they understood their work as a kind of realism. Poet and polemicist Claude Gauvreau was known to use André Breton's term "open realism" interchangeably with surrealism, claiming that the work of he and his Automatist associates was a means to "the destruction of the Cartesian-Kantian edifice and completely undermines consciousness."[22] For Gauvreau, this was a necessary consequence of the basic monistic claims of the group: "For them, the devious and sometimes hypocritical dualism of dividing what exists into 'matter' and 'spirit' while at the same time condemning one of these opposing terms has always appeared to be futile and contrary to reality."[23] What this implied for the content of representation will be examined from one chapter to the next as a wide variety of strategies were called upon in order to give form or function

to eroticism. Foremost among these would be variations on what Denis Vanier would title a book of his hybrid poem-collages: a "pornographic delicatessen." This phrase stressed the assemblage quality that would be one of the most common denominators of erotic artworks across media in the period, as well as the carnivorous appropriation and consumption of whatever imagery—whether it was photography, text, or the painting styles associated with non-figuration—that could be captured as raw material to be used in a menu of artistic strategies that encompassed anything from the burlesque to the visual logic of comics or the art of religious shrines and circuses.

The Argument

In terms of this book's claims, they are simple: within a small set of Montréal artists in the 1940s who embraced aspects of surrealism and acknowledged the centrality of eroticism to it, there resulted two different strains of visual art, figurative and nonfigurative. While the distinction between them would become blurred, both stressed a mechanical, unconscious, and intentionless form of eroticism. These were reformulated in different ways in the generations that followed.

Eroticism would be central to some work that emerged in the 1960s and '70s, and these forms of erotic art were not limited to the gallery, but appeared in the popular press, the city's nightlife, literature, film, and in political discourse. This book provides a survey of these forms. What they carried on from surrealism was foregrounding how eroticism both evacuated and constructed notions of socio-political representation, often employing an explicitly mythical image of Québec in the process. They tended to rely on modes of humour—embracing parody, satire, and sarcasm—that stressed the remediation of content and form, and their strategies tended to echo across numerous media.

In describing these tendencies, there are five basic forms that this book seeks to articulate by mapping out how they appeared and were employed in a variety of contexts: the pornographic delicatessen, automatism, ti-pop, erotic sarcasm, and the *kétaine*. Each of these forms has been abstracted from a close reading of the

primary materials within their context. This is not to suggest they have solely been employed in ways that would have been foreseen by those from whom they were appropriated. I have tried to push their frequently shaky logic to conclusion. If the pornographic delicatessen stood as a strategy of appropriation and composition, automatism was a complementary mechanical program for creation that demoted the value of intentionality and conscious meaning or experience. The kétaine was a term for the déclassé and the clichéd and it indexed artworks to the historical specificity of the material detritus that existed within the industrial production of the province. Defining itself against Anglo-American pop, ti-pop was both an array of figurations drawn from the kétaine and a metaphysics for the province that severely ironized the credibility of its representation. Erotic sarcasm stood as a more extreme variant of this, one which embraced multiple forms of rhetoric and iconography and pushed them to the point of malfunctioning and implosion.

While these forms overlapped, they cannot be reduced to one another and their exponents and employers would use them in ways that were contradictory. There is a substantial tension between the programmatic strategies that existed within these forms and the types of figuration that they would appropriate, not simply using found imagery but often emphasizing that it was taken or objectified in a novel way. Figures would be created using all manner of material from media and industry, whether it was food products or newspaper images, photos of Pierre Trudeau or gynaecology exams, tropes taken from decolonization theory or bottles of local beer. Figuration lent itself to mythologization, but it also lent itself to the asemic, and the logic of much of this mythology—its allegorical implications—was likewise driven to this horizon. A myth might imply a narrative, the allegorical significance of which tended to be so paradoxical it was absurd, but the objectification of narrative was also a means to render it dysfunctional or indeterminate.

Examining the careers of these forms also means not limiting art, either as object or practice, to its institutionally delimited norms. Contemporary art as a genre in Canada has been defined primarily by its institutionality and its function as administered art.[24] This has been clearly evidenced by the cultural reforms in

0.2 Advertisement in *Flirt & Potins* 2, no. 10 (March 8, 1969): 28.

Canada beginning in the 1960s that resulted in the transformation of the artist into bureaucrat and cultural mediator.[25] Erotic art is not defined by this administerial form.

Erotic art could be a painting, an ad, a stripper's routine, an interior design, a courtesan's craft, a film, or a political discourse. All of these things and more have been staples of erotic art history as a genre.[26] While it did appear on occasion in galleries and museums, it existed primarily in books, prints, objects, dance, ad hoc voyeuristic practices, clubs, and within the local media. It is not simply that, for our purposes, the popular Québec weekly *Photo-Journal* (1937–1981) was a more important art venue than the Musée d'art

contemporain, but that erotic art tended to follow the formal logic of such media far more than that of the museum. This poses a series of potential problems for what may generically be assumed to be art-historical objects.

In Johanne Lamoureux's *Profession, historienne de l'art* (2009), she observes that, outside of the profession, the basic stereotype of what art historians do is that they study the methods and iconography of artists and interpret these as the expressions of a particular period or subject.[27] While this may be the case in a limited and largely trivial way, it is also a dated idea, constructed over a century ago about the art of centuries prior. As Lamoureux goes on to point out, this is no longer a helpful way of understanding much of the art of the twentieth century, when the status of art as a precious object—whether painting, sculpture, or architecture—or a picture of the social or divine order was often repudiated. While these three canonical media persisted, they became part of an expanding field that often did not contain things that were discernable as objects at all. They might just be gestures, installations, concepts, forms of bureaucracy, and so on.[28]

This line of argument has been advanced even further by Boris Groys, who has rightly observed that art history's liaison with visual-cultural studies was largely a botched one, since the latter relied on a reduction of art to the tradition of "the image" when art history clearly exceeds either image or object because art is primarily a context.[29] This more expansive model of art history is the one I am attempting to explore here and which was clearly present in the formal concerns of the artworks discussed and the discursive arguments around them. More often than not, the artwork is a device, practice, or concept and can only really be articulated by carefully addressing its context and web of references.

Within the broader context of the development of contemporary art in the city, this brings up an important heuristic issue. In the erotic art that I discuss, there was a repudiation of the legitimacy of those categories and methods that became the trinity of subsequent culturalist approaches to art (discussed below) that were beginning to be institutionalized in the period: psychological, sociological, and cultural interpretation. For the majority of the art I discuss, art was reconceived as non-communication, and as a

kind of anti-dialectic that was the concrete instantiation of a series of singular and asubjective desires. It was also, whether figurative or not, non-representational. The semiological concept of art, which journalists at the time often struggled with when encountering these works, was running into a wall. All of these issues were clearly present, and often central, in the limited reception of the city's erotic art that I outline. Therefore, the study of these works operates to some degree as a reconnaissance of a potential alternative to the cultural models that have become dominant in writing about art in Canada and normative concerns about identity and meaning.

Erotic art provided a non-dialectical alternative to the art generally privileged by the state. If, as will be noted below, the state reconceived art as practice more than object, this was likewise something that erotic art did, with pornographers, prostitutes, and performers in the place of bureaucrats and mediators. It existed as a double that inverted the logic of emergent contemporary art. I am not suggesting that this was done intentionally or on a refined conceptual level by any of those I discuss (it couldn't have been, since it was opposed to intentionality). In its stress on art as a device and as a function, it existed in a kind of parody of the functionalism that was becoming central to the reconceptualization of art as culture.

The art sanctioned by the state would not need to be representational in a traditional verist manner, generally privileging new and participatory forms instead, because it was already representational in a political or demographic sense. It privileged an art of functionality and use, one that redeemed art as a reflection of a presumably existing sphere of sociocultural relations and an expression of the subjectivities therein. But this was precisely what erotic art undermined. Its methods and rhetoric appropriated and derided the pretenses of representation. Its works were often dysfunctional and its use, at best, a masturbatory mockery of the notion of participation. If the state could exploit art as a demonstration of the spirit of people and its supposed expression, erotic art's demonstrative function was in stripping this away. This also explains why it consistently crossed paths and mated with the strategies of satire.

Periodization and Comparable Literature

In terms of the province's general art history, the book brings us to some of the pivotal instantiating moments in the construction of contemporary art as a genre, recontextualizing them in the light of an alternative, one which often did not require an artworld at all. Most of the primary tropes, clichés, and generic methods employed in the contemporary art genre became established as institutional norms at this time: interdisciplinarity, performance art, environmental art, installation art, body art, ecological art, impure form, cybernetics, posthumanism, marginality, decolonization, feminist art, Women's art, art as protest, art as public spectacle, art as knowledge/research, etc.

Reinhart Koselleck has argued that history as a conceptual discourse is largely possible by means of periodization. It is one of the primary ways that historians have to "lie" about the world in a bid to make it make sense. The best you can hope for is that they know when they are lying.[30] In terms of periodization, my book falls far more in sympathy with work such as Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherdale's collection *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–75,* than with rival bids to construct a history of the long Canadian 1960s, although all of these studies are handicapped by stressing the loose categories of the social and cultural rather than either realpolitiks or conceptual history.[31]

The value of starting in the late 1940s should be self-evident, since this was the advent of the influence of surrealism taking form within the visual arts in the province. The careers of the Automatists and those associated with Prisme d'yeux extended for decades, both as teachers and practising artists, well past the period I document. Their influence on subsequent generations was extensively claimed by members of those generations, however peculiar their interpretations of their influences might have been. In a less direct way, it is present in the ongoing influence of their methodological and thematic concerns, which were taken up and given different nuances. This was all part of the standard historiography (described below) that was established in the 1960s and '70s, both academically and museologically.

To claim that these things ended there would be too neat by half, but 1975/76 as an approximate date of the end of this period also coincides with what was the first coherent solidification of contemporary art as a genre in Québec. This occurred with the *Québec 75* exhibition, which was explicit in its pronouncement that it was a survey of tendencies that had come to an end by that date.[32] Art ceased to be defined in the "carnal" terms that would have been used by Marcel Rioux, and instead was delimited by its appearance within an administratively defined district.[33] This also meant the conceptualization of art as both a transnational or internationalist matter and the establishment of what, by the 1980s, *Inter* would recognize as the "Arts Council" aesthetics of conceptual, installation, and feminist art that served to help the country's artworld in its attempts to assimilate itself to more global norms.[34]

Through highlighting the category of eroticism, what my study adds to existing scholarship is a fundamentally different interpretation of one set of ways this makeshift and often shakily insisted upon "tradition" of postwar art developed in the city. Books like Patricia Smart's *Les femmes du Refus global* and the collection *Desire Change: Contemporary Feminist Art in Canada* superficially overlap in their concern for sexual representation in art in the period.[35] To the extent that they engage with eroticism, it is in the logic of sociocultural representation taken as *de facto*. By contrast, I am more concerned with how the logic of eroticism undermines the grounds for this form of interpretation.[36]

Typically, work dealing with sexual content tends to operate within heuristics derived from various schools of what is broadly termed cultural studies, presuming that art can be meaningfully indexed to a social world of identities and analyzed iconologically as a form of representation for this intersubjective realm.[37] However, basic to much of the work I discuss was a repudiation of the notion of art as representation, of the credibility of social identity, of the possibility of dialectical relations, and a collapse of the viability of iconological analysis. One of the historical tasks of this book has been an attempt, as difficult as it may be, to reconstruct these other ways of regarding the world and of understanding eroticism within these specific terms.

Additionally, this book complements and extends the revisionist accounts of Automatism and the advent of contemporary art that have recently been proffered by Sophie Dubois and Anithe de Carvalho. Dubois has used reception analysis to dissect the historical exploitation of *Refus global* by its authors, critics, and subsequent artists, mapping out the forms of misrecognition that this entailed and revealing, sometimes against her stated intentions, how absurd the cultural interpretation of an artwork is.[38] De Carvalho, meanwhile, has stressed the deromanticization of the purported radicalism of the art of the 1960s and '70s, seeing in politically engaged or neo-avant-garde art an expansion of the Canadian state.[39]

De Carvalho's work operates as a counter to the canonical accounts of the period that pre-existed it. The two volumes of Francine Couture's edited collection stress the professional formalization and institutionalization of art in the period. It does this through a generally sociological and feminist frame.[40] Eroticism is marginalized to scant mention, primarily in a chapter on Pop, and art is reduced to the limited dimensions recognized by the institutional artworld. Yves Robillard's *Québec underground* consists of three volumes collaging texts from newspapers, magazines, manifestos, and interviews, together with minimal commentary, and provides a deliberately broad and eclectic range of voices and ethnographic accounts of the art being produced, curated primarily within the cells of different recognizable groups or movements.[41] While Robillard's volumes are substantially more open, moving into music and some non-art-centric publications, they remain within the limits of a set of elite artistic milieus. Likewise, they scarcely address eroticism.

Writing on the city's yellow press or pornography has been almost entirely restricted to interpreting it as a form of social representation or under the shadow of censorship.[42] While my discussion of them does this to a limited degree, it contextualizes them within the city's broader erotic scenes and within the greater intellectual discussion of eroticism that was occurring at the same time. Much of the material I discuss has been overlooked by all the volumes just mentioned, and that which was not, is given a substantially different interpretation herein. More importantly, I

contextualize and analyze these objects or images as works of art, not as social texts.

Methodology and its Context

In philosophical attitude, this study is realist and historicist. In method, it is empiricist, formalist, and archaeological, relying on generalizations based on the cataloguing and surveying of materials using primary sources and their contemporaneous theory. To this is applied formal and thematic extrapolations based on the hermeneutics that were locally circulated by those involved. From close readings of representative objects, theoretical texts, and critical reception, a set of generic forms and concepts are derived. It is history insofar as history is the description and analysis of a specifically localized set of forms, their development and deployment. It is metahistorical insofar as it provides a series of illustrations of the clash of forms. Or, as Maurice Cowling might have put it, it is a way of showing solipsisms in conflict.[43] It does not seek to make a sociocultural argument, in part because it is the premise that there is a sociocultural world that is rightly questioned and denaturalized by the erotic and by the formal logic of much of the art I discuss.[44]

So, in method it closely approximates Foucauldian archaeology, if and only if that is understood in the following limited sense: archaeology conceived as a form of history writing divorced from psychology (the experiential or desiring world of subjects) and their complementary articulation in the world of sociology (descriptive or analytical).[45] In this respect, the analysis proffered by the discursive method is "systematic description."[46] For Foucault, the analysis of statements is a form of historical analysis concerned with their appearance, not their meaning, significance, linguistic or psychological function, or with any sense that they may latently reveal something symptomatic of some other force.[47] The materiality of the statement is "its unique and limited existence."[48] This appearance is made possible through alienating the statement from its evident transparency (its non-visuality) and the sense of "there-is" that it provides for.[49] In its stress on the visual, it is the suspension of the study of *expression* (causations allegedly social or

otherwise) in order to "discover the domain of existence" as practice.[50] Foucault insisted on a rigorous, formalist, reductive methodology that necessarily eliminates what cultural anthropologists would term "thickness." This may be why Thierry de Duve has suggested that Foucault was attempting something in line with Clement Greenberg's formalism.[51]

While the aptness of such a method for art history should be clear, a critical supplement should be appended to strengthen it. The appeal to "expressionist" or "symptomatic" readings under the aegis of sociocultural theory would be untenable anyway. As Mark Hobart has pointed out, the notion of culture that has become dominant has been a primarily American doctrine (secondarily British, albeit with adopters elsewhere).[52] By the 1950s, there were more than 160 different definitions of the term and even proponents of the hypothesis like Raymond Williams noted its extreme vagueness and the incoherency of its application.[53] It usually has something to do with meaning or semiotics, but these might be unnecessary as well.[54]

In the second half of the twentieth century, the cultural hypothesis became hegemonic as a reaction against prior forms of articulation such as race and religion.[55] However, rather than granting a more clear and plausible articulation, "Anthropological discourse simply adds another language to the Babel."[56] In its most sophisticated form, cultural anthropology—as exemplified by Clifford Geertz and Marshall Sahlins—is explicitly Weberian, semiotic and semantic, foundationally, if non-rigorously, reliant on German Idealism, and conceptualizing the human as a reflective animal.[57] Reductive, holistic, biased by thematism and other abstractions, and a "synechdochic rhetorical stance," the possibilities of culture as concept or object could not be other than a means for obfuscation.[58]

The problem, Hobart contended, goes deeper than the charge that cultural studies are only capable of actually "studying" their own dubious constructions.[59] "Far from culture helping us understand other peoples, or them their interrogators…culture seems designed to inhibit such understanding."[60] This criticism exceeds the so-called translation problem between alleged cultures precisely because the premise that cultures exist at all is already so

suspect. To put this in somewhat different terms than Hobart, it is not that anything is ever "culturally constructed" but that "culture" is constructed by specific academics, bureaucrats or activists and has little plausible referent or actual explanatory value, however occluded this may be by the "anthropological equivocation, cynically called theory."[61] Or, slightly differently, as Roy Wagner acknowledged, "culture," for its exponents, is a matter of doctrinaire faith mixed with self-interest.[62] To the extent that "culture" is historically real, the term designates a strategy of governance for the institutionalization and retention of ignorance.[63] Culture conceptualized as a "perspective" is also non-viable. Perspective, like culture itself, is a weak metaphor.[64] Stresses on multi-perspectivism, relationality, and relativism—that is, epistemic perspectivisms—only concern interpretations of synthetically constructed "perspectives" (metaphysical and moral hypotheticals like cultures) and what falls in conformity with them that can be potentially avowed by those with vested interests in promoting them, but provide no substantive knowledge.[65]

This methodological problem directly maps onto the historical events under review, for it was precisely the dogmatic institutionalization of "culture" as a means for the framing of art that serves as one of the primary contexts for what I discuss. In 1965, Pierre Laporte, the ill-fated Liberal minister who would be assassinated by the FLQ, oversaw a white paper justifying the state model of art. According to the document, "it is essentially through culture that a community expresses itself, translates its mentality, in other words identifies itself in its own eyes, recognises itself, has pride in the moral being that it builds."[66] Identifying culture in reference to Hegel as the "life of the spirit,"[67] the Ministère des Affaires culturelles insisted on defining it in light of the massive industrialization of education, as "blossoming" and in the logic of what would come to be termed multiculturalism. They stressed that the state could no longer be understood in a limited or laissez-faire liberal model, but that for it to be contemporary it needed to be interventionist and expansionist in the "cultural destiny" of those it governed. The function of the state was to promote the well-being (institutionally manifest as the police, health care, and education) and spiritual life of the nation.[68] Culture was defined as a human right and the

justification of the state is, to a large degree, in its protection, especially through the educational system and the safeguarding of "creators."[69] The state functions as the preserver of what exists and the catalyst for present and future creation.[70]

Anithe de Carvalho's study of the shifts in Montréal art between 1967 and 1977 documents how, far from being "marginal" or opponents to the state, the "counterculture" or "underground" was perfectly co-extensive with the federal and provincial reterritorialization of the arts under the model of the democratization of culture. They became the competitors for state patronage and generally embraced marginally different variations of the same humanist values.[71] The statization (*l'étatisation*) of culture in the period, accomplished through a massive increase of government funding disseminated through the departments and crown corporations under the umbrella of the Secretary of State, was conducted to eliminate what its proponents denigrated as an elitist notion of art and replace it with an anthropological model of culture better suited to the desired market and tourist industry, and to reinforce the normative claims of state doctrine. This privileged inter-disciplinarity, interactive and participatory forms, art conceived as a therapeutic or pedagogical tool, and works that were concerned with "marginal" cultural identities, as well as to instrumentalize the arts against Québécois nationalism.[72]

These changes are best conceived as a shift from art-as-object to art-as-practice with the concomitant necessity of marrying practice to cultural expressivity. Scholars of the rise of this new model for art have defined this as a deterritorialization of the arts, but it is better conceived as their reterritorialization.[73] With the model of *practice*, works-in-themselves became less important than their function as active integrators, both in the bureaucratization of the artworld and in its election to a "pastoral" function as a form of public care.[74] The artist was no longer merely an individual or group, but part of a regime of caring governance that directly embodied the values of the state simply by virtue of practice and represented its "flock."[75] This far surpassed any traditional form of client/patron relation and it is this practice of embodiment and the discipline of care that defines contemporary art as a genre in

Canada. It is a genre of governmentality in which the embodied state is the medium.[76]

The privileging of "culture" was explicitly part of the Trudeau regime's attempt to create a new kind of humanity, one which deployed culture against art as it artificially constructed the country's contemporary art industry. Kenneth McRoberts has argued that a significant part of Trudeau's reconceptualization of Canada, particularly his advocacy of functionalism and the "just society," were rooted in a reaction against the Révolution tranquille and the province's attempts to demand the "equality" believed its due in a modern state.[77] Faced with this, Trudeau continued to insist that nationalism was a "sterile and reactionary" phenomenon that functionalism would overcome.[78] The project of a New Canadian identity that he took up from the Pearson government was a strategy to replace accommodation.[79] Besides this, "Trudeau made it clear on a variety of occasions that if Canadians did not conform to the model he had constructed, then they had no interest for him."[80] Faced with this utopian fantasy in 1971, the sociologist Marcel Rioux observed:

> [Trudeau] gives his words such a degree of stripping down and abstraction that his system is well suited to a non-existent nation. He is the Prime Minister of a view of the mind that is opposed with all its reason to all national sentiment. His great principle of opposition to the nation—a concrete, carnal, historical reality—is the State, a State that has become a kind of abstract universal, devoid of all humanity, and which crowns its neutrality and impartiality with merchandise and money.[81]

One can contrast the getting "emotional about functionalism" that Trudeau had advocated for his projected state, governed through cybernetics and a disciplinary regime of multiculturalism, with the "carnal" and "concrete" world of nationalism imagined by Rioux.[82] The art that developed in Montréal from the 1950s to the '70s careened between both, often hybridizing them in curious ways. If the Canadian state's dogmatic anti-nationalism, much

like the Drapeau regime's decontaminating modernization of Montréal, deployed "culture" as a tool to ruin the apparently dangerous erotic qualities of the nation, erotic artists would embrace and exaggerate the matter of "functions" (either figuratively or by the use of technologies), as well as the utopian fantasy of the New People of the transformed city (as diversely imagined by the state, intellectuals, artists, and journalists), who were no longer treated as expressive subjects but as singular functions of art practices.

The museification of art, its democratization, was embraced not only by state technocrats, but by those who sought to take art out of the (extremely limited) gallery system and into the streets which were in the process of being "cleaned up." Such exhibitions moved outside traditional models of distribution and toward more direct address to the public. This socializing of art, its transformation into what Catherine Millet termed "psychic consumer goods" was a logical extension of the leisure society; it was an art for *homo ludens*.[83] Op art and kinetic art directly addressed the senses of the viewer, something far less demanding than the intellectual aspects of other contemporaneous forms. It used the viewer's body as an engine and their physiology as a field for testing. Fascinated by technological advances and their capacity for the micro-manipulation of perception, the form or art object was demoted in order to highlight art-as-process, whether this was in the act of appropriation or that of treating the viewer as a research subject (and so insisting on art as pedagogy).

Eroticism in Montréal

At this point, I should be clear about what genre this book belongs to, especially since it scarcely exists in the Canadian context. While this is a work of erotic art history, it has a critical relationship to the work of its antecedents. In one of the few books written on the nude in the province's painting, Jacques de Roussan was adamant about insisting that he was not writing a history of erotic art in Québec—to do so would have been to write a completely different kind of book.[84] There may be nudity in erotic art, but it is not necessary. Indeed, the only Canadian work of erotic art history in the period did not even involve images of the human body.[85] One

could argue, as one of Canada's major erotic artists Dennis Burton did, that paintings of lingerie (with or without human bodies) were more erotic than nudes.[86] And one could also point out that erotic art as a model was both more ancient than the nude and presupposed a different set of metaphysical assumptions.[87]

What most histories of erotic art have avoided (in ways that those of pornography have been less guilty of) has been an understanding of eroticism as less a vehicle of sociopolitical power than the power of eroding the categories that make the sociocultural conceptually viable in the first place. In light of this, it is unsurprising that eroticism tends to be a slippery term and that treating it in an historicist manner can be confounding for anyone who would prefer more stable categories of identities. While the use of "eroticism" was consistently inflected by the connotations it seemingly held for the readers of Georges Bataille (the most consistent point of reference), there was a significant amount of looseness in its use. Rather than reduce it to a simple formula, I have tried to retain the scope of varied meanings that circulated around the term's actual usage. To get a sense of the flavour and possible implications that the term possessed within the milieu in which the art I discuss existed, what follows is a representative sampling of how the term was deployed.

It was clear to those who discussed eroticism within the city in the period that it posed a potential threat to their definitions of humanity. The erotic seemed to suggest some strange mutation in the world that blurred boundaries that previously seemed discrete and offered entirely ambiguous potentials. Basic to discussions of eroticism, unlike sexuality, was art.

Rooted in the work of Eric Fromm, Wilhelm Reich, and Herbert Marcuse,[88] Jacques Lazure's *La jeunesse du Québec en revolution: Essai d'interprétation* (1970) observed that there had been a period of rapid acceleration of "*pulsions libidinales*" (libidinal impulses) in Québec.[89] The sexual revolution did not work alone but drew energy from other domains, arriving after the harsh moral and sexual norms of the Duplessis era, which were Catholic and nationalist but also took on qualities of Anglo-Saxon puritanism, with its "coldly functionalist mentality."[90] Under that regime, the superego tended toward severe moralism while fuelling a high birth rate. By the 1970s,

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Lazure argued, the *sur-moi indépendantiste* (independentist superego) rivalled it, idealizing futurist-oriented projects and progress, knocking down the barriers of what was once censored.[91] This existentialist model of humanity required an existential understanding of sexuality suited for the project and this new attitude explained the blurring between the sexual and political.[92] Finally, "the gap between the sexual and the sociopolitical realms has yet to be bridged; in the meantime, young people's sexuality is wandering, in this *no man's land*."[93] That is, the space of the new erotic environment. In this respect, sexuality came to function much as art did as its separation from life became increasingly thin: "*It is, for sexuality, like a counterpart of surrealism in art!*"[94]

Meanwhile, Catholic intellectuals evolved a highly nuanced understanding of eroticism that inflected traditional theological concerns with the latest theoretical fashions. Like Lazure, they would stress the artistic aspect, both as a potential form of repression and an escape from it. Writing in the Dominican periodical *Maintenant*, Claude St-Laurent drove the critique of capitalist erotic exploitation as far as it went in the period. For St-Laurent, discourse on eroticism was vague and contradictory. It stood for a kind of ambiguity, one which flirted with scandal. All of this was complicated by consumerism and a technocratic order determined to make everything efficient.[95] Alienated and morose, the modern individual's situation within a society of highly orchestrated consumption begged the question of whether eroticism offered the sight of the oppressed "heart of a world without heart," or was simply an opiate that camouflaged this state of affairs[96] where the individual was plugged into a *marché érotique* geared to obsolescence.[97]

The dream-world engineered by capitalism was fed into its computerized subject, gazing into screens more real than their lives and offering them dream-images that they could readily purchase. Transformed into eroticized objects that persist in a caricature of life, people became indiscernible from fridges and other appliances, constantly reprogrammed with a need to fulfil newly fabricated desires. This was a cerebral eroticism, one of images and gadgets, that enveloped collective life in a false paradise, transforming humans into pliable objects who paid for their own exploitation, and where sexuality was reduced to masturbation.[98]

The result is the abstracted sexuality of the technocratic leviathan. It is Christianity, St-Laurent asserted, that has always promised to liberate the body and bring it to beatitude. The mediatized consumer world was a fake world that could never truly be touched; a dead world that the younger generation seemed to refuse, and with it, science and so much else.

Writing for the Jesuit periodical *Relations*, Marcel Marcotte likewise probed the vague territory between artifice and Eros. The conflict between art and morality is one of apparently conflicting duties. This is made most evident in erotic art, since sexuality so directly addresses the space of human relationships and obligations. In art, more so than biology, this space is "a zone of indeterminacy, gratuitousness, spontaneity."[99] In a world dominated by technology, there is minimal space left for the liberty of an inner life.[100] Erotic art offered the potential of liberation. This was only potential since the dual nature of eroticism could tend as readily to alienation. For Marcotte, the work of art was defined by its relationship to the Other, by a consequential and dialectical order. This was so even when art was done for its own sake, as a duty to beauty (vice is inherently ugly). In failure, the pornographer tended to fads, violent shock, and genitalia, while the eroticist would focus on the "'side effects' of sexual love."[101]

The relationship between art and Eros also proved a point of concern for secularists. A survey of positions on that matter would appear in *Liberté,* a fairly highbrow, predominately literary journal. At the end of 1967, the journal published an edition completely devoted to the subject of *érotisme*. The authors included psychoanalysts, sociologists, poets, feminists, novelists, and philosophers. Within the pages one gets an impression of the common sense of the city's established intellectual milieu. There was a significant influence of Freud, frequent mentions of Bataille, and an insistent presence of Existentialist and Marxist thought. Although there was a plurality of definitions of *érotisme* on display, there was almost unanimity in the condemnation of the eroticism of capitalism, specifically as manifest in pornography.

Of the authors who addressed the issue, Gérard Bessette was the only one to do a cross-cultural analysis, pointing out that Japan seemed even more hyper-eroticized than the West, while

communists, East and West, did not.[102] The erotic did not seem to be becoming more important in private, but it was becoming far more significant in public, especially commercially, through cinema and magazines.[103] This risked banalizing erotic experience even as commercialization and left-wing politics attempted to exploit or glorify it to different ends.[104]

For poet Jacques Brault, within this world, Bataille's definition of the erotic seemed the most appropriate: "Of eroticism it can be said that it is the endorsing of life even in death."[105] Between Eros and Thanatos, there is never a victory. The self-destruction that érotisme spreads includes also the "*cinéma d'alcôve* [a virtually untranslatable term that roughly designates a clandestine cinema], and the 'happening.'"[106] *Érotisme* comes with no guarantees. It may as readily offer pleasure as pain; it may imprison as readily as free.[107]

Echoing Naïm Kattan's claims that the erotica industry only frustrated sensuality by confusing taboos with truths and operating as an apologia for masturbation, feminist poet Nicole Brossard insisted on the everydayness of the erotic, its saturation of the environment with greater or lesser intensity. Amorphous, it could extend sexuality superficially, but the erotic could not be reduced to sexuality and the taboos around it.[108] The formal arrangement of objects by perception may intensify experience and allow for anything to become erotic, but this is usually only a mirage. Rather, what is crucial is a form of knowing: "[e]rotic-knowledge situates" and makes for dynamic awareness.[109]

Framing her essay as an argument with Schopenhauer over his claim that love was simply a delusion to encourage breeding, for poet Michèle Lalonde, the most "authentically human" expression of eroticism was in the "dialectic of desire" that allowed for the happy expression of the self to the Other.[110] Rehearsing many of the themes common to the feminism rooted in Simone de Beauvoir, she claimed that an eroticism based on instinct alone would result in an imperfect experience of an individual's humanity since one's "deeply constitutive" needs would go unfulfilled.[111] Without the capacity to escape from egocentrism, to see yourself reflected in the Other, "eroticism is quickly tainted by obscenity, easily becoming morbid complacency, perversion or, at best, a simulacrum

of love."[112] Like most of the other authors for *Liberté*, she claimed that this was what happened in pornography, which encouraged men to regress into an adolescent phantasm, reducing relations to impersonal conventions and gestures. This cut them off from "the infinite diversity of romantic relationships" and reduced life to animality.[113] Such an image-dominated world denied that of language, with its demands for reciprocity, its laws, and its ability to poetically transform the world.[114]

Less idealistic than many of the others, psychoanalyst Julien Bigras observed that "Eros now has a place in the city"; it was used and exploited across society.[115] The "outpouring of Eros" threw all comfortably held values, especially about the nature of love and intimacy, into question. The triumphant place of the erotic in the market, however, did not mean an end to more "authentic affection."[116] He offered an almost identical argument to the one associated with Bataille, only couching it in more traditional psychoanalytic terms: "Ferenczi and Freud tried to demonstrate that the agitations of life (Eros), pushed to their maximum, nevertheless lead the individual to death (Thanatos). But the art of living and loving lies in this effort to transgress, that is, in this effort to transpose the dead language of instinct into living language. For instinct seeks only its immediate discharge, its death, so to speak."[117] This was linked to poetry or art in general, which transform "instinctual caricature[s]" into individual products, the personalization of the impersonal for the purpose of discharge.[118]

These secular discourses were to a large degree superficially interchangeable with those of the Catholic intellectuals discussed above, albeit more dogmatic, generally less ambivalent, and lacking any strong metaphysical base (and any correlatively tenable historiographic one) for their moralizing claims. What was unique about the account of the situation offered by the authors in *Liberté* was that it primarily functioned as a reaction to a new *érotisme-environnement*.[119] The strictly visual is generally regarded as a threat to the barracks of the self and its reflective Other. The erotic operates as a potentially dissolute rival capable of wiping away the subject's sense of duration in the present and of leaving an obscene impersonality where they presumed human relationships ought to be.

One of the most sophisticated, and certainly the most extended, discussions of eroticism published in this period came from someone close to the Automatists. Jean-Claude Dussault was an associate of Claude Gauvreau and became involved with Automatism in 1950.[120] Dussault's writing would be the first to introduce the work of Herbert Marcuse and Norman O. Brown into Québec. In 1968, he published *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, one of the most thorough and complex syntheses of Freudo-Marxism to appear in the province, which also radically inverted many of the arguments that proponents of those ideologies tended to advance, such as those discussed above.

According to Dussault, industrial society granted only a superficial sense of satisfaction, one predicated on repression. At a time when science had made the control of nature possible and the pains of physical existence appeared readily answerable, humanity seemed miserable and their desires unsatisfied. Desire seeks pleasure, but in doing so becomes formulated, and since formulas are by their nature illusions, desire cannot be satiated. Society, as a symptom and formula, has an ambiguous role in this, one which seems capable only of playing into a dynamic of being propelled beyond the self.[121] Beneath the artifices that industrial society allowed, there was only a void. The surfaces that new plasticities provided occluded both this, and with their promises of happiness, true pleasure. This latter quality he associated also with the *voluptuous*, defined in terms of the Hindu "image of being," with the principle of a cosmic totality, unity, and indifference.[122] A return to this would be a return to reality, and away from the idealized and abstract world of modernity to the concrete realm of the voluptuous.

Erotic expression through art is part of the pansexual drive that escapes the repression of sexuality into the organs. This has been the engine of human history, but this natural desire has been diverted (*détournées*) into the domination of the world.[123] He distances this argument from psychoanalysis, which itself is only symptomatic of this process, and castigates therapy for its reactionary quality, allowing people to produce a mystified self to live in this society.[124] The more society alienates people, the more they identify with its forms, becoming a "zombie, a dispossessed body, a human automaton with remote-controlled reflexes."[125]

In this illusionistic consumer society, the problem of art is nearly identical to the problem of life since life has become almost identical to artificiality. Sublimation is the quest to try and recapture the polymorphous body of infancy; art, perversity, and language are the phantasms of this quest and social superstructures are predicated on this erotic base.[126] "Pleasure cannot be a project; it only comes to pass when reason abandons all claims to realize a desire. In other words, desire is only realizable outside itself."[127] In culture, the original body is displaced through the homogenizing effects of social processes and lived out in alienated forms through phantasms like fashion and the carnal worship of celebrities.[128] While organic societies offered a communal eroticism, modern consumer society alienates the individual from any real pleasure by networking them (*réseau de pressions*) through performance maximization so that their identity becomes their oppression.[129] The world of identities is the antithesis of "la civilisation du plaisir."[130]

Echoing the Automatists, Dussault insisted that pleasure is spontaneous and unintentional, it is unreasonable. In an age when sex was increasingly rationalized by science, he defined spontaneity as the flow of nature with its lack of definition, opposed to the more recent cult of individual authenticity, which remained in the domain of practical reason and moored to a neurotic individuality. Liberation is the liberation from the world as abstracted and constructed by the sciences, that is, the world as imagined by humanity.[131] "In such a society, which is ours, all *unadulterated manifestations* of Eros, that is to say, mainly art and sexuality, can only be signs of refusal, revolt and questioning. Eros becomes an anarchist."[132] Citing Bataille, he suggested that only a liberation of Eros could restore the balance of life because its immediate expenditure of energy would weaken sublimation.[133]

These texts have highlighted the extent to which eroticism and sexuality were not identical. If sexuality and the eros proper to it (as conceived by those with an Existentialist or personalist bent) was concerned primarily with difference and recognition, eroticism clearly had to be disciplined to this sort of ideological commitment. It was not only autonomous from sexuality-as-such but irreducible to it. By virtue of its polymorphousness (or, aesthetically speaking, its profligate formalism and seemingly infinite

capacity to pervert content), eroticism generally operated unilaterally from sexuality. If eroticism had a dubious relationship with sexuality or with social identities, it was consistently identical to art, upon which "social identities" were parasitically predicated, even as art remained unilaterally indifferent to any of their claims for authenticity or knowledge.

Outline of Chapters

In 1967, Montréal artist Vittorio Fiorucci produced a silkscreen, *Exposition internationale d'art pornographique.* The work was a poster for an imaginary exhibition. Fiorucci was a successful designer, a proudly libidinal bohemian, and one of the primary photographers, designers, and cartoonists for *Proscope.* The silkscreen is semi-abstract, but clearly legible as a female figure's open legs. Flat, explicitly two-dimensional, it contains text, humour, sexual innuendo, and vibrant colour, like much of the erotic art in the period. It alludes both to the visual norms of a sophisticated luxury marketing and to the visual clichés of surrealism that had been central to the intellectual sector's claims for the province's modernity. Fiorruci's work also pointed to the increased presence of erotic art on the international scene, whether in painting, literature, film, or expanded media. If such an exhibition had focused on Montréal, it might have included such forms of erotic art as a monochrome painting, a Lettrist initial, printing the numbers "720" in an ad for a prostitute, or photos of a riot, Pierre Laporte, or a splayed vagina.

The first three chapters establish several of the central forms and themes upon which the rest of the book is based, as well as a substantial amount of contextualization. Chapter one provides the general ground on which the rest of the book will be built. It sketches an interpretation of the work of the Automatists through the examination of both their theoretical rationales for their art and the ways in which their art practices played out within the media environment of the city. Rather than stressing the painting activity commonly associated with the group, it primarily discusses how the tabloid press interacted with them and how they exploited this form of mediatization. The chapter argues that the Automatists' engagement with the media was part of a strategy of

non-communication that they undertook both against the established artworld of the city and as a means of deriding the content of the "public sphere" in a dramatic way. These methods of making "representation" ridiculous are construed as an erotic activity, one which stressed objectification and the function of visual objects or strategies as devices for the flow of desire through depersonalizing forms of assemblage and figuration.

Following from this, the second chapter charts several distinct ways that the initial wave of Automatist practice was transformed through different genres and media. Three artists, in particular, served as exemplars: Françoise Sullivan, Robert Roussil, and Jean-Paul Mousseau. With this trio, *automatism* took on new contours as surrealism entered dance, architecture, sculpture, and disco. Running through all of them were variations of the utopian idea of a New Person, one which relied on forms of mythical figuration. At one end was an austere Primitivist version of eroticism that quickly devolved into farce when it intersected with the "public." At the other was an overtly commercialized embrace of the new cybernetic model of art and society that had taken hold in government. Once again, satirization and ridicule operated as forms of erotic energy, with Roussil and the Automatists' old polemical enemy Robert LaPalme both mocking the modernization of the city while Maurice Demers, in the younger generation, embraced it and fused it to his own Primitivist fantasy.

Building on the logic so far established, the next chapter employs the formal arguments that have been developed to discuss the new erotic environment that was being created in the city. If art was unconscious, asubjective, largely noncommunicative, and running on automatizing processes, then limiting the analysis of art to the traditional artistic realm of artists and their institutions makes little sense. Taking the city not as a place but as a medium, this chapter delineates several forms that were developing within the city's sex industry (go-go dancing, burlesque, stripping, toplessness, public voyeurism, and exhibitionism) and discusses them as art practices in line with what was occurring in the new art being produced in the city. This analysis extends to prostitution and how the remaking of the city coincided with the renovation of the sex industry, one which likewise relied on the new architectural

0.4 Screen capture from *Q-Bec My Love—Un succès commercial*, written and directed by Jean Pierre Lefebvre (1970, Cinak Compagnie Cinématographique).

environment and new technologies which blurred any comfortable line between art and pornography.

With a general picture of the erotic scene and many of its mechanics established, the fourth chapter looks at the erotic press that existed in the city, which included tabloids and magazines. Almost exclusively softcore pornography, they fused local considerations and imagery with international ones. I survey the basic content and visual norms of ostensibly gay and straight erotica before turning to how the erotic press offered its own self-analysis and formal interpretation. Drawing from these ideas, I develop a formal interpretation of the abstract logic of this erotica and the ways in which it operated as a mobile museum of erotic imagery that stresses the surrealist implications basic to the design of such forms. Central to this interpretation has been the use of the model of the *pornographic delicatessen* introduced by Denis Vanier, which explicitly bridged the formal concerns of surrealism and those of the counterculture.

Following from this logic, the fifth chapter examines the artists' books and print collections that were produced by an array of artists, usually in collaboration with poets. Sometimes they contained romantic or fanciful suggestions of a narrative, sometimes they used traditional pornographic structures, and sometimes they dir-

ectly integrated imagery from the city's sex scene. In general, they stressed the status of the book as a thing or device that demanded the sensual interaction of its user. A book was less something to be read than a device to be used. Transitioning from these works to the following two chapters, I examine the work of Serge Lemonde, who integrated two of the primary visual models that will recur throughout the rest of the book: pornographic figuration and the non-objective or abstract. His work superimposed cut-outs from softcore erotica onto abstract and kitschy sci-fi paintings, framed in terms of the utopian New Person, while satirizing the city's artworld.

Working in a similar vein, the city's "pop" artists mined local imagery and experimented with a variety of media forms. Situating the limited pop of the city in distinction from that of elsewhere, as well as with regard to the movements of *nouveau réalisme* and *figuration narrative*, I follow a direct line from the erotic prints of Albert Dumouchel to the works of several of his students. In them, there is a passage from the ironic use of classical nude subjects into the appropriation of the images of the erotic press. With this shift in content also comes a reconceptualization of the image, treating it in the language of popular media (posters, ads) as well as employing para-cinematic devices.

If pop in the province was ephemeral and brief, certainly in its erotic form, *ti-pop*, which was far more explicit about its basis in the material history of the province, was considerably broader and more difficult to pin down, encompassing literature, music, film, installation art, political theory, etc. In chapter seven, I piece together the varied ways that ti-pop was theorized and the term was deployed. In general, it stressed a mythical approach to the province's history, a pronounced *sarcasm* about modes of secular representation, and a celebration of *kétaine* as a material singularization of local desire that set it apart from the contemporary and blurred the distinctions between the past and the future.

The province also had its own distinct pop stars who functioned as sex symbols. I examine the centrality of media imagery and its orchestration in the case of three of the city's "sacred monsters": the singers Michèle Richard and Robert Charlebois and the poet Denis Vanier. The first stressed the entirely artificial nature of the

sex symbol and it was this artifice rather than sensual animality that was erotic. The second parodied animality and all of the clichés of the countercultural, creating a ti-pop spectacle. And the last embodied a mythical Decadence for the period. In contrast to these explicit demonstrations of how eroticization operated through a mediatization of the figure, relying either on self-mythification (Vanier) or demystification (Richard), the October Crisis demonstrated the extent to which the media-political realm relied on an erotically coded mystification of reference in order to produce the mythical fantasy of the existence of a social world. I map out how politicians, terrorists, and the media all attempted to create such a fantasy, reading it through the logic of erotic imagery established thus far.

With the final chapter, all of the previous discussions are crystallized and given another inflection in the construction of the mythos of the New Person. Cast as Adam and Eve figures in a technological landscape, the New Person has been a recurrent figure since chapter two. In this final chapter, this spectre is located in two divergent strains of figuration that emerged in the wake of ti-pop. Situated within the institutional codification of contemporary art in the city as the logical inheritance of Automatism, I examine two figurations of the New Person, one which was displayed in the city's first explicitly feminist exhibitions, and one which evolved directly within ti-pop theory and was finally crystallized in an artist's book that fused the logic of decolonization to that of the liberation of childhood sexuality through both a reimagining of the Oedipal myth and a pederastic sexual utopia.

1

Eros, Automatism, and Black Humour

1968 has become a hallowed year in many histories of the "counter-culture" and of "culture" more generally.[1] The events of the student revolts in Paris and elsewhere found their echo in Montréal, where they took on a great deal of local colouring. 1968 also coincided with the twentieth anniversary of the publication of *Refus global,* a heterogeneous "pamphlet" that had become synonymous with one strain of the province's surrealism and would be claimed as a touchstone for "radicals" in the generations that followed, whether they were artists or activists. October of 1968 saw general strikes and strikes at CEGEPS in the city, and one at the École des beaux-arts, along with plans to occupy both it and the Musée de l'art contemporain. One aspect of this occupation involved the reprinting of *Refus global*, a gesture which signified the new generation as the invokers and inheritors of a tradition initiated by Automatism, and which stressed the ongoing importance of print as both a mobile form, a type of performance, and a disembodied form of reproduction.

The occupation had been planned for months, in part by Opération Déclic, a loose and short-lived group of artists and activists organised by Serge Lemoyne, André Fournelle, and Claude Paradis, who undertook various public interventions over the next several months.[2] Their name suggested both a spark and a mechanical device, whether of a bomb, a lighter, or the snap of a camera. Roughly 550 artists and students engaged in the "disavowal of Québec's cultural policy"[3] while "asserting the relevance of *Refus global*" as they agitated for an art and experience centred on confrontation.[4] In rhetorical terms, those involved advocated for artists to become

"full-fledged citizens" who would avoid being "absorbed and recuperated by bourgeois ideologies."[5] In practical terms, however, they were advocating for the further institutionalization of art as they called for a new dispensation of federal funding for artists and support from the Department of Cultural Affairs: "In so doing, they played an active part in the rise of Québécois nationalism."[6] Simultaneously, they played an equal role in the expansion of Federalism.

Aside from these pragmatic considerations, Opération Déclic and similar groups also sought to "push back the boundaries of what is acceptable in art."[7] Not only would they be explicit in casting themselves as the mechanical reproducers of surrealist heritage, they would employ the tactics associated with surrealism (the use of scandal and absurdity) while engaging with its primary themes (eroticism and death). The most significant instances of this for our purposes were two interventions they performed. With the intent to scandalize the public with Happenings or "panic events,"[8] three men and four women interrupted the investiture of the new chevaliers de l'Ordre du Saint Sépulcreon on December 8, 1968, at Notre Dame Basilica, to chant "Place à l'orgasme" ("make way" or "make space for orgasm").[9] This was reported by the press as a surrealist operation and interpreted within the broader history of that movement, along with its anticlericalism and appeals to anarchy.[10] This chant, explicitly reappropriating the call for *place* in *Refus global*, alternately demanded "death" for various things and "space" for others: death to baptism, God's commandment, imperialism, dogmatism, cops of the spirit, communism, capitalism, fascism, bureaucracy, and a place for joy, spontaneity, anarchy, utopia, extremism, anger, authenticity, sexuality, and erections.[11]

> One of these demonstrators, Claude Paradis, later explained that it was not a provocation but an affirmation of parallel values, a kind of counterculture: "We want to 'plant' political acts as if they were bombs. In doing so we want to emphasize the fact that other values exist. This is directly in line with Borduas' thinking. If we have a Guevara in Québec, it is Borduas." Nevertheless, the meaning of this revolution was

> unequivocal—it was clearly a matter of intellectual terrorism, a revolution of 'signs.'"[12]

The police who interceded dismissed the event as trivial, scarcely causing an interruption in the ceremony, while *La Presse* noted it as an attempt by a recently assembled artists' group to create "social" content in the form of a protest against the Pope with a gesture that could be easily historicized within the norms of surrealism.[13]

The second event that concerns us took place at the Théâtre de la Comédie-Canadienne. During a performance of *Double jeu* by Françoise Loranger on January 15, 1969, two women and three men appeared completely nude before the audience of 600 people. They stormed the stage at the start of the second act with doves and a black rooster and slaughtered them. They were charged with obscenity and cruelty toward animals.[14] Gilbert David, situating these events within the upheavals of the New Left, praised the event as "voluntarily triumphalist in its anaphoric composition, the song of an era that furiously recalls Reich and Artaud, and that reactivates in its own way the *Refus global* of the Automatists."[15] In a letter published in *Liberté* and several newspapers, the poet, playwright, and central apologist for the Automatists Claude Gauvreau stated, "Finally—and we've been waiting a long time for this—Automatism has now been surpassed (*dépassé*)."[16]

How *dépassé*? Automatism had become outmoded but also exceeded. And yet, Opération Déclic was a set of clichés and readily legible as such. What is more, its integration of Automatism's mythical Québécois avant-garde with the most clichéd of Leftist figures (Guevara) while abandoning the former's black humour for social significance was more reactionary than anything else. While interpreted by its exponents and subsequent historians like Yves Robillard as an act of cultural-political significance, the event was, in the first case, a retreading of Dada-like public expressions and, in the second, an integral part of a preestablished spectacle. Loranger's play was constructed to make a place for the audience: entering in and adding to its acts was welcomed by the author.[17] Art had moved from paint application to animal sacrifice, and not simply in the kind of naïve neo-primitivism that was often expounded

by those associated with the so-called counterculture. This was sacrifice as theatre and the anti-Vietnam protestations that the performance was supplemented with gave it a readymade moral utilitarianism that matched Déclic's functional drive for patronage and its exploitation of historical memory.

Nearly a decade previous to this incident, on December 2, 1959, a very different theatricalization of the erotic fantasy of Québec occurred. At the international surrealist exhibition in Paris, the artistic movement addressed "an emerging counterculture" by celebrating "an emphatically Sadean concept of liberty."[18] Under the direction of André Breton and Marcel Duchamp, the surrealist movement sought, with the exhibition, to reaffirm its roots in eroticism, exalting "[c]annibalism, fetishism, celebration of the various sexual drives—the Eros exhibition can serve as an epiphany of the imaginary erotic body of surrealism."[19] This included a velvet room dedicated to fetishism featuring hunting tools constructed by Québec's Mimi Parent, and a gold-painted nude female upon whom Meret Oppenheim arranged vegetation and food, complete with a crustacean over the genitals.

The centrepiece of the exhibition was a performance by Jean Benoît called *Exécution du testament du Marquis de Sade.* Benoît was from Québec, the nephew of its premier, Louis-Alexandre Taschereau. He had met fellow artist Mimi Parent while studying in Montréal and spending time in the circle of artist Alfred Pellan. They became a couple and moved to France, where they were involved with Breton and the Parisian surrealists. Benoît's performance, designed as a kind of anti-mass,[20] featured one of the more elaborate stripteases we come across in our journey. The ritualistic performance revolved around Benoît in a costume he had created a decade earlier from felt, wood, papier-mâché, and metal. Over his heart was painted a star with arrows pointing at it. He wore a mask inspired by that of a shaman, a huge medallion, and carried crutches. More significantly, he wore a giant phallus.[21] According to Benoît, his phallus was "a marionette" and much of his work consisted of creating ever-more elaborate means to costume, accent or theatrically transform the dildo at the centre of his costume, either by art or sculpture.[22] Of the Sade performance, he stated,

"This costume, which reflects the Christian horror of the flesh, was designed specifically for the Canadian climate."[23]

Preceding his striptease, a recording of city noise was blared at the audience. Breton read Sade's final will and testament, which declared his desire to be removed from the minds of humanity. Then, piece by piece, with Parent's aid, Benoît stripped down, each element itemized by a narrator until, finally, Benoît wielded a hot branding iron to tattoo Sade's name into the flesh of his chest.[24] This spectacle was one of the final high moments for surrealism as an organized movement. The performance was a kind of paroxysm and a paradox, celebrating both self-erasure and the branding of singularity (the name), the repressive function of culture but also the eroticism with which it dressed the body. It was praised by critic Alain Jouffroy as a great flash of thought and rebellion and by Annie Le Brun as one of the rare acts of poetry in the last half of the twentieth century.[25]

If *le climat canadien* was surprisingly foregrounded in one of Europe's last major surrealist exhibitions, this was a fitting end to a decade-long development of two significant trajectories of the movement within Canada. Before heading to France, Benoît and Parent had been active in the surrealist movement in Québec. In 1948, they were signatories to *Prisme d'yeux*, the manifesto written to oppose the growing influence of the Automatists. *Prisme d'yeux*'s affiliates defined themselves by refusing to be a school, rejecting preferred styles, slavery to theory, and specializations. These were denigrated as "regionalism of the spirit." [26] What they advocated for was a spiritual art developed from tradition and respecting plastic quality, liberated from the times and their restrictive ideologies.[27]

Interdisciplinary and foregrounding both erotic and religious conceptions of art, Benoît's performance relied on an exploitation of stereotyped imagery, and a ritualistic blending into the environment was indicative of what would come in the following decades. Equally important was the question of erasing the subject. As the following discussion of Montréal surrealism will indicate, eroticism was not a matter of personal desires but the singularization of impersonal ones. Eroticism had no subjective value and offered nothing in terms of an identity beyond treating that identity as

a kind of dirty joke. In fact, its singularization was a process that eliminated identity and the form that the process of singularization took was eroticism.

Automatism and Eros

The art of the Automatists relied on techniques evolved from the models of the French surrealists. Eroticism was a central issue in surrealism, assuming very different forms and implications in the various theorists of the movement. Jennifer Mundy has pointed out that desire was implicitly present in the surrealist fascination with dreams and love, but erotic desire and its "darker" implications only became substantially evident in the late 1920s and early '30s as members of the Paris-centred group took a greater interest in Hindu sex practices and pornography.[28] This erotic fascination is best witnessed in the surrealist passion for objects, especially unusual and hybrid objects brought together by automatic methods and chance to reveal the marvellous or uncanny possibilities of the material world. The poetic capacities of objects and the *amour fou* of accidental encounters between them (or between people) were what composed the patterns on the screen essential to their models of consciousness. This was a poetry written by desire.[29]

As Anna Balakian has argued, the surrealist perversions of the work of Sigmund Freud and Pierre Janet did not assume that the work of art was plausibly interpretable by means of psychoanalysis. Artworks were not produced by neurosis and were not solutions or documentations of psychological problems. The unconscious could not clarify consciousness. It was not a schism between matter and mind but a monistic unity of them that would be defining for both the surrealists and automatists. While borrowing from Hegelianism, the surrealists rejected its idealism and the romantic integration of the world into the model of a narcissistic subject. Instead, dialectical interplay was collapsed by externalization and transposition within the concrete.[30] For the surrealists, this would be expressed primarily in imagery and a renewal of the importance of metaphor as a means to crystallize reality.

Until the end of the Breton-led movement in the 1960s, it would be the trinity of Freud, Charles Fourier, and the Marquis de Sade

that provided the most basic conceptions of erotic desire for its members.[31] This coagulation of models and ideas would go on to have major influences on the intellectual currents that came to dominate in the French avant-garde, both in art and philosophy, and crossing the Atlantic to eventually be repurposed as underlying themes in countercultural discourse.[32]

While Borduas's name would become synonymous with such developments, he was not alone. In addition to the flow of surrealist writing from France, painter and sculptor Alfred Pellan was also cast as the "great liberator" who brought the surrealist message with him to Montréal.[33] Both Pellan and Borduas worked as teachers and many of those associated with them had been their students. The Automatists began forming in 1943 and were labelled *automatistes* following a review of some of their work by Tancrède Marsil that appeared in the student paper *Quartier Latin*.[34] If the press and scholars would term them a group or a movement, its alleged members were more skeptical, with one commentator suggesting they were more like an informal gang—the general history of which implied as much acrimony and exasperation as productive communal feeling.[35] To the extent they were a group, it was, at least in public presentation, one hierarchically centred around Borduas (and later Claude Gauvreau), even if in practice it consisted of divergent personalities.[36]

If, early on, the Automatists were cast as the "most beautiful flowering of surrealism," by the 1950s, such a characterization was cliché and younger artists moved away from it, while still embracing surrealism's interest in humour, the unconscious, and pleasure.[37] This development was more in keeping with the Pellan model of surrealism. Norman Biron has noted the importance of working from the live model for Pellan and the sculptural quality that this brought to his depiction of faces, offering a far more conventional sensuality than the more explicitly gestural variety the Automatists constructed.[38] After returning to Montréal from France, his paintings were dominated by the female figure, treated in a more traditionally verist manner. This was abandoned in the postwar period as the surrealist influence became more evident in his work, the entire body more present, and a stronger use of colours dominated. In Pellan's work, Biron wrote, "The calm of sleep

is matched by the voluptuousness of eroticism."[39] In such later paintings, Pellan imagined a ludic, fantasmal world.

The foregrounding of the body and the bawdy references that were basic to Pellan's work were a strong contrast to that of Borduas. Yet, the two painters were hailed on comparable ground. For Robert Élie, Borduas was the "showman of marvels" who never lost a sense of form and whose mastery and authenticity were located in the subtle sensuality of his canvases.[40] Regarding his work not as abstraction, but as an art of spontaneity and vigour, Élie compared him to Valéry and Rimbaud, taking part in the "spiritual adventure" of the age, like many other surrealist painters.[41]

Claude Gauvreau insisted that surrealism was alone in laying a foundation for a new form of collective sensibility, one that could be available to all and become widespread.[42] He rejected any sociological or historicist account for its appearance.[43] What is more, "The surrealist spirit, like the romantic spirit, is eternal. But the romantic égrégore has long since ceased to exist, and the surrealist égrégore has also ceased to exist."[44] Gauvreau's consistent objection to the direction that surrealism had taken was that it still relied on intention and symbolic representation, trusting in an appeal to the depiction of interior states.[45] Instead of creating what he took as a simple visual simulation, it should be the materialization of a concrete sensibility.[46] Central to this sensibility would be the erotic which, while expressed with an eccentric gesturality cultivated through automatic practices in an aversion to generic verism, was never totally distant from figuration.

The Burlesque of Automatism

Although his name would become synonymous with surrealism, André Breton did not coin the term. It was first used to describe a burlesque theatre work created by Guillaume Appollinaire before gaining some currency among the avant-garde set.[47] But it was Breton who gave it a more categorical inflection, an appropriately humorous gesture for a term that designated a procedure concocted to undermine most ostensibly sensible categories. The *Manifeste du Surréalisme* (1924) was explicit about what defined the primary area of the group's research. Amid a series of affectively varied

anecdotes, instructions, and effusive elegies to the antecedents it claimed, it also rhetorically appropriated the form of the dictionary entry to delimit what was really an expansive programme.[48]

Psychic automatism was not so much psychological as mechanical and practical, although in a deliberately esoteric way. Breton, who was versed in both pathological psychology and parapsychology, understood the relationship between the term and the Spiritualist tradition.[49] Numerous scholars have pointed to the deliberate links between the history of "dynamic psychology" stretching back to Mesmerism and subsequent Bretonian surrealist practice.[50] Tessel M. Bauduin has provided a concise statement of what the surrealist synthesizing of disparate psychic models means in terms of practice, namely that it allowed for the

> reinventing [of] psychiatric concepts as art as well as reinventing art itself by means of these (originally psychiatric) practices and methods, even while 1) simultaneously retaining a medical-scientific sheen, 2) appealing to popular culture's fascination with the unconscious, mediumistic phenomena, and psychical research, and 3), criticising medical practices from the insider's position Surrealism assumed for itself.[51]

Such reappropriations allowed the formal qualities described to be depathologized and reconstructed as autonomized artistic and erotic operations. It was form becoming sarcastic to its ostensible content and the context which had determined it. Such a strategy of appropriation will prove to be even more important to the artists that followed in the wake of the automatists. Another implication of this, and one that would figure in critiques of automatist art, was that it made the entire issue of craft and skill irrelevant. Not only did it demote talent, but also demeaned personal expression, so that the artist became "talentless and instrumental."[52]

In Québec, the importance of automatism as an instrument or strategy that went beyond the question of figuration would be slowly realized. For the surrealists, the implications of automatism were far-reaching, and its lessons could be expressed in sometimes startling ways. For instance, detective stories were invaluable to

them because they revealed the "phoniness" of any claims to a coherent positivism. Like photography, they were a means, through a model of mechanization, to reveal the manufacturing of evidence.[53] Clichés and photo negatives would be especially valuable as a model for this kind of analysis. Clichés are most prevalent in realist fiction (and, for that matter, journalism and sociological and history writing), allowing the bland emptiness of alleged experience to appear amid a collaging of objects that provide it with its atmosphere. Breton would speak of automatic writing and photography in the same light, as the photograph in its instrumental "blindness" challenged old models of realist representation through its capacity to render simulacra concrete. What was crucial in these methods was not that they captured the real, but that they rendered static a collection of forms. Rather than making forms legible, photography and automatic writing revealed an excess of detail and sensual traces. Photography rendered the pretense of scientific knowledge's representation of the world as just another set of clichés.[54] If beauty was to be "convulsive," as one famous surrealist proclamation made it, the dynamism of convulsion was its paradoxical stasis, rendering absurd the atmospheric illusion of the dynamic social model of reality.[55] As subsequent chapters will show, paradoxical stasis was fundamental to much of how eroticism would be conceived.

Breton associated the experience of painting and of looking at painting with an "interior model." He suggested this was a kind of insulation system that allowed the one who sees to have access to the world without censorship, with an inclusive amorality that revealed the world of ostensible social relations to be a "macabre joke."[56] The surrealists had been fascinated by newspapers since, pretensions aside, they seemed to formally and unintentionally demonstrate the untenability of a coherently narrative or interpretively reducible imagining of the world. Instead, newspapers accidentally underscored the world's extreme discontinuity and ludicrousness. In the first issue of *Révolution surréaliste*, Philippe Soupault's article "L'Ombre de l'Ombre" stressed the inability of newspapers to accurately figure modernity.[57] The collected tropes of naturalism were incapable of doing so, in no small part because

discourses could not and did not represent; they were only objects and instruments.[58]

Borduas adopted Breton's idea of the paranoiac screen as a "surface whose prolonged view serves to fix phantasms in a clear vision."[59] Breton had derived this notion from Leonardo da Vinci's encouragement of his students to project their imaginations onto a wall, allowing the painted image to develop from what the cracks and marks in or on the surface suggested to them.[60] This wall, as Borduas scholars rarely bring up, bore the marks of being urinated against, and the scatological aspect of surrealism, dear to Bataille and horrifying to Breton, was at the base of the Automatist gesture.[61]

By the mid-1950s, some Automatists would use the term *abstraction baroque* to describe what had previously fallen under the heading of "mechanical automatism," understanding the term in its opposition to classicism and in line with a non-orderly plasticity. In Automatist circles it could also suggest a move away from a strictly mechanical conception of automatism.[62] Originating in Germanic scholarship at the end of the nineteenth century, the category of the baroque, conjuring the "alien" and "bizarre," evolved in art history circles in France at approximately the same time surrealism was emerging and there was substantial figurative and formal overlap between the invented historical category and the movement.[63] In the context of Québec, the baroque took on much of the weight that Breton had accorded to the power of eros. Comparing his ideal model to Breton's *Nadja* (1928), Claude Gauvreau used "baroque" to describe his lover, the Automatist actress Muriel Guilbault, praising the singularity of her traits and "their plastic organization akin to acrobatics" which seemed to show her "essentially surreal" nature marked by tragedy.[64]

According to surrealist thinking, the intensity (quantitative and qualitative) of art production was closely aligned with eros. Yet, in Borduas' writings, published in his lifetime and subsequently, eroticism is scarcely directly mentioned. This is peculiar for a leading surrealist, including among his intimate associates such as Jean-Paul Mousseau and Claude Gauvreau, wherein the erotic is a point of consistent concern. One of the rare instances in

which Borduas overtly broached it was during a discussion of intentionality in painting. To him, the surrealist act was one of passion (biological/psychological), expressed in the magic of desire's transformative qualities. That said, the passion expressed is always formally individuated. To speak against intention is not to speak against a painting bearing the singular mark of Mousseau or Riopelle. The work is not a sign of their intentionality but the formal expression of their desire.[65]

Where Borduas became critical of the surrealists was on the matter of love, something that effectively suggests the bifurcation between *ars amorata* and *ars erotica*. According to him, while they discovered the importance of unintentionality, they simultaneously lionized romantic love along a model of free choice that echoed traditional forms of monogamy. But free choice is an illusion. While love undoubtedly has the potential to lead to the unknown and unintended, to direct it toward a preconceived end is to destroy it.[66] The value of surrealism was that it foregrounded singularization and debased intentionality and its mode of signification. In Borduas's view, romantic love should thus be criticized because it obscures libidinal truth, which is fundamentally impersonal and non-subjective even as it is particularized by desire (or rendered "baroque," in Gauvreau's sense).

The ambiguity of surrealist images, like the poetic supplement of their titles, opened the artwork to an array of dissonant interpretations. The tension in Automatist discussions around the distinctions between the abstract and the non-figurative could also have an explicitly erotic content. We can say, for instance, that pornography made a slightly circuitous route into Automatism in the group's early shows. Gauvreau explained that:

> Of the seven exhibitors at the first two non-figurative group exhibitions, only Roger Fauteux seems to have left the orbit of current events. Borduas spoke at length about Fauteux, without naming him, in *Projections libérantes*; he was the "genius" who jokingly painted his inks with an objective value that Borduas never succeeded in making him aware of. Fauteux's work was completely marginal; unlike the others, it could even be said that he was figurative … so much so

> that one fine day he was able to show me some pornographic photographs that had served as models for some of his inks.[67]

One of Borduas' most promising pupils, Fauteux did not embrace non-figuration the way many of his peers did, instead focusing his attention on "libidinous scenes," abstractions, caricature, and satire, which included producing an alternative, satirical persona.[68] As Borduas noted, Fauteux saw the drive through abstraction into non-figuration as a joke, one which he continued to play in his very brief career.[69] Fauteux is significant not simply because he highlights one of the primary tensions among the Automatists and the disparate directions they could have gone in, but because his art practice integrated what would be external to the group—their value as figures of caricature and vague sites of an abstract eroticism.

In Montréal, the figurative aspect of surrealism was exemplified best by Alfred Pellan, who had spent much of his career to this point in France and had a loose affiliation with the Breton circle. Reesa Greenberg has linked Pellan's eroticism to his adoption of surrealism in 1944, but this adoption is more the figurative language of verist surrealism than any of the methodologies explored by the Automatists.[70] This did not prevent him from causing significant controversy due to the overt erotic content in many of his painting, particularly those shown while he was a teacher.[71]

Donald W. Buchanan saw in Pellan's overt eroticism a kind of innocent eruption which speaks to the "sexual compulsions of life" and yet, Buchanan added happily, "he never descends to the fashionable pseudo-Freudian imagery of Salvador Dali."[72] Pellan expressed his own ambivalence about Dalí and the morbid aspects of the movement.[73] Yet, Germain Lefebvre claimed the painter's eroticism was displayed in violent sexual emotion that percolated between extensive motifs and geometrical patterns.[74] Through these, "Pellan makes visible the instinctual impulses of the living, those that spring from the depths of the unconscious."[75] In terms of figuration, Pellan's work tends to literalizing the mechanical aspects of surrealist thinking, a gesture that makes interpretation mostly pointless. For example, *Les mécaniciennes* (1958) features billowing parachutes and pieces of factory equipment with

nudes lounging upon them. One climbs a ladder with a tool to fix a machine blowing out flames—predominately pink—while other machines puff flames resembling pink and black peacock feathers. Here, he has combined the modernity of machinery with the figure, rendered in a simplified folk style and enmeshed with a strong sense of *décor*, the patterning of which gives the image its dynamism, one which relies in part on their being so little to interpret beyond these graphic rhythms.

The problem of the figurative was present in the texts that influenced Montréal Automatism. Whatever distance they may have proclaimed from Dalí, his ideas and influence seem to have haunted much of what they did and are fruitful for understanding what followed in the wake of the Automatists' decline. His paranoiac-critical method, designed to supersede the claims of the automatic method, was explained in the essay "La conquête de l'irrationnel" (1935), in which he argued that it would allow for the construction of "images of concrete irrationality" that approached "phenomenal reality" with a means of expression like that of "the great realist painters—Velasquez and Vermeer of Delft—to paint realistically according to irrational thought, according to the unknown imagination. […] The images of concrete irrationality are thus authentically unknown images."[76]

This was a distinct break from the earlier surrealist tendencies toward automatism, symbolism, and abstraction. The non-figurative, Dalí insisted, did not escape being reducible to a prepackaged meaning, so that what it supposedly revealed was finally irrelevant, whereas the "new delirious images of concrete irrationality tend towards their physical and actual 'possibility'; they surpass the domain of phantasms and 'virtual,' psycho-analysable representations."[77] According to Dalí, the paranoiac-critical method threatened to "destroy automatism and its inherent narcissism."[78] Paradoxically, verist figuration could be the ruination of representation conceived as culturally mediated expression. Quite explicitly, in Dalí's case, it did this through an apoliticism that demeaned the sociocultural interpretation of the work of art while calling such interpretive modes forth through its shocking exploitation of popular imagery, whether it was baked beans or Hitler mastur-

bating. This horrified some of his more politically committed colleagues, who wanted him excommunicated from the movement when he was making explicit the implicit suggestions of the movement's own materialism: namely, the ridiculousness of imagining there could be a plausibly decipherable sociopolitical world in the first place.[79]

More relevant to the matter of automatism, figurative art violated the sanctified space of the imaginary social while non-figurative art only bowed to the illusion that there was a legitimate distinction, one adjudicated through claims of authenticity, between these supposedly divergent realms in the first place. As such, it failed in its materialist monism; in Dalí's words, non-figurative artists ended up being "[s]ticky and retarded Kantians of scatological *sections d'or*, they continue to want to offer us upon the fresh optimism of their shiny paper the soup of the abstract aesthetic, which really and truly is even worse than the cold and colossally sordid vermicelli soups of neo-thomism, which even the most convulsively hungry cats would not go near."[80] As Gilles Néret notes, this trajectory of pictorial art that Dalí advocated would have progeny in pop art but also, one can add, in the kind of neo-figurative art that emerged in Québec, which is the subject of the rest of this book.[81]

If Borduas and the Automatists became symbolic figures, either positively or negatively, for the generations of artists that followed, it was Pellan's visual sense and the Automatists' theoretical consideration that proved relevant for erotic art. Both the artists associated with Automatism and Prisme d'yeux tended to take a relatively light hand when it came to figuring eroticism with any degree of explicitness, relocating the erotic in the realms of design and texture. At the same time, we have seen how the erotic was one of the major propulsive factors beneath automatism as a mechanical practice and as a model for figuration. Nestled within this was another aspect of surrealism that was being played out: its reliance on humour and scandal.

The question of figuration loomed large in the skirmishes between the Automatists and the local press, even if it was often overshadowed by polemics about the decadence of Québec. This

worked in numerous ways. In their early manifestos and letters to the media, the use of the plurality of names of Automatist associates was a way of disfiguring the more traditional one-to-one interlocutor. Identity was diffused and figured as a kind of disfiguration, as in the satirical depictions of the group by Robert LaPalme, discussed below. This disorienting plurality also made them easier to abstract as a cliché within media discourse.

In *Surrealisme et nous*, Borduas explained the French movement's moral importance, its scandalousness, which allowed he and his colleagues to become aware of their own prejudices. It was the surrealist stress on the involuntary, on that which bore no rational intentionality, that had foremost importance.[82] The scandals that Montréal surrealists took part in—however small they may have actually been—were a necessary feature of the group's attempt to create an impersonal mythology. In effect, this also meant creating a peculiar kind of atmosphere or environment. One of the earliest showings by artists involved with the Automatists was the *Exposition de peinture*, held at 1257 rue Amherst in April 1946.[83] As François-Marc Gagnon has suggested, the selection of the venue may itself have been a gesture. Not only was it not a gallery or museum space, but it was also in direct proximity to the red-light district and its brothels.[84] In highlighting the importance of place as an aspect of art, it raised issues not only of overlapping or proximal practices (painting, dance, prostitution), it also stressed that "place" is a medium, and this applied not only to architecture, but to print.

Refus global

We have no illusions about the possibility of a dialogue.[85]
—Gérard Pelletier

The controversy around Prisme d'yeux helped drive the Automatists to make their own public statement, which was a means of local and international self-definition and a way of distancing themselves from divergent strains of surrealism. The collection *Refus global* was published on August 9, 1948, containing nine mimeographs, fifteen half-tone illustrations, two manifestos, two essays, and a series of dramatic sketches. This was a culmination of

the work of the sixteen people who signed the manifesto, and their associates.[86]

Along with Borduas, these artists expressed a concern with "living art" over what some took as the petrifications of academicism, an apprehension that would become one of the leading clichés in the polemical writings of the associates of Automatism. The image of the artist as a revivifying force in a stunted society, one who was a marginal, suffering prophet, was sculpted by exponents such as Fernand Leduc and the Gauvreau brothers.[87] Painter Pierre Gauvreau took pains to situate Automatism within a progressive interpretation of art history and educate the public on their intentions while his brother, writer Claude Gauvreau, tended toward polemics in the press. If Pierre would sometimes strike an amiable pedagogical pose, his brother took a more rebarbative one. Claude's public relations provocations would be some of the central artistic displays that constituted Automatism. While some of his colleagues also took part in such spectacles, it was Claude Gauvreau who excelled at a mixture of often-patronizing attempts at "education" and ad-hominem screeds carried out in the media against the movement's real or imaginary enemies. This gave Automatism a farcical tabloid scandal quality that no other group in the province attained.

The furore that their most famous manifesto created tended to occlude the fact that it was rehearsing softened and relatively familiar Nietzschean themes about decadence.[88] Reactions (then and subsequently) also tended to miss that the primary target was not religion so much as the decadence of the secularism that parasitically evolved from it. *Refus global* describes civilization culminating with the Christianity of the thirteenth century and descending into a long, sharp decline with the emergence of what the manifesto designates as "reason," identified with the sciences and the premise of intentionality. The rise of these forms of abstract knowledge only occluded the crimes on which they were predicated, and hope could only be reborn from complete civilizational collapse. Every major sociopolitical revolution had been a failure, the manifesto argues, because they had only been decadent Christian revolutions.[89] Marxist revolutions may have been allowed, but Sade remained locked away and societies remained beholden to "use" and

"utilitarian spirit."[90] Refusing this spirit, what was advocated was a selflessness that allowed for the flights of "acts of passion."[91] For the Automatists, this was the purpose of liberation.[92]

Refus global became a fetish item central to the myth of Québec's modernity, thanks in no small part to the lionization of Borduas, especially after his death.[93] For instance, Pierre Vadeboncoeur would claim that Borduas was the first to initiate a radical break, one not simply for the sake of rupture, but for the truth. This break would allow for a collective spiritual rebirth: modern French Canada would begin with him.[94] Depicting Québec as a culture of constraint, Vadeboncoeur credits Borduas's acts as possessing "a strange revelation for our future" that set in motion a change in attitudes, poses, models and fashions.[95] Likewise, authors associated with *Parti pris* would claim an affinity with the artist, while the Québec counterculture's analysts and spokespeople would narratively place it as a legacy of *Refus global*.[96]

However, the initial reception of the collection suggests that it was understood quite differently. It was not regarded as a text in any straightforward way so much as an awkward object within a set of heterogeneous materials resembling an art portfolio, the same sort of form that would become common for erotic art in the 1960s and '70s. As Sophie Dubois has pointed out, in form as well as in content, it was regarded as a joke, something that could be dismissed as pastiche. It was simply another symptom, perhaps a rather cynical one, of the generic drive for innovation and obsolescence that served the economy of modern art.[97] This extended to the content of the texts themselves. While the polemics against reason and Christianity in them were inevitably bound for controversy, their tone, affect and style—their basic lack of civility—was what may have been even more unforgivable, allowing the press to assume a moral superiority in trying to end the "impossible dialogue" that the collection had spurred.[98] Often-vicious exchanges went on for weeks in *Le Devoir* between Gérard Pelletier and the different factions of "young surrealists" (they did not respond consistently, or as a group). Pelletier complained that with the youth lacking teachers, they were left to "automatize with ferocity" and Borduas was described as an absurd and dishonest sectarian, a pope for the irrational.[99]

More bluntly, the manifesto and associated works were ridiculed as "stupid" by the press.[100] While Ray Ellenwood could claim that such attitudes were "almost comic," the mocking attacks on *Refus global* and the Automatists were the more serious responses that they received, certainly more so than subsequent historians who have accorded it a sociopolitical interpretation.[101] The Dominican Hyacinthe-Marie Robillard's polemics, like those of Pelletier, however unfair they may have been, were meeting the Automatists on their own ground in a space of negativity, paranoia, and poetic hysteria. Any even slight admission of the value of the work by the "Christians" who the Automatists elected as their enemies would be the most degrading response possible.[102] Robillard understood them as follies engaged with plagiarizing a dead movement and driven toward a refusal of reason and submission to the supremacy of desire.[103] As much as they avowed a desire for ecstasy and spontaneity, the clearly laboured quality of their work and public personas suggested something completely different.

But it may have been the Automatists treatment by *Le Petit Journal* and Claude Gauvreau's response that was the most revealing of the ironies and ludicrousness of the situation. The tabloid interviewed him about the manifesto and he related the history of the group and their ideas in "all their picturesque detail" only to be horrified by what was abstracted and refigured by the journalists involved: "Confronted with Borduas's sublime writing, the journalists of *Le Petit Journal* collectively shat out a rotten piece of swinish baseness and humour of such vile quality that even the clowns of the burlesque Starland would have been ashamed to resort to it."[104] Gauvreau's fight with them, dragging the spirit of the Automatists into abjection, would continue for some time.

By 1948, Automatism had already become enough of a set of visual clichés that it could be easily satirized. Their gestures had become truly automatized and impersonal. A show of work by Colin Martel featuring the satirizations of different styles included Automatism in its ranks, and this sort of derision would increasingly rub against the claims made by the loose group's exponents.[105] The satirization of the Automatists also took pictorial form in cartoons by Robert LaPalme for *Le Canada*.[106] The first presents someone being taken, kicking and screaming, to a mental hospital after they

tried to understand *Refus*. The second mocks the press debates, treating them as a ludicrous and pretentious public spectacle. It depicts a fashionable interior decorated with Automatist paintings where a man listens to the radio, learning that Gauvreau has been traded to Prisme d'yeux. At his feet is a newspaper showing trades for sports teams. "Surrealism is dead, says a theologian," reads the caption. The third shows two gallery-goers hushing as a trio of Automatists enter. They are presented as something between one of the abstract shapes from their compositions and cartoon monsters or germs, complete with berets to signify their self-conscious assimilation of French fashion. As the group passed further into popular consciousness, Automatism could become a way of describing outlandish hairstyles[107] and the artists could be portrayed as a group of elite partiers.[108] They had become something very close to Fauteux's pornographic sketches as the "externalization" and "impersonality" central to their thinking became something automated beyond their intentions. The tabloids were rearticulating the automatic image with a new form of baroque eroticism.

Despite Claude Gauvreau's concern for the public reputation of the Automatists, they quickly came to embody the burlesque prank they had been imagined as by the press. This was crystallized in the *L'Exposition des Rebelles* or what the press termed the Salon des "Protestants" in 1950. The official title was selected to suggest an affinity with the rebels of 1837.[109] André G. Bourassa has claimed that the "exhibition became a celebrated event in the annals of Québec culture and is even considered, by virtue of its 'anti-artsy-fartsy' manifesto, as the third act in a process of liberation after Prisme d'yeux and Refus global."[110]

The *Rebelles* exhibition was held at 2035 rue Mansfield from March 18 to 26, 1950.[111] It was promoted as a reaction to the 67th Salon Annuel du Printemps held at Montréal's Musée des beaux-arts, which opened on March 13. Works were selected by two juries. Canvases by Jean-Paul Mousseau and Marcelle Perron had been rejected by the modernist jury, which included Prisme d'yeux members Jacques G. de Tonnancour and Goodridge Roberts. The texts associated with the Rebelles, written by Claude Gauvreau, cast the show in overtly erotic terms as blossoming from negativity as a "bastard" against a jury of impotents, incapable of "discerning

authenticity in plastic matters."[112] Depicting the art establishment as both brothel and cemetery, they accelerated the hyperbole to cast their programme as a radicalization of *Refus global*:

> From the fragile and easily wrinkled negation, the positive trajectory emerges: We represent the refusal to compromise. We are the rebellion, anthropophagous and serene, that does not domesticate.
>
> We are the refusal to fuck assholes and haemorrhoids. We are the refusal to masturbate *arrivisme*.
>
> *Beaux-artisan* [bôzardifiques] *juries, counterfeit juries, bathe alone in your puddles of diarrhoea! We refuse and we will refuse to be contaminated by you.*[113]

The work in the exhibition itself received little more than shrugging attention[114] and the artists suggested that the importance was as much in the gesture of the show itself while still insisting on the value of their formal credo: "It was necessary to remind them that the most important aesthetic discovery of the last decade is the universal power of penetration that only the judgement of an object on the authenticity of its material relations can allow."[115]

The form of this material relation was expressed less in the art objects than the performance that accompanied them. On the night of the vernissage for the Salon de Printemps, artists whose works were not selected picketed the event wearing sandwich boards bearing posters mocking the jury. They quickly made their rounds through the show rooms, causing scarcely any disruption before exiting and the event went on as the museum had planned. A cover story in *Le Devoir* reported this next to an article dealing with the crackdown on vice in the city. It identified the protesters as Automatists, defining them as "a school which, in its own words, 'lets the artist move his brush around the canvas at will.'" Museum director Robert Tyler Davies laughed the incident off as a joke.[116] With the *Rebelles* show, Pierre Gauvreau suggested that the Automatist group had slipped into decadence and transformed into a reactionary organization. He publicly criticized the group, pointing out that the exhibition had been planned well in advance of the "protest" and implied that the pretentiousness of their

institutional critique was both hypocritical and masked a lack of talent.[117]

There are rhetorical differences between this event and *Refus global*. Rather than a cosmic history of decadence and apocalyptic hope for the return of magic, the exhibition was quite narrowly pointed at the Montréal artworld, which, to Claude Gauvreau, consisted primarily of "the cunts, the cows, the asses, the fools, the faggots, the narrow-minded, the reactionaries, the ministerial gropers, the collaborationists of the mind-numbing schools, the professionals of the soft pedal and of good-natured plastic daring."[118] The importance of scatological and highly sexualized epithet language also marked a shift away from the more spiritual language of Borduas to the sensibility of Claude Gauvreau.[119]

Authenticity and spontaneity become central, but they were centralized within the materiality of the work of art. However, what constituted the work had become even more unclear than it was with the heterogeneity of *Refus.* Even the public performances of Françoise Sullivan (discussed in the following chapter) were quite recognizable as dance and played out well within the bounds of decorum, expanding the purview of state-supported art. If *Refus* was a joke, *Rebelles* was a dirty joke, and the volatility of intended and unintentional Automatist humour and the paradoxes it created would prove to be one of its most important—if generally overlooked—aspects.

Comedy, especially black comedy, is an essential aspect of the art that emerged with the Automatists and became even more pronounced with the erotic art that evolved in their wake. This is appropriate given black humour's central importance within surrealism. For Breton, as with so many things surrealist, black comedy is recommended for its chance quality and involuntariness. Explosive perhaps, but still "hemmed in" by twists to the light-hearted or whimsical, by the temptations to make it meaningful.[120] As the "mortal enemy of sentimentality," "there can be no question of explaining humour and making it serve didactic ends. One might just as well try to extract a moral for living from suicide."[121] Surveying accounts of either its indeterminacy or its questionable anatomy, Breton sympathizes with the assertion of "humour as a way of affirming, above and beyond 'the absolute revolt of adolescence and

the internal revolt of adulthood,' a *superior revolt of the mind*."[122] He imagines a space where objective humour, the captivating sense of humour as object, can meet objective chance in its arbitrariness. This is concretely expressed in something like the visions of satire or caricature found in writers like Sade and Swift before they have been "moralized," that is, before their black humour has been degraded to becoming socially (culturally) meaningful.[123]

As Jonathan Paul Eburne has suggested, "black humor paraded a degree of stylistic and moral recklessness—a *jouissance*—at odds with an era of serious political commitment; yet this exchange of humorous pleasure paradoxically gave voice to unconscious political desires, including forms of anger and unrest otherwise inadmissible to intellectual discourse."[124] Black humour carried on to be a major feature of Francophone intellectual discourse, pulp fiction, and film noir into the 1950s, as well as a significant source of postwar contempt toward the surrealists from both conservatives and progressives, whether for their apparent amorality, dubious politics, or bad taste.[125] As a mode of desublimation, black humour, *which is essentially eroticism*, allowed for the disruption of forms of sentimentalism, and it manifested primarily in a sense of atmosphere and an epistemology that rejected any scientific or moral truth, relying on a series of parodies and overt artifice.[126] This will be made explicit in the centrality of sarcasm discussed in later chapters, but it was clearly already present in Montréal—more in the way that Automatism was performed within the press (discussed next) than in the paintings associated with *Refus global*'s signatories. Yet, one can object to the second half of Eburne's statement quoted above. It is not entirely clear that political desires of any sort exist unconsciously, and his own source material—the theoretical claims of surrealists and their reception—consistently destabilizes this claim.

What surrealist aesthetics and metaphysics undermined, primarily, was the viability of a sociopolitical representation and analysis of the world. Its critics were never shy about insisting on this, and the movement's largely uncomfortable relationship with Marxism also testifies to it, as Eburne documents extensively. The humorous collapse of representation and, with it, the possibility of a social referent, is central to understanding eroticism as both

a singularization of plastic sensuality and a formal operation—and this operation would prove to be the final twist in Automatist practice.

La matière chante du Roi du chien chaud

'La matière chante' is exemplary of the only universal art form that Canada has produced. The bile of the piss-poor, the snarling retards, the crutches of the cerebellum, can do nothing to change this definitive reality.[127]
—Claude Gauvreau

Perhaps the most important farcical moment of Montréal surrealism occurred around the exhibition *La matière chante* held at Galerie Antoine from April 20 to 30, 1954. According to its submissions call, it was constructed as a homogeneous Automatist show intended to highlight the centrality of the "cosmic as expressed in the accident," and it consisted of ninety-seven works by twenty-four artists.[128] It would be hailed in *La Presse* by artist and critic Rudolphe de Repentingny (Jauran) as an exhibition of rare importance that brought to light work that he claimed was poorly regarded by society.[129] However, such praise was not the standard press reception for the exhibition.

Once again, the exhibition was posed as a rebellion against the Salon du Printemps, cast by Claude Gauvreau as a "senile" event, a contrast to the rhetoric of youthfulness that was basic to the Automatist public persona. Gauvreau would predictably insult the jury for incompetence and bias (*parti pris*), suggesting they were not the quality of people capable of discerning authenticity and its "prophetic" qualities, while accusing the museum of racism against French-Canadians.[130] For Gauvreau, the salon posed the problem of the artist's status, whether they should be held in esteem as the educators of sensitivity and liberty or as the sycophants of ruling taste ("court jesters of the *roi du chien chaud* [king of hot dogs].") The museum's own "modern" discourse pit it in a struggle against academicism and yet the works it celebrated relied on a "organic *pompiérisme* [academic naturalism]." The pompier obscures "fundamental plastic realities: the unity of light, the sensitivity of the material, the quality of invention—authenticity, in short."[131]

It was within this space of vitriol that *La matière chante* figured, significantly clarifying both the stakes and the issues involved in the Automatists' dispute with the supposed petrifiers of art. This conflict also brought to a head the problem of figuration in ways that had not been entirely evident before and would be expressed both in theoretical argument and in satirical figuration.

The paintings exhibited included two frauds: *L'oiseau roc* and *Ça arrive dans les meilleures familles, no 1*. Québec City artists Edmund Alleyn and Jean-Paul Lemieux had submitted these two paintings, overt satires of Automatist works, to the exhibition jury. These were accepted with Borduas's approval and shown with the "authentic" Automatist works. Subsequently, the deception was announced by painter Claude Picher in the press, resulting in a lengthy set of ad-hominem-addled exchanges with Claude Gauvreau over the fact that he and Borduas hardly seemed any more capable of critical judgement than the juries they attacked. Picher denounced what he took to be the hysteria of the critical establishment and of Borduas's followers with their "esoteric jargon."[132] To this, he added a satirical depiction of Borduas that mixed suggestions of mysticism, pederasty, and Peter Pan. Borduas was imagined as the master in New York who had initiated his "boy scouts" into "ecstatic joys," freeing them to relay their interior states to the intellectual desert of Québec.[133]

Claude Gauvreau's response points to the pivotal problem posed by automatism and, as we will see later, eroticism as well. In spite of themselves, Gauvreau claimed, Alleyn and Lemieux presented their best work, liberated from the confines of academic painting. If their paintings were not entirely successful, it was because their humour was too timid. He reiterated that the most basic claim of automatism is that consciousness is a very small part of individual psychic reality and that intentions (goals) are less important than results. Whether a work of art is satirical or parodic does not matter, since "joy is capable of engendering sensitive accuracy, and it is far from proven that humorous jubilation inevitably develops in a quality of joy that is insufficient for authentic externalization."[134]

This argument was fleshed out more in articles by Gauvreau in the following month in an issue of *L'Autorité* that coincidentally also highlighted imagery from sexually frank films banned in the

province. In an essay complete with footnotes and set beside a Molson ad featuring a bear in a clown outfit, he argued that "man alone is capable of producing false notes in the universe; mechanical forces are incapable of inauthenticity."[135] Authenticity is detectable in "the singularity of concrete relationships, the song of matter."[136] All paintings are concrete *as* paintings. It is only by looking at them abstractly and taking account of intentionality that they refer to something outside themselves. Non-figurative art, according to Gauvreau, is the first art that consciously pursues this concreteness. The form of a painting is its content. Representational painting remains the presentation of the abstract and unreal. The excess of "retarded mediocrities" and repetitive work does nothing to alter this. The expressivity of the "non-figurative baroque" is that of an interior probing that externalizes the unknown and has little in common with an outmoded scientific positivism.[137] Gauvreau insisted that this exploration is not decadent since "decadence is the abandonment of intensity," the signs of which are found in the abstraction to generalizable forms of sentimentality when myths decay into the mediocre feelings of the masses.[138] So, the concrete was an intensified form of desentimentalization and detachment from common feeling. If it was "external," this did not suggest some common intersubjective realm. The more concrete and externalized something became, the less it had anything to do with concepts, meaning, or communication. This was the process by which the singularization of erotic desire became art.

Gauvreau also insisted that the distinction between figurative and non-figurative painting was an artificial one. Painting has always been visual form shaped to a particular sensibility or, as Borduas discussed above, the singularization of desire. Automatists paint matter as knowable, just as other modes of painting claim to, only surrational painting is more concrete because it does not bother to dissimulate through the illusion of similitude. Painting then is the concrete materialization of naked sensibility.[139] One could point out, as Dalí would, that Gauvreau retained intentionality too much in privileging a conscious choice when there should be no concession of referential difference between a scatological drip painting and one of a horse. From this, and importantly for my argument going forward, it will be necessary not to consider

the "common" or recycled images that will become the source material for ostensibly figurative art to be references to a "culture" but, instead, concrete material for desentimentalization.

I have not highlighted the invective quality of the claims of Gauvreau and his opponents simply for their colour. The crude and caricatural form they took is of a kind with the externalization that the Automatists relied upon, and the irreconcilability of positions and pointlessness of attempted dialogue (the simultaneous exploitation and demeaning of language) is fundamental to the eroticism of automatism. If opponents detected in the work an abjection, absurdity, and stasis, they were effectively describing the convulsive beauty essential to surrealism.[140]

Foregrounded in the skirmishes and satires that unfolded in the press since the beginning of Automatism was that it was less the autonomous work of art in its traditional mode that mattered than the interaction of media. If surrealism dismembered the illusory social body that was narratively manufactured by the press, constructing an exquisite corpse that humorously redeployed its entrails to perverse ends, the implosion of any distinction between figurative and non-figurative art and the rejection of intentionality vitiated the possibility of referential representation. The work of art thus becomes a concrete manifestation of eros completely indifferent to the pragmatic symbolic and political revolutions that events like those of Opération Déclic attempted to contain it within.

The 1950s had ended with Canadian surrealism taking its place within the movement's European heart in the form of an erotic mode of self-erasure. The end of the 1960s would see one strain of art in the province revive and recodify it as part of an ostensibly utopian social project—meanwhile, other artistic currents would accelerate the erosion of the possibility of social representation that had been central to surrealism. The directions that the forms and strategies outlined above would take are the topics of the following chapters.

2

New People: Post-Automatist Primitivism, Dance, and Architecture

While the last chapter examined how eroticism manifested through print media and various types of performance—from Jean Benoît's fusion of striptease and surrealism to the various performative protests that spanned from the Automatists' attacks on Montréal's museums to the repurposing of these strategies by a new generation—this chapter will examine a different set of ways that the same thematics evolved, involving several artists who were directly connected to the city's early surrealism and extended it into the 1960s. This included the continued exploitation of print media, but it also meant expanding such practices to directly address the constructed environment—utopian architecture, phantasmagoric décor, the environments of performance—as additional media forms. Such forms not only provided another venue for art to appear outside of the confines of the museum or the gallery, they could also function as figures. While the previous chapter concluded by addressing the ambiguity of dividing the figurative from the non-figurative, this one will highlight different functions of the figure within the legacy of Montréal surrealism that would be essential to the development of erotic art in the city.

As with Borduas's late paintings, what was at stake in the logic of these developments was a general collapse of traditional distinctions between figure and ground. Such clear distinctions were being undermined by new types of intermediality, not simply in the sense of traditionally recognized media (music, painting, sculpture, architecture) but also in conceptualizing the body and the space where it would be articulated *as* media. It was not simply that there would be a new environment for a new series of figures, but that it would be unclear where one ended and the other began. New bodily articulations and new architectural forms were overtly

fused. It was no longer a matter of a body in a landscape, which was the essential articulation of the erotic figure in the interwar era, but of reconceptualizing the field so that body and building were component parts of a new environment.

The New Primitives

As much as the Automatists may have symbolically associated themselves with the downtown of the city, even showing their works in the vicinity of the red-light district, they were also a suburban group, spending much of their time outside of its core, a space that allowed them to distance themselves from contemporary urbanity, placing them in an area that could be readily exploited to suggest more clearly utopian ideas. Aside from the various dance performances that largely transpired in the domestic spaces of the group for a very spare audience, one of the more iconic ventures into dance occurred in a park with *no* audience.

Françoise Sullivan's *Danse dans la neige* (1948) was a performance—and, more importantly for the issues at stake here, a recorded performance—that stressed its remediation. Fernande Saint-Martin would claim that dance was a response to the need to express the "New Person" existing in a post-ritualistic society. Such a dance was not possible by appeals to tradition, but through a reappropriation of the banal gestures that constitute everyday life. The dance evolved through chance, treated as "current scientific thinking," so that the movements could be an adequate expression of the desires, intensities, and repulsions of the human organism.[1]

Sullivan, who had trained as a ballet dancer and studied modern dance with Franziska Boas in New York, was heavily influenced by ritual dance and the Automatist idea of dance as spontaneous gesture expressed in circular patterns. Sullivan herself claimed that dance was an "intimate allegory" and metaphor, the pleasure of its impulsive gestures alluded to as "vertigo, labryinth."[2]

Only Maurice Perron's photos remain of a film project that would have covered the four seasons in different locations, each offering the ground for an improvised dance by Sullivan. The first was shot on the seashore in 1947. The winter section was shot in Otterburn Park in February 1948 near Jean-Paul Riopelle's home in St. Hilaire

in 1948. The New Person displayed in these settings was a mythological creation and *Danse* was an allegorization of their new world. Bruno M. Cormier refers to the snow as a desert that gives birth to movement.[3] This was very close to the imaginary return to a rural Québec that would be central to much of the avant-garde imagery in the province. This was an image of Québec as the white desert, an overtly pseudo-religious image of the nation that would be circulated in both nationalist and feminist art for the next several decades.[4]

The surviving photographs can be regarded as instances of that convulsive beauty dear to Breton, accentuating not movement so much as stasis. This is all set in fairly baroque visual terms, the imagery flirting with all the clichés of pastoral and agrarian fantasies, rendering the New Person embodied by Sullivan into a kind of folly in a field rather than the more traditional primavera figure of the nude in a landscape that was common to the interwar period.[5] The puppet-like androgynous figure and the defamiliarizing treatment of snow as the desert were of a piece with how the Automatists understood the baroque. The snow tends to be foregrounded and blurred, lacking either smoothness or the jaggedness of ice. Retaining the traditional figure-ground relationship that was being dissolved in Automatist painting, the photos tend to rely on golden means as Sullivan's marionette figure mimes banality.[6]

Functioning on several levels, it is both an allegory of personal expression and an archetypal depiction of rebirth and fertility—sensuality and elemental eroticism where the figure is not a subject but a component of the environment. Sullivan's work was bringing to the forefront the more primitivist and back-to-nature aspect of avant-gardism, tendencies that would be maintained within the province in the decades to come, and she did so as a largely androgynous figure that was more fashion-plate than human and which, by mining banal gestures, made them seem essential and eternal. Basic to all of this, it should be noted, was not so much dance or performance as modelling. Ultimately the work was a concept and a photographic image, printed in a small-run folio that echoed the formal traits of *Refus global*. Whatever erotic reverie of the New Person the work may conjure, its "vertigo" arises primarily from its function as a modular object: a series of images that

can be reconfigured at will by their consumer in private (or with accomplices). Far from stressing the ephemerality and immediacy of performance, the work in practice stressed its mediation and objectification in a way that shares much with the art books and pornography that will be discussed later. The "performer" was ultimately the user and Sullivan's gesture was to objectify herself.

Rose-Marie Arbour has argued that the liberatory spirit associated with the Automatists was an easy match for the aspirations of female artists. It seemed in league with their increased autonomy on the economic plane and privileged a concept of art that emphasized the imaginary and the emotional gesture.[7] While most of the basic premises of Automatist and surrealist theory discussed in the previous chapter could be seen to clash with such an interpretation, Arbour stresses that the broad rhetorical gestures of the movement seemed to promote a generally liberatory idea. Much as it had inspired hairstyles, Automatism provided inspiration for artworks ostensibly concerned with emotional self-expression, a trend that was receiving rising interest among collectors and critics.[8] For some commentators, this included an equation of the female artist with the "savagery" of nature, a quality that made women stand out as the most "virile" artists producing work in the province.[9]

There is a useful nuance to be drawn here, an important one because it delineates two incompatible directions of interpretation for the basic implications of Automatism and the role of eroticism within it. In *Les femmes du Refus global*, Patricia Smart dwells on the role of eroticism at some length, interpreting it as thematic content. This hermeneutic strategy is necessary to prevent eroticism from eroding the tenability of the metahistorical claims she relies upon (psychoanalytically-inflected feminist cultural history) to interpellate subjectivity into her ostensible objects (the largely lucrative careers of a handful of women). Such tactics are required to make the work of the Automatists iconologically and therefore socially and psychologically interpretable. In other words, to police the work according to the normative claims that surrealist theory had appropriated, perverted, and evacuated of epistemological credibility. This is done in the service of a rereading of the sexual politics that she claims runs through Automatism. In doing so, she

explicitly integrates Automatism as an extension of the myth of the Révolution Tranquille and reduces the artists to the decorators of its architecture.[10]

"The paradox of the Automatist aesthetic," Smart argues, "and the key to its liberating character, lies in the close union it implies between the exploration of the artist's psyche and the explosion of pictorial space."[11] This liberation was defined by Smart as essentially "feminine" because it concerned colour and the analogical symmetry between the "feminine" and the "primitive."[12] This was something that, unsurprisingly given what we encountered earlier, made the Automatists a point of ridicule in tabloids.[13] Sullivan, in particular, tended to idealize the feminine by identifying it with the primitive, whether embodied by jazz or the figure of the "native."[14] Outside of dance, the female Automatists rarely worked as figurative visual artists, but to the very limited degree that Automatists relied on figuration, it tended to involve allegorically depicting women in sado-masochistic scenarios or as sexual monsters, the implications of which are highly debatable.[15] Smart's narrative keeps surrealism within the confines of the subject's body and psyche, treating it and its ostensible "social" role in a highly personal fashion. However, even in the work of Sullivan, the artwork is also clearly operating as a vehicle for depersonalization, as a way of *becoming an archetype,* and it was this depersonalization and its reliance on both an environment and fashion, that was erotic, not its expression of a subjectivity. Such *becoming archetypical* will prove important, especially for the city's sex stars, whom we will meet in subsequent chapters.

A year after Sullivan's snow dance, one of the city's surrealists demonstrated the short path from the primitive ideal to farce, once it left the controlled surroundings of the artworld to interact with other spheres of media. As the *Sherbrooke Daily Record* reported: "'It's a good piece of art,' said the brusque police sergeant when asked his opinion of the carved group seized Thursday by police after some Montréalers had said it was indecent."[16] More than twelve feet high, Robert Roussil's monumental sculpture *La Famille* (1949) was carved from the trunk of a pine tree and alternates dramatically between smooth zones and those that have been heavily gouged. Made of three figures, it depicts a man towering above a

2.1 Robert Roussil standing beside his sculpture, *La Famille*, 1949.

woman who holds their child up to him. Unlike in much of his work, the nude figures are unambiguously sexed. The stretched, nearly insectoid quality of the bodies in the sculpture presage the insect model of life that would be central to Habitat 67 almost two decades later, only, in Roussil, it exists in an overt domestic eroticism, rather than in one controlled and sublimated through a serialized diversity.

The reporter for *The Sherbrooke Daily Record* wrote that *La Famille* resembled the sculptural art of the South Seas and was straightforwardly legible as the image of an ascetic masculinity when confronted with a newborn.[17] However, the sculpture is less significant as a plastic exercise in rough primitivism and a symbol of domestic eroticism than for the ways in which it circulated.

The piece was supposed to be entered in an annual exhibition for teachers at the Musée des beaux-arts on Ontario Street, but the doors were locked when Roussil arrived with it on a truck. Left outside overnight, it was found by milkmen and garbage collectors who began playing "indecent games" with it until a "good lady of the neighbourhood" called the police.[18] A small crowd grew around it. Eventually, six police officers carted it off in a "black maria," hanging a g-string on it when they propped it up at the station garage. A tabloid photo of police carrying the sculpture into the paddywagon is captioned with the joke, "Not a funeral!"[19] There was no formal complaint, and police told the press they saw no reason for it not to simply be returned to the artist. *Le Canada* drew attention to the constant dressing, undressing, and erection of the statue in various places, suggesting the whole affair would be appropriate as a theatrical farce.[20] *Le Petit Journal* noted that the sculpture had been on view previously and was reviewed in September, where it barely registered.[21] After the scandal, Roussil's teaching contract was not renewed. *La Famille* found its way into the Automatists' *Rebelles* show (1950). Too large for the space, it was exhibited laying on its side.[22]

Quite unintentionally, the sculpture had become a character in a series of improvised public performances and tabloid depictions. These different formal possibilities were then happily exploited by the artist, who posed with his wife and child to mimic it for an image reproduced by the press.[23] The absurdity was ratcheted up further with an event involving Jean-Jules Richard, Henri Tranquille, and Charles Hamel, who formed a mock committee to study the sculpture "sans-culottes."[24] In *Le Canada*, accompanied by a photo of the sculpture with a cloth draped over its genitalia, it was declared that a mock trial would be held for the work that would include René Lévesque and other journalists, all brought together to see if the artwork could be rehabilitated.[25]

Controversy surrounding the sculpture broke out in a more convoluted way during Roussil's retrospective held at the Musée d'art contemporain in 1965, an event that allowed for a reenactment of the scandal-mongering around the *Rebelles* show, here using more explicitly erotic terms. Vittorio Fiorucci created posters for the show which featured a blown-up photo of the genitals of the father

figure in *La Famille*, significantly altering the visual effect of the work. Cropped to the penis, the sculpture lost the height which had emphasized its phallic quality and it gained a dumb literalness, its smooth photographic form suggesting one of the treatments of the body that would be common in the city's pornographic magazines, such as the one Fiorucci himself worked for. When security firm Phillips was ordered to remove the posters, artists fought with them in protest against the museum's "puritanism." The museum had to be evacuated but the police made no arrests.

La Famille became a burlesque on the work of erotic art in Québec, multiplying its potential valences and expanding its formal qualities as it became both actor and image, not only a symbol of the eroticism of reproduction, but an image to be reproduced as it mated with other media and became a mobile erotic spectacle in the streets. In these respects, it had become a wonderful surrealist object, polemical and autonomous from intent, ready to be deployed perversely.

This was a stark contrast to the vision of an "intimate allegory" created by Sullivan. Totemic and faceless, the heads of Roussil's figures verge on the penile while their bodies approach the inhuman—with their ambiguous gestures, they appear like deformed mannequins. Dressed by the authorities and the press in the attitudes of the burlesque, they became comical grotesques, blurring what significance they had while accentuating their erotic power. If Jean Benoît had fused primitivism with a burlesque of history, he did so in the confines of a restricted artworld surrounded by an insistent artifice. In Sullivan's dance, the gesture was abstracted even further, not through a reliance on the historical and exotic, but the potential strangeness of primitivism-as-banality, which appropriated the gestures of the everyday only to return them in a remediated form as an eroticized object.

True Realizations of Solidifed Desires

This discussion of Roussil and Sullivan has highlighted both the importance of the ways that they were remediated—either by photography or by the press—and also how much the environment in which they were placed was essential to their function. In

Sullivan this was exploited through allegory and modular form; in Roussil, it was an uncontrollable and mobilized farce that took form within the city's streets. As the rest of this chapter will show, the distinction between the figure and the environment was eroding in art, not just through the collapse of figurative painting, but also through the rise of events like Happenings and discourses describing "environments." If the art "object," whether dancer or sculpture, was clashing with its generic housing, housing itself could in turn take on the status of the art object and environment.

Thomas Mical has pointed out that surrealism tends to be absent from narratives of modern architectural spaces. Yet, architectural forms haunt surrealism's imagery, and surrealism can be seen as a shadow that lurks in the interior spaces of the most modern constructions. Dalí would evoke art nouveau structures as "true realizations of solidified desires, in which the most violent and cruel automatism painfully betrays a hatred of reality."[26] Mical would add that, despite the apparent rationality of so much modernist architecture, its ways of making the world strange and incorporating found objects and landscapes were consistent with surrealist projects.[27] The superficially sanitized and ascetic sensuality of Le Corbusier's "machine[s] for living" could provide the paradoxical homes for the uncanny objects the surrealists cherished.[28] Additionally, one could point out that, even with all their apparent functionalism, the Brutalism that was evolving was sarcastic about its own use value.[29] This contrast came to the fore in events around Montréal's Expo 67.

Constructed within the context of Expo, the humourless Habitat 67 was conceived by architect Moshe Safdie as "a community, almost rural in nature, in the city."[30] Safdie would insist on architecture not as a sort of diagram, but as an organic process.[31] It was not a matter simply of life, but lifestyle: "Habitat tries to show that it is possible to have an environment that is not monotonous, one that has the possibility of identity and variety, choice and spatial richness, and yet at the same time the use of repetitive mass-produced systems."[32] According to the architect, the buildings were not designed to be simply functional, but to be rich environments that provided a diversification of distractions.[33] Habitat would also be the launching ground for the ready-to-wear fashion line LUV, from

designers Elvia and Lionel, and featuring a range of afternoon and evening dresses, skirts, blouses, and pants with African and abstract motifs.[34]

In its "new concept of urban housing," Habitat was in line with the Brutalism of Expo's "monolithic concrete labyrinth with exceptional style."[35] Not only did the new lifestyle model tower over the city, it also seemed to have potentially cosmic proportions, like "Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome, of which gigantic versions are already being considered as urban envelopes…whose shape is infinitely expandable by multiplying a standard prefabricated cell…"[36]

Pitted against this "titan" of cybernetic eroticism was the *Habitation sculpture* (1971) by Robert Roussil, a twenty-foot-high sphere attached to a cube—quasi-functional forms inspired by modular housing. For him, Expo was a "circus" orchestrated by functionaries.[37] Roussil's work, like that of Jean-Paul Mousseau, discussed later, provides an explicit bridge between the more deliberately scandalous traits of Automatism and the attempt to reimagine the architectonic spaces of the city in overtly erotic terms that blurred the distinctions between the body and its ostensible housing. Roussil had a reputation for "slightly Rabelaisian bonhommie"[38] and as the "*enfant terrible* of Canadian sculpture."[39] As such, he had become the symbol of the "aspirations of our time: a desire for liberation towards a new conception of human life."[40] In Yves Robillard's narrative of the emergence of the Québec underground, Roussil figures as one of its "pioneers,"[41] and he was praised by Guy Robert as having "contributed, like Pellan and Borduas, to the liberation of the spirit of Québec."[42]

While building a habitable form of sculpture, Roussil insisted it had long been the case for sculptors and artists to be makers of gadgets and new means for living, not simply for functioning.[43] He identified this kind of creation as the only intelligent reason for living. The structure was designed as the symbolic expression of erotic union: the sphere as the female principle and the cube as the male. In extension of this, his modular building-sculptures were constructed to be multiplied, a doubling of the sexual act through architectural development. Everything within the structure was

2.2 Robert Roussil, *Boule*, 1973 (in progress), Moulins, France. An example of Roussil's fusion of architecture and sculpture constructed along the same principles as *Habitation sculpture*. Photo: Robert Binette.

designed to be integral and organically bound to its unity, with multipurpose devices in place of decoration.

He objected to the use of formica and other industrial materials because they seemed to serve no real purpose and he could not imagine putting his ass (*fesses*) on them, a gesture which served as one of the most basic figurations for his general theory of art.[44] While, as we will see in subsequent chapters, the "fesses" or "cul" would serve as one of the primary figures for the erotic imagination of the period, for Roussil in his polemical book *Vers l'universalité le cul par terre* (1977), it was tied to an earthiness or union with ambient surroundings.

Expanding and literalizing the organic metaphor, Roussil designed his habitable sculpture with windows that operated like eyes. The interiors were designed around the movement of the body, the model for which he derived through a series of figure studies and erotic drawings that demonstrated the various permutations bodies were capable of.[45] His architectural models were also, in part, derived from igloos.[46] Roussil claimed, "As our society today calls for a lot of movement both in the family and in society, it is good to think of a home that is very flexible in the sense

of moving and installation."[47] He suggested that the sphere was a form that allowed for the recuperation of vital forces.[48]

Roussil brings together two broad strains of Automatist and post-Automatist art more obviously than anyone else. His attempt to create a liveable (but useless) environment through the crystallization of erotic gestures was logically tied to the abstract tendencies in Automatism (such as Roger Fauteux's drawings developed from pornographic sources) that had been largely displaced by non-figuration (like Fernand Leduc's vibrantly clashing colours). Roussil claimed that he never deliberately tried to be an erotic artist, it was just something that came spontaneously from his work and interests.[49]

Roussil's habitable sculpture was funded by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. He did not bother to design it with a bathroom or kitchen or consider questions of heating,[50] in keeping with his reputation for being an inventor of useless machines.[51] The sculpture also inverted the basic order of the home, rendering eating and excreting as public acts while the structure itself clearly took the form of abstract genitalia. In McLuhan's terms, Roussil's sphere was a non-visual space; it was not an enclosure but an opening to the elements because it was organized according to tactile and kinetic principles. It was the space of non-specialism.[52] If, according to McLuhan, the enclosure of private parts was the first "social aggression," resulting in the privatization of the body (as resource, subject, and space for fashion), Habitat was the logical embodiment of this social territorialization, and Roussil's cube was its explicit transgression and parodic inversion.[53]

Since *Understanding Media* (1964), McLuhan had been arguing for for the history of technology as the various deployments of the body, which entailed a continual erasure of any difference between organic and inorganic realms. Such a mode of thinking is best summarized by McLuhan's remark that "man appears as the reproductive organ of the technological world."[54] Offering a fuller gloss of what was at stake, McLuhan suggested that, "Man becomes, as it were, the sex organs of the machine world, as the bee of the plant world, enabling it to fecundate and to evolve ever new forms."[55] Society, in this view, is the sex war between public and private territorial forms, a dynamic staged in this conflict between Habitat 67

and *Habitation sculpture*, with Roussil effectively mooning Safdie's beehive-inspired "titan." In this conflict, however, the lines were quite clear, whereas elsewhere, they tended to be "imploding" or "dematerializing," to use terms that would become common over the next decade.

Montréal's Sex Machines

Spanning two generations and reacting polemically to both, Roussil had cast his work as a heroic existential choice: either the weakness of suicide, or the courage to live.[56] This "courage" played out in a bawdy "earthiness" that usually resulted in comic public displays, whether in terms of *La Famille*'s absurd career in the media or *Habitation sculpture*'s deliberately crude antagonism. But even as he persisted in this role, his deliberately primitivist work, dealing with organic forms and materials, was being crowded out by a different, more technological model. According to Maurice Demers, people had had enough of abstraction, insisting, "They finally want demystified art accessible to everyone."[57] They, he contended, wanted an art of the future, which was one of participation and relied on a newly electrified set of sensorial experiences. This was part of a general drive encouraged by the state to assimilate art and science to transform the world through cybernetics, understood as "science enabling a man or an automatic machine to govern, to achieve a certain goal within the resources of modern technology."[58] The logic of regarding the world as operating through a series of impersonal forms, which we encountered in automatism, would tend to discredit the notions of both conscious subjects and sociocultural referentiality. And yet, attempts to effectively harmonize subjectivity and social identity with the newly automating environment were emerging at the same time (and at the heart of) discourses on the societal and technological.[59]

In a speech given in Montréal in 1972, Pierre Trudeau would celebrate the advances of technology, citing organ transplants and genetic experiments leading to "improving plant species and animal breeds."[60] According to the Prime Minister, by the 1970s, a new period in history had been reached: "humanity's most recent mutation began with the cultural integration of science: it will be

completed by that of technology."[61] He pondered the role of the state in a period when new forms of surveillance were accessible, as were new forms of eugenics and their disastrous or utopian possibilities.[62] He defined technology as "first and foremost, the scientific rationalization of almost all action, because it's impossible to limit the technological field a priori."[63] This, he highlighted, meant there would be radical reevaluations of the meaning of education and reproduction.[64] All of this was also being thematized and methodically explored in art.

In this situation, what would or could be the function of the artist? Were they more like a film director, a promoter, or an engineer? The possibilities of a computerized automatism were entertained in the book *La machine à écrire: Mise en marche et programmée* (1964) by Jean A. Baudot. In advancing a literature without human authors, he stressed that the computer was able to "perform a wide variety of tasks" and with a prodigious speed.[65] Writer, director, and ti-popist Jacques Godbout praised this experiment, pointing out that even the Automatist painters had failed to be truly automatic enough, and he admired the electronic brain for its creativity and enrichment of language, concluding: "Automation threatens no one, except those who lack the imagination to occupy the times ahead."[66]

Some of the new art being shown in museums and galleries in the city by the late 1960s was indicative of an automatism distinct from the more romantic and expressive one of Sullivan or Roussil. With the increased insistence on framing art under an educational pretext and supplementing the work with textual definition, art was not only becoming more bureaucratized, it was becoming a more concrete expression of technocracy. The first exhibition of computer art in the Montréal occurred at the Musée des beaux-arts in March 1967, two years after the first showings of computer art, which occurred at New York's Howard Wise Gallery and Stuttgart's Technische Hochschule.[67] The Montréal institution had worked with McGill University's Cybernetic and Computers Society to put together the show. While an early exhibition by the Society had concentrated on geometric imagery that resembled op art, this exhibition was primarily figurative, distilling figures to their essentials.[68] Conflicted about the implications of this approach,

and the capacities of machines to produce images that exceeded the human imagination, Yves Robillard speculated on whether this was the art of the future, compared the potential of computer art to brainwashing, and suggested, "The effect of colours, lines and shapes on human psychology is currently being studied. We will soon be able to programme computers to produce shows along these lines. One show will have the function of producing this sensation, then another…"[69] Artists, one journalist noted, who had often been imagined as the enemies of "mechanized living," seemed to be welcoming the automation of art.[70] Habitat was an example of this, but the technofuturism of Expo and its blurring of the barriers between cinema, sculpture, architecture, and the viewer suggested potential expansion for what could be mechanized and how.[71]

However, a stark distinction between a more overtly mechanical and largely non-figurative art and one that was employing the figure, often the body and its organic products, is not always easily retained. In a 1969 article for *Vie des arts* by Yves Robillard on the new wave of sculpture in the province, "sculpture" was represented primarily by images of discos and Happenings as the signs of a new plasticity. Robillard noted that it was a time when vapour (Öyvind Fahlström) and excrement (Pierro Manzoni) could be sculpture and technology was dominating the evolution of plastic form. The singular artwork was increasingly displaced by décor; if the substance was "vapid," that was because the form took on the vague contours of the "environmental." For proponents such as Robillard, regardless of how rhetorically rebarbative some of this work may have been in its denigration of the traditional appreciation or experience of art, it clearly refashioned art in the model of consumer aesthetics and conducted useful psychological experiments on those who partook of it. According to Robillard, as this international trend developed in Québec, it took four basic forms, most of which were saturated with deliberate irony: *le spectacle total* (active participation that eliminated the distinction between performance and spectator); *l'environnement* (fusing previous plastic modes to urbanism); *la machine à création* (semi-autonomous machines created by artists that produced artworks); and *le document social* (deliberate provocations created to reveal social climates).[72]

An art of technique was one that would be effectively therapeutic and mythical, expressed in the creation of ambient environments and aversion therapies (protest art). As Automatist and *Refus global* signatory Jean-Paul Mousseau insisted, "I've always been very socialist. Cybernetic art is the only one that is definitely valid."[73] The art of Expo and the new public spaces that would accompany it combined myth and voyeurism. This was particularly the case in the clubs designed by Mousseau, such as the discothèques Crash and Spacthèque.[74]

Following the example set in France, the first discos opened in Canada and the United States around the same time, 1963. A few years after their initial opening in Paris, "the discothèque became a real institution of contemporary civilisation."[75] Perhaps no one was more directly responsible for the expansion of the disco scene in Canada than Gilles Archambault, who took inspiration from the nightclub scene in Paris.[76] By 1967 there were 150 of these clubs in the province, competing for greater audacity.

A *discothèque* was often defined as a space that creates a "pleasant environment," with music, décor, and go-go dancing.[77] The largest was the Métrothèque, decorated by Mousseau, while the most "elegant was le Cercle of Saint-Laurent St., decorated by architect Jean-Louis Robillard."[78] The first to open in Montréal was La Licorne, on January 17, 1963, followed by Le Baroque, Le Crash, L'Empereur, La Mousse-Spacthèque, Le Cachot, La Rose Rouge, Le Capricorne, Le Loup-Garou, La Guillotine, Le Chateau de la Bastille, L'Oré du bois, Le Don Juan, Le Drug, Le Mas des Oliviers, Le Marquis de Sade, La Boîte, and Le Bouffon.[79] The names were public relations tools, but also reminiscent of the titles common to Automatist and pop painting, suggesting bawdy or lewd content and an affinity for French authority.

Downtown discos tended to be the haunts of lawyers and secretaries, and decorum tended to be the norm, complete with compulsory neckties.[80] Of the discos, Crash was known for being the most youthful and modish, its clientèle decked out with coloured clothes and gold chains. It was also the least welcoming to anyone who wasn't in on the latest trends. On the other end of the spectrum, away from such deliberate modishness, one could find deliberate kitsch. In Rosemont, two police officers launched a

club "decorated in the pure Canadian style, [that] was baptised 'La Canadienne.'"[81]

An editorial on the rise of disco from 1970 was titled "Happening Permanent: Une chambre de torture thérapeutique," and the title summarizes what discothèques had become through their fusion of the drug-fuelled multimedia environments of art Happenings with the more commonplace features of clubbing.[82] Mousseau designed nine discothèques between 1966 and 1976, spread through Québec and Ontario.[83] These were, in some respects, a logical extension of his set designs for theatre and installations in high-class restaurants.[84]

This would be radicalized in Mousseau's "emotional rooms," in which the discothèque, "with its atmospheric creations…invites the spectator to react, provokes environmental behaviour, socializes the Happening, presents structures of animation."[85] In this, Mousseau had abandoned the art tools of fellow Automatists to embrace a new plasticity that acted as a form of engineering, dealing with chemistry and working more directly on the body. Conjuring affects, he would claim, would be just like using colours. Such engineered emotional fields, made possible by the industrial application of psychology, would be the "socialization of art."[86] While Expo would do this on a very large scale, the environmental art exemplified by disco was, for Mousseau, "a question of animating crowds" whose members were "liberated" by being activated by the environment.[87]

Anithe de Carvalho argues that the venture into nightclubs was an attempt to transform what was normally a space of alienated consumers into one for personal emancipation. Mousseau's aesthetic transmutation of discothèques would allow them to gain "a symbolic charge, expressed in particular by a décor and accessories with a sexual and eminently playful connotation."[88] In the club Crash, the space was dotted by fragments of cars—rearview mirrors, bumpers, and lights—off of which the strobing and coloured lights would bounce and music would echo.

Mousse-Spacthèque relied on a similarly fragmented use of light and extensive use of mirrors positioned to reflect and collapse space into both an illusory labyrinth and a shallow space of superimposition. Behind the bar were armless nude female mannequins

whose silhouettes were cast around the space while the smell of lavender was spread in the air by the ventilation system.[89] Mousseau's designs were echoed by those of stage designer Germain Perron as part of Expo's Citérama pavilion, which also involved statue figures. In the disco atmosphere of Mousse-Spacthèque, they were kitschy reproductions of classical Greek sculptures decked out with modern accoutrements (such as cans and robotic arms) and dramatically lit in multiple colours against staggered abstract scenery.

Keeping with the symbolic language of the refashioning of the city, Mousseau described the designed space of his discothèques as *féminine*, stating: "The mannequins at La Mousse are reminiscent of the female essence. They have no arms. It is the line of the body shapes that counts, and I dress these women with the slides of the spotlights. The leopard on the benches is a reminder of the beast and creates a tactile impression. The lines on the walls are there to break up the light projections, to give the sensation of another space."[90] To enter the composition, you had to meet the dress code designed to keep out the unstylish.[91]

Amid the go-go dancing,[92] de Carvalho suggests that the participants would be able to self-consciously reflect on their role as consumers, especially since they were in the middle of a spectacularized car crash. They would do this while taking part in a continually changing collective creation, one which was potentially therapeutic.[93] This "model of cultural democracy"[94] was one in which go-go music would be played along with Vivaldi and Stockhausen, and projections of the latest painting experiments beside images from *Playboy*.[95] It was also, perhaps, a playful mockery of the clichés of sexuality, or even an affirmation of them, since it suggested that the "artist associated the car accident with sexuality and nudity, thus joining a great classic theme of psychoanalysis: Eros and Thanatos."[96]

Absent from de Carvalho's social account of the disco, however, are the formal implications relevant to Automatism and thematized by the "accident" and its foregrounding of the non-intentional. The disco provided a frame for a continually shifting modulation of superimposed gestures akin to the surrealist exquisite corpse, using the bodies of dancers in the place of ink or

paint as an impersonal and collective expression of desire. Their shifting shadows and the glare from their clothing made them supplemental devices for the sculpting of light that clothed the static objects that dominated the space. Even with their exploitation of mythical symbolism, which, as with Expo, combined loosely antique Greco-Roman motifs with those of science-fiction, the disco can still be reconceptualized as an animated image of what Dalí deemed "the authentically unknown," quite indifferently to the therapeutic value it may have been accorded by those involved: dancers were cogs or materials to be moulded in the sex machine.[97]

Crash foregrounded the image of the urban as the space of erotic disaster and helped popularize trends in presentation and appeals to participation that would become commonplace in installation and performance practices. However, such spaces also seemed to stress a paradoxical introversion regardless of how public they were. Mousse-Spacthèque was supposed to be more "cerebral," with its reduced space for movement, which encouraged people to dance alone rather than with partners, and whose reputation filled dancers with anxiety about making *dépassé* moves in the modish crowd.[98] After four years, the Spacthèque was shut down and replaced by the Ève-club under female leadership, promising soft music for a relaxing atmosphere.[99] The performance-therapy model had changed.

The years that followed saw the emergence of other clubs, perhaps slightly less ambitious in conceptual justification. Located in the basement of Motel Le Vicomte in Laval, the Sexthèque used ultraviolet lights and projected nudes onto its mural-filled walls while psychedelic music played.[100] Even the fairly staid Playboy Club, which was advertised as a "family place" and where the bunnies mostly sang, delivered drinks, and cleaned ashtrays,[101] launched a disco where they played R&B and projected "slides that are both artistic and suggestive" for a crowd whose average age was thirty-eight.[102]

The most significant artistic competition to the Mousseau discos came from one of his long-time enemies. La Sexe Machine at 1460 rue Crescent was a "nest of erotica which include[d] an obscene parody of Michelangelo's handicraft on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel."[103] The décor was designed by one of the Automatists'

old polemical foes, the satirical cartoonist Robert LaPalme, and included "electrically-run cutouts that stray into interesting positions" and furniture made of "something called molded air foam," sculpted to look like contorted female bodies. They had also commissioned furniture with male genitalia, but the Toronto manufacturer refused to produce them.[104]

LaPalme insisted that La Sexe-Machine was erotic, not pornographic, clarifying that while porn was unhealthy, eroticism was traditional.[105] Archambault defined the shift from earlier discos: "At the Mouspathèque [*sic*], the emphasis was on the music because people, at that time, wanted music. Today, eroticism is a need in the same way. Religion and the evolution of life have brought about this revolution in the Western world: the conception of sex and the fear of sin are changing."[106]

The clientèle were mostly men and women in their thirties and forties, and foreigners.[107] The interior included two rooms that were "round, warm, comfortable and they offer this town's newest, latest, boldest display of erotica."[108] It featured mechanized furniture by Jacques Besner, former director of the Man at Work pavilion at Expo. "All the chairs in the room are made of pink, ultra-cushiony material—patterned with a hodge-podge of torsos, legs and fannies," commented one journalist.[109] It was advertised that patrons would be able to use the mechanized furnishings to send vibrations to one another.[110]

These erotic furnishings were set against the pornified recreation of ancient Greek art over the bar and replicas of Michelangelo's *Creazione di Adamo* (1508–1512) on the ceiling. Also over the bar was a mechanized male body made of rubber. The space was dotted with light fixtures shaped like buttocks. Besner insisted on the comedic aspect of the design: "I'm no hedonist, personally. But I think sex should be put in perspective. So I've tried to spoof it. Not to degrade it, not to be vulgar, but to invite healthy response to erotic stimuli."[111]

Far more tactile than the Mousseau clubs, it also stressed its thematization of eroticism to the point that it became satirical, sharing more in common with the city's penchant for theme restaurants done up like frontier forts than with the therapeutic idea of the Happening.[112] It was also something of a return to the aes-

thetic models of the burlesque (covered in the following chapter), now extended beyond the dancing body to the prefabricated body as furniture and décor. A frequent location for local celebrities to be photographed for the paparazzi of the tabloids, the club was also the launchpad for experimental fashion lines. One fashion show/performance in the club covered by *Le Petit Journal* was displayed under the header, "La Sexe-Machine surréaliste."[113]

Three weeks after the Montréal opening, Archambault was already launching into plans to expand to another location in Québec City that could replace the Mousseau franchise.[114] Sexe-Machines would open in Europe in the following years.[115] Archambault further extended the scope of the venue by making it home to weekly fashion shows[116] and, as an experiment, began having tables served by nudes: "Very pretty girls, gracefully thin and not roundly pornographic. A young man, slim and muscular, wears a g-string [*cache-sexe*] that says more than it hides."[117] This came with forbidding the presence of groups of men looking to party and catering primarily to couples. The journalist's account noted that guests initially tended to avoid looking at their nude servants until they were in the distance but quickly become acclimated.

The Neo-mythical Femme

While the spread and variation on these trends toward the incorporation of movement and nudity as aspects of an animated built environment will be mapped out in the following chapter, this one will end with a return to its beginning. This chapter opened with a discussion of the figure of the New Person, exemplified both by Sullivan's dance and Roussil's family figures. Both of these artists engaged with a form of primitivism as a way of imagining the future residents of Montréal and as means of channeling erotic energy. Put into practice, this had ironic results. Both ostensibly retained a romantic place for the artist as the central actor in an erotic drama. In Roussil's case, this went off the rails as his sculpture got caught up in other media which made a burlesque of it and which remediated the work against its initial intention, making it a spectacle as both a theatricalized object and as a print image. In the case of Sullivan, performance ultimately was secondary to the

work's appropriation and remediation into an interactive device. Both artists ended up relying on the uncertain and shifting media in which their work would appear. While the New Person was a mythical figure in one sense, they were also a demonstrative component of the transformation of space from ground to medium. This practice was driven even further in the discos we visited. As has been lightly touched upon, there was also a different way of trying to exploit this energy outside of either dance, disco, or sculpture: the Happening.

Happenings were multimedia events. Unlike traditional theatre, they deprivileged words and called upon a greater array of technical means, deployed largely to function non-synchronously. Regardless of how much they may have tried not to look like older art, most of these events were staged and followed a script (however vague) rather than being chance occurrences. While not fully improvisational, they were indeterminate, with no real focus of attention and often no necessary duration.[118] They tended to be designed to appeal to the whole sensorium, an appeal that could be compared to the experience of the urban core: "The comprehension of a mixed-media piece, then, more closely resembles looking at a street or overhearing a strange conversation than deducing the theme from a drama."[119] As Richard Kostelanetz insisted, rather than the literary theatre, Happenings were rooted more in the American traditions of the minstrel show, vaudeville, and (one could add) burlesque.[120] At the same time, Happenings also represented a new mode of naturalism that their detractors derided for being primarily imitative of the banal or mundane.[121]

Certainly the most high profile exponent of the Happening in Montréal was Maurice Demers, a former painter and sculptor who had turned to mixed media when he found these forms unable to deal with notions he had taken from his studies in psychology. He created his first environment in 1968 with singer Robert Charlebois, and his profile was raised with his work's inclusion in Expo.[122] Demers's events, he claimed, were organized around a "cardiogram," and audience responses calculated as pulses that would eventually result in them being open "to participation," with the goal of uniting everyone in "sincerity" through "consciousness-raising."[123]

In a polemic written for *Le Devoir*, he cast his work in explicitly McLuhanite terms, claiming that environments were the extensions of the human body. Artists, he argued, were supposed to assist "homo spatialis" in recovering their sensory faculties from both the sensual deadening of cities and, with an evident nod to Italian futurism, the "deserted cemeteries" of the museums.[124] The artist needed to return to the tribal and the primitive, to collapse the walls between disciplines, the public and the artist, destroying specialization and returning to "the sense of the festival."[125] This cybernetic view of art, which, thanks to technology, allowed the artist to become an animator of the masses, promised a return to the medieval: "A whole nation built its cathedral. It was art at the service of religion. Today, it is art at the service of man and and society."[126] He saw this expressed in the notion of art not as an object but as a total spectacle in which the human being takes part, amid all the other "contemporary materials" (light, sound, movement, colour, words, etc.).[127] Each of these aspects were intended to contribute to a heightened awareness of the environment and of the creative potential of the individual in constructing a new collectivity. Demers concluded, "The designer (*concepteur*) must transform himself into a cultural facilitator and try, with all his humanity and with the help of an entire community, to raise awareness of the need for man's place to become a place for the full blossoming of human potential."[128]

In the spectacle *Femme* (1971), co-produced by the National Arts Centre and the University of Ottawa, Demers constructed a "neo-mythical" work that he claimed addressed the universal theme of the rise of minorities and the coming of the "new Eve." It mixed rites with the everyday as it oscillated between the sacred and profane in depicting the struggles between the masculine and feminine, both as symbols (given a full glossary in a supplementary text) and as historical actors.[129] This was done using various strong geometrical forms, coloured lights, film projections, sounds, rituals, and declarative monologues combined with tableaux. All these strategies would be staples of his work in Montréal and shared much with the figurations that would be common in the city from Expo to the erotic industries described in the next chapter.

At the heart of *Femme* was the creation of an androgynous figure, which would also be central to one of Demers's major shows in Montréal. Performed in a parish church and sharing its title with a softcore porn film from the same year by Denis Héroux, *L'Amour humain* (1970) was based on conversations that Demers had with various couples. It attempted to examine the desire for happiness and social involvement. Designed using graphs to plot out and optimize audience response, the production was an exercise in quantification.[130] Its three stages and many screens forced the audience into greater intimacy with each other and the performers. People would yell questions at actors following the lead of plants in the audience, but these were usually drowned out and, when the energy dissipated, loud music would be played to transition. Visible sightlines, one critic complained, were often "vexing" in their evidence, and the sound of chairs moving so the participants could see the various stages usually drowned out most dialogue.[131]

Amid all this confusion, there was a short film sequence of male and female figures in the nude, illuminated by primary colours. The male and female were shown standing and slowly turning before their figures were superimposed, creating an androgyne. The merging of the sexes was of secondary formal importance to the use of colour fields as means to dematerialize the environment within which these bodies were suspended. If, in theory, the audience was to be bathed in the body transformed into a symbol, in practice, those who attended seemed lost as to whatever the significance was and could not help but notice the seams showing.

With Demers, we see a return of the identification of primitivism with the feminine that we encountered at the beginning of this chapter as central to the work of Sullivan, but which took on rather different nuances in the discos discussed. With Mousseau's mixed-media atmospheres, appeals to the classical and the futuristic were collapsed by mirrored reflections and light shows that were intended to have a rejuvenating value. In LaPalme's work, they were dissected and exaggerated to the point of satire, and came closer to the burlesque. In both cases, the space of encounter was not scripted and so was left open to a certain level of indeterminacy.

There was, however, a basic miscalculation in Demers's cybernetics and his desire to return to pre-typographic humanity. As his

primary point of reference, McLuhan, would have pointed out, the past era of tragedy is long over, replaced by the world of farce and absurdity and, more significantly, of absurdity over "realism" (the term here implying naturalism). For the former relies on a world of "diminished light values" in order to have its empathetic effect function through obscured clichés, while the latter, all-illuminated to the point of the grotesque, produces the farce "of seeing a world without a face."[132]

For all of Demers's talk about the collapse of boundaries and disciplines, the Happening or environment as he practised it still remained an exercise in control and manipulation, funded by grants from the Ministère des Affaires Culturelles (among other institutions) and restricted to easily defined and relatively conventional spaces for their spectacles. At the same time, however, as the next chapter will illustrate, the push for the spectacularization of the urban landscape had rivals that radicalized the notion of the environment-as-theatre beyond the limits of the artworld.

In the course of this chapter, we have concentrated on some of the disparate ways that automatism was transformed between the late 1940s and '60s. What I have highlighted has been a shift from a model of organic primitivism—one that incorporated the banality of gesture to raise it to the level of ritual—to the formation of a neo-primitivism that was incorporated into a banality that was being radically transformed through technology. Both were primarily concerned with forms of erotic rebirth: one that used the body symbolically and another that theatricalized the ways art acted on the body of the spectator, incorporating it as an aspect of the artwork. Not only was the figure appropriated by media, it became a media interacting (and being acted upon) with other media. To stay within the clichés of the time, the message and the massage were becoming indistinguishable just as the work of art was potentially becoming indistinguishable from the massage parlour. In the following chapter, the erotic potential of such intermediality will be examined by mapping out how these ideas played out even further from the traditional confines of art.

The image of the Québécois under technological conditions will be encountered frequently throughout this book and was generic to how eroticism tended to be conceptualized. In 1967, Edmund

Alleyn, another of the Automatists' old enemies and parodists, was seeking to present a "modern myth," figuring it in a fairly literal way with a series of prints and paintings that depicted couples copulating together, within and with various machines, electrodes strapped to their bodies and feeding back, the machinery pumping out babies and mannequin-like figures with or without brains and absent numerous limbs.[133] This sort of pop science-fiction imagery, which, in Alleyn, included no readily legible significance, was at play in the work of numerous artists, discussed above, who had shifted from more traditional artforms into the construction of environments, where it operated directly using the bodies of those who encountered it.[134] No longer artwork about this erotic machinism, they were an erotic machine art; a shift from depiction to demonstration.

Controversies that would arise in Québec had less to do with the nudity of the bodies of these new personalities than with their aesthetic treatment. In the increasingly cybernetic model of art and society being advanced by some intellectuals and state actors, a different "unconscious" mechanization of the world was taking precedent over that which had been imagined by the Automatists. Unsurprisingly, members of that group wound up being pivotal figures in the creation of the new urban environment, providing a very different spin on the eroticization of art and life. In the process, the formal reductionism of non-figurative painting gave way to a more open model of live figurative art and automatic modes. If Automatism stressed a convulsive stasis, this was transvalued in the age of Expo—the work of art ceased to be defined by its limited traditional armature and expanded to colonize swathes of urban life.

3

Montréal as Medium

The Montréal of the late 1960s was dramatically rebranded by the media and government officials. Will Straw has documented how "the image of a dark city controlled by secret, corrupt forces was at least partially displaced by a sense of Montréal as a bright, 'respectable,' and outward-looking city."[1]

As Friedrich Kittler has argued, traditionally, the city was symbolically the head of an organism and shared some analogies with royal power and personage. The modern city, however, is more like a computer: a vast technology of networks spread across its topography, putting the "skeletal infrastructure on the backside" of its built environment on display as an elaborate labyrinth.[2] Even with all its intersections and grids, a city is not a flat graph but a series of "pure media channels" (lights, transit, and other energy forms) that control flows through turn-ons and turn-offs, overlapping and superimposed.[3] As a form of media, its inhabitants are one "function" of the "play between commands, addresses and data."[4] In its functions and structures, the city is a medium as much as a place, if not more so.[5] This applies not only to its traffic lights and articulated districts, but also to the laws that determine the modes of figuration that can be activated within their various shapes. In our case, this applies to the rules that governed both the forms that figures could assume (ratios of nudity and variations in fashion), the spaces they could occupy, and the rhetoric which could be employed to clothe them (whether they were "culture" or not) and index them to phantasms of "social" referentiality.

The previous chapter dealt with the development of a series of erotic figures, primarily of an archetypal variety. These were developed very explicitly in relationship to different aspects of the city's environment, whether that was the snowy fields of the

suburbs, the streets of Montréal's downtown, or its discos. Dance and sculpture, sometimes directly interacting and blurring, were central to these developments, which were occurring outside of the traditional venues of the gallery and the museum. Some of this art appeared in fairly standard theatrical venues, but much of it happened in commercial venues, public streets, and domestic spaces. Furthermore, the extent to which experimental dance or sculpture had much of a tradition in the province at this point was severely limited.

While subsequent chapters will discuss how erotic imagery in Montréal became more automated and autonomized, specifically through the local print media, this chapter looks at how the sex scene of the city, already overlapping with the club scene of the previous chapter, also contained forms of erotic art that were informed by the city's specificity as a medium and relied on many of the techniques and notions that would be central to the city's new art, particularly to the growth of the Happening. If the definition and limits of what constituted art seemed to be more open than ever, this occurred when the city as a medium was becoming more "closed" than ever.

Unlike the mark-making or gesturality that were central to painting, what became central to the urban medium were the gestures of movement and the functions of clothing. The latter characteristic tended to be an inversion of typical figure-ground relations: features of clothing, whether a diaphanous shirt or g-string, functioned as mobile grounds through which the abstracted and fragmented body would poke and appear. While, as we will see, there were a series of highly localized ways in which this game played out—based on contingent rules, textiles, and the aesthetic intensification of banal actions—there was also one notable way in which it was enacted publicly, transforming the downtown core into an exhibition venue.

Downtown Montréal was only keeping in line with international trends when it joined in the development of an informal leisure activity known as "girl watching" that was encouraged by newspapers (through fashion and lifestyle spreads) and included its own handbooks, membership cards, and songs.[6] "For a brief period, the practice of looking at women seemed to be an officially sanctioned

and widely publicized pastime for men" that, simultaneously, was a way of negotiating the presence of women in the changing urban environment.[7]

While downtown, especially the business district around Place Ville Marie, provided the principal location for girl watching, the Expo grounds on Île Sainte-Hélène in 1967 offered an even greater venue for this ephemeral fad.[8] Girl watching demanded a savvy sense of architecture and fashion for the best viewing opportunities. Designer Mary Quant's miniskirt seemed to fuse the modishness of the environment to the body in a far more radical way than the animated environments of the world's fair did:

> Like the glass and steel curtain–wall modernist skyscraper, the miniskirt was a new form in urban space imbued with the values of progress, freedom, futurism, streamlined design, and ascension. Although architects have long espoused the potential for progressive living facilitated by the clean, functional lines of modern architecture, similar sentiments can be found within the discourse of fashion, particularly in relation to the miniskirt…[9]

The shifts embodied in fashion also extended to the presentation of Expo itself. In their designer uniforms, Expo's hostesses were idealized "single girls," who were independent wage earners and consumers, symbolically identified with the notion of the transitional city.[10]

The saleability of art as feminine expressivity—which, as we have previously noted, was basic to one branch of Automatism—found an echo in the symbolic rebranding of Montréal, notably in a new fountain erected at Place Ville Marie, centre of the city's girl watching. Commissioned by the Royal Bank and the Trizec Corporation, it was created by Toronto sculptor Gerald Gladstone. Designed to withstand most weather, the fountain had heated water and was illuminated night and day. At its summit was a nude female figure in bronze, without head or feet, posed to accentuate its curves to complement Mont Royal in the distance.[11] Titled *Female Landscape*, or *Présence feminine* (1972), it was claimed by the president of the Bank to be "an idea perfectly in keeping with the feminine charm

of Montréal; it is a fact that Montréal evokes the idea of a woman, with her gaiety and all her attractions; so we thought that nothing would be more appropriate than a fountain…"[12]

If such imagery may seem traditional, for the institution it was undoubtedly intended to suggest a futurism predicated on the erasure of tradition. According to *A Conspectus of Canada*, commissioned by the Royal Bank, "We can see more light than darkness in Canada's future," but the past needs to be forgotten, the "old planks" replaced to "build a good present and prepare for a better future."[13] The "future" was powered by the significant surge of economic development and state expansion that followed the Second World War. This included a "radically" new norm of "throwaway" or "discretionary" incomes that helped to fuel consumerism (before stagflation eroded the country's economic growth and exacerbated wealth disparities).[14]

The single urban woman served as one of the symbols of the Révolution Tranquille. Marcel Fournier condenses many of the basic rhetorical tropes of the revolution: the Grande Noirceur of the Duplessis era was figured as a form of introversion allied to the rural and folkloric while the Liberal revolution of Jean Lesage was figured as urban, open, and modern.[15] The catching up, or *rattrapage,* was a race to embrace the values and models of the rest of the country, as the federal Liberals had been encouraging the province to do for decades. Being modern was part of *becoming the same*, whether as more active members of confederation or continentalists, and was bound to the rise of the new bureaucratic class.[16]

But if Montréal was symbolically *becoming a woman* and, in the process, symbolically *becoming the same* as English Canada, this woman wore more than banking icons, miniskirts, androgynous outfits, and hostess uniforms. She also put on a bunny suit. When the Playboy empire was seeking to expand its continental reach, it looked north, and the prospect of the tourist influx from the world's fair made Montréal ideal grounds for their first Canadian club.

La Presse announced the Club's opening, planned for Bastille Day: "The Playboy Club of Montréal is looking for 35 beautiful Canadian girls. These ladies, from the very beginning, will participate in the inauguration of the Playboy Club on July 14th during

a black-tie ceremony to benefit the Muscular Dystrophy Association."[17] Whatever excitation it engendered seemed largely short-lived. In an interview with the CBC's *The Way It Is* that aired on September 5, 1968, one chain-smoking bunny spoke of the comical strictness and codification maintained by the corporation to keep the look-and-don't-touch taboo in effect. Another bunny, speaking with a speech impediment, predicted the inevitable boredom that would ensue. A few years later, in 1973, *La Presse* suggested, "The Heffner [*sic*] formula is outdated, at least as far as Montréal is concerned."[18] Germain Tardiff noted that there was an ongoing attempt to Montréalize the club: this included having fewer male employees than the American versions and having the bunnies sing.

Becoming Normal

The various symbolic costumes that were being employed were parts of concrete changes in the province. In Québec, the attempt to become "normal" would mean the shift from an economy based on land and accumulated wealth to one where cultural capital, amassed through the educational industry, would be central.[19] And although this meant greater mobility and so detachment from the specifics of place, it also meant a compensatory drive toward a more solidified identity. This, in part, helped to fuel the neo-nationalism in the province and the growing acceptance of state intervention in the economy, the arts, and other aspects of life: "Quebec was finally and unequivocally becoming a welfare state."[20] This was the state that the reformed educational system would supply with bureaucrats as sociologists and technocrats replaced priests. Marcel Fournier concludes (naively), "This was the triumph of the political over the tribal."[21] As the previous chapter suggested, certainly within the art and clubbing sphere, things seemed to become far more tribalistic.

Between 1941 and 1961, Montréal's population grew from 1,139,921 to 2,109,509. This included more than forty percent of the province's population.[22] At the same time, between 1959 and 1969, the birth rate in Québec fell by nearly half, a fall substantially more rapid than in the rest of the country.[23] This is attributable to factors including the availability of birth control and the increased role of

women in the labour force. For the technocrats who progressively took over the province, "Planning was to be the new panacea."[24] While this was a commonplace in the country by this time, urbanist André Lortie suggests that this had a peculiar inflection in Québec. He points out that, as the city increasingly lessened in economic significance, deindustrializing and losing financial value with the rise of Toronto, its planning became concerned primarily with development and regulation for the sake of the future.[25]

The greatest attention was paid to modernizing the downtown core, which was predicated on virtually razing the red-light district for which the city was infamous. In its place, with the influence of Le Corbusier often referenced and famed architects like I.M. Pei and Mies van der Rohe brought on board, Montréal's architecture began being recast in the International Style, so that by 1967 the city's reputation might be "reborn on the international scene."[26] The central structures in this renovation were Place des Arts and Pei's Place Ville Marie, built to house the work of the city's ruling bureaucrats.[27] Much of the rest of the territory freed up by the attempted erasure of the bordellos was reserved for low-income families and single women.

"Why are Montréal's women so chic? Is it the clothes or the women themselves? Who Knows? Who cares? Look!" gasped *Maclean's*, captioning a fashion spread that depicted models hanging off the armatures of this new architecture.[28] These women were among the sociological types—The New Montréalers—that the magazine claimed haunted the reborn city, like the bicultural WASP, gastronomy tycoons, and the peasant-connoisseur who was outlier to the city's large and influential establishment.[29] The transparency and "skin and bone" structure of the architecture in which such stereotypes were said to live shared much with what Reinhold Martin has suggested was the postwar "reenchantment" of the world that accompanied the lionizations of dynamism and "dispersed, de-hierarchized interactivity."[30] All of this was, certainly unintentionally, an echo of the New Person imagined by Sullivan, but more specifically shared a passing family resemblance to the self-mythification of urbanity basic to the rise of the Happening.

Mayor Jean Drapeau declared that Expo's great success was that it was "art- and culture-oriented," a "spiritual achievement" that

had "enveloped everything so totally" in its ambiance.[31] The rush to normalize the city for the international market, however, did not seem to be going smoothly to all. Its hybrid art-architecture was being derided by some as "Roccoism" [*sic*], a desperate attempt to humanize the sterility of its spaces: "Some of the recent architectural monstrosities of Montréal are good examples of monotonous technology trying to accommodate 'art.'"[32]

The logic of accommodation was central to how governmental actors were attempting to manage what was increasingly frowned upon as the residual decadence of the downtown core and the spectre of its *prostitution* specifically, what was understood as commercialized vice, or what we saw in the introduction referenced as one aspect of the erotic environment. Reformist lawyer Pacifique "Pax" Plante was an "abolitionist," which was explicitly bound in rhetoric to making vice obvious by bringing it into the light to be eliminated.[33] This sanitizing modernist gesture against accommodation was quite distinct from the "Victorian" clutter of earlier in the century, which had allowed vice to exist in relative silence. Both Plante and Drapeau rejected the notion that prostitution was an inevitability or a necessity, advocating for the radical moral reform of male desire.[34]

The war waged on vice was conducted almost exclusively by progressives and the left against the more laissez-faire tolerance of conservatives and the Church. Duplessis had appalled many by offering a theological justification for the tolerance of vice as a choice that should be left to one's conscience, not to the state.[35] While most cities, overtly or covertly, tolerated a restricted sort of red-light space, Montréal had been more overt than many in North America. The early twentieth century saw the growth of progressivism, which combined eugenics, feminism, social hygiene, and other doctrines into programmes for reforming what they considered the most reprehensible of capitalist excesses, namely vice. The suppression of vice in Montréal in the 1960s was in keeping with general North American norms and one aspect of the province's "catching up."[36]

Corruption and political conservatism in the government of Québec had made reform more difficult and allowed a red-light district to persist in the city longer than elsewhere.[37] Added to this,

the Catholic church was more moderate in its approaches to morality, preferring temperance over prohibition. The greater permissiveness regarding vice became part of the city's identity and aided the growth of its tourist industry.[38] In the postwar era, major illustrated American magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, etc.) became popular in the province, but offered a scandalized depiction of it as a backward, priest-ridden society.[39] Catholic periodical *Relations*, in particular, voiced much concern over the growth of illustrated and tabloid magazines whose salacious content offended the dignity of women.[40]

Cast as either sin or enslavement, dangerous to the sanctity of marriage and female dignity, prostitution may not have been precisely illegal, but practices associated with it—specifically in terms of the maintenance of milieus for events and advertising—could be. Furthermore, prostitution was certainly deemed immoral and "commercial vice" was castigated.[41] Nonetheless, many of the province's traditional theologians advocated tolerance and reform, while secularists did not.[42] At the same time that there was a growing commercialized sex trade, tourist and otherwise, the Catholic Church in the province was insisting on a renewed model of the family that positively stressed the erotic bond between spouses, the importance of a wife's happiness, and children's well-being, and attacked double-standards for the sexes.[43]

The proliferation of figures imagined in the media and by sociologists, combined with the construction of new architectural spaces just outlined, was generally mapped onto a fairly crude bifurcation between a mythical past (Grande Noirceur) and mythical contemporaneity (Révolution Tranquille).[44] The former's "darkness" was also heterogeneous (rather than diverse, modular, and cellular as exemplified by Habitat), pragmatically assembled, morally ambiguous, and aesthetically outlandish. Famously, in the post-Duplessis era, the members of the Union Nationale were renowned for their vibrant and garish fashion sense while those associated with the Liberals wore bland, grey, tight-fitting, staunchly linear clothes.[45] This is not to suggest a strict distinction between the decadence of the conservatives and the puritanism of the progressives. The diverse and the heterogeneous can both accommodate a great deal.

Go-go vs. Burlesque

Becoming more normal also seemed to imply becoming more banal, even pushing banality to the point of utopian fancy. Sullivan's image of the New Person gesturing "savagely" in the landscape was still highly formalized, even austere, compared to the loose, vague style of movement that became a major feature of popular dance. Both would be concerned with an abstraction of the banal into the expressive. Much like avant-gardism, go-go dancing had been symbolically associated with youth since it began.[46] The term suggested vivacious activity and lifestyles. Go-go outfits were commonly sold at most malls, but those who could afford it could also go to special boutiques, such as Blondy Luggage.[47] In 1966, you could find critics complaining about go-go youth and their contempt for adults, but this was rare and not terribly committed.[48] More often, you could find someone feeling bad for parents who only desired tranquility and who instead had children unable to remain still.[49]

Go-go dancing was programmatically assimilated into other youth activities like sports, sleighrides, and trips to the discothèque.[50] You could go to the Hotel Ottawa in Saint Hyacinthe for go-go and yé-yé dancing and music every night. While there, you could also catch ti-pop star Michèle Richard performing, as well as Guilda, "the king of the *travestis*."[51] The go-go was essential to festivals and charity events in the city and the countryside. Shawville would import Miss Go Go '66, Miss Go Go '67, and Mr. Yé Yé '66 to appear at their summer festival along with country and western singers and trained poodles.[52] They were advertised as part of the *fantasia de noël* at Place Bonaventure as entertainment for adolescents.[53] In 1966, a female go-go dancer in Montréal with no experience could make $110 a week.[54]

If the go-go was initially a mixture of the youthful, wholesome, and faintly glamorous, and explicitly tied to a specific consumer demographic, this passion for fashion and movement was transformed considerably when it entered the realm of the topless. In the United States, go-go dancing became an integral aspect of the topless and bottomless scenes that evolved on the West Coast and

spread outward.[55] Go-go provided it with an array of loosely formalized dance clichés but also the celebration of a more eccentric and gestural dance. The dancer may have moved in a group, but they could just as readily dance isolated in a cage. Bound to a sleek and simplified fashionable androgyny (much as Sullivan sported in her dance), the go-go look lacked key factors that the routines of striptease artists had relied on: the convolutions of costume and the delays in action that these entailed.

It was an eroticism of immediacy and incorporation; its reliance on the banal provided it a means to assimilate gestures continually and adapt to almost any conditions of performance and juxtaposition. Existing as expression with indeterminate or irrelevant content also made the context largely immaterial since its communicative value was so minimal. In its openness, it was simultaneously entirely reductive; ultimately, it was expression-as-expression and in this it fulfilled a role that had been hoped for by radical formalism. So, it is no wonder that this way of eroticizing the body was so at home in the discos.

By contrast, the burlesque striptease was cynical and satirical. At its most sophisticated, it was constructed as a meta-commentary on sexuality that undermined its presentation as a crudely spectacular attraction.[56] As Rachel Shteir has stressed, the go-go "projected youth, energy, and slimness instead of striptease's voluptuous, languid elegance. Rather than promote the ideal of sophisticated cosmopolitanism, go-go asserted irreverence, a disdain for formality, and more movement than striptease could contain."[57] The striptease's critical self-consciousness, confrontation, and satire was absent in the enthusiasm of the go-go.

Topless (sometimes termed "exotic") dancing emerged with the decline of the burlesque and the rise of the go-go. Previously, Montréal had possessed a reputation as one of the burlesque capitals of North America with Lili St. Cyr in the lead and the Main a location for celebrated venues like Le Roxy and Le Gayety. St. Cyr was notable not merely for her international fame but because she gave burlesque a new nuance. Divorcing it from its tight relationship with comedy, the bawdy, and with relatively plump or curvy proportions, St. Cyr was taut, streamlined, physically controlled to the point of verging on the mechanical, and not funny. Often per-

forming with no auditory accompaniment and against elaborate décor, her routines tended to rely on pastiches of historical figures and pulp fiction that offered fantasies of victimhood.[58]

The routines that drew so many to her were largely Orientalist harem girls and Salome, jungle goddesses, Indian maidens, and other incarnations of a wide range of female archetypes, in addition to the bubble bathing she made famous. Her figure extended beyond the stage and the tabloids into the street, where she was mobbed by crowds of fans while appearing on the arms of the city's mobsters. As she recalled: "In Montréal, I was the femme fatale I had always dreamed of being. When I walked down St. Catherine Street on my way to the theatre, crowds would form as I passed. Men would stop what they were doing and watch me walk by. I had a crepe dress whose train flew behind me when it was windy. Every time I wore it for my walks, I created quite a scandal."[59]

In one of her more infamous routines, she deftly exploited her well-publicized propensity for suicide attempts by ritualistically stripping before simulating suicide on stage with the help of a stunt double.[60] One journalist stated that, "Lili St-Cyr as Salomé, Scheherazade, was a dazzling spectacle, erotic without vulgarity, sensual without pornography. For men brought up on sexual taboos, she represented the sinful woman, the tempting and forbidden Eve, and all the more desirable for that…"[61]

With its exploitation of the exotic and the ritualistic, her own media image, and the conflation of sex and death, her routines clearly shared some kinship, however unintended, with the surrealist stripteases that we have already encountered. Her role as mobile erotic icon who brought exhibitionism into the banality of the streets was another instance of what we have and will continue to see as one of the primary deployments of erotic art. In its satire and exploitation—of context as much as the body—it shared an enormous amount the work of LaPalme, either as cartoonist or as disco designer. All of these traits were, as we will see later, also central to ti-pop.

As much as St. Cyr may have been identified with the city's highly eroticized image, to the point that one parliamentarian claimed that she and Maurice Richard were the only French Canadians known outside the province,[62] Chantal Hébert has noted

that burlesque was in steep decline by the 1950s, not least of all because of the rise of television, to which many of its comedians migrated. Dancers had been secondary or marginal, whether alone or in groups, to this mode of theatre in the province. Strippers were even more rare and were not likely to be seen in the burlesque houses but in cabarets and bars on the Main, where they had to be careful to avoid being caught performing by the morality squad.[63]

Mocking the ribald reputation of the city was integrated into at least one striptease in a production by Maurice Gauvin in 1956. The revue consisted primarily of sketches mocking the municipal administration mixed with various fantasy and musical interludes. These were unified by "the physical talents of Fabienne Scheers, a statuesque blonde; showing off her pretty legs in all their length, she carries the titles of the sketches on a dozen or so signs. At first the audience has the impression that it is not Montréal, but she who is 'naked,' but unfortunately this is only an illusion, because as soon as the signs are removed from her arms, Fabienne Scheers appears modestly dressed."[64]

Striptease shows had a wide audience from students to pensioners. But the world of such burlesque dancing changed, largely displaced by "exotic [topless] dancing," as the scene shifted further to the east side of the city.[65] In early 1966, *Télé-radiomonde* praised *Vive l'amour* by the Pierre Franck troupe at Casa Loma and claimed, "The world of entertainment is also undergoing a quiet revolution. The most daring shows from the big capitals come to present their grandiose display here, or even sometimes take up residence."[66] But such revues were soon passée.

Toplessness in Town

In 1967, at the age of fifty, St. Cyr was charged by police for indecent performance, an act that helped herald the pre-Expo crackdown on vice in the city.[67] The police stressed it was not toplessness but the indecency of gestures that were being targeted. A new by-law prohibited night club employees from sitting with customers to avoid solicitation and robbery.[68] Legal conceptualizations of

toplessness were prone to varied interpretation, but they were as much or more concerned with movement or clothing as with the revealing of flesh. For instance, Montréal municipal court judge Marcel Marier declared topless costumes not obscene in a case against dancers and the manager of St-Laurent's Blvd.'s Au Petit Baril. Police admitted that the arrests were inspired by the costume and not the dance. This judgement followed an earlier decision by Judge Pascal Lachapelle, who had deemed topless costumes not obscene in themselves.[69]

Plans to bring in dancers from the famous Crazy Horse club in Paris for the strip show *L'Antre du diable*, to be performed at a venue in La Ronde for Expo, were forbidden.[70] *Photo-Journal* complained of the "the puritanism of our municipal councillors" despite the fact that only those over twenty would be allowed to enter.[71] By 1971, the police had closed more than one hundred venues allowing toplessness, leaving few to remain.[72] Of the "four categories: go-go dancers, walkers (walk-on girls for someone else's act), strippers and exotic dancers," only the last two were likely to earn a living ($300–500 a week).[73] The new dancers "mimed the traditional gestures of the 'bump and grind' without conviction."[74] The last attempts to keep burlesque-style striptease alive as a popular artistic form were Follies Royales (which only lasted a few years) and an effort to create a cabaret at La Ronde that quickly fell apart. The city's reputation for modesty increased thanks in no small part to crackdowns from Mayor Drapeau and "Pax" Plante. It did not help matters that the American Guild of Variety Artists placed most Montréal clubs on a blacklist. Striptease became mostly clandestine, and the major acts departed for Europe.[75]

In the clubs, few of the topless dancers were from Montréal. Most performers came from small towns and more money could be made travelling to isolated rural areas than in the city. One successful dancer also suggested that the decline in the strip scene by the end of the 1960s was due to the audience becoming more aesthetically worldly: "Montréal, says Tamara [The Body Beautiful], is finished as a place for strippers. 'The police were right,' she maintains. 'What many of these girls were giving was a vulgar show. They had fat stomachs. And large boobs. Their legs were thick.

Now Canadians have travelled and expect better things. There's really only a market now for good strippers.'"[76]

La Presse claimed that the striptease was obsolescent in the age of mini-skirts and bikinis, where you could easily see as much gyrating flesh on the street or the beach as in a club, not to mention in magazines ready-to-hand. Not only was the stripper "useless," stripping was "the eroticism of the poor."[77] As if testifying to the antiquated quality of the striptease, a large revue assembled by comedian Gilles Latulippe was sure to include a routine by Manda Parent, who was in her sixties at the time.[78] The striptease did not simply disappear, however.[79] It may have become less popular, but the industry was also being slowly bled dry by police pressure and harassment that made it impossible for performers to pay the legal fees that came with their art.[80]

As the 1960s ended, *Reuters* would declare that toplessness had become boring around the world. Nudity had become too commonplace; miniskirts and see-through blouses soon replaced it for popularity. Meanwhile, topless waitresses were banned in Japan, unwelcome in France, boring in California, decried as "degenerate" by communists, condemned by the Vatican and by nudist movements around the world.[81] Yet, toplessness continued to have a profile in Montréal thanks largely to nude singers, such as former Mouseketeer Marilyn Apollo,[82] and gimmick bands.[83] It also came to signify a lack of undergarments rather than nudity. Toplessness was increasingly "genteel" and "apologetic" in Toronto, but in Montréal it was about making a show of its banality as it drifted from the traditional arenas of performance.[84] One good example of this was the rise of topless snack bars and restaurants.

Toplessness in this instance primarily implied that the waitresses would wear a diaphanous top or an unbuttoned blouse with no bra. The labour market in Sherbrooke was swamped with enough of these servers that male waiters launched a protest and sent a petition to the mayor alleging job losses thanks to itinerant topless dancers driving them into unemployment.[85] At least according to ads posted in *La Presse*, in 1975 a "topless" waitress in a restaurant, could earn a minimum of $250 to $300 a week, which was between two and three times as much as the rate for domestic ser-

vants or sewing machine operators.[86] At the Guisitini Steak House in St. Leonard, topless breakfast was served as early as 5:30 a.m. This was part of a general trend for snack bars, especially in more suburban areas.[87] Such a situation made the police uncomfortable, leading to the arrest of a woman working at the steak house. Although this case resulted in an acquittal, arrests continued.[88] The Guistini Steak House had approximately seventy "interventions" from the police in one year. The owners accused authorities of harassment, alleging the police would regularly camp out in the parking lot and photograph topless servers.[89] This was policing becoming a mode of aesthetic intervention when banal gesture (serving food, walking across a room) had been raised beyond the heightened reality-as-performance of the Happening to the fusion of the go-go (abstracted banality) and the burlesque (exaggeration and parody).

As with stripping, toplessness was as much about fashion as it was about the flesh exposed. Clothing provided the frame and staging that heightened the potential eruption of the fleshly image. In this respect, it was not the architectonic body of the burlesque dancer that was woven into a condensed theatrical routine, but the fragments of the body that could unpredictably be glimpsed through an exercise of anti-abstraction that potentially disrupted the continuity of banality.

With this saturation of the market to the point that even its potential flashes of flesh were being erased by banalization, the proponents of stripping had to push further to differentiate themselves. In this respect, gesture came to have as much weight as clothing, providing the other means not only for the creation of erotic tension, but potential significance or suggestiveness that the clichéd informality associated with go-go had largely mitigated.

A tabloid profile of one stripper was sure to dress her in realist clichés, depicting her bursting into tears as she explained that she danced because it was the only job that paid enough to support her and her son after the father left to work in James Bay, a situation dramatized by her posing nude while bathing her child. She danced fully nude until the morality squad started forcing women to wear panties. With the competition from topless restaurants,

this ruined business. When dancers would strip fully regardless of prohibition, they would be caught by plainclothes police. This was in violation of a Supreme Court ruling.[90]

Ruling on the Kelly Johnson case in October 1973, Justice Ritchie of the Supreme Court of Canada asserted "that a dancer could no longer be indecent if she was simply naked on stage. On the condition that she 'not touch herself.'"[91] L'Association Québécoise des Cabaretiers advocated for altering Law 170 and finally got a ruling from Judge Ritchie which stated that nude dancing is not a moral offense, a spectacle does not fall under the laws of decency, and a theatre or cabaret are not public spaces.[92] The private parts of the stripper remained private when clothed by the atmosphere of the club.

Perhaps the most successful strip club of the time was Le Sextuple, which featured a continually changing roster of dancers (at one point, 105 strippers and go-go dancers) slotted to approximately fifteen per day. Most were former go-go dancers who also worked as secretaries, stewardesses, and nurses. The theatrical isolation of the act that had been central to burlesque had given way to the performance as part of a generalized atmosphere delineated, when it was, by the framing of light and sound.

The dense inner atmosphere of such spaces, typically filled with dark furnishings and lighting in primary colours, contrasted starkly with their exteriors. One façade, presented in *La Patrie* as emblematic of such clubs, clashed brickwork and metal grids against painted verticality. Superimposed against its strong vertical lines were a series of diagonally positioned photos of dancers within a wooden vitrine. To its side was a large, crudely drawn image of a large-breasted server with a jagged text balloon promising toplessness, while below, in austere lettering, there was an additional notice that erotic films would be projected—echoing the already antiquated forms of the Happening and the stag party.[93] In composition, the visual logic of the face of the club was almost indistinguishable from the pop art we will later encounter.

In terms of advertisements, the visual logic of stripping tended to be graphically condensed and was mostly evident in the press outside of the city. Two striptease ads for shows in Trois-Rivières, published together in *La Nouvelliste*, stress the ways that nudity

3.1 Image of a Montréal topless club, published in *La Patrie: L'Hebdo des canadiens-français*, December 21, 1975, 3.

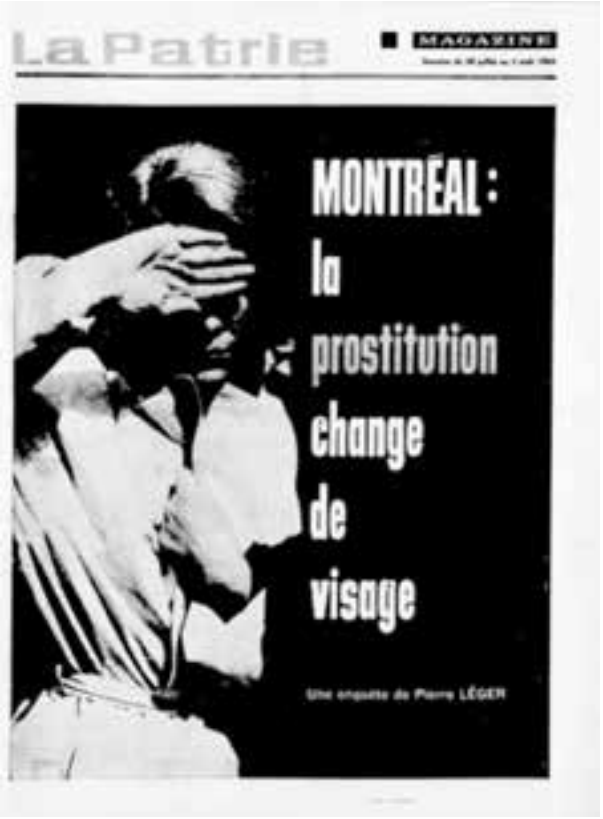
could be exaggerated by being parenthesized: one featured Trixie Delite, who was Miss Nude Canada, depicted entirely nude save a pair of shoes. The other was for Kim Wood, who the ad explained was a "man who had become a woman thanks to surgery," who would strip completely nude between sets of accordion music.[94]

While the consistent crackdowns on strippers and toplessness in the city during the 1960s and '70s received little coverage in the more respectable press, one incident of dancing garnered considerable attention. This was when visiting troupe Les Ballets Africains was hit with criminal charges thanks to dance routines that included bared breasts. The dance company, from the Republic of Guinea, had been touring cities in Ontario and Québec, performing without significant protest and even with the support of local clergy.[95] In Montréal, the morality squad went after them at Théâtre Maisonneuve de la Place des Arts. Spokespeople for the police explained, "There is a municipal by-law that prohibits such performances. We understand that this is a folklore troupe…"[96] Relying on paragraphs one and two of article 152 of the Criminal Code, the authorities charged Elise Pouliot, producer of the show,

with inciting girls under the age of eighteen to take part in an immoral exhibition. In turn, the girls were also charged for participating. After the original visit from the morality squad and summonses, the dancers continued to perform as usual and no officers showed up with additional charges.[97] Troupe members were perplexed by the charges[98] and the event made Montréal a laughingstock in the Canadian press.[99]

At the trial, those testifying spoke of the lack of audience titillation, of its quality as an aesthetic spectacle, and its folkloric value. Michel Cartier, a choreographer and folklorist, asserted that the dances were not erotic but religious.[100] This was also the position that polemics in the press tended to take on the issue, with *L'Action* proclaiming, "More than folklore, the rites and dances of the African Ballets reach the essential of joy, strength of the body, liberation of the soul and grace."[101] In *La Tribune*, it was suggested that the only real scandal was police intervention. Dances are cultural rites that should be respected, they argued. While the show may have been designed to deliberately play on its exoticism, the folkloric aspect trumped any eroticism that the viewer could project on it.[102] The case for the defense insisted on the "purely folkloric and artistic" qualities of the performance.[103] The court found in their favour. The dancers were declared not guilty and Pouliot innocent of corrupting minors.[104] In this instance, rendering something "culturally significant" was a means to eliminate nakedness and to set a bar against eroticism.

This scandal entered the public discourse, coming to signify the absurdity of controversies over eroticism. When hundreds of copies of the first and second issues of local publication *Sexus* were seized by police, its editor, Yvan Mornard, claimed the magazine was about "engaged eroticism" and "[i]f the African Ballet is pornographic, everything down here is pornographic."[105] More colourfully, when the Marxist journal *Parti pris* attacked the expansion of the Liberal state, it was done in reference to this incident: "Indeed, if he moves in the direction of federalism, it is Noëlla who becomes angry and appears without veils: yet to language and culture, the two breasts of his nationalism, he offers nothing to support them, no economic or social instrument: he is like the dancers of the African Ballets."[106]



3.2 Cover for the magazine section of *La Patrie*, week of July 29 to August 4, 1965.

Genres of Prostitution and New Forms of Pornography

Accompanying the transformation of the city's public spaces into the spectacular and largely informal catwalks for girl watchers, by the accounting given in the press, street prostitutes and brothels fell into sharp decline as the "call-girl" rose within the possibilities opened by technological advance. This development had begun earlier, noticeable enough in 1956 for tabloids to report that call-girls were becoming a "new vogue" when prostitutes began losing faith in the safety and reliability of "blind pigs."[107] The "boutiques" where prostitutes were on display went into recession. Fifteen years after the inquest on commercial vice, the Montréal police insisted that there were no longer any bordellos; they had stamped out any

growth of commercial sex without tolerance—Montréal was now a closed city.[108] The Caron Inquiry had revealed that in the 1950s the general population was aware and tolerant of prostitution in the city, as were the police.[109] If, starting at the beginning of the 1960s, vice was pushed out of the city, it did not disappear but moved into the suburbs and into rural regions of the province when it did not rematerialize, adapting to the very different architectural environment of downtown and its "skin and bones" structures. The constant apparent erasure and sudden reappearance of prostitution would be a staple of journalistic discourse for years:

> This is the great game of prostitution, whose solicitors are generally refugees, sometimes alone, sometimes in pairs or even threes, in a few thousand small flats of the "bachelor" type. Modern day brothels for modern times! The Morality Squad may harass this entire universe…the call houses resurface like weeds. Rare are the prostitutes who will occupy the same space for more than two or three months. Within the ever-expanding circle of the city, they move around more often.[110]

The Gazette reported that, by 1970, brothels had almost vanished. 374 charges related to prostitution were levelled in the previous year, leaving only a few streetwalkers and some club hookers, with "call-girls" dominating the hierarchy. Two reasons were given for this: the application of vagrancy law under which street walkers were usually prosecuted, and the ready availability of the pill.[111] Within two years, however, one tabloid suggested that the city had once again become the "open city of the 1940s" with prostitution networks operating without "too much interference from the police."[112]

The most extended account of the city's sex industry in the period, *Montréal insolite* (1974), was written by journalist Claude Jodoin[113] with photographer Gerald Merckel. Jodoin's book is less important for its historical data or minimal narrative than it is for the catalogue of tropes of the city's commercial erotic art that it provides. He offered a guided tour of the city's nightlife, which "constituted a world apart, with special rules where habits and cus-

toms had been established."[114] The nightlife of the city had been repeatedly attacked by moral reformers over the preceding decades, forcing the *filles de joie* from the streets and into the phone books. "And," they wrote, "by closing the City completely, the Municipal Authorities have only opened its borders."[115] From the mid-1950s, consistent crackdowns on the city forced much of the nightlife underground and to the clandestine fringes.[116] In spite of the "rigid" surface and laws that had marked the space over the coming decades, one could still discover anything desired, from LSD to gay marriage to prostitutes of all shapes, as well as orgies, and "masculine love."[117]

To delineate the background for the erotic tropes of the city in 1974, Jodoin maps out a set of openings and closings for ready sexual access, rooting twentieth-century Montréal's sex scene in military reforms around soldiers' access to the city for prostitutes and casual sex during the Second World War. While bawdy houses were banned, bordellos nonetheless popped up and vice was generally tolerated by authorities. Much as in Toronto, this became concentrated within a square.[118] As one sociologist outlined:

> The professional zones form a huge quadrilateral bounded by Guy, Amherst, Sherbrooke and Dorchester streets; in the east, facing Saint-Denis and Saint-Laurent streets with southern boundaries near the port. Within this territory, women operated in specific sectors: the western sector includes the bars and clubs located west of Bleury, up to Guy Street, centre of railway stations and large hotels. Then there is the Main and the clubs east of Amherst, Mount Royal Street and even some dancings in the north of the city.[119]

The area was stacked in price, with the north being the most expensive and the south the cheapest. Nestled amid the various nightclubs, which closed at 2 a.m., 312 Ontario, located directly across from the local police station, was one of the most famous bordellos on the continent and offered services from five to fifteen dollars. At least a hundred smaller *maisons closes* were located in the streets around it.[120] Together, these formed the red-light district, which employed about 600 women. Pimps and gigolos would fill

the streets by 3 a.m. and consumers would often end the night at the local Italian restaurants.[121] The "Grills" of the district were cabaret/restaurants, spaces that catered to men picking up prostitutes. They were notable for their unpleasant odour and for decorating their walls in erotic paintings featuring "semi-naked, heroic women, in small bras and short pants." Imagery was also known to include Hawaiian themes and "half-nude negresses."[122]

This began to change in the mid-1950s.[123] While the crackdown on vice was carried out very publicly, one commentator writes that the district was "not a victim of moralism but of urbanization…"[124] When Jean Drapeau was elected mayor, the sex industry was forced to become more clandestine as part of the city's attempt to modernize. "Within two years, the 'REDLIGHT' had disappeared, replaced by a huge HLM…"[125] Prostitutes turned more to plying their trade in bars and working as strippers and "artists."[126] This led to increased competition among workers and extreme increases in pay rates.[127] With Expo 67, Drapeau's administration introduced Law 3416 to crackdown on "fraternization" between women and their clients.[128]

While some argued that brothels were a means to control and curb the potential sexual misconduct of men (and the spread of disease), many sociologists and criminologists opposed them, arguing prostitution was a contemporary form of slavery and suggesting that tolerance of it represented a patriarchal moral standard that the rise of feminist legal concerns forbade. In the place of the legalization of prostitution, they advocated for its abolition through extended social programming (primarily rehabilitation facilities and education).[129]

According to a contemporaneous study by sociologist Thérèse Limoges that was stripped down to caricaturish outlines for *La Presse*, prostitutes came primarily from broken homes, and were usually "the asocial, the mentally deficient, the maladjusted, the temperamental, the pleasure seekers."[130] If police repression diminished the brothel scene in 1960, it had already been reinvented by 1961, moving into furnished apartments shared by two or more women, either working by phone or circulating through cabarets. Changes in technique and interior decor were also reflected in types and geography: "The hierarchy between the west and St. Laurent Street

is also established in terms of the category of girls and the means of the clientèle."[131] Most prostitution had become clandestine and moved out of the streets.

In the absence of a direct pimping system, arrangements had to be made by clients through large tips to maître d's and hotel clerks. Prices again escalated, now to a minimum of two to three hundred dollars in the high range and fifty on the lower end, with bar and disco prostitutes ranging between thirty-five and seventy-five dollars per hour.[132] While easy access to pimps or willingly informative cab drivers was rare, there was an escalation in the growth of call-girls.[133] Those who did not work for madams or pimps could advertise in papers using numbers: 720 for *Montréal-Matin* and 812 for *Journal de Montréal*.[134] *La Patrie* noted that the call-girl was essentially the harbinger of the Social Insurance Number and the replacement of the specificity of names with bureaucratic numeration, one of the basic signs of Canadian modernity.[135] Call-girls, like the telephones that made them possible, were understood as technicians servicing "the most polymorphous sensations" while escorts served as signs of prestige.[136]

The change in prostitution meant a concomitant change in pornography, if we understand the term in its most literal sense as the documenting of prostitutes. Like the press coverage of bordellos, police aesthetics for prostitutes (mug shots, stark exteriors of bordello buildings) followed the clichés of journalistic and sociological representation, taking these images as indexes of existential subjects and social milieus. This was in keeping with one of the norms of pornography. Despite the dismissals of pornographic representations as being "dehumanizing" displays of "depersonalized organs" that would be central to debates on obscenity throughout the 1970s and '80s, it was equally commonplace to humanize or sentimentalize the image, linking it to banal biographical details.[137] Presenting a person as an organ or treating them organically as a subject within a meaningful social nexus are both pornographic techniques.

Blurring things further, the tabloid form (discussed at length in the following chapter) allowed for a rival, far more abstract model of representation than journalistic photography provided. Equally indexical, it was almost indistinguishable from stock reports. Rely-

ing on the contrast between letter cases and the use of symbols (circles and stars), sex was graphically indistinguishable from anything else. Under the 720 or "Divers" heading of *Montréal-Matin*, bookended by sections dealing in abortions and divorces or snow removal equipment, the section contained ads for escorts (usually delineated by ethnicity, weight, pregnancy, and other physical differentiations), sex shops, and sex dolls. The narrow rectangular boxes might contain texts such as "At home I am just like you think I am," "Our playgirls are waiting for playboys," "Opening special," "Making you relax is our business" along with an address and phone number.[138] This mode of textual presentation was not wholly new and bears some resemblance to the earlier *cartes de visite* that would be circulated for brothels, which were even more minimal, colourful, and evasive.

Prostitution continued to multiply under more signs, perhaps less abstract than numbers. Commercial sex was advertised with the figure of the masseuse, the hostess, and even the "tourist guide."[139] Other advertisements promised models who would strike "lascivious and provocative poses" so that they could be photographed.[140] Further variations of this would include having the model dance or "practice a 'happening.'"[141] In either case, the client rented a space, a figure, and often a technology as part of the sex event. These events would take place in studios and would not necessarily involve physical contact. As a lawyer for the police noted, in this overt aestheticization of prostitution, it became difficult to discern it from art practice. It was not simply that visual art was a means to make prostitution invisible, it confounded what defined art, since "the frontier between art and pornography is often difficult to establish."[142]

There was a gradual erosion of the *boîtes de nuits* from the end of the 1960s to the middle of the 1970s as Casino Français, Lodéo, Canaste, Casa Loma, and other well-established clubs shut down, to the point that "[t]he diehards will soon be presenting only transvestite shows."[143] Gang warfare tore through the Main in the 1970s, filling it with flop houses and tattoo parlours. Even with all of the violence, the area nevertheless gained the reputation for tameness: The Main paled in comparison to Toronto's Yonge St. after its liberalization of morals.[144] Rather elegiacally, Daniel Proulx com-

mented, "The paint on the extinguished neon signs is chipped, the pictures of the pin-ups stuck in the windows are faded."[145]

Amid all of these alterations, visible in the architectural remaking of downtown districts, the heightened abstraction of the role of prostitute became more extreme. If they were promiscuous in their assumption of parts to fit into any available accommodation, *Le Petit Journal* suggested that they could also remain a kind of eternal figure, as in the archetype of the courtesan.

> The courtesan has existed since time immemorial. She has had the most diverse names, but it has always been the same type of woman, which man can describe as follows: the courtesan is essentially an affectionate person who is sometimes capable of sincere love and has a propensity for luxury. She can experience very strong joys and deep sorrows in the life she leads with her lover, who is also often replaced in the course of her life.[146]

Call-girls were a sub-genre of this "genre de femme," coming from all walks of life and practising the genre to "supplement her budget or afford certain fantasies."[147] According to a cataloging of the tropes of the genre provided in one tabloid, unlike in the dense atmospheres of bordellos, call-girls rarely provided drinks. Male clients would have to bring the alcohol or pay high fees for it. Rather than the kitsch design associated with bordellos, filled with *art pompier* and exotica, the call-girl's space was likely spare and closer to the latest styles from the mall. Following the shifts of the tourist seasons, summers were the low points for business (tourists rarely travelling alone) and autumn the high. Transvestism was not uncommon among their practices, and neither were golden showers and scat, various other fetishes, or lesbian shows put on for clients. These all relied largely on the restrictions of the network that had been amassed and was managed.[148]

The morality squad planned to introduce wiretapping (*tables d'écoute*) in a bid to stop the spread of "call-girl networks" in the city.[149] Six such networks had been found over 1968 and they spread across the country from coast to coast. Although its participants were urban and suburban, they posed special problems to trad-

itional surveillance of sex traffic because they rarely involved vagabondage, the key charge that had allowed for the creations of individuated dossiers ordered under a model of photo identification.

The police were involved in attempting to create a concrete map of a practice that was defying the familiar forms of representation. Even the press was having difficulty. There was something almost inordinately banal in the photos of bordellos that were collected and published in media—nondescript shells with no hint of their contents. This visual blandness was even more striking in the context of their descriptions as sites of illicit activities. But without the same type of specialized physical space, the call-girl slipped out of one journalistic mode of depiction and into another, from the photograph to the advertisement.

The pornography of prostitution was putting up barriers to its narrativization, stressing instead the numerical and auditory logic linked to the programmed event. It is no great wonder then that McLuhan saw in the call-girl one of the soundest examples of the effect of telephone technology. They were a way of fusing a multitude of functions, a perfection of bureaucratic structures and the synthesis of numerous senses.[150] Prostitution was a specialized and homogeneous practice, but the call-girl operated in a heterogeneous mode: "the call-girl not only lives at home, she may be a matron. The power of the telephone to decentralize every operation and to end positional warfare, as well as localized prostitution, has been felt but not understood by every business in the land."[151]

At the same time that Drapeau's reforms had forced the transformation and multiplication of outfittings for straight sex, Jodoin observes, Trudeau had pushed for the Omnibus Bill and the "third sex" were freed from a "tedious secrecy in which they had to confine themselves since time immemorial."[152] *Travestis* were walking the streets openly and Montréal had become the capital of the "'gay' people of America."[153] They had their own clubs, but were often excluded from discos, unlike gays and lesbians who were commonly found there.[154]

Moving along on his tour, Jodoin observes that orgies were a rarity in the age of bordellos but had grown considerably more common as the authorities cracked down on prostitution.[155] The orgy world was less easy to access, negotiated through newspaper ads

and occasionally through pimps or other agents. These channels were highly exclusive zones reserved for "organized spectacles," entrance reserved primarily for young males and females, where they became part of what was basically "wife swapping."[156] Otherwise, they could become prohibitively expensive to take part in, although threesomes, or "small personal 'orgies'" were affordable and readily arranged.[157]

Mixing was not reserved for sexual arrangements alone. As Alain Médam observes, building largely on Jodoin, the "merchants of sex" (*sexes marchands*) were mixed ethnically, sexually, and linguistically, using a form of French that was sprinkled with English, particularly when it came to terms associated with money. However, he notes, the terms for the women involved remained French while the terms for men—whether buyers or sellers, straight or gay—were English.[158]

The purpose of this tour of the city's erotic environments has not been simply to provide context for the works of art that concern us, but to understand that its forms were in keeping with the aesthetics of the new cybernetic art. If strictly visual erotic art used the city's new erotic forms as content, those forms were specific to a medium. If the red-light district was dematerialized and displaced by a set of architectural forms that were more-or-less explicitly bound to an erotic understanding of living space, either formally or figuratively, its transmutation through the orchestrated crowds of discos, clubs, and streetwalking was in line with this aesthetics.

The public erotic-psychedelia offered by Expo, by the discos discussed above, and by the city's shifting nightlife, could also be translated to intimate quarters. If it was possible to rent an hour in one of the city's new architectural spaces for a sexual Happening, it was also possible to transform the interior design of your home into one. In 1975, the "thematization of colour" and "suspended animation" promised by the collaging and de-narrativizing aesthetics of the high-tech world's fair got a low-tech equivalent.[159] You could order a special device from the pages of *Photo-Journal*. Advertised as TECH-SEXE ENRG, the device promised a dematerialization of the body so that it could saturate one's private environment: "These slides aim to teach about feelings, pleasures, happiness, enjoyment, the content and the end of love. They awaken understanding

3.3 Advertisement for TECH-SEXE ENRG., published in *La Patrie*, week of January 19–25, 1975, 26.

and impart knowledge."[160] This was in keeping with other, less sophisticated colour projections, such as the 50-foot 8mm reels of topless go-go dancers that could be ordered through the pages of *Télé-radiomonde*, projected on walls and various household surfaces at different speeds and different orders to adapt to the buyer's taste.[161]

Not only was sex becoming explicitly plugged into the telecommunications system thanks to the rise of the call-girl, but sex was becoming computerized and newly codified. The programmed projections and coloured spaces of the clubs designed to herd and work on the bodies of those who entered their armatures became the automated poetry of these art-sex-machines. Quite indifferently to either the experiences or consciousness of the participants, they were producing the automatic poetry that Automatism had relegated to the canvas.

4

A Pornographic Delicatessen: The Logic of Montréal's Erotic Press

Writing for *Saturday Night* in 1968, Peter Desbarats surveyed Québec's landscape of sex magazines and imagery, claiming that

> In the past fifteen years, a flood of yellow journalism has inundated French Canada. Only a few years ago, *Playboy* was still banned in Québec. In 1968 not only are French Canadian bunnies hopping all over le Club Playboy in downtown Montréal, but many urban newsstands carry at least a dozen varieties of cheap made-in-Québec tabloids devoted to sex, crime, sadism, drugs, perversion and most of the other activities on the verboten list of the Holy Roman Catholic Church.[1]

As the "quietest part" of the Quiet Revolution, he stressed that no one dared breathe a word about this, lest this sign of immorality rob the province of its sheen of cultural superiority. However, the yellow press had a circulation nearly triple that of all the French language newspapers combined.[2] Desbarats took the fact that "Quebec now produces its own smut in evidently viable forms" as a sign that it was "the home of a distinct culture, a popular culture rather than a thin layer of ballet companies and new concert halls."[3]

In 1967, Cardinal Paul-Emile Léger, Archbishop of Montréal, maintained that pornographic journals had the sulphurous scent of hell. Not simply instruments of sin, they pointed to the moral ambiguity of art. Pornography was not only a matter of content, but of affective attitude: "Sensationalism," he told journalists in a

sermon, is an 'infatuation of our century, a symptom of a society suffering from infantilism.'"[4] This was in keeping with the Vatican's condemnation of "a byzantine and decadent intellectualism which, from the cinema to the theatre, from the book to the periodical, refuses to call things by their name, that is to say to qualify as dirty and censurable any production which yields to eroticism…"[5]

These Catholic condemnations had come after a year of crackdowns. The police had been investigating claims that Montréal was one of the world's major sources of mail-order pornography since the start of the year. Police claimed that a local porn magnate was well known to them and had been charged numerous times, running a circuit of more than a hundred people and photographing material in ways that made those involved unidentifiable.[6]

In March, the morality squad seized 300,000 magazines judged obscene or immoral throughout the city, primarily in storage for distribution but also at kiosks and shops. Among them were *Fresh*, *Pleasure*, *Ecstasy*, *Bubbles*, *Bizarre Life*, *Girls of Hollywood*, *Ruby*, *Moody,* and *Scan Him*. The press cited deputy director of the police of Montréal, Maurice Saint-Pierre, stating that "'this is not art, this is an obscene magazine and we are putting a stop to it.'"[7]

In April, the police would claim that they had seized 600,000 pornographic magazines ranging in price from one dollar and fifty cents to ten dollars, mostly in English and bound for the United States and Europe. If the police claimed to be confident that there was no significant prostitution problem in the city, it was far less clear when it came to pornography, especially since what defined obscenity was so complex and questionable.[8] While law enforcement and government officials tried to sort that out, they also managed to break a large porn ring alleged to bring in a million dollars annually. It was run by a group of women who had been tied to earlier porn rings in the city, which had previously suffered from crackdowns. According to the *Gazette*, "Montréal has long been regarded as a key world centre for the distribution of pornographic photographs, movies and literature. Underground film makers are reported to have produced many reels of pornographic movies here, with the processing done in hidden laboratories."[9]

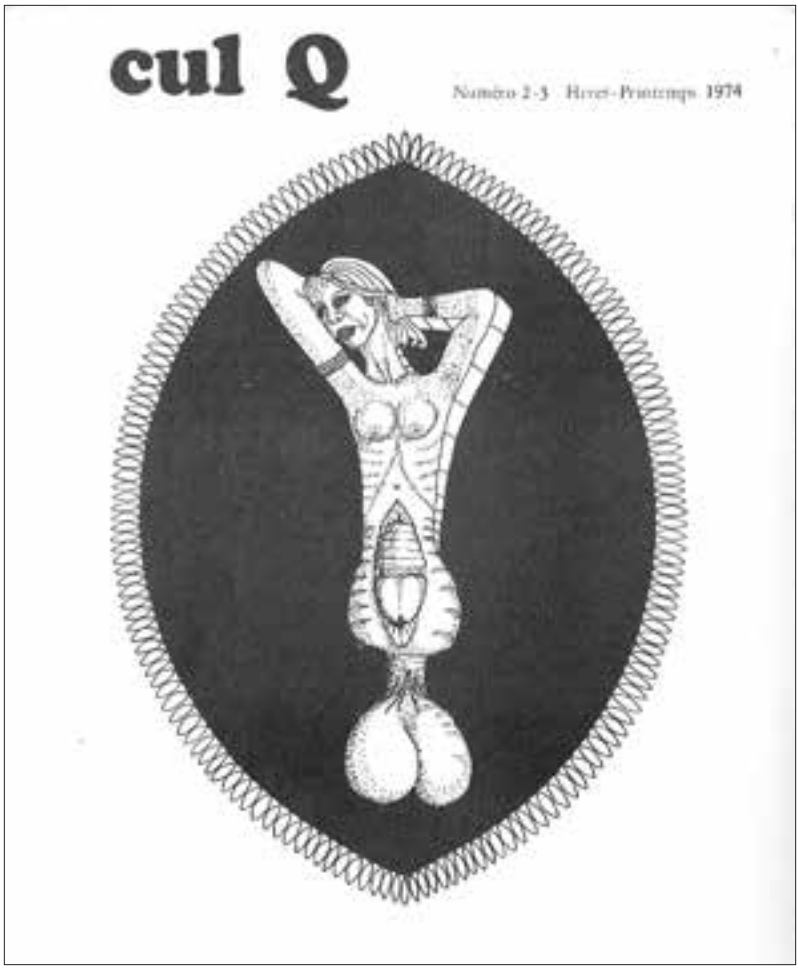
Within a few years, easy condemnation seemed less easy to maintain even from within the confines of the faithful. The Cath-

olic periodical *Perspectives* would be voicing serious doubts about the defense of censorship in a pluralistic society, whether on secular or religious grounds.[10] For its opponents, pornography risked turning the world into a *cochonnerie* (junkyard/pigsty/smut), a term often associated with delinquency (particularly juvenile) and sex crime. However, as *Perspectives* noted, the example of pornography in Denmark suggested that the free circulation of pornography was more likely to lower the incidence of sex crimes: "It is high time we realised that the state, having withdrawn from our bedrooms (in the now famous words of Prime Minister Trudeau), has no place in the family library, nor in cinemas and theatres, whether specialised or not."[11]

The aim of this chapter is twofold: to treat Montréal's erotic press as a source of historical data as well as an aesthetic form. First, this chapter will establish the basic context within which the erotic press (magazines, tabloids, and journals) appeared in the city, providing a survey of its common forms. This provides a broad picture of what these publications were like in terms of style and content and some of the ways in which their publishers defined eroticism. Such a survey is important because very few people have a general acquaintance with these ephemeral objects that now exist primarily in archives. The second goal of the chapter is to take contemporaneous formal arguments—which grew out of aesthetic ideas we have already encountered about the nature of representation and the use of media—and to apply them to these publications.

The Garden of Delights

The erotic magazines that sprang up in the city during the mid-1960s and early '70s were marked by a great deal of self-consciousness. The writers from these magazines seemed to read each other and commented on each other, usually negatively or with ambivalence. Reviewing their contemporaries in Montréal, *Cul Q*'s Claude Beausoleil claims that the *hebdomadaires* were a "garden of delights."[12] However, Beausoleil editorializes, "Even the best quality magazines (*Proscope*) are indications of erotic, economic and cultural alienation. With few exceptions, these weeklies, which rarely feature Québécois proletarians, are read by a disadvantaged social



4.1 Cover for *Cul Q: Le Cul dans la culture québécoise*. nos. 2–3 (Winter–Spring 1974). Cover design: Jean Lussier.

class. They thus serve as a sensual diversion for those who lead an atrophied erotic life."[13]

Beausoleil's criticism of his rivals in the marketplace has a strong resemblance to the limited ways in which the yellow press and pornography of the province would subsequently be treated by academics. The general tendency has been to *read* them, and read them as representational discourses or as makeshift (and often distorted) social maps, to treat them as evidence for the recognition

of social presence.[14] I think this has been, if not an outright error, at least an extremely restricted notion of what they were.

After taking account of their formal qualities and general rhetorical games, I will examine how these publications operated as works of erotic art. This places them back in the ambit of surrealist theory and practice, stressing the irrelevance of intentionality and the erosion of meaning. The purpose of the following discussion, then, is not to reconcile the surrealist concern with pulp fiction and the yellow press with any social or thematic content, as some have done. Rather, it is to recognize in both the yellow press and surrealism a formal operation that is orthogonal to the recuperation of purportedly social content.[15] This chapter is concerned with the aesthetic content and form of these magazines and papers, which functioned like their own mobile erotic museums to be collected, dissected, and added to the décor of their consumers, or dispensed with.

While there was some overlap between those who worked in the erotic press and those who operated in the more traditional gallery world, the point is that these magazines function as artworks-in-themselves with their own formal logics and visual models. Additionally, they featured even more discursive speculations about the nature of eroticism, and this investigatory approach was fundamental to how they defined themselves.

Bûcherons Illustrated

Homosexuality had been a common theme of the yellow press in the 1950s, but the province also spurred on a small market in publishing dedicated to a gay audience. Thomas Waugh has claimed that young Montréal men became icons of international gay erotica in the 1950s.[16] Within the same period as the launch of *Playboy* and its many imitators, the decade saw the rapid development of a consumer base that enthusiastically embraced what were sometimes termed "physical culture" magazines. Depictions of nude or semi-nude bodybuilders in their teens or early twenties were highly fetishized. In a period when overt homosexuality was still punishable, the image of fitness provided an alibi for voyeuristically

consuming the male body and helped invent a unique form of voluptuousness.[17] The consumers were primarily middle class or tourists and the traffic of distribution largely went through the mail, placing this specific form of pornography within an international marketplace from the outset. Like the densely populated city, the mail allowed for relative anonymity as well as easy accumulation.[18]

Physique Illustrated, published out of Lachine until the early 1960s, was widely distributed, especially in the United States. One of its chief photographers was Alan B. Stone, who had been a photographer for the boy scouts and translated his skills at studying young boys to capturing the men of the rapidly growing bodybuilding and gym scene that was developing in the Plateau region. Many of the models were gay-for-pay prostitutes who masqueraded as *bûcherons* in spite of likely never having set foot near the woods.[19] Relying on a dogmatic epistemological bifurcation, Waugh argued that what was being sold was the "tension between the ordinary and the exotic, between the ethnographic view and the fantasy."[20] The eroticizing of the rural exotic, we have already seen, was not limited to gay pornography. By the early 1960s, the Drapeau administration's crackdown on the sex industry in the city drove most of the local pornographers out of business, albeit briefly.

Montréal Flirt

The ostensibly straight sex tabloids of Montréal went through distinctly different phases. In the early 1960s they primarily featured material culled from European and American publications, barely adapted to local taste and exhibiting a propensity for the sensationalistic. The tabloids were dominated by statistics, anecdotes, jokes, and advice. *Tourbillon*, *Pilou*, *Frou-Frou*, *Jeux d'hommes*, *Montréal Flirt*, and *Echos* fit this bill. In the 1970s there arose more literate, sophisticated, at times even glossy variations, such as Québec's unique answer to *Playboy* or *Lui* magazines: *Proscope*.

Montréal Flirt featured news stories from around the world, "confessions" of scantily clad models with blacked-out eyes, profiles of the love lives of celebrities, an agony aunt column populated by men with frigid wives, people seeking homosexual prostitutes and others looking for careers in porn. There were articles on lesbians,

4.2 *Montréal Flirt* 3, no. 39 (November 4, 1967): 24.

different types of fetishes, sadomasochism, and seduction advice. There was yet more advice responding to queries about the emotional lives of nymphomaniacs, whether the need for sex is culturally exaggerated, how to find a Casanova, how religion can ruin the family, how to tell when someone is a masochist, etc.

The black-and-white tabloid also included a monthly "Miss Flirt" and small pictorials, usually limited to a page. Starkly lit, with

minimal context beyond, perhaps, a piece of furniture, the images featured topless models with simulated "bras" over their breasts. The magazine's principle sexual drive was toward advice, serving up the performance of anonymous "medical" information rendered as entertainment. In this respect, it plays a role close to that commonly associated with the more "medical" exploitation films, which likewise coated their hygienic messages in a thin veneer of titillating glamour.[21] But unlike most exploitation films, *Flirt* demonstrated little pretense at moral judgement. If it stressed any particular attitude toward sexuality, it was the relativity of sexual desires and the commonality of "erotic deviations."[22]

The monthly *Jeux d'hommes* followed a similar form with small, nudity-less pictorials and far more exposé stories. These dealt with swinging clubs, young prostitutes, prostitutes with perverse clients, homosexual marriage, how to keep married sex life alive, nudism, Swedish attempts to curb homosexuality in prison by introducing prostitutes, hippie "nude-ins," miracle sex cures, dirty jokes, cartoons, women who like effeminate men, high heels, new fads at sex clubs, sadistic sex rings, appropriate penis sizes, tattooing as the most radical form of the "new nudity" (the extension of what we witnessed in the previous chapter), marital impotence vs. sex with strangers, abortion, and so on. Generally more comic and in the vein of tabloid shock, it was also more clearly targeted at married men. This made its general moral stance ambiguous and contingent. It featured more photos in higher quality (but smaller size) and played up the fetish factor. Its advertising was local but its images and stories were primarily European.

Although clearly modeled on a French publication of the same name, *Frou-Frou* was more Canada-specific.[23] Printed on blue paper, it had other notable design differences from its colleagues, such as models cleanly cropped and neatly placed within columns or straddling the page. Also noteworthy was its insistence on lingerie, on garterbelts and stockings, with none of the blatantly effaced nudity of its competition. Primarily written under the name David Alin, it also demonstrated far more interest in social commentary rather than the presentation of tantalizing but factually dubious stories.

4.3 Cover of *Jeux d'Hommes* 3, no. 8 (December 1968).

Two of its commentaries are especially relevant to us. In "L'érotisme et le nu," Alin identifies *érotisme* as "the set of physical and psychic phenomena which incite love by exciting sensibility and sensuality, [these] must never be presented brutally. [The artist] is never direct and trusts the imagination of those he seeks to suggest. Moreover, this allows them to idealize voluptuousness, to attribute

to it inestimable virtues."[24] This, in effect, was a justification for the aesthetic outlined above, avoiding total nudity for the scantily clad to intensify the attractiveness of the body. In an interview with a glamour photographer, he explained that the notion that nudity is, in itself, exciting is "a big joke"; it is suggestiveness that counts.[25] Another article by the same author outlined the "complexes of the Canadian," which, in particular, afflict those in Québec, causing them never to know the plenitude of "the fun [*les réjouissances*] of sexuality."[26] He blamed the reluctant embrace of sexuality, even of heavy petting, on the Oedipal complex, but thought the influence of American culture could change this.[27]

Perhaps the most remarkable erotic tabloid to emerge was actually a para-tabloid that evolved directly from within the established yellow press. At the end of 1974, *Le Petit Journal* launched its own erotic supplement, *L'Amour.* As the first such supplement to a mainstream paper in the province, its launch was given some fanfare, including a party at the disco Sexe-Machine. Unlike most of the erotic press, it was directed both to a male and female audience. In terms of content, it mixed colour and black and white photography, featuring local models and celebrities from around the world. Its texts were ostensibly written by sexologists and psychologists as well as entertainment journalists. In focus, it was concerned with glamour, health, fashion, and art, the latter generally expressed in quotations taken from *poètes maudits*, Catherine Breillat, Emmanuelle Arsan, Robert Musil, Roger Fournier, etc. "In short, 'L'amour' is a magazine that exploits eroticism but, for once, it is tasteful eroticism," concluded *La Patrie*.[28]

Laying out the publication's "philosophie de l'amour," Normand G. Robidoux explained that eroticism was a necessity of the modern world.[29] He then set up a bifurcation between the good (eroticism) and the bad (obscenity). The good balances the physical and the subjective. Eroticism was defined as a "fondness for the things" of love and the search for sexual pleasure. Insisting that the supplement was directed to men and women to stimulate their love lives and new desires, he cited the *films de culs* as a major influence on the province's population.

L'Amour was a discrete part of the weekly. After a few months, its initial configuration within the publication would change.

LES POTINS D'UN BABINEUX

Nous croirons- tout si nous nous disons que cette jeune fille rencontrée à perte dans un concours de beauté ?

"C'est exact, il était supposé sortir de l'hôpital aujourd'hui, mais je pense que je vienne de lui causer la bras!"

Lisez ce Nouveau Journal chaque semaine

PHOTO POLICE

Dynamique, agressif, illustré

LE MEILLEUR HEBDO SUR LES AFFAIRES POLICIÈRES ET JUDICIAIRES

JEUX D'HOMMES

Publié chaque mois par:
LES EDITIONS PUBLI LTEE
C.P. 153, Terrasse St. Alexandre, C.P.
Point de circulation
DISTRIBUTIONS SATELLITES
5320 PLACE de LORRAINE
Cité d'ANJOU
TEL.: 353-6060

4.4 *Jeux d'Hommes* 3, no. 8 (December 1968): 2.

Aside from the personal ads, the other materials were easily assimilated into the rest of the tabloid's format and the weekly nude *fille* was splintered. What would have been a two-page spread was interrupted for several pages as part of the *fille* left to appear on page sixteen would find its sequel on page twenty-five. This strategy of deliberate interruption may be one of the more startling visual gestures to emerge in the Montréal erotic press. It also had a practical function, as the spread could be easily removed and form a discrete two-page spread autonomous from its place in the paper, presumably to become a piece of wall art in the homes of bachelors.

L'Amour was primarily limited to a set of formulas: sex advice and medical information, the lives of celebrities, tourism, fashion, and weekly profiles accompanied by nude photos.[30] The first of these does not concern us. The second included everyone from Clint Eastwood to Ursula Andress, Sophia Loren, Marlon Brando, Paul Anka, and Robert Redford. Discussions of tourism focused on beaches and nightlife. Fashion proved to be considerably more complex and provided one of the most intellectual forms of inquiry in the publication. The eroticization of fashion was interpreted as a sign of the escalation of eroticism that comes with the liberation from taboos and the desire for total liberty: "Fashion conveys this new philosophy of life. It is the language of the sexual revolution."[31] This was a consistent argument within *L'Amour*'s pages, extending to the claim that a significant part of feminist revolution was against repressive clothing. More audacious and provocative clothing signified the new female independence, making women into an exciting spectacle. All the same, one article expressed ambiguity. Was this real liberation or a false one that hid the fears underlying consumer society?[32]

As for its weekly *filles*, they rarely showed more than a nipple. The profiles given to the models portrayed them mostly as a mixture of young working women, primarily francophone (anglophones received special stress, especially one from Westmount).[33] In form, they followed a rote set of "indiscreet questions" about the kind of man they look for, if they wanted a family, an array of lifestyle questions, and some about their ambitions. Answers were usually quite blunt, stressing the importance of money, their contempt for

politics, the value of exhibitionism, old Hollywood glamour, the boredom of work, and, in a surprising turn, one suggesting that no one is really free.[34]

Gai-Kébec

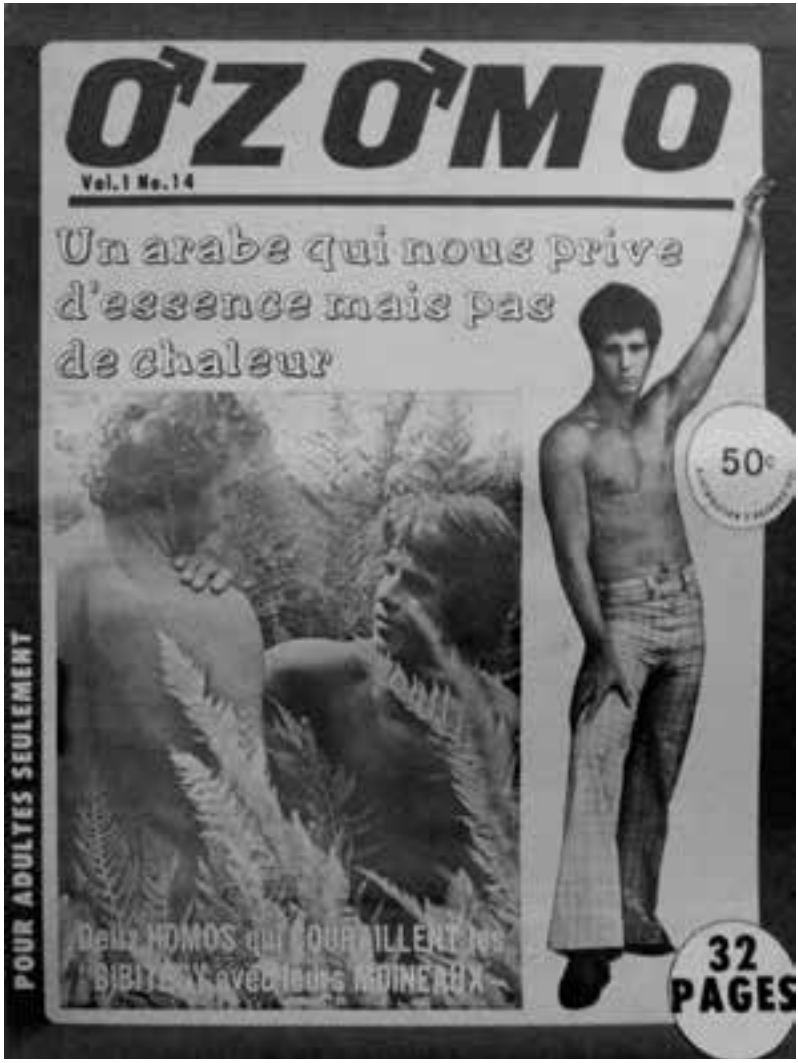
A great deal more magazines oriented to a gay market were produced in Montréal than in Toronto in the period. There have been several articles detailing the more politically oriented gay publications in the province, but the pornography tends to get fairly short shrift, receiving little more than a mention before moving on to respectable material like *Le Berdache*.[35] Gay erotic publishing took off again in a significant way around 1971. As the decade pushed on, most of the sex magazines in the city were published by Les Distributions Patricia and Les Distributions D'Aujourd'hui, oriented primarily to gay men and then branching out to lesbians and swingers as the 1970s ended. Although, like their Ontario counterparts, they often included images clearly culled from the international market of nude photography, the francophone magazines also catered explicitly to a Québec-centric audience.

Unlike the Ontario magazines or the physique imagery associated with Alan B. Stone, their imagery was highly amateur and raw with flat, usually unflattering lighting. The imagery also tended to involve little sense of context (even the publications themselves were rarely dated), sustaining the "character" of their models almost solely through accoutrements. The closest to the Ontario model of magazines like *Two*[36] was *Gai-Kébec*, whose first issue was emblazoned with singer Gisele Mars' declaration that, "Le public homosexual est en or" (the gay public is golden).[37] Primarily a lifestyle magazine, it contained regular features on home décor, fashion spreads, actor profiles, recipes, and profiles of gay couples, as well as dildo ads and legal advice, sandwiched between some generic "nudist" imagery with genitals obscured or contained in posing straps.

Omnibus—apparently named in homage to Canada's Bill C-150, the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1968–69)—published bimonthly in its second year, sporting two monthly "Adonises" for its centrespread. The content included letters, stories, personal

ads, a zodiac column, and jokes ("omni-gags"). While sociopolitical material is rare in early issues, it increased substantially, interspersed with articles on circumcision, homosexuality among the ancient Greeks, and debates about passive/active sodomy.[38] Different titles concentrate on their own objects of desire. *Duo*, for instance, contains almost no frontal nudity, showcasing primarily the backsides of teenaged boys. Its first issue implicitly justifies this in its opening pages. After insisting that the magazine is more serious and informative than its rivals, the lead editorial claims to reject sensationalism and takes on the mantle of destroyer of myths and false values. Arguing that the only difference between sexual orientations is the genitals involved, it promised to revalorize humanity and lost values like the love of self.[39] This was tied on the following page to moving sex away from reproduction to liberating erogenous zones, especially the anus, a point punctuated by several photos of young men's buttocks.

Most of the magazines were overt in their status as disposable tabloids. Printed on cheap paper, usually running thirty to forty pages, the publications were remarkably consistent in terms of layout and colour, with pink-tinted nude men adorning their covers beneath garishly bubblegum-coloured text. As *Duo*'s opening editorial pointed out, most of its confrères did not pretend to be particularly intellectual. *Ozomo* certainly did not. Containing less of a sense of the local scene than the other magazines, it featured the same array of personal ads and dildos for sale and probably more imagery and less text than anyone else.[40] The models looked young, if sometimes unconvincingly labelled as sixteen, and were mostly photographed full frontal from the thighs up.[41] Full erections were rare, and the models were often partially clad in stereotypical costumes: in biker suits, as *bûcherons*, cowboys, or wrestlers, men in no more than gun holsters, Nazi uniforms, or sailor hats.[42] There were also Arab "terrorists" revealing their "secret arsenal" or sporting a fez, as well as "an instrument [his penis] that would make peace between Jews and Arabs."[43] Generally portrayed in only one image, the photos were accompanied by pun-littered texts describing them in terms of their professions (nurses and mechanics were popular) and desires.



4.5 Cover of *Ozomo* 1, no. 14 (n.d.).

If *Duo* focused on young models and *Ozomo* on fetishistic stereotypes, *Bisexus* was considerably more expansive, and a rare publication that was directed at bisexuals.[44] This was particularly the case in its late issues. Early pictorials featuring male duos and singles eventually gave way to bisexual threesomes, although a consistent interest in transvestism and *travestis* persisted throughout

4.6 Cover of *Bisexus* 4, no. 1 (n.d.).

its print run. Its subtitle advertised it as "The most 'MALE' of all the newspapers in the Québec."[45] The magazine was both liberally illustrated by some of the most sexually graphic photos of the period and featured extensive articles. Recurrent monthly features included a "Playman of the month" centrefold (tinted pink) as well as an "Adam d'aujourd'hui" pictorial, personal ads and advice columns on venereal disease and masturbation (often including medical diagrams), articles on penis enlargement and sperm levels, personality tests, regular profiles of drag queens, and "mini-news of the gay world," a column introduced by a drawing of half-nude hermaphroditic figure.

4.7 *Bisexus* 3, no. 9 (n.d.): 3.

Frequent features also included discussion of the size of Black men's penises along with photos of Black men in chains or wrestling. Prison fantasies also appear throughout, including one notable article on homosexuals punished by law during the Grande

4.8 *Bisexus* 4, no. 1 (n.d.): 9.

Noirceur and after the Omnibus Bill, its political protest tempered (and ironized) with illustrations from pornography of sex in incarceration.[46] More random articles would include discussions of the films of Gilles Carle, the men's liberation movement, transvestites who live as wives, or one article claiming that 75% of homosexuals refuse to commit sodomy, etc.[47] Another article asks, "Homosexuality: A Sport or a New Religion?"[48] The magazine's profuse

imagery was inconsistent in its explicitness, sometimes showing erections, sometimes censoring them, with photos of blowjobs obscured by black dots.

As with most of the gay-marketed magazines, *Bisexus* also featured crude cartoons, usually lampooning female characters. This was to be the dominant feature of another publication. Not to be confused with the straight-marketed tabloid of the same name, *Jeux d'hommes* also positioned itself ambiguously. Advertising itself as "cartoons and nude men," the publication provided exactly that as it "liberated men" of their pants, with images set beside captioned cartoon cells. The texts accompanying the photos inevitably insisted on the virility and straightness of the closely cropped model while the cartoons set beside them were among the most misogynist produced in Québec in the period. It is also notable that while the women in the cartoons generally resemble blow-up dolls, the men having sex with them are presented as ugly and primitive, unlike the youthful nude men in the photos, offering themselves to the contemplation of male viewers.

The Luxury Magazine pour l'homme de Québec

Sex magazines functioned in effectively the same way that contemporary art did: by miming, directly appropriating, parodying, and copying various foreign models. In Montréal, this meant borrowing from the two primary symbolic parents of the province, the American and the French. By far the sleekest and, in some respects, most sophisticated magazine to appear in the city was *Proscope*. Published from 1970 to 1973, it most clearly approximated the *Playboy* or *Lui* model of men's magazine, celebrating modes of sophisticated consumerism. However, even with its borrowings from established men's magazines, there were significant differences. Quite unlike its models, *Proscope* was not saturated in irony.[49] Unlike the cheap and apparently cobbled-together tabloids that owed much of their content to Europe and the States, *Proscope* was insistently Québécois, as per its subtitle: *pour l'homme de Québec*.[50] And unlike the generally sensationalist tabloids, it was adamantly a lifestyle magazine, a means of seeking to define the potentialities of the new Québécois male.

In terms of editorial content, *Proscope* was largely a variant of what *Sexus* had been doing, only with different ads. In its early issues, the aesthetic of the magazine owed much to Vittorio Fiorucci, one of the most successful poster artists in the province's history. Under a variety of names, he provided cartoons, illustrations for articles, and nude photos. Fiorucci had been introduced to nude photography by Guy Borremans, who had a lengthy association with the Automatist movement and made the surreal erotic film *La Femme image* (1960).[51] Other photographers for the magazine included L. Cheveau, Serges Jacques, Jerry Robin, Michel Gontran, and Pierre Dury.

Following a convention begun by *Playboy* and followed by *Lui*, an article in volume three of the magazine asked, "Who reads *Proscope*?" A few answers were revealed with quotes from finance ministers, prelates, and the president of Lotto Québec. When prompted, Denis Héroux, director of *Valérie* and other *films de cul*, answered that the man who read it was probably thirty, made more than $10,000 a year, and had kids. He was the same man who read *Playboy* and *Lui*, "But he prefers *Proscope* because it's from here."[52] The prelate (and former rector of the University of Montréal) reminded the reader to not just love the body but the spirit, too, and another respondent commended the magazine for its "luxurious presentation."[53]

The luxury angle was buttressed by the magazine's advertising, focusing on the aspects typical to a playboy lifestyle: hi-fis, record collections, cars, motorcycles, dog breeds, wigs, articles on the cuisines of the world, modern art, interior design, sympathetic articles on lesbians, and reviews of James Bond films. Interestingly, editorials in the magazine attacked the world of sophisticated urbanites while interviews tended to celebrate it. For instance, one interview with Jean-Pierre Callier involved an eclectic discussion of the films of Jean-Pierre Lefebvre, natural law theory, syndicalism, and the qualities of Trudeau.[54]

There were significant formal and tonal differences from the magazine's key influences as well. Every issue featured an editorial titled "J'Accuse" where writers vented about the ills of the urban landscape, and these functioned as the background on which the

rest of the issue would play out. In conversation and illustrated accompaniment, these were given an erotic bent. One column by Simone Piuze graphically described the corpse of a seventy-five-year-old woman who was discovered, dead and alone, to reflect on social alienation among the classes. She quoted Desmond Morris's *The Human Zoo* (1969) on how urbanity has deformed people and alienated them from their tribal and familial identities.[55] She also attacked over-population and the impersonality of buildings. Surreal drawings accompany the article: a man in overcoat and fedora with no legs; a tree with few leaves growing from its head; a giant, one-eyed woman with snakes in her exposed brain; a nude woman with tendrils for hair making up half her face; and a city in the distance.[56]

Another editorial, this time by Robert Roussil's old opponent, the art critic and former director of the city's Musée d'art contemporain, Guy Robert, dealt with the evils of pollution and how the world was becoming a trash bin. Not only that, but the "modern jungle" remained insensitive to this development, unwilling to listen to arguments for altruistic treatment of the world. We were even polluting eroticism, he argued, as we wiped out different animal species: "But to jump from this fine flower of modern progress, that of pollution, to eroticism: this may seem dizzying?" he asked, before going on to answer, "This, it seems to me, is the basis of the distinction between sexuality, which is all about satisfying one's own needs, one's own selfish pleasure, and eroticism, which is devoted to the complementarity of enjoyment, turned towards a shared and refined pleasure…"[57]

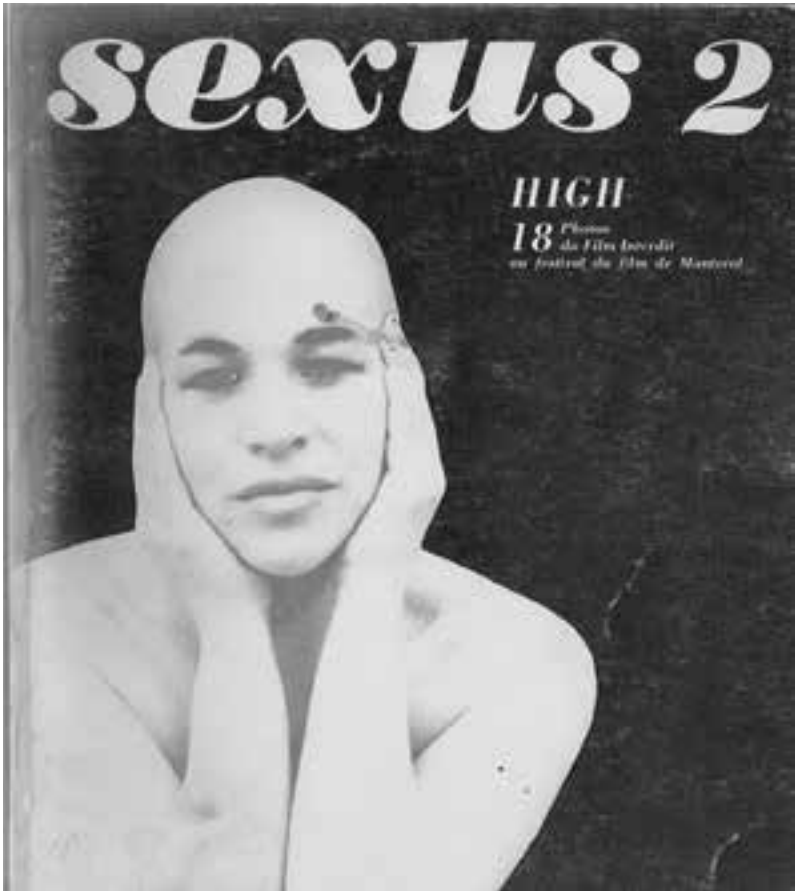
Although the pictorials for the magazines occasionally flirted with BDSM imagery in the model's accoutrements, they usually bordered on the chaste. Imagery concentrated on single female models, generally appearing to be in their twenties, but unlike *Playboy*, statistical information for the monthly "Miss Fleur de Lys" is not provided. In fact, the models are often austerely presented, detached from the narratives, profiles, or humour that were commonplace in such magazines. By far, most of the nude images in the magazine are in stark or grainy black and white, often verging on the silhouette, with a few accented details. Mixing things up,

these were often printed as duotones, usually in primary colours, the faces of the models slightly obscured but often with an eye peering out to the viewer. Full frontal nudity was absent, much as it had been in the earlier tabloid magazines, although nipples, buttocks and the occasional pubic hair are visible. The pictorials borrowed more from the "California slick" model—which stressed large hair and breasts combined with monochromatic settings and hard, flat lighting—than *Playboy*, displaying women in apartments or outdoors with only a few accoutrements, often limited to a book or gewgaw. Lingerie, and even simple underwear, is almost completely absent, so when the body is broken up by garments it is with a sense of abruptness that is far more common to the fashion spreads of the time than to luxury softcore pornography.

While Vittorio Fiorucci's images for the magazine replay many of these strategies, they are often highly self-referential nudes. For instance, the centrefold for volume two, number nine features "Catherine" posing before the poster that Vittorio made for the USSR's pavilion at Expo. Shot from the side and in profile, her arms raised, the model's face is barely glimpsed, save her nose and mouth. Most of the image is dominated by the black hammer and sickle against a red background. Vittorio's signature on the poster is also notably present. In the shot on the reverse of the centrefold, the poster appears once again but the image is dominated by a window providing a grid looking out over the city, a table with blurred objects that acts as an abstract balance to the poster, and a copy of another poster that Fiorucci made to promote the first issue of *Proscope* on the wall.[58]

Erotic Journals

If by the mid-1970s, the erotic tabloid had been synthesized with the general tabloid press, the erotic journal's path was slightly different. More compact in size, their pages bound, and with paper stock of higher quality, they offered a different tactility and suggestion for engagement. Not as readily taken apart, their contents could not as easily be recontextualized as the tabloid forms allowed. Renowned thanks to the scandal surrounding it, the pub-



4.9 Cover for *Sexus*, October–November–December, 1967. Artistic director: Jean-Pierre Dumont; graphic designers: Raymond Séguin and Vincent Deguire; cover photo: Michel Saint-Jean.

lication *Sexus* came in a square format with sans-serif type. The August issue of 1967 featured its neon purple/pink lettering on the black and white close-up of a woman's face. It contained a mix of essays, roundtable discussions, reports, and art (poetry, drawing, photography). Topics covered would include divorce, abortion, contraception, a statement on the status of women in Canada, sex under communism, and more. Its managing director, Luc Latour, opened the magazine with the claim they would collect documents on sexuality to battle the puritanism of libraries.[59] Contributor

Yvan Mornard went further, announcing they would analyse the chaos posed by sexual liberty:

> SEXUS appears against this kind of smoke and mirrors. And we believe that the cult of love, the family and the couple (whether this cult is sentimental or whether it wants to be objective and "modern"), is in the end only a refusal to consider the formation of society in terms of comfort and economy, preferring a mythical ancestry that poses no problem for reflection. It is enough to confess our intention to give sexuality a framework that suits the age of cybernetics and the new personalization that characterizes it.[60]

The journal consistently framed itself as intellectual. An article on prostitution even opened with a quotation from Nietzsche as it advocated for a genealogical/historical approach to the issue. The author argued for the normalization of prostitution: "Legalized and controlled, raised to the level of a system, the courtesan woman would be integrated into society and considered with as much respect as other beings."[61] Outside of the introduction of different classes of courtesans into the economy, the journal also took on abortion, interviewing doctors on the subject. One bluntly stated, "abortion is no more painful or dangerous than removing a tooth."[62] The article opened with a photo of a nude woman with her legs spread. The issue also included articles on fashion, sex in Réjean Ducharme's *L'avalée des avalées* (1966), and a photo series by Michel Saint-Jean, "Noir + noir."[63] The images are smooth and dominated by negative space, the model's hair thrown around and occluding her face to signify her ecstasy.

A review of *Sexus* by Jean-Guy Pilon (lawyer, poet, fellow of the Royal Society of Canada) appeared in *Liberté*. It was compared, largely unfavourably, to the Dominican review *Maintenant* and accused of being the latter's "bizarre" offspring, with their shared obsessions with abortion and divorce.[64] He castigated *Sexus* for playing the priest's game, stuck in a negative position, and unable to affirm the positivity of sexuality. Presumably due to its higher profile among local erotic magazines, *Sexus* was seized by the morality squad in Spring 1968, with editor Mornard facing criminal charges

along with twenty-one vendors of the magazine. They were judged guilty in municipal court in February 1969. "'The articles and photographs in nos. 2 and 3 of the magazine 'Sexus' are superlatively obscene pornographic literature,' said Justice Melançon…"[65]

Sexus seems to have been a direct response to the French *Plexus* (1966–70), both titles taking their inspiration from volumes of Henry Miller's Rosy Crucifixion trilogy (1949–59). *Plexus* was an elaborately illustrated and multicoloured square-format production filled with playful and fluid typography, featuring many then-contemporary exponents of surrealism, and published an array of literary materials. *Sexus* borrowed the square format and the sexual theme but had a very different visual language.

Almost all its pages are set in stark tripartite grids, the text usually densely set and ragged. Pages that are purely text are bound by lines at top and bottom, words set off by being set bold in an echo of the devices of the tabloid press. When illustrated, for instance by film stills, the layout is starkly geometrical, the images appearing in a predetermined void with a jagged and often eclipsed rhythm (it is just as frequent for large voids to exist for no apparent reason other than the retention of geometrical form).

Significantly more ambivalent about the new eroto-environment, and far more literary, was *Cul Q* (1973–76), dedicated to the "cul dans la culture québécoise." The review was founded by Jean Leduc, a Sade scholar who taught erotic literature at Université de Montréal. An eclectic and sometimes almost random publication, its issues covered films and the visual arts but focussed primarily on literature. Lettrist poetry and the erotic possibilities that it supposedly made possible were part of the topic of *Cul Q* nos. 6–7, "Let's have a textE" (1975).[66]

In its first issue, a poem by Pierre Voyer asked: "Where to find the sex of Québec" in the age of the "homogenisation of the sexes/ after the pill, and in waiting for babies-in-a-machine?"[67] Would it be found "in the Q?/the organ is for everyone/it is the liberation of the animal that one is/its return to indifference…"[68] Other issues would address "the erotomaniac scene" to propose different models for understanding sex, whether as theatre or as game. As a game, it was a "judging between the anguish of the forbidden and the fascination of transgression. A game of life and death between

the exacerbation of vital energy and its fatal completion."[69] Playful, literate, and up to date with many of the latest intellectual trends from France, the magazine would use Roland Barthes to discuss advertising and offer Marxist analyses of sex in society.

The Logic of the Erotic Press

The most extended contemporaneous analysis of the role of eroticism in the popular press of the period, and still the most probing one, was published in *Cul Q*. Written by poet and essayist Claude Beausoleil, he detected within the city's yellow press a reliance on various (pseudo-)scientific discourses (sociology, psychoanalysis, medicine) to describe and guide their readers to an ostensibly normal sexual knowledge camouflaged in clichés, usually addressed by batteries of experts who mixed these figurations with those of the "pompous literary" sort.[70] Sex was something technological and something to be schooled in. All this was, he observed, a kind of fetishistic journalism devoted to a "confined sexual liberty" which could manifest as anything from the most maniacal puritanism to Gay Power advocacy.[71]

This journalistic attitude to sex as something to be objectively described was typically accompanied by an ironic attitude to the supposed transparency of such forms of representation. These publications depicted sex and eroticism using a series of rhetorical moves that undermined treating it as a transparent point of reference, either *as* text or in images. Rather than simply being descriptive, local erotic publications were, Beausoleil would say, a "writing of effects" in the sense that Mallarmé used the term, using blocks of text, fonts, and scale as means to startle the senses.[72] Whatever other content may have been present, the most substantial erotic content of the tabloids was in their sensual treatment of text as something tactile and visceral, distinct from whatever the words selected may have signified.

This was not a position limited to the yellow press. Beginning at least in the early 1950s, sexological texts advertised in the quotidian press tended toward the heavily illustrated. In 1950, this would have included books from Paris, like André and Martine Binet's *Les*

Formes de la femme. Such publications were succeeded by something far more elaborate that employed the use of text as form in a figurative way. Pierre-Marie Bremond's popular sex manual *Amour et plaisir* (1974) was written as a sort of encyclopaedia, laid out alphabetically with entries for the various sex acts and attitudes, each briefly and positively described with pop psychology and literary references. The titles were in pink and the letters introducing each part of the alphabet were formed by naked pink female figures posed in acrobatic postures to assume the shape of the letters.[73] This kept the sex manual in line with a much-longer history of erotic alphabets that were found in erotic publications dating from at least the seventeenth century.

In contrast to this sort of decorative literalism practiced by pop social scientists, there was a very different type of erotic lettering. A notable feature of *Sexus* was its use of something approximating the illustrated initial. While such forms were traditionally an instrumental aspect of texts (especially holy ones, their elaboration a tool for meditation), they had also been used in a more strictly decorative function. In *Sexus*, they tend toward autonomy, no longer really legible even as letters, starkly sitting on the page much as the few sporadic black and white nude photos do. A letter could be inflated and isolated, starkly punctured by shapes and lines to the point that it became an ornamental character. The status of such characters as letters was also confused by the presence of similarly large ornamental forms that seem to have no semantic value. These figures become an extreme form of what Lettrists termed *hypergraphie*, no longer involving an auditory or visual referent and disinvesting the sign of its exchange value. It is a formalization of non-communicative erotic waste.

As Claude Noël pointed out in *Cul Q*, as a science of the communication of messages and the sorting of intentions, semiotics hit a problem with eroticism. While a stripper may use semiotics, and the wearing of lingerie or perfume might form a semiological unit, an enormous amount of eroticism has nothing to do with intentions or signs. The "girl-watching" we encountered in an earlier chapter transformed Place Ville Marie or Expo into erotic spaces that had little if anything to do with communication or meaning.

4.10 Illustrated initial in *Sexus*, October–November–December, 1967. Artistic director: Jean-Pierre Dumont; graphic designers: Raymond Séguin and Vincent Deguire.

Although these aspects may have played a role at some point in the chain of causes, the erotic moment was as readily an accident or event "independent of language."[74]

Unreading the Media

This points us to the possibility of a double-reading, or rather an *un*reading of the media we have been examining in this chapter. Heretofore, we have primarily described the discursive contents of these publications, making clear their consistent stress on the proliferation and heterogeneity of topics, counterbalanced visually by a stark formalism. For media historians Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, the newspaper has been a privileged form accorded seriousness by law as a representation of an ostensibly real world and holding substantial political power. As a form, it has a status

that provides the space of national conversation, debate, and the image of a civic culture.[75] It is the form of what Habermas famously termed the "public sphere" or what Rose-Marie Arbour recognized as the institutional model of contemporary art.[76] This image or representation inheres in the form of the paper itself (layout, typography, design, genres of reportage, types of imagery) more than its changing content. As a form, it is effectively ideological in Althusser's sense, offering an imagined relationship that may or may not have to do with anything that exists.[77] The form of newspapers tends to aim to be transparent, pragmatic, and functional. These qualities provide the impression of plausibility.

However, "[n]ewspapers also reflected the two faces of modernism in the fine arts. At one end of a continuum, the reserved broadsheet adopted the abstractionism of modern art movements, and at the other end the emphatic tabloid adopted modern expressionism."[78] Unlike the relative chaos of the press in the Victorian era, what they term the classic modernist newspaper stressed clarity of line and representing the world as a "social map" distilled through political and commercial categories and visually expressed in a stronger sense of horizontality, fewer columns, and simplified typography.[79]

In the inter-war years, two basic forms evolved: the reserved, hierarchically segmented newspaper and the "emphatic" tabloid. The latter was less segregated in contents, more overtly moralistic and sensationalist. If the former aimed for the stark, pure, and geometrically clear, the latter was expressionistic, busy and colourful.[80] Tabloids tended to be severely heterogeneous, evincing a "populist lack of uniformity" and an extreme range of visual moods and content that could be chaotic.[81] At their most artistically ambitious, as in New York's *The Graphic* (or the "Porno-graphic" as its haters termed it), there was a use of composites, often fantastical and dense, that mirrored the melodramatic tone of the articles, which were filled with puns, double-entendres, and confessionals.[82]

While tabloids such as *La Petit Journal* and the many local entertainment ones (*Photo-Journal*, *Télé-radiomonde*, *Echo Vedettes*) retained the visual density common to the form, erotic tabloids tended to be slightly different. In part, this was because they displayed few ads. Those they published were usually for sex books and aids, but

many pages were decidedly less saturated by the continual interruptions of the advertising landscape, with its vast array of logos and differentiating fonts. Instead, they tended to be more stripped down, with spaciously laid-out type, uses of white space that bordered on luxurious minimalism, a greater quantity of ornate and gaudy fonts, the inclusion of eccentric and meaningless design motifs and bubbles for text, and a heightened sense of linearity to its column division, relying on bars, framing, and other devices that accentuated the geometry of each page's shapely potentials. These framing devices, often decked out with either figurative cliché (a heart as the "o" in *amour*, a globe as the "o" in *monde*) might also be filled with meaningless decorative motifs. (As already stated, few things are more erotic than meaningless decorative motifs, which amount to a kind of lingerie.) The bars separating texts might be very clean (*Montréal Flirt*) or they could be crude, crowding and even overlapping text as in *Jeux d'hommes*. If the press had horrified critics from Mallarmé to Benjamin with its sense of anonymous and mechanical uniform type, the erotic tabloids tended to demonstrate something that appeared far more cobbled together and nearly folkloric. Its texts appeared not set but typed and its page composition seemed far more glued together, parodying simultaneously the handmade and the strictly mechanized.

The use of models, whether they were photographs or illustration—they would be used indiscriminately and frequently superimposed, decomposing distinctions between photography and drawing—could be descriptive of whatever a headline proclaimed, but were just as likely to be arbitrary, which effectively vitiated any "illustrative" function of the photograph. What seemed more important was the shape that they added to a page's composition, whether they were close-cropped into a box to fill a pattern, or their figure was cut out to allow the text to run raggedly against the lines of their bodies. If the standard newspaper was formalized to the point that it took on the quality of omniscience, the erotic paper still possessed a crafty tactility; the hands of their creators were still clearly visible, however anonymous they may have been. They tend to be de-narrativized by the presence of these images, which can have an array of functions, but which can also stand autonomously.

4.11 *Montréal Flirt* 4, no. 38 (October 28, 1967): 24.

As a form of specialization, the erotic press did not have the general sense of chaos of the other tabloids. The world was presented in a more homogeneous way, which is not to say it was not rhetorically producing continual differentiations of literary content, but these all turned back on a singular thematic perspective: eroticism. Despite polemics about "puritanism," these publications seemed to sense the erotic potentiality blossoming out of every possible

POTINS * POTINS * POTINS * POTINS * POTINS

MOTS DE L'AMOUR

Après avoir retiré dans cette grille les mots qui se trouvent ci-dessous, vous obtiendrez un certain nombre de lettres avec lesquelles vous pourrez composer d'autres MOTS de l'AMOUR.

LIENS	FOYER	HYMENEE
FLIRTS	SODOMIE	CONVOLER
RESSENTIMENT	AIMER	ENVELOPPANT
RUPTURES	AGISSEMENTS	FERVEUR
RIVERS	INCESTE	CORDIALITE
AMICALE	TRAVESTI	CONSTANCE
CHAIR	CHARNELLE	CHEREMENT
REJOINDRE	MESALLIANCE	FAVORIS
AMANTS	BIGAMIE	AFFECTUEUX
ETREINTE	NOCES	

Les MOTS de l'AMOUR à trouver étaient: PASSION et ADMIRATION

4.12 *Flirt & Potins* 2, no. 10 (March 8, 1969): 19.

corner and crevice of the world. It was in no small part this suggestive atmosphere, their particular visual environment and functionality, that made them erotic.

The artistic potential of the newspaper media and their cosmological implications had been taken up early in the twentieth century. For the avant-garde, they suggested a world "[u]norganized by wisdom or insight, unrepeatable, it becomes a ceaseless inhuman flow, characteristically modern."[83] For Tristan Tzara, the formal logic of the press effectively rendered the rational plausibility that it claimed a total absurdity: "Essentially, the project is one of emptying out hermeneutic depths, leaving neither the poet nor the newspaper a claim for truth."[84] For the surrealists it was different, and the newspaper's chaos had the potential to reveal hidden forms: it could de-narrate the world even as it proliferated "narratives" of various genres, the atomic aspects of which allowed for the wondrous.

If one quadrant of surrealism had veered toward an abstract and gestural model, the more verist strains of it sought to undermine the distinctions upon which supposedly objective or subjective forms of representation could have been grounded—a division that we have already encountered as one of the fundamental points at stake in Automatism. With the erotic press, this struggle becomes even more focal, given that the tabloid is the ur-form of assemblage art that was basic to so much of the artwork of the 1960s and '70s. As curator William Seitz wrote in the catalogue for his landmark exhibition *The Art of Assemblage* (1961): "Intrinsic to the medium of assemblage is an entirely new relationship between work and spectator: a reconquest, but by different means, of the realism that abstract art replaced."[85]

The Erotic Poetics of the Pornographic Delicatessen

> Pornography is absolutely essential. It is the yoga of the West. You can't escape it. You're hooked on it because you don't practice it. It's impossible to practice it. Except on an individual level.[86]
> —Denis Vanier

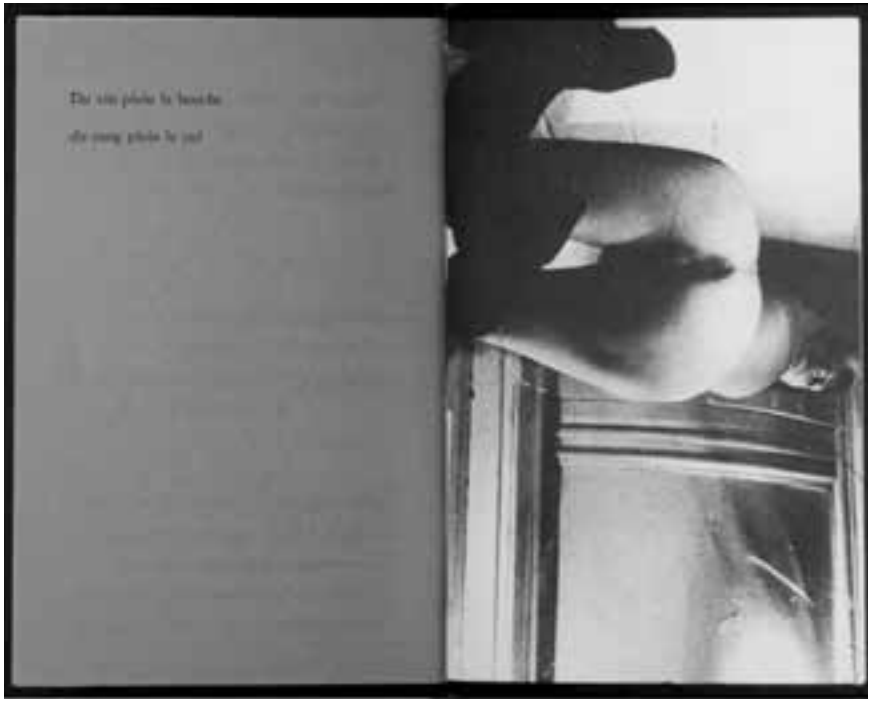
Writing on Montréal's erotic magazines and tabloids tends to ignore that they were fundamentally comical, frequently rejecting

and mocking, both in their written and visual rhetoric, any notion that they had much transparent or plausible referent. This is not to say that they were unrealistic, but that they had a kind of realism that bore a far closer resemblance to radical experiments in art than to representational forms of reality as construed by journalists or most sociologists. In the introduction, we encountered Jacques Lazure, one of the few sociologists in the period who tried to describe the changes in eroticism within the province. In his more hyperbolic moments, he would figure this in contrasts between the mechanical functionalism that was being instituted by government and the neo-primitivism associated with the younger generations. If he hinted at the surreality of erotic life in Montréal, but largely avoided dwelling on it to focus on the imagined inner lives of the place's inhabitants, at least one writer did probe into the surreal erotic implications of the city's print media.

Poet Denis Vanier was to the erotic art of Montréal in the 1960s and '70s what Baudelaire was to the age of impressionism in Paris. However, the Vanier mode of thought shared far more with Dalí than it did with Baudelaire and provided a very different perspective on the erotic "cannibals" wandering in the "no man's land" of the new erotic environment imagined by Lazure and obsessively depicted by the editorials of *Proscope*.[87]

Vanier's books may have baffled, but they were packaged in familiar clothes. *Pornographic delicatessen* (1968) had two introductions, one by fellow poet Patrick Straram and another by Claude Gauvreau. It was greeted with the insistence that it was a work of surrealism, both by Gauvreau and by critics.[88] Certainly, nothing about Vanier's attitudes or aesthetic claims fell far outside of what the surrealists had done in the 1930s. Beyond the form of his books, his more concise statements about art came from his criticism, which shows a distinct move toward a paranoiac decadence.

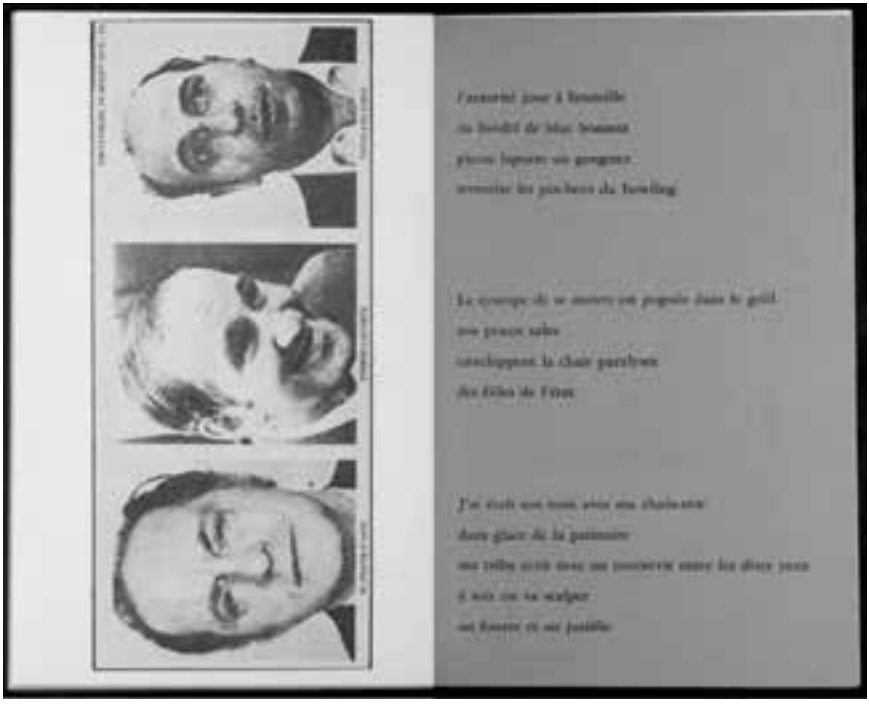
In books like *Pornographic delicatessen* and *Lesbiennes d'acid* (1972), Vanier crystallized the tendencies already present in the assemblage form of the erotic press with collages made from porn magazines, the local yellow press, old books, medical textbooks, quotes from de Chardin, Hitler, rock songs, the white panthers, and conspiracy theories. Indeed, his books function so much in visual terms (even when they are strictly text) that it is more convincing to analyse



4.13 Page spread from Denis Vanier's *Le Clitoris de la fée des étoiles, les herbes rouges*, no. 17 (Montréal: Les Herbes Rouges, 1974), n.p.

them as works of visual art. The poem "French kiss" condenses the quilting together of disparate materials as it imagines an electronic porn magazine that promises kosher anatomies, criminal poetry, hallucinogenic sports, nomadic children, religious pornography, police perfume, and other things, before being punctuated by a four-panel cartoon of a couple having sex and sharing a fantasy of utopian eroticism.[89] If, for the sexologists encountered earlier, such phenomena would be amassed in an encyclopaedia, for Vanier it becomes a delicatessen, an English term that ironically stresses the "delicacy" of the butcher shop.

The title "pornographic delicatessen" is also a play on the *cochonnerie*, capturing its simultaneous suggestion of the pigsty and junk-food. "Junk" also has other suggestions, both in terms of sexual innuendo in English (and, as we saw earlier, carried back into French through the sex trade), and in terms of narcotics. However, likely the more relevant matter is that of "junk" in the sense it had come



4.14 Page spread from Denis Vanier's *Le Clitoris de la fée des étoiles, les herbes rouges*, no. 17 (Montréal: Les Herbes Rouges, 1974), n.p.

to be used by early theorists of "composite" or assemblage art such as Lawrence Alloway. As William C. Seitz had pointed out, while assembling various artefacts into makeshift artforms was hardly new, the rise of collage in the twentieth century seemed correlated with the development of particular kinds of urban environments.[90]

The pornographic delicatessen, aside from its obvious nod to William S. Burroughs' *Naked Lunch* (1959), also suggests a polemic, but in a strictly perverse form. Perhaps the best commentary on this was Vanier's own article about becoming a beekeeping vegetarian. After expressing his approval of "[c]arnivorous animals, devouring their prey whole with the bones, [to] spiritually appropriate the strength and chakras of the slaughtered," he continues this micro-politicization of diet, explaining that meat digestion undermines the power of erogenous zones, and attacks Crisco for causing "an excess of cholesterol," which was "a fascist illness."[91] Finally, "From the spiritual crime of destroying life to fecal ligation, this

is the story of a whole governmental pornography, the sabotage of subversive sexuality by paranoid and poisonous foods (saltpetre, white sugar, menthol in fibroids, sterilising eggs from chemically fed hens)."[92] But this sort of hippy-ish body puritanism was clearly perverted by an insistence, which became more prevalent as the years went on, that sexual liberation was best exemplified by the "unilateral projection of energy" toward onanism and the embrace of death, which he also identified with fascism and the vulva.[93] In this respect, he was extending a notion of eroticism clearly derived from Bataille while amorally assimilating the tropes of both the counterculture *and* what it attacked, simultaneously. Such hyperbolic clashes of imagery and the de-differentiation of apparently contrasting categories was something that we already encountered in the personal ads of local tabloids, where sexual services were visually equalized with all manner of other services and products even as they were being abstractly codified. What Vanier did was push this pornographic operation further, vitiating significance while retaining concrete referentiality.

Vanier mentions pornography consistently throughout his body of work, although the meaning can be loose. It tends to suggest a mixture of the sacred and the profane, a generally bourgeois art, but equally a form of "superb vulgarity," with *Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt cited as a great genius.[94] Vanier's poetry is a kind of *Hustler* for hipsters, sharing with that magazine its sense of extreme, often disturbing juxtapositions, political polemics, ad parodies, graphic photos of medical anomalies and disease, crudely satirical humour, and scatology.[95] Vanier's 1974 collection *Le Clitoris de la fée des étoiles* featured a few poems but was dominated by puce monochrome pages alternating with black and white photos of vaginas cropped from pornography, facing diverse images including pictures of drugs, Pierre Laporte, police brutality, and illustrations from medical textbooks.[96] While such radical juxtapositions were hardly out of place in either surrealist painting or in the more ostensibly "ethnographic" or "archaeological" current of surrealism exploited by Bataille and his colleagues for the journal *Documents* (1929–1930), they take on different contours here.[97]

In a detailed text discussing Vanier's work for *Cul Q*, Beausoleil calls on Lyotard's *Économie libidinale* (1974) to advocate for the most

appropriate way to appreciate the erotology of his colleague's poetry. This analysis detected an atomic logic at play in Vanier. one which employed the use of every phantasm available from a variety of discourses. When these were arranged as a series of images and placed in the "spacetime of reproduction" of their material remediation as books, they effaced their good sense (social, psychological, etc.).[98] Beausoleil insisted that such an operation resulted in a variation of surrealist convulsive beauty, which was, unsurprisingly, equally impossible for critics on the right and left to understand.[99] Vanier was the only poet of his generation quoted in toilet graffiti around the city. Embracing a particularly violent form of Bataillean eroticism, his work eliminated fiction for the sake of epic "drift" accomplished through the layering of concrete materials.[100] If, for Beausoleil, Vanier's work seemed to be "ill" with realism, the nature of that realism was its ruination of the notion of language (and images) as modes of representation as they became things or devices.

5

Remediation, Erotic Artists' Books, and the Work of Serge Lemonde

Following the previous chapter's recognition of the book as device, the purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it is to move from the erotic press just described to discussing the erotic artists' books that were produced in the period. These may have shared thematic interests or directly commented on the imagery and formal logic of erotic print media in the city. They may also have directly integrated imagery that was common to the pornographic tabloids of the city and reimagined it using the latest experimental techniques in print production. The selected works illustrate a variety of ways that the book form, frequently functioning as an album of prints and texts, could be exploited to deal with eroticism. This meant not only the inclusion of erotic imagery, but conceptualizing the book as an erotic device, one to be interacted with in a tactile way more than read. In doing so, they explored another formal consideration that has been recurrent: the collapse of generic media boundaries and the fusion of heterogeneous forms of visual rhetoric that will be basic to the discussion of the various forms of realism and pop art in the following chapters and which already formed one of the underlying thematic concerns of the first three chapters.

Second, this chapter looks at how imagery from the erotic press was being remediated in painting. More explicitly than most of his contemporaries, painter Serge Lemonde (b. 1945) foregrounded the relationship between erotic print media and painting in a series of works that directly mixed the two. Lemonde's combination of collage and the appropriation of a variety of styles—both abstract and figurative—also helps point in one of the most consistent

directions that the city's erotic art would tend to tread: along the questionable barrier between the figurative and non-figurative.

Artists' Books

As we saw in an earlier chapter, Montréal was cast, accurately or not, by journalists, police, and clergy as one of the centres of the networks of pornographic print production in North America. The city had its own unique and substantial erotic media in the 1960s and '70s. In this context, it also saw a brief efflorescence of artists' books dealing in overtly erotic content, which often directly remediated elements of this print media.

While this vogue for artists' books was new to the city, it certainly was not new to art. The book has been one of the primary vehicles for erotic visual art for centuries. One can readily find precedents in ancient scrolls, in illustrated erotic literature in Europe, and in the sizeable shunga tradition of Japan with its "one-handed books."[1] There, even more explicitly, one finds the overlap between the tradition of printmaking and the creation of erotic books for private use. Illustrated erotica was not a total anomaly in contemporaneous English Canada, either. To name two of the more high-profile incidents in proximity to ours: the poetry collection *Love Where the Nights are Long: An Anthology of Canadian Poems* (1962) mixed poems with erotic drawings by Harold Town. Likewise, Town's *Enigmas* (1964) consisted largely of a series of erotic nightmares with explicitly Canadian content.

For several centuries, the book had been one of the most privileged spaces for the display of erotic art, usually clandestine. In Europe, the pornographic literary satires of the seventeenth and eighteenth century were rife with illustrations of their lascivious contents or frontispieces imagining their themes through a range of genital motifs. These were, one could argue, more illustrated texts than artists' books. The nineteenth century saw an influx of short and small-run books, sold as luxury items, overwhelmed by graphic and often very creative depictions of themes that exploited whatever printmaking processes were available. With many of these, the literary aspect clearly took a back seat to the imagery. By the twentieth century, printing became increasingly

cheap and pornography more prevalent. With its growing market came a larger public profile and the venues of mail-order small-run magazines and one-off publications encountered significant legal problems around the world.

While all of this had occurred within a largely clandestine market, the neo-avant-garde of the 1960s and '70s took advantage of some of the same models for distribution and form. Mail art quickly became a recognizable and established form. By the early 1970s, there were exhibitions in North America dedicated to artists' books and the form had become identifiable as one peculiar tendency of what was very broadly termed conceptual art, in which Canadian artists like N.E. Thing Co. and General Idea played significant roles. But artists' books were still generally confused with art publishing more broadly until later in the decade.[2] The artists' books that concern us did not tend to commit to being cheap, mass-produced goods nor disclaim their value as works of art. While not exactly precious, deluxe items, they were limited editions and not easily attained.

At the time, Lucy Lippard observed that not only did artists' books stand as autonomous and mobile exhibitions but, perhaps even more importantly, they effectively (or at least potentially) circumvented the art world as an institutional, critical, and social sphere.[3] The artists' books that concern us are interesting in part because they are so different from the more visually austere modes of artists' books that would dominate, especially in the 1970s after the trend for conceptualism had been ushered in. These artists' books were nonetheless characterized by one critic as modes for analyzing the book as a habitual form, with artists treating it in frequently parodic terms, filled up with jokes about functionalism, "scatological autobiography," and "paradoxical narcissism."[4] The books that concern us here were also a far cry from the mail art that grew in popularity throughout the 1960s and '70s and which was frequently distributed through book or magazine formats (such as General Idea's *FILE Megazine*). These artists' books resolutely decomposed the form.

The artist's book could be distinguished, as Dick Higgins has suggested, precisely by the stress that it placed upon the book as a thing, rather than just as something that contains a content,

particularly a text. And, as a thing, it was less about meaning than about sensation.[5] The book, of course, is not only (or even necessarily) a series of images and their often-questionable relationship with a text. The book is also a highly tactile object, even an interactive one, with which its user has a physical, sensual relationship. The majority of the erotic books made by artists in the city demanded a certain amount of labour from their user. These objects tended to make a great show of their status as things to be grasped and effectively undressed. This continues the programme of unreading that was discussed earlier.

The development of a small market in prints and artists' books in Montréal was also part of the broader "democratization" of culture that was being sponsored by the state. This was in keeping with one of the general claims of proponents of artists' books, even if the results scarcely measured up to the intentions.[6] "Democratic," in this case, also tended to imply "private," a direction that ran against the grain of the trend for "public" art. Not that the erotic artist book was less participatory than other art forms—far from it. But the implications of its participation were entirely different, generally foregrounding the appropriation of common images from public media for private use.

Although some of the volumes that will be discussed were displayed as parts of exhibitions, usually as prints on a wall, as private objects they likely possessed other potential functions, from the decorative to the onanistic. They were distinct from the low-cost, mass-produced paper media that could be purchased at newsstands, and instead offered a limited escape from the publicizing of the work of art. They stand in the overlap between the book as unique object and the book as a potentially infinitely repeatable edition. Their small runs, while pragmatic, were simultaneously defining acts of cauterization from the potential infinity of reproduction.

The book as object was probably best exemplified by the publisher Les Éditions de l'Oeuf, based in Rosemont and founded by Yrénée Bélanger and Guy M. Pressault in 1971. Starting out, they created inexpensive small-run publications that fused poetry to text and object, often in eccentric formats, with contents and an overarching ethos that tended to stress the scatological. *Objet*

fictivement excrémentiel mis en boîte (1974), for instance, was a piece of plastic excrement in a box; *Point rose dédicacé "aux autres qui encore écrivent car—": livre mamelle* (1973) was a foam rubber breast and pages; and *Avortement rapide* (1974) was a cardboard disc with a skull printed on it. Yrénée Bélanger explained that, "Since the book is physically a 'flat,' stupid object, it was enough to give it its own originality, to develop it further. We simply extended the dimensions of the normal book by giving it an objectable reality. It is in fact a search for creativity: deletion of the title, velvet paper, incorporated gadgets, etc."[7]

These book-objects almost instantly accelerated in market value because of their rarity.[8] They were created, the publishers insisted, without government funding. The Canada Council for the Arts had rejected them, they explained, because they seemed to think they were creating *merde*.[9] It was the government's refusal of patronage that transformed them into luxury items. To make this more obvious, a profile of the publishers in *La Presse* contained a photograph of them sitting side-by-side on toilets.

This scatological conception of the art-book clearly has a great deal in common with Denis Vanier's reimagining of print as a form of pornographic delicatessen, discussed in the previous chapter, which conceptualized print-based art in analogies that flirted with cannibal imagery. The artists' book answered this, logically, with scatology. This stress on the book not as a source of knowledge or communication but as a form of stupidity that confounded such concerns would also be central to the way that erotic artists' books would function.

Five Books

One of the few direct visual depictions of the city's commercial sex scene was Marc Dugas's *Les Plottes* (1970), the second album, or *Graffofone*, produced by Atelier Graff.[10] With prints by Dugas and texts by Jacques Fortier, it was sent around the country for exhibition. Assuming the most traditional of pornographic forms, the book alternated between scenes of carnal interest and dialogue, a form that had been common since the sixteenth century.[11] The dialogue involves three characters: the "author," the "whore," and

5.1 Marc Dugas, "Main street," from *Les Plottes* (Montréal: Atelier Graff, 1970). Serigraph, 74 x 59 cm (image cropped from full page).

the "educated biker" (*motard instruit*). They discuss the aesthetics of sex and prostitution, primarily concerning sadomasochism, and the whore disagrees with her interlocutors about the plausibility of their sexual imaginings.

Imagery significantly outflanks text, and both are enveloped in a thick, heavy cover featuring the image of a man in his underwear. As was common to such erotic books, the prints are numbered and the texts tend not to be paginated. A nylon stocking is provided to bind the prints and text together within their covers and insist on their tactile qualities. It is a book that the user has to literally undress to access, placing it in league with the types of interactive sculpture being produced by Yvon Cozic, discussed

5.2 Marc Dugas, "Madame Blanche-ville," from *Les Plottes* (Montréal: Atelier Graff, 1970). Serigraph, 74 x 59 cm (image cropped from full page).

later. The source imagery in the prints seems to have been collaged from the style of imagery common both in California slicks and in magazines like *Frou-Frou*. Insistent on its local milieu, text reading "The Main" (referencing Boulevard St-Laurent) is printed beneath an uneven grid of smaller rectangular photo-negative images of topless women in garterbelts.

Containing variants of other images to appear in the work, the opening negative image operates as a kind of illegible index. Most of the prints consist of single images, the majority of them printed in superimposition, stressing the reproductive processing. The bodies are broken up by Ben-Day dots, often multi-layered and misaligned, giving the contours and details of the body a stuttering effect, especially when set against the flat swath of colour that tends to dominate the background. The dots are imprecise, at times exaggeratedly so, and twisting to provide the effect one

encounters with fishnet stockings over flesh. The shaky, imprecise quality of the images, which amplifies and increasingly distorts the figures as the work progresses, serves as a counterpoint to the accompanying text, which attempts to refine its description of sex acts to precision.

Dugas' prints make explicit the image of a world as only a set of superimposed surfaces that can be removed or added, each surface a possible world made of part objects alien to the supposed bodies being indexed by their source photos. That the supplementary text does not actually coordinate any of these images into narrative identities only furthers this implication.

A review of the work sensed a tension within it but found it disappointing: "How can one conceive of a lively and ecstatic art without the least bit of wonderment occurring? The forms are too familiar and express only what they are; the positions of the bodies lack invention or fun. They are too common to be realistic or naturalistic. The colours are elaborate but gratuitous—they add nothing. In short, 'Les Plottes' are 'flat'…"[12] This would be in keeping with how Bélanger and Pressault characterized the art book as a "'flat,' stupid object."

One might counter that such images could be uniquely suited to articulate the notion of "ecstasy," in its literal sense of "being outside oneself." To be "outside" and to be "flat" or "surface," to be common (*trop connue*) to the point of being unnatural—and to do all of this without creating an affective flow between viewer and work, but rather an *ennuyeux* (boring) surface that blocks such exchange—is a means of rendering the ecstatic autonomy of the image rather than providing the viewer with an easy means to consume it. The work fits the model of pornography elaborated by Montréal's most famous eroticist, John Glassco.[13] According to him, pornography shared strong formal similarities with satire, both of them operating through an appeal to "intensity of feeling, the same truth and clarity of observation."[14] The primary distinction was pornography's aphrodisiac value, which relied on the suspension of moral or political significance, even if it borrowed rhetoric or imagery from these genres of discourse. He stressed the formal quality of pornography as a mode of collage and superimposition, taking William S. Burroughs' *Naked Lunch* as the

exemplar of modern pornography, with its "stripped, functional style…with its flatness of statement, its record of acts uncluttered by sentiment or background."[15]

Processes of intensification through stripping down and exaggeration generated a certain awkwardness when attempts were made to fold the image's new aphrodisiac function back into one of social sentiment. A general review of Graff's work in *La Presse* noted this effect when the various figures appropriated in pornography played their desentimentalization against their apparently folkloric content and context. The review's author, Gilles Toupin, concentrates primarily on a collaboration—an artist's book once again composed of prints and text—between playwright Michel Tremblay and Michel Leclair. *Chez Fada: Biere, vin, liqueurs, repas* (1973) details a night in a local tavern, where men get drunk and wait for the arrival of the stripper, Elisabeth Monroe.[16] The images are made up of clichés and urinal graffiti featuring hermaphrodites, phone numbers, and leaking penises. The centrepiece is a double image, "Vue de face et de…fesse." At the top is the stripper's backside with cash tucked into the panties; at the bottom, the reverse, with the figure shown from the front, both images in a garish pink and yellow. The image that follows sets the solarized duotone of a viewer beneath three dancers, a recasting of the traditional Grace figures, whose bodies are made primarily of shadow. Anecdotal and deliberately crude, this is one face of Graff and its revealing of "certain realities, a kind of osmosis and a common fantasy…"[17] But this sort of realism, in terms of local, anecdotal detail and clearly legible figuration, had another side that could slip into a "the realm of pure fantasy… beyond the reach of social contingencies."[18] Although Toupin sets these two tendencies in opposition, the picture he paints of the fantasy underlying both the world that these images reference and the milieu of their production suggests that even beneath careful renderings of locally manufactured beer there is something fantastic:

> However, between this re-lived and disarticulated daily life that these artists offer us and that of an art whose bases rest on contingencies external to what we are, I do not hesitate to place myself, without even confining myself to an

> exaggerated chauvinism, on the side of our immediate concerns. These artificial paradises that we have fashioned for ourselves in this crazy America and which put us in its step, this indolence of certain acts that we have called "kétainerie," this kitsch of thought, this pink with green weights, of our existence have become a way of being exorcised by the spirit of this unsuspected creativity.[19]

Among the works produced at Graff, the extreme point of this kétaine tendency is *Les primatapatates* (1973) by André Dufour, with texts by the sculptor and poet Jean Gauguet-Larouche. Both men were from Malbaie. The poems are littered with *joual*, cowboy images, the towns of rural Québec, animals, vegetables, and statements about love. Dufour's prints do not directly reflect the text, but they also possess the quality of mythologizing a rural notion of Québec. He marries the naïf rendering of unstated narrative with aspects of psychedelia. One gets the flatness of bodies and objects as well as the impression that distances are created by the superimposition and size of pictorial elements. The result falls somewhere between a pop-inspired poster and a colouring book. Most of the lines tend to be clean and fluid, articulating the shapes of bodies, vegetation, and eggs. Nipples are rendered in heightened detail and pubic hair is usually opulently curled. The bodies of the women that populate his images are red, pink, and brown. They exist in a landscape of intense greens and pinks, purples, yellows, and soft blues. There are vegetal and poultry motifs and even some bondage chains held by butterflies. Many of the figures are clearly modelled on old pornographic postcards, while others resemble mythical Graces, fertility figures, and dancers. One image even casts the female body as a landscape.

While this traditional imagery, mythical and pornographic, is given the poster treatment, the crisp and clear surface of several of the prints is interrupted by what seems to be crayon doodling that barely keeps between the lines. There also appears to be paint spatter and floral motifs made by what look like lipstick kisses. The primitive or naïf style of so many of the images is then trumped by the aggressive and almost mockingly childlike doodling. There is a

double meaning in this. The work both embraces the kind of naïf mythologizing that had a strong tradition in the province, which we have already encountered,[20] but also seems to be commenting on the avant-garde's appropriation of aspects of this tradition through its deskilling and fascination with more aggressively "primitive" or childlike gestures.[21] However, the supposedly immediate or unique quality of the gesture is transformed by the print medium into one which is mechanical and readily reproduced. Both tendencies are summarized in the name for the series, a fusing of *primate* and *patate*, of the primitive and readily reproduced and farmable.

Perhaps the most romantic of the artist books to be produced was *Au large d'Eros* (1975) by Irénee Lemieux, with poems by Georgette Lacroix. The large volume (measuring 54 × 43 cm) of linocut images are rendered more directly in the comic-strip style than the other collections, often shading into the language of psychedelic film. Primarily gridded out in distinct and consistent patterns, its heavy pages of glued-on images have a quality that suggests frames of animation. Less narrative than suggestive, the imagery runs through variations of a couple kissing passionately from different perspectives, closing in and out on the action and increasingly superimposing their heads as they become more intimate.

Au large d'Eros quotes from the style of romance novel covers before moving into the abstraction of the bodies as they join in sexual union. There are occasional interjections of more traditional nude posing and images of children in the manner of family portraits and snapshots before the collection ends with couples dancing in a disco. The single prints are usually cut with linear consistency but occasionally use rougher lines that break up the uniformity. While the poses relied upon are generic and repetitive, the sensuality of the imagery is constructed through colour and rhythmic variation that effects the density of each page and prompts the viewer to go over every linear reproduction with care to examine their differentiation.

While the other volumes discussed here tended to be minimal in length but imposing in sizes that tended to far exceed what was common for a book, Lemieux's work is dense and demanding in the amount of time that even a cursory engagement with it entails.

It makes unique requirements on those interacting with it, who encounter its pages not simply as distinct images, but as heavy slivers of a volume whose size makes it difficult to handle.

Starker and cruder in content but more refined in design was *Les Sept pèches capitaux* by Normand Ulrich and Micheline Voynaud—he provides the lithographs and she the text. They began the series in 1973 and published the finished product in 1977. It was produced at Atelier Arachel and systematically enumerates the seven deadly sins, with the text facing the images. In an artist's statement, Ulrich insists that its technical demands were at least as important as its thematic content, integrating a gradient pointillism to intensify the sense of volume for the bodies he presented: "Each image relates a suggestive atmosphere where the woman deviates in total complicity with her desires or fantasies inscribed in speech bubbles where elements related to the title swarm."[22] This is where the theme of the work resides. As he explains, the tension between religion and sexuality has played a significant role in the evolution of society. Whatever liberty there is resides in the moral choice made regarding the deadly sins. The text has a monologue quality, constructing a character for each sin through an assemblage of relatively traditional imagery that is cropped into tight sentences collected to suggest a nervous, slightly threatening affect that still manages to almost inevitably fall on a soft or lengthened consonant.

Ulrich's images, rendered in a style superficially similar to that of French erotic artist Raymond Bertrand, feature a different female figure for each sin. Though the bodies are largely the same, the head and hair are articulated uniquely for each, often assimilated into the accoutrements that detail the sin. For instance, *Gourmandise* shows the figure in a cannibalistic scene, her hair twisted in strings that mirror the twisting straw that loops around her body to a jar containing a skeletal man. The twisting spiral occurs with variations in almost every image, as the cord of a vacuum or an electric dildo, usually around the curves of the model. Like the chains that often appear on one of her extremities, they echo the circles that appear in every image. The model is always posed in a generic manner found in the relatively hardcore pornography that was becoming

available at the time. Unlike the more innocent-looking nudes that (as we will see) populate the world of someone like Serge Lemonde, here they are shown with spread legs and shaved vaginas, staring at the viewer (*L'Avarice*). The bodies are posed against a minimal design of Claude Tousignant-like spirals or alternating black and white lines. Sometimes the ground is established with a multiplying motif. In one, this motif is a profusion of illegible ruffles and, in another, what appears to be a sea of "realistic" dildos (*La Luxure*).

A recasting of the new erotic world of "call-girls" fused with surrealist fantasy was also integral to a set of prints created by Louisette Gauthier-Mitchell. *En roulant carosse* (1975) featured seven prints and no guiding text narrative. Yet, it did rely upon a unique revisioning of the same type of material that we have already encountered. Gauthier-Mitchell has her own three Grace figures, this time virtual clones of one another, dancing in lingerie with wristwatches dangling from their garter belts.[23] Dance serves as the dominant through-line for the images, recurring in each as a form of energy. This is treated literally, with the dancers' movements powering various machinery, like buggies, steam engines, and blimps. The characters, often hybridized with birds and dressed in an assortment of antique lingerie, cowboy boots, and ruffles, frequently dance or fly around dangling telephones, generally interpreted as signs for prostitution by the press.

"The decorative fantasy of these small works is all part of a theme that encompasses victims (men) and executioners (women). These women are often detailed in skimpy outfits and look like matrons who would make Hugh Hefner himself blush," *La Presse* wrote in response to Gauthier-Mitchell's imagery.[24] Another critic situated her in relation to surrealism, to a battle between the sexes, and for self-realization; knowing your body and your self was interpreted as part of conquering your own totality. The women she presents are fantastic, surrounded by birds, suggesting that they may also be caged, though they boldly confront the gaze of the audience. Portrayed as call-girls, Pierre Vallières claimed, "They breathe both disgust at male parasitism (in particular, sexual parasitism), lucidity in the face of their own tendency to monopolize and dominate, irony in the face of their lived contradiction between 'inter-female

competition' and the solidarity they have to develop to counter their reduction to the state of sexual objects put on the market by the system."[25]

As objects, all of these art books shared characteristics in common with the tabloid press discussed already: the demotion of text, the function as a mobile museum of images, and the fact that they could often be taken apart and transformed into wall art. The stress on the book form as a gadget, as flat, and as "stupid" was widespread, despite the attempts of critics to read social significance into it. This was one way of further bringing to fruition the general tendency in painting at the time to stress its flatness and object status, that a painting was more sculpture or device than window, which will be explored further in the following chapter. While some of these artists used the book form as a way to keep the graphic function on the level of illustration and supplement, others pushed it to the decomposition of generic form.

Serge Lemonde

Commenting in *La Presse* on how young artists were integrating the imagery of their milieu into their work, Yves Robillard wrote, "Serge Lemonde has also chosen love or eroticism as a theme. He cuts out 'pin-ups' from magazines and places them in settings he has designed. His last exhibition at the Galerie Libre was a revelation. His beauties were cosmonauts. It was as if we were in a future civilization ruled by women, women whose appetites he explored."[26] Lemonde's imagery was integrated into the city's sex scenes by magazines like *Sexus,* which featured his work in their pages. He was not the first to juxtapose vernacular imagery with non-figuration, either: Charles Gagnon had been placing images from the press into his abstract paintings since 1960. More importantly, this juxtaposition was one logical end of the formal considerations outlined in the last chapter, in which print media was no longer to be regarded as a text so much as a set of shapes in a grid that relied on the interaction between the rhythm of the page and the tensions and breaks that were introduced by the figure.

Born in Saint-Hyacinthe, Lemonde moved to Montréal and studied at the École des beaux-arts under *Prisme d'yeux* signatory

Jacques de Tonnancour. Like many of his peers, Lemonde had been influenced by the city's tradition of abstraction but broke with it in 1965 to embrace imagery from comic strips, pulp fantasy books, and softcore porn. The eroto-environment that we saw worrying the intellectual class in the introduction was reimagined as a possible future for Québec, complete with all the optimism and technophilia of Expo. Images from *Playboy*, *Lui*, and *Cavalier* were cut and pasted into his work to become part of "narrative scenes that transformed these sex symbols into space nymphs living lives devoted to hedonism."[27] The painter's flirtation with erotic collage was brief, concentrated primarily within two years. His futuristic erotic fantasies directly coincided with the machine fantasies of his friends and colleagues and can be read as an ironic retreading of both the Automatist concern with mechanics and a futuristic New Person. The first showing of his collaged paintings was a duo exhibition with sculpture Jean-Claude Lajeunie at Galerie de la Masse, titled *Voyage chez les autres*.[28] Lajeunie shared Lemonde's fascination with science fiction.[29] The gadget world of the playboy here takes more extreme dimensions: for Lajeunie, the playboy was no longer merely a refined consumer but a *bricoleur* who constructed strange and shocking "chimeras" from unusual materials.[30]

For his part, Lemonde's paintings displayed playmates dislocated to an otherworldly space. In *Vue sur le lac* (1965), a nude model sits in the cockpit of what appears to be a ship in a stark abstract landscape, primarily flat black with a single band of red set long the bottom to hum against the cool grey of her ship. The woman-as-voyageur appears repeatedly. In *La Sanatorium* (1967) she will be presented on what looks like a hybrid white cube and upholstered surfboard, gliding through space. This mythical content was not only deployed for its surface-level thematics. Effectively, it served as a way of reimagining the city's artworld and the claims being made for art, which the work's reception in the period amply illustrates.

The most substantial critical examination of Lemonde at this stage of his career came from several articles by Claude Jasmin which, taken together, provided some of the most extensive critical ruminating on erotic art in the city at the time, while also demonstrating how contradictory and unsettled critical reaction

could be. Jasmin contextualized the painter as part of a new generation of Montréal artists breaking away from the old.[31] This break meant, in part, a shift from the dream world of surrealism and a turn to a form of "prophetism" allowing for the artist "to be sensitive and have antennae, to be clairvoyant."[32] This was cast in two quite different ways—as atemporality and as futurism. The atemporal manifested through forms such as light art (Serge Lemoyne's use of phosphorescent tubes) or in modes of *tachisme* that were less about gesture than hierarchic organization, flattening time into organized pockets that take on a graphic function (Gilles Boisvert and Claude Tousignant). The type of atemporality that Jasmin associated with these artists in the period can be distinguished from the temporal issues that will come into play with ti-pop, which relied on a harvesting of imagery from the province's history and mythical projections of the future that largely suspended its present. Although Serge Allaire awkwardly tried to place Lemonde in proximity with ti-pop,[33] if not under its direct influence, Lemonde's work is not dominated with images from Québec's past and displays a different general orientation to time, and, more importantly, place.[34] If "futurism" or "science fiction" have a role in his work, it seems to be primarily because they provide rhetorical means for rendering space alien.

Lemonde remediated both the banal images of softcore pornography and the (by then) equally banalized images of abstract or non-figurative painting and placed them in direct superimposition, integrating them into a vision of the future that displaced contemporary material from its temporal mooring. The most blatant instance of this was *La Tache (phénomène étrange)* (1966), in which the sort of automatic mark that had been dear to an earlier generation of Québec painters is transformed into what looks like a tear in the universe or a gaping wound at the top of the canvas. It drips down to the cut-out of a softcore model at the bottom, holding her towel and exclaiming with a cartoon bubble, "En effet, il s'agit-là d'un phénomène vraiment étrange…" The general process he employs transforms the clichés of abstraction into a sound stage for a kitschy alternative universe and animates the models he appropriates from magazines, translating them into heroines or guides for this universe in a mock anthropology of the future.[35]

5.3 Serge Lemonde, *La Tache*, 1966. Acrylic and collage on panel, 81 x 61 cm.

In one image, nude models relaxing in saunas are relocated into the rooms of a rocket taking off for space. They are viewed through tiny holes to provide the image with an exaggerated voyeurism which is rendered in a style employing crudely simplified renderings of objects against a field of colour that accentuates its strokes. The title, *Les Filles du roy* (1966), appears as part of the background, making a wink at Québec's history—which is otherwise rare in his work. This voyeurism is mocked in one of the later works which seems to take place inside of the rocket: in *Le Voyeur* (1968), a small nude model lounges in a chair on a shag carpet while a giant ape peers through the window at her. This was the age of *Barbarella,*[36] and Lemonde was casting a future for women as a literalized break from *la terre*.[37] With him, the erotic becomes cinematic and turns toward the cosmic, to a future Edenic realm in outer space. Men

5.4 Serge Lemonde, *Le Voyeur*, 1968. Acrylic and collage on panel, 61 x 81 cm.

are absent from his work, with the one significant exception of the artist himself—though only by implication. In *Vernissage* (1967) one of the cut-out female figures raises a glass to welcome him to an art opening, with the event presented as a flat geometric abstraction transformed into a stage where a cut-out of Julie Christie and various nude models are pasted. Claude Jasmin stressed the distinction between Lemonde's erotic universe and that of Toronto's Dennis Burton.[38] The latter, while talented, was crude while the "new romanticism" of Lemonde "uses the 'genteel' eroticism of *Playboy* or *Lui*."[39] The deeper distinction seemed to be that he perceived the nudism in Lemonde as representing both a rebellion against puritanism and an innocent utopianism.[40]

For Jasmin, what Lemonde achieved through the collapse of photography (as object and reproduction) with painting was effectively the elimination of painting.[41] The *image* becomes something that is no longer medium specific. With Lemonde, the image is made to float, appropriately enough, like the female figures in his

work. There are several ways that this could be interpreted *if* one were inclined to read them as symbolic narratives. One could suggest that the future promises a utopia for women and of women, who seem to be the only people there, exploring with comfort and without inhibition the space of the non-human. They could be interpreted as his fantasies of an extraterrestrial world, one where beautiful women await the arrival of men, like the hostesses who await Lemonde at his vernissage. Or this could be a sardonic comment on the notion of woman as Other, in Simone de Beauvoir's sense. But all of these prospects are complicated by a series of rather different sci-fi-themed paintings, produced directly after these images of extra-terrestrial women, in which Lemonde returns to earth, only as an alien, and finds a world without people.

In 1968, with the help of a press release that only made explicit what was already clearly implied in the logic of the artworks themselves, Lemonde inverted the reception of his work as a utopian humanist fantasy by casting himself as an alien who lands on earth only to paint photorealistic images of animals, such as *Le Zèbre* (1968) and *Le Rhinocéros* (1968), mostly set against landscapes or abstract paintings. The collapse of painting and photography is taken one step further here and the stress is on the image as a rhetorical prop displayed from an alien perspective rather than something containing a "subject." As with the verist surrealism discussed earlier, there was a suggestion that the most seemingly legible figuration did not imply a knowable referent. "Those who believe that aliens are super-intellectuals who have long since assimilated all of our knowledge, will quickly come to their senses by visiting the Galerie Libre," warned one critic, stating that the paintings were weak in poetry and strong on description, as well, one might add, as "stupid" in the way we encountered earlier.[42]

The dubiousness of interpreting his paintings as statements about ostensible social content grew more obvious. As such, Jasmin's attitude to Lemonde became more negative as his reviews went on. The utopia that they initially seemed to illustrate was not as socially progressive as the critic initially desired. In his article on the artist for *Sexus*, Jasmin criticized him in harsh terms. Contextualizing him in light of the *films de cul*—which had proven to be the most financially successful films produced in the province and

5.5 Serge Lemonde, *La Folle du couvent*, 1967. Acrylic and collage on panel, 61 x 81 cm.

garnered enormous press coverage—and controversies in Toronto around erotic art, he claimed that Lemonde was "totally asexual. And it is a concrete reflection of a puritanical North American society."[43] Abruptly flipping his earlier interpretation, Jasmin suggested that the painter presents a misogynistic relationship to an idealized female object, which is a relation between an inferior and superior. The figures are "aseptic" and suspended in a futuristic space.[44] Lemonde's "eroticism is calm," and calmed even further by the plastic qualities of his work.[45] Manneristic, decorative and illustrative, "With Lemonde, sex life is still puny, timid…"[46] There is nothing pornographic about his imagery and this may be too bad, Jasmin suggests, because, we should admit that "eroticism is only the polished and civilized place of pornography, which has the merit of being hard, frank, brutal even, in its literary or visual-plastic statements."[47]

What Jasmin does not bring into this critique was his earlier estimation of Lemonde's flattening of media, which suggested a

rival, less humanistic form of eroticism. This was done through the creation of a form of image that was no longer medium or subject specific, something it shared with a number of the artists' books discussed above and buttressed by Lemonde's own rhetorical framing. They were not so much images *about* woman in narratives per se, as they were images *from* pornography and what it could (pro) create when media were placed in intermedial frottage with one another. Lemonde's positioning of the artwork as *alien*, as a mock anthropology conducted by the non-human that undermined reading it in cultural terms, only underlines this. The collapsing of painting and photography into a *thing* or image, one which united a series of figurative and non-figurative semiotic forms and perverted them, created a rhetorical structure that undermined the entire matter of reference and content. It is this perversity, the real eroticism of the work, that will be central to most of the erotic art discussed in this text going forward.

6

Figuration in Four Artists After Pop, *Figuration Narrative*, and *Nouveau Réalisme*

The world is ending today.[1]
–Diane Dufresne

Serge Allaire named eroticism as one of the key aspects of pop art in Québec and contextualized this within the development of the province's softcore porn films.[2] Eroticism was at the centre of the work of a handful of artists at the time, displayed in the sexual frankness attributed to the work of Pierre Ayot (1943–1995), Gilles Boisvert (b. 1940), Albert Dumouchel (1916–1971), and Robert Wolfe (1935–2003).[3] However, we should add that this "frankness," or what would elsewhere be debated under the notion of "erotic realism," was only one aspect—and a rather secondary one—of what constituted erotic art, and was not the one that was particularly relevant in Montréal.[4] As I have noted and will continue to note, eroticism had as much to do with perverting secular modes of representation as it did with blatant sexual presentation. If eroticism appropriated all the elements of the new urban environment, it did so to ends and in a logic that was not reducible to that of ruling technocracy. It was as much about metaphysics as biology and, thus, "reality" might be colour field painting, geometric abstraction, or garbage found in the street, rather than the type of representational indexing associated with documentary.

"Pop" was tied to figuration, a marked change from the dominance of abstraction and non-objective painting that had been associated with the avant-garde. Writing on behalf of the Musée d'art contemporain, Fernande Saint-Martin equated the new figuration with a "new society" and justified a travelling exhibition

by claiming that, "Contemporary art is an expression of our true reality."[5] This could be complicated by pointing to an argument she made for a catalogue on the "new figuration," namely that realism was not so much about depicting the banalities of the world, but about exploiting skill and rhetoric to transform them, relying on humour, stereotypes, and the legacy of the colour treatments of the Plasticiens.[6]

This chapter maps out the general theoretical and formal aspects of the specific sorts of realism that undergirded much of the erotic art in the province. The discussions herein will be essential to understanding the curious ways that the erotic was in operation in the province's art of the period and problematize what erotic "content" actually was. Nowhere was this foregrounded more than in work that fell under the loose banner of "pop."

Pop in Québec was the theme of an exhibition at the Saidye Bronfman Centre in 1972. Reviewing the show, Michael White considered pop a form of "positive realism," defined as the embrace of the relative freedom that American culture had created through the proliferation of market choice.[7] He claimed it evolved from both international pop movements and Québec's ti-pop. It was basically urban, but, he insisted, there had never been a substantive cultural distinction between rural and urban Québec. He tracked its development back to the late 1950s and the work of Michel Fortier and Marc Nadeau, with their attempts to cultivate eclectic and populist art forms, and to Albert Dumouchel's graphic arts studio at the École des beaux-arts, which fostered the shift away from traditional academic visual media and imagery. Use of serigraphs and silk-screens helped develop a market for posters that would include Vittorio Fiorucci and most of the other artists discussed in this book, many of whom either studied under or worked with Dumouchel. From his students spread a series of collective spaces including Atelier Libre 848 (later renamed Atelier Graff), Arachel, and the group Média, Gravures et Multiples.

Montréal critics, such as Claude Jasmin, after being initially supportive, would come to dismiss pop as petit-bourgeois due to its perceived decorative status and lack of politics.[8] Retrospectively, Serge Allaire placed the development of pop in Québec between the ambivalent positions staked on the matter by critics Jasmin

and Yves Robillard. Jasmin observed that what developed in the province was situated within the influences of American pop and the *nouveau réalisme* and *figuration narrative* of France. Yet, as the 1960s wore on, Allaire insisted on understanding Québec's pop art as distinct.[9] It was recognizably different from the modernism that had dominated Montréal art in the previous decades in being an art *for* life, by which he seemed to suggest that it was "made" from the banal materials in the artist's environment while also being an affirmation of their dynamic potential. As an aesthetic strategy, this put the young artists in league with some of the most basic currents of classic surrealism. Additionally, the artists, particularly Boisvert, often relied on unconscious processes, spontaneity, and an indifference to meaning in the construction of their imagery.[10] These tendencies tended to hamper critical attempts to discern socially redeeming significance in their art.

While I agree with the claim that Québec's pop was unique, the specificity of that uniqueness was different from how these critics characterized it—and the function of eroticism within these works was central to this difference. As should be obvious going forward, while there are some rather broad similarities between the dominant US and French models of pop and realism and what emerged in Québec, what happened in the province was *idiographic*—in the novel sense of being the graphic presentation of a historical contingency—not only in its content but in the way it took form, and this idiography both indexed and historicized particular local modes of sensuality.

Divergent Realisms

Before examining the specifics of these developments and their unique manifestations in Québec, we need some broader international perspective on pop and the proliferation of "realisms" that accompanied it. Depending on who you asked, what entered the critical vernacular as pop art in the mid-to-late 1950s[11] covered, or overlapped with, earlier works that had been referred to under a plethora of terms, including neo-Dada, anti-sensibility painting, common object art, factualism, new super realism, or new realism. The last of these was advanced to express an affinity with the

French nouveau réalisme movement, although this was only one of several new realisms floating around in the period and subsequently.[12] As a primarily anglophone phenomenon emerging in the mid-1950s and displaying a "relatively cohesive tendency" but no theoretical definition,[13] pop was usually delimited by its use of imagery and/or materials that had been mass produced on an industrial scale. This did not preclude artists from using such processes themselves, either directly or in parody form. At the same time, pop often relied on an appropriation of kitsch, either affectionately or not.[14]

For its apologists, however loose the term might have been, pop signified a shift away from the "esoteric inner searching" of abstract expressionism to a fascination with the façade.[15] As such, art became an appreciation of reality rather than an escape from it, relying on "cliché and banality" to produce a communal meaning, and treating them "with such delectation that they inspire reverence."[16] If pop artworks shared similar and recognizable subject matter, critics were always eager to explain how work so "depersonalized, anonymous" was expressed in widely divergent styles.[17]

Painting became open to different language games which allowed not only a clash of styles, but the introduction of images and objects from outside fine art. At the same time, pop rendered the artist less an autonomous creator than a link within a deterministic chain that they could affirm, ironically or not, but which functioned as a continuum regardless of their intents or experience.[18] In the French province, this issue will take on a different shading. The "foreign" aspect of pop placed it in a different set of political controversies within Canadian art discourse, while ti-pop would prove to be not so much ironic as sarcastic (the topic of the next chapter).[19]

One of the most thoughtful theoretical discussions of pop came from Art Gallery of Ontario curator Mario Amaya, who would curate the period's largest survey of the emergent realisms in Canada in 1970.[20] Amaya stressed that the many pops and realisms of the day were not reconcilable to the nineteenth-century sense of naturalism, the same sensibility that gave birth to the social sciences. Instead, they were a "radical empiricism" indifferent to

notions of causes or relationships[21] and concerned with surfaces that were "strange, inhuman, synthetic."[22] He suggested they were a form of urban folk art, only sophisticated and disposable rather than naïve and precious.[23] The goal of such art was not commentary but the *overstressing* of form, presenting its excessiveness, its presence, as a *thing*. This presence was also exaggerated by the fragility of the materials used, making the decay of the thing more palpable.[24]

In 1974, Lawrence Alloway stressed that pop art was remarkably like the "objective" sensibility of postwar American sociology, treating the "whole culture as if it were art."[25] Pop took on more of the characteristics of an anthropological conceptualization of art, concerned not with the unique but the repeatable, the cross-cultural, and exchangeable.[26] Pop art truncated artistic processes and minimized the nuances of particular artists, while the use of photographs provided a "gritty" sense of immediacy.[27] The result was work that might be "ironic" but was not "humorous."[28]

More typically avant-gardist, nouveau réalisme is sometimes dated to the release of its "constitutive declaration" on October 27, 1960. Pierre Restany's brief manifesto for the associated artists rehearsed the vanguard claim to break from the "sclerotic" norms of artistic expression so they could enter the "passionate adventure of reality."[29] A tool for this was the "sociological relay," appropriating the trash of everyday life. The "social" would be just another matter to be appropriated and used like glue or paint.[30] Restany explicitly set nouveau réalisme against sociology as a descriptive and systematic ideology. Central to the ritualistic conception of art that would be common to the movement was the exploitation of the "sociological element" of art's exhibition of readymade materials, using them for their potential to unleash the expressive capacities of chaos and chance.[31] This could mean exhibitions of garbage from the streets, exhibitions that excluded all viewers, or exhibitions where the space was empty of any artworks or statements.

The artists associated with nouveau réalisme were concerned with new perceptual approaches to reality and they adopted a wide variety of strategies to that end. Like pop, the movement arose in contrast to the dominance of abstraction and non-figuration in French art circles and a desire to work with the "poetic recycling of

urban reality."[32] This turn started several years before, most notably with the work of Yves Klein, Yves Tinguely, and Raymond Hains. With all three, there was an abandonment of easel painting and a shift to alternative strategies: the retention of painting's degraded and decomposing industrial cousin in *décollage* (Hains); an infamous turn to using the naked human body as a brush and insistence on the action of the artist's body (Klein); and the work of art as a form of self-destruction (Tinguely). According to Restany, his colleagues sat at the shift between industrial and post-industrial societies, turning to the embrace of software over the hardware of modernism.[33] Klein's work, for him, was a "bio-genetic device" that humanized the new world through alchemy and mysticism.[34]

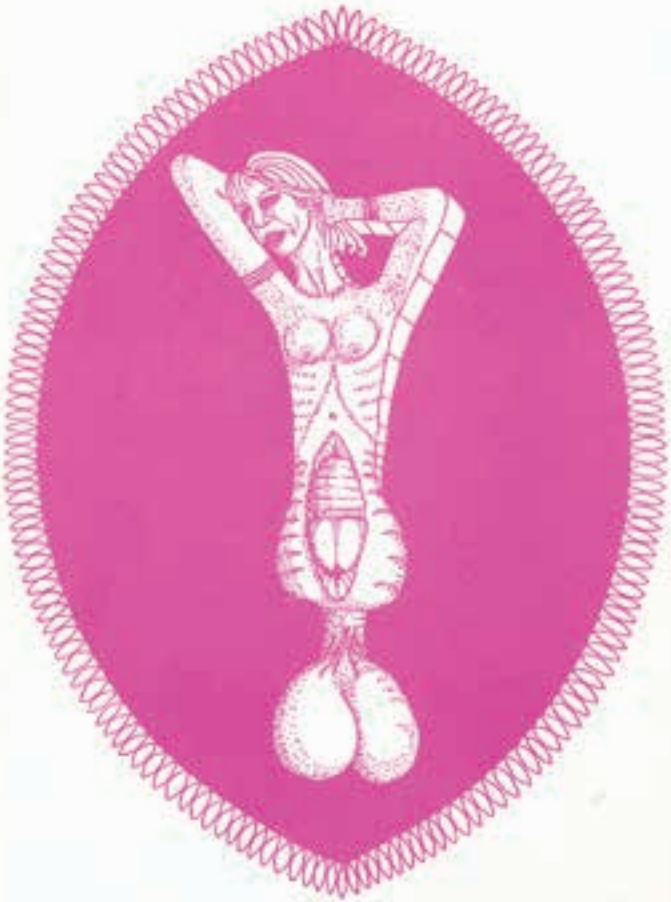
Like pop, nouveau réaliste tendencies appropriated aspects of the sociological phantasm. The results were perhaps, as Restany once ventured, a fin-de-siècle mannerism for industrial society.[35] Both pop and nouveaux réalisme recuperated aspects of Dada and surrealism, including the importance of assemblage and irrational or non-relational imagery. However, in Yves Klein this realism was saturated with religiosity and coincided with what he imagined would be a new form of humanity for a new cosmic age—that of the eternal present, or the stasis that would come with the return to Eden. This was the essential goal of the shift into rituality, or what he termed, "The theatre of the void."[36] This "technological Eden" would clearly evince the Divine reality of Life, defined as that which belongs not to humanity, but to God.[37] A realist art would be one that transcended personal intimacy and its ephemerality for the ethereal.[38] Much as with the surrealist concern with "convulsive beauty" discussed earlier, what this new realism promised was static.

In Europe, the origin of *figuration narrative* is usually dated to around 1964. The movement—involving a diverse groups of artists such as Valerio Adami, Eduardo Arroyo, Erró (Gudmundur Gudmundsson), Gérard Fromanger, Peter Klasen, Bernard Rancillac, and Gérard Schlosser—is often seen as a reaction against both nouveau réalisme and, more explicitly, against American pop, which was attacked as a form of American cultural imperialism then gaining dominance in the art world.[39] These painters borrowed much from the language of cartoons and *cloisonné* but, unlike the isolated

2.2 Robert Roussil, *Boule*, 1973 (in progress). Photo: Robert Binette.

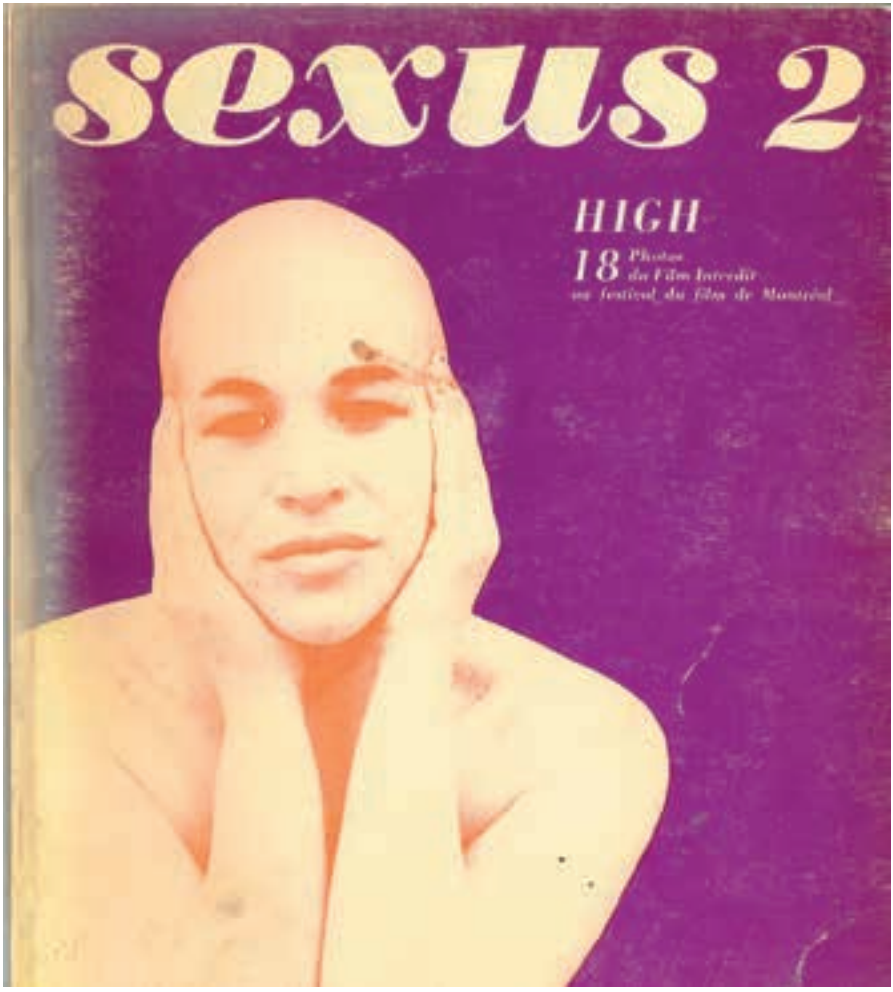
cul Q

Numéro 2-3 Hiver-Printemps 1974



4.1 (opposite) Cover for *Cul Q: Le Cul dans la culture québécoise*. nos. 2–3 (Winter–Spring 1974). Cover design: Jean Lussier.

4.9 Cover for *Sexus*, October–November–December, 1967. Artistic director: Jean-Pierre Dumont; graphic designers: Raymond Séguin and Vincent Deguire; cover photo: Michel Saint-Jean.



MARGUERITE
DE LA DURANTAYE
ELLE EST
SENSASS!
UNE ÉTUDIANTE RACÉE!
oh boy!
de l'U. de M.
une vraie
PÉPÉE

4.2 (opposite) *Montreal Flirt* 3, no. 39 (November 4, 1967): 24.

4.6 Cover of *Bisexus* 4, no. 1 (n.d.).

Du vin pleins la bouche

au sang pleins le sol

l'automne joue à bouteille
au bordel de Mac Jeunes
pieuvre japonte sur gauguine
nouvelle ère pin-boys du bowling

La mosaïque de ta mentre en pagaie dans le grill
ton penser salue
enveloppant la chair paralysée
des filles de l'eau

J'ai écrit ton nom avec ma chaise-ave
dans glace de la patinoire
ma tribu tirait avec un mauvevin entre les deux yeux
à moi tu te sculpes
un fourre et un jamblic

4.13, 4.14 (opposite) Page spreads from Denis Vanier's *Le Clitoris de la fée des étoiles, les herbes rouges*, no. 17 (Montréal: Les Herbes Rouges, 1974), n.p.

5.2 Marc Dugas, "Madame Blancheville," from *Les Plottes* (Montréal: Atelier Graff, 1970). Serigraph, 74 x 59 cm (image cropped from full page).

EN EFFET,
IL S'AGIT LÀ
D'UN PHÉNOMÈNE
VRAIMENT ÉTRANGE.

5.3 (opposite) Serge Lemonde, *La Tache*, 1966. Acrylic and collage on panel, 81 x 61 cm.

5.4 Serge Lemonde, *Le Voyeur*, 1968. Acrylic and collage on panel, 61 x 81 cm.

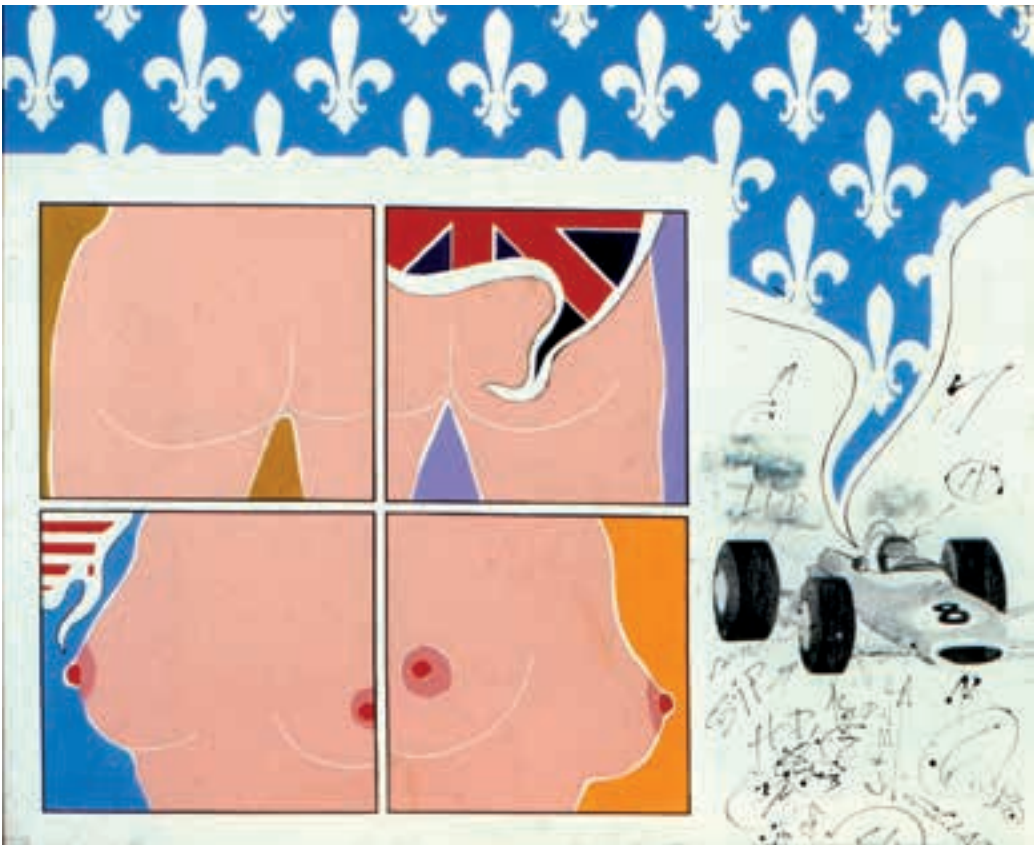
5.5 Serge Lemonde, *La Folle du couvent*, 1967. Acrylic and collage on panel, 61 x 81 cm.

6.1 (opposite) Robert Wolfe, *Le Retour des colombes*, 1968. Linoleum engraving, 63 x 48 cm.

6.2 Pierre Ayot, *Mamelle à l'air, culotte à terre*, 1967. Serigraph, 76.5 x 56.9 cm.

6.3 Pierre Ayot, *Ventre à terre*, 1967. Serigraph, 76 x 56 cm.

6.4 (opposite) Pierre Ayot, *Sans titre*, 1967. Acrylic, panel, thermaformed acrylic, 77 x 77 x 27 cm.



6.5 (opposite) Gilles Boisvert, *Québec libre*, 1969. Acrylic and transfer on canvas, 167.6 x 182.9 cm.

7.2 Screen capture from *La Mort d'un bûcheron*, directed by Gilles Carle, written by Gilles Carle and Arthur Lamothe (1973, Les Productions Carle-Lamy).

7.3 Screen capture from *La Mort d'un bûcheron*, directed by Gilles Carle, written by Gilles Carle and Arthur Lamothe (1973, Les Productions Carle-Lamy).

images that had been blown up by Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein, they constructed "narratives" that could be anecdotal or symbolic, integrating time into the frame of the artwork. Exploiting the readymade language of the popular media, they could use it for esoteric libidinal gratification (Adami) just as they could appropriate art history, especially for satire (Arroyo). A Québécois artist we met earlier in the battles over Automatism, Edmund Alleyn, was also peripherally involved in the movement.[40] In the catalogue for their landmark 1964 exhibition *Mythologies quotidiennes*, critic Gérald Gassiot-Talabot underlined the degree to which they were malicious in their humour, which relied on the dynamic progression of imagery, typically in the manner of cells or superimposition, rather than the stasis of singular images (even if they were often stacked or repeated) in pop.[41] Gassiot-Talabot would define narrative in terms of comic books, the roman-photo, and cinematic models but also hieroglyphs and classical metopes, forms that were being reimagined even as they integrated the "fugitive sensation" that was central to modernist art.[42]

As Jean-Paul Ameline has insisted, along with many of the artists who fell under *figuration narrative*'s loose banner, the works in question were not necessarily "narrative" in any typical sense of the term, but exploited the possibilies of the concept in undecidable and often indecipherable ways that further exacerbated the dysfunction of narrative.[43] The obsessiveness and repetitiveness of the image could be both fetishistic and intimately symbolic.[44] As Gassiot-Talabot would eventually clarify, narrative is more constructive than discursive; it is not by any necessity a means of storytelling or relating of information. Rather, it is the plasticity of a model of superimposition.[45] The durational aspect and its questionable implications of relationality could then further undermine signification to degrees that pop's generally singular iconic sense could not. In this context, narrative was less about communicating meaning than destabilizing its possibility. The use of "narrative" as an objectified model did not make legible the images as data but as reprocessed artefacts.[46]

Nouveau réalisme and pop were also both associated with sex. Given how deeply pop was bound to the emergence of underground cinema, itself widely conflated with pornography, this is

not surprising.[47] And in Québec, pop would become bound to an underground that likewise appropriated pornography and was in turn depicted within the pages of the erotic press of Montréal. *Figuration narrative* also overtly used images taken from erotic source material, whether it was in Valerio Adami's fractured cloisonné abstractions of libidinal scenes or Erró's use of pornography to reimagine the Cold War.[48] The point is that the figure would no longer be reducible either to sign, concept, or illustration but would instead become a basic function of the paradox of the image. By paradox, I mean what Gilles Deleuze had suggested about the nature of paradox in 1969: that it was an element that had no place in a heterogeneous series which it animated but could not be identified with.[49] The next few chapters will track the evolution of this position.

Albert Dumouchel

This chapter opened by remarking on the place of eroticism within the work of a handful of artists who were placed by local critical discourse within the logic of pop art. As a category, pop was both a way of talking about the type of media that they were using (primarily different forms of printmaking) and appropriating (magazines, newspapers, and forms of advertising). Additionally, the appeal to pop gave a sense of loose coherency to the trend among artists to form print studios, an activity that overlapped with graphic design.

In his influential role as artist and teacher, Albert Dumouchel established his career amid the battles between the Automatists and the Prisme d'yeux groups, his sympathies largely residing with the latter. He began painting nude studies in the 1940s, usually using classical and biblical themes. It was not until the mid-1960s and early '70s that he shifted from such generic work in the nude genre to erotic art. Drawing inspiration from Japanese woodblock prints and the pornographic magazines and films that had begun circulating, his prints and paintings directly integrated such references into frank and crudely naturalistic depictions of sexual acts that were virtually unprecedented in the province until that time.[50] At first, eroticism in his work tended to register in more traditionally

naturalist terms, as part of the everyday lives of single people or couples depicted in various lithographs featuring simplified and slightly distorted nudes. They might take on a mythical allusion, as in *Adam et Eve* (1965), where the couple stands nude at their window in a modern setting, or as playful reimaginings of classical themes, such as *Les Trois tantes dites les trois grâces* (1965).

Within a few years, he was producing quasi-narrative prints that juxtaposed depictions of objects and figures with text that suggested plots or topical jokes using a comic book form. Notable in this respect was the linocut *Candy Bar faisant l'amour* (1967), which alluded to the famous stripper (Candy Barr) and exploited the sequential series to map out the increasing intensity of a couple making love over a series of distinct cells. In 1968, he began a series of erotic prints that relied on steretotypical figures (cowboys, etc.), interpreting them with techniques borrowed from Japanese woodcuts. His stark prints were also filled with renderings of the images he was seeing in Scandinavian hardcore pornography (*Le Couple danois*, 1969).[51] His embrace of heavy-set lines gives woodcuts like *L'Étreinte* (1970) an intensity that is unlike much of what will follow from his pupils, which tends to be lighter and cooler, relying on a flatness that his harsh contrasts and stress on the gouged surface would render difficult.[52]

While Dumouchel made several prints dealing explicitly with scenes in brothels, in his typical mixture of harsh delineation and minimal anecdotal detail, perhaps the work that leaves the most direct trail to what followed was one of his acrylic paintings, *Le Petit cheval rouge* (1967), which presents a very different plastic language from his prints. Perhaps another brothel scene, its location and significance are unclear, as befitting its enigmatic title, referencing a gewgaw depicted in the composition. It portrays five naked women in a room, wearing high heels and stockings, their poses clichés from pornographic magazines. Like the contours of the architectural framing, rendered in a way that clearly suggests interior-design advertisements, the figures are painted with simplified lines and flattened colours. In their stiff, exaggerated poses, they echo the room's decorative objects, including the rooster which perhaps stands in as a joke about the artist or functions as a dirty gag.[53] The figures are layered onto the setting as though they

have been collaged. The setting is as flat as they are, composed of different patterns and colour patches superimposed with no shading or depth—the hard edges of lines and the variance of patterning suggests a non-objective painting as much as studio porn set. Effectively, Dumouchel parallels the majority of the formal traits that we detected in Lemonde's work in the same period as well as the work being done by his former students.

In the work of both Robert Wolfe and Pierre Ayot, the appeal to erotic imagery would be momentary and mostly abandoned by the 1970s, while it would remain basic to the work of Gilles Boisvert. Indeed, for the former it seemed merely topical, more of a tool for visual experimentation than a leading concern.

Robert Wolfe

The January 24, 1970 edition of Montréal entertainment tabloid *Télé-radiomonde* features all of its usual obsessions with ti-pop stars. Ginette Reno is mentioned, publicity shots from the latest *films de cul* are showcased, sex symbol Danielle Ouimet of *Valérie* fame is covered in a variety of articles, and even her sister is given a special feature. The cover story deals with a local *travestis* performer and there are pieces on male and female beauty pageants, clowns, new diseases, and even the occasional Hollywood film. Near the back of the edition, you will find a photo of artist Robert Wolfe in a somewhat ill-fitting suit standing with Ernest Pallascio-Morin, Minister of Cultural Affairs, in front of one of the artist's prints. They are at the vernissage for his exhibition. The text for the article however, is less concerned about the event than it is about the fact that Wolfe's wife, model, singer, and Radio-Canada host Isabelle Pierre, is absent.[54]

Praising his work for its recognizability, which seemed to point to the future, Pallascio-Morin would note that the works were even more distinct for the "cold humour" expressed in both their colours and titling. He summarized the encounter with the prints in a curious way: "To discover Robert Wolfe, we advance in the search for a simple truth which will become a story when it is no longer one!"[55] The article displays two of Wolfe's prints, *Le Retour des co-*

6.1 Robert Wolfe, *Le Retour des colombes*, 1968. Linoleum engraving, 63 x 48 cm.

lombes and *Pas d'épitaphe pour la marquise* (both 1968). The linograves almost appear as non-sequiturs in Wolfe's general body of work.

After studying at the École des beaux-arts, Wolfe found some success showing in Paris as a painter before returning to Montréal. He became a teacher at UQAM and had an exhibition at the Musée d'art contemporain (1965–66) which helped to solidify his local reputation as a strong colourist, working primarily in a non-figurative vein, and mixing aspects of the Plasticiens and more expressive forms of abstraction.[56] This was carried out whether working in paintings, prints, or jewellery designs.[57] In fact, it was the latter of these that got the most press. It was against this background that he briefly took an iconographic turn.

The prints and Wolfe's evident humour were enough to get him placed among the city's pop artists by critics. His status as a creator of luxury jewellery and the husband to a local pop singer no doubt helped. In the prints we see again much of what we have

just outlined: a sense of formal sarcasm in the interweaving of two distinctly different sign systems. Some of the plastic language that he employs seems to have been suggested in the previous years. The crude triangles and blocks of *La Toilette de Manon Lescaut* (1967) are given comic erotic connotations by the title, with its allusions to literature and to the genre of erotic paintings of women at their toilette. Likewise, *Derrière les portes closes* (1967) stressed the suggestiveness of its possible content, which was graphically alluded to by a triad of diamonds that could be interpreted as a human stick figure while the other shapes suggest the openings of shirts.

The games of suggestiveness that Wolfe plays here, common also to fellow Montréal artists Pierre Cornellier and Guy Montpetit, were exchanged for something far more overt in a handful of prints he made that contained more straightforwardly figurative content, and in which Wolfe's treatment of the erotic figure veered in two distinct directions. *Catherine et la magie* (1967) presents the kind of crude colour blocks just described—not as a background, but cohabitating with the figures as ambient space. The body is presented in silhouette and cropped, situating it between articulated figure and shape. The bra and panties (or bathing suit) are demarcated by colour and the recession of the navel and procession of the breasts are accentuated by line while the rest of the figure remains entirely flat and generalized. This is also the case in *1 bec 2 becs Marlo* (1972), which makes overt references to the world of call-girls and the city's night life while even more overtly and reductively using the visual language of the poster or advertisement in its depiction of linearized female figures.[58] Such an image would hardly have gone amiss in the advertising for the strip clubs that we encountered earlier, right down to its punning use of language. It is also close to some of the work that Dumouchel was making at the same time, such as *Les Amants de Venise* (1969), which juxtaposed nude lovers against a set of colourful patterns.

Wolfe's treatment of the figure shares something with lingerie ads from the time. Montréal's great contribution to the world of international underwear, Wonderbra, was circulating a set of striking black-and-white ads for their brassieres and garterbelts in 1967. These depicted a trio of figures, the bodies delineated on the model of mannequins rather than actual women, their figures stark black

with domes of hair in silhouette, single cyclopean eyes, each figure donning a different line of undergarment in white, all detailing going to the suggestions of lace weaves and the linear patterning.

In *Le Retour des colombes* (1968) and *Pas d'épitaphe pour la marquise* (1968), Wolfe's compositions are much more complicated and energized because there is a starker set of linear contrasts and a proliferation of dynamic lines. Together, these intensify zones of the figure, allowing for greater projection by the viewer upon their surface. The combination of the nude figures with the motifs and design elements of a generic pack of cards foregrounds the nature of their narrative content. They are narrative in the way that a deck of cards is: a compartmentalized set of stereotyped images that may or may not be engaged in diverse rules-based games or simply set out on display. Wolfe's smattering of erotic prints testify to the role that abstraction had in the basic graphic construction of advertising and erotic poster language, as well as the centrality of the comic-strip image, the quasi-cinematic aspect of which would become central for Ayot.

Pierre Ayot

Gilles Daigneault claimed that Pierre Ayot was born from Dumouchel and American pop.[59] By this, he meant that Ayot was not interested in the "seriousness" of art, but in its playfulness and in a more democratic notion of its content and address. As with Serge Lemoyne, his work was interpreted as part of a general reaction against the previous generation. According to the critic, the artist would not be a *savant* but an *agent provocateur*.[60]

After studying under Dumouchel, and with an aim to make printmaking facilities more broadly accessible, Ayot founded Atelier Libre 848 in 1966 (later renamed Atelier Graff) and was one of the founding members of Média, Gravures et Multiples. His early career was dominated by printmaking before he moved on to focus on other media. As young artist, Ayot was shown at Galerie Agnès Lefort alongside former Automatists and was known for his work as a costume and scenery designer in the local theatre scene.[61]

Most of Ayot's erotic serigraphs are populated by a type of figure similar to that found in Wolfe's work, though there are considerable

differences. In both cases, the artists tended to use imagery of (primarily) females that they clearly borrowed from contemporary advertising. Figures were stark, simplified, linear, and anonymous. Wolfe's works discussed above appear as tossed-off meldings of two dialects (the advertising inflections for the figure and the common use of meaningless shapes), but Ayot's tend be either graphic jokes or more complicated examinations of the limits of an image's plastic construction. In the case of the former, *Untitled* (1967), Ayot superimposes the erotic figure on the non-objective background—in this case, a parody of op art. These figures are never seen straight-on but at extreme angles and in action. Toronto's Michael Snow had introduced his famous series of "walking woman" variations in 1962 and would continue them throughout the decade. But Ayot's treatment of the figure is different: not an iconic reiteration through variance that crossed media, but a series of singularized figures.

In *Ma mère revenant de son shopping* (1967), the figure strides, viewed from a low angle that provides a means to look up at her panties. If this crotch shot, shaded by its title with incest fantasy, may seem potentially pornographic, the genitals are hidden by black ink as underwear (a common tactic of the city's sex press, as we saw) and the extreme angle distorts the perspective, rendering the body alien and obscuring its legibility (is it a breast that is glimpsed or a chin?), while exaggerating the legibility of banal commercial details (car keys, the logo on the shopping bag) to stress their articulate curves. With the figure set in a soft blue slanted rectangle, the convolutions of its shape and its hard delineation make it suggestive of the kind of illustrated initials we encountered in the erotic press.

Like *Ma mère, Trou du cul qui fait du vent* (1967) is both comic and anecdotal. Rather than striding, the figure is splayed. Lying face down in bra, panties, and stockings, the figure suggests those common to lingerie ads but is posed in a way that advertisements would never allow. Above, a swatch of floral motifs suggest a carpet, curtain, or wallpaper. The sense of scale is completely uncertain, as is the spatial orientation. The print's elements are combined in a nonsensical way and suspended in a void, accentuated further by the crude scatological humour of the title, which de-romanticizes

the possibly florid depiction of the body while simultaneously intensifying its sensual suggestiveness. The sensuality of flatulence and its recasting of the body as an instrument has been a standard comic trope of erotic art for centuries.

Ayot's work in this period is rife with internationally popular imagery such as James Bond, the Statue of Liberty, and numerous pulp references, often displayed either through fragmenting and layering the found imagery or gridding it out in ways that suggest either *nouvelle figuration*, comics, or the ways the former used the latter, along with cinema, which Ayot's work consistently referenced, both in terms of the content he appropriated and the poster form that he tended to adopt.

A motif of bars had been common to his work since at least 1965 (*Exquisse pour Police*, *Sans titre*, 1965) when it was usually deployed to imply a jail in pulp-fiction-inspired imagery. Aside from this narrative suggestiveness, the motif served further as a way of unifying the kind of poster space that he was employing—the vertical thrust and scrambling of information giving the images an intensified dynamism even without their ostensible narrative content. In his erotic works, the implications are slightly more complex and function on more levels than narrative suggestion.

The bar would be employed as a visual structuring device in a variety of Ayot's erotic prints. With *Mamelle à l'air, culotte à terre* (1967), he continues to comically deal with eroticism, this time depicting a couple in carnal embrace. The figures are once again suspended on a swatch (operating as a bed duvet), seemingly from wallpaper or some other decorative design, which stresses the flatness of the image and its use of the devices of mass reproduction. Stretched out horizontally beneath the figure at varying degrees of separation, the bars now read only as lines.

In *Ventre à terre* (1967), virtually a sequel to *Trou du cul qui fait du vent,* the figure in bra, panties and stocking now looks at the viewer as bars encase them and the decorative swatch above doubles the bars. The fragmentation of the figure extends the breaking-up of the body performed by the lingerie, which already subdivides it into a set of intensified erogenous zones and exaggerates them through a play of contrasts and concealment that mimic the play of depth and give the body its tactile value. Still relying on the

6.2 Pierre Ayot, *Mamelle à l'air, culotte à terre*, 1967. Serigraph, 76.5 x 56.9 cm.

poster form and its cinematic suggestiveness, the image is an indeterminate sign that alludes to an unknowable plot that might involve jail, bondage, etc.

Ayot's more innovative use of the cinematic model came with a set of hybrid sculpture-paintings which further extended the function of the bars. For *Zowie!* (1967), the same suggestiveness of *Ventre à terre* is exploited, only now it is doubled by the use of a three-dimensional set of bars that project out from the work, giving the image a diorama quality, its title making it suggestive of the frame from a comic strip. It makes explicit what had already been present in the early works—the world imagined as a set of flat superimpositions.

It is with *Sans titre* (1967) that the paracinematic device becomes central.[62] An acrylic on panel of a couple embracing (reduced to duotone, harshly delineated and vertically fragmented) is set flat behind a grid made of three-dimensional thermoformed plastic.

6.3 Pierre Ayot, *Ventre à terre*, 1967. Serigraph, 76 x 56 cm.

Standing before it, the viewer can shift their perspective by pivoting, creating an animated effect as their gaze flickers through the bars of the grid. The result is a stuttering moment of ecstasy detached from any sequential narrative or clear context. It is an episode or event, a caress and not a story.

A contemporary review remarked that, "[Ayot's] works are about love, fashion, loneliness, fashion, solitude. He places in front of each of them parallel vertical bars which have the function of creating a movement of the image by the movements of the viewer."[63] *Sans titre* uses this technique in its depiction of a couple making love. Retrospectively, Gilles Daigneault argued that "the cold manner of pop empties the images of any form of sensuality. This is not the point."[64] Yet this is quite wrong. It is precisely the coldness that allows for the radicalization of the sensual because it is coldness that designates the intensification of the surface and highlights the work as device and "experience," as mechanically

6.4 Pierre Ayot, *Sans titre*, 1967. Acrylic, panel, thermaformed acrylic, 77 x 77 x 27 cm.

mediated process. What his pieces made obvious was that "sexual content" could be a way of figuring the production of the work and it was in this explicitness of production and the obscenity of its exposed mechanisms that eroticism resided.

Each of these works by Ayot provide a way of figuring a narrative that is *not* a mode of storytelling. The closer one comes to them, the more the pretense of narrative as anything other than juxtaposition and the undermining of signifying dissolves, the same effect that was detected with Wolfe's work. More so than Wolfe, Ayot not only integrated aspects of the visual language of the city's erotic environment but also went further in probing some of its formal possibilities.

Gilles Boisvert

If Ayot tested the limits of what constituted the print form, shifting from Wolfe's static dynamism informed by advertising to his own stutter informed by the paracinematic, Gilles Boisvert's eclectic approach to imagery in the period often foregrounded the creation of prints as a reproductive process in a way more explicit than most of his colleagues. We already encountered Boisvert in

this book's introduction as the organizer of one of the city's erotic art exhibitions, *Pffff…Paf.* In the fall of 1968, Boisvert joined Atelier Libre 848 after studying with Dumouchel.[65] In November of the following year, he joined Ayot, Wolfe, Lise Bissonnette and others in the founding of Média, Gravures et Multiples, which sought to expand the market for prints.[66]

In the serigraph *Elle aimait danser* (1973), Boisvert appropriates the nude female figure and provides a set of variations that are designed to disable the centrality of the body in the found image. The stereotypical figure is taken from a film strip, which is duplicated in the frame of the print, and repeated with different superimpositions, colour variations, and angles, all techniques we detected earlier in erotic book work and the attempts to create a static animation. The cinematic image's linear movement of time and space is aggressively flattened and splayed across the static frame in Boisvert.

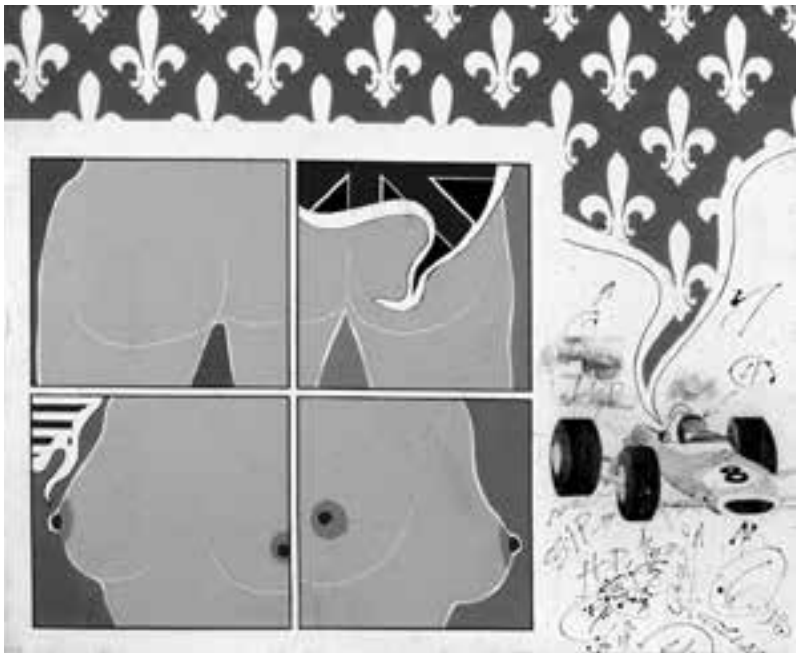
The energy of the image is derived from the denuding of the process of its reproduction and the positions that can be taken in the reproductive act. Such an explicit display of the reproductive process of imagery is also at play in *La Fille en couleur* (1973), which makes a show of its layering that tips its hat to the Plasticiens while unifying its colour into an erotic surface. This comic and mechanically reductivist way of examining eroticism is very different from the more traditional way that Boisvert plays sensuality against the grid in an acrylic painting like *Sans titre* (1975), which presents a model from behind, leaning against the tiled wall of a bathroom that explicitly recalls the grid. Rendered in soft colour, it makes both a show of the intimacy of its close shades and of the demands placed on the viewer to stare at this nude image, intensifying its voyeuristic quality. In both cases, the obsession with gridding and plastic qualities that were of concern to the Plasticiens are present, but the clarity embraced by those artists is performatively attacked. He used the nude figure as a way of complicating his treatments of visual grids.

The figure was also tied to Boisvert's open reliance on the traditions of surrealism. The mythic conflation of female sexuality and bird imagery—which was common in the work of Alfred Pellan and Louise Gauthier-Mitchell, which echoed the contemporaneous

conflation of the female nude and water in the work of clothing designer and painter Richard Lorain—was also a feature of Boisvert's work.[67] In 1970, Boisvert began work on a set of twenty-five serigraphs under the title *Les Oiseaux*, which developed a personal "mythology" fusing women (often sunbathing) with birds.[68] He began to evolve a surreal sense of landscape, composed of rainbow colours upon which nude bodies would be superimposed with those of seagulls, each set of bodies shifting through a set of colour progressions. "The unusual aspect of the composition combined with the realism of the objects creates the unease so common to surrealist works."[69] This side of his work also included the use of acrylics to serve the rapidity required for spontaneous production while compositionally demonstrating a sense of design close to pop or *figuration narrative*.[70] Insistent on his rejection of the mediation of language, he claimed that he developed his imagery through a Zen emptying out of all content, allowing objects to simply appear to him spontaneously from his subconscious, whether a wave, a screw, or a body.[71]

What makes Boisvert's work key to understanding what will follow, however, is how he would foreground the problem of what reference *is*—and how much this problem was rooted in eroticism. With its esoteric mythology and cryptic plastic polemics, Boisvert's work was also often suffused with political polemics and folkloric details, such as homages to local beers, giving his work "an authentically Québécois sentiment."[72] He claimed to take inspiration for most of his work from current affairs and what he took to be generally familiar, mixing it with his dreams and insisting that, "I condemn nothing. I record. I express plastically what I feel."[73] The only thing equal to this common reservoir of images was eroticism. "Indeed, they overlap each other. They form the same fabric," he explained.[74]

In an interview with Bernard Lévy, Boisvert insisted that an artist is always closely bound to politics due simply to their existence in a specific milieu, but that this should not be understood as partisanship. He explained that there is something basically absurd about the artist's political position, a sense that he is a Don Quixote and any explanation of his position becomes comic.[75]



6.5 Gilles Boisvert, *Québec libre*, 1969. Acrylic and transfer on canvas, 167.6 x 182.9 cm.

Léo Rosshandler suggested that *Québec libre* (1969), one of Boisvert's most ostensibly political paintings, was the product of the artist's pacifism and his interest in the erotic, but "an incomplete eroticism, fundamentally masculine, since it uses the traditional nude."[76] However, as with his concern with the erotic not as simply iconographic content but as the form and process of art-making itself, what Boisvert was doing was more complex than such a reading would suggest. The representation that resulted was less important than the process of the production and reproduction of the work.

The painting was created while Boisvert was appropriating images of riots and civil unrest from around the world and inserting them into his paintings using collage and projection. Presented as an inflated comic strip, *Québec libre* includes close-cropped pastel-coloured pop pornography along with *fleur de lys* depicted both as a border and as exhaust. The provincial symbol

is emitted by a car,[77] surrounded by graffiti numbers of no clear signification. To the side are, carefully gridded, two images of buttocks and two of breasts, the fore and background colours varying from one frame to the next. Echoing the emission from the car, from one of the backsides and one of the nipples curls what appear to be the British and US flags, which could be blowing in the wind, or text balloons, or signs of flatulence. Everything about the image is ambiguous. The car is powerful but also wasteful and polluting. The symbol of the province is both exhaust[78] and waste, as well as design, appearing like wallpaper emitted from a high-luxury vehicle. There is also the conflation of the body with both luxury and with the machine, testifying to the erotic power of the two empires of domination emblematized by the flags. The use of comic-strip language and scatology clearly echoes the works of Ayot, and the overt employment of clearly iconographic imagery that is not readily significant, but *seems* satirical, falls in line with *figuration narrative* and with Boisvert's understanding of eroticism, flowing through the plastic rendering of neutrally processed local material content, or what Amaya termed "radical empiricism."

Although the standard argument, not least of all from artists themselves, was that their work was a rebellion against the previous generations, in plastic terms, the situation is more complicated than that. It was, if anything, more a reformation than rebellion that pushed the plastic logics of the preceding generation to a greater extreme. This was not a departure from a rigid formalism to an "openness to life" that was associated with pop art by critics—rather, it was a more extreme reductionism that made the initial bifurcation between form and life untenable. It would be the exacerbation of the non-viability of social representation and the undermining thereof that would be central to erotic art, which will be evident in the following two chapters.

Yves Robillard had criticised Ayot's work as failed pop because it adopted international imagery rather than the local and recognizable.[79] As the following chapter will stress, there was a substantial difference between pop and ti-pop, both in terms of their content and the implications of their rhetoric. It is debatable, in fact, how much of what Ayot, Boisvert, Dumouchel, and Wolfe did can be

considered pop in the Québécois context—perhaps it would be better to simply consider it realism.

What these forms of new realism and mythology rejected was precisely the tenability of the sociological content of art. As Alain Robbe-Grillet would argue, it was not a "universe of 'signification' (psychological, social, functional) [but]…a world both more solid and more immediate."[80] If surrealism had exploited the pseudo-sciences of psychology, Mesmerism, and spiritualism only to evacuate their ostensible contents while appropriating and perverting their forms, pop and nouveau réalisme relied on a comparable appropriation and evacuation of the ostensible content of the social sciences, while *figuration narrative* applied this tactic to mimetic narrative and history, strategies that were at least hinted at earlier by surrealism. This ties into the arguments about figuration within Automatism. Rather than stressing the non-figurative, the two were collapsed, as the figurative world produced by the automatic processes of the media was no less singularizing and asubjective than colour-field painting.

7

The *Kétaine* and Erotic Sarcasm: On the Sacred Logic of Ti-Pop

> The Ti-Pop group is Duplessis, it's brother André, three hundred days of indulgences...Ti-Pop is Pierre Maheux [*sic*], Pierre Théberge, Jean-Pierre Lefebvre, Jacques Godbout, it's everybody...[1]
> —Louise Tasse

Under the umbrella of ti-pop, a variety of strategies, themes, and methods were brought together in ways that will be important going forward and which repurpose matters we have already touched upon. It had its own mythos, tied to a model of decadence and a sense of utopian futurity that largely inverted the prevalent streams of progressivism in the province. Fundamentally disjunctive, it generally appeared absurd. It was sarcastic and bore close resemblances to the pop art, funk, *figuration narrative*, and *nouveau réalisme* that were emerging in the 1960s. However, the regional specificity of ti-pop made it fundamentally different from these movements. Not limited to the visual arts, ti-pop spanned political theory, film, and music, treating Québec history as a resource for aesthetic spectacle.

In a survey of young artists of the period and their notable shift away from abstraction, Yves Robillard explained, "I first looked for the source of this taste for figuration. Of course, from pop art, but also from the political agitation of the first FLQ and the popular literature movement launched by the magazine *Parti pris*."[2] These figurative artists would share some of the attitude of the ti-popists, if not quite the same utopian or political impulses, as they brought together the issues of eroticism and nationalism.

One of the earlier critical accounts of ti-pop conflated it with a melding of pop and *nouvelle figuration*, claiming it was fundamentally concerned with the new urban environment and was

possessed by its primary object of delirium: *kétaine* (identified as a local form of kitsch) in works that were humorous, satirical, erotic, and oneiric.[3] Its influence was everywhere but hard to clearly explain or demarcate, seeping into psychedelia and "underground" art generally. A way of "reanimat[ing] the subversive intentions of Automatism," it was a renewal of surrealism and Dada that was very different than that of the Automatists themselves, in no small part because of its sarcasm.[4] To put it otherwise, ti-pop was the underlying delirium of the *trous-de-cul* and the *films de cul*. It was not a movement so much as an attitude and a metaphysics that was more implied than thoroughly articulated.

A group portrait of the ti-popist world appeared in Marie-Claire Blais's novel *Un Joualonais sa Joualonie* (1973). The largely plotless novel follows the meanderings of the orphan Abraham Lemieux, known as Ti-Pit, an impoverished resident of the Jeanne-Mance district along the Main, and his interactions with three characters: a *joual*-obsessed ti-popist poet, a lawyer/pornographer, and a transvestite prostitute named Mimi. Taking the form of a phantasmagoria, the novel roves from arguments in taverns to protests by feminists, prostitutes, homosexuals, labourers, and nationalists. Through these encounters, Blais creates small portraits of types, most of whom seem concerned about who the biggest trous-de-cul in Québec society are.[5] Blais ties being joual to being an asshole, which is both a term of contempt and sympathy.[6] The protagonist of the novel, Ti-Pit, also known at Ti-Cul or Ti-Noir, explains that his name also designates nothing but a hole in the ground. That hole in the ground, of course, also references the orphan's background,[7] his place growing up in a Jesuit orphanage in rural Québec where his friend and double, Ti-Cul, becomes a psychotic killer, like something out of a western (one of the privileged genres of ti-pop).[8] In this superimposition of plot fragments, doubles, and typological characters, Blais rehearsed some of the basic mythology of ti-pop.

If, as indicated in the previous chapter, pop was a loose constellation of methods and concerns that fell under disparate titles before gradually becoming critically understood by the term, ti-pop emerged swiftly and involved a small group of people before gradually turning outward. The notion of ti-pop was initially iden-

tified with the writers of the Marxist-Leninist journal *Parti pris,* but more particularly the writings of filmmaker Pierre Maheu and his brother-in-law, curator Pierre Théberge.[9] According to a profile in *Saturday Night*, ti-pop was christened by Théberge during debates with his friends about Québec's lack of pop art. A pop art for the province would be an art filled with the men of taverns escaping their "authoritarian *mamans*," of images of Brother André and Maurice Richard, Duplessis-era refrigerators and hook rugs.[10] Théberge suggested, "Our culture is a second-rate culture, if you compare it to American culture. So that's why we called it *Ti-Pop—ti* for small (*petit*) as in *ti*-Jean Lesage…But it is also a first-rate culture in the aspects that are home grown, like La Bolduc, that come from the people themselves."[11]

For Maheu, *laïcité* (secularism) did not really exist in Québec. Instead, what existed was a vicious circle of "neo-colonial-clerical-capitalism."[12] The clergy had been the only successful ruling elite since the nineteenth century, and secularists, who were elitists even more foreign to the people than the priests, had failed to gain power. The Révolution Tranquille was not the work of the Québécois, and not a matter of liberation, but of neocolonialism (Americanization), accomplished through the expansion of consumerism and the erosion of tradition by new media.[13] As "declericalization almost turned us into a brainless country," it opened up both the possibility of a more profound repression than had previously existed and the capacity for artistic renewal through the wreckage, the reclamation of abandoned folkisms, the growth of a particularly urban joual that seemed to index the scars of the province's colonial history.[14] Rather than the ideology of *survivance,* what was required was resurrection: "Whether the awakening has taken place, and whether Québec should perhaps emerge from the death of French Canada, is another story."[15]

According to Théberge, classical ti-pop emerged with industrialization in 1870 and the clergy's control over public life. Decadent ti-pop appeared in the 1940s with Duplessis's attempt to wed old morality to modern industry. While Québec popular culture is all ti-pop, a ti-popist is a conscious observer and connoisseur of its many qualities, irreverently enjoying its surface aesthetic and "authentic" socially unifying values.[16] One example of this that the

article offers, and which is startlingly appropriate for our topic, was an abstract painting titled *St. Paul Masturbating before a Picture of the Holy Virgin*.[17] It directly superimposed the supposed purity of abstraction and religious art with the profane and pornographic, a strategy that will return in the work of Guy Montpetit. It also highlighted that the relation to the province's past was clearly erotic. It was not simply an attack on the mythical Grande Noirceur, but a copulation with that suspended world, from which could be born a new future to escape the catastrophe of the secular imagination.

As Canada's only erotic art historian Scott Symons suggested, perhaps the greatest works of pop in Canada were not in the galleries, but the junk shops, flea markets, and the dioramas created by nuns using whatever was ready to hand to relate the story of Saint Marguerite Bourgeoys.[18] For the ti-popist, erotic rejuvenation could only come from embracing the notion of a folk art. The future and the past would be embraced in the suspension of the present. And in this they share something basic to nouveau réalisme—a leap into the void, where rejuvenation may come through an austere elementalism (Klein) or the embrace of the world as a *cochonnerie*. In line with its parodic attitude to religious rituals and objects, ti-popism was given its own catechism:

—Where is Ti-Pop?
—Ti-Pop is everywhere.
—If Ti-Pop is everywhere, why don't we see it?
—We don't see Ti-Pop because it's a state of mind that can't be seen when you're stuck on it.[19]

In Pierre Maheu's account of ti-pop, he also insists upon distance from a position of irony. The recognition of ti-pop is part of a gesture which mirrors the Automatist defence of the singularization of desire as expressed in painting: "If it is only a question of irony, demystification, distancing, it is only a vicious circle. The emancipated person bears witness to his origins and his specificity at the very moment when he thinks he is detaching himself from them."[20] He compares this process to the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice emerging from the underworld and Marshall McLuhan's dictum that, "Each new technology creates an environment that

is itself regarded as corrupt and degrading. Yet the new one turns its predecessor into an art form."[21] In ti-pop, you live as a double, and, much as the characters in Hubert Aquin's fiction, in suspension from the world.[22] Ti-pop, therefore, was not a style or a fashion; it made you, but it was not technique. Technique is utility, but ti-pop is antique, a concretion of the erotic ecstasies of history. The implication that Maheu seems to be extracting from McLuhan's statement is that ti-pop could be a means of becoming an antiquated technology (an art form) but also a way of *becoming content* for art forms of the future.[23] Living in disjunction, the ti-popist was detached from the movement of dialectics and placed in the entirely different historical situation of the religious paradox; their revolution would "pass through the period of the cocoon, neither caterpillar nor butterfly, at once negation and affirmation, a paradoxical moment of a birth which is also a death."[24] As Maheu writes:

> At the same time nostalgia and sarcasm, irony and happiness, reunion and rupture. In the case of objects that bear direct witness to religious culture, sacred hearts, pious images, extracts from annals…the ti-pop attitude, which transforms these sacred objects into objects of aesthetic consciousness, renders them profane, is therefore a profaning attitude.[25]

In this respect, the most telling aesthetic spectacle of the province's material history proved to be less the joual that ti-popists frequently referenced than its *sacres* (profanity), which were "regarded as a canker that disfigures our national physiognomy…a symptom of lexical poverty and, what is worse, of advanced imbecility."[26] The controversy among linguists over the status of the sacres has had less to do with their obscenity *per se* than their status in language. In morphology, they can take the form of additions, permutations, juxtapositions, substitutions, and truncations; syntactically, they can be interjections, appositions, or adverbs, and operate through "the abundant adjectivation" that accumulates intensity through irrational compounding, and which becomes so disfigured in its layering of fragmenting figurations that it registers primarily as intensity.[27] If, semantically, they are interpretable as

profanations or blasphemies, they are also operatively an intensifying effect that plays a semantically polyvalent and often unclear role in language conceived as a narrative practice precisely because they are the "de-semantization of the standard lexeme."[28] While apparently blasphemous, they rarely seem to intentionally operate as such. And while presumably functioning as a conduit for affective release (euphoric or dysphoric), they are anything but a raw outpouring, being expressed in convoluted, hyper-formalistic, and semantically perplexing ways that more closely resembles Automatist poetry: "What confirms this indefinite semantic state of the sacres is their possibility of substituting each other without affecting the meaning of the sentence."[29]

Helpful in this respect is McLuhan's notion of the cliché and the archetype, which brings to a more explicit realization what Maheu suggests in his McLuhan quotation, cited above. To McLuhan, the cliché, so much derided, was a probe into how to make sense of a world. Clichés provide an index of the ways people have made sense of things and how that sense is figured and disfigured when processed through the varied technologies that accumulate and regurgitate these clichés with new formal traits and in new composites. As such, they do not simply index language but shifts in sensuality.[30] One can add that this also ties clichés to a form of automatism. Alluding to Jungian archetypes, which had become of pivotal importance to much of non-figurative painting, McLuhan suggested that archetypes are precisely the retrieved cliché of these condensed forms of sensuality. The cliché and archetype function largely unconsciously, non-verbally, and generally, unlike the specialized forms of written language and literate consciousness. They allow for action without intent and treat the world as a wasteland of discarded images to be reappropriated much as the exponents of nouveau réalisme had insisted.[31] There is an affective dimension to this, one mediated by aesthetics, and which McLuhan renders by an appeal to a shift in theatrical models. If the lights are down to mood and expressionist accents, McLuhan tells us, we are dealing with tragedy. Turn the lights on to full and alter the pacing and you have farce. It was the surrealists and the theatre of the absurd that made the cliché-archetype structure so obvious.[32]

On the way to inventing a new country, Maheu writes, one must journey through hell to recover one's soul, one's authenticity.[33] In this process, the past is transformed into an aesthetic spectacle. But for the moment, there is only a sort of suspension, where one is doubled, torn apart and shamed in failure.[34] In this light, we can say that the decolonization (discussed at length in chapter nine) proposed by the ti-popists was a way of *becoming a farce* as it juxtaposed the possible future of Québec as utopian Marxism with Catholic conservatism while never synthesizing them. It should also be stressed that decolonization was as much about shifts in media as it was about "culture" or "politics." Decolonization was not a matter of sociopolitical subjects so much as media forms and contents (clichés). The discourse on decolonization and the types of nationalism that it seemingly implied were in many ways distinct from the nationalism that had preceded it in the province. Some of these new nationalism(s) clearly borrowed from debates which had been circulating in the Francophonie and its neighbouring states in the wake of the rise of "Third Worldism."[35] Relevantly, it's worth noting that debates about decolonization and art took on very different, and now more familiar traits, when they were integrated (with some controversy) into the norms of state ideological practice around the issues and objects of what have been variously termed Native, Aboriginal, or Indigenous art (or culture).[36] Suffice it to say, none of either these older or newer uses of the term—or how historiographically questionable the appropriation of the initial concept in either instance may be—has much to do with what concerns us here which, as Maheu might have put it, is a matter of *style* and erotic fantasy, issues that will be central to chapter nine.

Thus far, we have looked at how the two theorists of ti-pop attempted to articulate what that term implied. In neither Maheu nor Théberge was there an extensive effort at rigorously pinning it down. Instead, there was a caricaturish historicization of ti-pop as a form of decadence from the latter and a quasi-mythical set of hyperbolic suggestions from the former. What has been extracted from this is a few of the formal implications that the notion of ti-pop could have: a stress on the suspension of progress, a generally

comic sensibility, an idea of the world as consisting of clichés to be appropriated, and a model of profanation that preserved as much as it demeaned the clichés it used.

"Ti-pop," Voluntary or Involuntary

The term "ti-pop" did not gain immediate traction. In *Le Devoir*, André Bertrand attacked Maheu's original article as unintelligible.[37] Given the paradoxical construction of the notion, this may be true. However, it is not clear that the purpose was to make things any more intelligible, at least in a utilitarian way. It is also notable that, while the term was clearly coined in relation to visual art, this was rarely what it was used to reference. With a lag, it made further inroads into the mainstream late in the decade and took on a variety of meanings. An angry letter written to Catholic daily *L'Action* condemned the teaching at Cégep Vieux-Montréal as being designed to make students into liberal egoists in line with chamber-of-commerce morality: "the opium of the people, the extraordinary means of control that is the ti-pop religion."[38] An invitation card for the opening of disco Le Mirage was described as printed in "white on pink paper of the most beautiful 'ti-pop' effect, voluntary or involuntary…"[39] André Major referred to Jacques Godbout's novel *Salut Galarneau!* (1967) as a work of ti-pop which, like the movement, was "the unashamed affirmation of one's origins."[40] And *La Presse*, which used the term more than most major media outlets and later than anyone, regarded ti-pop as designating a form of "hasty" ethnography.[41]

Films were often nominated as instances of ti-pop (not least by Maheu), especially those of Jean Pierre Lefebvre, such as *Mon oeil* (1971) and *Patricia et Jean-Baptiste* (1968) which "used 'ti-popist' themes," attacking religion and media consumption.[42] His *Q-Bec my love ou Un succès commercial* (1969) employed burlesques on nationalist and religious politics with satire of the *films de cul* and overtly ti-popist imagery of Duplessis and Richard. Perhaps the most spectacular example of a ti-pop film, however, was Jacques Godbout's *IXE-13* (1971). In addition to his standing as a novelist, Godbout had been a member of the group Le Mouvement Laïque de Langue Française with Maheu, which declared itself "an avant-

garde betting on the possibility of a revolutionary transformation."[43] The group advocated for the secularization of institutions and the establishment of a localized economy distinct from that of capitalist colonialism (consumerism). However, they also recognized the paradox that the only legitimate nationalism that was possible would necessarily embrace the clerical and traditional aspects of the province's people.[44] Adapted, or more accurately, parodied, from the popular spy novels of Pierre Saurel, the NFB-backed film, produced by Automatist Pierre Gauvreau, starred members of the comedy troupe Les Cyniques, as well as actress Carole Laure (later an erotic film star).[45] The plot itself is trivial to the point of irrelevance, its momentum constantly interrupted by highly theatricalized set pieces that fragment it into discrete sections. As a spy film translated into musical comedy, it was played out in burlesque terms on brightly painted stage sets, using projections, mannequins, and models to give the end product a deliberate comic-book appearance that mocks any naturalistic sense of emotion or gesture and stresses the presence of objects, cycling through a wide variety of cinematic and burlesque styles. Godbout defined the film's source material in ti-popist terms: "*IXE-13* disappeared, however, when Monseigneur Léger, Maurice Richard, Maurice Duplessis and the trams disappeared, i.e., the great ti-pop era of French Canada that will never be the same again."[46]

Godbout went on to situate the film not simply in nostalgia for the époque of ti-pop decadence, but in the *printemps* of a Québec cinema and art that was breaking away from anglophone colonialism. He conceived of it as a film about a folkloric Québécois hero, one obsessed with being both a historical and erotic adventurer, simultaneously ahistorical and transhistorical,[47] as well as a transgressive film about the province's religious culture.[48] Claude-Marie Gagnon has suggested that the source material for the film provided an easy way for Québécois to narcissistically construct an image of themselves as a force for good, battling evil.[49] However, Gagnon complained, this ease was somewhat compromised by the generally "regressive" eroticism that ran throughout it, which seemed to reject married life for an adventurous playboy lifestyle portrayed through imagery of hypnotic breasts and titillating suggestions of sadism.[50] Whatever psychological depth may have existed in the

source material was evacuated by ti-popism. From his scenario to the final film, Godbout was insistent on stating that it was a film about the play between colour and two-dimensionality, between the blandness of the protagonist as "le canadien" and the absurd and deliberately performative exoticism of every character he would encounter. For him, it was a world that contained no psychology, only surface.[51]

In part, the superficiality of ti-popism seemed to allow it to be tied to a wide range of products including painting, film, music, and literature. Perhaps, as in Godbout's film, its signature form was the comic strip, since it stressed the contradictory drives toward populism (its appearance in mainstream media) and elitism (as a marginal artistic production), which, as we saw, were also central to so much of the erotic press. The plasticity of the comic strip was also key to ti-pop, which stressed flatness, caricature, and the relationship between text and image. The comic strip provided a "shock of the visual revolution," as one local commentator wrote. "Our century is marked by a real mobilization of literary affectivity where comics have created new rhetorical possibilities in relation to the linearity of the verbal message."[52]

If journalists sometimes limited "ti-pop" to designating a kind of anti-religious polemic, the formal logic of the works themselves and the theoretical defence of the idea offered by Maheu and Théberge suggested something very different. The paradox of ti-pop was that it was a positive affirmation that the most authentic way of being was to be the most superficial thing possible. Moreover, the most superficial and radical thing possible was also the most traditional. It was this paradoxical combination that was the most real, the most concrete, the least idealized.

The Kétaine and the Kitsch

Paranoïaque rouspète pis pète/
Pis pet de hasch ça c'est de la marde[53]
— Robert Charlebois

At the centre of Expo 67 had been a three-chambered pavilion dedicated to the multi-screen film installation *Dans le labyrinth*, directed by Roman Kroitor, Colin Low, and Hugh O'Connor. De-

signed in brutalist style, the installation was the product of the National Film Board. The first chamber contained eight curved viewing balconies which densely stacked viewers. Different channels of footage were projected on two elongated screens, one at the base of the viewing space and one extending vertically. In the central pavilion, the audience filed through a labyrinthine octagonal structure made of mirrors and tinted glass that spanned from floor to ceiling. The disorienting space was filled out with flashing lights and an electronic soundtrack that the viewer had to pass through before arriving in a large auditorium where film screens were arranged in a cruciform pattern. The content of the films was intended to provide an archetypal hero narrative, bringing together documentary images collected from around the globe involving folk rites, malls, circuses, and diverse landscapes, edited together to symbolically echo the myth of the human triumph over the Minotaur. As the centerpiece for Expo, the Labyrinth pavilion would become synonymous with the official model of progressive art in the city. Like Habitat, it would also have parodies in erotic art.

If you travelled off Expo's island domain, you would quickly end up back in the milieus that had developed in the wake of the razing of the red-light district. If Expo's art installations disappeared soon after the fair, these places continued to evolve, or, in the language of its detractors, they persisted as a kind of "pollution." Rather than the archetypal triumph of humanity over a monster, there was the cliché world of the *cochonnerie,* the spaces of night clubs, discos, call girls, topless restaurants, and tabloid dealers. "And if you're interested in ti-pop and kitsch, you'll find thirty-penny comics with stories of war, vampires, and sex in many newsstands and tobacconists 'in full bloody colours,'" claimed *La Presse*.[54] We visited such a world in our tours of Montréal's erotic magazines and the city's erotic night life, and saw it celebrated in *IXE-13*. It also found its way into the centre of some of the major Happenings of the era: the "labyrinths" constructed by the collective The Fabulous Rockets as emblematic of the province's folkloric past and present, discussed below. Their installations explicitly tied the myth of *Kébec*—a symbolic return to the original Algonquin term that gave the province its name—to the *kétainerie* of erotic magazines.

A few rough distinctions need to be sketched out before we turn to these labyrinths and what made the ti-popist variation so different from that of the cosmopolitan version of Expo. If the labyrinth at the centre of the world's fair aimed at the international, those of The Fabulous Rockets aimed at the local. As with pop and ti-pop, the terms "kétaine" and "kitsch" were usually used loosely, but distinguishing between them as distinct categories helps clarify what the stakes were for artists and for those trying to understand what they were doing. We have seen how ti-pop overlapped with other models of pop and realism but was distinguishable from them, thematically and in its clichés. But there is another nuance that needs to be delineated. Central as it was to discussions of pop, "kitsch" was not a term used often in discussions of ti-pop. "Kétaine" (or *quétaine*) was the preferred term and it has different connotations, indexing it to the singularization of desires within the province's material forms. It was erotic in the Automatist sense rather than cultural in the anthropological one.

The term "kétaine" was confusing enough that the Radio-Canada news programme *Format 60* sent its journalists into the field to figure out what it was.[55] Subsequently, it has been argued that the term originated in Saint-Hyacinthe, perhaps as late as the 1920s but maybe much earlier, as a derogatory word for its lowest dregs: not simply the poor, but those who lived at the edge of town among the pimps and horse dealers.[56] However, in our period it was used diversely on a scale that cast it in motley senses: from the cute to the abject, between the out-of-fashion and the bizarre. The sitcom *Moi et l'autre* (1967–1971) used the term to designate bad taste. Beauty pageants such as Miss Télévision were said to have an air of kétaine.[57] Kétaine could be a way of describing candies, a singer's image, or a parody of a western song.[58] It might also be a way of describing clubs for stripping or topless performance.[59] The exploitation film *Hells Angels on Wheels* (Richard Rush, 1967) was described as filled with clichés: "all kétaineries, all the preconceived ideas, the false bohemia, ketchup violence, everything."[60] *Cinéma Québec* would attack director Denis Héroux and the *films de cul* as kétainerie.[61] The magazine would also use it to denote the cheap and the corny, like Paolo Noël songs and the atmosphere of the tavern and clubs of Denys Arcand's ti-pop sexploitation film

Gina (1975).[62] It would appear in a list of popular epithets along with fat, asshole, Judas, schizo, illiterate, petulant, gaga, fada, fallacious, and excessive.[63] By 1972, there was even an anti-kétaine radio show.[64] The children's clown show *Patofville* (1973–1976) was nominated by a journalist as the ultimate form of kétainerie.[65] One youth journalist bemoaned contemporary superficiality and appealed to the kétaine as the "old-fashioned."[66] By contrast, another suggested that only the kétaine would accuse another of kétainerie because "[e]ach individual has his own philosophy and he is always always right because we live in absurdity and perpetual doubt."[67] The kétaine was the déclassé.

By mid-decade, the kétaine was uncomfortably situated within the realm of nascent contemporary art, albeit in a way that was being increasingly hedged out. If kétaine was Kébek, it sat uncomfortably among the sophisticates of Montréal. For the *Québec 75* exhibition, *artscanada* noted that the work which was the most kétaine (Réal Lauzon) seemed entirely adrift in the context of an exhibition so devoid of humour and dominated by the more cosmopolitan mythology of artists like Bill Vazan.[68] Meanwhile, the *Montreal Star* attacked Lauzon, Yvon Cozic, and Edmund Alleyn as local examples of funk art who mistook "imagery for content" in work that was filled with kétainerie.[69]

As derisive as the *Star's* critic may have been, he was correct in an important respect. Inspired by surrealism and Dada and situated primarily in Northern California, funk was defined by Peter Selz as being unsophisticated and anti-message.[70] He went on to stress that it was informal, and, even if ironic, it was "hot rather than cool; it is committed rather than disengaged; it is bizarre rather than formal; it is sensuous; and frequently it is quite ugly and ungainly."[71] Beyond that, its imagery, made up largely of what was usually rejected, was erotic and scatological, while the meanings of these characteristics were left unclear.[72] It was indifferent to taste, considered politics an absurdity and, unlike pop, it did not confuse art and life.[73] In these respects, ti-pop tended to have a stronger resemblance to funk than pop precisely because it was devoted to the kétaine.

Ti-popism was concerned not with kitsch—whether conceived generically as cheap, industrial products or as the functionalism

associated with technocratic liberalism discussed below—but with kétaine. In being bound to a myth of decadence and avant-gardism, ti-pop was still rehearsing some of the most elementary claims associated with modernist art and its aftermath. In this, it was performatively backward, even if this backwardness was effectively the erasure of directionality (it was the paradox of the Eternal that we saw in nouveau réalisme manifest as a strictly localized contingency). Unlike most avant-garde myths of the period, ti-pop was invested in the symbolic value of the rural as the future, rather than the urban, and both the limited nature of the province's industrial production and the persistent Catholicism of its folklore marked it as very distinct from anglophone pop.

Internationally, whatever ostensibly "revolutionary" or "adversarial" potential the avant-garde could espouse ceased to be convincing to many critics by the beginning of the 1960s. Even in the 1950s, the avant-garde presented little more than innocuous clichés and, at best, tabloid scandals.[74] This was, according to one critic, readily internalized by many artists themselves with an insistence on anti-teleological art, on chance, the lionization of fluidity, and the over-valuation of duration—hence the symptomatic evolution of performance art, Happenings, and other forms of participatory art. By 1965, this was concomitant with an increased insistence on branding the avant-garde in various ways, either as "counterculture" or via the many "posts" that designated the moral superiority of its proponent or critic.[75]

The state-orchestrated demotion of art in the name of culture and the subjugation of the aesthetic and sublime to the anthropological and sociological was spearheaded by the Automatist's old nemesis Gérald Pelletier, then Secretary of State for the Trudeau regime, and by the future victim of the FLQ, Pierre Laporte. This process, which continues to this day and included the establishment of a network of artist-run centres, museums, graduate programs in fine art and art history, Crown corporations, and so on, has been the kitschification of Canadian art. This kitschification by state and industry, however, was not a profanization, but the sacralization of the Canadian state. As Rose-Marie Arbour has observed, the functional end of this was the creation of the religious art of Liberal governance.[76] Or, as Dussault put it in an earlier

chapter, this process subjugated desire to sociological formula, as applicable to greeting cards as it was to crudely "sociopolitical" art analysis or artworks. This was precisely what the "democratization of culture" and the replacement of the artist by the sociocultural mediator achieved.

We have already seen this process as one component of the transformation of the urban sphere. Expo had been a museification of the urban milieu, one dedicated to the future rather than the past.[77] It used cutting-edge technology and experimental architectural forms to create this fantasy, which was filtered through a set of myths and sophisticated aesthetics to provide the city with a new sense of cosmopolitanism. In pop terms, it made Montréal a Happening by reifying the fantasy of the Révolution Tranquille on its own Disneyfied island.

While kitsch is often discussed as a question of value, its function reveals something more formally decisive. In part, McLuhan's insistence, quite against the moral lambasters of kitsch like Clement Greenberg, was that industrialization did not make the audience passive, it made them work more, with greater intimacy, and in an increasingly involved way.[78] The "cooling down" of the eroticism of media with the dawn of television logically spilled into the reimagining of the world as a Happening. This was, McLuhan insisted, a return to the medieval mindset, which is also how Maurice Demers, orchestrator of some of the city's major Happenings, defined them.[79] If kétaine was synonymous with the content of old Québec, kitsch was the logical form of the new one, and ti-pop can be defined as the attempt to exit from this formalization.

For French theorist Abraham A. Moles, kitsch was achieved through assemblage.[80] It does not denote something but connotes it. If it is omnipresent, it is as the power of revealing what is aesthetically latent.[81] This relation between the human and objects could be ascetic, aggressive, hedonistic, acquisitive, fashionable, functionalist, or surrealist. It is the last two of these that are most relevant to us. The surrealist instance, which roughly correlates to that of ti-pop, is *more situation than relation* since it sterilizes functionality and abandons the habitual for the strange, operating in a kind of n-dimensional space.[82] Meanwhile, political, artistic, and philosophical functionalism, which roughly correlates to Liberal

governance, being highly relational, unites the maximum of consumerism with the celebration and sanctification of banality.[83] It is what Donald Kuspit had identified with pop art, a "moronization" predicated on art conceptualized as a tool or expression of social identification rather than radical alienation.[84] What the ti-popist sought instead was a way of embodying the paradox of the alien; it was "cultural" only insofar as it tactically occupied the territory of culture to demonstrate its non-existence. To be ti-pop was to radicalize this alienation rather than escape from it into the realm of kitsch. This nuance, however crucial and fundamental it may have been to ti-pop theoretically, was generally lost in reception when it was put into practice.

Of the proliferation of art-environments that cropped up in the city, none more closely approximated the general sway of ti-pop and the collision of the contrasting dimensions of the kitsch and kétaine than a series of events created under the banner of a collective, The Fabulous Rockets (sometimes credited as "The Fabulous Brothers"). The group consisted of a dozen students from the Art and Art History departments of the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Their primary conceptualists (and those given names in the media) were Ronald Richard, Yves Robert, Pierre Séguin, and François Charbonneau. Two of these events/installations from 1971 will be discussed, *Québec Scenic Tour* and *Salon Apollo-Variétés.* These events used materials culled from the province's mass-produced products, whether this was magazines or beer bottles. In any case, it was explicitly garbage, and usually the garbage of the cafeteria or the tavern (that privileged locus of ti-pop), with all the waste of the political scenes (newspapers) mixed in, images of Trudeau equivalent with labels and smears of ketchup. It was, as Yves Robillard wrote admiringly, work that stressed that it was made by people indifferent to the "artistic thing" or its social use, and unconcerned "about the products they leave along the way."[85] If some of those involved would insist that this was a political act—while acknowledging that it was one performed wholly from within the confines of the state as an act of reformation—critic Claude Jasmin would point out it was also aesthetically quite conservative, both in its imported rhetoric and already highly conventionalized forms (installations, found objects, vitrines, etc.).

Nonetheless, Jasmin sought to include such work in the tradition of Borduas and Pellan, as a form of "visual combat" through the surprise of the banal recast in an art context.[86]

This type of interpretation would be historiographically solidified by 1981 when these events underwent their museification with the Musée du Québec's *Art société, 1975–1980* exhibition and catalogue, which cast Automatism as a "social project," the logical result of which was Opération Déclic; ti-pop was cast as a way of emancipating language and advocating for a new secular Québec through the powers of derision, and *Québec Scenic Tour* (1971) was a "valorisation of urban folklore."[87]

Québec Scenic Tour was an "environment-labryinth" erected at the Écuries d'Youville.[88] Parodying and exaggerating the structure of Expo's *Labyrinth* while clearly eliminating its highly technical sophistication and imposing architecture, it stressed its own material fragility, cheapness, and makeshift qualities. Rather than appealing to the archetypal, it was concerned only with the province's local "obsessions" in their most clichéd forms.[89] The installation was divided into a dozen rooms using the extant walls and additional partitions and filled by various objects and posters organized along a set of strictly delineated categories: La chambre rose, Mon pays, mes bébelles, Ave Marie Stella, Richesses naturelles, Pays de géants, Peaux rouges d'Amérique, Races ethniques, Héritage français, Fini les folies, La croix de bière, and Québec dont.

Described as a "Fun Palace" by those behind it, decidedly carnivalesque in tone, the contents consisted entirely of the most stereotypical things that the artists could accumulate—whether this was a cross made of Labatt 40 bottles, racial tourist gewgaws, hockey memorabilia—and the use of sociological statistics accumulated by the government about miracles, natural resources, and alcohol consumption. La Chambre rose directly superimposed kétaine religious imagery with the image of FLQ terrorist Paul Rose. Casting all of this in terms that clearly echo Maheu, Yves Robert told the media, "It is the story of a people who have lived for years in darkness and who are now today trying to get out of it. The visitor to the labyrinth makes a similar journey looking for the exit that is not easily found."[90] The environment also clearly chimed with how ti-pop was frequently understood in the press: "It was said

7.1 Photos used for the review "Le Québec Scenic Tour: Un 'show' historique," by Gilles Crevier *in La Patrie*, week of July 4, 1971, 11.

that ti-pop was Duplessis, Brother André, 300 days of indulgence, 'the sublimation of quétainerie'…in short, according to Claude de Guise: 'a collective delirium around the symbols of our national alienation, our religious and sexual taboos…'"[91] Although sympathetic to *Québec Scenic Tour's* style, Normand Thériault, not recognizing the distinction between form (kitsch) and content (kétaine), dismissed it as a "denunciation of a folklore made in a folkloric mode."[92]

This was followed up a few months later with another labyrinth. There were eleven distinct rooms for *Salon Apollo-Variétés*, which promised "a world without harmony, incoherent, you will invent, you will participate."[93] The rooms dealt again with consumerism, sex, advertising, toys, the 1950s, and so on. In terms of erotic "content," this was presented in the most stereotypical way possible,

as well, relying on a wall collage of pornography and the sexually suggestive posing of mannequins. Yves Robillard told the press that "the students who set up the 'Salon' are awakeners, fabulous people, cosmic travellers, all steeped in their own personal mythology and who are at one with it, transporting it wherever they wander without worrying about the function that the social apparatus wants to give to the artist. They do not care too much about the products they leave behind along the way."[94] Normand Thériault's position, like that which would be taken by the Musée du Québec, is the anti-ti-pop one, of the kitsch getting its revenge on the kétaine, of the archetype against the cliché: the command of participation, the appeal to a story of liberatory departure, cool involvement, irony toward the past, and clear signification.

From the ti-pop perspective, what is clear in the two environments, however, is that there are multiple levels of sarcasm: toward religious faith, toward the notion of popular culture, toward the cultural function of art, toward the credibility of sociological discourse, and toward the political (portrayed as another religious faith), with secularity and radicalism as another set of gewgaws. There is a sarcastic embrace of all the trappings of the social sciences (cultural semiotics, statistics, social categorizations, economics, the "sociological" art that had appeared recently in France), only presented in mythical form. In form and action these interventions vitiate their supposed cultural significance, doing so in a fundamentally perverse way. It is not a matter of processes, and therefore social and historical, but of surfaces. The "democratization" effected by making the world kétaine makes the political indistinguishable from condiments or pornography.

Three Directions

One way to summarize something that has been simmering so far in this chapter while looking forward to what is to come is to examine a sequence from Gilles Carle's film, *La Mort d'un bûcheron* (1973). Carle's film distils the issue deftly by directly placing erotica, the city's avant-garde art, and the myth of Kébec together. Directly repurposing one of the central tales of the province, Louis Hémon's novel *Maria Chapdelaine* (1913), the heroine is reimagined

7.2 Screen capture from *La Mort d'un bûcheron*, directed by Gilles Carle, written by Gilles Carle and Arthur Lamothe (1973, Les Productions Carle-Lamy).

travelling from the woods into Montréal and then back again before returning to the city. With ti-pop icon Willie Lamothe as her pimp/manager, she becomes a stripping country singer and nude model surrounded by country and western accoutrements. Much of the film is symbolically constructed around the land, as emblemized by the woods (the father/lumberjack), and the city as emblemized by the pulp and paper industry, manifest expressly in media: art, fashion publishing, and pornography.

Before she can return to the land to attempt, and fail, to recover her roots, there is a sequence that directly contextualizes the character and her erotic power within the art of the city. Marie, played by Carole Laure, poses for a series of erotic photos that could have appeared in a fashion magazine or *Proscope* with various artworks, including those of Claude Tousignant (b. 1932) and Cozic—the mononymous husband and wife duo of Yvon Cozic (1942–2025) and Monic Brassard (b. 1944), sometimes styled as COZIC—in one of the city's new brutalist buildings. The sequence ends with Laure's character taking her modelling session from deluxe apartments to an industrial meat packers, posing in fur amid the skinned carcasses.

7.3 Screen capture from *La Mort d'un bûcheron*, directed by Gilles Carle, written by Gilles Carle and Arthur Lamothe (1973, Les Productions Carle-Lamy).

Cozic and Tousignant, as models, delineate two of the extreme directions that art as a form of sensualism was taking at that point. In one direction, toward a highly tactile, amorphous mode of kétaine (Cozic); in the other, a rigorously mathetic type of art that stressed the physical aspects of vision and art as a mechanical extension of perception (Tousignant). In the work of Guy Montpetit (b. 1938), these aspects would be juxtaposed in an erotic art that functioned through the formal model of sarcasm, one of the defining characteristics of ti-pop.

COZIC

At the behest of his wife, early in their career, the France-born Yvon Cozic provided the public face for the duo. Works were credited under his name alone until it was publicly recognized in 1972 that it was collaborative work, after which the name Cozic stood for both of them.[95] They established a reputation for working with industrial materials that had not been extensively investigated by artists in the city. The duo produced sculptural works that stressed tactility. The generally biomorphic qualities of their work, combined with this concern with sensuality, served to suggest eroticism.

Cozic had been identified as part of a younger generation of artists, along with Pierre Ayot and Lise Bissonnette, who seemed to share plastic affinities if not ideologies. Joining together to found Galerie Média, Gravures et Multiple with Ayot, Bissonnette, Boisvert, Anne Roche, Jean Noël, Michel Leclair, and others, their shared sense of "visual thinking" was described as "spontaneous and natural," and as taking place within the time of its own process of making, implying a "cultural and popular animation."[96] Even if Galerie Média was effectively a government-subsidized boutique, this did not preclude Happenings and comparable events in addition to their stress on selling affordable prints. Both relative affordability and participatory events were in keeping with the programme for democratization that such ventures were subsidized to encourage. According to a profile of the group by *La Presse*'s critic Gilles Toupin, the group was initially concerned with objects that would be specific to the province rather than with ideas. Within a few years, this had seemingly reversed. Given the quantity of members and their divergent views on art, there was no clear idea of what they were "as a group." The "media" of the name stressed the exhibition space's function as a zone for connection and also placed it in relationship to the "mass media," recasting its potential popular appeal in artistinal terms using the products and techniques of industry. If, at first, they "thought that a gallery was not a church [but] a 'supermarket' where everyone entered," their feelings apparently shifted over time. As Toupin wrote, "Now they see the gallery as a church."[97] This seemed to signal a shift from being the producers of mid-market goods to high-concept ones. Or, as Cozic suggest below, it was passing from consumer items to those that had a more ritualistic function.

Pierre Vallières, author of *Nègres blancs d'Amérique,* former FLQ militant and *partipriste*, now working as art critic for *Le Devoir*, noted that Cozic's work disconcerted people with its extreme ambiguity, attracting "strange" justifications from intellectuals and dismissals from others who found it hard to distinguish from plush toys.[98] For his part, Vallières saw Cozic's work as a serious expression of anguish in the form of playful objects. Inspired by work he did with the blind, Yvon Cozic began to insist on plasticity less

in terms of the visual than the tactile and olfactory—though this did not necessarily imply a depreciation of visuality, per se. There was an obvious reliance on sexual symbolism in the work. Not only did a piece like *Sans commentaire* (1971) intimate the dressings for a bedroom, but the soft sculpture simultaneously suggested male and female genitalia in cartoonish terms. Likewise, the transparent tubing filled with sperm-like industrial fragments shoved through a hole that constitutes *Boudin impérator* (1968) was hardly subtle. This image of transparent "genitalia," the same one that was inflated and wrapped around Laure in *Bûcheron,* reappeared throughout Cozic's work in the 1960s.

Recognized for relying on cheap and kétaine materials to produce their works, Cozic stressed their pleasurable qualities. Their use of plush fabrics accented texture and surface as something to be caressed above all else, in a way distinct from the stress on these aspects that had been common to painting. These works mocked functionality while dissecting what it was to experience an object on the most basic level possible. They were also interpreted as a call to *jouissance* and ecstasy.[99] Another critic took Cozic's claim that some of the works were "critical objects" to heart, and suggested that their demand for tactile participation was a way of questioning the nature and definition of art, which is largely the nature of deception. The playfulness was an act of provocation.[100]

Cozic explained the attraction to objects was a means for creating a form of comic estrangement: "There are no noble materials; those that attract me most have a degree [*taux de*] of weirdness, self-mockery, and non-aggressiveness."[101] One critic noted the polemical aspect of the refusal of durability, the stress on ephemerality and decomposition, which the viewer-feeler took an active role in when stroking the "gadgets."[102] According to the artist, "The use of materials such as plush in my sculptural objects, is due to a fascination on my part for its qualities of sensuality and non-aggressiveness…[they] are objects of consumption and through their manipulation, the spectator-actor has a direct influence on their longevity. With a simple structure, they are each a ritual, a rule of play to which the spectator must submit. These rules leave room for self-initiative."[103] In these respects, the sculptures clearly operated

in a comparable way to the artists' books that we discussed earlier. If this seemed to clearly mark the work out as participatory, Cozic would also insist, "I don't care about public participation."[104]

As the artists passed into the 1970s, their work continued to examine the contrasts between hardness and softness, penetration, and themes of eroticism and play shot through with humour.[105] They also began to use fake leather, zippers, and artificial fur appended to things like a box-spring mattress. All of this was in keeping with contemporaneous trends in erotic art (and sex toys). Even Cozic's consistent reliance on soft-sculpture phallic-scatological shapes was readily recognizable as part of an erotic imagery that was common internationally. This extended beyond the confines of the art world to the expanding commercial field of sex toys, which was starting to make inroads in the city.

For example, in the midst of this early period in the artists' long career, Ivor Sargent, a native of Owen Sound, Ontario, relocated to Montréal to open the city's first sex boutiques. Inspired by the model established in Europe by German pilot and sex entrepreneur Beate Uhse-Rotermund and her vast chain of shops, he acquired the rights to sell her products to North American consumers. Sargent insisted that, in selecting for a Canadian audience, he avoided being "porny" or kinky, which in practice meant no aphrodisiacs or hardcore pornography, but water beds, deodorants, and printed sheets featuring couples cavorting.[106] Death threats resulted, but Sargent insisted that the commercialization of sex helped to reduce sex crimes and that the broader public was ready for his wares, even if distributors remained skeptical.[107] The business grew to the point that within half a decade it was being advertised in *La Presse*, with the National Sexe Boutique offering sex books, imported posters, American magazines, gadgets, erotic statues, exotic perfumes, perfumed soaps, lingerie for men and women, German contraceptives and dildos, latex clothes, his and hers vibrators, BDSM gear, and Californian massage oil.[108]

In 1973, along with Ayot, Bissonnette, Gilles Boisvert, and Michel Leclair, Cozic was part of a group show of erotic art titled *Mâma kecésâ* at Média, Gravures et Multiples. The content of the exhibition was clearly not too distant from the gadgetry and textures of sex toys and, wittingly or not, suggested the commonality between

the wares of sex boutiques and those of art. "This is gentle eroticism," wrote one critic of the exhibition. "Not too daring, well imagined and under a cover of laughter. Cozic's *Qui s'y frotte, s'y douce* is a surface set with plush spikes."[109] Inhabiting the borderland between children's toys and sex toys, the plush and simplified forms that Cozic's sculptures took might have just as easily been at home on the set of *Patofville* or in a children's museum. Works like *Surface qui vous prend dans ses bras* (1972) and *Shake hands surface* (1972) stressed their physical interactability, and this general quality was easily amenable to selling their products as luxury items for children's holiday gifts within the boutique market for the "hip."[110] However, if this was "gentle eroticism," it was also, as Cozic noted above, an eroticism that was essentially about taking part in the decomposition of the work—participation was a form of decomposing.

The gentrified, consumer-friendly eroticism of Cozic and their colleagues at Média, Gravures et Multiples was an overt turn away from the chaotic eroticism of the Automatists, the perceived austerity of the Plasticiens, or the "pop" art painting strategies discussed in the previous chapter (direct juxtaposition of abstract design with erotic figures appropriated from media). If Cozic relied on the kétaine to create a cuddly yet alien art, one very distinct from that generally associated with ti-pop, the work of the Plasticiens was also a potentially erotic one and, by the late 1960s, no less a sign of the déclassé, albeit in a different sense. Cozic's use of the kétaine was a deliberate appropriation of industrial materials that concentrated on their tactile eroticization. It was humorous and fused gadget forms to the sensual suggestivenes of biomorphic abstraction such that their works became mostly useless and decorative objects to be stroked. They perversely raised the materials of the déclassé to a luxury good.

Despite producing highly collectible works of art for the market, the Plasticiens were déclassé with regard to their attitudes and positions vis-a-vis the emergence of "underground" art: Guido Molinari and his colleagues were singled out to be reviled by the new generation of artists seeking state patronage.[111] The Plasticiens' stress on rigorous, non-representational art and the object qualities of painting might initially seem very foreign to the figurative tendencies that would seem to be more natural to erotic

art. By the late 1960s, however, there was an increased recognition that abstract and non-representational forms were central to the erotic art of the twentieth century, in no small part because they were means to pass by forms of pictorial realism to more directly address sexual symbolism and sensuality, whether by the appeal to texture, pattern, or other elements.[112] In this respect, Cozic's tactile biomorphic abstractions and interactive gadgets and the work of the Plasticiens have more in common than may at first be obvious.

EROTIC PLASTICISM

Although underplayed in their historiography, some historians and critics have tacitly acknowledged a connection between eroticism and the hyper-reductive, non-representational paintings and sculptures associated with Montréal's Plasticiens. This quality may have been difficult for either critics or artists to discuss in the more strictly formalist register that the group tended to operate in, but there was clearly something there.[113]

In the 1960s, there was a marked shift among Montréal abstract painters away from the influence of surrealism's abstract tendencies and against automatism and free gesture, towards earlier abstract and non-figurative art, such as that of Kazimir Malevich and Piet Mondrian. This was accompanied by a shift from the generic rectangles of standard canvases toward geometric rationalism in irregular formats. According to one-time Automatist Fernand Leduc, this was a move from automatic to "autonomizing" form, which he characterized as "an autonomous unit with internal solidarity and its own laws."[114] For Molinari, this meant a stripping down to basics; painting as a means to describe the world of anthropomorphic perception through mimesis was a negation of painting's true function. Instead, geometric form and binary structures would be valorized and their dynamic possibilities explored.[115] In Molinari's words, "This research tends to destroy the gestalt structure of perception by expressing the simultaneity of linear movement and coloured vibration."[116] The Plasticiens valorized the principle of anti-synthesis that was also essential to erotic art and which was opposed to the holism that would become fundamental to the idealization of participatory or "cultural" art. We saw one elaborate example of this in the para-cinematic fracturing

of the erotic image in Pierre Ayot. If, as we have seen, numbers and Lettrist deformations could be erotic art, as much or more than depictions of nude bodies, then there is no surprise that eroticism could extend to the Plasticiens' abstract bands of colour as well.

As Lucy Lippard was arguing in a 1967 essay on erotic art, for those who were "sophisticated" enough to enjoy non-objective artworks as *thing*s, their "purity of sensation…engenders a stronger response" than "associative look-alikes."[117] Rhythm, repetition, and simultaneity were the primary traits of the erotic art that Lippard discussed. These were also the primary traits of the Plasticiens, clearly reflected in a work like Jean Goguen's *Lyrisme rose* (1966), which borrowed structurally from tantric mandalas, one of the most basic models for erotic art. Setting squares within diamonds in a diamond-shaped frame, each shape is filled by alternating horizontal and diagonal lines. The shapes are rendered in different shades against an underlying blue and framed within the frames by a shifting series of shades. Goguen had worked with industrial colourants, and his paintings were recognized as being concerned with "oscillating energy."[118] Unlike his Plasticien colleagues, including his friend Claude Tousignant, Goguen was insistent on the presence of signs from the unconscious in his work, the importance of accident, and even of paranoiac fantasy in the creation of images.[119] Writing of *Lyrisme rose*, one critic noted that the artist used "several superimposed structures that condition the reading of the painting itself and resolutely pose the notion of forms in a different space."[120] A review by Yves Robillard from the period suggested that, "Each canvas is the starting point of a journey to an incandescent source where the colour-energy creates a new space-time that transcends common perceptions."[121] Looking at an exhibition of works by Tousignant and Goguen, another critic complained, "If the canvases vibrate, if my eyes glaze over, if I feel vaguely nauseous like when riding a roller coaster, my inner self is not vibrating."[122]

The catalogue essay for Tousigant's 1973–74 exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada claimed that his work "evokes something of the simplicity and directness of Tantrism."[123] Tantrism was generally conceded to be as much a staple of erotic art in the period as other styles or disciplines. Although there was and remains

significant divergences between the various modes of tantric art, the one that is most directly relevant to us is what Philip Rawson described as cosmograms: "calculating rather than emotive, dealing with the cosmos in terms of an ancient and stereotyped popular imagery."[124] While we have already encountered, in this chapter, how popular clichés could be deployed to create an erotic atmosphere through the over-familiar raised to the point that it becomes an alien surface, it is the calculating mechanism that is of particular relevance here.

Appearing in *La mort d'un bûcheron*, a work from Tousignant's *Accélérateur chromatique* series (1967–69) is an example of this type of tantra-influenced work. For James D. Campbell, these circular acrylic paintings of chromatic complexity exploit the perceptual mechanisms correlated to viewing colour bands in order to create a sense of vertigo with a suspended point at its centre.[125] Campbell has stressed the "transgressive" quality of Tousignant's work (related to his working in serial form) involving not excess but severe reduction in the search for a "pure chroma" that would allow abstract painting to be born again.[126] Tousignant claimed that he sought an art of "no-geometry" which would consist only of "passion."[127] Reduction did not apply simply to the surface of the picture plane, but the collapse of a media distinction between sculpture and painting. In their place was a non-representational object or a non-subjective painting that would exist only as an object.[128] If his work was "devoid of enervating and gratuitous references to a world outside, they are also most convincing witnesses to their own thinghood."[129] With Tousignant we see a new direction of the media collapse we have detected elsewhere as fundamentally erotic. Rather than figuring the New Person, Tousignant constructed a device—and stressed painting *as* a device—to perceive as one, fundamentally altering one's sensual relationship to the immediate world.

If there is structural similarity in the dynamic organization of energy between work by Plasticiens and some of what was occurring in the broader context of Montréal's erotic art, how the nature of that energy was understood varied widely. The erotic and seemingly chaotic energy of the Automatists had given way to linearity, to the hard-edge as a way of expressing materials and structures

rather than erotic affects.[130] A more rigorous and objective *realism* of materials was claimed by the Plasticiens, concentrating on the topology of the painted surface, the emptying out of recognizable content and the concentration on new sensations of colour. This was, however, done in service to "human passion" and charted out on canvas in the creation of "apparently aleatoric vibrations" through the use of serialized bands of colour or geometric forms.[131] Repetition and rhythmic change could lead, in Marcel Barbeau's words, to "hallucinatory light."[132] Painting would become about the "pulsation" of colour, even in monochrome.[133]

Beyond the painterly model of Plasticism and its quest for the sublime in a space far removed from the banal, such a model is also evident in the imaginative realm of pornography, which treats the world as serialized events that allow for desire to solidify and appear, transforming the world into "unconscious comedy," passing into a hallucinatory world of pulsations and visual events that can be designed and experienced as sequential waves of intensity.[134] This is what, at approximately the same time, Steven Marcus termed "pornotopia," the nowhere (utopia) that tends to provide the ground for pornographic figuration. Despite whatever caricature of historical data they may contain, erotic fantasies "truly exist behind our eyes, within our heads. To read a work of pornographic fiction is to rehearse the ineffably familiar; to locate that fantasy anywhere apart from the infinite, barren, yet plastic space that exists within our skulls is to deflect it from one of its chief purposes."[135] The event of erotic imagining is bound only by the capacities of mathematically calculating the juxtapositions of bodies and objects with their "depictions of positions and events, diagrammatic schema for sexual ballets."[136] In effect, this fulfils the dream of the Automatists to create an artwork that could be "written by a computer" and where "form and content are perfectly fused."[137]

To return to Tousignant's *Accélérateur chromatique*, the "impregnable structural container" of the series and the various effects and affects it manages are what the body of Carole Laure was superimposed against in *Bûcheron*.[138] This juxtaposition of a glamourized nude body and the presentation of non-representation was also at the heart of what we saw in the paintings of Serge Lemonde, who had collapsed media into an image rather than a "thing." In

Carle's film, the juxtaposition of the figure and painting forms an additional series: an examination of the mechanical construction of a series within the proliferation of erotic media. As such, it retains all the raggedness of the variants in series, including the pop mixtures of local dialects (realism, glamour, folklore, pornography, non-objectivism). In the cinematic image, in part because of its inevitable "realism," the tension between the varying series is stressed. A viewer can fall into the habitual or kitsch reading of the image as that of a face, constructing an empathic fantasy. Or they can allow it to retain its equally essential abstract quality as another series in a set of micro-differentiating series, like the minor changes in tones of red in the bands of a Tousignant work.

GUY MONTPETIT AND EROTIC SARCASM

The seemingly disparate strands that Cozic and the Plasticiens brought together came to their most reductive and pristine form in the work of Guy Montpetit, solidifying the union between plasticism, pornography, and politics treated in serial terms— all while taking the soft shapes of Cozic and flattening them into figures that were deployed to implode signification through their erotic suggestiveness.

Compared to many of his colleagues, Montpetit showed substantially more ambivalence towards the counterculture and to politics in general. This ambivalence seemed to make critics uncomfortable. Common to the literature on the artist at the time was a fear of Catholicism, that either prurience caused by repression or the seizing of new "liberal" imagery by "reactionary" forces could be at play in his work's satirical fusions of non-figuration and erotic imagery.

That non-figuration had become a variety of kétaine for a younger generation of artists has been established in our discussion of Lemonde. But the ambivalent and in some respects subversive use of non-figuration along with other kétaine forms was not always legible to the critical establishment. An early review of Montpetit commends him for his passionate lyricism and canvases that "give the impression of a world in gestation, cosmic" but the critic seems slightly perplexed by the artist in the context of other Montréal painters.[139] Yet, a review a few years later clearly places Montpetit

among the Plasticiens and, intriguingly, reconfigures the drive of the movement's work in terms of desire. For Léo Rosshandler, the transmission of desire was the motive of the Plasticiens, a desire expressed through colour and objecthood to create kinetic effects. The canvas could serve as a sort of perpetual-motion machine of technological desire. Montpetit's work summarized this general tendency, and symbolized it more graphically than his colleagues. At the same time that he exaggerated the ideas of the Plasticiens to the point of caricature, he reintroduced the sort of iconic values that they tended to banish. Rosshandler characterized Montpetit's art in terms of its

> tenacious adherence to plastic ideas (rejection of sentimentalism, impersonal attitude, well-defined colours, precise forms, rhythmic repetitions, all in the service of a clarity that turns its back on the expressionist adventure). Montpetit gives this tenacity a new dimension by creating what he likes to call icons. Let us note that he refuses the dogma of the abstract, so dear to the plastic artists, to give us an image that is the measure of man. It was time to find this synthesis, which Guy Montpetit articulates, between a somewhat tired purity of execution and the need to return to the objective human presence in the work of art.[140]

"Objective human presence" took two forms: one that employed the ti-pop tendency to use titles to mock content, frequently with crudely sexual suggestiveness; and the other, a use of biomorphic forms that resembled that of Cozic, only flattening them, denying them the pathos of tactility, and again using them as means of rhetorical derision through sexual suggestiveness. Taking the "measure of man" was not about the sentimental inclusion of human experience, but the satirical stress on the exterior or surface, the alienation from the sentimental notion of persons.[141]

François-Marc Gagnon saw Montpetit within the wave of the Plasticiens, but as a heretic among them, one who seemed to be carefully overturning or degrading their dogmas.[142] In reviewing the twenty-one works that Montpetit showed at the Musée des beaux-arts and the Musée du Québec in 1970 as part of *Guy Monpetit: Série*

E: Sex-machine; Série P: Où êtes-vous donc, he pointed to their great thematic and stylistic coherency. Montpetit created his images in series. His paintings were composed of carefully gridded sets of simplified and inverted shapes. These are usually rounded and smooth arches, capsules, tear drops, pies, and so on, that were common in plasticism and "women's art," as well as industrial design.[143] There is a distinctly iconic quality to many of his compositional elements which, when taken together, suggest a barely legible diagram.

The *Sexe Machine* series operates in the same language as works like the triptych *Hommage à Québec patriotes* (1970), which it was displayed with. Taking *Série E: Sexe machine, no. 7* (1970) as demonstrative of the painter's strategies, Gagnon went into detail about the complex geometrical planning that went into the creation of the painting's design, its virtual axes and "prioritization of the surface within an enveloping form."[144] But while the Plasticiens rejected hierarchy, figure, ground, and juxtaposition, Montpetit made a great show of the mechanisms for plastically producing rather than reducing these elements. It was, one could say, the perversion of the transgressive reductiveness of Tousignant.

Although Gagnon recognized that there was a frequent sense of the joker in the work of the painter, evinced in his titles and catalogue writing, there was nothing random about the joke. In fact, the imagery in his exhibition could clearly be read as a symbolic rendering of sexual union where the enveloping composition mentioned above was a way of depicting a sex position: "the two arrangements of the partners coming to life in a single climactic rhythm."[145]

A review by Patrick Hutchings of the same works tried to concentrate on their symbolic meaning. Judging by the titles of so many of the artist's images, they *seemed* to be political, but they were political satirically, ironically.[146] There are two different systems Montpetit is superimposing. It is, one might add, not simply a matter of generically masculine and feminine positions, but of the figurative and the non-figurative, the one constantly undermining the other. It is also, explicitly, of the two "cultures" of Canada superimposing and undoing one another, as "two halves of the same machine. One nation, by god…Two cultures are one too many, and you'll end up thinking too much."[147] Hutchings took the political satire a step

further, suggesting that the appeal to eros that so many of the titles made was also part of Montpetit's polemic and suggested that he treated sex and love as more delusions. Hutchings added that the paintings are as chaste as they are erotic in their depictions of the machinery of sex. Detecting Catholic moralism in the painter beneath the sophistication of his humour, Hutchings claimed that Montpetit's images questioned and mocked the vulgarity of pinups and *Playboy* centerfolds, "kodachromes/icons of a sexuality mechanised by printing."[148]

Gagnon took the pornographic question in Montpetit even further:

> Modern pornography has arguably taken over from ancient agrarian cults, which aimed to make sexuality sacred, in the contemporary imagination. Like the ancient religious symbols, pornographic images enclose human sexuality in a mythology, create a gap of bad conscience between man and his act—compared to pornographic descriptions of sexuality, we all fall short—and prevent man's perfect coincidence with himself in the act of loving.[149]

Spinning this suggestion slightly differently, if pornography mocked and undermined the supposed authenticity of the humanist-existentialist notion of love, pornography's cross-fertilization with plasticism and political cliché ratcheted this even further. The monochrome, of course, has long been inflected with comedy, so it should not be surprising to see abstraction used to this end.[150]

Montpetit introduced something like arguments or narrative events, but reduced them to icons that could be juxtaposed in a way that was rigorous without being rationally meaningful. In this regard, his work was in keeping with the artistic model of *figuration narrative* discussed earlier. Pregnant with the possibility of meaning, the paintings of Montpetit seem to invite the investment of their viewers, singly or collectively, to create significance by the union of iconic series. But in their lack of clear referentiality, his icons recall the almost arbitrary formal juxtapositions of Québec's sacres. Much as Molinari's work would imply, the experience of the work becomes about the event of seeing, the effectiveness of

seeing. Yet, with Montpetit this vision-event is less antiseptic than for Molinari—it spreads its satirical infection elsewhere.[151] If plasticism aimed for an immediate but closed system of visual reductionism that intensified the sensation of viewing, the obscurity of Montpetit's openness to apparently meaningful "content" was doing something more complex and expansive. The painting *as event*—which effectively ruins its translation to narrative or discursive interpretability by stymying its development and suspending action in a space of pornotopia—invited interpretation while simultaneously undermining it. In this, it fulfilled one of the primary modes of satire, according to Northrop Frye, by demonstrating the "variety of what men do by showing the futility, not only of saying what they ought to do, but even of attempts to systematize or formulate a coherent scheme of what they do."[152] But what Montpetit's work does, along with so much of the material covered in this book, is go beyond satire to something more extreme—an erotic sarcasm, an operation that uses icons (figurative or not), exploiting their affects while denying them any credible referentiality or synthetic holism.

As Yve-Alain Bois has suggested, one way out of the dialectic of kitsch and its appropriation by the avant-garde (and vice versa) is the rejection of irony, since irony, according to him, is the pose of the master.[153] This rejection of irony was also the position earlier advanced by Maheu as ti-pop, which left the ti-popist in a state of suspension. However, Bois replaces one dichotomy with another (irony vs. sincerity) and the ti-popist does not. In Maheu and Aquin, the counter that they advanced was paradox (the most artificial is the most authentic, the most radical is the most traditional, etc.). What seems to have been more important to many of these visual artists was another strategy essential to ti-pop: sarcasm, which demolishes the foundation of Bois' dichotomies since they rely on a lionization of intentionality that surrealism had already laid to waste. It is not that an art which rejects intentionality is meaningless but that meaning is employed within it to ruin meaning, leaving a material and formal excess. Gérald Gassiot-Talabot would refer to the quotidian world that appeared in *figuration narrative* as one of "nausea and sarcasm"; the films of Jean-Pierre

7.4 Screen capture from *Q-Bec My Love - Un succès commercial*, written and directed by Jean Pierre Lefebvre (1970, Cinak Compagnie Cinématographique).

Lefebvre would likewise depict contemporary Québec as a sea of sarcasms.[154]

Perhaps the clearest distillation of this manifestation of sarcasm was articulated by Bart Testa in an article on Denys Arcand's ti-pop sexploitation film *Gina* (1975), which interjected the rape-revenge genre into the western, displacing the latter into a contemporary setting that was figured as the frozen desert central to so much of postwar Québécois mythology.[155] Operating in an openly satirical register, the film exploited the norms of commercial filmmaking but dissected them into stereotyped blocks that would run in parallel, interjected into one another. While exploiting conventional narrative models, its tightly gridded structure undermined tension, climax, and resolution to deny any dramatic synthesis.[156] Working through juxtaposition rather than dialectic, the rigidity of the film allowed for it to be simultaneously exploitative and to alienate the viewer from the characters while tending toward a "cartooning of significance."[157] If irony assumes that there can be an organic relation between truth and representation while simultaneously acknowledging ambiguity and complexity's roles in creating slippages in signification, sarcasm rejects even this. Puncturing confidence in representation, it disengages the affective relationship

to the work, denying the cultivation of empathy or identification: "Rhetorically, sarcasm is almost always heavy-handed, although, at its best, it can be swift and produce a sudden, jolting perception."[158]

This sarcasm is something else that separated Québécois art starkly from the pop art that existed in English North America. Kétaine tended to stress the province's rurality, imagining Québec in terms of the western, something completely alien to other forms of pop or realism. A stress on kétaine also separated ti-pop from the valorization of urbanity and the privileging of Montréal as a centre that was basic to the cosmopolitan form of kitsch that I identified with the official form of art.[159]

As we have seen, the structure of ti-pop closely resembled that of the sacres, which were both profanizations that indexed and singularized the sensual history of the province, and formal games that decomposed rational meaning into visceral performance. Despite how it was sometimes framed, ti-popism was not transgression so much as decadent affirmation. Eroticism in this context did not necessarily involve the obvious (or naturalistic) presentation of sexual content, although this could have been included. Rather, it had to do with particular metaphysical assumptions, modes of tactility, the embrace of paradox, and a sensual relationship to materials.

8

Sacred Monsters and Media Black Comedy: Tabloid Sex Symbols and the Surrealism of the October Crisis

One of the most financially successful artists working in Montréal in the 1960s and '70s appears in no art-historical account of the era. Painter Gérard Boivin managed to do a lucrative business, primarily in portraiture, when he was not creating murals for pools and décor for the bedrooms of the wealthy.[1] His work was shown at clubs, discos, and in sports arenas and he would appear as a special guest at parties at Sexe-Machine.[2] Among the most high profile of his generically naturalistic works, which he painted almost entirely from slide images, were his portraits of *kétaine* star Paolo Noël and of local sex symbols Louise Marleau, Danielle Ouimet, and Daniel Pilon.

This trio were *vedettes* (stars) in the province's highly localized entertainment scene. This included music, television (*teleromans*, variety programming), and films, primarily the softcore pornography of the *films de fesses* or *films de cul*. All three vedettes appeared in each of these media, as was common at the time, and their role in the local tabloid press was central to their fame. The pages of *Echoes Vedettes*, *Télé-radiomonde* and so on were awash with such local celebrities, typically featured at the city's discos or in pictorials that showed off the architecture and décor of their homes.

Following in the stead of erotic films like *La Femme image* (1959) by Automatist associate and *Proscope* photographer Guy Borremans, the *films de fesses* or *films de culs* had begun appearing in the province after a relaxing of censorship laws made the exploitation of nudity highly lucrative.[3] Christened "maple syrup porn" by *Variety,* these films emerged in Québec in the late 1960s and had a notable box office presence until the mid-1970s. They shared much with a

broader global trend in the period, in which the growth of national cinemas was built on the financial viability of sex films.[4] Across several dozen titles released between the late 1960s and '70s, these films hybridized a variety of genres as the springboard for softcore sequences primarily involving mild nudity and stylized sex scenes. Foremost among these were the works of directors Denis Héroux and Claude Fournier.

Héroux's *Valérie* (1969) is generally recognized as kicking off the boom in Québec sexploitation films. The tale of a novice who leaves a nunnery on the back of a motorcycle and heads to Montréal, she quickly runs through the gamut of every social typology of the new eroto-environment. The protagonist passes from being a hippy drop-out to a go-go dancer to a stripper to a call-girl to an artist's model. A bad date finally inspires her to leave the commercial sex world behind and become the stepmother to the widower artist's son. The relationship between artist and model progresses from his depicting her first as a traditional nude to finally as a post-Plasticien symbol of modernity. Occurring beneath a Québec flag, their final commitment scene is explicitly tied to the province's national future. The film is also filled with contemporaneous artworks and littered with references to the Montréal sex scene.

Meanwhile, Fournier's *Deux femmes en or* (1970) proved to be one of the most commercially successful films ever made in the province.[5] With a soundtrack featuring Robert Charlebois, it was a sex comedy about bored housewives in the suburbs exploiting the new mobile service economy to draw working men into their homes for sexual encounters. Designed in a modular fashion by the director, who had once been an associate of the Breton circle of surrealists, the sex sequences include several explicit satires on the local sex tabloids.[6] Thematically, the film highlighted the ways in which the new, gadget-packed architectural environment was triangulated by media (television, radio, telephone), all of which are given erotic functions as its housewife protagonists use them to eventually become provincial sex symbols and media stars.

As previous chapters indicated, the *femme* had gained a new symbolic significance in the way the city was advertised, a point that both of these films, in quite different but equally ironic ways, insisted upon. This significance was tied both to the explicit re-

pression and erasure of the city's former decadence and to opening new avenues for public voyeurism and exhibitionism, which went hand-in-hand with the rise of toplessness, the go-go, and more abstract forms of dancing, which were intimately connected to the evolution of the club scene in the city. These aspects were addressed in the symbolic development of Valérie's character. Such dances involved both mimicry and free improvisation, but also new models of musical expression that could operate as accompaniment and inspiration. The *chansonnier* tradition that the province had inherited from France was being displaced in popularity by both the Gallicized pop of the yé-yés and more direct influences from the States.

Certainly, after Expo, the wave of psychedelic pop increased, with bands like Les Hou-lops and Les Sinners and a greater aping of American and British fashion and scenography.[7] If experimental band L'Infonie and Raoul Duguay explicitly tied themselves to the heritage of *Refus global* and the province's avant-garde, Les Sinners were contemporary in a basic way.[8] Topical, they would francisize Beatles songs and write satirical tunes about Trudeau ("Gogo Trudeau"). They would also directly appropriate ti-pop by borrowing its sense of juxtaposition, something that can be heard on the album *Sinnerisms* (1967), on which the pop anthem, "L'Hymne à Ti-Pop," an almost direct rendition of the ti-pop catechism published in *Photo-Journal* the same year appears following the sound poetry of "L.S.D. Ha! Ha!," a sort of nonsensical scat version of a yé-yé song.[9]

While this chapter touches superficially on the place of québecitude within the Montréal music scene, it is more concerned with three figures who crystallized this avenue of ti-pop in unique ways: the pop stars Michèle Richard and Robert Charlebois and the poet Denis Vanier, who we came across in a previous chapter. This trio has been selected more for consistency than contrast and particularly because eroticism was central to their work and their personas as stars. As distinct as they seem, there is far more uniting Richard and Vanier than there is separating them. While I will be discussing some of the formal implications of their music and poetry, it is the image of these stars— which combined the already sclerotic model of the counterculture with the greater fluidity of pop fads—that is

of greater concern. These three artists did not uncritically mime the trends of their moment but exploited them in sometimes sarcastic ways that treated the media as a means for mythification.

Following a discussion of these examples from the worlds of pop and poetry, of the use of the media as a medium that could be strategically exploited for the creation of imagery, we will examine how vying political factions attempted to construct an often-religious image of the events of October 1970 in the media. Pop stars could, more or less consciously, play their roles as icons within the landscape of the pornographic delicatessen—an iconicity that relied on the nudity of its artifice more than its illusionism. Attempts to create a coherent myth by the political class, however, faltered considerably. The resulting images introduced a range of new cracks in the press where surreal black humour could emerge as the autonomizing logic of visual media forms, which tended to triumph over their reducibility to communicative content. The period saw the emergence of a new form of black humour in the United States, one which was entirely different from both the surrealist tradition of black humour and the sarcasm that emerged in Québec discussed in the previous chapter.[10] While the black humour associated with the Americans was often highly moralistic, that which concerns us here continues in the amoral vein of surrealism discussed in the first chapter, where it was a matter of form rather than intent.

Le Sexe n'a plus de secrets pour Michèle Richard

Michéle's idol: Brigitte Bardot. I admire her so much because she has managed to hold her own and develop a whole myth. She's a real star.[11]
—Michèle Richard

In an earlier chapter, we ran across the yé-yés and the go-gos—now would be a good time to pause for a moment and look at their symbolic queen, Michèle Richard of Sherbrooke. From a musical family, she performed with her father Ti-Blanc Richard before her own career took off in her teens. Richard rapidly became a star of the provincial tabloids and, for a period, could claim to be the most photographed woman in the province. Hardly an issue of *Photo-Journal, Télé-radiomonde*, or *La Patrie* could be published for

years without her making an appearance. Almost every detail of her public life would be documented and its private details speculated upon. She regularly performed on televised variety shows *Chez Isidore*, *Ranch à Willie,* and *Jeunesse d'aujourd'hui*. Richard even exploited being charged with stealing from a clothing store to help give herself a more rebellious image.[12]

The iconography of Richard's albums spelled out the shifts in her image. This was as much a matter of their packaging as their content. The rear sleeve of Richard's *Le Twist* (1961) shows her demonstrating a series of labelled dance moves for imitation. The front is in red, white, and blue, with stripes to reference both the American flag and the candy canes that would become synonymous with her image thanks to the Christmas-themed albums she released every few years. On *Michèle visite* (1962), she is portrayed entering a city (depicted as a flat background) in a convertible with the top down. The city symbolizes America, and the songs are "Canadian versions" of her favourite American pop hits, the sleeve of the album employing road signs along with the interview format. *Michèle* (1964) sends her back to the countryside for a set of western songs, mostly as imagined by songwriters like Serge Gainsbourg. "Ô ô Sheriff," a Gainsbourg tune made a hit by Petula Clark, is more obviously sexed up and rippling with reverb when performed by Richard, filled out with sighs, rapid singing, and less clipped elocution than Clark's rendition, along with a stronger throb to the guitar.

Her next half-dozen albums followed the pattern of mixing French songs and covers of translated anglophone pop and r&b, tightly condensed to two to three minutes per tune. These various styles combined with folk and country while the arrangements remained mostly unobtrusive. This collaging of North American music styles probably reached its greatest distillation in her double live album from 1972, *En spectacle au Club Playboy*. Here, pop was transformed into cabaret and the album had a jazzy backing to fit into the environment of the club. Consisting almost entirely of medleys, the songs abruptly lurch from one mood to the next with little thematic or sonic continuity before finally ending on a nationalist note with covers of "Mon Pays" (Gilles Vigneault) and "Québécois" (La Révolution Française). Additionally, the gatefold

of the album mimes the *Playboy* centerfold, truncating it to two halves with her scantily clad body spread across them.

This album was not the only occasion on which Richard was explicitly tied to the world of the city's erotic nightlife. Several years previously, she released a single that codified her place in the dance scene. A promotional Scopitone (a type of video juxebox that displayed 16mm colour films with sound) for "Les Boîtes à gogo" (1966) shows her dancing in the Mousse-Spacthèque surrounded by its mannequins and swinging young couples. The employment of the signs of the city's rebranding were not simple naturalizations of a referent. Like most things she created, they were explicit about their artifice. In a Scopitone of her rendition of "Je suis libre" (J.C. Leblanc, 1964), shot in black and white in an empty dressing room, she embodies the archetype of the *femme libre* as she sports a large wig and directly lip-synchs to the camera, which pulls back to multiply her reflection across the room's mirrors, stressing both the artificial and performative quality of liberation and its flattening in reproduction. Her renderings of others' songs could also imbue them with significant differences. When she performed "California Nights," a song primarily associated with Leslie Gore, it was transformed poetically. In the English version of the Howard H. Liebling and Marvin Hamlisch song it is an affirmation of love and the projection of a couple's future together. In Richard's French translation, it is about a relationship collapsing into meaninglessness, with the singer being reminded of her loss by the sound of the sea. This difference in affective tone and significance marked another strategy through which her art practice consisted of using the familiar in a way that called attention not to its everydayness, but the artifice of its production and presentation.

She was elected as Miss Radio Télévision 67, sang one of the official songs of Expo, "Un jour un jour," and featured prominently in the opening ceremonies as well as the opening of the metro. Her face was identified with the latest perfume from Chenard, Tulipe Noire, which she endorsed as "a weapon of success for modern women."[13] When absent of a public relationship, her dog Vedette was cast as her "eternal companion" and would appear in photoshoots, in a clear dig about star worship.[14] "Without my fans, I could have had depression," she told *Télé-radiomonde*, the words

8.1 Photo of Michèle Richard in *Télé-radiomonde*, August 3, 1968, 6.

printed above a series of five closely cropped photos of her face. Between each image, which starts with small variations in half-smiles carefully analyzed by the accompanying text, she bursts into laughter and half covers her mouth, each micro-gesture given an intensified power by mediation.[15]

In August 1968 she would be pictured in a hat and one-piece bathing suit before the Westmount apartment building where she lived, posed in the swimming pool to accentuate her curves, her nipples noticeably hardened. In a seemingly deliberate correspondence, the photo sits beside a bra advertisement. More surprising—though in line with the scatology that tended to accompany our other two figures—her image straddles an ad for constipation cures.[16] Much of Richard's career existed in this surreal media landscape where her image was the companion to articles on suicide prevention, artificial chicken, ads for nylons and acne cream, or pieces on Colonel Gauthier next to examinations of extraterrestrials with ads for sewing machines and marriage counselling, breast enlargement machines, and discussions of spinach-eating

dolls.[17] She was the living embodiment of the utopian figure in the work of Serge Lemonde.

Likely the most salacious instance of her erotic incarnation was when she appeared topless on the cover of *Photo-Journal* with her pants unbuckled and open, her arms covering her breasts. The headline read, "Sex Holds No Secrets for Michèle Richard."[18] In the accompanying article, which included an image of her in a transparent negligee, she commented on "the current wave of *érotisme*."[19] She is described in terms that play on Bataille's definition of eroticism as one of the "stars who have given their all to their profession and who are the beings of a single passion, until their death."[20] Richard insisted that the new eroticism was predicated on changes in Québec's market, the rise of its independent cinema and cultural industries. She described the erotic wave they unleashed as natural; as the notion of sin disappears, life returns to normal. This eroticism, she implied, was not simply an anomalous fad but would remain the norm. All the same, she repeatedly insisted that she was not a libertine and rejected the premise of the "femme libre," insisting that, "I am not free and no one is free. There is no such thing as freedom!"[21] The reality of human life is dependency and, Richard would add, at best, prolonged intellectual life.[22] Although she embraced exploiting her body's sex appeal, she also refused to appear in the nude when she starred in the European film *L'Explosion* (Marc Simenon, 1971).[23]

Richard would explicitly demystify her role as a vedette at the same time as she promoted it. There never seemed to be a tension or contradiction; the artificiality was part of the packaging, as was her transparent sensationalism when making statements to the press.[24] To balance "fatigue at its worst," she began practicing yoga "in secret," taking full control of her body, before being displayed in the press as "la belle Michèle" dressed in tights and demonstrating her suppleness with a series of positions.[25] She would be shown luxuriating in Jamaica in colour.[26] Further accentuating the status of her body as a sex symbol, a cover of *Photo-Journal* showed her posing in her bikini at an indoor swimming pool, the accompanying text promising that they had a certificate from her gynaecologist that would save her reputation. After a spread of her relaxing in the ornate rococo trappings of her apartment, she

revealed a doctor's note clearing her of being pregnant and ending false rumours she feared could ruin her public image.[27] Lounging in a bikini in the garden or on the beach, we are told about the collapse of her relationship to her model husband amid discussions of her changing hair colour and blasé listings of her various luxury cars and accounts of her finances. She is presented as a jet-setter who spends most of the year travelling the Mediterranean and the tropics.[28]

On another cover, she lays on a bed of fake furs in her panties, barely holding her top closed as she stares at the camera. Inside, she is dressed as a cowgirl in thigh-high boots and short-shorts, with a gun slung across her hip.[29] In 1975, after more than a decade of expressing concern about her love life, *Photo-Journal* was insisting that "Michèle remains a very conservative bourgeoise" who just wants to get married.[30] A star in multimedia and "[r]ich, pretty, sexy and seductive," she was also presented in the article as frightening to men because she was so intransigent and refused to back down from her career.

Richard was explicit about the superficial quality of her public existence and how severely she managed every aspect of it: "It's true that I've created an image for myself from scratch and that I've been playing the star since I was 12. For me, stardom is second nature…That's what stardom is. It's a myth that you have to keep alive and I make no secret of the fact that I'm very popular. I'm very visual, very flashy, but that's all part of my character."[31]

Le Scandale Charlebois

One central aspect of Richard's career was her exploitation of the tabloids, the press face of the kétaine. At the same time, the city saw the development of a sphere of counterculture that tended to read the local through a lens largely imported from the United States. Publications like *Pop-See-Cul* (1967–1968) and *Mainmise* (1970–1978) highlighted local performers like Robert Charlebois and Les Sinners. While the counterculture press may have paid little attention to Richard, Charlebois, Les Sinners and other groups did receive coverage from the same tabloids she did. If Richard's performance art cultivated a highly artificial and deliberate public persona

that relied upon self-mythologization and the eroticization of her body, these same traits would be played out in a different way by Charlebois. He and Richard occupied the same space in the mainstream tabloid press as two faces of the New People that the media and young academics were often concerned about. Yet, there was an important difference in sensibility. While their mutual appropriation of American and traditional Québécois music meant pastiche, for Charlebois it also involved heavy doses of sarcasm and a more eclectic plasticity. According to his first biographer, Benoît L'Herbier, the plasticity of Charlebois's work is closest to that of cartoons.[32] Rather than charming his audiences, as Richard would, Charlebois would give monologues before songs and was known to attack his listeners.

Charlebois's cultivation of such an aggressive stage persona, whether as "Le Garou" or "Suparchipelargo," was essential to his image. Theatrically trained, most of his early work was constructed around revues involving monologues, comedy sketches, songs and improvisation. These were usually topical, covering politics and other issues, and can be interpreted as a transformation of the city's older burlesque tradition, infusing it with a more acerbic and direct form of comedy. In form, as Bruno Roy somewhat sheepishly noted, Charlebois's work was closer to Toronto comedy duo Wayne and Shuster than it was to Bob Dylan.[33] It was a burlesque of 1960s pop, one that relied less on image, as Richard did, and more on its atypical treatment of sound and performance.

Early in his career, Charlebois mounted the review *Yé-yé vs chansonniers* (1965) with singer and actress Mouffe (Claudine Monfette) and performer Jean-Guy Moreau, known best for his imitations.[34] This symbolically pitted Charlebois as the exemplar of the older French *chanson* tradition against his two colleagues, though his subsequent career would see him shift solidly into their camp. In 1967, he reunited with his old friends to release the album *Terre des bums* as a parody of Expo's "Terre des hommes," which had been opened with a performance by Michèle Richard. But it was his trip to California and exposure to acid and hippies that would figure prominently in his press as a transformative moment.[35]

It was the revue *L'Osstidcho* (1968–69) that likely solidified Charlebois's reputation and placed him directly in the sphere of ti-

pop.[36] Created in collaboration with singer-songwriter Louise Forestier, Mouffe, and comedian Yvon Deschamps, it featured them dressed in white, with the spectacle usually delayed to antagonize the audience. It followed a similar format to the earlier revues but increased the intensity and provocative content of Deschamps's monologues, which included discussions of unions and riffed on Pierre Vallières's *Negres blanc d'Amérique* (1968) with "Negres drab d'Amérique." This was accompanied by a significant lyrical departure that placed Charlebois closer to the province's history of surrealism and the contemporaneous work of Denis Vanier. This meant not only a musical stress on rhythm in competition with or overpowering the melody, but the use of *franglais*, joual, and onomatopoeia. It also meant that lyrics were rarely narratively functional, as they had tended to be in the chansonnier tradition. Instead, they were fragmentary and heavy with image and sound more than readily explicable sense. Such poetic strategies placed the work directly in contact with the ongoing debates about the status of joual: whether it was or was not a symptom of colonialism and alienation expressed through a mutilated language, or a tool that could be taken back to testify to the quotidian reality of Québec.[37] Charlesbois's former teacher, collaborator and lyricist Marcel Sabourin proclaimed that "Pop art is joual! And I resent all these attempts to strip us of our popular culture. Because our culture, our real culture, is westerns, comic books, baseball."[38]

As much as Charlebois may have been associated with the counterculture, his eponymous 1967 album underlined that this was not a naïve flirtation. The cover art itself, featuring him shirtless in a helmet covered with enormous flowers, a lone tear running down his cheek like a sad clown, foregrounded the sarcasm that runs through the album. This is probably made the most obvious in the parodic "Protest Song," which clearly mocks antiwar anthems like Bob Dylan's "Masters of War" (1963). Pushing his derision of politics further, Charlebois ran in the 1968 federal elections as a candidate for the Rhinoceros party.

In 1969, he received international attention for his run of performances with Louise Forestier at the Parisian theatre L'Olympia, where he became "le scandale Charlebois" for his on-stage drunkenness and their reputation as "the debauched."[39] *La Patrie* called

him the "savage of Canada."[40] *Télé-radiomonde* showed a pouting Charlebois in feathers, shot from a low angle to exaggerate his jaw and nose, and wrote of him fighting with audiences in France for failing to understand his work—they also published a series of photos of him in a kaftan in Morocco.[41]

More than the great success of *L'Osstidcho*, it was likely the great failure of the revue *La Fin tragique de Suparchipelargo* that solidified his place as a ti-pop vedette and cast him in the role of a superhero. Advertised as a piece of rock-and-roll theatre by Marcel Sabourin, who described it as "a morality play with electric guitar, saxophone, toy train, giant and homunculus."[42] Charlebois was the giant. "With Suparchipelargo, will Charlebois become a second Batman?" asked *Télé-radiomonde*.[43]

Yet, this production failed to win over most critics. *La Patrie* complained that the state-funded performance was degrading to the public, full of scatology and insipid music, leaving only a "bad memory."[44] *Le Devoir* was particularly harsh, claiming that ti-pop was already dated. The musical revue was attacked as consisting of no more than stereotypes, of being a boring, dead space, a myth of the Québécois and their culture,[45] as it attempted to persuade the audience of

> the need to be Pepsi. At least to enjoy the show. To be "Pepsi" is to love Batman, drink 50, wash your clothes in Blue Cheer and marry and have children—in other words, everything that's not funny in "The Tragic End of Suparchipelargo." because Suparchip isn't funny, perhaps because it's too funny…[46]

The production was a financial disaster and Charlebois proclaimed it "a humanitarian catastrophe."[47] The scatological mock-soul ballad "Margo" and other several other songs for the album *Québec Love* came from *Suparchipelargo* and included a shift to incorporating more country and western music, further solidifying another aspect of the ti-pop style.

Le Devoir ridiculed Charlebois's sad appearance on the cover of *Québec Love*. It attacked the album for offering "nothing" and lacking the meaning essential to pop if it is to be anything more

than escapism. Sabourin's lyrics were deemed sad, false, and lacking truth or transcendence. For the critic, Charlebois's success resided only in his poor ability to imitate Americans as he drifted from song to song in unbelievable characters: "There's no sound in *Québec Love,* only noise…the noise of strings, the noise of anything, but no *sound*."[48] At bottom, they concluded, Charlebois was not a pop singer, nor even a ti-pop singer; he was more like the unsophisticated pop of Paul Anka or the unadulterated kétaine of Paolo Noël.

Superbe vulgarité

In *La Barre du jour*, Claude Bélanger directly compared Charlebois to the poet Denis Vanier, claiming that they both reconciled the tendencies of the American avant-garde with the realities of Québec.[49] Much like the "new culture," the "new writing" emerged out of a fascination with eroticism, drugs, and politics. The first of these currents was defined in respect to Freudo-Marxism (Herbert Marcuse/Wilhelm Reich), confronting an alienating and repressive society and expressing itself politically through women's liberation and the gay liberation front, mixed with orientalism (tantra, yoga, etc.). Overcoming personal alienation was articulated in overtly pornographic forms. Vanier's work was delineated in Rimbaudian terms as a deformation of the senses, deliberately borrowing from pornography. This approach placed Vanier in the tradition of Sade and the surrealists.[50] Eroticism slips into esotericism and writing into a kind of graffiti as "Vanier's poetry asserts itself as a gradual and increasingly total break with a confluent self, and as an adherence to another through the play of a deliberate schizophrenia."[51]

A baffled review of *Pornographic delicatessen* in *Le Devoir* spent most of its space discussing the accompanying essays justifying the work.[52] This text circulated around a photo of Vanier, stripped and squinting at the camera, his hair exaggerating his head, over a thin and frail body. Vanier was only fifteen when *Je* was published in 1965, although he claimed that most of the texts were written while he was thirteen, hanging out in a tavern in Longueil, popping valium and acid while drinking Pepsi.[53] Jacques Paquin has documented how the poet and the discourses that concerned him

exploited his body, turning it into a space for mythical inscription, whether through the tattoos that gradually covered him and which supposedly traced his inner body or the photographs that he and journalists relied on to document it.[54] His image fit perfectly into the mold of the *poète maudit*, who we have already discovered was one of the primary figures of the erotic imagination among Montréal artists. Nonetheless, this was used to promote his position as an outsider, who "speaks in a minority, perhaps even in the most decisive solitude."[55] This was a deeply traditional figure, already lionized and institutionalized in the hagiography that had amassed around Montréal symbolist poet Émile Nelligan (1879–1941).

In a brief and hyperbolic review for *Mainmise*, Jean Basile cast Vanier as one of the province's first radical thinkers, a "Québécois white Panther," a "terrorist in the true sense of the word, but a terrorist poet whose only true bomb is words."[56] If Vanier's work was often unreadable, Basile wrote, it was because he lived in a poetry-environment as a "total paranoïaque" who experienced the entire world in a state of constant invective and revolt.[57] Like his associate Patrick Straram, Vanier was committed to the psychedelic end of "Going Wild Again [*Redevenir Sauvage*]" that was "the last trip possible."[58]

Vanier's assimilation of ostensibly political or scientific content into pornographic hallucination unnerved the more militant quarters of the counterculture. Surveying the arguments within and between the city's countercultural press, Jean-Pierre Brousseau highlighted, somewhat in spite of himself, the extent to which "cultural workers" both fed into and attacked the division into social groups.[59] This was marked with the opportunism that the cultivation of various sociopolitical identities allowed for. In the shadow of McLuhan, it remained unclear whether the new or alternative culture was progressive or regressive, subversive or repressive. As an example, Brousseau pointed to the degree to which the quasi-Althusserian periodical *Chroniques* loathed Vanier for his performatively transgressive sexuality, and for a sensibility that was barely distinguishable from kétaine music or tavern bawdiness.

Le Devoir expressed greater ambivalence. While it referred to Vanier's *Lesbiennes d'acid* (1972) as "a beautifully presented freak book,

full of wacky illustrations and right up to date," it also noted that he and his colleagues at *Mainmise* primarily introduced American texts and clichés (Timothy Leary, psychedelics, pot, gay power) into Québec, treating the province as a kind of satellite commune, while marginalizing the majority of its local "freaks."[60] This skepticism would spill into outright hostility. Maurice Comtois was contemptuous of the increasingly artificial and ahistorical fantasy of "Kébec" that was being constructed by its authors to bring the province in line with the mythology of the new culture. Appeals to a "collective unconscious" and to a genealogy of heroes like Beat writer Jack Kerouac were, in his opinion, simply more vacuous kétaine: "*Le joual*, Kérouac, political commitment, national revolution: these are the trinkets of all these pseudo-creators—'writers, poets and artists'—who would be well advised to recycle themselves in the sale of orthopaedic braces or the panoply of ti-pop in a boutique in cool Old Montréal, a depressing place if ever there was one."[61]

As we have seen, Denis Vanier was styled as the perfect embodiment of the up-to-date archetype of the *poète maudit*, for which he was simultaneously fêted and damned. Paid a similar tribute in the pop sphere, Michèle Richard was described as "quietly becoming our first holy monster."[62] Where Richard consciously exploited the press, Robert Charlebois made shunning it part of his image. Keeping within his general thematic of the necessity of *being Pepsi*, Charlebois sang "Miss Pepsi," the theme song for *Deux femmes en or*. He and his partner Mouffe also starred in Lefebvre's *Jusqu'au coeur* (1969), placing their faces as icons in the ti-pop canon along with Brother André and Duplessis. His work was received by some as a "rupture" that transformed all of the ti-pop detritus "into shouts and liberating sacres."[63] His frequent collaborator Louise Forestier claimed that *L'Osstidcho* was an attempt to "demystify the star."[64] If Charlebois and his associates claimed to demystify, this was something that Richard did far more forcefully by embracing mystification and demonstrating the mechanical functions of image reproduction with the objective use of her body and her clear appropriation of genre clichés. She was the equivalent of a sex-ed diagram mapping out the intercourse of media forms. For his part, Vanier, as discussed in an earlier chapter, both exploited

the content and forms of juxtaposition that the mainstream press offered, pushing them to his own "terroristic" ends. Even his work as a journalist within the tabloids of the counterculture relied on a range of rhetorical strategies that exploited and juxtaposed the norms of that sphere's discourses to ends of hyperbolic absurdity that made their artifice, but not significance, clear. The practices of all three figures seemed in tune with the ti-pop notion that the most authentic thing was the most artificial. The reproduction of all three of these figures provided a mobile erotic museum of contemporary artefacts; their imagery could be removed from their framing and directly assimilated into the living space of their consumers.

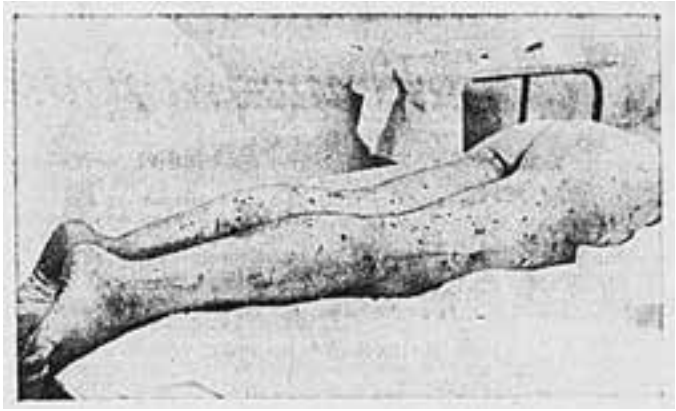
Our understanding of the media world as a pornographic delicatessen, however, cannot be limited to these quite clear and self-conscious examples of artifice in the ti-pop universe, in which individual artists orchestrated media clichés in the service of their careers as "sacred monsters." If the forms of pop involving these three vedettes relied on overt artifice and generated its charismatic mythology out of its own performative demystification, machinations within the political realm would rely on overt mystification in order to create a myth of the social world. Furthermore, this political mystification relied on the spectral presence of eroticism, manifest in iconographic imagery which was constantly at risk of being repackaged within the visual economy of the press.

Les Fesses de Carbonneau: Erotic Spectacle and the FLQ

Goddamn it, we're not a soap opera.[65]
—René Lévesque

Québec in my pocket
New York in my prostate
my heart is Cuba
and the F.L.Q. gives me a hard-on[66]
—Louis Geoffroy

"A man driven to terrorism by the anguish of his wounded ass" sounds like a phrase from a William S. Burroughs novel. And yet, *Le Petit Journal* ran with this angle in their investigation of what



8.2 Jean-Yves Létourneau, photo of Marc Carbonneau, published in "'If the Murray Hill Guys Push Us, We'll Fight Back,'" *La Presse*, October 8, 1969, 3. Republished in *Le Petit Journal*, week of October 25, 1970, 2.

drove Marc Carbonneau to become a member of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) and one of the most wanted men in Canada thanks to his role in the abduction of senior British trade minister James Richard Cross in October 1970. The wounds on Carbonneau's naked body had been put on display in the pages of *La Presse* to testify to the social unrest in the city the previous year. Such blunt corporality provided a stupidly literal instance of what Bataille might have termed the "'bloody farce' of real insurrectionary violence" [67] and was a harsh contrast to the quasi-religious mystique given to the corpse of Pierre Laporte, minister of Labour and Immigration and one of the rationalizers of the new model of state-sponsored art that would dominate the country.

There has been a great deal written on the October Crisis, mostly in political terms and to some degree in reference to the problems of its construction in the media. The bombings would be conceptualized as a "coming of age" or "loss of innocence." Since the events themselves were "bizarre and tragic," they lead to a proliferation of reports and insta-books that were primarily rumour and interpretation but lacking any hard content.[68] An initial wave of excited and competitively grim reporting on the events gave way to a more critical evaluation within months of the events. The aesthetic dimension of all this tends to be trivialized, if entertained at all in such discussions. I am limiting my comments here to a few meagre observations about the erotic spectacularizing of a trio of bodies:

those of Pierre Laporte, Marc Carbonneau, and Monique Deschamps. This eroticization was initiated by journalists, politicians, cartoonists,[69] terrorists, and citizens. The figurative and rhetorical forms it took were overtly morbid and often sensationalistic. This extended to the discourse of political actors who stressed the unknown levels of criminality within the city, the threat of potential destruction and total war, and the frailty of control. As the opposition Conservatives and NDP highlighted, at the time and subsequently, the War Measures Act was rationalized by claims that an insurrection was in play, but this was not based on any substantial evidence and the government rejected entreaties for justification. Even more disturbing for Tory leader Robert Stanfield, most of the general public seemed indifferent to whether there was, in fact, an insurrection.[70]

As Ann Charney was pointing out only a few months after the events:

> In the midst of all this intensity, little humorous quirks went almost unnoticed. The Quebec Justice Minister demanded that a letter from Cross, proof of his being alive, carry the sentence, "It is not five days since I left and I want you to know, darling, that I miss you every minute." If Mr. Choquette's imagination has been formed by pulp literature, lawyer Lemieux's on the other hand, comes straight out of the mystery genre. In protesting against this demand, he insisted that the sentence was part of a secret code that would reveal to the authorities Mr. Cross's hiding place.[71]

The hidden, the secretive, the conspiratorial, and the transparent all became basic terms of reference in coverage and in the interchanges between terrorists and government. Through this, one can detect an awkward black humour, a macabre erotic fantasy, and a drive to sacralization ironically drawn upon to give credence to secularity's self-presentation as a rational or peaceful force in the world.

Although Carbonneau's *fesses* were initially displayed by *La Presse* within a more predictable context as signs of civil unrest and its repression, they were redeployed by *Le Petit Journal* as signs of

psychosexual trauma at a moment when the media of the city was still in the thrall of the *films de fesses*. A headline like "Une volée de plombs dans les fesses a fait de Carbonneau un terroriste" [A volley of pellets in the buttocks made Carbonneau a terrorist] could not help but instantly draw upon this already coded form of public discourse.[72]

At the time the October Crisis erupted, the latest hotly anticipated *film de fesses* was left to crater at the box office. *L'Amour humain* (1970) was the final part of Denis Héroux's trilogy about the new secular sex life of the Québécois after the Révolution Tranquille. Unlike the first two films in the series, *Valérie* and *L'Initiation* (1970), which dealt with women coming of age by finding love, it dealt, in a heavy-handed way, with secularization. *L'Amour humain* involved a nun and a priest losing their vocation, falling in love, and rejoining the secular order. And while this did not prove a successful idea, the producers were sure that having the nun played by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's one-time lover, Louise Marleau, and making sure she was naked, would be sufficient.[73] Press coverage for the film would fill the back pages of the local press while the crisis tended to dominate the front.[74] Whatever desire there may have been to see Trudeau's former lover naked was displaced by media coverage of Trudeau's own ruminations on the nature of love and justice.

The consistently agonized public intellectual and anarchist George Woodcock attempted to wrest some sense out of the frenzy of rhetoric that followed the bombings, abductions, and assassinations that had culminated in October. He complained that, rather like the New Left, he never seemed to learn from history and should have known better than to mistake media scandalmongering for material reality.[75] The mythologization of life, the exaggeration and exploitation of crises basic to journalism and politics, may be the sign of a more general desire of the public for a "great external screen," the fantasy of revolution as a holiday from real life.[76] "Have we grown tired of our mild society and our ironic selves?" he wondered.[77] And yet, for Woodcock, the only way to escape the destruction would be a purer form of federalism, which would need to become substantially more de-mythified and accelerate decentralization to avoid the symbolic combat of competing

nationalisms.[78] Abandoning sentimental symbols of identity like the atavisms of nationalism, he contended, would be necessary for the success of a polycentric federal governance.[79]

Actual federalism did not function like this, however.[80] It tended toward the deeply symbolic, albeit in a stripped back, almost austere style that conflicted with the kétaine that it found so abominable. Trudeau's often outrageous fashion sense aside, the functionalism of the liberalism he espoused was devoutly anti-excess.[81] The stringency of this way of imagining life extended to the ways that policy was constructed, including policies dealing with the Québec crisis. In a famous anecdote, the Prime Minister's wife once asked him what language he thought in. His response: "I don't think in words, Margaret, I think in the abstract."[82] Likewise, his political meetings demanded reports be translated into the language that he had helped cultivate in *Cité Libre* (the political journal he cofounded in 1950) and visualized as geometric charts using the appropriate buzzwords.[83]

The *félquistes* had a less polished style than the *fédéralistes*. The facsimiles of their communiqués, logo, and other symbols reproduced in the press tied to them to the history of rebellion in the province and with a national narrative in line with that of Leandre Bergeron's Marxist *Petit manuel d'histoire du Québec* (1970).[84] Their iconic use of the figure of the *patriote*—as immortalized in 1880 by artist Henri Julien in his habitant garb of arrowbelt and tuque, bearing a rifle and smoking a pipe—on their press releases tied them to a longer aesthetic history in the province.[85] This would be further codified when such imagery was collected and represented in Robert-Lionel Seguin's *L'esprit révolutionnaire dans l'art québécois: De la déportation des Acadiens au premier conflit Mondial*, published by Parti pris in 1972. While their public spokesman, the lawyer Lemieux, usually appeared in a generic suit, he was shown in *Le Petit Journal* in proper kétaine garb, a fringed jacket and toque, smiling broadly while riding a motorcycle.[86]

Opening with a disavowal of any status of messianism (neither messiah, nor Robin Hood), the FLQ manifesto is composed almost entirely of concrete figurations of specifically named political and economic actors (primarily members of the Liberal Party and leading families like the Bronfmans), drawn like newspaper cari-

catures to include insult with gossipy detail, even including press quotes. Shifting in tone from the sarcastic to the conversational, it tends to long sentences that provide a recognizable tableau set in mining and retail-outlet landscapes (a range of corporate plants and mines). The familiar figures are ensconced in clichés of revolutionary rhetoric, coaxed between a frequent return to the image of a rural Québec where its peasants are reduced to prey animals for a class of hunter industrialists. Most of its address commences with a communal "Nous" or an aggressive (even condescending) "Oui."

As a text, it is explicitly oriented toward the oral, building an image until it runs out of breath. However, its eventual performance by newsreader Gaétan Montreuil, broadcast on Radio-Canada television, was slow, flat, and punctuated by his glances up at the camera. The camera remained still, "Texte du manifeste FLQ" superimposed over Montreuil's chest as he caressed the manifesto's pages while moving through its passages. While primarily concerned with economic questions, the manifesto also directly referenced the "féd/péd" discourse we will discuss later when it caricatured Trudeau as a *tapette* (a derogatory sexual epithet). As we shall see, Trudeau countered this by referring to the FLQ as "perverts" and the notion that federalism was a battle against motley "social deviants" would enter the imaginative space of the media as part of its social fantasy. But even these apparently psychosexual bits of hyperbolic figuration are clearly borrowed from the long history of pornographic political satire, famously appearing during the French Revolution, but with roots extending to ancient Rome that figured notions of tyranny and the corruption of the body politic in explicitly erotic terms.[87]

Un martyr de la démocratie

The October Crisis was not a sudden event, but one long expected, at least in some form. By the 1960s, the Canadian military had become accustomed to "low intensity" and protracted warfare.[88] The Crisis allowed the country's elite to redeploy their peacekeeping strategies onto their own population. Bombings by the FLQ began in Montréal in 1963 and an anti-terrorism squad was created. Aggression slackened until 1968 and the military advanced in

counter-insurgency training. In nearly seven years, there were six deaths. Tensions escalated with extensive raids by terrorist cells to capture firearms and dynamite. These became more high-profile with the St. Jean Baptiste Day riot of 1968. Violence continued to ratchet up in the city, including the bombing of Mayor Drapeau's house, bank robberies, and thefts, the situation only made worse by a wildcat strike by the Montréal Police. The FLQ also threatened targeted assassinations.

Escalation in 1970 was due in part to the provincial elections and the struggle to renew the power of the Liberal Party. The Liberal campaign was carefully designed around what social scientists took to be demands for a *chef* to run a sophisticated urban regime.[89] Robert Bourassa ran as a technocrat and Pierre Laporte on promises to create a more efficient and "competent society with a soul."[90] A cartoon portrayed Laporte as an anthropomorphic station wagon.[91] Meanwhile, René Lévesque, leader of the new Parti Québécois, was running on a series of sovereigntist slogans that included voting "YES, quite simply, to a normal life in a normal Quebec."[92] The FLQ condemned the election as "nothing but the democracy of the rich"[93] and there had been bombings as well as planned and failed abductions in Montréal since the spring. Bombs exploded private homes in Westmount, outside a doctor's residence, the General Electric Plant, and in the Montréal Board of Trade in the financial district. In June, the FLQ bombed banks and the Department of National Defense. More bombs were found and defused in locations like McGill University and an IBM research centre and caches of explosives were discovered stashed around the city.

The first high-stakes abduction occurred when an FLQ cell took James Richard Cross. As Ann Charney wrote, "On October 5th, the Cross kidnapping shared the front page with Janis Joplin's death from an overdose of drugs, and it is hard to say which incident evoked more interest."[94] By the next day, "paranoid fantasy" was already becoming commonplace in the press thanks to editorial writers and "experts" suggesting child sacrifice could be on the way.[95] Jean Marchand told the public that the FLQ had already penetrated major social institutions, possessed enough explosives to blow up the heart of Montréal, and that, without major steps, Québec could win independence within a year.[96]

From a military or security perspective, terrorism was not simply violence, but a highly aesthetic media event. Bombings could operate as a form of propaganda that worked on two tiers: one performance and the other hermeneutic—the violent paramilitary form and in the soft-power form of psychological warfare as deployed through a network of interpreters (academics, journalists, lawyers, politicians, activists).[97] A cartoon in *Le Devoir's* October 16, 1970 edition figured Bourassa and the FLQ as two unsexed figures with televisions for heads, attempting to stroke or strangle one another. The caption read, "Le rendez-vous électronique."

In the wake of Laporte's death, the editorial page of *Le Soleil* featured two columns on the assassination, one on education, and one on pornography and the sexuality of "the man of our time."[98] The threat of terrorism was already weaving itself easily into the media landscape in ways verging on a banalized surrealism. "La Page des echoes," Gérard Asselin's regular column for *Le Petit Journal*, displayed the irony of the situation, juxtaposing capsule articles on mail-order underwear with controversy over postage stamps, policing terrorism, the danger of hospitals, and discussion of the latest cabaret at Casa Loma. Interrupting these brief texts were scattered three photos: one of the raised swastika flag of a local biker gang; one of a vandalized Hydro Québec pylon; and one of a bikini-clad woman walking her pet lion.[99]

What to make of such juxtapositions? Noting that the newspaper was the inspiration for (and perhaps best example of) artistic phenomena like symbolism and surrealism, Marshall McLuhan had argued that it was an essentially confessional form, voyeuristically presenting a sense of being "inside" a community and its interactions with the world.[100] This is why "the press seems to be performing its function most when revealing the seamy side."[101] Journalism is not just a partner in crime but an efficient part of crime's formalization. The journalistic mode of address presents the world in manneristic terms, slotting phenomena into a mosaic form that presents the "discontinuous variety and incongruity of ordinary life."[102] Having no point of view, it also has no subject and no substantial content, only a passage of figures—heightened in intensity—that have the potential to maximize participation by tattooing the "public sensorium" with the image of community.[103]

If the press presented a profane parody of the fantasy of religious community, its surreal form nonetheless kept it open to more ambivalent ways of imagining the world. The kind of apparently unintentional black humour just described coincided with the spectacle of the death of Laporte as a "monstrous event" and a scene of "horror" that included both a breathless radio broadcast of the discovery of the corpse and the televised coroner's report, which featured the coroner miming the actions of the killing for the public.[104] The abduction of Cross was condemned by Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette as a form of "blackmail" that had "scandalized" the people of Québec.[105] Blackmail is primarily about safeguarding a social fantasy through the repression of information that would harm its public meaning.[106] This fantasy's credibility is largely insured by an exchange mediated by etiquette and technology that is presumed to erase rather than expose itself. This is also part of why McLuhan could insist that basic to the press was its role as a blackmailer in manufacturing a moral fantasy of social relations.[107]

Choquette's response to the FLQ's demands was one of decorum, seeking the "abolition of ambiguity and distrust."[108] Cross's abduction was dramatic: its implications, as a gesture, suggested the formal collapse of the social order that allowed for freedom to exist and negotiation to occur. While he noted, patronizingly, that the kidnappers were "mature and adult," and, as such, could predicate their speech on whatever they chose, they had transgressed against "social justice" in action, and so ceased to be "constructive."[109] He then offered them safe conduct to a foreign land, transforming the "outlaws," as they were frequently called, into aliens.

After the reports that Bourassa's cabinet was split over how to handle the situation, a press conference was held at the Holiday Inn. Claude Ryan made a joint statement that was intended to speak for Lévesque and Bourassa's factions: "…the people of the FLQ are a marginal section of this same Québec. But they still form part of our reality, because extremism is a part of the social structure, even if it indicates a serious condition and can put the social structure in mortal peril."[110] What was at stake was not just the lives of two individuals but "social degradation" through the destruction of the "collective honour of society."[111] Effectively, Choquette

and Ryan were making something close to one of Bataille's primary points about the hypocritical constitution of society through the spectre of its transgression.[112] If, for Choquette, this was a force that could be expelled, for Ryan it expressed a more profound internal morbidity.

The events pushed the Montréal press back into the sensational tabloid mode that the more respectable media had been distancing itself from. If the menace of chaos was threatening the aesthetic transformation of *La Presse* into *Allô Police*, new ways would be found to sacralize the display of violence and its residues. Representations of Laporte's death seemed to depend on the paper: lower-circulation papers would have distant shots or those of the empty vehicle (*La Tribune*); higher circulation allowed for glimpses of the corpse (*Le Petit Journal, La Presse*) in photos by Robert Nadon. The death was also displayed as an event without the common journalistic context of multiple stories and topics, appearing juxtaposed only with itself and with different details and perspectives on its coming into being. If the objects of the world were commonly ironized by the press' collaging of divergent events and contexts, this event was given the quality of a cubist still life.

In the case of the cover for the October 19 edition of *Le Soleil*, this aestheticization is pushed to an extreme. The complex organization of the page allows it to function in multiple temporalities. At the top is an action image of the police searching the space where Laporte was kept. The action is cooled by the distance, the almost exact splitting of the image into blank sky and ground, and the noisy interruption of trees at the centre of the frame. Beneath it is another photo of a close-cropped trio of bodies around the corpse. The faces are obscured, as is the action, the corpse's head pointed out by an arrow superimposed on the image. Below this is an awkwardly voyeuristic shot of Laporte's body in the trunk of a car, reduced as in the previous image, to a mysterious white fabric with a trace of blood. To the side of this trio of images, and running most of the page's height, is a lightened half-tone image of Laporte's face looking out at the viewer like a ghost. The spiritual dimension of this sort of iconography was also extended, unintentionally no doubt, by how Laporte's body was dematerialized, present only as

an amorphous white shroud, the kind of hyper-bright cloth that tended to clash with the suffering body in traditional paintings of martyrdom.

Jean Lesage declared Laporte a "martyr for democracy" and René Lévesque condemned his assassins as the "inhuman."[113] Laporte was eulogized, inevitably, as both a journalist and a politician, with quotations from newspapers.[114] The other dominant strain in the depiction of Laporte was in reference to his marriage, the warm domestic life he had lost and the suffering of his wife.[115] Nearly 1,500 people came to view his corpse when it was displayed in an open casket, symbolically resurrecting him by revealing his carefully made-up face, shadowed by palm branches at the Nouveau Palais de Justice de Montréal on October 18. Mourners were only allowed to enter in small groups "where the grave stands, in all simplicity, with a Québec flag as the only ornament."[116]

This was in stark contrast to the images of abjection associated with the abduction, the bleak documentation of the cheap and dilapidated house in which Laporte was kept.[117] Such imagery was in keeping with Lévesque's characterization of the abductors as "sewer rats."[118] Extending the seedy image of the FLQ, *La Patrie* published a closely cropped image of FLQ cell leader Paul Rose's house on its cover, its windows smashed and lawn full of garbage, captioning it a "monument" to cruelty.[119]

The sanctified treatment of Laporte's body was also at odds with the treatment of terrorist Marc Carbonneau. The papers tended to present a wanted terrorist in a form reminiscent of the mug shot even when it was not one: tightly cropped, full face if possible (it rarely was, so images were often awkward and distorted), effectively decapitated when not shown from a distance.[120] One of the stranger instances of this was a collection of imaginary portraits that set out the cropped heads of the terrorists in a grid composition. The October 27, 1970 issue of *La Tribune* features the visages of Carbonneau and Paul Rose, one of the central icons of *Québec Scenic Tour*, with five variations apiece, each crudely drawn image suggesting a different deformation to suit a counterfeit identity. A level of strangeness is added to the image by the attempts of the Sûreté du Québec's artist, M. L'Abbé, to abstract from the archival source images into representations more relevant for the policing

of their subjects.[121] The accidental resemblance to pop-art seriality and the amateurishness of this imagery suggested the state's surveillance forms were more handicraft than advanced technocracy.

The physiognomic projections that the terrorists inspired were less remarkable than the presentation of Carbonneau as a site of social collapse, mechanically preserved, stripped, and shown in decapitated form as a historical text. When *Le Petit Journal* attempted to come to grips with Carbonneau, it dug up a photo from *La Presse*'s archives.[122] Described as unstable and an enthusiast of revolution, the cab driver was injured during the Murray Hill riots and the cliché of the personal and political fused in an etiological pattern inscribed on his *fesses*: "But everything was to change for Marc Carbonneau on October 7, 1969 when a shot in the buttocks turned a follower into a terrorist, according to informants."[123] Taken to the hospital, he insisted on telling journalists about his injuries, threatening his enemies at Murray Hill and having himself photographed. In this, both the press and the terrorist were denying the abjection of the body and attempting to constitute it on a symbolic level.

If the *films de fesses* had sought, in their mock sociology (as director Denis Héroux would famously claim), to undress the Québécoise so that they could assume their new liberties, and with a dubious level of intentionality appropriate to its surrealism, both Carbonneau and the press exploited his body to symbolically bring to light what they imagined were the hidden forces of corruption in society.[124] This kind of appropriation of a body inscribed by historical trauma and thus exploitable for interpretation would not be isolated.

Des sadiques gravent les lettres

In *La Presse*, Jean Pellerin urged the citizens of Québec to ask themselves if it was better to let the FLQ "continue to infringe civil rights, or accept that the government temporarily suspends their *jouissance*?"[125] Such talk of *jouissance* appeared in a discursive context where the dominant term was repression. Felquistes may have talked about freedom from repression, but fédéralistes rarely hesitated from insisting on the necessity of repression for the

existence of freedom. The slippery language of repression was not lost on many, nor was the polymorphousness of its implications. A cartoon in the *Toronto Daily Star* on October 27 depicted the War Measures Act in the form of a giant, charging elephant. Clinging to it are leering figures bearing protest placards calling for campus crackdowns, eliminating the miniskirt, cleaning out the CBC, stamping out queers, and banning pornography. If terrorism's potentially volatile (though disproportionately sexual) polyvalence was a concern—for the state and equally for civil libertarians—for a moment it seemed like it was a sign that perfectly fulfilled the symbolic needs of the state.

In the House of Commons on October 17, 1970, Liberal minister Mark MacGuigan brought up an alleged violent incident in a debate with members of the New Democratic Party over the War Measures Act. The incident involved a woman named Monique Deschamps in Hull, whose alleged abduction occurred in uncomfortable proximity to the Parliament buildings. The Liberal member described the woman's torture by a terrorist cell, including having the letters F-L-Q "scratched across her," followed by the declaration that the terrorists were "prepared to escalate the war not only to women but also to children. These are the methods of the FLQ. These are not the methods of a democratic group. They are the methods of a group which is determined to gain power by terror and tyranny."[126] He went on to obscure the comprehension of this threat by repetitively describing this as a sign of "hidden and systematic violence."[127]

The following day, *The Vancouver Sun* ran a front-page story under the headline "FLQ tortures woman, 'Message to Trudeau,'" running beneath the leading headline: "Terror slams door on Open Society."[128] However, when the story appeared in the press in Québec, it involved some discrepancies in content and took of different qualities in terms of graphic detail. The event was imagined in *La Presse* like this: Mme. Monique Deschamps, a twenty-seven-year-old housewife, was abducted while walking in Hull. Blindfolded and taken to a basement, she was subjected to "all kinds of moral torture" by a gang who carved F-L-Q with a "long needle" into her abdomen.[129] She was then ordered to go to the local radio station

to read a text addressed to Trudeau: "The six demands of the FLQ must be met or there will be more kidnappings of this kind."[130]

In *La Tribune*, the woman was described as "martyrisée" and referred to as Mlle. rather than Mme. The degree of torture was also extended in ways that seemed beyond the limited political significance offered in other accounts: "The *ravisseurs* also carved the letter F on her left shoulder, the letter X on her hips and made other scratches on her back."[131] Even in this instance, the journalist had reservations about the plausibility of its political significance. They suggested that there was the strong possibility that "the sadists who engaged in such acts had nothing to do with the terrorist movement, but decided to take advantage of the current climate to engage in acts of base instinct."[132] Additionally, it was compared to a murder from the previous year, when bikers killed a young woman in Montréal North, carving "I love you Frenchie" into her skin.

The incident was also reported in Ontario media, who described three men and a woman as the abductors. Deschamps was described as a "Miss" again and the scene of her being held on a table and her clothes being cut off before her engraving was given in some detail.[133] However, within two days, the police had already made public that none of her claims were substantiated, and some of them, such as Deschamps going to a hospital, were clearly false. She was charged with mischief and given two years probation for the hoax.[134] This outcome was not consistently reported in the press.[135]

Whether this quickly buried incident was exploited (cynically or earnestly) by a government official to construct the image of insurrection to justify state violence, or by the press to sell newspapers, is less important for us than the eroticization of insurrection itself. The taboo on rape has traditionally served as a rationalization for governmental control to the point of being integral to its basic founding mythologies.[136] The horror of rape in the context of "apprehended insurrection" is that the transgression involved is against the mythical bodily autonomy and integrity that ensures the justification of state power.

In this scenario, Deschamps had been made the unwilling communication medium of the FLQ and was unsubtly being repur-

posed as a symbolic martyr for Canadian federalism. Unlike the hidden bodies of Laporte and Cross, which were being held out of circulation to increase their value while leaving its telos undetermined, the value of Deschamps's body as a space of inscription to be circulated was severely determined.

The overt sadism of the Deschamps incident could have come out of a "roughie" sexploitation film of the time.[137] If Laporte was not the ideal sign of the eros of a totalitarian peace, Deschamps at least posed the possibility of such a sign. That it was a hoax only made its implications more obvious. But even without something so obvious, the spectacle of sadism was still called upon to establish the sense of events. Of Laporte's killing, Trudeau stressed that, as a gesture, it was "demented and bloodthirsty" as well as coldly sadistic.[138] Going further, he depicted the terrorists as "men without love" who were willfully committed to cruel passions. This was the radical opposite of his self-positing as a force of righteous passions: "For the only passion that must animate us now is the passion for justice. Through justice, we will defend our values, our order, our laws. Through justice, we will rid ourselves of the perversion of terrorism."[139]

The rhetoric poses certain problems. The terrorists were systematic but also, in Trudeau's words, *demented*. They were identified with the unidentifiable and the impossible, the hidden, but the hidden was manifest as terror precisely in its making-seen, in its creation of a spectacle, whether a bomb or inscription in flesh. The "total war," as Ontario premier John Robarts described the events, was one of communication and its violence was as much the violation of etiquette and social form as it was the destruction of physical bodies.[140] Terrorism was not hidden: it was a rival semiotic system thriving on logical inversions and parodies with different aesthetic and organizational forms. This is what made it the most threatening, since it delegitimated the hypotheticals of Canadian Liberalism, not simply in terms of rights and the monopoly on violence (peace), but the credibility of models of representation. If, as McLuhan contended, there was something basically democratic about the press, there was also something surreal about it.[141] As Claude Ryan suggested above, any ostensibly existing society con-

tained within it a perverse element that could make its artificiality evident.

To return to Bataille: what distinguished surrealism from religion—and equally from sinking into the political—was its violation of meaning and intentionality. A surrealist violently running amok would create terror, but this was a sacred or truly surreal violence only to the degree that it had not been sanctified, rendered religiously meaningful.[142] Terrorism is terrifying in two contradictory ways. It works as a way to make meaning while also disrupting existing meaning, whether by determined signification or informality. It is simultaneously an erotic event which mocks meaning even as it arouses a paranoiac proliferation of largely absurd significations, especially from sociological fantasists. This returns it to Dalí's model of art as a form of paranoiac-criticism that exploits signs while undermining them, denying them intentional substance or credible social referentiality. The terrorists could no more be relied upon to discern the meaning of events than the press or politicians, since, as *Le Devoir*'s cartoon described earlier suggested, they were only the mechanisms whose mutual caresses allowed the spectacle to come into being.

Trudeau's famous "just watch me" exchange with Parliament Hill reporters not only highlighted the visual quality of the state, his discourse also pointed back to the issue of blackmail. Trudeau defined the terrorists as the threat of a "parallel power" who would take their authority through blackmail against the "total society."[143] More threatening than the counterfeit, which exists only as a parody of value, blackmail as a term has several implications, not least of which is that it brings together communication with its disappearance or erasure in blackness. The spectral value of the hidden and the potential violence of both concealment and sight also sat comfortably with the mythology of the Grande Noirceur as an era of decadent corruption and sin to be stamped out by liberal technocratic enlightenment.

9

The Stakes of Eroticism in Nationalism and Women's Art

At the end of April 1975, the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec in Montréal held a special international and interdisciplinary conference on the "contre-culture" or "nouvelle culture" or "underground." If the term for the subject was unclear, its definition was no less so. These terms were intended to designate everything from Rimbaud to "dadaïsme, to Artaud, to Refus Global, etc." and were also conflated with "perverts" of all sorts who had been repressed by the state and the rebellion of 1848.[1] These historically disparate topics formed a genealogy that bound together Chairman Mao, Freud, Lyotard, Rejean Ducharme, Claude Gauvreau, R.D. Laing, Jack Kerouac, and Jack London against Maurice Duplessis, Robert Bourassa, and Pierre Elliott Trudeau.[2]

A range of figures attended to speak and perform, including Denis Vanier, Josée Yvon, Nicole Brossard, Paul Chamberland, Raoul Duguay, Pierre Vallières, and Robert Charlebois, as well as the American Beat writers Allen Ginsberg and William S. Burroughs. The counterculture was defined reactively as an anti-system: "In this sense, they must obey three basic imperatives: *transgression* of the existing system, the quest for total *communication*, and the creation of a new *reality*."[3] This utopian drive was cast as a rebellion against "fascism," especially as exemplified by the "terror" of the mass media.[4]

However, there was a general recognition of the essentially paradoxical quality of this model. The introductory text for the conference proceedings reduced the sexual revolution to the sublimation of the traditional maternal role into that of the call-girl and the exploitation of heterosexual eroticism to make workers more productive.[5] This text articulated the limits of the counterculture's

positions: that they were produced by (and redeployments of) what ostensibly repressed them, that they suffered from romantic idealism and confusion while their role in the university system did not lead to the production of knowledge but to new forms of ignorance. In this light, the counterculture could not really be pitched as a battle against the mass media since this same form created the illusion of a radical and historic leftism or of a revolutionary subject in the first place.[6]

If this event displayed an uncomfortable recognition that, as its critics had pointed out from the beginning, the counterculture was not really a counter to anything but only a different brand of mainstream capitalism, another conference on the same theme registered even more ambivalence.[7] In an introductory essay for the Écrivains Québécois de Nouvelle Culture conference, held the same year, Jacques Lazure pointed out that the "nouvelle culture," whether conceived positively or negatively, was an effect of industrialization and the pluralization of the modes of American imperialism, including "an immense desire to liberate the individual."[8] Québec's industrial transformation, he argued, was a remaking by the Americans, introducing a trojan horse.[9] Taking its cues from the economic and cultural domination of the province by an American minority, he contended that the (largely imported) counterculture had a hard time understanding the pre-industrial past of Québec or what its future could be. This problematic made evident that Québec was not a single place but a crossroads of different civilizations.[10]

Lazure, extending the kind of social psychoanalysis we encountered from him earlier, also stressed that there was a sexed aspect to this, at least on the level of national archetypes. He suggested that the masculine archetype of cold and rigid rationality was giving way to a more archetypically feminine position that had been made safe by technocracy and industrialization. The counterculture was an expression of this tendency: "She no longer glorifies men and their industrial virtues, but women and their post-industrial resources."[11] He assumed that this "real 'feminization' of history and civilization" was a positive force to unleash vitality through "the triple theme of Tradition, Nation, and Woman."[12] As we shall see, this position is explicitly advanced around the same time by

different levels of government and by the art that they promoted, notably in *ARTFEMME '75* and other exhibitions discussed below.

1975 also marked what was a major turning point in the history of art in the province. The *Québec 75/Arts, Cinéma, Vidéo* event helped to crystallize a variety of trends that had been in play, specifically within Montréal, for several years and has been characterized as "inaugurat[ing] a new vision of contemporary art in Québec."[13] It was primarily an exercise in historicizing art as a social and institutional practice rather than as an aesthetic one, an early summation of the work symptomatic of the bureaucratization of art that had occurred with the new funding models and parallel spaces. It transformed the definition of Québec art from one that rested on language and its association with the francophone nation to one defined by a bureaucratically administered territory and residence: "Québécois art suddenly stopped centring around the problem of its cultural identity and became more concerned with affirming its own existence."[14] This was also presented by the curators as part of Montréal ceasing to simply be a city and becoming a "metropolis."[15] More importantly, it solidified contemporary art as defined by institutionality and milieu, where the catalogues, talks, conferences, and other forms of cultural mediation trumped the works themselves (which primarily employed performance, installation, and new forms of sculpture filtered through mythical concepts). This can be read in stark contrast to the days when the Automatists were displaying artworks in makeshift venues by the red-light district and exploiting the media as a way of demonstrating the non-viability of communication. It can also be read as a fulfilment of the transformation of art by technocracy that translated the "vacuous" new forms of sculpture and material practices discussed in earlier chapters into an environment of social signifying and meaning production. This was a translation performed, in no small part, by the various actors (artists and bureaucrats) of the emergent milieu being recognized as contemporary art.

Québec 75 also demonstrated something else, though far less deliberately. In a scathing review by Chantal Pontbriand, she insisted that, quite against the hopes and ambitions of herself and her colleagues, the event demonstrated that the artworld of the city was one with practically no social relationships; just a few

small galleries, a little museum, almost no collectors, and maybe a few hundred self-interested people (artists, academics, journalists, bureaucrats): "This quickly leads to the conclusion that the 'art system' is a huge illusion maintained by federal and provincial policies. A sad and inevitable conclusion."[16]

For *The Montreal Star*, the exhibition and its catalogue were the most serious statement on art in the province since *Refus global*, adding, "Quebec 75 demands to be considered in the setting of a post-modern, post-Beatles psychological texture."[17] Yet, the exhibition struck other commentators as quite traditional and not exactly original.[18] *Vie des arts* decried the exhibition for its apparent nationalism, accusing those involved of "fideism" and suggesting that, "[i]n Québec, everything was religious; now everything has become political."[19] In the era of religious dogmatism, it was possible to be an agnostic; secularism was less clearly tolerant, the magazine suggested, especially within the arts milieu, even if one got the impression that the sloganeering of artists was more performative conformity than heartfelt commitment.

With a phenomenon like Opération Déclic, contemporary artists had tended to demand (and assume that they were entitled to) salaries or funding by virtue of the roles they claimed as aesthetic or spiritual guides. In his contemporaneous marxisant critique of these phenomena, Laurent-Michel Vacher argued that numerous avant-gardes filled this role along different lines, whether via formalist modernism (recuperable as stylistic innovation and assimilable to technocratic life) or a "savage" or contestatory avant-garde (arte povera, body art, etc.). Academic Marxism tended to play an essential role in the definition and recuperation of these tendencies.[20] Conceptual art, Vacher argued, took on the role of the ironic double of technocratic society which, while often claiming to avoid the traditional model of the capitalist object through strategies of dematerialization, incidentally commercialized a broader set of gallery practices.[21]

Whatever the city's contemporary art might be in theory, according to Vacher, in practice it was not an art of revolt or contestation but a new form of academicism, its revolts and subversions functional.[22] This fit perfectly with the norms of Trudeauism and with those of the Bourassa government. With them, capitalism was the

perpetual revolution of appearances, and "culture" (innovation, difference) the means by which elites formulate their destiny.[23] Art served as the propaganda for the perpetuation of a snobbish otherness expressed through gadgets and new-found religion.[24] The normative ideological claims of this art (the new, the "subversive") were assimilated to a narrative of progressivism (the acceleration of fashion waves and market expansion) and the "democratization" of art.[25]

It was within this fraught situation that a set of distinct mythological reimaginings of the province and its future were constructed in overtly erotic terms. This occurred both in the heart of ti-pop theory and practice and in its appropriation by feminist art. In line with the long-standing avant-gardist fantasy of the New Person, whether male or female, artists and curators attempted to create an image of the humanity that could be born out of the world that we have been describing throughout this book, a humanity that was as much an environment as a subject. In the background of all of this was a media myth created by federalist discourse of the erotic life of Québec.

Ce bordel de pays,[26] ou le corps mystique

The previous chapter looked at the way that nationalism was accorded an erotic value as a force, the transgressive qualities of which were exploited to help sacralize ruling federalism. This chapter examines the claims for an erotic nationhood that were made by a group of theorists and artists associated both with the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) and the journal *Parti pris* and contrasts these claims with the emergence of a federally patronized feminist art that continued the Liberal programme of *rattrapage*. This returns us to our earlier discussion of ti-pop and makes explicit what the formal ("political") implications of its aesthetics were. Rather than read these texts as politically programmatic, I read them as plastic and artistic models. Running through all of this is a consistent and explicit imagining of the erotic life of Québec, one that draws from parodic appropriations of psychoanalytic, Marxist, and postcolonial thought, reimagining the province in overtly homoerotic and even pederastic terms.

Starting only a few months after the founding of the FLQ, *Parti pris* was published from 1963 to 1968 and "succeeded in polarizing the energies of a generation of intellectuals under the age of 30"[27] as its diverse contributors debated secularism (*laïcisme*), socialism, and independence. Claiming to be "a demystifying enterprise," issues focused on anthropology, revolutionary theory, political analysis, and culture.[28] One of the chief contributors and editors, Pierre Maheu, argued that Québec was trapped in the negative rebellion of "adolescence of the spirit" and the journal's purpose was to do "violence to established myths," to attempt "to destroy official morality and legality by uncovering their contradictions."[29] However, this came with their being replaced by rival myths, including an explicitly eroticized conceptualization of *laïcisme*.

Jean-Phillippe Warren has problematically argued that the *partipristes* broke from most of their contemporaries in not placing the discussion of érotisme within psychoanalytic models but in more sociological ones.[30] This implied stressing individual liberation less than "collective release."[31] Warren criticized the journal's authors for their "model of male-female relations that perpetuated many sexist stereotypes," claiming that they perpetuated a "macho tradition that relegated women to the status of passive objects of the coming revolution."[32] One of the problems with Warren's article,[33] though it is the best examination of the group's sexual politics, is that his methodology fundamentally distorts the material he is examining. In effect, he *naturalizes* cultural objects to such a degree that he can treat them transparently, as if they are evidence of some generalizable unconscious rather than a series of recycled images, each part of an idiosyncratic logic and aesthetic practice particular to the work of their authors. This allows him to cut and paste from diverse people, cobbling together an imaginary realm that they inhabited, which could be contrasted to some supposedly real sociocultural world. But this technique, what we could call a *sociologizing* technique that is so generic to cultural studies, basically misrepresents the discourses he is dealing with.[34] It ignores the severe artificiality of the texts he selects, their very overt and often highly ironic rhetorical games, their parodies, their sarcasm, the fact that they are manufactured by artists (poets, novelists, filmmakers) as public performances, not so much as sociologists but

as the inheritors of surrealism.[35] This is particularly the case with academic writing on the work of Maheu and Hubert Aquin, who wrote in several radically different (and appropriately incoherent) registers. But not only does Warren treat the work with amateur psychologism and a surprising degree of ahistoricism, he ignores the aesthetic dimension that it was rhetorically operating in: that of ti-pop.

One of the more noticeable features of Maheu's aesthetic or metaphysical way of thinking about the world is its insistence on the stabilization of place, even if that place is a *nulle part* (nowhere), and the existence of the Québécois within a suspension of time. Maheu would claim, in phrases similar to the way McLuhan imagined the Québécois, that his generation were raised in the time of Thomas Aquinas, where the eighteenth century had yet to be reached. Québec was a kind temporal cul-de-sac.[36] This was exaggerated by his own aesthetic sensibility, informed by the surrealists, by Sartre, and by a romanticism that was "visionary, utopian.'[37] By the 1970s, and after the October Crisis, this temporal form would be eliminated, and Québec would be abstracted and rendered increasingly uniform by the state as "the computer-based individual replaces his belonging to a land. Mother Earth is dying."[38]

Although Warren cites the fact that federalist discourse had been symbolically sexualizing Québec—feminizing or neutering it—for years, he does not make the obvious point that the partipristes were appropriating and perverting the governing media discourse in their figuration of politics. In *Le corps mystique* (1964), one of his most overtly comic texts, Hubert Aquin stated, "On the whole, the perception of confederation in terms of the coexistence of two nations seems to represent a venereal liaison rendered to the paroxysm of disgust, if not the very image of a Christian marriage, indissoluble and ruined, between a fish and a ram."[39] He analyses the statements of politicians in newspapers, observing that they express a "specific logic" of the "sexualization of confederation," consistently casting French Canada as the woman since virility is measured in money.[40] Québec is also cast as a *frigid* woman, never orgasming and left in a state of permanent excitation. In this model, separatism and the FLQ become taboo behaviours and stimulants. In effect, radical nationalism is kink, something that

would become even more evident in the panic around the FLQ, as discussed in the previous chapter. Lévesque famously called for divorce, or at least separate beds, while Lesage claimed that Ottawa was "raping" the province's autonomy.[41] Social scientists and psychiatrists pathologized the province as depressive, a sort of "paranoid spouse" troubled by her menstrual cycles.[42] More severely, Aquin painted federalism in mock mystical terms that would eerily echo their non-ironic use by Trudeau, as a kind of holy mystical body that served the eschatological drive of the faith of universalist liberalism against the fragmentation and fluidity of nationalism.[43] This was an extension of the fantasy of Canada that had already been established under Pearson:

> Pearson stands on the level of the federal mystical body; and his vocabulary, like that of the Apostle of Patmos, reveals his eschatological version of the divine Canada, which, inevitably, is the object of earthly and shameful lust on the part of the vicars of Pearson, the perfect anchorite.[44]

ARTFEMME '75

In the context of this overarching eschatology, this chapter offers a brief discussion of feminist art in the province as represented by two of the most high-profile exhibitions in the period, each of which offered quite different pictures of the mystical body of the New People. We do not suggest an abrupt split between the works to follow and those we have highlighted elsewhere. In fact, as will be clear, there remained a great deal of overlap, even as important new inflections were introduced by artists and the discourse around the works changed.

As Francine Couture summarized, between 1955 and 1965, female artists dominated the field of gestural and lyrical abstraction and were symbolic of the romance of the province's modernization.[45] In 1965, they would be largely displaced, for a brief period, by primarily male artists practicing hard-edged non-objective painting, although this would very quickly be dissolved in the rise of radically different models of art (figurative, performative, mechanical, architectonic, etc.). With this, and increased funding opportunities

for public art, and the expansion of the educational industry, the artist was increasingly integrated into the new state model of art.

In 1964, women in Québec were legally recognized as individuals, losing their previous status as minors. This was also the year that the birth-control pill, which had been available in Canada since 1961, was now being prescribed. The pill was still controversial and frequently misunderstood. A collection of prints dealing with this theme was assembled by Pierre Ayot as the first release by Atelier Graff. Seven people contributed to *Pilulorum* (1968): Lise Bissonnette, Tib Beamont, Lucie Bourassa, André Dufour, Chantal Dupont, and René Derouin. The works were tightly packed into a large rectangular box with a wooden frame. Painted in red and yellow with a purple polka-dot kerchief to tie it together, it nearly resembled a hand-built toy or a work of naïf art. The images included ranged from the finely wrought and manipulated to the roughly hewn and largely illegible. The majority took part in a dialogue with abstraction and advertising more than with the politics of the pill, which was present primarily as a motif to help organize the material and which, formally (and ironically), embodied the mechanization of reproduction, the mass production of the "everyday" as the cliché, and the packaging thereof with kitsch.[46]

In Bourassa's print in particular, the presence of pill-like circles is one of the only things that would indicate any content. Dufour foregrounds the female body, showing scantily clad women among circular forms. Dupont's print flirts with territory similar to what we saw earlier with Guy Montpetit, presenting a clean, high-contrast pattern dotted with circular photos of a torso with a flower across it, a distorted close up of a breast at the centre of the composition.

Pilulorum represents a liberal and issue-specific instance of art in the period that was concerned with the status of women in the province. Its mixture of people coming from different professions to create a kind of visual political pamphlet would be followed up in more extensive ways in the coming years. However, the period also saw more traditional forms of pamphleteering, such as those created by the Front de Libération des Femmes du Québec and the Centre des Femmes. Intellectually, the feminisms that developed in the 1960s in Québec were heavily influenced by

Simone de Beauvoir, Engels, and Marx, often concentrating on class more than sex as the fundamental structural issue.[47] Additionally, Québec's feminisms were devoted to nationalism as a necessary step to attaining total liberation and socialism.[48] This included the exclusion of anglophones from their ranks and general rancour towards English-Canadian feminists, especially over abortion.[49] "Women's Lib" was regarded as an American ideology separate from Québec reality.[50] The allegiance to the more radical forms of left-liberationism in the province generally resulted in a great deal of tension as the division between the theory of equality and its practice was often retained.[51] This tension increased as the 1970s progressed and nationalists, particularly those associated with the Parti Québécois and its sympathy toward the nuclear family became less desirable allies. Support for nationalism eroded even more significantly over the issue of the legalization and financing of abortion.[52] As Sheena Gourlay has suggested, the shift toward more sex-specific discourses and exhibition spaces and an explicitly feminist art and politics were rooted, in part, in a shift away from this more local or European model (which was often vehemently anti-American) and towards an American one.[53]

The shifting status of women in the province was symbolically played out in two widely publicized and exhibitions—*ARTFEMME '75* and *La Chambre nuptiale*—each of which, in quite different ways, foregrounded not only the question of sex but of eroticism in the work of art, as well as the social function of the artwork. Initially planned by the Powerhouse Gallery,[54] *ARTFEMME '75* was jointly shown at Powerhouse, the Musée d'Art Contemporain de Montréal, and the Saidye Bronfman Centre as part of celebrations for the International Year of the Woman, signifying the city's conformity with international trends.[55] More than 450 female artists from Québec submitted an accumulated 2000 works to the jury, which narrowed its selection to 150 pieces that were spread across three venues. Powerhouse also decided to show some of the rejected pieces and sell them in a "Salon des Refusés."[56] The exhibitions included talks by psychologists, sociologists, and artists, panel discussions with artists, performances, poetry, and film screenings, all in keeping with the statist conception of art as pedagogy.

9.1 Cover for the exhibition catalogue for *ARTFEMME '75: An Exhibition of Women's Art* (Montréal: Saidye Bronfman Centre; Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal; Galerie Powerhouse; YMCA, 1975). Cover photo features a soft sculpture by Andrea Hayes.

Rose-Marie Arbour has noted that exhibitions by female painters, single and collective, had been a commonplace in the city since the beginning of the century. It was not until the 1970s, primarily due to the role played by curators, that collective exhibitions by female artists were put into an ideological frame.[57] Galerie Powerhouse/La Centrale Materials was founded in 1973 by a collective of nine female artists to provide a space to display and discuss art by women, run workshops, share equipment, and address "a situation considered unequal by offering a place where women could benefit from professional experience…"[58] It was the second multidisciplinary exhibition space for women in North America and the first in Canada. Stansje Platengu of Powerhouse used the catalogue for the exhibition to insist on the importance of the venue as a space for

new women's art to develop and insisted that *ARTFEMME '75* "[put] ideology into action."[59]

The framing essay that Musée d'Art Contemporain director Fernande Saint-Martin[60] wrote for the exhibition initially situated it within what "American feminists have formulated as the ultimate problem of female destiny."[61] She claimed that the culture of the West had asymmetrically developed under the dominance of men so that all cultural products immediately existed in relation to their domination. This social fact was "antagonistic to feminine development."[62] Male culture needed to be rejected, she argued, so that women could start from "zero" and develop a culture in line with "their true nature."[63] She then complicates this, briefly putting "nature" in scare quotes, pivoting her intellectual references to Europe and citing Levi-Strauss on the contingency of social organization and the manufacture of cultural ideas. This shifts again as she asks what form of radical social reorganization will be necessary to transcend "an alienated nature" so that women can authentically express their identities.[64] Once again, she points out, this is complicated, especially in the arts and humanities. The twentieth century has seen male artists and intellectuals rejecting male culture almost completely.[65] According to Saint-Martin, this had already significantly undermined the radicality of the feminist project: "As masculine society accelerated its critique of itself, the feminist project of starting from scratch was short-circuited by a creative process propelled by men themselves."[66] This acceleration of critique placed female artists in a double bind. To transgress the status quo—which she does not point out, in the artistic context, is already, paradoxically, at least performatively transgressive, and as already noted, largely dominated by women—is only to affirm it, and to speak at all, even in protest, is only to affirm what you are protesting.

Writing in *Le Devoir*, Claude Gosselin admitted that he could not see much in the works on display that explicitly addressed women's issues, either political or aesthetic. Most of the work was indiscernible from that commonly seen in galleries at the time; this, he suggested, was because the artists seemed to function more as individuals reacting to the currents of the time than as reflectors of social issues. There was a treatment of sex—primarily

of penises and nude men—although they were comparatively few and unaggressive. He isolated Janice Flood-Turner as one of the few who stood out in uniting medium and message.[67] *The Gazette*'s Virginia Nixon, meanwhile, dismissed the exhibition as "bad" and "dull."[68] Under the pen of Gilles Toupin, *La Presse* published both a contextual article on the exhibition and a review. The artists Toupin interviewed provided contrasting claims: Francine Beauvais asserted that the works were mostly indicative of individual temperaments; former Automatist Françoise Sullivan, meanwhile, insisted that women have different points of creative reference than men and express a feminine specificity. This potential divergence was also highlighted by Saint-Martin in an interview given to *Le Devoir* in which she claimed that, since Freud, there had been the suggestion of a basically distinct erotic and emotional structure for women and for men. What she faulted was the suggestion that there was a universal unconscious rather than one for each sex, according to their nature. This may be realized in art: "Women will only know it when they express it."[69] Saint-Martin went on to butt against her own catalogue argument, claiming that the purpose of the exhibition was to "transgress established values by offering clearly devalued subjects: the world of everyday life, kitchens, small loops, and embroidery."[70] All of this "transgression" was, as she would point out, completely in conformity with the norms of kitschification being established for contemporary art.

Toupin's review of the show, while acknowledging the basic context that Saint-Martin placed it in, also stressed that, aside from a few (often ironic) gestures, the show was not noticeably feminist. Instead, it demonstrated a "fragmented and incomplete reality of women's creation in our country."[71] He also stressed that the majority (sixty-five percent) of the artists were anglophones and that the content of the work seemed to be deeply local. Rather than being feminine in a distinctive way a display of *l'hermaphrodisme* or androgyny, and this applied equally to current male art. In a similar vein, and in the context of another state-sponsored International Year of the Woman exhibition—*Woman As Viewer* at the Winnipeg Art Gallery—Mayo Graham, assistant curator of contemporary Canadian art at the National Gallery, predicted that the features that were commonly associated with "women's art" were

contingent and "[w]hen more and more work by women artists is seen and exhibited, when the roles of women and men are virtually interchangeable, then I think that art will be in fact androgynous."[72] According to Toupin, "hermaphroditism" worked primarily to the readily commodified benefit of "masculine culture." Toupin repeated most of Saint-Martin's points, observing that much of the work demonstrated a will to transgress and mock male culture, and to aspire for a world where women would not be "obliged to fight to exist."[73] One of the most significant issues that the show raised however, was precisely that it celebrated a "women's artistic activism," but did so thanks to the patronage of official institutions.[74]

Documentation of the exhibitions beyond the catalogue was slight and the catalogue itself does not contain reproductions of all works that were displayed. Eclectic in style and content, the works included many non-representational paintings, landscapes, photo collages, soft sculptures, and assemblages.[75] The catalogue contained traditional images of women presented as landscapes (Hilda Kirschbaum's *Heavenly Sky*), pop-style variations of highly patterned socks and swimsuits (Sharon Kaiser, *Beach Scene*), and reclining headless studies of women in their underwear (Terry Spiegelman, *Untitled*). Within the ranks of those relevant to our discussion, we find Toronto's Badanna Zack with her phallic fetish sculptures as well as Louisette Gauthier-Mitchell, who we met earlier. To the extent that there were common themes in the works, they suggested the ambivalent experiences of motherhood, a fascination with family history, and the overt expression of sexual desire for the male body. Among the latter were works by Jenifer Dickson and Shayna Laing.

Dickson's photo silkscreen *Male Reliquary* assumes the form of devotional art in its composition, a closely cropped section of a male torso with hands resting on thighs and penis tilting to the left, laid out at centre on a sheet. The chiaroscuro of the image and its accoutrements recalls baroque martyr imagery. At the bottom, rather than a memento mori, is the penis again, this time within a sphere. It is of a piece with Dickson's work in the 1970s, which largely involved tinted photographs using surrealist techniques of distortion and solarization, often hand-coloured and collaged.

They are Romantic expressions of sexual desire, borrowing from pictorialism and contemporary fashion photography and generally filled with mythical references to Narcissus and nymphs.

Equally open in her depictions of erotic desire, Laing had been showing in Montréal for a decade, often praised for her relaxed nudes and colour palettes, but criticized for her more tightly composed paintings with their "contrived posturing" that suggested "the fake emotion of a tear-jerker."[76] Her painting *The Traveler* features a nude young man (or adolescent) reclining on a park bench in his socks, sunning while surrounded by thrusting trees rendered almost as colour bands. The setting is reduced to cartoonish flatness, but the bench is hewn in greater detail to match the male body, gazing out at the viewer while spreading his legs, his penis hanging limply. The painting represents the more languid, sensual, and exhibitionist aspects of eroticism displayed in the show.

The soft sculptures of Janice Flood-Turner and Andrea Hayes corresponded to the trend for craft renditions of the female form. The reclamation of techniques and materials traditionally associated with women were a significant part of the rhetoric of women's art and often used to surprising and ironic ends, as in the work of Joyce Wieland. In this case, Flood-Turner and Hayes had seemingly adapted the clichés of soft sculpture to those of pornography. In Hayes's untitled sculpture, a female figure with a blonde wig and heavily made-up face sits in a chair. She wears lingerie and gloves that hang from her remarkably long and misshapen arms. She is a stock pornographic figure, the limbs stretched out and the hips excessively wide, reminiscent of other, more grotesque soft sculptures of the same stock figure by American artists like Mary Gould Quinn or Maggie Nicholson from the same period. Hayes's work might suggest the way women are treated like dolls, or the way they can fabricate their own images, or something else entirely. There is no hint of how it should be definitively read and the images that survive of it have it posed in different ways, including in the catalogue, where it appears in the photo section and as the cover model or mascot for the exhibition while being accorded no clear significance.

Flood-Turner's *Untitled 1* is a sculpture formed by stuffing foam rubber into stockings and pantyhose, tied off with tourniquets to

create shapes suggestive of mangled torsos, and suspended by a chain in mid-air. With its stockings, garter-belt, and fragmented body, it could almost be a gruesome statement on the commodification of women, but the artist had a different theme in mind. In her MFA thesis, Flood-Turner wrote that her work dealt with "nature gone awry" and related this to her experience of pregnancy, childbirth, and the infancy of her child.[77] She contrasted this with the work of Mark Prent, with its hard realism and protest against human degradation, describing how she took pains to stress the fleshiness of the materials in order to exaggerate their "grotesque" quality.[78] In what sounds almost like a description of a Cronenberg film, she explained that humanity sculpts a world out of flesh in a war against nature, unaware that science is but a "myth" and nature forever stays in control.[79] If *Pilulorum* had ironically suggested that birth control was the kitschification of sexuality, Flood-Turner presented a counter by celebrating the violent eroticism of pregnancy. Yet, she hoped the viewer would get past this to see the beauty of ugliness and claimed that violent art was a way to break through viewers' apathy. She went on to say that she made no attempt to make the work "contemporary" but only to concern herself with her immediate materials.[80]

Perhaps the work most explicitly related to the eroto-environment was that of Tanya Rosenberg, one of the co-founders of Powerhouse.[81] *ARTFEMME '75* showcased three of the codpieces she created in 1974. These were sculptural garments that she designed, fitted on models, and photographed. The images were printed at a larger than life size, providing them with a slightly confrontational intimacy. Rosenberg's interest in creating awkward undergarments dates to at least the *Wooden Bikini* of 1966, which is exactly what the title describes. Her exploitation of undergarments had grown more complex by 1974, and the satirical aspect extended from erotic fashions to religious commentary.[82] Clearly recalling aspects of the visual gag that had been common to burlesque, her various codpieces were hybrid sculpture/g-strings that could stand on their own as comedic objects but could also be employed as elements of performances and for models posing for photos. She made a *Yarmulke Codpiece* to direct comment at Jews and also one for a priest, complete with a rosary g-string, as a comic jab at Catholics. While

the commentary was obvious—the respective pieces covering the head of the penis, suggesting both the repression of the sex *by* the mind and the eroticism held *within* the mind—most of her codpieces were less directly satirical. Her range included everything from an Andy Warhol homage (featuring a Campbell's soup tin) to oil cans, plumbing pipes, horns of plenty, bowties, boxes, a Batman costume, and a Lite-Brite codpiece. Though they vaguely recall the sculptural treatment of male genitalia practiced by Jean Benoît, the concentration is no longer on the transgressive self-erasure through the erotic but on the erotic as a kind of social performance. Like the surrealists, the codpieces celebrated voyeurism and the investment of desire into objects. Her work expressed a playful enjoyment of the "alienation" of erotic commodities.

While *ARTFEMME '75* has been interpreted as an attempt to make a collective statement about women or to present a specifically female sensibility, in practice something else occurred.[83] Beyond the consistent stress on the erotic desire for male genitalia, the works and their supplementary discourses demonstrated the arbitrary and theoretically incoherent quality of conceptualizing art in terms of sexual difference.

La Chambre nuptiale

If there was a message to *ARTFEMME '75,* it was ambiguous, in no small part due to being a juried group show. The other most well-publicized instance of feminist art in the city at the time, Francine Larivée's *La Chambre nuptiale* (1974–76), was significantly more focused.[84] Conceived in the context of the International Year of the Woman and finished for public display in 1976, *La Chambre nuptial* was massive work in the mold of the multimedia environments addressed earlier in this book, though it involved a very different reimagining of the ti-popist fantasy of a decadent Québec. It first appeared at the shopping centre and office building Complexe Desjardins before moving into the mall Carrefour Laval and then on to the pavilion for "Québec art and society" at Terre des Hommes on the former Expo site.[85] Though not by design, the first instance of the environment was in the ambit of the Olympic games. During this period "all of Montréal was transformed

into a museum"[86] and *La Chambre nuptiale* was presented as part of the aesthetic transformation of the city along planned to coincide with 1976's Summer Olympics games. This included the massive art exhibition Corridart (controversially ordered torn down by Mayor Drapeau before it was due to open to the public), Mosaicart, shows of contemporary prints, and sports posters. The exhibition was compared to the "circuses of yesteryear"[87] or "the many theme pavilions erected at Terre des Hommes in 1967,"[88] and the poster advertising the event stressed both its religious and bedroom themes.

La Chambre was designed for a blank white space. At its centre was a closed circular structure that was entered by a flap. The interior was composed of three rooms, like a three-ring circus—a labyrinth (*Le Corridor des Angoisses*), the chapel-room (*Chapelle ardent*), and the projection room—which conveyed a "very specific message: alienation through the institution of marriage, the long-term endorser of a community's individual profitability."[89] After entering, the viewers (in groups of thirty or less) encountered fragmentary sculptured bodies including a scene of childbirth. They then filed along a corridor, its shape reminiscent of an umbilical cord, with walls made of life-sized polyurethane sculptures of people with latex faces, posed as male and female stereotypes. The palette was white and beige and the soundtrack was amplified sighs and breathing. The second room, domed and golden, recalled baroque churches and foregrounded the work's attack on both the power of the Church and the institution of marriage.[90] It contained three altars—one for the Man, one the Woman, and one the Couple—replete with images referencing religious and pop imagery (movie love scenes with the lovers sporting halos). At the centre of the entire piece was a hybridized bed and burial vault; two automatons performed sex in their wedding clothes above and the bride was laid out dead below. The journey completed, a film screen appeared to explain the themes of the show to the viewer. *Le Devoir* summarized: "A comic strip and short film complete this critical overview of a social situation where noble and essential values all too often disappear in favour of an oppressive and insidious silence, a slow torture of the mind and body of women and men."[91]

Much of *La Chambre nuptiale* can be read as a parody of Expo,[92] from the grand circular module at its centre, which recalls a geodesic dome, to the seventy-three sculptures in catacombs recapitulating the "stratifications of emotional development,"[93] culminating in the "the conquest of sensitivity, sensuality and individualized sexuality"[94] in much the same way that Expo's Labyrinth recapitulated human cultural development.[95] *La Chambre nuptiale*'s tableaux ironically juxtaposed and confronted "cults, the Ideal and reality."[96] Outside of the tent were interpreters for the audience as well as two kiosks staffed by actors and sociologists offering information on mental and physical health and soliciting commentary.[97] A discussion of the environment stressed that it sought viewer engagement at a time when the public's alienation from art was only increasing: "It was in this atmosphere that, like a glimmer of hope and a breath of fresh air, Francine Larivée set up her Chambre nuptiale in the city's shopping malls."[98] In a press statement, the artist insisted that the work was designed to attack the spectators, who she claimed were "products of a numbed, extinct civilization" who needed to be provoked into experiencing their "authentic personality."[99] The work was calculated less as an aesthetic experience than as an exercise in communication and pedagogy. Curiously, almost all the media coverage consisted primarily of relaying Larivée's press communiqués with little to no criticism or reflection.[100]

Her own summation of the *thing* she created is remarkably sardonic: "A 'hot' then 'cool cream puff' dossier since the summer of 1977, the object, the thing and its contents, tossed between Terre des Hommes and two warehouses, rests, 'soporized' for the benefit of 'right-thinking do-gooders.'"[101] She stressed the industrial nature of its production, the 75,000 hours of labour involving 150 people and the bureaucratic collection of 3,800 responses from the public who attended to give "feedback"[102] so their affective experiences could be assessed and organized, much like all the press coverage it sought.[103] She also stressed that, like Expo, it was financed by every level of government as a perfectly articulated model of federalism and its association with a "special project" such as the International Year of the Woman.[104] Anithe de Carvalho has argued

in detail that the environment, both in terms of its aesthetics and aims, was remarkably in step with shifts in official cultural policy and the more sociological or anthropological idealization of art being proffered by the state's bureaucrats and their drive for "the democratization of culture" designed to result in the expression of greater pluralism.[105] To return to a point made in the introduction: if the primary medium of contemporary art in Canada is the state, and the new immersive and technocratic art was the production of "psychic consumer goods," *La Chambre nuptiale* was the ultimate erotic device for new subjectivity that the Trudeau government was attempting to engineer.

More than anything, the work most closely resembled the "dark ride" attractions installed at Walt Disney World as immersive environments only a few years before. These have a longer history, stretching back to the nineteenth century and to the emergence of wax museums and the circuses that Larivée's work suggested. What the artist did, in a sense, was to create a miniature theme park for the doctrines of liberal hegemony, one that was wholly in keeping with the mix of bureaucratic aesthetics and morbid phantasmagoria that was essential to the ruling technocrats. That the work clearly channels an erotic, nightmarish vision of the Duplessis era is something that commentators have not pointed out, but this could not have been far from people's minds and would not have been unwelcome to the three levels of government funding that cast themselves as the enemies of the Grande Noirceur. Finally, we can see that Larivée managed to recapitulate almost all the tropes of the shift to art as environment, from its surrealist beginnings in the "breathing" velvet rooms for fetish instruments to the Happenings and *chambre de torture thérapeutique* of the erotic discos discussed above.

Strikingly, the centre of *La Chambre nuptiale* presents sexuality in mechanical terms, but negatively, as a symptom of alienation from authenticity. This was in keeping with another element of Expo. *Les Mécaniques*, produced by the collective Fusion des Arts (Richard Lacroix, Robert Daudelin, and André Montpetit) for the Jeunesse section, featured a multimedia collage work, *La Propulsion de lapins: Un peu d'histoire,* that could almost be the prequel to Larivée's installation. The work largely consisted of relating a fable

fabricated from the fake history of an invention, the *propulsateur*, involving French scientists Denis Papin and Antoine Lavoisier, that resulted in an inundation or rabbits and hares. Michel Roy explained: "This invention symbolizes an aspect of French-Canadian society at a time when its birth rate was one of the highest in the world…Daudelin ironizes on the development and settlement of French-Canadian society… "[106] Here, apparently and appropriately unconsciously, the automatic, so central to aesthetics in the era, has taken the form of the expressive symbol of the sex drive of French Canadians, pathologizing it as the decadent past while ignoring that the automation of the postwar era resulted in the collapse of the birth rate. Most of the artists we have discussed presented eroticism through its mechanical forms, combined with the use of kétaine imagery and mythologized national history. In the most sanctioned form of state art, however, this mechanized eroticism was both appropriated and pathologized.

Laos-ité: The Orphans of Ti-pop

RIOUX: My fear is that too many people are content with the transition from the feudal society of Duplessis to the liberal society of Lesage and that, on the other hand, we choose the model for our revolution from the English and the Americans. I'm no longer speaking as a sociologist, but as a friend of Breton, who wanted the revolution to be total or not at all.
LIBERTÉ: Beauty will be convulsive or it won't be.[107]
—Fernand Dumont, Pierre Lefebvre, and Marcel Rioux

We have just seen how some of the basic tropes and techniques of ti-pop were harnessed and redeployed in the service of governmental agencies. Given that it was an attitude that took no necessary moral or political position, and that it rendered such positions severely suspect, this should not come as much of a surprise. It also should not be a surprise that one of the "popes" of ti-pop also succumbed to a utopian fantasy of what the world would be after it became *déclassé*.

Common to Maheu and some of his fellow partipristes was a figuration of the province in terms of the split or fragmented self, the exhausted, the alien, and the sense of colonialism (expressed through the family, the church, the schools, and all levels of gov-

ernment) as real apparatuses of material power, as sources of a constant mystification of reality, and as mythopoetic signs. There are (at least) two distinct voices in Maheu that do not correlate to a coherent subject. One is the appropriation of relatively generic Marxist clichés, the other offers a far more complex form of aesthetic nationalism, one heavily reminiscent of the situation described above by McLuhan.[108] In two dense early texts, *De la révolte a la révolution* and *L'Oedipe colonial*, Maheu uses a fusion of tropes from Marxism, decolonizing rhetoric, and psychoanalytic cliché to carve out a broad caricature of the "psyche" of Québec.[109] I stress the caricature quality since Maheu is not theoretically rigorous but burlesque in his appropriation of theory, fashioning a melodramatic form of deliberate mythification to oppose the mystification of ideology. The explicitly aesthetic nature of his arguments is also clearly implied by his appropriation of the term *L'Oedipe colonial* from the Algerian Islamic sociologist Jacques Berque.[110]

In Berque's work, decolonization is presented as occurring in a period of immense ambiguity that "assails us with paradoxes and aporias."[111] He concentrates on the spectacular qualities of colonial violence and the ways that it serves to blur "gender divisions," causing chaos, "sexual paroxysms" and "messianisme."[112] Berque explains this through Aristotle's poetics of tragedy, suggesting both a *katharsis* through spectactularized pathos and *anagnorisis* that will allow for a *reconnaissance*.[113] Finally, fusing his analysis to Hegelian teleology, he argues that the tragic structure of decolonization operates through "the holocaust of others, but inevitably also of ourselves, that we hope to merit a story that would also be the end of history."[114]

As we shall see, Maheu takes up aspects of Berque's work, but also significantly alters them, shifting from a register of tragedy into satirical comedy. What Maheu inherits from marxisant and decolonizing discourses are their more phantasmagoric streak and the figuring of revolution as an "paroxysmal act" and "a descent into hell." In other words, his writing is never strictly Marxist or decolonial, but transforms these discourses through a poetics inherited from surrealism and its roots in Rimbaud.[115] (It is important to remember, here, that surrealism was itself an appropriation

of psychoanalysis that completely undermined any of its scientific value and its hermeneutics of symptoms.)

Maheu's initial arguments, published early in the history of the journal and elaborated over the course of its run, serve as something like the manifesto of *Parti pris* and build on a set of highly eroticized rhetorical gestures earlier initiated by Hubert Aquin and taken up around the same time by Scott Symons in his writings on English and French Canada.[116] What concerns Maheu is primarily the erotics of the mythic order that dominate the province. This is expressed in a parody of developmental terms as a critique of "Oedipal" colonialism. But before examining this psychosexual caricature, we need to establish the broader mythical framework that he constructed, one which essentially recapitulates much of what this book has already described and ends up providing one of the most radical and ambitious interpretations of eroticism in the province that could be encountered in the period.

Maheu argued that technology has a pivotal place in the question of *laïcité*, understood in his sense as a way of reinventing the world. In the history of Québec, this has involved three revolutions: that of technique (rural-clerical), technology (industrial-urbanizing), and information (urban-cybernetic).[117] Industrialization and urbanism are predicated on the mastering and "humanization" of nature, pushing the inhuman further to the frontier.[118] The manufacture and control of cultural forms is basic to this humanization. These forms are currently controlled by a small minority, existing within and perpetuating the alienation of capitalism.[119] Until this ends, "culture" will remain blind and Oedipal.[120] Maheu insists that one of the best ways to understand these processes is by reading McLuhan.[121]

Maheu offers three distinct visions of laïcité: the bourgeois, the communist, and ti-popist. For the first, the order of Oedipus or the bourgeois, he observes that there is a kind of utopian technology fetish, expressed in things like science fiction. It is also, one could add, in the kind of sophisticated desire for modernity expressed by the Playboy lifestyle. This is a lifestyle that ultimately rests on forms of domination and exploitation for the sake of capital. It is also a vision of modernity that relies on ideas like the liberation

of women, a necessary step in the expansion of urbanism.[122] While the traditional family was structurally appropriate for a rural economy, the urban economy demanded a different kind of family and different relationships. This new social organization also required new forms of sexual morality to keep it functional. There would be new forms of "personal fulfilment" or blossoming and this would be cultivated as something like an art.[123] This occurs simultaneously with a demystification of art as it becomes something that can be produced by machines at the stroke of a button. Maheu imagines Mousseau inventing new kinds of plasticity in such a situation: the surrealist discos we visited earlier.[124] The possibilities of such aesthetic transformations gave Maheu a sense of vertigo. While this was all very attractive, Maheu found something old hat and basically bourgeois about such fantasies, which were ultimately "formalist."[125]

The invention of a "new culture" is how he characterized laïcisme, defined as "thought that's dedicated to…hunting down within itself as far as it can, all remnants of the Neolithic culture—whose collapse we're now witnessing."[126] This collapse and blurring of the contemporary and primitive is something that we have encountered repeatedly among the artists discussed, whether the Automatists or the visions of rural eroticism in artist's prints. Yet what laïcité seemed to designate in the real political terms of Québec was little more than the shift from a theological order (where there was some division from the state) to the total order of bourgeois ideology.[127] Formally, this replaced a real collectivity (which he terms *laos*) with a legal fiction guaranteed by the state.[128] He is explicit in stating that the theological order and the communist order are both, materially and metaphysically, forms of real collectivity, unlike the order of the bourgeois state. The society of the state is a world of "pure exteriority," a "Babel."[129] This is a world without humanity because humanity has no existence outside of its roots in the land.[130] According to Maheu, Marxism would bring the end of this state and allow for the refounding of real collectivity. Without a radical reinvention of humanity, there can be no revolution.[131] This revolution will only come with the "totalization lived out in interiority" of singular consciousness in the new community.[132] This is *laos-ité*, which is a utopian dream born from a

nostalgia for this communal sphere, which is the sphere of the old father, that of Laos, he writes, playing on the name of the father of Oedipus (Laius) and also identifying the father as the land.[133]

Laos-ité is expressed in nationalism, something which may seem to contradict the universalist claims of communism. To explain this, Maheu points to the distinction between fascism and socialism; it is a distinction between a system that only believes in its own singularity and one that believes in the singularity of all nations and the non-exchangeability of their peoples.[134] This dream of communism is the dream of the New Man: "the Québécois Man, Man after ti-pop."[135] This was the utopian fantasy of communism, the notion that humanity, liberated from faith in God, could find faith in itself and invent a reality for itself and this "reality would be our work."[136] This comes about through a "paroxysm, a conversion," a form of madness like that of the *poète maudit* Émile Nelligan.[137] Echoing Bataille, Maheu describes this moment as one of "irreducible *sovereignty*" that exists in the paroxysmal realm where humanity can be lost or transformed.[138]

On the other hand, there were the aesthetic revolts of the surrealists and existentialists. Yet, even *Refus global,* he claims*,* was still an adolescent revolt.[139] By the 1960s, the revolt was no longer one within dialogue, utilitarian or aesthetic, but one of rejection, because it had become a battle against the mystifications of ideology.[140] As such, it was not just a revolt of adolescents, but a passage to "a revolutionary attitude."[141] Note that revolution begins when dialectical movement ends: this is a very atypical position for a Marxist but one in keeping with André Breton's advocacy for a convulsive beauty.[142]

Such a revolution would be difficult. The people of Québec, he argued, were trapped between two myths: that of the Eternal Father and the Eternal Mother. The myth of the Father is that which valorizes tradition and theocracy: "This paternalistic world had inordinate messianic ambitions."[143] This is a myth of conquest to compensate for being conquered and dispossessed, but the conquering-conquered end up with nothing but sterile delusions.[144] Even worse than this paternalist myth, however, was the liberal rebellion against it, whether that of Borduas and the Automatists[145] or the technocrats of *Cité Libre*,[146] who were trapped in

a fight against the imaginary Father, and who mistook the symptoms for the causes.[147] Maheu suggested that, with the poetry of Raoul Duguay and Michèle Lalonde and publications like *Liberté*'s érotisme issue (discussed earlier), the province was seeing a flood of open eroticism. These conceptualizations of eroticism, highly attuned to local implications, were contrasted with that of *Playboy* and *Lui*, the commercial forms of sexuality, or the "appalling clumsiness" of *Sexus*. Maheu stressed that he was concerned with a more vital eroticism.

The result of the dominating mystifications is a "total resignation, that absence of vital energy and sense of adventure that characterizes a people dispossessed of its future."[148] The disincarnation of the men and women of Québec has cost them their sexuality, Maheu argues, leaving them castrated and sterile. Reproduction simply becomes the reproduction of the family, a kind of futurelessness reproduced under the shadow of "[t]he omnipresence of the Castrating Mother [which] is the normal consequence of conquest, the normal state of a people dispossessed of its future."[149] The Mother is the avatar of the ideology of *survivance,* which is the utopian space of undifferentiated union outside of the banality of time.[150] Existing in time becomes seen as defeat and the everyday is rendered as stagnation.[151] Those who abandon the imaginary past remain stuck in the de-sexualized and de-personalized world of colonialism, without any institutional means for meaning, weaned only on the myths of maternity: "Our fear, our dread, is formlessness, being eaten up. That's how far the internalization of defeat has taken us."[152] The result is a life dispossessed of a self. The answer to this, Maheu will eventually explain in the final year of *Parti pris*, is not the redemption of the self. Rescuing the self is a liberal or Christian gesture, and art, or myth, are not to be used for that. This is why ti-pop plays such an important role in his thinking and why the revolution must be an artistic one as much or more than anything else.

Ti-pop, for Maheu, was the paroxysmal realm where one traveled from revolt to revolution. It was also, as Pierre Théberge noted earlier, the space of decadence. More than just a metaphysical space, ti-pop was also a "paradoxical approach" that allowed its practitioners to reclaim "what is salvageable from our past."[153] Ti-pop

provided for the plastic reworking of the sphere of the old father in the here and now, which is neither a utopian space nor the space of successful bourgeois rationalization. Maheu claimed that it shared something special with *joual*: a structure that is humorous, that works through paradox, mockery and a constant disassembling of the rules of language. Its aesthetic was so constantly transformed in content that it simultaneously returned to its roots while making itself illegible.[154] It materialized while making itself more ex-communicative, more sarcastic, and rupturing further from sense.[155] It was "cultural revolution" by slow metamorphoses, neither negative nor positive, existing as a "period of cocoon" with no necessary end product.[156]

Maheu's embrace of a kind of mythical disjunctive time that splits from progress and sinks into material abjection and Hubert Aquin's insistence on the dysfunction of dialectics are both means to escape what they saw as the tyranny of the liberal dialectic for an alternative conception of time and relationality. Aquin writes that to refuse "this coherence amounts to choosing incoherence fully and irreversibly. To make a revolution is to break out of the dominator-dominated dialogue; strictly speaking, it is to ramble. The terrorist speaks for himself…The incoherence I'm talking about here is one of the modalities of revolution, just as the monologue is its unmistakable sign."[157] The monologue of Aquin's novel *Prochaine épisode* enacts this, while the splintering and disjunction that are basic aspects of the structure of most of Aquin's novels—exemplified most graphically in the dissonant montage style of his erotic book *Neige noire* (1974)—provide another means to dislodge coherency, precisely what a dialectician like Charles Taylor would chide them for.[158] This can also be interpreted as a radicalization of the destruction of dialogue that was essential to *Refus global*.

The monologic techniques discussed above also have a symbolic echo in the homoerotics that Maheu identifies with communism. One of the most baffling things is that, considering the question of the status of homosexuality or homosexual anxiety that has preoccupied so many commentators on the partipristes, one of the most explicit and radical ways of imagining homosexuality in the country at the time has been systematically ignored: that of laosité.[159] I do not point this out to be pedantic, but because ignoring

it, as commentators have done, is rather like pretending to explain Christianity while leaving out the claim that Jesus worked miracles. Warren notes the surprising radicality of Maheu's transformation of Freudian psychodrama: "The denouement of the Freudian drama thus involved an inversion of the supposed primordial myth of humanity. For the partipristes, it was necessary to divorce their mother and rehabilitate the phallic power of the father, rescuing him from the symbolic death that condemned him to insignificance in the colonial regime."[160] But because, like nearly everyone else, Warren ignores the questions raised by laos-ité and ti-pop, his analysis here has fundamentally gone wrong. To do so is to keep the argument in the generic developmental Oedipal framework and this allows Warren to miss the deep tension that Maheu creates in his performative aversion to adolescence. The "adolescence" that he frequently seems to deride in his early texts, a kind of suspension or failure at progress, is explicitly doubled in his theoretical work by ti-pop, which also avows a suspension of development but to different ends. Besides this, Warren's claim that this turn to the father is a rehabilitation of phallic power is fundamentally wrong. Far from returning to the Law and the symbolic order, laos-ité designates the abolition of Law (embodied by the state, which Marxism eliminates) and the complete transformation of the "father," who is, as noted, interchangeable with the *mère-terre*, into something very different. Laos-ité is a myth born from ti-pop and in the logic of *figuration narrative*; it fundamentally de-naturalizes the credibility of appeals to social or psychological narrative claims.

What is strange in Maheu is how much the rethinking of colonial Oedipus through this notion of laos-ité debilitates many of the basic tropes of modernity, especially that of patricidal rebellion.[161] It is not the incestuous patricide that he symbolically identifies Québec with—and in positive terms—but the filicidal pederast who operates as the icon of decolonization, creating the *tabula rasa* that Frantz Fanon insisted would mark this social shift. In other words, communism repeats the kind of detached time that Maheu already saw operative within the decadence of ti-pop and pushes it further, to the point of initiating a very different kind of erotic space.

As the psychoanalytical anthropologist Georges Devereux suggested in light of revisiting the myths of Laius, the more probable interpretation of the so-called family romance, either in cultural or mythic terms, means casting the primary weight of incestuous desire on the parents and not the child, as psychoanalysis has consistently done. Indeed, he goes so far as arguing that *if* the Oedipal complex appears, it is a result of childhood sensitivity to parental desires.[162] This has been ignored, he suggested, due to the scotomization of pederastic desire that Freudians practiced as well as their downplaying of the homosexual rivalry between Oedipus and Laius in the original myths.[163] Devereux suggested recasting the Oedipal struggle as primarily one of homosexuality, the mother serving as a symbolic stand-in for the femininized and deceased father, and that Oedipus and Laius as competitors for Chrysippus.[164]

There are many questions opened here which I cannot answer in a study such as this. For example, if communism is identified with the homosexual or perverse father, who, in the coming of communism, effectively ceases to be a father, what kind of relationship is being suggested?[165] Is it one of competition or is it one of *erastes*?[166] Is it one of the desires to be seduced or raped or murdered, or to commit such acts? Or is it a convoluted way of symbolically affirming the homogeneity of the nation, which is the homogeneity of the people since, unlike the homogeneity affirmed by federalism (the particularly different but exchangeable), it is, as Maheu claimed above, the homogeneity of the nation as the particularly different and non-exchangeable?[167] Or is it a reference to the basic *homo*sexuality of communist nationalism, since it promises the collapse of the self into the collective and vice versa, effectively turning the nation into the surface of a giant libidinal singularity or homo-ness?

There is another significant issue that arises from the fantasy of revolution and it demonstrates that what is at stake is primarily aesthetic and the political is a secondary "symptom." Warren's complaint about the partipristes' apparent conventionality is the same kind of argument that was made against the socialist realism of the Soviet Union.[168] Briefly, the radical non-objective art associated with Russian futurism, constructivism or Malevich's suprematism (subsequently embraced as a model by artists such

as Guido Molinari) had served the Russian revolution with ambitions of realizing a utopian ideal. With the triumph of socialism, non-objective art would be the signature of rebirth from the ruins of history.[169] To the horror of a significant quadrant of the avant-garde, non-objective painting was soon displaced by what *appeared* to be a kitsch art, socialist realism.[170] Particularly among Western art historians and critics, this has been interpreted as a form of social or aesthetic regression. But there is a rival interpretation. As Boris Groys has rigorously demonstrated, and as Marxist critics, and Marx himself had claimed concerning the essential irony of revolution, the utopian or avant-garde claims to transform human life with new styles or lifestyles was quite likely a vacuous formalism enabled by market ideology, one which we saw Maheu explicitly disavow. A society that abandoned this "decadence" and survived the "charnel house" of history would be fundamentally different even if it looked the same, the transformation being so radical that "the only way progress can occur is through an attempt to halt it—as a nationalist reaction to the monotonously unbroken superiority of the West, as an attempt to escape this sphere of domination, that is, to flee from time into the apocalyptic realm of timelessness."[171] Or, to put it another way, it is to finally realize the convulsive beauty of pornotopia, which in Kébek is the realm of kétaine.

A Little Prince in the Territories of Perversity

Apocalyptic pederastic utopianism would also be a central theme in the texts of one of Québec's most radical polemicists for sexual liberation, Jean LeDerff. According to him, liberation can only come for the heterosexual and homosexual together, not separately.[172] To be liberated, we must create a society that does not yet exist.[173] Global revolution is needed, but less through violence than by dropping out of existing society. LeDerff claimed that homosexuals and heterosexuals both have a prejudice in favour of youth and beauty against ugliness and that both value strength above intellect, adding that only blind homosexuals would not be equally guilty of this.[174] While he claimed that these prejudices are socially produced, he also (without much explanation) insisted that they

provide the liberated ideal. He dismisses the age of consent laws as a form of oppression based on the recently invented social convention of adolescence.[175]

Advocating repeatedly for the age of consent to be the same for straights and gays (it was fourteen years for heterosexuals and twenty-one for homosexuals), he brings up how low it is in different countries to demonstrate the law's arbitrariness, but this practical question serves a more idealistic one.[176] In avant-gardist language, he argues, "The new man is the new youth, the one that so frightens our censors…The new youth seeks its riches in nature, in the dregs, in flowers, in love. The new man is there, in the square, fifteen years old and naked."[177] He imagines this New Man with the sun before him and the city in flames behind. If the New Woman was often identified with the city, the New Man (or boy) would be identified with the land and a return to the rural.

It was *Parti pris*' Paul Chamberland who would bring this trajectory to its most poetic point. Some scholars have noted that, in his shift from a radical decolonizing nationalism to an ecologically driven embrace of the counterculture and back to a still slightly mystical nationalism, there was a general "osmosis of themes."[178] In fact, this "osmosis," generally cast in biological terms derived from the advocates for libidinal revolution (Reich, Marcuse, Jos van Ussel, Deleuze and Guattari, Tony Duvert, Dennis Cooper), runs through his work from the 1960s until at least the '80s, structurally and figuratively.[179] In Chamberland, the figuration of utopian possibility shifted from a "maternal" earth to an erotic adolescent "boy." The latter found one of its most pronounced instances in the hero of the *Le Prince de sexamour* (1976), which Chamberland claimed was a "Copernican revolt of sexuality."[180]

In a hybrid form reminiscent of Vanier and the artists' books we discussed earlier—part essay, part poem, and filled with drawings of penises and hermaphroditic figures by Denyse Delcourt, along with images from pornography and newspaper cut-outs—Chamberland's *Sexamour* imagines the universe as a vast black-and-white bed for making love, where new territories are discovered peacefully or in battle.[181] After the death of the father (the phallus, the One), there is a world of brothers, one which he claims is also identified with the *terre-mère* (the plural), which operates as

a communal space for masturbation. This is the utopian sphere of universal orphanhood. Though he sometimes speaks of it as a world of brothers, he adds that this is a formless, pluralizing chaos of plastic bodies.[182] Mimicking this new ontology, he equates writing and masturbation, proclaiming "I am the earth" and then adding "we are the earth"; both of these statements, like poetry, are a kind of spirit expressed in language and promised by "the day of poetry"[183] which will be a "sex massage for the planet."[184] But this force of spirit is figured most prominently in the poet, and especially the child-poet (Rimbaud).

The text leaps between lengthy political polemics, largely derived from Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* (1972). and the pederastic liberation texts of Tony Duvert.[185] Chamberland charts "the fatality of happiness" through "the territories of 'perversity,'" claiming that sexual revolution will cause an orgiastic paroxysm of eroticism and violence that will end in world peace.[186] The text presents libido as a force of energy exchange, currently controlled by technocrats who function as the priestly class for the "Beast-State [*Bête-État*]."[187] Against this will be a "revolution of madness" that will allow for the reinvention of love.[188] The figurative prince—an androgynous and ageless figure capable of taking any form polymorphous desire requires—will glide through this chaos like a "electric seagull"[189] as the revolution brings about the synthesis between "a computer and a sensual child."[190]

Chamberland contrasts *la terre,* which he identifies as society, with the state, which he identifies with government, capitalism ("the Multinational Technocratic Empire") and the police, arguing that the collapse of the state will allow the free range of "the harmonic social Machine."[191] But the liberated world of free desire and joy is also one of permanent danger and potential instability.[192] The release of "spermatozoocosmique energy" will also cause a general redefinition of relations. In the world of the state, consent is the master word for the exercise of liberty, but in *Terre Libre*, it will be forbidden to forbid as the "laws of the sexual economy" based on taboos and stereotypes are overturned, providing for an openness to all bodies that allows for "generalized erotic exchange" that will lead to "regenerating osmosis" of all human activity.[193] This is part of the shift to a special kind of new humanity, what he designates

"l'Hommenfant," a uniquely sovereign individual who will lead a "transhuman civilization" after the apocalypse that ends current societies and replaces the world of the state and capitalism with an "orgiastic economy [with] the body as currency."[194]

This last point is clearly a reference to Pierre Klossowski's *La Monnaie vivant* (1970), which made the simulacra the centre of economy and identified it with the body itself, fulfilling, in an economic model that parodied that of Marxism, the essence of pornotopia. In this, it also fulfils the promise of the monism of the Automatists, the parodic evacuation of the sociological in pop and *nouveau réalisme*, and the event of art as the singularization of desire that was central to all these groups up to the Plasticiens. Form and content perfectly merged and eliminated mediation. This is precisely what so horrified the Hegelian Charles Taylor about the partipristes. For him, their monologism created a kind of nightmare for progressivism, resulting in the Hegelian night "where all the cows are black" and irrationality reigned.[195] The basic issue for Hegel (and so many who followed him) was recognition, without which the premise of a social or collective history was largely vacuous. While ti-pop was the realm of the familiar curated by sarcasm to the point that it became alien, this was not a melancholy alienation, but a comic one. It relied upon the treatment of history and religion as aesthetic spectacles that existed in a kind of suspended animation where past and future imploded into one another in a sameness that was wholly alien.[196] Ti-pop had made history timeless and mythical; laos-ité and l'hommenfant did the same for the future through an imaginary erotic apocalypse.

Conclusion: Grid and Decadence

In his account of eroticism, Jean-Claude Dussault claimed that, "In such a society, which is ours, all unadulterated manifestations of Eros, that is to say mainly art and sexuality, can only be signs of refusal, revolt, and questioning. Eros becomes an anarchist."[1] He wrote this in 1968, in the long shadow of Automatism. Québec's surrealism was couched in a symbolic act of refusal, one which visually resulted in the collapse of figure and ground and formally relied on the exploitation of media forms in a delirious manner that frequently emphasized art as device. Art was not strictly about images and it was not simply about consuming or contemplating, but about use. The viewer could be a user, but equally they could be the used. If the functionality of art was often foregrounded, so was its potential dysfunctionality. The symbolic refusal initiated by the Automatists would be remediated in the following generation in various forms. One of these forms was a direct conjuring of the past, an insistence on making surrealism the ground on which the figure of the new artist could emerge. Explicitly, with events around Opération Déclic, there was a reappropriation of this refusal and a translation of it into a call for joy, spontaneity, anarchy, utopia, extremism, anger, authenticity, sexuality, and erections—and for their institutionalization, which would presumably reactivate them by making them part of the tradition being invented by the conventionalizing of contemporary art as a genre.

One "place" that was "erected" as a consequence of their demands was the construction of the city's contemporary art scene and, with it, a loss of black humour and the rise of politics rendered in symbolic ritual and performance. Yet, there were alternatives. The metaphysical implications of the strategy of collapsing the figure/

ground distinction opened the way for employing the model of the pornographic delicatessen and the exploitation of stereotypes in the service of erasing the subject. If eroticism stressed the impersonality and aculturalism of art while decomposing the traits associated with the cultural and personal, the state's art practice operated as a regime of capture that reterritorialized these traits within the logic of expressivity. This was explicitly enacted with *La Chambre nuptiale*, which recodified some of ti-pop's tropes and strategies into a phantasmagorical narrative of becoming a sexual identity in conformity with the mythocratic conceptions of the Canadian state. Symbolically, it cast the history of the province as a labyrinth of horrors and rebirths that could be entered but also exited from. The sexual mechanics of the couple were presented as a satirical spectacle saturated in religious kitsch. Moving on from them as one of the new people, the spectator, whether singly or as a group, could enter the environment of the post-centennial state, greeted by sociologists and the latest fashions at the mall.

The thematic of eroticism was underlined in an interview published in *Le Nouvelliste* with the visiting French Catholic philosopher, Gustave Thibon. According to him, "When we speak of eroticism today, we mean a kind of hypertrophy of sexuality."[2] This is, he would insist, a chiefly mental question, since the primary human sense organ is the brain. *Érotisme* is the move toward the imaginary, toward art. This, he warned, can also be a move away from life. It can reach toward transcendent beauty or to an unreal world. It was the material form of this world that we toured in chapter three, where the underlying logic of arguments around the Happening, the collapse of traditional disciplines, and the centrality of intermediality was spelled out in viewing the city itself as a medium that produced an art without the necessity of artists, where the environment was a practice. This reading is in line with the automatist insistence on eroticism as a contingent and impersonal erotic singularity and on the irrelevance of intentionality and meaning in art.

A collection of capsule book reviews that Denis Vanier wrote for *Mainmise* operated almost as a manifesto for the flâneur of this ambiguous modern eroticism.[3] He cited kitsch as the first great art against nature, suppurating with desire that had been excessively

perverted by moralization. He appreciated the *travestis* for their "surgical poetry," and the artificial attempt to reach a state of grace through the appropriation of the organic, whether by perfume or hormones, in a war on the "Hell of the physical."[4] If *travestis* were the angels of bourgeois realism or kitsch,[5] they did not quite reach the heights of the "'sacred illustrations' from the biographies of the martyrs of hygiene."[6] The latter could be discovered in the 1975 sex-ed book *Show Me: A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents*, which put on display the graphic sexual arousal of children for educational purposes. The realism of these illustrations, Vanier wrote, is "[a]n assault by pure beauty: secret photos of the mystical body, sabotaging the very occultism of the desire they arouse."[7] This would be contrasted with his praise for a collection of scatological child pornography, with its "subversion of the state of grace, directly attacking the 'anti-pedophilia' of a Christiane Rochefort and the 'feminist' movement in general."[8]

Vanier's perspective on the erotic was essentially a reverse of the liberal (Catholic and secular) attitudes to eroticism that we surveyed early on. His way of conceptualizing the erotic stressed the status of politics as aesthetics and the centrality of kitsch to the understanding of the art of the twentieth century—that the issue of art was primarily one of realism, and that reality was far closer to the world as imagined by religion and the occult than it was to the world as imagined by secular reason. Yet, recognizing the implausibility of a sociocultural realm seems to sit quite oddly with artists and intellectuals who tended to consider themselves "engaged," and the "political" marriages to which they committed themselves tended to quickly take on esoteric dimensions. In Gilles Boisvert, this registered in a general ambivalence, as the automatic processes that he relied upon for both the production and selection of imagery equalized the content, so that what was foregrounded was the mating of different semiotic systems in a way that made explicit the status of imagery not simply as a remediation but as part of a reproductive system. The eroticism resided as much in the production form—serial prints and collage—as in the content. For artists like Serge Lemonde, eroticism was concretely manifest in the collapse of the boundaries between media and mythically narrated in the use of satire, utopia, and the mockery of anthropology.

If the future looked remarkably like the past, as it did in ti-pop, it also was not an escape from alienation, but a dive into a notion of the world where all the familiar dichotomies (self/other, nature/culture, essence/personhood, reason/faith, etc.) collapsed. This explains the logical end of so many of the formal techniques we have witnessed, which shifted from the embrace of a mechanical evacuation of the pathetic dimension of the unconscious to the far more radical ruination of the credibility of sociocultural pathos, annihilated by the sarcasm of black comedy.

To this we can add a set of paradoxes that were embodied in the apparent contradictions that were basic to ti-pop. As we have seen, ti-pop was partially defined in relation to Automatism as a radicalization of its promise. This radicalization in part played out largely in the abandonment of the bifurcation between the non-figurative depiction (or recording) of unconscious processes and the supposedly culturally mediated realm of figurative imagery. The weak attempt by Marcuse and other cultural theorists to collapse the unconscious into the sociological in order to salvage the latter could be easily deflated with the same logic that surrealism had employed to appropriate psychoanalysis while undermining its hermeneutics.[9] As a result of the radicalization of automatism in ti-pop, these terms could be collapsed, leaving no plausible grounds for the expressivity of the unconscious, the social, or the cultural. The result would be an art that displayed the "realism" that was central to much of the art that I have discussed. Figuration may be closely linked to representation but it does not represent anything, it only appropriates ready-to-hand content for art's devices. This was clearly what was at play in the abandonment of any kind of dialectics and the advancement of a monological sarcasm. A set of clichéd or stereotypical imagery could be used as means to impersonality, something that itself was a strong part of erotic art's traditions.[10]

Catherine Millet summarized what was at stake in the wake of non-figurative art and the status of the figure:

> For the younger generation, however, the transition could be made without crisis. Although many of its members had learnt their trade as abstract painters, this generation had fewer scruples to surmount as it found its direction in figur-

> ation. Its figurative painting, which would reflect the world's concerns, would also reestablish a social function. Even if this function was one of contestation, it was less intolerable, for society, than the absolute gratuitousness—in Georges Bataille's sense—of art. This is a paradox that some may find shocking, but the ideology of collective memory, of founding myths, which are actualized in political responsibility, is ultimately one of the methods that society invented in an attempt to neutralize the true dissidence of modern art.[11]

As Millet went on to observe, the turn to figuration that developed in France and which overlapped to varying degrees with what occurred in Québec only further demonstrated the gratuitousness of art, however desperate the critical establishment and historians may have been to redeem its ostensible social value. Far from shoring up sociocultural significance, the exploitation of figurative and narrative forms served to undermine their credibility even further by appropriating and perverting them while denying their referential principles.

I have turned several times to the problem this poses: to the fact that art's neutralization by being institutionally disciplined as a form of cultural expression was intrinsic to the state's construction of contemporary art as a genre and its political function as a tool of federalism. In light of this, I outlined two distinct categories, that of kitsch and the *kétaine*. If, as ti-popists and McLuhan insisted, Québec existed in a different period than the rest of the country, the value of the Quiet Revolution for its exponents was largely to become "contemporary." In the province, the 1960s and '70s were a period of radical conformity and normalization within which the myth of Kébec and Kébekitude operated. Kétaine also designated a basic disjunction. If Kébec and other countercultural fantasies signaled the mythical establishment of an identity to follow from decolonization's drift into the post-historical, ti-pop was the recognition that this was only a myth and that, while reality was constituted by brute material immediacy, identity was a delusion. Colonialism revealed that history was only a museum of dead objects and the "lived experience" of the subject and its "dispossession of self" revealed the nudity of material reality in the

same way the dispossession performed by the erotic demonstrated the absurdity of imagining sexuality as a personal or social phenomenon. The obfuscation of this was kitsch, but even kitsch had its positive qualities.

When reviewing Aleksa Čelebonović's art-historical study of nineteenth-century academic painting, *Some Call It Kitsch: Masterpieces of Bourgeois Realism* (1972), Vanier echoed the arguments Salvador Dalí had made about the pre-Raphaelites, detecting in such work signs of unconscious investment and perversity, as "they suggest the deep pain of desire, the obsession with 'objective evil.'"[12] And it is here, as much as in decadence, that can be detected one "of the first manifestations of art against nature."[13] Kitsch has a double in automatism. This is true of the mechanical and potentially dehumanizing tendencies that constitute both, and also, as Dalí and Vanier would note, of their releasing of erotic signs without their sublimation into the gestures of mechanical non-figuration. And so we can say that there are two sides to kitsch: one, an easily reproducible formalization (such as political sentimentalization), and the other, a stripping back to what was always latent in form but obscured by "social" or "cultural" significance returned to its formal denuding of the world as a spectacle of clichés. It is in this denuding that eroticism operates. Functional kitsch, by contrast, is the covering up of the world, rendering it as representation, archetypes, stories, or participatory interrelationality that reified the illusory access to personal or intersubjective experience. This was the difference between ti-pop's kétaine and its appropriation in *La Chambre nuptiale*, which continued the tradition of state kitsch and drove it into overt erotic delirium.[14]

The cybernetic revolution of Canadian Liberalism is readily explicable in terms of this rivalry between the kitsch and the kétaine, as is ti-pop's general contempt for the aesthetics associated with the Révolution Tranquille and its privileging of kétaine over imported sophistication. But this also helps illustrate that the dimension of ti-pop is not that of the social, but of its impossibility. What Abraham Moles has called "n-dimensionality" is what the surrealists understood as the absurdity of social representation.[15] The fantasy of the social that was concocted by journalists, advertisers, activists, sociologists, and bureaucrats was undermined by the grid on

C.1 Two screen captures from *Entre tu et vous*, written and directed by Gilles Groulx (1969, National Film Board of Canada).

which its imagery was stretched, rendered ludicrous and eroticized in the process. This was precisely what was presented, albeit quite unintentionally, in the opening sequence of Gilles Groulx's ti-pop film *Entre tu et vous* (1969), with its examination of the seduction of the populace presented as a kitsch Adam and Eve in a Garden of Eden that was no more than a dimensional grid.

The film was marketed as an examination of *séduction*, both the type that occurs between people and, more importantly, between the erotic environment and those within it. In the scant press it received in Montréal at the time, it was lumped in with the *films de culs*.[16] Groulx's film is clearly modelled on the work of Jean-Luc Godard and Alain Robbe-Grillet and its opening sequence revolves around the grid.[17] In a direct homage to Eadweard Muybridge's early motion studies of human locomotion, Groulx shoots his two protagonists appearing nude before anthropometric grids made of checkered white threads set against a black backing. The grid form recurs throughout the film, crossed by its protagonists who are then seen moving in "nature" or doubled in the graph paper that is used for the film's various intertitles describing the repressions of society. To present their "subjectivity," on the soundtrack, they are heard conjugating verbs through mechanical reverb while they are bluntly intercut performing actions alone to the sound of an amplified heartbeat. They carry beer, hang the flag to dry, leap, smoke, sit, spit, flex with ti-pop symbols (Labatt 50, ice skates, "Québec Libre"-stenciled clothes, etc.) before eventually being interrupted by a folk saying that coincides with a fire and a reflection on nuclear annihilation. The literal grid, as well as the various discursive strategies employed within the film according to an austerely organized formal grid for shifting cinematic models, depict the world of seduction as one of juxtapositions and rituals rather than of "thick" experience, one where the subject only exists on the level of cliché and effectively functions as a motorized mannequin wearing signs.

Central to ti-pop was a myth of decadence that undermined any sense of progress or depth, gridding the world out in a manner comparable to the cellular seriality of comics, while the "cartooning" of discursive tropes functioned as a form of sarcasm that appropriated and undermined narrative signification. The grid also

figured significantly in the advertising and catalogue for the exhibition *Québec '75,* where a photograph of a hand is seen clutching the grid of a fence. A large-scale group show that set explicitly ti-pop tendencies against internationalist ones, the exhibition garnered substantial controversy, notably for the extent to which it repudiated the credibility of assuming that there was a culture, an actual artworld, or a credible meta-historical or theoretical framework for understanding what was happening in the province.[18] As one contemporaneous polemic on the city's art scene put it, "socially conscious" artists were trapped in the position of being a religion without a church to support them.[19] Subsequent art historians have suggested that the exhibition marked the birth of contemporary art in the province, a birth that signaled both the death of avant-gardism and the institutionalization of the "contemporary" (pragmatic, interdisciplinary, functional, interactive, inclusive, anthropological) as the religious art of the Canadian state.[20]

According to Rosalind Krauss, the grid declares the radical autonomy of art, whether as extreme materialism or spiritualism.[21] Modern grids have a false friend in the Renaissance perspectival study. The latter sought to scientifically capture the real and solidify the bounds of representation while the former moved away from it, cancelling its implied relationality or mimesis. As such, the grid offers a view of the naked materialism of its armature even as the artists who generally relied upon it most spoke of it in largely metaphysical terms. Stretching her point, she suggests that the grid is a space of repression, allowing two contradictory models of the world (science and spiritualism) to coexist in unresolved tension. Relying on this crude bifurcation, Krauss insists that an "absolute rift" opens between the secular and the sacred as a result and which, for critics like her, melodramatically results in the "inadmissable" and "indescribably embarrassing" prompt to face the confrontation between art and spirit.[22]

This results in the conundrum that the more formally reductive the grid, the more spiritual its artistic implications tend to be. At the end, she concedes that "one of the most modernist things" about the grid is not only its material reductiveness but also that it can serve as a "model for the antidevelopmental, the antinarrative, the antihistorical."[23] This also, although her "common sense"

would "repress" her admitting it, points to how severely dubious is the premise that there is "representational" content in art in the first place, in the limited sense that it contains a meaningful form of external reference. This was precisely what was on display in the pornotopia of Guy Montpetit discussed earlier. As will be clear, this will relate directly to the problem of eroticism as posed by Bataille below.

Wary as Krauss may have been about the occult's erosion of the certainties of secular self-representation, some art historians have become increasingly attuned to the fact that much of the art of the first two-thirds of the twentieth century was an aggressive rejection of the kind of social conception of art that cultural studies rely upon to make sense of the world. One of the better examples of this, John Bramble's *Modernism and the Occult*, went some distance in establishing a nuanced understanding of the emergence of modernism and its aftermath as cosmological rejections of liberal positivism (sociology, progressivism) and bourgeois domesticity, establishing a wide-range of alternatives expressed in orientalism, various mystical revivals, decadence, Dada, and surrealism.[24] If such art was not "religious" in a traditional sense, it was certainly no closer to secularism.

Georges Bataille's work played an integral role in surrealist discourse around eroticism and its place in the structure of life and art. The battles between he and his close associates and those of André Breton have been extensively documented in histories of the movement. Controversies around eroticism were often central to these conflicts. Bataille's shadow was also clearly cast over the way discussions of eroticism developed in Montréal, and he was cited both directly and indirectly. Bataille was explicit about the problem that eroticism posed for the social representation of the world. What is ultimately dangerous about eroticism is that it not only points to the hypocrisy that constitutes the illusion of the social, but also evacuates the social of its credibility as a form of representation.

To map out this problem, Bataille perversely abstracted two categories from contemporary sociology: the sacred (heterogeneity, affect, *Bund*, or *Gemeinschaft*) and the profane (homogeneity, contract, secret society, *Gesellschaft*). There is an irony to this: the sacred

makes the social bond possible; the "interests" of "social" persons tend to destroy the social. The inside-outside remains in the space of dialectics, but the erotic is non-dialectical, a "negativity" that is irredeemable (precisely what the *partipristes* were denigrated for). The *heterogeneou*s designates that which cannot be assimilated and which Bataille associated with the accursed poet, that most privileged of figures who has appeared in some fashion in many of the chapters of this book.[25]

In modernity, the heterogeneous comes increasingly to signify the expelled, that which subverts the illusion of social cohesion—a category in which eroticism has a pivotal role. For Bataille, eroticism is fundamentally paradoxical, as he articulated in his most frequently cited statement, one which we have encountered, remediated, in the writing of poets, academics, and even pop singer Michèle Richard: "Of eroticism, it can be said that it is the gratification of life even in death."[26] Although part of sexual reproduction, it is not reducible to it. Erotic desire is a desire for continuity, but the world of social relationality and rationalism is discontinuous. This is why the erotic strikes the imaginers of the social as archaically religious and deeply destructive. Structurally, the erotic is the affirmation of the continuity of matter. In social or phenomenal terms, however, it is the violation of the sense structures of society and made evident in sexual passivity, perversity, reproduction, or religious ecstasy.[27]

According to Bataille, the utilitarian model of life marginalizes the reality of continuity to the space of the taboo (menstrual blood, corpses, feces, violence, etc.).[28] Maintaining such taboos is necessary for preserving the world of discontinuity. While the crown of rationality may rest upon their sanctification, they are, paradoxically, irrational, relying on the failure to recognize that "Life is always a product of the decomposition of life."[29] And this absurdity itself proves to be the delimitation of social facts and provides the grounds for the illusions of social relationality as "[t]he organised transgression forms with the forbidden a whole that defines social life."[30] The paradoxes that arise from the fact that all composition is simultaneously decomposition were integral to the model of the pornographic delicatessen, to the ways that artists exploited and undermined narrative, and to the promotion of sarcasm as a way

of simultaneously preserving and undermining signification. In visual terms, this was clearly displayed in the logic of the press that I have discussed at length in reference to the October Crisis in chapter eight, and particularly explicit in the fashioning of the "social" that was central to terrorism, whether conceived as such by state or non-state actors, for political or artistic purposes.

The break between surrealism and religion is the former's "complete negation of material interests."[31] This is also its ostensibly political turn, even if the result would appear to be an appeal to a weak form of communism. However, according to Bataille, history demonstrated that communism in practice only exacerbated the material norms of capitalism and surrealism merely offered a moral fantasy of emancipation. The results were "the sort of feeling of emptiness, hopelessness, uselessness, superfluity and frivolousness that characterizes surrealist work."[32] Surrealism, in Bataille's view, failed by being doomed to the personal rather than to an impersonal collectivity, one whose end would be antithetical or indifferent to human interests.[33]

Bataille dwelt on this problem in a text dealing explicitly with the conflict between the poetic and the social, citing the surrealist experiment as both a shift away from an individualist art addressed either to reputation and possible posterity or to the void of irrelevance, and toward commitment to a collective "meaning," even if this only seems derivable thanks to questionable, usually perverse, appropriations of psychoanalysis and sociology. What emerged was an increasingly perplexing sense of the implications of myth in his juxtaposition of industrial society and the religious world.[34] A certain irony arose: the more avowedly "sociological" the interests of the surrealists became, the less social their notions about the world actually were. In fact, the concern with investigating the "social" largely evacuated it, making the content of the work increasingly irrelevant and revealing that "social fact" was more poetic fallacy, as "addressed to the void" as avant-garde poetry.[35] Eroticism, in effect, designates not only the *dépossession* (denudation, expulsion, deprivation) of self—that central theme and image of Jean Bouthillette's decolonization tract *Le Canadien français et son double* (1972)—but the ludicrousness of social definition, the nullification of knowledge for the truth of ecstasy.[36]

This circuit of evacuation and mythologization has run throughout this book, appearing consistently in the statements and formal logic of the work of many of the artists. For Bataille, it was most explicitly at play in eroticism. Whatever else it may have been, the controversy around eroticism was fundamentally one about art and its implications. Indeed, it was as much about the problem— or threat—posed by art against social signification, subjecthood, and functionality, as it was about sexuality in either its "traditional" or more "radical" formulations. The stress in Québec on the issue of automatism, both as method and as a spectral historical force, made this more evident than it was elsewhere in the country.

In line with McLuhan's suggestion that the technological extensions of the body not only undermined the centrality of any specifically human perspective and alleged "lived experience," they made explicit that sex was fundamentally inhuman and something autonomous from subjectivity. This book has stressed the role and function of media in art. An important part of this has been the exploitation of media, particularly print media, as both content and form. In doing so, it has shown that erotic art was at its most radical and perverse precisely in appropriating the form of the most overtly "representational." If the mediatized image of the world has been secularism's fundamental ground for establishing the occult principles of social relationality, the public sphere, and sociopolitical narratives, erotic art has consistently relied on an exploitation and perversion of this image, insisting upon its materiality while undermining its metaphysical claims.

A medium could be paint or it could be the city or the state. This realization was intrinsic to the formal logic of much of the art discussed. The press offered both a medium and a general visual logic. As such, it was a means for dissemination, a tactile object and mobile museum, and a source of parody and appropriation. Art existed parodically on the surface of the press and remediated it in practice. Press content would parody the avant-garde in the form of cartoons while the avant-garde embraced the visual logic of the press to undermine its claims of representation. Eroticism arose less in the guise of the generic tradition of nudes than in the gestural abstraction of media forms as they were being perverted. The visual logic of newspapers already engaged in such

"perversion." With their indexes of sexual services and products relying on the contrast between letter cases and the use of symbols (circles and stars), sex was graphically indistinguishable from anything else. The pornographic delicatessen of the city also meant a pornography of typography. If the *films de cul* were concerned with "stripping" the Québécois, one of the primary tendencies of erotic art was to strip media. The press relied on the old assumption that it was providing a window to the world, either in the manner of a naive representation or the slightly more nuanced notion of a mediated one. But art demonstrated that media does not actually mediate; it is just an object, a device, or surface.

In a similar line, one can observe that the general tendency in art to shift away from "traditional" notions of the production of discrete art objects, whether expressive or decorative, towards art understood as institution, practice, and environment, had some surprising results when this logic was taken up coherently. While the extensive history of contemporary art in the city, as an institution and practice, relies on intentionality and the presumption of the sociocultural construction of meaning, I have attempted to stress a rival development of the same underlying themes, one not in line with the utility of institutions but the inutility of the erotic. The animation of the environment was basic to the more experimental art of the period, which frequently stressed the animation of crowds and the role of architecture. While, for the proponents of the Happening, the event was still semi-scripted, from the vantage of erotic art, the dual recognition of the city as just another medium, and of the irrelevance of intentionality, meant that the scripting was unnecessary. Prostitutes, their clients, discotheques, dancers, and décor were all the functional cartoon figures in an expansive and impersonal mechanics for which they acted as aspects of its shifting tableaux.

Burlesque, satire, and remediation were central to the function of all of these things. In Lily St. Cyr's burlesque, the use of the exotic, the employment of satire, and the exploitation of the media were all present. This exotic burlesque was soon rivalled by the eroticization of banal gestures (serving food, walking across a room) as they became heightened to reality-as-performance. This was all part of the varied tendencies of dance toward utopianism

(Françoise Sullivan), toward satire (burlesque), or toward dance as expression-of-expression (the go-go). As a lawyer for the police noted, with the aestheticization of prostitution it became difficult to distinguish it from art practice. It was not simply that visual art was a means to make prostitution invisible, it confounded what defined art, since "the frontier between art and pornography is often difficult to establish."[37]

One issue which is rarely broached in writing about the history of erotic art is scale. Much of the analysis in this book has operated between two seemingly distinct scales: the large scale of public spaces and clubs and the small scale of magazines, prints, and objects. With the exception of some temples and other cultic art, erotic art has tended primarily to the miniature. Traditionally, this has been true in both the East and West and speaks to the often secret and functional aspects of such works. Found in scrolls, as illustrations to clandestine novels, or as portable and easy to conceal objects, erotic artworks addressed their viewers in a way that was decidedly unlike that of most fine art: explicitly tactile and device-oriented. But this apparent distinction has largely collapsed. Erotic art operated in the same scale that sacred art traditionally did, shifting between the supposedly public realm of the temple and the private realm of the meditative text, from the cathedral to the book of hours. What has been highlighted, however, is the indistinction between the two realms. Just as McLuhan consistently pointed to the ways that media imploded spatial categories as "man provide[d] the sexual organs of the technological world" whose "orgasms" were creating surprising mutations, the scalar logic of eroticism imploded the legitimacy of a categorical distinction between the private and public, the subject and object. In erotic art, form and content merged and eliminated mediation through media.[38]

One of the consistent issues that this book has returned to is the question of realism. If surrealism posited itself as a greater form of realism than the generic, naturalistic realisms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the reality that it purported to display could be articulated in a variety of ways. It could be a matter of strictly reductive formalism that stressed only the materials of art and its fundamental building blocks, as in automatic painting, or

it could be a stress on the plasticity of visual language that asserted its primacy *as* plasticity over its supposedly connotative content, while exploiting and remediating readymade materials. This was not to say that it did not present facts or truth, but that it undermined the credibility of the representational claims of secular reason. If there are no social facts and there is no realm of sociocultural existence, there is nonetheless an entirely objectifiable reality (divine, accursed, or strictly material) and it was in the truth of this reality that eroticism resided.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1 *Dear Reader: Selected Scott Symons*, ed. Christopher Elson (Toronto: Gutter Press, 1998), 63.
2 Léo Ferré, "Ton Style," recorded 1971, track 3 on La Solitude, Barclay 80119, 1971, vinyl LP.
3 Christian Allégra, "'*Pffff…Paf*' de Gilles Boisvert: Un flop," *Le Devoir*, May 12, 1970, 12.
4 *Piff* was a softcore magazine published in Sweden beginning in the 1950s that moved into hardcore in the 1970s as it became *Paff*.
5 Normand Thériault, "Un coeur a des hauts et des bas," *La Presse*, May 16, 1970, 48.
6 Allégra, "'*Pffff…Paf*' de Gilles Boisvert," 12.
7 Phyllis and Eberhard Kronhausen, *The Complete Book of Erotic Art: Volumes 1 and 2*; *A Survey of Erotic Fact and Fancy in the Fine Arts* (New York: Bell Publishing Company, 1968/1970; repr., 1978). Citations refer to the 1978 edition.
8 Kronhausen and Kronhausen, *The Complete Book of Erotic Art*, 17.
9 Kronhausen and Kronhausen, *The Complete Book of Erotic Art*, 16–26, but this attitude pervades many of their statements.
10 Kronhausen and Kronhausen, *The Complete Book of Erotic Art*, 26.
11 See Phyllis and Ebehard Kronhausen, *The Sex People: Erotic Performers and Their Bold New Worlds* (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1975).
12 Schaefer contended that it was "a media revolution, one in which distinctions between the private and the public became radically destabilized. That destabilization opened the door to sexually explicit sounds and images and, over time, their gradual toleration as part of the media scene." Eric Schaefer, "Introduction: Sex Seen: 1968 and the Rise of 'Public' Sex," in *Sex Scene: Media and the Sexual Revolution*, ed. Eric Schaefer (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 13. For the basic contours of the historical model of sexual revolution in a broadly Western context, see the introduction to *Sexual Revolutions*, ed. Gert Hekma and Alain Giami (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1–3. For a more extended and nuanced discussion of the many contradictions of the revolution in its specifically American context, see Jeffrey Escoffier's introduction to *Sexual Revolution* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003), xi–xxxvi. For a brief overview of the term "sexual revolution" from the 1920s on, see David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution: An Unfettered*

History (New York: Routledge, 2001), 3–6. For an extended apologetics for the revolution, see John Heidenry, *What Wild Ecstasy: The Rise and Fall of the Sexual Revolution* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); and for a condemnation of it, see E. Michael Jones, *Libido Dominandi: Sexual Liberation and Political Control* (South Bend: St. Augustine's Press, 2000). However, the secondary scholarship on the "sexual revolution" over the past half century has been quite weak. One is better off reading the quite distinct contemporaneous accounts that were given, such as Edward M. Brecher, *The Sex Researchers* (Boston: Little Brown, 1969); *The New Sexual Revolution*, ed. Lester A. Kirkendall and Robert N. Whitehurst (New York: D.W. Brown, 1971); *The Sociology of Sex: An Introductory Reader*, ed. James M. Henslin and Edward Sagarin (New York: Schocken Books, 1971; repr. 1978); Graham Heath, *The Illusory Freedom: The Intellectual Origins and Social Consequences of the Sexual "Revolution"* (London: William Heinemann Medical Books Ltd, 1978); George F. Gilder, *Sexual Suicide* (New York: Quadrangle, 1973); and Patricia Cayo Sexton, *The Feminized Male: Classrooms, White Collars, and the Decline of Manliness* (New York: Random House, 1969).

13 Rachel Middleman, *Radical Eroticism: Women, Art, and Sex in the 1960s* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 1, 12, 17–29, 118–26.

14 See Andrew Horrall, "'Adult Viewing Only': Dorothy Cameron's 1965 Trial for Exhibiting Obscene Pictures," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 34, no. 1 (2013): 56–83; Lise Lamarche, "Des sculptures intolérables," *Espace Sculpture* 5, no. 3 (Spring 1989): 8–10.

15 For historical accounts of the growth of birth control and sexual reform in Canada that document its evolution from eugenics proposals and in service of the maintenance of an expanding urban bourgeoisie, see Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880–1980* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986); Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990); and Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877–1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

16 Georges Bataille, *Œuvres complètes*, X (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1987), 17. For Bataille's apprehension about the sexual revolution, see Octavio Paz, *An Erotic Beyond: Sade*, trans. Eliot Weinberger (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998), 69–70.

17 Lisa Lapierre, "Le Marquis de Sade crée des troubles chez nos étudiants," *Photo-Journal*, week of April 3–10, 1968, 16.

18 Lapierre, "Le Marquis de Sade crée des troubles chez nos étudiants," 16.

19 Mordecai Richler, *Cocksure* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976), 109–12.

20 See Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 56–83, notably 74–81.

21 Laurent-Michel Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec* (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1975), 33.

22 André G. Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature: History of a Cultural Revolution*, trans. Mark Czarnecki (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 140.

23 Claude Gauvreau, "Épopée automatiste," *La Barre du jour: Les automatistes*, January–August 1969, 68.

24 I use the term "genre" in the sense that it is commonly employed in literary and film studies. Particularly in film, evolving from the work of Lawrence Alloway, among others, genre designates a set of common iconographies, stereotypes, and audience expectations and exists less because of the definitions imposed by artists or critics, than as (and through) institutions. Genres, as such, are not limited by medium, but are materially heterogeneous, employing an ever-increasing array of tropes and strategies alongside models that are, to a substantial degree, industrially determined and historically contingent. They employ predictable (but not fixed) discursive norms while playing on fairly well-established sets of conventions. For discussions of this, see Steve Neale, *Genre and Hollywood* (London: Routledge, 2000), particularly 6–43; and Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: British Film Institute, 1999).

25 For arguments on the administerial definition of art, see George Dickie's *Art and the Aesthetic: An Institutional Analysis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974) and *The Art Circle: A Theory of Art* (New York: Haven, 1984), and debates in the collection *Institutions of Art: Reconsiderations of George Dickie's Philosophy*, ed. Robert J. Yanal (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994). In this respect it is useful to contrast the interpretation of contemporary art in Québec from the administerial position given in Rose-Marie Arbour's *L'Art qui nous est contemporain* (Montréal: Éditions Artextes, 1999) to the far broader and less institutionally limited survey of contemporaneous art provided by Guy Robert in *Art actuel au Québec: Depuis 1970* (Montréal: Iconia, 1983). For a roughly contemporaneous justification for the role of the artist as bureaucrat and the rationalization of the state's "democratization of culture," see the collection *From Sea to Shining Sea*, ed. AA Bronson (Toronto: The Power Plant, 1987).

26 For example, Hans-Jürgen Döpp's histories, oriented toward a popular market, tend to be constructed around the idea of particular cities as erotic centres or on eroticism dedicated to specific acts or body parts. See *Paris Éros: Le Musée imaginaire de l'érotisme* (New York: Parkstone Press, 2004); *Le musée érotique de Berlin* (New York: Parkstone, 2000); and *L'Éloge de la fesse* (New York: Parkstone Press International, 2010). The conflation of prostitution as an artform with erotic art is also present in Ferdinand M. Bertholet's *Concubines and Courtesans: Women in Chinese Erotic Art: Ferry M. Bertholet Collection* (Munich: Prestel, 2011). The blurring of bodily practice and representational material is also a major feature of anti-pornography feminist thought, such as Andrea Dworkin's *Pornography: Men Possessing Women* (London: Plume Books, 1989).

27 Johanne Lamoureux, *Profession, historienne de l'art* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2007), 9.

28 Lamoureux, *Profession, historienne de l'art*, 53–66.

29 Boris Groys, *Art Power* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 95.

30 Reinhart Koselleck, "On the Need for Theory in the Discipline of History," in *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 1–19.

31 *The Sixties: Passion, Politics, and Style*, ed. Dimitry Anastakis (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008); *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping*

of Global Consciousness, ed. Karen Dubinsky, Catherine Krull, Susan Lord, Sean Mills, and Scott Rutherford (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009); *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, ed. Gregory S. Kealy, Lara Campbell, and Dominique Clément (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). François Ricard's *La Génération lyrique: Essai sur la vie et l'oeuvre des premiers-nés du baby-boom* (Montréal: Boréal, 1992) provides a more sobering and skeptical account of the period. In this vein, see also Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). For accounts of the careers of leftist activists in the university and civil service in the period, see Jean-Philippe Warren's *Une douce anarchie: Les années 68 au Québec* (Montréal: Boréal, 2008) and *Ils voulaient changer le monde: Le Militantisme marxiste-léniniste au Québec* (Montréal: VLB, 2007).

32 Normand Thériault, "QUÉBEC 75: Une strategie," *Parachute*, October–November–December, 1975, 5.

33 Normand Thériault and Claude de Guise, *Québec 75/Arts* (Montréal: Institut d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1975), 8.

34 Guy Durand, "Aurora boréalis: Une idée d'art," *Inter*, no. 29 (Autumn 1985), 12.

35 Patricia Smart, *Les Femmes du Refus global* (Montréal: Boréal, 1998) and *Desire Change: Contemporary Feminist Art in Canada*, ed. Heather Davis (Montréal and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press and Mentoring Artists for Women's Art, 2017). In the latter collection, which primarily concerns the period after mine, Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson interpret the string of feminist exhibitions I address in the last chapter as an instance of "deterritorialization," but this seems basically upside-down, since it involved the expansion of the state as patron and pedagogue rather than any significant expansion or innovation in art. In other words, the exhibitions were intrinsically bound to the territorialization of the Liberal state apparatus, a process that could be described realistically less as liberatory than colonizing. See Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson, "A Past as Rich as Our Futures Allow: A Geneaology of Feminist Art in Canada," in *Desire Change*, 25–30.

36 This is not surprising given that scholarly work in the country has marginalized eroticism, largely by stressing the sociocultural model of sexuality instead. Of the 1,765 works listed in the index of Diane E. Peters's *Canadian Art and Architecture: An Annotated Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations* (Oxford, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003), covering 1929–99, there were 137 listings for women's art and artists, six listings for feminist art and theory, one listing for sexual intimacy, two listings for sexual abuse, forty-seven listings for sexual identity, and eleven listings for sex roles. There were no listings that directly dealt with eroticism. In the period since 2000, there has continued to be extensive writing on gender and a great deal more on sexual identity or queer issues, but eroticism, certainly as understood in this text, is effectively absent.

37 This is, for instance, the central claim of a text such as W.J.T. Mitchell's *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). This sort of logic underpins sociocultural interpretation in general.

38 Sophie Dubois, *Refus global: Histoire d'une réception partielle* (Montréal: Les presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2017).

39 Anithe de Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture: Création collective underground au Québec* (Saint-Joseph-du-Lac: M éditeur, 2015).

40 *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La Reconnaissance de la modernité*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1993) and *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: L'Éclatement du modernisme*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1997).

41 Yves Robillard's *Québec underground: 1962–1972* (Montréal: Les Éditions Médiart, 1973).

42 See Ross Higgins and Line Chamberland, "Mixed Messages: Gays and Lesbians in Montréal Yellow Papers in the 1950s," in *The Challenge of Modernity: A Reader on Post-Confederation Canada*, ed. Ian McKay (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), 422–31. For the latter, see Vivian Namaste, *Imprimés interdits: La Censure des journaux jaunes au Québec, 1955–1975* (Québec: Septentrion, 2017).

43 Maurice Cowling, *The Impact of Hitler: British Politics and British Policy, 1933–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), ix.

44 In this respect, what I am seeking to do is irreconcilable to the work of someone like Thomas Waugh. In his body of work, Waugh has generally defined eroticism this way: "By the erotic, I mean a whole range of cultural practices that turn us on. All have in common the intent and/or the effect of arousal, and/or the articulation or description of sexual behaviors and/or objects." *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from their Beginnings to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 6. This has then been described and situated within an activist/moralist set of frameworks that reproduce the cultural logic of the Liberal government. For a statement of this bias, see the introduction of his *The Romance of Transgression in Canada: Queering Sexualities, Nations, Cinemas* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006). The third chapter of that text has the most overlap with the material discussed here. Waugh's *Montreal Main: A Queer Film Classic* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2010), written with Jason Garrison, also directly overlaps in period. In all three cases, Waugh's work is essentially concerned with mapping out the fluctuations of desire through representations and indexing them to a set of political and cultural metanarratives in order to interpellate subjects.

45 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 1989), 156.

46 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 156.

47 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 123.

48 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 125.

49 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 124.

50 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 192.

51 Thierry de Duve, *Kant after Duchamp* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), xiv.

52 Mark Hobart, *After Culture: Anthropology as Radical Metaphysical Critique* (Yogyakarta: Duta Wakana University Press, 2000), 3, 18, 30.

53 Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1976; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), xxiii–xxvi, 49–54.

54 Hobart, *After Culture*, 5, 19.
55 Hobart, *After Culture*, 27.
56 Hobart, *After Culture*, 45.
57 Hobart, *After Culture*, 20–24. Usually, culture has something to do with what went under the heading of *Geist* for German Idealism and relying on "close, self-confirming" presuppositions. Hobart, *After Culture*, 5. For a reasonable (if very condensed) discussion of the extreme epistemic problems that have occurred in the interdisciplinary attempt to rescue the hypothetical merits of the concepts culture, the social, and power, particularly by trying to use narrative to resurrect them, see Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt's "Introduction" to *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, ed. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 1–32. For surveys of the debates on the merits of the social and cultural hypotheses, see the collections, *Historiography: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies, Vol. 2: Society*, ed. Robert M. Burns (London: Routledge, 2006) and *Historiography: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies, Vol. 4: Culture*, ed. Robert M. Burns (London: Routledge, 2006). The introductions to both volumes are particularly withering in their estimation of the positive value these concepts have had for historiography. See the first chapter of Gillian Rose's *Hegel Contra Sociology* (London: Athlone, 1981) for a rigorous examination of the ways in which the sociological hypothesis is an a priori that relies on absurd circularity and is clearly empirically untenable and underivable. For an argument against the application of social theory to history, see Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*, trans. Mina Moore-Rinvolucri (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), 263–89. For a creative, but non-rigorous, examination of the inevitably magical and fetishistic reasoning behind defending the sociological hypothesis, see Michael Taussig, "Maleficium: State Fetishism," in *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, ed. Emily Apter and William Pietz (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 217–47. And for a rigorous theological demolition of the foundational claims of sociology, see John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 49–256. For a study of the implosion of the theoretical viability of the culture concept in anthropology, see Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
58 Hobart, *After Culture*, 25.
59 Hobart, *After Culture*, 12, 27.
60 Hobart, *After Culture*, 51.
61 Mark Hobart, "Meaning or Moaning? An Ethnographic Note on a Little-Understood Tribe," in *Semantic Anthropology*, ed. D.J. Parkin (London: Academic Press, 1982), 58.
62 Roy Wagner, *The Invention of Culture*, revised and expanded edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975; repr., 1981), 12–14.
63 In this respect, its centrality in discussions of relativism is clear. For an argument in favour of relativism, see Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *Scandalous Knowledge: Science, Truth and the Human* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press,

2005); for counterarguments, see Paul A. Boghossian, *Fear of Knowledge: Against Relativism and Constructivism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006).

64 William H. Dray, *On History and Philosophers of History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 68.

65 Dray, *On History and Philosophers of History*, 70–72.

66 *Livre blanc* (Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Novembre 1965), 3.

67 *Livre blanc*, 7.

68 *Livre blanc*, 15.

69 *Livre blanc*, 16–19.

70 *Livre blanc*, 20.

71 Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture*, 43, 127.

72 Carvalho, *Art rebelle et contre-culture*, 196–98, 135.

73 Jeff Khonsary and Kristina Lee Podesva, "Introduction," in *Folio Series: Institutions by Artists*, Volume One, ed. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina Lee Podesva (Vancouver: Fillip, 2012), 13. This notion of deterritorialization is also pivotal to the narrative constructed in *Desire Change*, as noted above. However, in both cases, this strikes me as fundamentally false. This is not despite their politics but, at least in part, because of them. Deleuze and Guattari are explicit in linking bureaucratization to reterritorialization, a process that runs strictly against the abstract machine that deals only with matters and functions ("traits") and which expresses nothing. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980; repr., 1987), 89, 141–42. What histories like theirs have demonstrated, along with Monica Gattinger and Clive Robertson (see below), if not necessarily conceded, has been the state's reterritorialization of art, its indexing to territorial signs, icons, and regimes of representation, and the role of artists as its apparently mystified magistrates. For how this played out within the province and how rapidly the art supported by the parallel system became a series of standardized clichés operating as part of the ideological management of an expansive bureaucracy, see Guy Sioui Durand, *L'Art comme alternative: Réseaux et pratiques d'art parallèle au Québec 1976–1996* (Québec: Inter éditeur, 1997).

74 Clive Robertson, *Policy Matters: Administrations of Art and Culture* (Toronto: YYZ Books, 2006), iv.

75 The development of this representational model, the stress on thematism over form and discipline, and the functionalization of the arts as a service industry is one of the underlying topics of Monica Gattinger's *The Roots of Culture, The Power of Art: The First Sixty Years of the Canada Council for the Arts* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), notably 137–66.

76 This can be read in the same terms as the notion of city as medium that I discuss in chapter three.

77 Kenneth McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for Canadian Unity* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 33, 59.

78 McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada*, 71.

79 McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada*, 76.

80 McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada*, 63.
81 Marcel Rioux, *La Question du Québec* (Paris: Seghers, 1971), 137–38.
82 Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *Federalism and the French Canadians* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977), 196. For a discussion of Trudeau's passionate functionalism as a model for governance, see Matthew Purvis, "John Boyle, Greg Curnoe, and Joyce Wieland: Erotic Art and English Canadian Nationalism" (PhD. diss., Carleton University, 2020), 82–91.
83 Catherine Millet, *Contemporary Art in France*, trans. Charles Penwarden (Paris: Flammarion, 2006), 75. Originally published in French by Flammarion in 1987 as *L'Art contemporain en France*.
84 Jacques de Roussan, *Le Nu dans l'art au Québec* (LaPrairie: Éditions M. Broquet, 1982), 7. For other histories of the nude, see Jerrold A. Morris, *The Nude in Canadian Painting* (Toronto: New Press, 1972); Michèle Grandbois, Anna Hudson, and Esther Trépanier, *The Nude in Modern Canadian Art, 1920–1950* (Paris and Québec: Somogy éditions d'art and Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, 2009); and Devon Smither, "Identity Crisis: The Nude in 1930s Modern Canadian Art" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2010).
85 Scott Symons, *Heritage: A Romantic Look at Early Canadian Furniture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971). Unlike the novels of his that preceded it (discussed in the final chapter), Symons is not as explicit in this text in connecting eroticism to objects, but his Worringerian approach to art history and his stress on the "bodily" and "fleshly" expressionism of furniture combined with his well-documented insistence on the libidinal nature of faith would have made this connection obvious to his contemporaries. Aside from a few short catalogues dating from later in the decade for specific Ontario artists (Dennis Burton, Harold Town, Joyce Wieland, Graham Coughtry) who made some erotic art, the other closest thing to a work of erotic art history in the 1970s had no actual narrative or analysis, and consisted almost entirely of lists and decontextualized photos and cartoons. See Christopher Ondaatje and Jeremy Brown, *The First Original Unexpurgated Canadian Book of Sex and Adventure* (Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1979).
86 Arnold Rockman, "Reflections on the Erotic in Art," *Canadian Art*, September/October 1965, 35; Dennis Burton, "Notebook #A," Dennis Burton Fonds, Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, n.p.; Dennis Burton, "Notebook '68 vol. II," Dennis Burton Fonds, 34–35, 83–101.
87 For the classic account of the nude as a genre, see Kenneth Clark's *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1956). For influential accounts of the longer history of erotic art from the period, see Philip Rawson's *Primitive Erotic Art* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); *Erotic Art of the East: The Sexual Theme in Oriental Painting and Sculpture* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); and *The Art of Tantra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978).
88 Jacques Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution: Essai d'interprétation* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1970), 15.
89 Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution*, 93.
90 Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution*, 95.
91 Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution*, 95.

92 Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution*, 96.
93 Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution*, 98.
94 Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution*, 113 (my emphasis).
95 Claude St-Laurent, "Érotisme et la société de consummation sexuelle," *Maintenant*, no. 99 (October 1970): 264.
96 St-Laurent, "Érotisme et la société de consummation sexuelle," 265.
97 St-Laurent, "Érotisme et la société de consummation sexuelle," 266.
98 St-Laurent, "Érotisme et la société de consummation sexuelle," 268.
99 Marcel Marcotte, "Art érotique et bien commun," *Relations*, July–August 1970, 215.
100 Marcotte, "Art érotique et bien commun," 216.
101 Marcel Marcotte, "Face à l'érotisme: L'Artiste et sa conscience," *Relations*, June 1971, 182. He praises Proust's *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (1921) as a triumph of such an art. See also Marcel Marcotte, "Érotisme, morale et esthétique," *Relations*, April 1970, 110–13.
102 André Major, Naïm Kattan, Claire Martin, and Gérard Bessette, "Une question, des réponses," *Liberté* 9, no. 6 (1967): 37.
103 Major et al, "Une question, des réponses," 30.
104 Major et al, "Une question, des réponses," 31.
105 Jacques Brault, "A n'en plus finir," *Liberté* 9, no. 6 (1967): 5.
106 Brault, "A n'en plus finir," 5.
107 Brault, "A n'en plus finir," 6.
108 Major et al., "Une question, des réponses," 33.
109 Major et al., "Une question, des réponses," 33.
110 Michèle Lalonde, "Parole donnée," *Liberté* 9, no. 6 (1967): 45.
111 Lalonde, "Parole donnée," 45.
112 Lalonde, "Parole donnée," 46.
113 Lalonde, "Parole donnée," 47.
114 Lalonde, "Parole donnée," 48.
115 Julien Bigras, "Éros et la transgression," *Liberté* 9 no. 6 (1967): 50.
116 Bigras, "Éros et la transgression," 50.
117 Bigras, "Éros et la transgression," 52.
118 Bigras, "Éros et la transgression," 53–54.
119 Major et al., "Une question, des réponses," 34.
120 Their extensive correspondence has also been published. See Claude Gauvreau and Jean-Claude Dussault, *Correspondance 1949–1950* (Montréal: L'Hexagone, 1993). His poetic and intellectual investigations were soon supplemented by a growing fascination with Hinduism which would take priority. André G. Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature: History of a Cultural Revolution*, trans. Mark Czarnecki (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 216–17. Within a few years, he had become increasingly critical of the claims of his Automatist associates, even if his stance was not publicized until decades later. Primarily, he advocated for more traditional art, such as that associated with Tantra and Islam, since it offered a symbolic dimension he held essential while the Automatists relied on a repetitive and often tedious recording of the machinations of the body which remained subservient to the unconscious.

Jean-Claude Dussault and Gilles Toupin, *Éloge et process de l'art modern: Essai* (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1979), 55.

121 Jean-Claude Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir* (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1968), 13.
122 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 15.
123 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 17.
124 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 18.
125 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 23.
126 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 39.
127 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 42.
128 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 67.
129 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 71.
130 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 76.
131 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 62–65.
132 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 52.
133 Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir*, 88.

CHAPTER ONE

1 For a popular recent account of this broad phenomenon, see Mark Kurlansky *1968: The Year That Rocked the World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003). For more academic evaluations (among many), see *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and *Reframing 1968: American Politics, Protest and Identity*, ed. Martin Halliwell and Nick Witham (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022); and for a little appropriate Canadian irony, see Pierre Berton's *1967: The Last Good Year* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1997).
2 For a brief account, see Anithe de Carvalho, "L'Occupation de l'École des beaux-arts de Montréal en 1968: Pis après? Pis maintenant?," *Inter*, no. 129, (2018): 36–39. For a broader recounting of the historical moment, see *Déclics, art et société: Le Québec des années 1960 et 1970*, ed. Marie-Charlotte De Koninck and Pierre Landry (Québec: Musée de la civilisation; Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal: Fides, 1999).
3 Michel Roy, "Artiste et société: professionnalisation ou action politique," in *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: L'Éclatement du modernisme*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1997), 365.
4 Roy, "Artiste et société," 366.
5 Roy, "Artiste et société," 371.
6 Roy, "Artiste et société," 375; Jean Royer, "Vers des 'Assises Générales du Front Commun des Artistes et des Créateurs,'" *L'Action*, March 18, 1969, 1.
7 Roy, "Artiste et société," 394. *La Presse* defined them as "a movement supported by the executives of the Association des Sculpteurs du Québec and the Société des Artistes professionnels du Québec, and by many independent artists from the world of theatre, poetry, painting and sculpture, is intended to be an opportunity for all artists to discuss their situation as members of the 'Québec community' and to develop 'realistic policies for the real participation of

art in society.'" In practice, this began with the construction of a "collective erection" at the Bibliothèque nationale, symbolic repository for the preservation and reproduction of the province's culture. Anon, "'Opération Déclic' aujourd'hui," *La Presse*, November 7, 1968, 30.

8 Gilbert David, "Place à l'orgasme: 1968," *Jeu*, no. 7 (1978): 7.

9 The chevaliers were regarded as a symbol of political, religious and economic power. See *Québec underground: 1962–1972—Tome 1*, ed. Yves Robillard (Montréal: Les Éditions Médiart, 1973), 384.

10 Robillard, *Québec underground*, 381

11 David, "Place à l'orgasme: 1968," 8.

12 André-G. Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature: History of a Cultural Revolution*, trans. Mark Czarnecki (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 225.

13 Louis-Bernard Robitaille, "Investiture trouble par un 'happening' en l'église Notre-Dame," *La Presse*, December 9, 1968, 3. The newspaper article placed "social" in scare quotes.

14 Robillard, *Québec underground*, 380.

15 David, "Place à l'orgasme: 1968," 7.

16 Claude Gauvreau, "15 février 1969," *Liberté* 10, no. 7 (1969): 97. It is unclear if he would have extended this celebratory declaration toward the nu-ins organized by hippies at the same time and celebrated by the tabloids. For example, see Anon, "Un candidat hippie organize un nu-in," *Jeux d'hommes* 4, no. 7 (July 1969), 7. All the same, school instructor Paradis and Groupe Zéro went on to collaborate with the staging of Gauvreau's play *La Charge de l'orignal épormyable* at Gesù in 1970. Michel Vaïs, "Bloc-notes," *Jeu*, no. 74 (1995): 189.

17 Vaïs, "Bloc-notes," 189.

18 See *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, ed. Jennifer Mundy, Vincent Gille, and Dawn Ades (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 284.

19 Jean-Marie Apostolidès, "Ceci est mon corps ou L'exécution du testament du marquis de Sade," *L'Annuaire théâtral*, no. 41 (2007): 89.

20 Apostolidès, "Ceci est mon corps ou L'exécution du testament du marquis de Sade," 92, 97.

21 "In all the time I've known Jean Benoît, I've never once seen him forget his sex." Annie Le Brun, *Jean Benoît* (Levallois-Perret Cedex: Fillipacchi, 1996), 8.

22 Le Brun, *Jean Benoît*, 8.

23 Le Brun, *Jean Benoît*, 9.

24 Alyce Mahon, "Staging Desire," in *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, ed. Jennifer Mundy, Vincent Gille, and Dawn Ades (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 285.

25 Danielle Lord, *Mimi Parent, Jean Benoît: Surréalistes* (Québec: Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, 2004), 55.

26 Germain Lefebvre, *Pellan, sa vie, son art, son temps* (Laprairie: Éditions M. Broquet, 1986), 112.

27 Lefebvre, *Pellan, sa vie, son art, son temps*, 112.

28 Jennifer Mundy, "Letters of Desire," in *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, ed. Jennifer Mundy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 11, 33–35.

29 Mundy, "Letters of Desire," 25.

30 Anna Balakian, *Surrealism: The Road to the Absolute* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Ltd., 1970), 129–39.
31 It is worth noting that, while Sade is frequently referenced by the Automatists, the former two are not.
32 Mundy, "Letters of Desire," 48.
33 Jean-Pierre de Villers, "Quarante ans de Surréalisme dans la peinture Québécoise," *Vie des arts* 31, no. 123 (June–Summer 1986): 46.
34 Tancrède Marsil, "Gauvreau automatiste," *Quartier Latin*, November 28, 1947, 5.
35 Ray Ellenwood, *Egregore: A History of the Montréal Automatist Movement* (Toronto: Exile Editions, 1992), 15.
36 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 3.
37 De Villers, "Quarante ans de Surréalisme dans la peinture Québécoise," 46.
38 Normand Biron, "Les Dessins de Pellan," *Vie des arts* 25, no. 102 (Spring 1981): 39–40.
39 Biron, "Les Dessins de Pellan," 41.
40 Robert Élie, *Borduas* (Montréal: L'Arbre, 1943), 6–9.
41 Élie, *Borduas*, 11.
42 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 170–71.
43 Gauvreau insisted, "I don't believe… (as Maurice Nadeau seems to imply) that surrealism was a more or less illegitimate, more or less mechanical, more or less inconsequential result of previous world crises. No. Here is what I myself think: world crises are the normal result of the disintegration of Christian mythology." Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature*, 143.
44 Claude Gauvreau, "L'Épopée automatiste," *La Barre de jour: Les Automatistes*, January–August, 1969, 95.
45 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 180–82.
46 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 188.
47 Patrick Waldberg, *Surrealism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965), 11.
48 André Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), 26. Celia Rabinovitch has suggested that this was part of a deliberate "scientism" by the group to give them "glamour" that echoed the practices of Madame Blavatzky and presaged those of Wilhelm Reich, but she does not address the clear role of humour in the proceedings. Celia Rabinovitch, "The Surreal and the Sacred: Archaic, Occult, and Daemonic Elements in Modern Art, 1914–1940" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1984), 189–92.
49 Anna Balakian, *André Breton: Magus of Surrealism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 27–44; Mark Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind: The Life of André Breton* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1995), 51–54, 193.
50 Tessel M. Bauduin, "The 'Continuing Misfortune' of Automatism in Early Surrealism," in "Occult Communications: On Instrumentation, Esotericism, and Epistemology," special issue, *communication* +1 4, no. 1 (September 2015): 8.
51 Bauduin, "The 'Continuing Misfortune' of Automatism in Early Surrealism," 10.
52 Bauduin, "The 'Continuing Misfortune' of Automatism in Early Surrealism," 8.

53 Jonathan Paul Eburne, *Surrealism and the Art of Crime* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 20–21.
54 Eburne, *Surrealism and the Art of Crime*, 25–27.
55 André Breton, *Nadja* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1928; repr., 1998), 161.
56 André Breton, "Surrealism and Painting," in *The Autobiography of Surrealism*, ed. Marcel Jean (New York: Viking Press, 1980), 198.
57 Philippe Soupault, "L'Ombre de l'Ombre," *Révolution surréaliste*, no. 1, December 1, 1924, 25.
58 Eburne, *Surrealism and the Art of Crime*, 9.
59 Paul-Émile Borduas, *Écrits I*, ed. André-G. Bourassa, Jean Fisette, and Gilles Lapointe (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1987), 305.
60 See Borduas, *Écrits I*, 203, 306. He stressed this reading as a search for mystery through strange and disconcerting concatenations of elements. For the original passage, see Leonardo da Vinci, *A Treatise on Painting*, trans. John Francis Rigaud (London: J. Taylor, 1802), 199.
61 Da Vinci was also well-known to instruct his students to take inspiration from the urine-soaked walls of alleyways. John Rublowsky, *Pop Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1965), 2.
62 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 300. Borduas objected to this term, preferring "lyrical abstraction" since it sounded prettier. Borduas, *Écrits I*, 522, n1.
63 For a detailed discussion of their co-evolution within, specifically, French theory and art history and the complicated ways they overlapped, see Diana Vlasie, "Invention du surréalisme et découverte critique du baroque" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal/ Université Paris Diderot Paris 7, 2013).
64 André-G. Bourassa, "Note sur Beauté baroque," in Claude Gauvreau, *Beauté baroque: Roman moniste* (Montréal: Éditions de l'Hexagon, 1992), 181.
65 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 360.
66 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 360.
67 Gauvreau, "L'Épopée automatiste," 61.
68 François-Marc Gagnon, *Chronique du mouvement automatiste québécois, 1941–1954* (Outremont: Lanctôt, 1998), 254.
69 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 461–62.
70 Reesa Greenberg, "Surrealism and Pellan: L'Amour Fou," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 1, no. 2 (1974): 1–11.
71 Eve-Lyne Beaudry, "L'Aventure surréaliste," in *Alfred Pellan: Le Rêveur éveillé* (Québec: Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, 2014), 103.
72 Donald W. Buchanan, *Alfred Pellan* (Ottawa: Society for Art Publications/ McClelland and Stewart, 1962), 4.
73 According to Pellan, "Surrealism aims to create a poetic, limitless, never-before-seen world. Something had to be invented, a different world. Ernst and Dalí did it. I like surrealism as long as it's healthy. I have an innate fear of morbid or psychotic surrealism. It's true that Dalí created a different world, but I'm not sure it's a healthy one." "La Queue de la comète—Alfred Pellan: Témoin du surréalism," *Vie des arts*, no. 80 (1975): 20.
74 Germain Lefebvre, *Pellan: Sa vie, son art, son temps* (LaPrairie: Éditions Marcel Broquet, 1986), 176–78.

75 Lefebvre, *Pellan*, 178.
76 Salvador Dalí, *The Conquest of the Irrational*, trans. David Gascoyne (New York: Julie Levy, 1935), 13.
77 Dalí, *The Conquest of the Irrational*, 14.
78 Gilles Neret and Robert Descharnes, *Salvador Dalí, 1904–1989*, trans. Michael Hulse (Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1989), 104.
79 Neret and Descharnes, *Salvador Dalí*, 101–106.
80 Dalí, *The Conquest of the Irrational*, 19.
81 Neret and Descharnes, *Salvador Dalí*, 106.
82 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 359.
83 Amherst was renamed Rue Atateken by the city in August 2019.
84 Gagnon, *Chronique du mouvement automatiste québécois*, 262.
85 Gérard Pelletier, "L'Impossible dialogue," *Le Devoir*, November 20, 1948, 10.
86 Magdeleine Arbour, Marcel Barbeau, Paul-Emile Borduas, Bruno Cormier, Claude Gauvreau, Pierre Gauvreau, Muriel Guilbault, Marcelle Ferron-Hamelin, Fernand Leduc, Thérèse Leduc, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Maurice Perron, Louis Renaud, Françoise Riopelle, Jean-Paul Riopelle, and Françoise Sullivan.
87 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 31–36.
88 Claude Gauvreau has talked of the largely depressive role that Nietzsche played for Borduas. Gauvreau, "L'Épopée automatiste," 86–87.
89 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 333–39.
90 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 340–41. The appeal to the authority of Sade and Pierre Mabille by Automatists was particularly difficult for Gérard Pelletier to endure, referring to the former as a psychopath and the latter as a mental mediocrity of no scientific value. Pelletier, "L'Impossible dialogue," 10.
91 Borduas, *Écrits I*, 343.
92 Borduas would clarify that, "The meaning of this global refusal has been distorted; it merely means refusing to accept the facile, refusing to conform. Besides, there's never really a global refusal—the tide isn't mine—it would have been much better to say global acceptance of life and its riches." Quoted in Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature*, 81.
93 For extensive discussions of this, see Patricia Smart, *Refus global: Genèse et métamorphoses d'un mythe fondateur* (Montréal: Programme d'études sur le Québec de l'Université McGill, 1998); and Sophie Dubois's account of the manifesto's reception, *Refus global: Histoire d'une réception partielle* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2017).
94 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, *La Ligne du risqué* (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH, 1977), 185–86.
95 Vadeboncoeur, *La Ligne du risqué*, 187–88.
96 See, in particular, the April 1966 issue of *Parti pris*. The connection between the partipristes and the legacy of Automatism will return in a later chapter.
97 Sophie Dubois, "Quand Refus global devient 'Refus global': Les conditions de la réception à la fin des années 1940," *Voix et Images* 41, no. 2 (Winter 2016): 99–100. The charge that they were not serious should not be surprising given that they identified themselves with the surrealists, although, unlike the verist

and even automatic work of the European surrealists, pictorial Automatism is remarkably devoid of much humour.

98 Dubois, "Quand Refus global devient 'Refus global,'" 101–103.

99 Gérard Pelletier, "Deux ages—deux manières," *Le Devoir*, September 25, 1948, 8.

100 Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature*, 160.

101 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 147.

102 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 154.

103 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 146; Hyacinthe-Marie Robillard, "La manifeste de nos surréalistes," *Notre Temps*, September 4, 1948, 4.

104 Gauvreau, "L'Épopée automatiste," 77.

105 L. Le Marchand, "Colin Martel, artiste satirique, expose une centaine de toiles 'à la manière de' pleines d'humour," *Photo-Journal*, May 20, 1948, 34.

106 *Le Canada*, September 13, 1948, 4; December 21, 1948, 4; and April 19, 1949, 4. For his account of his caricatures of the Automatists and Pellan, see LaPalme: *La Caricature et autres sujets serieux entretiens avec Jean-Francois Nadeau* (Montréal: L'hexagone, 1997), 100–105.

107 "Hair in the wind! Yes, ladies, in summer you can let your hair float in the breeze. Summer is the time to get back to nature, to freedom. So it's not the time for complicated, surrealist, or Automatist hairstyles. The freer our hair is, blurred like foliage, the prettier it looks, and the more men whistle in admiration, which, if they weren't so impolite, would fill us with happiness." Janette Bertrand, "Pour plaire aux hommes," *Photo-Journal*, August 9, 1951, 13.

108 "At the Automatistes ball (attended by 200 people, including Mme. Mousseau, dressed in a delicious costume), the police appeared at 2 a.m. and asked all the dancers to go home. The liquor law is the law." "Les Bruits de la ville," *Photo-Journal*, May 7, 1953, 4.

109 "We soon agreed, and we had to find a title for the exhibition; I suggested 'l'Exposition des Rebelles' (thinking of the men of action of 1837), and this label was adopted." Gauvreau, "L'Épopée automatiste," 83.

110 Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature*, 188.

111 Included were works by Maciej Babinski, Marcel Barbeau, Suzanne Barbeau, Robert Blair, Paul-Émile Borduas, Alan Cole, Hans Evkers, Paterson Ewen, Marcelle Ferron, Helen Jones, Frantz Laforest, Le Febure, Forrest McCarthy, Jean-Paul Mousseau, Robert Roussil, Claude Vermette, Pâquerette Villeneuve, and Andrew Zadorozny. Anon., "Dernier état du Salon des "Protestants," *Le Canada*, March 21, 1950, 2.

112 Claude Gauvreau, "L'Exposition des rebelles," *La Barre du jour: Les Automatistes*, January–August 1969, 105.

113 Claude Gauvreau, "L'Exposition des rebelles," 105.

114 Anon., "La Galère des 'Rebelles,'" *Le Devoir*, March 24, 1950, 4.

115 Claude Gauvreau, "Proclamation," *La Barre du jour: Les Automatistes*, January–August 1969, 107.

116 Anon., "Montréal double sa subvention au Musée des Beaux-Arts," *Le Devoir*, March 14, 1950, 1; Anon., "Un incident à l'ouverture du 67e Salon," *Le Canada*, March 14, 1950, 2.

117 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 216–17.

118 Gauvreau, "Proclamation," 107.
119 Scatology had been an established aspect of Gauvreau's rhetoric since at least the poetry collection *Étal mixte*, written between June 1950 and August 1951. It was not, however, published until 1968 and was only distributed in 1977.
120 André Breton, *Anthology of Black Humour*, trans. Mark Polizzotti (London: Telegram, 2009), n.p.
121 Breton, *Anthology of Black Humour*, n.p.
122 Breton, *Anthology of Black Humour*, n.p.
123 Breton, *Anthology of Black Humour*, n.p.
124 Jonathan Paul Eburne, *Surrealism and the Art of Crime* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 244.
125 This problematic will be transformed by other artists in subsequent chapters.
126 Eburne, *Surrealism and the Art of Crime*, 252–54.
127 Claude Gauvreau, "La Querelle des peintres La Matière chante (encore): Le Porte-parole des peintres abstraits répond aux attaques d'un figurat…" *L'Autorité*, May 15, 1954, 5.
128 Ellenwood, *Egregore*, 242.
129 Rudolphe de Repentingny, "Vitalité de l'art: La Matière chante," *La Presse*, April 24, 1954, 66.
130 Claude Gauvreau, "Le Salon du Printemps: Une exposition démoralisante: Claude Gauvreau répond au directeur du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal," *L'Autorité*, April 10, 1954, 7.
131 Claude Gauvreau, "Le Salon du Printemps est une démonstration senile," *L'Autorité*, March 13, 1954, 7.
132 Claude Picher, "Au bal de la matière qui chante, Ce ne sont pas toujours les mêmes qui dansant," *L'Autorité*, May 8, 1954, 4.
133 Picher, "Au bal de la matière qui chante," 4.
134 Gauvreau, "La Querelle des peintres La Matière chante (encore)," 7.
135 Claude Gauvreau, "'L'Exploration du dedans': Les Surrationnels se placent à l'avant-garde," *L'Autorité*, June 26, 1954, 5.
136 Gauvreau, "'L'Exploration du dedans,'" 5.
137 Gauvreau, "'L'Exploration du dedans,'" 5.
138 Gauvreau, "'L'Exploration du dedans,'" 5.
139 Claude Gauvreau, "Réponse de Claude Gauvreau à l'inquiétude de Gabriel La Salle," *L'Autorité*, May 22, 1954, 6.
140 Claude Picher, "La Part de 'l'intention' en peinture," *L'Autorité*, June 12, 1954, 6; Pierre Gélinas, "La Querelle des peintres deviant une querelle de mots," *L'Autorité*, June 12, 1954, 6.

CHAPTER TWO

1 See Fernande Saint-Martin's essay in *Danse dans la neige*, the album François Sullivan published in an edition of fifty copies ([Montréal:] S.l. Images Ouareau (1977), n.p.
2 *Danse dans la neige*, n.p.
3 *Danse dans la neige*, n.p.

4 In terms of film, see, for instance, Gilles Carle's erotic ruminations on the "schizophrenia" of the province, *La Tête de Normande St-Onge* (1975) and *L'Ange et la femme* (1977); Jean Pierre Lefebvre's ti-pop satire of the province's erotic cinema, *Q-Bec My Love* (1970); and Anne-Claire Poirier's feminist documentary on the shifting image of the province's women, *Les Filles du roy* (1974). In the visual arts, we will see these themes come up again directly in the form of various types of utopian and futurist fantasies that will be central to discussions in later chapters.

5 For a discussion of this genre in earlier painting in the country, see Michèle Grandbois, Anna Hudson, and Esther Trépanier, *Le Nu dans l'art moderne canadien, 1920–1950* (Paris and Québec: Somogy éditions d'art and Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, 2009), 134–64.

6 This dissolution was most famously present in the late, primarily black-and-white paintings of Borduas from around 1956–58.

7 Rose-Marie Arbour, "L'Apport des femmes peintres au courant post-automatiste: Une représentation critique (1955–1965)," in *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La Reconnaissance de la modernité*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1997), 25.

8 Arbour, "L'Apport des femmes peintres au courant post-automatiste," 32–66.

9 Arbour, "L'Apport des femmes peintres au courant post-automatiste," 49–51.

10 Patricia Smart, *Les Femmes du Refus global* (Montréal: Boréal, 1998), 70–71, 190, 293.

11 Smart, *Les Femmes du Refus global*, 69.

12 Smart, *Les Femmes du Refus global*, 91.

13 Smart, *Les Femmes du Refus global*, 96.

14 Smart, *Les Femmes du Refus global*, 72, 129.

15 Smart, *Les Femmes du Refus global*, 104–20. Beyond some of the theatrical works by Claude Gauvreau, examples of visual works that Smart highlights include Borduas's *1.46 ou La Fustigée* (1941–46), one of his rare mature figurative works, and one which can be read as suggesting sadomasochism (or, just as readily, textiles or tattooing), and Fernand Leduc's *Le Monstre* (1940), an early ink drawing of a fantastic landscape with an ambiguously sexed monster figure suggestive of both a dragon and a mermaid that is far closer to the imagery of Pellan than the non-representational work Leduc became known for.

16 John D. Hamilton, "Sculpture Is Seized by Police," *The Sherbrooke Daily Record*, November 11, 1949, 1.

17 Hamilton, "Sculpture Is Seized by Police."

18 Anon., "La Police a coffré cette statue," *Le Petit Journal*, November 13, 1949, 35. It offended the "British decency" of a woman who was "troublée dans sa biologie profonde." Guy Robert, *Robert Roussil: 18 novembre 1965–2 janvier 1966* (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain, 1965), 7.

19 Anon., "La Police a coffré cette statue," 35.

20 Anon., "La Statue soi-disant indécente, transportée, dévoilée et exposée," *Le Canada*, November 14, 1949, 3.

21 Anon., "La Police a coffré cette statue," 35.

22 Lisa Lamarche, "La Sculpture des Automatistes," *Espace Sculpture*, no. 25 (Autumn 1993): 24.
23 François Tétreau, *Roussil écarlate: Monographie* (Saint-Laurent: Éditions du Trécarré, 1996), 15.
24 Tétreau, *Roussil écarlate*, 15.
25 Anon., "Un procès en réhabilitation…artistique," *Le Canada*, February 18, 1950, 3; Anon., "Pour ou contre Robert Roussil," *Le Devoir*, February 18, 1950, 6.
26 Quoted in Thomas Mical, "Introduction," in *Surrealism and Architecture*, ed. Thomas Mical (New York: Routledge, 2005), 4.
27 Mical, "Introduction," 7–8.
28 Mical, "Introduction," 5.
29 Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: The Architectural Press, 1966), 17.
30 Moshe Safdie, *Beyond Habitat* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970), 11.
31 Safdie, *Beyond Habitat*, 143–48.
32 Safdie, *Beyond Habitat*, 118.
33 Safdie, *Beyond Habitat*, 149.
34 Solange Gangnon, "Invitation au voyage," *Photo-Journal*, week of June 21–23, 1967, 34.
35 "Les Constructions d'avant-garde réalisent en béton," *Architecture-Bâtiment-Construction*, May 1967, 38–39.
36 Jacques Varry, "Réflexions sur l'expo 67," *Architecture-Bâtiment-Construction*, June 1967, 17–18. In addition to the lifestyle angle, Safdie claimed that the originality of his modular structures was in the productive role played in them by the government, saying, "I am particularly happy that we had state sponsorship and not some eccentric millionaire." "Habitat 67: Jeu de blocs de 13 étages," *Perspectives*, March 25, 1967, 2–4. As such, it was an almost perfect formal translation of the passionate functionalism that was celebrated by the Trudeau regime as the future of Canada, one governed by the principles of cybernetics and technocracy.
37 Robert Roussil, *Manifeste de Roussil* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Jour, 1965), 35–44.
38 Andrée Paradis, "Roussil et la sculpture," *Vie des arts*, no. 7 (Summer 1957): 10.
39 Paradis, "Roussil et la sculpture," 12.
40 Paradis, "Roussil et la sculpture," 12. This would remain the basic caricature for the artist for well over a decade. For instance, in 1965, he was still "Roussil le bohéme! Roussil le révolutionnaire! Roussil le barbu!" Paul Gladu, "Roussil: 'Jen ai assez!' Nous partageons son avis," *Le Petit Journal*, week of November 31, 1965, 39.
41 *Québec underground: 1962–1972—Tome 1*, ed. Yves Robillard (Montréal: Les Éditions Médiart, 1973), 22.
42 Robert, *Robert Roussil*, 18.
43 Anon., "L'Habitation sculpture," *Habitat*, vol. 14, nos. 1–2 (1971): 4–5.
44 Anon., "L'Habitation sculpture," 6. "Peut-on s'imaginer avoir les fesses sur un morceau de formica?" (Can you imagine having your bottom on a piece of Formica?) The bilingual translation in the official document suggests "bum,"

however, in the slang of the time, *fesses* and *cul* tended to be used almost indistinguishably. The closest English equivalent is "ass" which can reference either the piece of anatomy or the act of sex.

45 "Les Sphères habitable de Robert Roussil," *Forces*, 1971, 27.

46 "Les Sphères habitable de Robert Roussil," 29.

47 Gilles Hénault, "Déclaration du sculpteur Roussil," *Vie des arts*, no. 58 (Spring 1970): 90.

48 "Les Sphères habitable de Robert Roussil," 28.

49 Robert, *Robert Roussil*, 44.

50 Laurent Lamy, "L'Habitation sculpture de Roussil," 6–11.

51 Jacques Lepage, "Roussil et le génie du lieu," *Vie des arts* 24, no. 98 (Spring 1980): 56–59.

52 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964; repr., Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 125.

53 Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *War and Peace in the Global Village* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), 46.

54 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 46.

55 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 46. Donald Theall has argued that McLuhan was not a theorist but a non-moral satirist of the Lewisean variety and a poetic thinker who provided a way to think about things and forms rather than content, a technique that McLuhan frequently praised in others such as Harold Innis. In a note to one of his interlocutors, McLuhan insisted, "I have no theories whatever about anything. I make observations by way of discovering contours, lines of force and pressures. I satirize at all times and my hyperboles are as nothing compared to the events to which they refer." Donald F. Theall, *The Medium Is the Rear-View Mirror: Understanding McLuhan* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971), 29, see also 40.

56 Robert Roussil, *Vers l'universalité le cul par terre* (Montréal: n.p., 1977), 55.

57 Noella Desjardins, "Et maintenant, le decor de science-fiction," *La Presse*, April 20, 1968, 24.

58 Desjardins, "Et maintenant, le decor de science-fiction," 26.

59 For fruitful recent analyses of these tendencies and some of the different ways they were being artistically evaluated, see Timothy Wientzen's *Automatic: Literary Modernism and the Politics of Reflex* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021); and Pamela M. Lee's *Think Tank Aesthetics: Midcentury Modernism, the Cold War, and the Neoliberal Present* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020).

60 Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *Trudeau en direct* (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1972), 82.

61 Trudeau, *Trudeau en direct*, 87–88.

62 Trudeau, *Trudeau en direct*, 87–88.

63 Trudeau, *Trudeau en direct*, 84.

64 Trudeau, *Trudeau en direct*, 84.

65 Jean A. Baudot, "Préface," in *La Machine à écrire: Mise en marche et programmée* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Jour, 1964), 10.

66 Jacques Godbout, "Partout les machines monotone," in *La Machine à écrire: Mise en marche et programmée* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Jour, 1964), 64.

67 For histories of the emergence of computer-generated art and the controversies it inspired, see Grant D. Taylor, *When the Machine Made Art: The Troubled History of Computer Art* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014) and *White Heat Cold Logic: British Computer Art 1960–1980,* ed. Paul Brown, Charlie Gere, Nicholas Lambert, and Catherine Mason (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

68 Yves Robillard, "L'Ordinateur au musée d'art," *La Presse*, December 16, 1967, 32.

69 Robillard, "L'Ordinateur au musée d'art," 32.

70 Don Bell, "Programmed Painting," *Toronto Telegram Weekend Magazine*, June 1, 1968, 26.

71 See the essays collected in *Reimagining Cinema: Film at Expo 67*, ed. Monika Gagnon and Janine Marchessault (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

72 Robillard, "Sculpture Québec," 26.

73 Yves Robillard, "Mousseau, discothèques et lieux multiples," *La Presse*, September 30, 1967, 38.

74 The anarchistic tendencies of the Automatists seem slightly odd in the context of interior design. Gagnon sheepishly asks if there might be some contradiction here, but there is not. Even Borduas had a long relationship with decoration, after all. He adds, "What Mousseau had discovered was the extraordinary decorative power of disorganization at work in his automatic drawings." Pierre Landry, Francine Couture, and François-Marc Gagnon, *Mousseau* (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal; Éditions du Méridien, 1996), 31. In an interview with Yves Robillard, Mousseau explained Crash and Mousse-Spacthèque in the context of experiments using the emotion, knowledge and the sensibility of the time. He notes that the discos are largely static and simply need people present in them to become animated. "Le Fonction de l'artiste: Mousseau parle de son art," in *Québec underground: 1962–1972—Tome 3*, ed. Yves Robillard (Montréal: Les Éditions Médiart, 1973), 27–28.

75 Anon., "Son et lumière à gogo," *Le Droit: Perspectives*, January 14, 1967, 10.

76 Ingrid Saumart, "L'Inventeur montréalais des discothèques prépare la suite," *La Presse*, February 20, 1969, 15.

77 Anon., "Son et lumière à gogo," 9–11; Rudel-Tessier, "Discothèques: Où? Quand? Comment? Pourquoi?," *La Presse*, February 20, 1969, 14.

78 Rudel-Tessier, "Discothèques," 14.

79 Anon., "Gilles Archambault fête ses quinze ans de discothèque," *Photo-Journal*, week of December 25–31, 1976, 7; Anon., "La Licorne double ses locaux," *Télé-radiomonde*, November 5, 1966, 19.

80 Yves Leclerc, "Ceux qui vont dans les discothèques et ceux qui les y reçoivent," *La Presse*, February 20, 1969, 16.

81 Anon., "Deux policiers lancent une discotheque," *Télé-radiomonde*, September 17, 1966, 19.

82 Judith Bradette Brassard, "Jean-Paul Mousseau artiste public: Étude de la station de métro Peel, de l'église Saint-Maurice-de-Duvernay et de la Mousse spacthèque de Montréal" (MA thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2008), 96–97.

83 Montréal's Mousse-Spacthèque (1966) was the original but other Québec versions opened in Alma and Varennes, as well as in Ontario, in Ottawa (in 1968) and Hull.
84 André G. Bourassa, "Jean-Paul Mousseau: Pour un nouvel espace scénique," *Études françaises* 34, nos. 2–3 (1998): 125–39.
85 "Le Fonction de l'artiste: Mousseau parle de son art," 27–28.
86 "Le Fonction de l'artiste: Mousseau parle de son art," 27–28.
87 "Le Fonction de l'artiste: Mousseau parle de son art," 27–28.
88 Anithe de Carvalho, "La Fin du mythe de l'art underground: Le Crash de Jean-Paul Mousseau et le modelé de la démocratie culturelle," in *La Contre-culture au Québec*, ed. Karim Larose and Frédéric Rondeau (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2016), 320.
89 Brassard, "Jean-Paul Mousseau artiste public," 104.
90 Brassard, "Jean-Paul Mousseau artiste public," 103.
91 Brassard, "Jean-Paul Mousseau artiste public," 106.
92 De Carvalho explains this as "the manifestation and autonomous expression of the individual." Carvalho, "La Fin du mythe de l'art underground," 323.
93 Carvalho, "La Fin du mythe de l'art underground," 332.
94 Carvalho, "La Fin du mythe de l'art underground," 324.
95 Carvalho, "La Fin du mythe de l'art underground," 324; Brassard, "Jean-Paul Mousseau artiste public," 103.
96 Carvalho, "La Fin du mythe de l'art underground," 324.
97 Salvador Dalí, *The Conquest of the Irrational*, trans. David Gascoyne (New York: Julie Levy, 1935), 13.
98 Anon., "Son et lumière à gogo," 10.
99 Anon., "La Mousse-Spacthèque disparaît et cède la place au Ève-club," *Télé-radiomonde*, July 11, 1970, 11.
100 Anon., "Chantal Pary inaugure la 'Sexetheque,'" *Télé-radiomonde*, June 14, 1969, 38.
101 Betty Shapiro, "Erotica: Exotic or Clinical, Take Your Pick," *The Gazette*, December 2, 1972, 13.
102 Anon., "La Discothèque du Club Playboy est ouverte," *Télé-radiomonde*, November 29, 1969, 18.
103 Jay Newquist, "Discotheques Dead? Somebody Forgot to Bury Them," *Montreal Gazette*, November 6, 1971, 45.
104 Newquist, "Discotheques Dead?," 45.
105 Moune Victor, "Robert La Palme: On pense que…mais on s'trompe!," *Photo-Journal*, week of July 5–11, 1971, 7.
106 Micheline Lachance-Handfield, "Une nouvelle discothèque au goût du jour: La 'Sexe-machine,'" *Québec-Presse*, July 11, 1971, 22; see also Rudel-Tessier, "Erotisme artistique, discret, commercial," *La Presse*, February 24, 1972, C6.
107 Rudel-Tessier, "Erotisme artistique, discret, commercial," C6.
108 Shapiro, "Erotica: Exotic or Clinical, Take Your Pick," 13.
109 Shapiro, "Erotica: Exotic or Clinical, Take Your Pick," 13.
110 Louise Tasse, "À la Sexe-Machine: Les 'Jeunes' de 30–50 en révolution sexuelle pourront s'y défouler," *La Patrie*, week of August 8, 1971, 10.

111 Shapiro, "Erotica: Exotic or Clinical, Take Your Pick," 13.
112 For examples of this, see Roxanne Arsenault and Caroline Dubuc's *Kitsch QC* (Saint-Léonard: Fides, 2021).
113 Anon., "La Sexe-Machine surréaliste," *Le Petit Journal*, week of June 9–14, 1972, 3.
114 Anon., "La Sexe-Machine à Québec," *Photo-Journal*, week of July 26–August 1, 1971, 33.
115 Anon., "Une deuxieme 'Sexe Machine' ouvrira à Paris," *Télé-radiomonde*, March 25, 1972, 4; Anon., "Les Français, les anglais et les italiens veulent leur Sexe Machine," *Télé-radiomonde*, March 4, 1972, 12.
116 Anon., "Élaine Bédard présente un defile de mode à La Sexe-Machine," *Télé-radiomonde*, May 6, 1972, 28.
117 Colette Chabot, "À la Sexe-Machine: on refuse des hommes!," *Télé-radiomonde*, October 27, 1973, 21.
118 Richard Kostelanetz, *The Theatre of Mixed Means: An Introduction to Happenings, Kinetic Environments, and Other Mixed-Means Performances* (London: Pitman Publishing, 1970), 3–5.
119 Kostelanetz, *The Theatre of Mixed Means*, 9.
120 Kostelanetz, *The Theatre of Mixed Means*, 26–27.
121 Kostelanetz, *The Theatre of Mixed Means*, 34. Michael Kirby has explained that, unlike in monistic Stanislavskian naturalism where there is no distinction between actor and character, or Brechtian dualism, where the distinction is stressed and made into a commentary, in the performances of a Happening there is only a concrete task. The performer is effectively a prop, and the imaginary is largely irrelevant. Michael Kirby, ed., *Happenings* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1965), 16–17.
122 Guy Sprung, "Maurice Demers and the Environmental Theatre," *The Montreal Star*, June 6, 1970, 12.
123 Sprung, "Maurice Demers and the Environmental Theatre," 12; Louise Tasse, "Le Concepteur Maurice Demers veut réunir toutes les formes d'art dans l'environment," *La Patrie*, week of September 19, 1971, 16.
124 Maurice Demers, "Réflexions sur le théâtre d'environnement," *Le Devoir*, January 9, 1971, 17.
125 Demers, "Réflexions sur le théâtre d'environnement," 17.
126 Demers, "Réflexions sur le théâtre d'environnement," 17.
127 Demers, "Réflexions sur le théâtre d'environnement," 17.
128 Demers, "Réflexions sur le théâtre d'environnement," 17.
129 See the programme for the performance of *Femme* at the National Arts Centre, which ran from April 8–24, 1971.
130 Anon., "A Theatre of the People," *The Montreal Star*, May 25, 1970, 22.
131 Anon., "A Theatre of the People," 22.
132 Marshall McLuhan, *From Cliché to Archetype* (New York: Viking Press, 1970), 3–10.
133 Yves Robillard, "De l'homme, des schémas et des machines," *La Presse*, November 4, 1967, 36.
134 Robillard, "De l'homme, des schémas et des machines." Robillard stressed the hesitation in the works to commit to any clear statement.

1 Will Straw, "'A City of Sin No More': Sanitizing Montréal in Print Culture, 1964–71," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 48, no. 1 (2014): 138.
2 Friedrich A. Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," trans. Matthew Griffin, in "Literature, Media, and the Law," special issue, *New Literary History* 27, no. 4 (Autumn 1996): 718.
3 Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 719–20.
4 Kittler, "The City Is a Medium," 722.
5 For a study of the street running through this discussion from a culturalist perspective, see Julie A. Podmore, "St. Lawrence Blvd. as 'Third City': Place, Gender, and Difference Along Montréal's 'Main'" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1999).
6 Aurora Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," *Space and Culture* 10, no. 3 (August 2007): 350. These were, she points out, generally ironic or parodic. Local Montréal papers appropriated models of girl watching from New York and played up the joke factor. Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," 355.
7 Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," 350.
8 Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," 357–58. Or more emphatically, she states, "But in girl watching, they are more than mere objects in the city—they are objects of the city, they are the city." Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," 364.
9 Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," 359. Debates over skirt lengths and the extent to which they sexually empowered women raged for the last years of the decade. Changes in skirts were welcomed by watcher, wearers, and reporters with new terms and categories to suit them in a set of faux sociological discourses. Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," 361.
10 Emily Kirkman suggests in her dissertation that the assumption of this identity also served as a means for young women to establish greater autonomy and express their subjectivity. Emily Kirkman, "Fashioning Identity: The Hostesses of Expo 67" (PhD diss., Concordia University, 2011), 3–4.
11 In 1979, artist Bé van der Heide, who worked with Atelier Graff and Galerie Powerhouse, "install[ed] cozy feet on the statue" but they were removed within minutes by security. Madeleine Dubuc, "Quand les artistes s'amusent parfois," *La Presse*, January 27, 1979, H1.
12 Anon., "Des formes féminines pour la Place Ville-Marie," *La Presse* July 5, 1972, E2. For Wallace, "Through its association with women, the city of Montréal itself was feminized, most overtly in official tourism literature. A landscape photo essay produced by the City of Montréal in 1966, titled 'She's a Flirt With Flowers in Her Hair' (p. 12) compared the gardens found throughout the city to flowers in a woman's hair. With its 'skyscrapers and other accoutrements of a modern commercial community,' Montréal 'should hardly qualify for description in terms of feminine beauty. Yet it has its feminine instincts, heightened by its Gallic character, which are expressed each spring.'" Wallace, "The Geography of Girl Watching in Postwar Montréal," 364.

13 Royal Bank of Canada, *A Conspectus of Canada* (Montréal: 1967), 20.
14 Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherdale, "Introduction," in *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–75*, ed. Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherdale (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 3.
15 Marcel Fournier, "A Society in Motion: The Quiet Revolution and the Rise of the Middle Class," in *The 60s: Montreal Thinks Big*, ed. André Lortie (Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2004), 31.
16 Fournier, "A Society in Motion," 32.
17 Françoise Gaudet-Smet, "La Chasse aux Bunnies," *La Presse*, June 21, 1967, 33.
18 Germain Tardif, "Mon œil sur Montréal," *La Presse*, January 18, 1973, A3.
19 Fournier, "A Society in Motion," 33.
20 Fournier, "A Society in Motion," 34.
21 Fournier, "A Society in Motion," 36 More accurately, this assessment was part of the self-mythologization of the new class. Michael Behiels, "Quebec: Social Transformation and Ideological Renewal, 1940–1976," in *Quebec Since 1945: Selected Readings*, ed. Michael D. Behiels (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1987), 39. Marc Renaud has argued that the development of postindustrial capitalism was unique in Québec because of the break from the Church and the massive expansion of the state as employer. Marc Renaud, "Quebec's New Middle Class in Search of Social Hegemony: Causes and Political Consequences," in *Quebec Since 1945: Selected Readings*, ed. Michael D. Behiels (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1987), 49. Unlike in English Canada, state expansion in Québec radically altered class relations, with the state serving as primary employer to those who graduated from its education industry and worked in the public sector. The ruling class remained mostly English or foreign and the new class did not own the means of production. Thus, the state simultaneously supported foreign ownership and employed a new class exploited by it. The middle class played a hegemonic role in social services, forming an elite group of technocrats in a "socialism by default," defaulted to by weak private economy. Renaud, "Quebec's New Middle Class in Search of Social Hegemony," 52–55.
22 Danielle Lacasse, "La Prostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945–1970" (PhD diss., University of Ottawa, 1991), 40.
23 Lacasse, "La Prostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945–1970," 48.
24 André Lortie, "Montréal 1960: The Singularities of a Metropolitan Archetype," in *The 60s: Montreal Thinks Big*, ed. André Lortie (Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2004), 76.
25 Lortie, "Montréal 1960," 76. Projections by the city that it would reach 4.8 million residents by 1981 fell significantly short, rising from 2.11 million in 1961 to only 3.3 million by 2000. Lortie, "Montréal 1960," 77.
26 Lortie, "Montréal 1960," 105.
27 Plans were to be extended by the equally symbolic Place de la Confédération. Lortie, "Montréal 1960," 101.
28 Marjorie Harris, "Montréal Style: Why It Swings," *Maclean's*, December 3, 1966, 21.
29 Anon., "The New Montréalers," *Maclean's*, December 3, 1966, 19.

30 Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 8.
31 Jean Drapeau, "Introduction," *Montreal '67* (August 1967) Magazine, n.p.
32 Gerard Clarkes, "Art and Architecture: A Difficult Marriage," *Engineering & Construction*, September 1967, 42.
33 Mathieu Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal: Les Campagnes de moralité publique, 1940–1954* (Québec: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2014), 288.
34 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 289–90.
35 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 313.
36 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 25–26, 36–38.
37 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 27–28.
38 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 30–31.
39 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 63.
40 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 67.
41 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 25.
42 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 292.
43 Lapointe, *Nettoyer Montréal*, 275–78, 288.
44 Both of these mythical ways of framing the province have received significant criticism since the turn of the century. For general assessments of the historiography of these constructions, see Gilles Paquet, *Oublier la Révolution tranquille: Pour une nouvelle socialité* (Montréal: Liber, 1999); and E.-Martin Meunier and Jean-Phillippe Warren, *Sortir de la 'Grande noirceur': L'Horizon 'personnaliste' de la Révolution tranquille* (Montréal: Septentrion, 2002); and Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931–1970* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005). Lise Bissonette has also noted an increasingly revisionist account of Québec's culture (literature, art, etc.) that suggests that the pre-Quiet Revolutionary period of the province was less backward than an alternative form of modernity with unique characteristics not in keeping with the norms of "progressive" ideals of development. See Lise Bissonette, "Le Québec et la modernité; Art, littérature, histoire: Essai de synthèse," in *La Révolution tranquille: 40 ans plus tard: Un bilan*, ed. Robert Comeau, Céline Métivier, and Yves Bélanger (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 2000), 301–308.
45 Conrad Black, *Duplessis* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 661–62.
46 Jake Austen, *TV-a-Go-Go: Rock on TV from American Bandstand to American Idol* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2005), ix–xii.
47 Anon., "Jenny Rock et la mode a go-go," *Télé-radiomonde*, March 26, 1966, 6.
48 Gérard-R. Arguin. "Ah! Les jeunes d'aujourd'hui!," *L'Action populaire*, April 27, 1966, 4.
49 Mamie, "La Plume et le plumeau," *Le Nouvelliste*, August 12, 1966, 7.
50 Anon., "Premier festival a go go," *L'Avenir du nord*, February 16, 1966, 12.
51 *Le Clairon Saint-Hyacinthe*, September 15, 1966, 2.
52 Anon., "Lions to bring summer festival to Shawville," *The Equity*, June 29, 1967, 1.
53 *La Presse*, November 29, 1968, 11.
54 Advertisement, *La Presse*, December 28, 1966, 55.

55 One-time Playboy Club bunny and actress Claudette DesRivières was credited with bringing the bottomless look to the city. An outfit that she designed was worn by Denise Bernatchez at discothèque Chez Pierre le Grand, resulting in obscenity charges in 1968. Anon., "Claudette Desrivières ne songe plus au theatre," *Télé-radiomonde*, September 2, 1967, 24; Lucien Rivard, "Début du procès d'une 'bottomless' toutes les causes reportées au 7 mai," *La Presse*, May 3, 1968, 3, 6; Pierre Nadeau, "La Créatrice du 'bottomless' se présente au concours de Mlle cinéma," *Télé-radiomonde*, January 3, 1970, 9.
56 Rachel Shteir, *Striptease: The Untold Story of the Girlie Show* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 124.
57 Shteir, *Striptease*, 317.
58 Shteir, *Striptease*, 256.
59 Lili St-Cyr, *Ma vie de stripteaseuse* (Montréal: Les éditions Québec-Livres, 2014), 164.
60 Shteir, *Striptease*, 260; Leslie Harter Zemeckis, *Goddess of Love Incarnate: The Life of Stripteuse Lili St. Cyr* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2015) 202, 208–10.
61 Céline Legare, "Les Hommes et le mythe de l'Eve éternelle," *La Patrie*, week of April 1–7, 1965, 17.
62 Maurice Chevalier, "On en parle à Montréal," *La Patrie*, November 26, 1961, 4.
63 Chantal Hébert, *Le Burlesque au Québec: Un Divertissement populaire* (La Salle: Hurtubise HMH, 1981), 104, 138–47.
64 Roland Côté, "Montréal mis a nu," *Le Petit Journal*, January 15, 1956, 77.
65 Yves LeClerc, "Les Deesses sont mortes!," *La Presse*, February 27, 1969, 15.
66 J.P. Sylvain, "Même à Montréal vive l'amour," *Télé-radiomonde*, March 26, 1966, 25.
67 Anon., "Accusation de spectacle indécent contre Lili St-Cyr," *La Presse*, February 21, 1967, 1, 2; CP, "Lili St-Cyr fera l'objet d'un proces-type," *La Nouvelliste*, February 22, 1967, 10.
68 Roger Newman, "Quebec: Will Naughty Entertainment Go for Naught During Expo?," *Globe and Mail*, March 25, 1967, 8.
69 Anon., "Quatre causes de danseuses 'topless' sont renvoyées," *La Presse*, February 1, 1968, 3.
70 Marcel Huguet, "La Triste histoire du strip-tease à l'Expo," *Photo-Journal*, week of May 3–10, 1967, 16.
71 Huguet, "La Triste histoire du strip-tease à l'Expo," 17.
72 Adrian Waller, "Montréal's Showgirls—They're Feeling the Pinch," *The Gazette*, May 8, 1971, 41.
73 Waller, "Montréal's Showgirls," 41.
74 Waller, "Montréal's Showgirls," 41.
75 LeClerc, "Les Déesses sont mortes!," 15.
76 Waller, "Montréal's Showgirls," 41; Ingrid Saumart, "Elle s'appelle Micheline. On dit d'elle: 'She's the body beautiful,'" *La Presse*, February 27, 1969, 16.
77 Rudel-Tessier, "'Il m'a vue nue archinue plus que nue…,'" *La Presse*, February 27, 1969, 14.
78 Anon., "Strip-tease surprise de Manda dans 'Ça parle aux cuisses,'" *Télé-radiomonde*, December 6, 1969, 25.

79 The era of male strippers would not arrive for a few years. Carmen Montessuit, "L'Homme stripper veut devenir le plus bel homme du Canada," *Photo-Journal*, week of January 26–February 1, 1975, 10.
80 Guy Tougas, "Meme si la cour superieure tolere le strip-tease total les policiers de Montréal continuent leur lutte contre le nu," *La Patrie*, week of July 13–19, 1975, 5.
81 Reuters, "From California to Japan, Bare Bosoms on the Way Out," *The Gazette*, October 22, 1969, 11.
82 Marilyn Beker, "Ever Wonder How a Mousketeer Became a Nude Singer?," *Montreal Gazette*, July 18, 1970, 39.
83 Pierre Nadeau, "Le Seul groupe de chanteuses-musiciennes 'topless' de passage à Montréal," *Télé-radiomonde*, August 30, 1969, 12. Les Hummingbirds from San Francisco played to capacity crowds at Café de l'Est for weeks.
84 John Kastner, "Toplessness Is on the Increase in Many Clubs and Bars," *The Sherbrooke Record*, September 4, 1970, 2.
85 P.T., "Waiters Facing Battle of the Bosom," *Sherbrooke Record*, June 7, 1971, 1. Managers insisted the employment woes were more due to seasonal issues. P.T., "Says Topless Waitresses Not Reason for Layoffs," *Sherbrooke Record*, June 9, 1971, 3.
86 *La Presse*, February 3, 1975, E3. Topless dancers could make as much or more. See, for example, Léonce Gaudreault, "L'Agence Paul Calcé ne tolérait pas de concurrence," *Le Soleil*, December 18, 1975, A7. Pierre-Marie Jacques, "$50,000 par année pour se mettre nue," *Le Petit Journal*, week of August 11–17, 1974, cover, 10–11, 15.
87 The Montréal Bureau of the *Globe and Mail*, "Morning Life Catching on in Montréal: Now It's the Bare Look with Breakfast," *Globe and Mail*, July 16, 1974, 1.
88 Tougas, "Meme si la cour superieure tolere le strip-tease total les policiers de montreal continuent leur lutte contre le nu," 5.
89 Anon., "La Police joue a cache-cache avec les danseuses nues," *Le Petit Journal*, week of July 27–August 2, 1975, 6–7.
90 Pierre-Marie Jacques, "La Moralité exige des culotte," *Le Petit Journal*, week of August 13–19, 1974, 13–14.
91 Jacques, "La Moralité exige des culotte," 14.
92 Marie-France Cléroux, "Montréal 'ville ouverte': Les Danseuses ont gagné la bataille du nu intégral," *La Patrie*, week of May 18–24, 1975, 5.
93 *La Patrie: L'Hebdo des canadiens-français*, December 21, 1975, 3.
94 *Le Nouvelliste*, November 29, 1974, 12.
95 Claude Gingras, "Des critiques de la Moralité assisteront incognito aux Ballets Africains," *La Presse*, December 5, 1967, 2.
96 Gingras, "Des critiques de la Moralité assisteront incognito aux Ballets Africains," 1.
97 Anon., "Do It Again," *Sherbrooke Record*, December 9, 1967, 1.
98 Brigitte M., "Quand les danseuses africaines se rhabillent," *La Patrie*, week of December 17, 1967, 52–53.
99 PC, "Tout le Quebec accepte les seins nus des Ballets Africains, a l'exception de Montréal," *Le Soleil*, December 7, 1967, 30; Letter to the editor, "Les Ballets

africains," *Le Soleil*, December 28, 1967, 4; Ronald Lebel, "Capital of the Censored Arts?," *Globe and Mail*, April 27, 1968, A3.

100 Oswald Mamo, "Le Spectacle n'est pas immoral," *La Presse*, December 15, 1967, 1, 2.

101 Jean Royer, "Les Rythmes incantatoires des Ballets africains," *L'Action*, November 30, 1967, 8. This was echoed by other papers. PC, "Le Spectacle des Ballets africains: 'Rituel religieux,'" *Le Nouvelliste*, December 18, 1967, 16.

102 René Berthiaume, "Les Ballets Africains, ou le respect des rites," *La Tribune*, December 4, 1967, 11.

103 Anon., "Pas d'indécence dans les Ballets africains," *Le Devoir*, January 26, 1968, 3.

104 PC, "Les Seins nus des Ballets africains sont jugés décents," *Le Soleil*, January 26, 1968, 12.

105 Anon., "La Revue 'Sexus' est saisie par l'escouade de la moralité," *Le Devoir*, December 14, 1967, 8.

106 "Editorial," *Parti pris*, February 1968, 7.

107 Pierra Michel, "Dit 'travail' par téléphone," *Photo-Journal*, week of November 4–10, 1956, 3.

108 Pierre Leger, "Les Call Girls," *La Patrie*, week of July 29–August 4, 1968, 2–4.

109 Leger, "Les Call Girls," 2.

110 Leger, "Les Call Girls," 3.

111 Betty Shapiro, "'Hookers' Claim: Spurred by the Pill, Prostitution Flourishes," *The Gazette*, December 14, 1970, 28.

112 O. Génard, "Quatre reporters font la chasse aux prostituées," *Le Petit Journal*, week of January 27–February 2, 1972, 3.

113 Jodoin was a *Journal de Montréal* columnist covering police and judicial affairs from 1965 to 1975. More famously, he was deeply embedded in local organized crime rings and became a police informant, going into protection in the 1980s. See Georges-André Parent, "Presse et corps policiers: Complicité et conflit," *Criminologie* 20, no. 1 (1987): 106–107. While this undoubtedly made him privy to a great deal of information, it is worth pointing out that the text was written largely for the purposes of sex and drug tourism rather than sociological analysis. In spite of this, the few academic accounts of the period's sex industry I consulted scarcely contradict his general account.

114 Claude Jodoin, *Montréal insolite* (Montréal: Editions Beljo, 1974), 8.

115 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 46.

116 The Caron Inquiry was launched on September 15, 1950, based on a document drawn up by "Pax" Plante and Drapeau outlining 15,000 charges against 400 gambling and prostitution establishments. Eight people were named in the charges, including members of the police force, the morality squad, and the city executive committee. Brian McKenna and Susan Purcell, *Drapeau* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Ltd., 1980), 88. The police heavily resisted the probe and the crime syndicate, largely run from New York, also stepped up as the Americans moved further into the rackets while smaller bordellos and gambling joints were forced to close. McKenna and Purcell, *Drapeau*, 89–90.

Worries over corruption, particularly relating to prostitution, haunted much of Drapeau's lengthy period in office. See for example, McKenna and Purcell, *Drapeau*, 247–50.

117 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 9.

118 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 13.

119 "Document relatif à un problème d'actualité: L'Exercice du plus vieux métier du monde," *La Presse*, March 6, 1967, 14.

120 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 14.

121 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 16.

122 Danielle Lacasse, "La Prostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945–1970," 149–50.

123 Estimates suggest around 130 houses of prostitution existed in 1950. Lacasse, "La Pprostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945–1970." Lacasse argues that, within the bordello system, with its madams and other intermediaries, prostitution was strictly regulated, relatively safe but barely profitable. The crackdown on this form of organization led to men taking a far larger role in the loose, decentralized sex industry and to both greater profit and danger to the women involved. Lacasse, "La Prostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945–1970," 182–83.

124 Daniel Proulx, *Le Red Light de Montréal* (Montréal: VLB, 1997), 69.

125 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 16. Low-income housing filled the centre of the district with nearly 900 families, pushing what was left of the district to its margins. Proulx, *Le Red Light de Montréal*, 70. The Habitations Jeanne-Mance built in the late 1950s were inspired by the ideas of the International Congress for Modern Architecture and celebrated for their "logical beauty," to the point that the leaders of the city would bring dignitaries there for tours during Expo. Marc H. Choko, *Les Habitations Jeanne-Mance: Un projet social au centre-ville* (Montréal: Éditions Saint-Martin, 1995), 15–16. The development was also condemned both as a plot by the English to segregate the city and depreciate French property values and as a communist project. Choko, *Les Habitations Jeanne-Mance*, 97–100 and 105.

126 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 16. Some could still be readily picked up by car, driving all Sherbrooke between Atwater and Papineau. Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 28.

127 Six to ten times more. Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 17.

128 This continued in the years to follow. Between 1970 and 1972, more than 180 nightclubs were closed by the authorities in the Montréal region. Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 12.

129 Huguette Roberge, "Doit-on légaliser la prostitution?," *Photo-Journal*, week of March 3–10, 1965, 3.

130 "Document relatif à un problème d'actualité," 14.

131 "Document relatif à un problème d'actualité," 14.

132 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 22–23.

133 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 19–22.

134 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 24.

135 Conrad Langlois, "Prenez vos rangs, Canadiens!," *La Patrie*, week of March 19–20, 1964, 9.

136 Alain Médam, *Montréal interdite*, revised second ed. (Montréal: Liber, 2004), 50. For a fuller account of the business structure of "call-girls" in the period, see Lacasse, "La Prostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945–1970," 172–74. Clients were all ages but the majority were "relatively young" (thirty or under) and spread across professions and education levels. Most of them were "misunderstood husbands." Lacasse, "La Prostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945–1970," 175–76. The prostitutes themselves, the author frequently states, entered the profession due to economic precariousness. The allure of the call-girl's profession is pointed to in Gilles Groulx's film *Où êtes-vous donc?* (1969) as the female protagonist, Mouffe (Claudine Monfette), and her friend read a letter to a magazine from a call-girl about how much better being a prostitute is than having a regular job. This scene of reading is contrasted with the male protagonists being accosted on the street by Maoists selling the Little Red Book. The call-girl figure will also be a theme in the work of Louisette Gauthier-Mitchell, discussed below. Even more directly, the American expatriate artist Sarah Jackson made a sculpture on this theme: "In…Call Girl, the emblematic instrument of this professional is prominently featured in the sculpture: a telephone dial on its belly, but ripped from its box, helpless, its wires stretched out like arms towards future connections…" Guy Robert, "Éros et humour chez Sarah Jackson," *Vie des arts* 20, no. 78 (1975): 31.

137 For roughly contemporaneous discussions of "dehumanization," see *Perspectives on Pornography*, ed. Douglas A. Hughes (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970); David Holbrook's *Sex and Dehumanization: In Art, Thought and Life in Our Time* (London: Pitman Publishing, 1972); and *The Case Against Pornography*, ed. David Holbrook (New York: The Library Press, 1973). The logic of these arguments was extended and supplemented by anti-pornography and anti-sex-work feminist historiography in works like the essays in *Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography*, ed. Laura Lederer (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1980) and Kathleen Barry's *Female Sexual Slavery* (New York: Avon Books, 1979). For sentimentalization, see Joseph Slade, "Pornographic Theatres Off Times Square," in *The Sexual Scene*, ed. William Simon and John H. Gagnon (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1973), 278. This is also, suffice it to say, the function of the profiles and datasheets that were common to softcore pornography in both the United States and Canada, to say nothing of romantic literature directed primarily at women.

138 *Montréal-Matin*, August 30, 1975, 35.

139 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 26. All of these categories recall the rhetoric of discovering a modern international city.

140 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 27.

141 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 27.

142 Gérald Robitaille, "Au royaume de la photographie d'art," *La Patrie*, week of March 24, 1968, 2.

143 Proulx, *Le Red Light de Montréal*, 77. For a brief and rather underdeveloped history of the city's travestis performers, see Viviane Namaste, "Beyond Leisure Studies: A Labour History of Male to Female Transsexual and Transvestite

Artists in Montréal, 1955–1985," *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice* 29, no. 1 (2004): 4–11. Namaste, strangely, ignores the fairly extensive amount of documentation of travestis that was readily available. See also their *Sex Change, Social Change: Reflections on Identity, Institutions and Imperialism* (Toronto: Women's Press, 2011).

144 Gilles Gariépy, "L'Actualité canadienne à travers la presse," *La Presse*, January 18, 1973, A5.

145 Proulx, *Le Red Light de Montréal*, 79.

146 Monique Rodes, "L'Amour des courtisanes," *Le Petit Journal*, week of August 31–September 6, 1975, 25–36.

147 Rodes, "L'Amour des courtisanes," 24–25.

148 Lisa Lapierre, "Belle et bien tournée, une call-girl peut gagner $150 par jour," *Photo-Journal*, week of August 23–29, 1971, 7.

149 Lucien Rivard, "Les Tables d'écoute, une arme dans la lutte aux 'call-girls,'" *La Presse*, December 2, 1968, 45.

150 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964; repr., Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 263.

151 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 266.

152 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 31.

153 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 31. The author spends several pages discussing the confusion of sexes for those shopping for streetwalkers and the clandestine sex change operations available in local hospitals where "magnifiques vagins artificiels" are created. Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 35. In spite of its sensationalism, the text insists far more explicitly on humanely dealing with the "troisième sex" than most other sources of the period. Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 38. The figure of the travestis, of course, was at the heart of Michel Tremblay's play *Hosanna* (1972) and its complex interrogation of both sexual and Québécois identity. See Robert Schwartzwald, "From Authenticity to Ambivalence: Michel Tremblay's *Hosanna*," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 22, no. 4 (1992): 499–510.

154 Schwartzwald, "From Authenticity to Ambivalence," 37. For examinations of the gay and lesbian bar scenes up to and into the era, see Ross Higgins's "Des lieux d'appartenance: Les Bars gaies sans les années 1950" and Line Chamberland's "La Conquête d'un espace public: Les Bars fréquenté par les lesbiennes," in *Sortir de l'ombre: Histoires des communautés lesbienne et gaie de Montréal*, ed. Irène Demczuk and Frank William Remiggi (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1998), 53.

155 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 46.

156 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 48.

157 Jodoin, *Montréal insolite*, 47.

158 Médam, *Montréal interdite*, 49.

159 Johanne Sloan, "Kaleidoscope," in *Reimagining Cinema: Film at Expo 67*, ed. Monika Gagnon and Janine Marchessault (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 57.

160 *Photo-Journal*, week of January 26–February 1, 1975, 13.

161 *Télé-radiomonde*, April 15, 1967, 10.

1 Peter Desbarats, "The Fall and Rise of Quebec's Smut Press," *Saturday Night*, January 1968, 25.
2 Desbarats, "The Fall and Rise of Quebec's Smut Press," 26.
3 Desbarats, "The Fall and Rise of Quebec's Smut Press," 26.
4 Anon., "L'Oeuvre du cardinal a embrassé tous les secteurs de l'activité," *La Presse*, November 9, 1967, 2.
5 A.F.P., "Le Péché demeure le veritable ennemi de toute libération sociale, affirme l'Osservatore Romano," *La Presse*, December 9, 1967, 8.
6 Martin Pronovost, "La Police est impuissante devant le reseau de photos et de films pornographiques," *La Presse*, February 10, 1967, 3, 4.
7 Anon., "Fin d'un réseau de pornographie à Laval," *La Presse*, March 6, 1967, 3.
8 Réginald Martel, "Le Directeur Jean-Paul Gilbert critique les parents qui se font les complices de leurs enfants," *La Presse*, April 7, 1967, 3, 6.
9 Fritz, "On and Off the Record," *The Gazette*, August 17, 1967, 4.
10 Serge Brind'Amour, "La Pornographie est-elle ce que l'on croit? Et pour lui tordre le cou suffirait-il de la legaliser?," *Perspectives*, July 14, 1973, 4.
11 Brind'Amour, "La Pornographie est-elle ce que l'on croit?," 6.
12 Claude Beausoleil, "Logique des lisibilités orientées et/dans les hebdomadaires érotique," *Cul Q*, nos. 2–3 (Winter 1974): 47.
13 Beausoleil, "Logique des lisibilités orientées et/ dans les hebdomadaires érotique," 52.
14 See Ross Higgins and Line Chamberland, "Mixed Messages: Gays and Lesbians in Montréal Yellow Papers in the 1950s," in *The Challenge of Modernity: A Reader on Post-Confederation Canada*, ed. Ian McKay (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), 422–31.
15 For an example of the scholarly attempts to do the former, see Robin Walz, *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
16 Thomas Waugh, "Des Adonis en quête d'immortalité: La Photographie homoérotique," in *Sortir de l'ombre: Histoires des communautés lesbienne et gaie de Montréal*, ed. Irène Demczuk and Frank William Remiggi (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1998), 53.
17 Waugh, "Des Adonis en quête d'immortalité," 54.
18 Waugh, "Des Adonis en quête d'immortalité," 56.
19 Waugh, "Des Adonis en quête d'immortalité," 65.
20 Waugh, "Des Adonis en quête d'immortalité," 66. It is unclear what the tension actually is, here, given that the "ethnographic view" is itself only a fantasy.
21 For a brief history of the genre, see chapter five of Eric Schaefer's *Bold! Daring! Shocking! True! A History of Exploitation Films, 1919–1959* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 165–216.
22 Anon., "L'Amour à travers le monde," *Montréal Flirt*, June 26, 1966, 2.
23 This was in spite of it being modelled on one of the world's oldest mens' magazines, the Parisian tabloid *Le Frou-Frou*, originally launched in 1900, and went through numerous permutations, usually with an overtly satirical edge.

24 David Alin, "L'Érotisme et le nu," *Frou-Frou*, September 30, 1967, 3.
25 Alin, "L'Érotisme et le nu," 3.
26 David Alin, "Les Complexes de la canadienne," *Frou-Frou*, September 30, 1967, 7.
27 Alin, "Les Complexes de la canadienne," 7.
28 Anon., "*Le Petit Journal* lance son magazine érotique 'L'Amour,'" *La Patrie*, week of November 24–30, 1974, 43.
29 *Le Petit Journal*, December 1, 1974.
30 There would be occasional profiles of a thinker, a film, or product.
31 *Le Petit Journal*, November 10, 1974, 24–25.
32 *Le Petit Journal*, November 17, 1974, 28–29.
33 *Le Petit Journal*, November 10, 1974, 29–30.
34 *Le Petit Journal*, November 24, 1974, 30.
35 For example, Nicholas Giguère's review of the history of gay publications in the province mentions the pornography in passing and even notes homophile magazine *Les Tiers*' deliberate aversion to pornography, but, in its bid to situate gay discourse in the manner of "Noirs, des Amérindiens et des femmes" ignores pornographic fantasy to privilege the political. Nicholas Giguère, "Les Périodiques gais au Québec: Évolution et transformations d'une presse au service d'une communauté," *Mémoires du livre* 7, no. 2 (Spring 2016).
36 For a history of *Two* and other Canadian gay publications of the period, see Donald W. McLeod, *A Brief History of GAY: Canada's First Gay Tabloid, 1964–1966* (Toronto: Homewood Books, 2003).
37 *Gai-Kébec* 1, no. 1. An editorial in *Gay Monde* would also claim that high-ranking members of the Québec government were members of the Front de Libération des Homosexuels. *Gay Monde* 1, no. 3: 20.
38 *Omnibus* 5, no. 9: 3.
39 *Duo* 1, no. 1: 2.
40 One notable exception is the overt fetishization of "un ANGLAIS" in *Ozomo* 1, no. 12.
41 *Ozomo* 1, no. 10.
42 "Klaus," a "Jew who likes to dress as a Nazi." *Ozomo* 1, no. 4: 21.
43 *Ozomo* 1, no. 2, and *Ozomo* 1, no. 44.
44 Also titled as *Le Nouveau Bisexus*.
45 *Omolibre* also advertised itself this way, albeit without the scare quotes. *Omolibre*'s brief run was supervised by journalist Richard Germain, and it was one of the few publications to explicitly insist it was a homophile publication dedicated to liberation.
46 *Bisexus* 3, no. 9: 3.
47 *Bisexus* 3, no. 4: 10.
48 *Bisexus* 3, no. 10.
49 The centrality of irony and parody to the Playboy aesthetic has been described by Ethan Thompson in *Parody and Taste in Postwar American Television Culture* (London: Routledge, 2011), 76–97.
50 Or, as one advertisement for it sarcastically read, "The men's magazine that tells you about your condition, your problems, your quirks, your hobbies, your ambitions, your follies, your successes, your disasters, your dreams, your

foibles, your secretary, your inverts, your conquests, your diets, your heroes, your vices, your next recycling, your comics, your bad reads, your daring films, your bad habits and about the lovely being you so kindly put up with: your wife."

51 This film will be briefly discussed in the next chapter.

52 "Qui lit *Proscope*?," *Proscope*, May 1972, 18.

53 "Qui lit *Proscope*?," 18.

54 "*Proscope* vs. Jean-Pierre Callier," *Proscope*, May 1972, 11.

55 Simon Piuze, "J'accuse," *Proscope*, May 1972, 5.

56 Piuze, "J'accuse," 5.

57 Guy Robert, "J'accuse," *Proscope*, March 1971, 5. For another example of the conflation of pollution and pornography, see Jean Pellerin, "Pollution par la pornographie," *La Presse*, April 5, 1971, A4.

58 This was a commonplace in his work at the time. Another set of nudes he shot include using the poster he made for Claude Jutra's *À tout prendre* (1963) in the composition. Such self-referentiality has a history in the city, seen regularly in Goodridge Roberts's work in the nude genre.

59 *Sexus*, August–September 1967, 1.

60 *Sexus*, August–September 1967, 4–5.

61 *Sexus*, August–September 1967, 12.

62 *Sexus*, August–September 1967, 26.

63 "La Mode est l'expression d'une époque, de sa technique, de sa philosophie," *Sexus*, August–September 1967, 53.

64 Jean-Guy Pilon, "Un début incertain: *Sexus*," *Liberté* 9, no. 5 (1967): 73. *Maintenant* dedicated their June/July 1972 edition entirely to sexuality and took a primarily sociological/educational approach to their various discussions on the topic.

65 Anon., "La Revue '*Sexus*' jugée obscène," *La Presse*, February 12, 1969, 6.

66 Its later issues also featured work by poets Josée Yvon and Denis Vanier. It is notable that the founder of Lettrism, Isidore Isou, had a history of producing erotica that fused his textual experiments with softcore pornography.

67 *Cul Q*, no. 1 (Autumn 1973): 18.

68 *Cul Q*, no. 1 (Autumn 1973): 13.

69 *Cul Q*, nos. 2–3 (Winter 1974): 8.

70 Beausoleil, "Logique des lisibilités orientées et/dans les hebdomadaires érotique," 47–49.

71 Beausoleil, "Logique des lisibilités orientées et/dans les hebdomadaires érotique," 52, 62.

72 Beausoleil, "Logique des lisibilités orientées et/dans les hebdomadaires érotique," 53.

73 The book is illustrated with lightly sketched drawings, sometimes figuring only body parts—the recurrent motif of lips, hands cupping various organs, couples kissing (an androgynous but bearded long-haired man and woman), lolling around in bed, demonstrating various sexual positions, etc.

74 Claude Noël, "Pour un interpretation sémiologique de l'érotisme," *Cul Q*, nos. 2–3, (Winter–Spring 1974): 94–96.

75 Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News: A History* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 1.
76 Rose-Marie Arbour, *L'Art qui nous est contemporain* (Montréal: Éditions Artextes, 1999).
77 Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 3.
78 Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 22.
79 Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 202.
80 Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 252–53.
81 Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 271.
82 Simon Michael Bessie, *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspapers* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1938; repr., New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), 184–207.
83 David Banash, *Collage Culture: Readymades, Meaning, and the Age of Consumption* (New York: Rodopi, 2013), 85.
84 Banash, *Collage Culture*, 105.
85 William C. Seitz, *The Art of Assemblage* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1961), 81.
86 André Dionne, "Denis Vanier: Poète," *Lettres québécoises*, no. 21 (Spring 1981): 49.
87 Jacques Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en révolution: Essai d'interprétation* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1970), 97.
88 A review of these arguments in the initial critical reception of Vanier is given by Andre G. Bourassa, *Surrealism and Quebec Literature: History of a Cultural Revolution*, trans. Mark Czarnecki (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 247–53.
89 Denis Vanier, *Oeuvres poétiques complètes: Tome 1 (1965–1979)* (Montréal: VLB; Parti pris, 1980), 208–209.
90 Seitz, *The Art of Assemblage*, 72–74.
91 Denis Vanier, "La Viande et ses effets biochimiques," *Mainmise*, no. 2, December 1970, 148–50.
92 Vanier, "La Viande et ses effets biochimiques," 152.
93 Denis Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," *Mainmise*, no. 68, March 1977, 43.
94 Denis Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," *Mainmise*, no. 67, February 1977, 45.
95 See Laura Kipnis, *Bound and Gagged: Pornography and the Politics of Fantasy in America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 122–60, for a discussion of the aesthetic complexities of *Hustler*.
96 For a recent examination of Vanier, see Simon-Pier Labelle-Hogue, "Denis Vanier: Une poétique de la déjection," *Voix et Images* 35, no. 3 (Spring–Summer 2010): 117–32.
97 For an account of the journal, see Dawn Ades, Simon Baker, and Fiona Bradley, *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).
98 Claude Beausoleil, "Le Texte vaniérian," *Cul Q*, nos. 8–9 (1976): 31.
99 Beausoleil, "Le Texte vaniérian," 31.
100 Beausoleil, "Le Texte vaniérian," 32. Beausoleil's analysis goes on to get rather muddled when he attempts to think this through on the sociopolitical level, which largely means ignoring the epistemological implications of the cosmology he had just laid out. There is, as he notes, a basic problem of reference or its impossibility. Beausoleil, "Le Texte vaniérian," 39–45.

1 Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700–1820* (London: Reaktion, 2009).
2 Clive Phillpot, *Booktrek: Selected Essays on Artists' Books (1972–2010)* (Zurich: JRP/Ringier; Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2013), 11–22.
3 Lucy Lippard, "The Artist's Book Goes Public," in *Artists' Books: A Critical Anthology and Sourcebook*, ed. Joan Lyons (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press; Layton: Distributed by G.M. Smith, Peregrine Smith Books, 1985), 45.
4 Stefan Klima, *Artists Books: A Critical Survey of the Literature* (New York: Granary Books, 1998), 16.
5 Dick Higgins, "A Preface," in *Artists' Books: A Critical Anthology and Sourcebook*, ed. Joan Lyons (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press; Layton: Distributed by G.M. Smith, Peregrine Smith Books, 1985), 11–12.
6 "However, play with the word 'democratic' suggests not only accessibility, but wider communication, and this does not yet seem to be happening. There is another parallel here with multiples, which at one time appeared to be a breakthrough to a wider audience, but in fact seem simply to have lodged more widely in crevices in the existing fabric of the art world." Phillpot, *Booktrek*, 38.
7 Jean-Claude Trait, "Le Texte est mort; vive le livre-objet!," *La Presse*, January 26, 1974, D3.
8 Trait, "Le Texte est mort," D3; Sophie Drouin, "Les Éditions de l'Oeuf, la contre-culture et l'essor du livre-objet au Québec," *Revue de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*, no. 5 (2013), https://doi.org/10.7202/1017689ar.
9 Trait, "Le Texte est mort," D3.
10 Many of the albums of prints and other experiments produced by the studio at this time were labelled "Graffofones" by their press.
11 See Paula Findlen's "Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy," in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800*, ed. Lynn Avery Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 49–108.
12 "…les Plottes" sont "plates." Christian Allègre, "Les plus chères de l'année…," *Le Devoir*, October 21, 1970, 8. The term *plotte* is a slang term for "cunt," while *plate* (flat) connotes something dull or boring.
13 Glassco was a translator and poet who became famous for the fake memoir *Memoirs of Montparnasse* (1970) and several literary hoaxes. He subsequently gained fame for his pseudonymous BDSM erotica, such as *Harriet Marwood, Governess* (1968) and *Fetish Girl* (1971).
14 John Glassco, "The Art of Pornography," *Edge*, no. 9 (Summer 1969): 102.
15 Glassco, "The Art of Pornography," 107–11.
16 This work was central to one of the city's few exhibitions explicitly focused on eroticism, *Mâma kecésâ* at Média, Gravures et Multiples in 1973.
17 Gilles Toupin, "Des bonbons des amours et des hommes," *La Presse*, May 12, 1973, D16.
18 Toupin, "Des bonbons des amours et des hommes," D16.
19 Toupin, "Des bonbons des amours et des hommes," D16.

20 For example, in the work of Ernest Gendron, Alfred Deschênes, and Arthur Villeneuve.
21 For general commentary, see *Discovering Child Art: Essays on Childhood, Primitivism, and Modernism*, ed. Jonathan David Fineberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
22 *Jacques David, Normand Ulrich, Christiane Vézina* (Montréal: Véhicule, 1977), n.p.
23 Watches could be a generic icon for prostitution.
24 Gilles Toupin, "La Plume et l'oiseau," *La Presse*, June 1, 1974, E17.
25 Pierre Vallières, "Les Dessins de L. Gauthier-Mitchell: Une recherche du corps et de soi-méme," *Le Devoir*, June 13, 1974, 14. Three of the works were stolen from the exhibition. Pierre Vallières, "Le Musée des Beaux-Arts quitte le 2020 Université," *Le Devoir*, July 25, 1974, 12.
26 Yves Robillard, "Intégration des images du milieu chez les jeunes," *La Presse*, August 17, 1968, 34.
27 Charles Bourget and Serge Allaire, *Serge Lemonde: Tout Lemonde / Serge Lemonde: All the World of Lemonde* (Rivière-du-Loup: Musée du Bas-Saint-Laurent, 2002), 12.
28 La Masse was a student co-op gallery at 3545 rue Bleury made up of Beaux-arts students. Claude Jasmin, "Visionnaires? Non, lucides!," *La Presse*, February 19, 1966, 18.
29 This fascination was also notably shared by Edmund Alleyn, who created numerous works that utilized science-fiction elements to take apart nude bodies. Works like *Étude pour agression 1* (1966) treat the body as part of industrial design and reflect the increased technocratic attention to affectivity.
30 Claude Jasmin, "L'Art nouveau des jeunes peintres de Montréal," *Vie des arts*, no. 44 (Autumn 1966): 55.
31 Claude Jasmin, "Lemonde: Un evenement important," *Sept-Jours*, June 3, 1967, n.p.
32 Jasmin, "L'Art nouveau des jeunes peintres de Montréal," 52.
33 Bourget and Allaire, *Serge Lemonde*, 14–16.
34 With one notable exception: *La Folle du couvent* (1967), a lewd image of a nun.
35 Lemonde worked as a stage designer for Théâtre Nouveau Monde.
36 Barbarella was the heroine of a French erotic comic series by Jean-Claude Forest published from 1962 to 1964. It featured the titular heroine travelling through the galaxy and having adventures with aliens, angels, and sex robots. It was made into a film by Roger Vadim starring Jane Fonda in 1968.
37 This is in stark distinction to the utopianism found in nationalism at the time. Malcolm Reid expresses a certain degree of confusion about the presence of landscape imagery among the partipristes. Noting that they have a habit, perhaps sometimes ironically, of extolling "Terre Québec" in a fashion uncomfortably reminiscent of the old regime and in stark contrast to the writers of *Cité Libre*. He suggests such images are a sort of relief from discussing "the city as charnel-house of colonialism." Malcolm Reid, *The Shouting Signpainters: A Literary and Political Account of Quebec Revolutionary Nationalism* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 135. This also remained an attitude of the FLQ. Unlike more mainstream separatists, the FLQ still regarded the

paysans (despite their rapidly shrinking numbers) to be as necessary to independence and revolution as the students and workers of the cities. Nathan Elliot Marvin, "Bricolage Nationalism: An Intellectual History of the Front de Libération du Québec (1963–1970)" (PhD diss., Wesleyan University, 2010), 95–98.

38 Dennis Burton was a Toronto-based artist whose work in the 1960s and '70s was explicitly concerned with constructing a new form of tantric art drawing on non-objective painting and imagery from pornography, especially that which revolved around a fetish for garterbelts. Burton would elaborate the garterbelt motif into a cosmogram that recapitulated the evolution of the universe while also commenting on contemporary political events.

39 Jasmin, "L'Art nouveau des jeunes peintres de Montréal," 55.

40 Claude Jasmin, "Lemoyne, Lemonde et Lajeunie," *Journal des Jeunesses Musicale*, 1966, n.p.

41 "En fait, l'art de Lemonde supporterait sans rien y prendre la reproduction, l'imprimerie. C'est ça l'évènement. Il n'y a pas 'tableau.' Il n'y a plus un 'objet' à collectionner." Claude Jasmin, "Untitled," *Sept-Jours*, June 3, 1967, n.p.

42 Normand Thériault, "Lumière sur les extra-terrestres," *La Presse*, December 14, 1968, 37.

43 Claude Jasmin, "C'est dommage, la pornographie, n'a pas lieu," *Sexus*, no. 1 (August/September 1967): 58.

44 Jasmin, "C'est dommage, la pornographie, n'a pas lieu," 58.

45 Jasmin, "C'est dommage, la pornographie, n'a pas lieu," 58.

46 Jasmin, "C'est dommage, la pornographie, n'a pas lieu," 60.

47 Jasmin, "C'est dommage, la pornographie, n'a pas lieu," 58.

CHAPTER SIX

1 Diane Dufresne, "La Fin du monde est pour aujourd'hui," track B1 on *À part de d'ça, j'me sens ben—Opéra-cirque*, Barclay 80172, 1973, vinyl LP.

2 Charles Bourget and Serge Allaire, *Serge Lemonde: Tout Lemonde / Serge Lemonde: All the World of Lemonde* (Rivière-du-Loup: Musée du Bas-Saint-Laurent, 2002), 13–14.

3 The marriage of expressionistic or abstract tendencies and established erotic icons is also detectable in the work of Reynald Connolly. According to Claude Jasmin, Connolly married industrial design with a new iconography that reimagined mythical themes like Venus or Diana as supercomputers and rockets. Claude Jasmin, "L'Art nouveau des jeunes peintres de Montréal," *Vie des arts*, no. 44 (Autumn 1966): 54. One of the better examples of this would be Connolly's *Machine à fabriquer des nuages* (1972). The large painting, in some ways iconographically recalling Pellan's work, discussed earlier, features a fantastic machine rendered in gelatinous curves of grey that play against a frenetic background evenly split between a curving checkerboard pattern and vibrantly coloured arabesques. At its centre is a sort of headless fertility figure that seems to be inflating into two giant breast/clouds, but these could be the eyes having this psychedelic vision and popping from the head.

4 See Eberhard and Phyllis Kronhausen, *Pornography and the Law: The Psychology of Erotic Realism and Pornography* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1961).
5 Fernande Saint-Martin, "L'Art d'un société nouvelle," in *De la figuration à la non-figuration dans l'art québécois* (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1976), n.p.
6 Fernande Saint-Martin, *Nouvelle figuration en gravure; 1977-09-18–1977-10-23* (Montréal: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1977), n.p.
7 Michael White, "Le Pop au Québec," *Vie des arts*, no. 67 (1972): 35.
8 White, "Le Pop au Québec," 41.
9 Serge Allaire, "Pop art: Montréal: P.Q.," in *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: L'Éclatement du modernism*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1997), 151–53.
10 Allaire, "Pop art: Montréal: P.Q.," 189; Bernard Lévy, "Boisvert," in *16 Quebec Painters in Their Milieu*, ed. Jules Bazin (Montréal: Vie des arts, 1978), 28.
11 Lawrence Alloway, *American Pop Art* (London: Collier Macmillan Books, 1974), 1.
12 Alloway, *American Pop Art*, 24.
13 Lucy Lippard, "New York Pop," in *Pop Art*, third edition, ed. Lucy Lippard (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1970), 69, 135–37.
14 Mikhail Lifschitz, *The Crisis of Ugliness: From Cubism to Pop-Art*, trans. David Riff (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 111. First published in Russian as *Кризис Безобразия* (*Krizis bezobrazie*) by Iskusstvo, Moscow, in 1968.
15 Warhol directly mirrors this account in his take on the emergence of pop. See Andy Warhol and Pat Hacket, *POPism: The Warhol '60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980).
16 Samuel Adams Green, "Foreword," in John Rublowsky, *Pop Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1965), n.p.
17 Rublowsky, *Pop Art*, 4.
18 Christopher Finch, *Pop Art: Object and Image* (London: Studio Vista, 1968), 32–34.
19 Pop was particularly controversial in Canada during the period due to the surge in nationalism within the arts. For the primarily left-leaning critics, pop tended to be regarded as an invasive form of US colonialism, whether in terms of attitude or style. For examples, see Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art* (Toronto: NC Press, 1974), 211–15; and Gail Dexter, "Yes, Cultural Imperialism Too!," in *Close the 49th Parallel etc.: The Americanization of Canada*, ed. Ian Lumsden for the University League for Social Reform (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 157–67.
20 For Amaya's account of disparate realisms in Canada, see the catalogue *Survey 70: Realisms / Sondage 70: Realismes* (Montréal and Toronto: Montréal Museum of Fine Arts and Art Gallery of Toronto, 1970), which notably contained no francophone artists.
21 Mario Amaya, *Pop Art…and After* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 29.
22 Amaya, *Pop Art…and After*, 12.
23 Amaya, *Pop Art…and After*, 11.
24 Amaya, *Pop Art…and After*, 28.

25 Alloway, *American Pop Art*, 5. Alloway later points to the United States itself as a social model for the "world's expected future form," 18. Udo Kultermann insists that the new realism that concerned him, a radical realism of intimately known people, was quite alien to the cliché world that concerns Alloway and could have only emerged in places with "hybrid, social symbiosis" like New York and Los Angeles. Udo Kultermann, *New Realism* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1972), 10.
26 Alloway, *American Pop Art*, 9.
27 Alloway, *American Pop Art*, 18.
28 Alloway, *American Pop Art*, 21.
29 Pierre Restany, *Manifeste des Nouveaux Réalistes* (Paris: Éditions Dilecta, 2007), 6.
30 Restany, *Manifeste des Nouveaux Réalistes*, 6–7.
31 Alfred Pacquement, "The Nouveau Réalistes: The Renewal of Art in Paris Around 1960," in *Pop Art: An International Perspective*, ed. Marco Livingstone (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 216.
32 Pierre Restany, "Nouvelles approches perceptives du réel…," in *Le Nouveau réalisme, 1960–1990* (Paris: La Différence, 2007), 111
33 Restany, "Nouvelles approches perceptives du réel…," 115–16.
34 Restany, "Nouvelles approches perceptives du réel…," 116.
35 Restany, "Nouvelles approches perceptives du réel…," 113.
36 "The great theater is, in fact, Eden; the important thing is to establish once for good our static positions individually within the universe." Yves Klein, "Selections from 'Dimanche,'" trans. Klaus Ottmann, in *Overcoming the Problematics of Art: The Writings of Yves Klein* (Putnam: Spring Publications), 101. In the essay, Klein is explicit that this is a return to the Biblical Eden made possible by advancing technology.
37 Pierre Restany, "Who is Yves Klein?," trans. W.G. Ryan, in *Yves Klein, 1928–1962: A Retrospective* (Houston: Institute for the Arts, Rice University, 1982), 14.
38 Restany, "Who is Yves Klein?," 17. Thomas McEvilley has addressed how this notion of the "ethereal" relied on a profound level of sublimation. See McEvilley, "Yves Klein: Conquistador of the Void," in *Yves Klein, 1928–1962: A Retrospective* (Houston: Institute for the Arts, Rice University, 1982), 50–52. For Klein, it would come as an essential aspect of the new Eden. For example: "At that stage, our sensibility will be developed to such a degree that it will become possible to envisage each other's deepest thoughts; these thoughts will not be read or perceived intellectually; they will be 'grasped' through a process of impregnation with 'sensibility' rather than through psychic penetration since, by then, psychology will have disappeared almost completely." Yves Klein, "Selections from 'Dimanche,'" 108.
39 Jean Paul Ameline, "Aux source de la figuration narrative," *Figuration Narrative: Paris, 1960–1972* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2008), 21–22.
40 Gérald Gassiot-Talabot had also written on Edmund Alleyn in numerous articles, including, "La Havane: Peinture et révolution," *Opus international*, no. 3, October 1967, 14–19; "Schèmes 66 et Jeune peinture 67: Un accès de fièvre," *Aujourd'hui: Art et architecture*, nos. 55–56, December 1966–January 1967, 101–103;

"Une pétrification démoniaque de la vie," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, May 18, 1967, 9.

41 Gérald Gassiot-Talabot, *La Figuration narrative* (Nîmes: Éditions Jacqueline Chambon, 2003), 13–14, 40.

42 Gassiot-Talabot, *La Figuration narrative*, 17–22, 52–61.

43 Jean-Paul Ameline, "Figures and Fictions: The Contribution of Narrative Figuration to the Figurative Revival of the 1960s in Europe," in *The Narrative Figuration*, ed. Jean-Paul Ameline and Yan Schubert (Geneva: Fondation Grandur pour l'art, 2017), 21–21.

44 Gassiot-Talabot, *La Figuration narrative*, 67.

45 Gassiot-Talabot, *La Figuration narrative*, 104–105.

46 Ameline, "Figures and Fictions," 19.

47 Robert Hofler, *Sexplosion: From Andy Warhol to "A Clockwork Orange" — How a Generation of Pop Rebels Broke All the Taboos* (New York: Itbooks, 2014); Juan Antonio Suarez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars: Avant-Garde, Mass Culture, and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Ernest Mathijs and Jamie Sexton, *Cult Cinema: An Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); *Swinging Single: Representing Sexuality in the 1960s*, ed. Hilary Radner and Moya Luckett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

48 See Erró's *Torture Manor, Stanton and Jim Bondage* series (1969–70). Images from glamour photography and narratively suggestive sexual imagery were widespread in the group. See also the work of Claude Gilli and Gerard Schlosser.

49 Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, trans. Mark Lester and Charles Stivale (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 41. First published in French as *Logique du sens* by Les Éditions de Minuit, 1969.

50 Danielle Lorde, *Albert Dumouchel: Le Nu et l'érotique chez Dumouchel* (Joliette: Musée d'art de Joliette, 1993), n.p.

51 Jacques Dumouchel, *Albert Dumouchel: Maître graveur* (La Prairie: Marcel Broquet, 1988), 194–203.

52 A number of his students, including Wolfe, Ayot, and Montpetit put out an album, *Hommage à Albert Dumouchel* (1972), to pay tribute to their teacher after he passed. Wolfe and Montpetit's prints were in their typical erotic mold.

53 Dumouchel was known by his commentators as "coq à l'âne," leaper between subjects, or one prone to non-sequiturs. Jacques Dumouchel, Yolande Racine, and Alain Parent, *Albert Dumouchel: Rétrospective de l'oeuvre gravé* (Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, 1975), n.p.

54 "Au vernissage de Robert Wolfe, époux d'Isabelle Pierre," *Télé-radiomonde*, January 24, 1970, 26. The couple's divorce received more publicity than was common for the art scene. One notable profile cast Pierre as the incarnation of the emancipated new Québécoise: "She takes a stand on everything, declares without flinching that all women are whores, and announces her divorce three days later, but not without first praising the man she is leaving." Jean-Paul Sylvain, "Isabelle Pierre: Femme libre qui n'a pas encore d'image," *Le Petit Journal*, week of November 1, 1970, 84.

55 Ernest Pallascio-Morin, "Un graveur de sa génération fulgurante: Robert Wolfe," *Photo-Journal*, week of January 19–25, 1970, 13. Wolfe's work in the period was also identified as humorous: "Inauguration de la Galerie du Centre culturel," *L'Action populaire*, April 15, 1970, 2; "Micheline de Passillé et son mari…un jeune couple bien de notre temps," *La Patrie*, week of May 3, 1970, 19.

56 Pierre Ayot, Madeleine Forcier, Jean-Pierre Gilbert, and Jocelyne Lupien, *Le Monde selon Graff, 1966–1986* (Montréal: Éditions Graff, 1987), 30–32.

57 "Le Peintre Wolfe et le sculpteur Daudelin exposent conjointement," *La Tribune*, Sherbrooke, February 3, 1968, 9; "Les Bijoux qu'on aime ne se démodent pas," *La Patrie*, week of October 14–20, 1971, 19.

58 See Laurier Lacroix, Lise Bissonnette, and Madeleine Forcier, *L'Espace-couleur de Robert Wolfe* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006), 30–31.

59 Gilles Daigneault, *Ayot Museum Circus* (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1993), 13.

60 Daigneault, *Ayot Museum Circus*, 17.

61 Ayot, Forcier, Gilbert, and Lupien, *Le Monde selon Graff, 1966–1986*, 22.

62 The work was referred to in the press as Ayot's "Les Grilles." Yves Robillard, "Intégration des images du milieu chez les jeunes," *La Presse*, August 17, 1968, 34. *Grilles* doubles the viewing apparatus of the image with a nickname for the city's cruising district. See page 112. *Grilles* can also be translated as "grid," which has special significance in the conclusion of this text.

63 Robillard, "Intégration des images du milieu chez les jeunes," 34.

64 Daigneault, *Ayot Museum Circus*, 19.

65 Ayot, Forcier, Gilbert, and Lupien, *Le Monde selon Graff, 1966–1986*, 73.

66 Ayot, Forcier, Gilbert, and Lupien, *Le Monde selon Graff, 1966–1986*, 83.

67 Gilles Daigneault, "Richard Lorain—La femme est la mer," *Vie des arts* 21, no. 83 (1976): 67.

68 A review of these works when they were shown in Toronto at Gallery Pascal highlights their implied ecological message. Kay Kritzwiser, "At the Galleries: Word for Davis painting? Presence!," *Globe and Mail*, September 30, 1972, 30. A review in *Le Soleil* also highlights his romantic way of idealizing the female figure, suggesting that this takes off the edge seen in his earlier pop work while allowing for more sensuality. Anon., "Sérigraphies de Gilles Boisvert au Musée du Québec," *Le Soleil*, October 26, 1972, 67.

69 Anon., *Communique: Les Dessins de Gilles Boisvert* (Ministère des Affaires Culturelle/ Musée d'art contemporain, 1974), 3.

70 Anon., "Gilles Boisvert: Une œuvre issue d'un regard double," *La Nouvelliste*, May 9, 1973, 54.

71 Lévy, "Boisvert," 28.

72 Anon., *Communique: Les Dessins de Gilles Boisvert*, 4.

73 Lévy, "Boisvert," 28.

74 Lévy, "Boisvert," 28.

75 Lévy, "Boisvert," 27.

76 Léo Rosshandler, "Boisvert," in *5 Attitudes: 1963–1980: Ayot, Boisvert, Cozic, Lemoyne, Serge Tousignant* (Montréal: Le Musée d'art contemporain, 1981), 33.

77 This may be a reference to Hubert Aquin and his work establishing auto racing in the province.

78 This could also be seen as a Hubert Aquin reference, notably to his famous essay, "La Fatigue culturelle du Canada français," *Liberté* 4, no. 23 (1962): 299–325.
79 Yves Robillard, "Allez voir l'exposition des six jeunes peintres à l'Étable; la plupart feront parler d'eux," *La Presse*, February 18, 1967, 26–27.
80 Alain Robbe-Grillet, *For a New Novel: Essays on Fiction*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 21.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1 Louise Tasse, "L'Art underground du Québec célèbre ses 10 ans et essaie de sortir de terre," *Le Soleil*, March 22, 1973, 57.
2 Yves Robillard, "Intégration des images du milieu chez les jeunes," *La Presse*, August 17, 1968, 34.
3 Marcel Saint-Pierre, "A Quebec Art Scenic Tour and his 'contradictions itinérants,'" in *Québec underground: 1962–1972—Tome 2*, ed. Yves Robillard (Montréal: Les Éditions Médiart, 1973), 455.
4 Saint-Pierre, "A Quebec Art Scenic Tour and his 'contradictions itinérants,'" 455–56.
5 This was a popular topic at the time, expressed notably in Marie Letellier's famous sociological work, *On n'est pas des trous-de-cul* (Montréal: Éditions Parti pris, 1971).
6 Marie-Claire Blais, *Un Joualonais sa Joualonie* (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1973), 235.
7 The ti-popist character refuses to let the protagonist be a "petite rien et grand vide" and insists on him using his name, Lemieux ("the better"). The original French text has the poet claim that a Canadien française must have a real name but, curiously, the English translation by Ralph Manheim pointedly says a French Canadian and citizen of Montréal is not a nobody. Blais, *Un Joualonais sa Joualonie*, 9–10; cf. Manheim's translation, as *St. Lawrence Blues* (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), 1.
8 In addition to country and western clothing and accoutrements, it was the music that would be basic to ti-pop, such as the work Robert Charlebois and ti-pop queen Michèle Richard (both discussed subsequently) or Willie Lamothe and his variety show. Gilles Carle's modernized western film *Red* (1970), likewise plays on these themes as does Denys Arcand's *Gina* (1975), which closely mirrors the modernized western while also using aspects of the province's *films de cul*.
9 Théberge would go to work for the National Gallery of Canada and curate Joyce Wieland, Greg Curnoe, and other artists associated with regionalism. In their own way, these two would each cultivate something similar to ti-pop, as Wieland created a form of camp Canadiana and Curnoe originated London regionalism.
10 Maurice Richard was nominated as an icon of eroticized manhood by Maheu, due to his symbolic role: "The repressed libido and aggressiveness always end up reasserting itself. I have already mentioned the Maurice Richard riot as an

example of such a collective explosion; the same type of sociological event has been repeated periodically, on the most diverse pretext…" Pierre Maheu, "Le Dieu canadien français contre l'homme québécois," *Parti pris*, November–December 1966, 48.

11 Wendy Michener, "The Very Irreverent Crusade of Ti-Pop," *Saturday Night*, February 1969, 29.

12 Pierre Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," *Parti pris*, September–October 1966, 57.

13 Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 60.

14 Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 61.

15 Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 61.

16 Wendy Michener, "The Very Irreverent Crusade of Ti-Pop," 29.

17 Michener, "The Very Irreverent Crusade of Ti-Pop," 29. The artist's name was not offered but it was probably a painting by Pierre Cornellier, who frequently used such titles for his paintings in the period. See Serge Allaire, "Pop art: Montréal: P.Q.," in *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: L'Éclatement du modernism*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1997), 187–88. This gesture was reminiscent of Alphonse Allais's satirical *Album primo avrilesque* (1897), which contained monochromes like *Manipulation de l'ocre par des cocus ictériques* (Manipulation of Ochre by Jaundiced Cuckolds).

18 Scott Symons, *Combat Journal for Place d'Armes* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 72.

19 "Le Ti cat'chisse ti-pop," *Photo-Journal*, week of May 3–10, 1967, 77.

20 Pierre Maheu, "Patricia et ti-pop ou tu te sauveras pas de même baqua!," in *Parti pris*, March 1968, 54.

21 Maheu, "Patricia et ti-pop ou tu te sauveras pas de même baqua!," 54.

22 Doubling of characters and the fragmenting of their psyches, voices, and the legibility of their narratives are all central to Aquin's fictions in this period, whether in the deranged protagonist and the espionage fantasies of *Prochain épisode* (1965), the African radical and the murderer in *Trou de mémoire* (1968), or the actor playing a minor character in *Hamlet* who is refracted through various other narratives in *Neige noire* (1971). His characters tended to be "frozen," whether by mental illness or colonial oppression, and trapped within "secular depression," which is consistently represented by imagery of ice and snow. Hubert Aquin, *Prochain épisode* (Ottawa: Le Circle du livre de France, 1965), 36.

23 As an outmoded form of life and so a somewhat dislodged one, being "out of step" with the times as a way of being "unlocked" from them.

24 Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 75. For an examination of this basically Catholic model of paradox and its disparity with dialectics, see Slavoj Žižek and John Milbank, *The Monstrosity of Christ: Paradox or Dialectic?* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), particularly 110–233.

25 Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 74.

26 Clément Légaré and André Bougaïeff, *L'Empire du sacre Québécois* (Sillery: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1984), 3.

27 Clément Légaré and André Bougaïeff, authors of the lengthiest study of the phenomenon, go to great lengths to try and reduce their subject to a sociohistorical meaning, but in doing so ignore the sheer deformation of meaning

and sonorousness that is essential to it. For another study, see J.S. Tassie, "The Use of Sacrilege in the Speech of French Canada," *American Speech* 36, no. 1 (1961): 34–40.

28 Légaré and Bougaïeff, *L'Empire du sacre Québécois*, 154.

29 Légaré and Bougaïeff, *L'Empire du sacre Québécois*, 152.

30 Marshall McLuhan with Wilfred Watson, *From Cliché to Archetype* (New York: Pocket Books, 1970), 53–60.

31 McLuhan with Watson, *From Cliché to Archetype*, 18–23.

32 McLuhan with Watson, *From Cliché to Archetype*, 3–10.

33 Maheu, "Patricia et ti-pop ou tu te sauveras pas de même baqua!," 55.

34 Maheu, "Patricia et ti-pop ou tu te sauveras pas de même baqua!," 55.

35 For a few (of many) general assessments of these from the period, both within and outside the province, see Henry Milner and Sheilagh Hodgins Milner, *The Decolonization of Quebec: An Analysis of Left-Wing Nationalism* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973); Jacques Grand'Maison, *Nationalisme et religion* (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1970); Malcolm Levin, *Crisis in Quebec* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1973); Marcel Rioux, *La Question du Québec* (Montréal: Parti pris, 1977); Ramsay Cook, *Canada and the French-Canadian Question* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966); and *French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology*, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969).

36 See the essays collected in *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, ed. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre; Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992); *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*, ed. The Canadian Museum of Civilization (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993); and Diana Nemiroff, Robert Houle, and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, *Terre, esprit, pouvoir: Les Premières nations au Musée des beaux-arts du Canada* (Ottawa: Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, 1992).

37 André Bertrand, "Du côté d'Objectif," *Le Devoir*, August 26, 1967, 15.

38 Un étudiant du Cégep Vieux-Montréal, "Une presse qui n'est libre que si elle ne s'oppose pas aux pouvoirs établis," *L'Action*, February 7, 1969, 1.

39 Yves Lamonde, "Un mirage, mais de quoi?," *PC*, March 12, 1970, 14.

40 André Major, "J. Godbout avec Galarneau: 'Donner le goût de vivre en ne cachant pas la verité,'" *Le Devoir*, September 30, 1967, 12. Major was echoed by Raoul Duguay in his review, "'Salut Galarneau' ou le Ti-Pop jovial," *Parti pris*, October–November 1967, 60–61.

41 Yves Lamonde, "Notre passé à toutes les sauces," *La Presse*, April 5, 1975, D3. Georges-Hebert Germain, "Au dernier coucher de soleil sur la Place des Nations," *La Presse*, September 4, 1975, B1; Georges-Hebert Germain, "Champion poids lourd du rock gaulois: Offenbach," *La Presse*, November 6, 1975, B1; Georges-Hebert Germain, "Adamo: L'Idole sage," *La Presse*, January 31, 1976, A16.

42 Luc Perreault, "L'Oeil regardait Cain…," *La Presse*, January 30, 1970, C9.

43 Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 68. Maheu was explicit that this was a form of communist utopianism: "Secularism is the morality of a society organised to allow

everyone to think and do what they want. A society that would give to everyone according to their needs, and ask everyone according to their means. (Yes, that's the definition of communism. What I'm saying is that secularism would be the spirit that would animate the culture and morals of a society made for man, and where man would recover himself. Utopia all you want)." Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 70.

44 Maheu, "Laïcité 1966," 68.

45 Laure would star in Gilles Carle's *La Tête de Normande St-Onge* (1975) and the infamous *Sweet Movie* (Dušan Makavejev, 1974).

46 Jacques Godbout, "Panorama d'une production 'à venir' 34—Le roman d'IXE-13," *Cinéma Québec* 1, no. 7 (1972): 35.

47 Godbout, "Panorama d'une production 'à venir' 34—Le roman d'IXE-13," 34–35.

48 Leo Bonneville, "Entretien avec Jacques Godbout," *Séquences*, no. 78 (October 1974), 9–10. This is particularly obvious in the film's opening mockery of a Catholic mass. This sequence, however, is ambiguous since the priest commends the listener to read spy novels, not the more traditionally conservative *roman du terroir* genre of regional novel (also known as "La Terre Tradition," after Patrice Lacombe's 1846 novel *La Terre Paternelle*).

49 Claude-Marie Gagnon, "IXE-13, un cas type de roman de masse au Québec," *Études littéraires* 12, no. 2 (August 1979): 245–67.

50 Gagnon, "IXE-13, un cas type de roman de masse au Québec," 259–60.

51 Françoise Baby, Louise Milot, and Denis Saint-Jacques, "Jacques Godbout rencontre IXE-13 ou du texte au film: Quelles transformations?," *Études littéraires* 12, no. 2 (August 1979): 287. Godbout insisted that this psychological vacancy was already basic to the source material.

52 Richard Langlois, "La Bd: Une littérature post-linéaire," in "La Bande dessinée kébécoise," special issue, *La Barre du jour* (Winter 1975): 25.

53 "Québec Love," by Robert Charlebois and Daniel Gadouas, track 6 on Robert Charlebois, *Québec Love*, Gamma GS 136, 1969, vinyl LP.

54 Georges-Hebert Germain, "Je les ai vécues moi les bandes dessinées!," *La Presse*, December 28, 1974, B2.

55 *Télé-radiomonde*, March 28, 1970, 9.

56 Jean-Noél Dion, "Aux origines du "Quétaine' (1)," *Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe*, March 9, 1988, 12; Jean-Noél Dion, "Aux origines du "Quétaine' (2)," *Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe*, March 16, 1988, 52–53; Jean-Noél Dion, "Aux origines du "Quétaine' (3)," *Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe*, March 23, 1988, 12. The term is also suggestive of "cat house" or "kitten house," which points to an erotic connotation that the Germanic term kitsch lacks.

57 Michel Girouard, "Le Monde insolite," *Télé-radiomonde*, November 1, 1969, 19; "Rita Bibeau: Miss Télévision 1971," *Le Petit Journal*, week of June 13, 1971, 1.

58 "Ça magace: Love-out aux smarties," *Le Petit Journal*, week of December 28, 1969, 20; Pierre Bourgault, "Guy Boucher," *Le Petit Journal*, week of June 12–18, 1974, 22; Colette Chabot, "Mon petit journal," *Le Petit Journal*, week of November 16, 1969, 79.

59 "Andrée D'Amour: La Seule artiste se déclarer ouvertement nudiste," *Le Petit Journal*, week of July 13–19, 1972, 4.

60 R.H.R., "Le Cinema," *Le Petit Journal*, week of November 28, 1967, 56.
61 Richard Gay, "Sept fois…(par jour)," *Cinéma Québec*, November 1971, 28–29.
62 Jean Leduc, "Libre opinion: Lyotard, 'Gina' le fascisme et René Homier Roy," *Cinéma Québec*, April 1975, 16.
63 Jean Paul Sylvain, "La Chronique de Jean Paul Sylvain," *Le Petit Journal*, week of October 14–20, 1973, 64. The full list includes: "crapuleux, hippie, idiot, imbécile, conasse, cocrisse, jocrisse, anachofête, crétin, stupide, nono, gnochon, trou de Q, aplaventriste, ignorant, illettré, gaga, schizophrène, fada, niais, fat, insensé, pauvre d'esprit, maboule, borné, hébété, fourbe, kétaine, félon, perfide, fallacieux, traître, sournois, lâche, déloyal, trompeur, judas, médiocre, gros, gras, grossier, mesquin, sale, petit, banal, usé, sot, bête, extravagant, excessif, troufignon, pétulant, forcené, flagorneur, méprisant."
64 "Gilles Proulx de CKLM 'censuré' par ses patrons," *Télé-radiomonde*, January 22, 1972, 5.
65 Michel Girouard, "Ce que je'n pense," *Télé-radiomonde*, August 4, 1973, 21. Patofville coinicidentally imagined the world in much the same visual terms as IXE had.
66 "La Page de Miss Television 70," *Télé-radiomonde*, April 3, 1971, 25.
67 Normand Gélinas, "Jeunesse monde," *Télé-radiomonde*, February 27, 1971, 20.
68 David Burnett, "Quebec 75/Arts: 1," *artscanada*, July–August 1976, 4–17.
69 Georges Bogardi, "Quebec 75: A Mirror Image?," *Montreal Star*, October 25, 1975.
70 Peter Selz, *Funk* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley; University Art Museum, 1967), 3.
71 Selz, *Funk*, 3.
72 Selz, *Funk*, 3.
73 Selz, *Funk*, 5.
74 Matei Calinescu, *Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 120–21.
75 Calinescu, *Faces of Modernity*, 136–37.
76 Rose Marie Arbour, *L'Art qui nous est contemporain* (Montréal: Éditions Artextes, 1999).
77 Janine Marchessault, "Citérama: Expo as Media City," in *Reimagining Cinema: Film at Expo 67*, ed. Monika Gagnon and Janine Marchessault (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 94.
78 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964; repr., Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 168.
79 Maurice Demers, "Réflexions sur le théâtre d'environnement," *Le Devoir*, January 9, 1971, 17.
80 Abraham A. Moles, *Le Kitsch: L'Art du bonheur* (Paris: Maison Mame, 1971), 28.
81 Moles, *Le Kitsch*, 6–8.
82 Moles, *Le Kitsch*, 32–33.
83 Moles, *Le Kitsch*, 133–89.
84 Donald B. Kuspit, "Pop Art: A Reactionary Realism," *Art Journal* 36, no. 1 (Autumn, 1976): 38.
85 Yves Robillard, "Pourquoi les 'Fabulous Brothers,'" *La Presse*, August 21, 1971, C8.

86 Saint-Pierre, "A Quebec Art Scenic Tour and his 'contradictions itinerants,'" 319.
87 François Charbonneau, Marcel Saint-Pierre, and Esther Trépanier, "Pratiques d'artistiques d'opposition à Montréal," *Art société, 1975–1980* (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1981), 12–20.
88 Yves Robillard, "Pourquoi les 'Fabulous Brothers'," *La Presse*, August 21, 1971, C8.
89 Gilles Crevier, "Le Québec Scenic Tour un 'show' historique," *La Patrie*, week of July 4, 1971, 12.
90 Crevier, "Le Québec Scenic Tour un 'show' historique," 12.
91 Gilles Toupin, "L'Underground fait surface," *La Presse*, March 24, 1973, E16.
92 Normand Thériault, "Images de labyrinthe," *La Presse*, July 3, 1971, D12.
93 Gilles Crevier, "Un labyrinthe où il y a de bien curieuses choses," *La Patrie*, week of September 6, 1971, 15.
94 Crevier, "Un labyrinthe où il y a de bien curieuses choses," 15.
95 Laurier Lacroix, "Cozic: Unique, Lyric, Ethic and Aesthetic," in *Cozic* (Outremont: Les Éditions du Passage; Longueuil: Plein Sud édition, 2017), 17–18.
96 Gilles Toupin, "L'Enfance bienheureuse de Média," *La Presse*, January 6, 1973, C13.
97 Toupin, "L'Enfance bienheureuse de Média," C13.
98 Pierre Vallières, "Objets intimistes de Cozic," *Le Devoir*, April 6, 1974, 24.
99 Christian Allègre, "Une sereine conviction," *Le Devoir*, October 24, 1970, 22.
100 Jules Arbec, "L'Étrangeté des objets critiques de Cozic à la galerie Média," *Le Devoir*, March 6, 1976, 17.
101 "Le Baromètre de la folie douce d'Yvon Cozic à Média," *Le Devoir*, February 28, 1976, 18.
102 Gilles Toupin, "Un parfum de cerise," *La Presse*, April 6, 1974, D16.
103 Anon., "'Oeil pour oeil—Doigt pour doigt' au Musée d'art contemporain," *Le Devoir*, August 1, 1973, 8.; "Le Baromètre de la folie douce d'Yvon Cozic à Média," *Le Devoir*, February 28, 1976, 18; Gilles Toupin, "Folie douce, sourire et art conceptuel," *La Presse*, February 28, 1976, D21.
104 Jean-Guy Prince, "Québec 75 ou la vaseline d'un art impuissant," *Mainmise*, December 1975, 40.
105 "Yvon Cozic et Jean-Marie Delavalle exposent au Centre culturel de T.R.," *Le Nouvelliste*, March 13, 1972, 22.
106 David Cobb, "The Sexiest Store in Canada," *The Gazette*, July 31, 1971, 24.
107 Michel Vadeboricéeur, "Montréal devient la plaque tournante des boutiques de sexe," *La Patrie*, December 9–15, 1971, 6.
108 *La Presse*, June 23, 1977, C3.
109 Gilles Toupin, "D'une exposition a l'autre," *La Presse*, May 19, 1973, D16.
110 Chantal Pontbriand, "Des gravures pour Noël?," *Le Devoir*, December 3, 1972, XIX; Gilles Toupin, "Notes hardies parmi les sculptures du parvis, pardi!," *La Presse*, July 13, 1974, D15.
111 For a discussion of Molinari and the Plasticiens' controversial position within the shifts of the Montréal art world of the 1960s and '70s, see Camille de

Singly, *Guido Molinari: Peintre moderniste canadien: Les Espaces de la carrière* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), 169–272.

112 This had become a common enough contention that it was central to Volker Kahmen's history of the erotic art of the twentieth century, *Erotic Art Today* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1972). Making nearly the opposite argument in the same year, Edward Lucie-Smith claimed that erotic art was coming to an end by the 1970s because realism was displacing the symbolic and sensual dimension that had dominated its history. See Lucie-Smith, *Eroticism in Western Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), especially 272–74.

113 This was not simply a momentary phenomenon. Even in 1982, Claude Tousignant would title one of his monochromes *Eros*.

114 Quoted in De Singly, *Guido Molinari*, 46.

115 *Guido Molinari: Écrits sur l'art (1954–1975)*, ed. Pierre Théberge (Ottawa: Galerie nationale du Canada, 1976), 50–52.

116 Fernande Saint-Martin, "Le Dynamisme des plasticiens de Montréal," *Vie des arts*, no. 44 (Autumn 1966): 44.

117 Lucy R. Lippard, "Eros Presumptive," *The Hudson Review* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 91.

118 Jules Arbec, "Le Cheminement plastique de Goguen," *Vie des arts* 30, no. 122 (1986): 84–85.

119 Arbec, "Le Cheminement plastique de Goguen," 85.

120 Arbec, "Le Cheminement plastique de Goguen," 85.

121 Yves Robillard, "Montréal, aujourd'hui," *Vie des arts*, no. 44 (Autumn 1966): 93.

122 Michelle Tisseyre, "De vrais petits chefs-d'oeuvre," *Photo-Journal*, week of December 29, 1965–January 5, 1966, 52.

123 Danielle Corbeil, *Claude Tousignant* (Ottawa: Galerie nationale du Canada, 1973), 3.

124 Philip S. Rawson, *The Art of Tantra* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1973), 138.

125 James D. Campbell, *After Geometry: The Abstract Art of Claude Tousignant* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1995), 86–87.

126 Campbell, *After Geometry*, 9–11.

127 Campbell, *After Geometry*, 12.

128 Campbell, *After Geometry*, 13, 15.

129 Campbell, *After Geometry*, 13.

130 Yves Robillard, "Les Beaux-arts," in *Le Canada français d'aujourd'hui*, ed. Léopold Lamontagne (Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Laval: University of Laval Press, 1970), 99–105.

131 Robillard, "Les Beaux-arts," 108–109.

132 Robillard, "Les Beaux-arts," 110.

133 Robillard, "Les Beaux-arts," 111.

134 Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Basic Books, 1964; repr., London: Routledge, 2017), 216.

135 Marcus, *The Other Victorians*, 268.
136 Marcus, *The Other Victorians*, 274.
137 Marcus, *The Other Victorians*, 271.
138 Campbell, *After Geometry*, 87.
139 Jacques Folch, "Cinq jeune peintres," *Vie des arts*, no. 31 (1963): 43.
140 Léo Rosshandler, "Guy Montpetit au Musée des beaux arts de Montréal," *Vie des arts*, no. 60 (Fall 1970): 53.
141 Rosshandler's use of the cliché "measure of man" was appropriated from one of the artist's statements. Marcel Huguet, "Sexe-Machine," *Photo-Journal*, week of August 10–16, 1970, 10.
142 François-Marc Gagnon, "Montpetit plasticien? Voyons donc!," *Vie des arts*, no. 67 (Summer 1972): 26.
143 Montpetit was one of the artists selected to decorate the Montréal Metro. His 1976 murals can be seen on the walls of Assomption station. Other works, rendered as sculptural murals, can be seen in Ventilation Tower, Autoroute Ville-Marie, and the west wing of Maison Radio-Canada.
144 Gagnon, "Montpetit plasticien? Voyons donc!," 27.
145 Gagnon, "Montpetit plasticien? Voyons donc!," 28.
146 Patrick Hutchings, "Deux visages de Montpetit: Les Ambigües de Montpetit," *Vie des arts*, no. 67 (Summer 1972): 23.
147 Hutchings, "Deux visages de Montpetit," 23.
148 Hutchings, "Deux visages de Montpetit," 25. Notably, the issue removes the extended discussion of pornography from the English translation. See 84–85.
149 Gagnon, "Montpetit plasticien? Voyons donc!," 28.
150 For the diverse ways that this has been the case, see Denys Riout, *La Peinture monochrome: Histoire et archéologie d'un genre* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 313–96.
151 The sense that the works are designed as mechanisms for the blurring and erasing of categories is echoed in another review. Reviewing the *Survey '69*, co-juried by Lucy Lippard, Ronald Bloore, and Andrée Paradis at the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, Toronto artist Bill Vazan stressed the anomalous colourfulness of Montpetit in a sea of minimalism and dematerialization. He notes that "Colour has become an anachronism with Guy Montpetit's acrylic and Henry Saxe's metal links being its sole vehicles. Montpetit's multicoloured meccano set is a link to the Pop past. His stylized image is of two mechanized society apotheoses flailing their roundended [*sic*] limbs as they reach across the picture's half." William Vazan, "Survey '69: At the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts," *Vie des arts*, no. 56 (Fall 1969): 60.
152 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; repr., 1990), 229.
153 Yve-Alain Bois, "Kitsch," in *Formless: A User's Guide*, ed. Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind Krauss (New York: Zone Books, 1997), 117–24.
154 Gérald Gassiot-Talabot, *La Figuration narrative* (Nîmes: Éditions Jacqueline Chambon, 2003), 14.
155 The film was recut by Cinépix, mostly by shifting the placement of several sequences, and marketed as *Gina's Stone Cold Revenge*. For an exploration of the

film's relationship to contemporaneous local sexploitation, see Sacha Lebel, "Vulgaire! Pervers! Dégradant!: Le Film d'exploitation et le cinéma québécois" (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 2010).

156 Bart Testa, "Denys Arcand's Sarcasm: A Reading of *Gina*," in *Dialogue: Cinéma canadien et québécois*, ed. Michael Doland (Montréal: Médiatexte publications et cinémathèque québécoise, 1987), 207.

157 Testa, "Denys Arcand's Sarcasm," 208.

158 Testa, "Denys Arcand's Sarcasm," 215.

159 For a different interpretation of this process, which she terms "Montréalisation," see Francine Couture, "Expositions collective et la montréalisation de l'art contemporain," in *Exposer l'art contemporain du Québec: Discours d'intention et d'accompagnement* (Montréal: Centre de diffusion 3D, 2003), 55–98. Couture charts this process from the beginning of the 1970s until the 1990s and makes a case for it being one of the tendencies that most strongly influenced the evolution of contemporary art in the city.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1 "Un artiste peintre qui vit en couleurs," *Le Petit Journal*, week of January 7–13, 1973, 12.

2 "La Municipalité de Chambly dotée d'un nouveau centre sportif," *Québec-Presse*, July 9, 1972, 35; "Le Photographe Guy Provost fête son 34e anniversaire!," April 15, 1972, *Télé-radiomonde*, 19; "Le Bal," *Télé-radiomonde*, June 2, 1971, 30; "Jacques Boulanger n'en revient pas!," *Télé-radiomonde*, October 10, 1970, 20.

3 John Dunning and Bill Brownstein, *You're Not Dead until You're Forgotten* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 53. Borremans would subsequently strain to distance his work from the popular erotic films that followed. See Guy Borremans, "L'Érotisme ce lumineux désir," *Lumières*, no. 23 (Spring 1990): 18–19, 24.

4 See John Dunning's autobiographical account of his role in the genre, *You're Not Dead until You're Forgotten* and Paul Corupe's "Sin and Sovereignty: The Curious Rise of Cinepix Inc.," *Take One: Film & Television in Canada* 14, no. 49 (2005): 16–21. For other commentaries, see Yves Lever's *Le Cinéma de la révolution tranquille de Panoramique à Valérie* (Bibliothèque national du Québec, 1991); Julie Beaulieu, "Le Plaisir visuel de Valérie," in *Nouvelles vues: Revue sur les pratiques et les théories du cinéma au Québec*, no. 15 (Winter 2013–2014): 159–76; Ginette Belzile, "Valérie: Du contexte au paratexte: Étude de la réception critique" (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 1997); Alan Jones, "'Notre Valérie Nationale': The *films de fesses* as a Catalyst of Socio-cultural Transformation during Quebec's Quiet Revolution and Beyond" (MA thesis, Concordia University, 2017); Sacha Lebel, "Vulgaire! Pervers! Dégradant!: Le film d'exploitation et le cinéma québécois" (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 2010).

5 Michael Spencer with Suzan Ayscough, *Hollywood North: Creating the Canadian Motion Picture Industry* (Montréal: Cantos International Publishing, Inc., 2003), 81.

6 Fournier had been an associate of surrealist Jean Benoît, who we met in an earlier chapter, and moved peripherally in French Surrealist circles. See Claude Fournier, *À force de vivre: Mémoires* (Montréal: Les Éditions Libre Expression, 2009), 252–79.
7 Alex Giroux, "La Musique populaire et la contre-culture au Québec (1967–1973)" (MA thesis, UQAM, 2015), 71–77.
8 See the ad for Raoul Duguay's "Manifeste de l'lnfonie" in *Le Devoir*, May 2, 1970, 14.
9 "Le Ti cat'chisse ti-pop," *Photo-Journal*, week of May 3–10, 1967, 77.
10 When black humour moved into Anglo-American circles during the 1960s, it was modified. Two studies from the time note this, but distance the new black humour from its French roots. For Douglas M. Davis, by the 1960s, following the examples of European absurdists, Dadaists, surrealists, and existentialists, black humour had become a major feature in the American imagination both in fiction and pop art. Rooting it in the co-evolution of the New Left, Davis treats black humour as satire of modern life, generally expressed in the crude and grotesque, but stressing "the essence of Black Humor is above all sociology…" Douglas M. Davis, *The World of Black Humor: An Introductory Anthology of Selections and Criticism* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1967), 16. The rage in American black humour, unlike that of Europe, was a moral one since the American mentality could not commit to nihilism, but remained in the space of disappointed optimism; an American black humourist was still a liberal at heart and so still trapped in narrative and the necessity of characters. Davis, *The World of Black Humour*, 20–25. Max F. Schulz followed a similar line in his study, distancing American black humour from surrealism and placing it at home with existentialism's angst, ambiguity, irony, and desire for commitment. Max F. Schulz, *Black Humor Fiction of The Sixties; A Pluralistic Definition of Man and His World* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1973), 7.
11 Anon., "Michèle Richard veut vivre pour elle-même et les gens qu'elle aime," *Photo-Journal*, June 24–30, 1974, 3.
12 Michèle Richard with Benoît Gignac, *Dressée pour être star* (Montréal: Éditions *La Presse*, 2011), 132.
13 *Télé-radiomonde*, December 9, 1967, 20.
14 Anon., "Son public ne l'a pas laissé tomber," *Télé-radiomonde*, April 27, 1968, 20.
15 Anon., "Ce n'est pas parce que je m'appelle Michele Richard que je peux tout me permettre," *Télé-radiomonde*, April 27, 1968, 18–19.
16 Anon., "La Chaleur ne les accable pas!," *Télé-radiomonde*, August 3, 1968, 6.
17 These examples are from one issue of *Photo-Journal*, week of May 3–10, 1967.
18 Pierre Brousseau, "Michèle Richard," *Photo-Journal*, week of September 23–October 1, 1969, 1.
19 Brousseau, "Michèle Richard," 3.
20 Brousseau, "Michèle Richard," 3.
21 Brousseau, "Michèle Richard," 3.
22 Brousseau, "Michèle Richard," 3.
23 Richard with Gignac, *Dressée pour être star*, 141.
24 Richard with Gignac, *Dressée pour être star*, 92.

25 Guy Pothier, "Michèle Richard pratique secretement le yoga depuis trois mois," *Télé-radiomonde*, April 19, 1969, 6–7.
26 Anon., "Michèle explose à la Jamaïque," *Photo-Journal*, week of June 28–July 4, 1971, 2.
27 Lise Lapierre, "Michèle Richard: Je ne serai jamais une mère célibataire," *Photo-Journal*, week of January 17–23, 1972, 3–4. "She never refused publicity." Lapierre, "Michèle Richard," 3.
28 Anon., "J'abandonne Alfredo pour son propre bonheur," *Photo-Journal*, week of February 18–24, 1974, 3.
29 Michèle Sénécal, "Pourquoi les hommes ont peur d'épouser Michèle Richard," *Photo-Journal*, week of December 14–20, 1975, 1. Sénécal wrote the *femme libre* column for the paper.
30 Sénécal, "Pourquoi les hommes ont peur d'épouser Michèle Richard," 3.
31 Sénécal, "Pourquoi les hommes ont peur d'épouser Michèle Richard," 3.
32 Benoît L'Herbier, *Charlebois, qui es-tu?* (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'homme, 1971), 139.
33 Bruno Roy, *L'Osstidcho, ou, Le Désordre libérateur: Essai* (Montréal: XYZ, impression, 2008), 46–48. Nonetheless, Roy goes to some lengths to compare Dylan's electrification and transformation of folk to Charlebois's transformation of Québec songwriting. Roy, *L'Osstidcho*, 99.
34 "Divertimento," on *Robert Charlebois Vol. 2* (1966) references the yé-yés mockingly and parodies Elvis.
35 L'Herbier, *Charlebois, qui es-tu?*, 80.
36 Roy, *L'Osstidcho*, 115. A highly publicized revue that had three performances between May 1968 and January 1969.
37 For an extended discussion of the implications of these artistic choices, see Roy, *L'Osstidcho*, 99–131.
38 Rudel-Tessier, "Marcel Sabourin: "Nous ne parlons pas la langue de 150 millions de gens," *La Presse*, July 24, 1969, 10.
39 L'Herbier, *Charlebois, qui es-tu?*, 86.
40 *La Patrie*, week of April 13, 1969, 1.
41 Anon., "Robert Charlebois laisse tomber ses spectacles a l'Olympia de Paris," *Télé-radiomonde*, April 19, 1969, 5; Anon., "Charlebois au Maroc," *Télé-radiomonde*, November 29, 1969, 2.
42 P.V., "La Saison de la CC: Charlebois, Reggiani, Les Cyniques, Gelinas, Deschamps-Forestier et…," *La Presse*, July 10, 1969, 5.
43 "Avec Suparchipelargo, Charlebois deviendra t-il un second Batman?," *Télé-radiomonde*, October 4, 1969, 25.
44 Manuel Maitre, "Suparchipelargo, un triste héros qui ne grandit pas notre théâtre," *La Patrie*, October 19, 1969, 62.
45 Michel Bélair, "Charlebois l'influence—Sabourin ou de de Georgette Plana," *Le Devoir*, October 6, 1969, 11.
46 Bélair, "Charlebois l'influence—Sabourin ou de de Georgette Plana," 10.
47 Yves Laberge, "L'Homme qui révolutionna la chanson québécoise: Entrevue avec Robert Charlebois," *Cap-aux-Diamants: La Revue d'histoire du Québec*, no. 89 (Spring 2007): 18.

48 Pénélope[?], "Pop-Pénélope," *Le Devoir*, January 24, 1970, 20.
49 Claude Bélanger, "Pour baiser Vanier," *La Barre du jour*, Winter 1973, 64.
50 Bélanger, "Pour baiser Vanier," 65–66.
51 Bélanger, "Pour baiser Vanier," 68.
52 Jean-Guy Pilon, "Vers une nouvelle sensibilité? Quand la poésie veut se suicider," *Le Devoir*, March 8, 1969, 21.
53 Jacques Paquin, "Vanier anatomiste: Figures de l'écorché," *Voix et Images* 32, no. 1 (Autumn 2006): 66.
54 Paquin, "Vanier anatomiste," 64–69.
55 Réginald Martel, "Poètes de l'amour et du pays: Pornographic delicatessen," *La Presse*, March 15, 1969, 34.
56 Jean Basile, "Livres," *Mainmise*, November 1972, 14–15.
57 Basile, "Livres," 15.
58 Basile, "Livres," 16.
59 Jean-Pierre Brousseau, "'Chroniques' contre '*Mainmise*': Un beau grabuge," *La Presse*, January 13, 1975, C3.
60 Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, "La Parole nouvelle, criée par les prophètes du planétaire!," *Le Devoir*, December 23, 1972, 13.
61 Mauice Comtois, "Québécois, Américain, ou Canayen?," *Le Devoir*, February 22, 1975, 20.
62 Pierre Brousseau, "Michèle Richard," *Photo-Journal*, week of September 24–October 1, 1969, 3.
63 Roy, *L'Osstidcho*, 99.
64 L'Herbier, *Charlebois, qui es-tu?*, 81.
65 René Lévesque in *Action: The October Crisis of 1970*, directed by Robin Spry (National Film Board of Canada, 1973), 1:07.
66 Louis Geoffroy, *Femme, objet…* (Montréal: Parti pris, 1983), 37.
67 Jonathan Paul Eburne, *Surrealism and the Art of Crime* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 141.
68 John Saywell, *Quebec 70: A Documentary Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 3–4.
69 One of the curious features relatively common to Canadian books about contemporary politics of the time was how much they used editorial cartoons—often without commenting on them—usually far more than photos or other sorts of imagery. Whatever financial issues may have prompted such a curious aesthetic choice, it nonetheless gives the impression that the Canadian political world is best imagined in caricatured form.
70 See Stanfield's introduction to the second edition of Ron Haggart and Aubrey E. Golden, *Rumours of War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1979), n.p.
71 Ann Charney, "From Redpath Crescent to Rue des Recollets," in *Power Corrupted: The October Crisis and the Repression of Quebec*, ed. Abraham Rotstein for The Canadian Forum (Toronto: New Press, 1971), 22.
72 Anon., "Une volée de plombs dans les fesses a fait de Carbonneau un terroriste," *Le Petit Journal*, week of October 25, 1970, 2.
73 Pierre Brousseau, "L'Amour humain': Le Piétinement de Héroux," *Photo-Journal*, November 1, 1970, 58.

74 For example, *La Presse*, October 16, 1970; *Le Petit Journal*, October 11, 1970; *La Patrie*, October 11, 1970.
75 George Woodcock, "Anarchism and Violence," in *Power Corrupted: The October Crisis and the Repression of Quebec*, ed. Abraham Rotstein for The Canadian Forum (Toronto: New Press, 1971), 41.
76 Woodcock, "Anarchism and Violence," 41.
77 Woodcock, "Anarchism and Violence," 41.
78 Woodcock, "Anarchism and Violence," 43.
79 Woodcock, "Anarchism and Violence," 43–44.
80 This is part of why Woodcock ultimately condemned it in *Confederation Betrayed* (Madeira Park: Harbour Pub, 1981).
81 See my discussion of Trudeau's functionalism in "John Boyle, Greg Curnoe, and Joyce Wieland: Erotic Art and English Canadian Nationalism" (PhD diss., Carleton University, 2020), 82–91.
82 Margaret Trudeau, *Beyond Reason* (London: Paddington Press Ltd., 1979), 59.
83 Richard Gwyn, *The Northern Magus: Pierre Trudeau and Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 97–98.
84 Bergeron's text had a significant influence on the Marxist history of art in the country. See Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art* (Toronto: NC Press, 1974).
85 For a discussion of the figure, see François Droüin, "Un vieux de '37 d'Henri Julien," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 133, (Spring 2018): 20–22.
86 *Le Petit Journal*, week of October 18, 1970, 6.
87 For examples, see discussions of this in the context of the French Revolution such as *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993); Lynn Hunt, *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); and Chantal Thomas, *The Wicked Queen: The Origins of the Myth of Marie-Antoinette* (New York: Zone Books, 1999). For other historical examples, see Paul W. Goldschmidt, *Pornography and Democratization: Legislating Obscenity in Post-Communist Russia* (Boulder: Westview Press. 1999). More recently, see a discussion of similar figurations involving Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump in Alison Rowley, *Putin Kitsch in America* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).
88 Dan G. Loomis, *Not Much Glory: Quelling the F.L.Q.* (Toronto: Deneau, 1984), 16.
89 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 6.
90 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 5.
91 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 7.
92 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 11.
93 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 46.
94 Charney, "From Redpath Crescent to Rue des Recollets," 18.
95 Charney, "From Redpath Crescent to Rue des Recollets," 18.
96 Charney, "From Redpath Crescent to Rue des Recollets," 26.
97 Loomis, *Not Much Glory*, 10.
98 *Le Soleil*, October 19, 1970, 4.
99 *Le Petit Journal*, week of October 18, 1970, 14.

100 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964; repr., Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 216.
101 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 205.
102 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 207.
103 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 212.
104 Charney, "From Redpath Crescent to Rue des Recollets," 27.
105 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 40. Blackmail was also the term used by Trudeau. Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 71.
106 Leo Katz, *Ill-Gotten Gains: Evasion, Blackmail, Fraud and Kindred Puzzles of the Law* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 133–95.
107 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 197.
108 James Stewart, *The FLQ: Seven Years of Terrorism* (Richmond Hill: Published by the *Montreal Star* in cooperation with Simon and Schuster of Canada, 1970), 53.
109 Stewart, *The FLQ*, 53–54.
110 Stewart, *The FLQ*, 77.
111 Stewart, *The FLQ*, 77.
112 See the discussion of this topic in this book's conclusion.
113 Anon., "Un martyr de la démocratie," *Le Soleil*, October 19, 1970, 12; Jean-Claude Picard, "Les Assassins de Laporte sont des êtres inhumains (Lévesque)," *Le Soleil*, October 19, 1970, 12.
114 Anon., "Pierre Laporte: Témoin et artisan de la société québécoise," *La Presse*, October 19, 1970, A4.
115 For example, Mariane Favreau, "Un couple séparé par le drame," *La Presse*, October 19, 1970, C3 (the theatre section). References to his wife were common in eulogies.
116 Lise Lachance, "Près de 1,500 personnes ont défilé hier soir devant la dépouille de Pierre Laporte," *Le Soleil*, October 19, 1970, 16.
117 The cover for *La Presse*, October 19, 1970.
118 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 44.
119 *La Patrie*, week of October 25, 1970.
120 In one exception, a cover photo of Paul Rose shows him in a Napoleonic pose with his hand tucked into his shirt, his hair, beard, and clothing suggesting an actor masquerading as Fidel Castro. The caption reads, "Paul Rose n'a jamais aimé se faire photographier," *Le Petit Journal*, week of October 25, 1970, 1.
121 Anon., "Paul Rose et Marc Carbonneau," *La Tribune*, October 27, 1970, 8.
122 The photo originally appeared in Anon., "'Si les gars de Murray Hill nous bousculent, nous riposterons,'" *La Presse*, October 8, 1969, 3.
123 Anon., "Une volée de plombs dans les fesses a fait de Carbonneau un terroriste," 2.
124 Héroux claimed, "[w]ith this film I tried to provoke by systematically denuding. With *L'Initiation*, I didn't want to systematically denude, but I do believe that it is really about a sexual initiation. Let's be clear about this. I didn't want to make a sex education film. This is not another 'Kâma-Sûtra'! In my next film, *L'Amour humain*, this time it will be the moment of the loss of virginity…" Luc Perreault, "L'Independance, pour quoi faire?," *La Presse*, January 31, 1970, 35.

125 Jean Pellerin, "Ottawa a fait ce qu'il fallait," *La Presse*, October 19, 1970, A4.
126 *House of Commons Debates*, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session: Vol. 1, 265.
127 *House of Commons Debates*, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session: Vol. 1, 265.
128 *The Vancouver Sun*, October 17, 1970, 1.
129 Anon., "Jeune femme kidnappée à Hull: Les Effectifs policiers sont doublés," *La Presse*, October 19, 1970, B15.
130 Anon., "Jeune femme kidnappée à Hull," B15. The term *rapts* has the double connotation of potential rape, a suggestion also in the use of the term *ravisseurs*.
131 PC, "Des sadiques gravent les lettres FLQ sur la poitrine d'une jeune fille," *La Tribune*, Sherbrooke, October 18, 1970, 8.
132 PC, "Des sadiques gravent les lettres FLQ sur la poitrine d'une jeune fille," 8.
133 CP-UPI, "4 sought after 'FLQ' is carved on stomach of woman in Hull," *Toronto Daily Star*, October 19, 1970, 11; CP, "Hull search continues: Gang carves FLQ on woman's stomach," *Globe and Mail*, October 19, 1970, 4.
134 CP, "Put on probation," *Globe and Mail*, October 21, 1970, 9; CP, "Hull 'kidnap' hoax," *The Gazette*, October 21, 1970, 26.
135 For instance, the *Globe* did, but the *Daily Star* did not. And while the *Gazette* did, most Québec papers did not.
136 For examples, see Melissa M. Matthes, *The Rape of Lucretia and the Founding of Republics: Readings in Livy, Machiavelli, and Rousseau* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
137 For brief discussions of the "roughie," see Elena Gorfinkel, *Lewd Looks: American Sexploitation Cinema in the 1960s* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 98–99, 129–34; Bill Landis and Michelle Clifford, *Sleazoid Express: A Mind-Twisting Tour Through the Grindhouse Cinema of Times Square* (New York: Fireside, 2002), 22–46.
138 PC, "La Justice est la seule passion qui doit nous animer présentement," *Le Soleil*, October 19, 1970, 13.
139 PC, "La Justice est la seule passion qui doit nous animer présentement," 13.
140 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 82.
141 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 210.
142 Georges Bataille, "The Surrealist Religion," in *The Absence of Myth: Writings on Surrealism*, ed. and trans. Michael Richardson (London: Verso Books, 1994), 74–75.
143 Saywell, *Quebec 70*, 73.

CHAPTER NINE

1 L'Atelier d'Expression Multidisciplinaire (ATEM) en collaboration avec la Bibliothèque Nationale, *Rencontre international de la contre-culturel, avril 21–27, 1975* (Montréal: Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1975), 12.
2 *Rencontre international de la contre-culturel*, 3.
3 *Rencontre international de la contre-culturel*, 4.
4 *Rencontre international de la contre-culturel*, 2.
5 *Rencontre international de la contre-culturel*, 6.

6 *Rencontre international de la contre-culturel*, 12.
7 For a good example, see George Woodcock's "The '30s and the '60s," *Saturday Night*, December 1969, and "Are the Student Rebels Fascists of the Left?," *Saturday Night*, July 1969, both of which stressed what he saw as the retrograde and superficial nature of the counterculture.
8 Jacques Lazure, "Les Affinités du Québec avec la nouvelle culture," in *Écrivains Québécois de nouvelle culture*, ed. Ghislaine Houle and Jacques Lafontaine (Montréal: Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1975), xxvii.
9 Lazure, "Les Affinités du Québec avec la nouvelle culture," xxviii.
10 Lazure, "Les Affinités du Québec avec la nouvelle culture," xxxii.
11 Lazure, "Les Affinités du Québec avec la nouvelle culture," xxxii.
12 Lazure, "Les Affinités du Québec avec la nouvelle culture," xxxiii.
13 Véronique Rodriguez, "Québec 75/Arts, cinéma, vidéo: Pour un nouvelle vision de l'art contemporain au Québec," in *Exposer l'art contemporain du Québec: Discours d'intention et d'accompagnement*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: Centre de diffusion 3D, 2003), 17.
14 Normand Thériault and Claude de Guise, *Québec 75/Arts* (Montréal: Institut d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1975), 7.
15 Thériault and de Guise, *Québec 75/Arts*, 7.
16 Chantal Pontbriand, "Québec 75: Postface de Chantal Pontbriand," *Parachute*, January 1976, 32.
17 Georges Bogardi, "Québec 75: A Mirror Image?," *Montreal Star*, October 25, 1975. An editorial in *Parachute* complained that debates within and around the exhibition were mired in references to Automatism. F.M., "Informations," *Parachute*, January 1976, 3.
18 Henry Lehmann, "Québec 75: Echoes of the Past?," *Montreal Star*, October 25, 1975.
19 Gilles Rioux, "Québec 75…malaise salutaire?," *Vie des arts* 20, no. 81 (1975): 61–64.
20 Laurent-Michel Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec* (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1975), 50.
21 Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec*, 52–53.
22 Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec*, 54.
23 Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec*, 57.
24 Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec*, 58.
25 Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec*, 67.
26 "Ce bordel de pays" (literally, "this brothel of a country," idiomatically equivalent to "this fucking country") was the title given to one of the recurring columns in *Parti pris*.
27 Réal Ouellet, "La Révolution québécoise des fils de Sartre: Un parti pris anthropologique de Paul Chamberland / Un parti pris révolutionnaire de Pierre Maheu," *Lettres québécoises*, no. 31 (Autumn 1983): 62.
28 Pierre Vallières, "Une nouvelle revue, 'Parti pris,' veut être un Front intellectuel de libération du Québec," *La Presse*, October 2, 1963, 46.
29 Vallières, "Une nouvelle revue," 46.

30 Jean-Philippe Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel: Sexualité et masculinité dans la revue *Parti Pris*," *Globe* 12, no. 2 (2009): 132. Ironically, given that he is a sociologist, Warren largely ignores what this might imply about a theory of sexuality. It is also odd, given that the partipristes' discussions of eroticism *do* frame it within the tropes of psychoanalysis, though more for its mythopoetic value than anything else.

31 Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel," 133.

32 Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel," 134. I will return to this topic at the end of the chapter. It's worth noting that Maheu rightly asserted there was almost no interest in male-female relationships, in family life, or in everyday existence beyond the level of rhetorical abstraction in the work of he and his colleagues. Pierre Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire* (Montréal: Parti pris, 1983), 301.

33 I have largely confined myself to addressing Warren's article since it critically synthesizes several earlier articles that travelled the same terrain and does it with considerably more coherency and care. He cites Jeffrey Vacante as working through a compatible argument, but Vacante is significantly more prone to specious generalization and unjustified moralization. See his "Liberal Nationalism and the Challenge of Masculinity Studies in Quebec," *Left History* 11, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 96–117; and "Writing the History of Sexuality and 'National' History in Quebec," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 2 (2005): 31–56. A significant part of Warren's interpretation of the perceived gender politics at play is derived from essays by feminist academics such as Katherine A. Roberts and Patricia Smart, particularly in regard to Hubert Aquin. See Patricia Smart, "When 'Next Episodes' Are No Longer an Option: Quebec Men's Writing in a Postfeminist, Postnationalist Age," *Quebec Studies*, no. 30 (2000): 28–43; and Katherine A. Roberts, "Making Women Pay: Revolution, Violence, Decolonizing Quebec in Hubert Aquin's *Trou de memoire*," *Quebec Studies*, no. 30 (2000): 17–27.

34 For a commentary on the tensions within the journal between the different authors, different theories of writing, and the relationship between politics and writing, see Robert Major, "*Parti pris*: Ideologies et literature" (PhD diss., University of Ottawa, 1976), 127–92, though Major also tends to treat the partipristes' writing as too much of a pragmatic tool to aid practical political activity. Maheu, for instance, explained that concrete existentialism was always less important than "existentialism as style"; it was primarily Sartre's style that he took as a rhetorical device rather than his philosophy's implications for praxis. Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 282. The rhetorical borrowings that he and his colleagues performed were not about synthesizing a set of discourses but about stylistically abstracting them.

35 Although some of the authors he cites did write relatively sober, if polemical, political texts, almost all of Warren's citations come from the most overtly hyperbolic and stylized works published in the journal or by its contributors. I should also note that, while the surrealists did engage in a kind of sociology, particularly among Georges Bataille's circle—the journal *Documents* and the Collège de Sociologie—it was a very perverse and esoteric sociology, alien

from the mainstream of the discipline. See Denis Hollier, *Le Collège de Sociologie, 1937–1939* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995) and *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents*, ed. Dawn Ades, Simon Baker, and Fiona Bradley (London: Hayward Gallery, 2006).

36 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 283. This rather eerily echoes McLuhan's understanding of Québec; see his review of *Trudeau's Federalism and the French Canadians* in *The New York Times*, November 17, 1968, BR36.

37 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 283–84.

38 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 300. Though it is ignored in the gendered interpretations of the partipristes, "la terre" is simultaneously the father. Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 145.

39 Hubert Aquin, "Le Corps mystique," *Parti pris*, February 1964, 30. This theme was taken up with less rhetorical success by others, in *Parti pris* and beyond. Citing Aquin's cataloguing of "conjugal analogies in the presentation of federalist theses," Lefebvre uses it to frame an analysis of the "érotique bi-nationale" of federalist economic domination of Québec. Pierre Lefebvre, "Les 32 positions du fédéralisme coopératif ou le kâmasoûtra de l'hon.lamontagne," *Parti pris*, Spring 1964, 168. This persisted for years in anti-Trudeau rhetoric. See, for example, Jean Marchand, "La réalité c'est qu'à l'analyse, on se rend compte que le Québec, de région oubliée par le fédéral qu'il auparavant, est devenu la femme entretenue de la Confédération…" *Le Devoir*, March 21, 1972; and Gerald Godin, "Une 'call-girl' nommée Québec et un 'pimp' nomme Trudeau," in *L'Anti-Trudeau: Choix de textes*, ed. André Potvin, Michel Letourneux, and Robert Smith (Montréal: Éditions Parti pris, 1972), 132–34.

40 Aquin, "Le Corps mystique," 31.

41 Aquin, "Le Corps mystique," 32–33.

42 Aquin, "Le Corps mystique," 33.

43 For a more theoretical statement of this, see Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *Federalism and the French Canadians* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977), 151–81. Originally published in *Cité Libre*, April 1962. For Trudeau rehearsing these themes at his most colourfully polemical, see his *Cité Libre* article from May 1964, in which he cast the province's separatists as a variety of new religious sectarians. He accused them of being reactionary bourgeois counterrevolutionaries, attacking them in terms borrowed from Marxism and decolonial theory. Trudeau, *Federalism and the French Canadians*, 204–12.

44 Aquin, "Le Corps mystique," 36.

45 Francine Couture, "Presentation," in *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: La Reconnaissance de la modernité*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1997), 16.

46 Advertisements for contraception were allowed after reforms to the Criminal Code in 1969. Previous to this, they were deemed obscene. See Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880–1980* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 136.

47 Works by Kate Millet, Germaine Greer, and Betty Friedan, as well as the *Kinsey Report* and the works of Wilhelm Reich, became available in French

translation around 1973. Sheena Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992" (PhD diss., Concordia University, 2002), 100.

48 Sean Mills, "Québécoises deboutte! Le Front de libération des femmes du Québec, le Centre des femmes et le nationalisme," *Mens* 4, no. 2 (2004): 188.

49 Mills, "Québécoises deboutte!," 192.

50 Mills, "Québécoises deboutte!," 193. It would also be mocked by Vittorio Fiorucci as a castrating ideology. See his print *Women's Lib* (1976) as well as Pierre Dupras' comic *Vive la femme libre*, published in *Québec-Presse*, October 3, 1971, 28.

51 Mills, "Québécoises deboutte!," 189.

52 Mills, "Québécoises deboutte!," 198–200.

53 Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992," 102–103.

54 Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992," 43–44. For an early profile of the gallery, see Susan K. Poteet, "Powerhouse: Montréal's Women's Gallery," *Branching Out* 2, no. 5 (September/October 1975): 19–21.

55 Galerie Gilles Corbeil, situated next to the YWCA, also put on a show of fourteen female painters from Québec to coincide.

56 Anon., "Artfemme '75," *Sunday Express*, April 13, 1975, n.p.

57 Rose-Marie Arbour, "Les Expositions collectives de femmes artistes et leurs catalogues: 1965–1990," in *Exposer l'art contemporain du Québec: Discours d'intention et d'accompagnement*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: Centre de diffusion 3D, 2003), 101.

58 Gourlay notes that several of the gallery's original members were Americans and brought with them the concerns of American radical feminism, which caused some friction with the more Québec-nationalist forms of feminism that were developing in the province. Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992," 100.

59 Platengu only makes this statement in the English version of the text. She would insist to the press on the essential difference between men and women, claiming that the latter possessed "greater sensuality, more humanistic roots, closer to life sources" and were likely "the new source of vitality." Virginia Nixon, "Women Artists or Women in the Masks of Men?," *Montreal Gazette*, April 12, 1975, 50.

60 Saint-Martin was editor of the Québec edition of *Chatelaine* from 1960 to 1972. For a commentary on her brand of feminism and her relationship to the city and its cultural community, see Eva-Marie Kröller's "'*Une terre humaine*': Expo 67, Canadian Women, and Chatelaine/Châtelaine," in *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir,* ed. Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 61–80.

61 Presumably she is referring to feminist writers like Linda Nochlin and Lucy Lippard. This was the same strategy employed by the *Woman as Viewer* exhibition in Winnipeg, although Saint-Martin goes on to complicate it.

62 Fernande Saint-Martin, "Introduction," in *Artfemme '75: Une exposition d'oeuvres de femmes artistes/Artfemme '75: An Exhibition of Women's Art*, ed. Fernande Saint-Martin and Gail Lauzzana (Montréal: Saidye Bronfman Centre/Centre

Saidye Bronfman; Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal; Galerie Powerhouse/YWCA, 1975), n.p.

63 Saint-Martin, "Introduction."

64 Saint-Martin, "Introduction."

65 She cites primarily psychoanalysts but also Derrida, Duchamp, and others.

66 Saint-Martin, "Introduction."

67 Claude Gosselin, "Artfemme, ou des artistes," *Le Devoir*, April 19, 1975, 18.

68 Arbour, "Les Expositions collectives de femmes artistes et leurs catalogues," 119.

69 Gilles Toupin, "Les Amazones et le mâlisme artistique," *La Presse*, April 12, 1975, D18.

70 Toupin, "Les Amazones et le mâlisme artistique," D18.

71 Gilles Toupin, "Le Mou, le flou et le délicat…," *La Presse*, April 19, 1975, D19.

72 Anon., "Women Artists' Works Honored," *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 24, 1975, 53. The selection of work in that exhibition was structured in a way almost identical to *ARTFEMME '75* in Montréal. In addition to including numerous American artists, the show in Winnipeg was framed by the curation in more overtly Americanized terms. Critical reception of the show in Winnipeg differed significantly from that of *ARTFEMME '75* in Montréal, stressing that it was a show dominated by eroticism as much or more than by feminism or definitions of women. For examples, see Roger Newman, "An Attack on Men Plus Erotica in Staid Old Winnipeg's Art Show," *Globe and Mail*, November 29, 1975, 31; Julie Brickman, "Women and Erotic Art," *Canadian Dimension* 11, no. 4 (March 1975): 43; John C. Graham, "Issues Political, Not Aesthetic," *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 4, 1975, 25; Katie FitzRandolph, "Woman as Viewer Makes Winning Show," *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 4, 1975, 25; James Purdie, "ART: Caution: Eroticism, Nudity May Be Offensive," *Globe and Mail*, December 11, 1975, 18.

73 Toupin, "Le Mou, le flou et le délicat…," D19.

74 Toupin, "Le Mou, le flou et le délicat…," D19. Gourlay points out that, due to the explicitly institutional articulation of feminism as practice and as a form of collective identity, in realistic terms "any simple division between feminism and nationalism, or between Francophone and Anglophone, [is] problematic." Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992," 65.

75 For a rather different analysis of works in the show in terms of their ways of articulating the gaze, women as artists, and women as images, see Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992," 44–51. For the most part, she selects different artworks than I have and situates them within broader issues of gender identity rather than eroticism.

76 Virginia Lambe, "Dual Reaction to Laing," *Montreal Gazette*, November 30, 1968, 52. A similar assessment was made of her more mythologically infused work. Rea Montbizon, "Sheyna Lang [*sic*]—Down from Olympus," *Montreal Gazette*, March 8, 1966, 23.

77 Janice Flood-Turner, "Figurative Foam Sculpture a Personal Statement" (MFA thesis, Concordia University, 1974), 5.

78 Flood-Turner, "Figurative Foam Sculpture a Personal Statement," 4. A review of her MFA show suggests that the works are a protest against the oppressive

norms of society; see Henry Lehmann, "Objects and Reflections," *Montreal Star*, March 2, 1974, D4.

79 Flood-Turner, "Figurative Foam Sculpture a Personal Statement," 4.

80 Flood-Turner, "Figurative Foam Sculpture a Personal Statement," 8.

81 Now known as Tanya Mars.

82 Rosenberg noted the wildly varied response the pieces received: "I found that people who were uptight about sex in general thought codpieces were dirty. Men who were of the opinion that 'women's libbers' were into castrating males saw codpieces as castrating. Men who bought *Playboy* magazine to oogle [*sic*] at nude ladies saw codpieces as oogle [*sic*] material for women. Men who exploited women as sexual objects saw codpieces as a means for women to exploit men sexually. But men who had a consciousness about roles they were expected to play in society saw codpieces as stabs against those roles. Men who were aware of the sexual exploitation of woman saw codpieces as a statement against sexual exploitation altogether. People who were openly interested in sex and had a healthy attitude about it saw codpieces as enjoyable and refreshing. And on and on." She insisted that, from her own perspective, they were satirical erotic art intended to make men more sexually "enticing": "More male sexual liberation means more female sexual liberation by eliminating narrow sexual role playing." Tanya Rosenberg, "Codpieces: Phallic Paraphernalia," *Branching Out* 3, no. 1 (February/March 1976): 14–17.

83 Arbour, "Les Expositions collectives de femmes artistes et leurs catalogues," 112–20.

84 Though Larivée is commonly accorded the role of author for the project, it was the work of the Group de Recherche et d'Action Sociale par l'Art et les Médias de Communication (GRASAM), which she co-founded with Claude Gosselin and Jacqueline Rousseau.

85 It was resurrected a few years later for the *Art et féminisme exhibition* (1982) at the Musée d'Art Contemporain de Montréal.

86 Jean Basile, "En juillet, tout Montréal sera transformé en musée," *Le Devoir*, June 22, 1976, 11.

87 Anon., "La Chambre nuptiale, conçue pour agresser le visiteur," *La Presse*, July 7, 1976, E10.

88 Angèle Dagenais, "La Chambre nuptiale hante le Complexe Desjardins…," *Le Devoir*, July 8, 1976, 13. As Gourlay explains, the work also bore a strong resemblance to earlier feminist and performance works, notably by the collective Mauve. See the footnote by Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992," 68.

89 Stéphane Moissan, "La 'Chambre Nuptiale,'" *La Presse*, August 30, 1977, D1.

90 This would remain a theme in her work in the years to come. One of her more overtly ti-popish moments was the film *Le Coeur du frère André*, described as "the flash of the dead man watching himself disemboweled, his heart extracted and placed in a jar of formaldehyde. Around him, pious images, his self-portrait and a few erotic dreams scattered subtly in his memory." Anon., "Du cinéma expérimental au Musée d'art contemporain," *Le Devoir*, October 25, 1977, 22. I have not been able to locate a copy of the short film.

91 Anon., "Le Pavillon du Québec à TdH présente 'La chambre nuptiale,'" *Le Devoir*, July 13, 1977, 10.

92 See also Anithe de Carvalho, "*La Chambre nuptiale* by Francine Larivée: A Work from the Cultural Democracy Model, or When Neo-avant-garde Feminist Art Becomes Part of the Establishment," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 34, no. 2 (2013): 112.

93 The artist explained that the "pavilion sheds light on the blurred world of infantile feelings, based on dependence and immaturity. To achieve a progressive path, the individual must regain control of his or her personal universe, and assume his or her shortcomings and contradictions." Anon., "La Chambre nuptiale, conçue pour agresser le visiteur," E10.

94 Anon., "La Chambre nuptiale, conçue pour agresser le visiteur," E10.

95 Seth Feldman, "Minotaur in a Box: The Labyrinth at Expo 67," in *Reimagining Cinema: Film at Expo 67*, ed. Monika Gagnon and Janine Marchessault (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 27–45.

96 Francine Larivée, "La Chambre Nuptiale 'sous silence,'" *Intervention*, no. 7 (1980): 38.

97 Anon., "'La Chambre nuptiale' de Francine Larivée au Complexe Desjardins et dans les centres commerciaux," *La Revue de Terrebonne*, June 30, 1976, 21. Larivée notes that men generally reacted negatively and older people were shocked. Stéphane Moissan, "La 'Chambre Nuptiale,'" *La Presse*, August 30, 1977, D1.

98 Anon., "'La Chambre nuptiale' de Francine Larivée au Complexe Desjardins et dans les centres commerciaux," 21.

99 Anon., "La Chambre nuptiale, conçue pour agresser le visiteur," E10.

100 The lack of criticism and mechanical reiteration of Larivée's statements has also been noted by Gourlay, "Feminist/art in Quebec, 1975–1992," 78.

101 Larivée, "La Chambre Nuptiale 'sous silence,'" 39. [My emphasis]

102 This bureaucratic/sociological method for art was employed by others at the time as well. See Carvalho, "*La Chambre nuptiale* by Francine Larivée," 115–16.

103 These numbers were apparently cumulative. They grew with each press release issued, starting around 45,000 hours of labour at the opening. Given that an estimated 50,000 people visited the environment between 1976 and 1982, the success of sociological engagement was low, at under 4,000 responses. Carvalho, "*La Chambre nuptiale* by Francine Larivée," 127.

104 Larivée, "La Chambre Nuptiale 'sous silence,'" 39.

105 Carvalho, "*La Chambre nuptiale* by Francine Larivée," 122–31.

106 Michel Roy, "Artiste et société: Professionnalisation ou action politique," in *Les Arts visuels au Québec dans les années soixante: L'Éclatement du modernisme*, ed. Francine Couture (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1997), 393. The excessive birth rate commonly associated with Québec was largely mythical. See Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880–1980* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 127–29.

107 Fernand Dumont, Pierre Lefebvre, and Marcel Rioux, "Le Canada français: Édition revue et corrigée," *Liberté*, January–February 1962, 51.

108 To the best of my knowledge, I am the only person to stress how McLuhanite this sector of Québécois nationalism was.
109 Warren, Jean-Marc Piotte, and others have pointed out how surprisingly little Marcuse had actually filtered into Québec, even by 1969, although Reich's ideas enjoyed some popularity, even if he was not directly cited. See Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel," 136, note 24.
110 Berque contributed "Les Révoltés du Québec" for issue three of *Parti pris*, December 1963, 48–51.
111 Jacques Berque, *Dépossession du monde* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 46.
112 Berque, *Dépossession du monde*, 39–40.
113 Berque, *Dépossession du monde*, 40–41.
114 Berque, *Dépossession du monde*, 50.
115 The strange patina given to generic leftist terms like "alienation" was noted early on by Charles Taylor, who pointed out that, "Alienation, as we understand it here, is a concept supposedly taken from Marx and Hegel, but it's obvious that the term has a very different meaning. We even doubt its coherence." Charles Taylor, "La Révolution futile," *Cité Libre*, August–September 1964, 15.
116 Scott Symons, "Je vois le parti Tory comme un acte de foi; le parti Libéral, comme un plainte," *Le Devoir*, June 17, 1961, 9; Scott Symons and John Visser, *Heritage: A Romantic Look at Early Canadian Furniture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971).
117 Pierre Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire* (Montréal: Parti pris, 1983), 146.
118 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 146.
119 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 146.
120 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 145
121 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 147.
122 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 112.
123 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 112.
124 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 112–113.
125 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 113.
126 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 113.
127 For a discussion of partipristes' aversion to moderate secularism, see Martin Roy, "Le Programme laïciste de la revue de gauche *Parti pris* (1963–1968)," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 22, no. 3 (Spring–Summer 2014): 205–28.
128 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 143.
129 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 143.
130 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 145.
131 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 143.
132 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 144.
133 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 145. For an extremely different reading of the matter of laos-ité, one which largely eliminates its erotic dimension and underplays the complex and deliberate decadence of Maheu's aesthetics and historical model, see Mathieu Lavigne's "Pierre Maheu: Laïcité, laos-ité," in *Avec ou sans Parti pris: Le Legs d'une revue*, ed. Gilles Dupuis, Karim Larose,

Frédéric Rondeau, and Robert Schwartzwald (Montréal: Éditions Nota bene, 2018), 179–201.

134 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 144.

135 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 145.

136 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 292.

137 The importance of aspects of the *poète maudit* tradition to the decolonizing imagination has also been noted by Elie Kedourie, see his introduction to *Nationalism in Asia and Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1970), 108–110.

138 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 145.

139 Pierre Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," *Parti pris*, Spring 1964, 28.

140 Pierre Maheu, "De la révolution à la révolution," *Parti pris*, October 1963, 13.

141 Maheu, "De la révolution à la révolution," 14. *Attitude*, of course, was a favoured term of Althusser and implies the taking of a physical pose more than the mental attitude suggested in English.

142 There is remarkably little sense of dialectical tension or development in Maheu. Much as in Aquin, everything moves more through radical disjunction, through a kind of leap to alternative series of frozen images and through parodies more than antitheses. In an earlier text, Maheu claims that, *Parti pris* was working to redefine the revolutionary group, to create a society where the individual can finally face their liberty. Since repossessing the self in solitude is impossible, this was necessarily a collective enterprise to escape the degrading structures of the world. But this seemingly romantic attitude present in "De la révolution à la révolution" mostly slips away, or significantly changes, in subsequent texts.

143 Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," 20.

144 Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," 21.

145 Borduas was also attacked by Paul Chamberland, who claimed he represented an "Unhappy, sterile negativity; from refusal to exile, solitude, reclusion. Myths of the 'inner life,' of dualism, of absolute and proud deprivation. Exemplary 'private' lives (they push the 'deprivation' of daily life of the Québécois to the limit to the limit)." Paul Chamberland, "Aliénation culturelle et révolution nationale," *Parti pris*, November 1963, 22.

146 *Parti pris* was vehemently critiqued in *Cité Libre* by Charles Taylor, who insisted that they were a talented group of bourgeois *littéraires* but "their ideology is totalitarian, and if fully implemented would lead to the excesses typical of totalitarian regimes." Taylor, "La Révolution futile," 11. This totalitarianism, he argued, was based in their tendency to understand everything through the lens of colonialism, which allowed them to invent a unity for disparate things where it did not exist. Taylor attacked Maheu in particular for advocating amorality. "La Révolution futile," 19, 21. But this interpretation, and Taylor's insistence on filtering the partipristes' statements through the lens of an orthodox Hegelo-Marxism, seems guilty of exactly what he is critiquing them for.

147 Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," 23.

148 Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," 26.

149 Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," 27.

150 Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," 27.
151 This is the space where the men of the province live, the taverns of Michel Tremblay and Marie-Claire Blais discussed in earlier chapters.
152 Maheu, "L'Oedipe colonial," 27.
153 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 115.
154 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 114.
155 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 115.
156 Maheu, *Un parti pris révolutionnaire*, 116.
157 Hubert Aquin, "Profession: Écrivain," *Parti pris*, January 1964, 27.
158 Taylor, "La Révolution futile," 19.
159 An article by Robert Schwartzwald deals with this issue the most explicitly, primarily through looking at jokes (*blagues*) in the back of the journal, but does comment on Maheu's Oedipal myth, though very perfunctorily. See Robert Schwartzwald, "La Fédérastophobie, ou les lectures agitées d'une révolution tranquille," *Sociologie et sociétés* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 129–43 (esp. 138–39). He ignores the matter of laos-ité. Warren, who likewise ignores it, expresses some reservations about Schwartzwald's argument, explaining, "These 'jokes' may not have betrayed a 'homosexual panic' in the discourse of decolonization in Québec, as Robert Schwartzwald hypothesizes (since it was not homosexuality per se that posed the problem, but what homosexuality seemed to reveal about the condition of Québec man), but they nonetheless revealed a real homophobic anguish." Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel," 154. Even if one accepts that there is a "panic," one could suggest that it remains the case that both Schwartzwald and Warren's interpretations are not simply guilty of mistaking rhetorical superfice for structural argument but are predicated on a "moral panic" about perversity that neither of them acknowledge, and that the arbitrary normative assumptions about homosexuality that they judge Maheu by are only that. It should also be noted that Schwartzwald's work, here as elsewhere, completely ignores or suppresses any eroticism that would contradict his homonormative assumptions.
160 Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel," 146.
161 Silke-Maria Weineck, "The Laius Syndrome, or the Ends of Political Fatherhood," *Cultural Critique*, no. 74 (Winter 2010): 133.
162 Georges Devereux, "Why Oedipus Killed Laius—A Note on the Complementary Oedipus Complex in Greek Drama," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, vol. 34 (1953): 139.
163 Devereux, "Why Oedipus Killed Laius," 133.
164 Devereux, "Why Oedipus Killed Laius," 134–35. This also highlighted, Devereaux insisted, that the issue is not principally one of moral transgression (homosexuality or pederasty) but the transgression of manners, as an excessive act of hubris that violates the sensibility of the community. "Why Oedipus Killed Laius," 136. This fits quite well with both Maheu and Aquin's insistence on the coming of revolution through the space of paroxysm and the bad taste of ti-pop. It also ties quite closely to the logic of Scott Symons' critique of federalism and advocacy for a homoerotic nationalism. For him, homosexuality was the ironic "ransom" demanded by Catholic heritage against its repression

by Protestantism. Scott Symons, *Combat Journal for Place d'Armes* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 134. Homosexuality was the distorted figure of the love of tradition, the unity of Christ, or Tory Canada. As Symons would explain, the realization of this alienated him both from the Liberals and the liberalized Tories, both of whom would condemn him as a "pédéraste." It was, he insisted, better to be a pederast than a "fédéraste." "All fédérastes are of course pédérastes manqués…" Symons, *Combat Journal for Place d'Armes*, 141. The fédéraste is the negative parody of the "rite of Sodomy" that Symons saw as essential to the Tory-Classical tradition. In addition to stealing this play on words for his title, an article by Robert Schwartzwald tries to investigate the erotic tensions around federalism. However, he apparently did not actually read Symons, and quotes from an article on Symons instead, which is rather troubling given that no text in the period deals with this issue Schwartzwald is pretending to address in so much depth. See Schwartzwald, "La Fédérastophobie, ou les lectures agitées d'une révolution tranquille," 132–33. According to Symons, the fédéraste is the tool of the ruling establishment to geld through indoctrination. By contrast, the "Male Suffragette Movement" that he sometimes imagines himself part of is the attempt to emancipate men from consumerism, matriarchal control, and the fédéraste state. Making the féd/péd distinction even more explicit, this male suffragette was the "positive meaning of current militant homosexuality," unlike the "pan-Canadian Catamites" that dominate the "Blandland" of the Liberal Party. Scott Symons, *Civic Square* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 376.

165 It is unclear, but it seems that the various nexuses that Maheu establishes—the father-rival-lover-teacher and the mère-terre—do not form a couple but just another composite which operates as a kind of libidinal generator without necessarily implying progeneration, particularly since generation would return the nation to linear time. See the concluding remarks to this section.

166 The teacher-student erotic relation and a symbolic reproduction through the loving knowledge of the nation. A decade after Maheu's text, Chamberland would put the matter of pedophilia in the centre of his discourse on sexuality with *Le Prince de Sexamour* (1976). In Warren and Fortin's study of the counterculture, they explain his attitude: "Incidentally, we reject the idea that pedophilia is a perversion, since it can, on the contrary, be 'a primary act of love.' Affective and erotic communication between child and adult seems to Paul Chamberland…'a necessity of the species.' Doesn't such communication help destroy the taboos of a puritanical, bourgeois society?" Jean-Philippe Warren and Andrée Fortin, *Pratiques et discours de la contreculture au Québec* (Québec: Septentrion, 2015), 51. They situate this within the apologetic literature for pedophilia of the time. The authors also note that in the 1970s, both Maheu and Chamberland largely abandoned their earlier forms of decadent radicalism for one more informed by the norms of psychedelic mysticism. Warren and Fortin, *Pratiques et discours de la contreculture au Québec*, 147–48. See also Vincent Charles Lambert, "La poésie de Paul Chamberland: Une secrète appurtenance," *Québec français*, no. 131 (Autumn 2003): 82–84.

167 This need for homogeneity is a significant part of anti-imperialist rhetoric. For example, "[d]ecolonization unifies that people by the radical decision to remove from it its heterogeneity, and by unifying it on a national, sometimes a racial, basis." Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 46. Radicalized sameness then functions as a form of autonomization.

168 Warren, "Un parti pris sexuel," 154. Warren seems to reduce this morality to little more than what could be termed "patriarchal heteronormativity," which avoids facing the fact that the critique of it rests on a puritanical application of the same basic ideological precepts, only expanded for market efficiency.

169 Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond*, trans. Charles Rougle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15–32; and Boris Groys, *Art Power* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 141–48.

170 This was famously played out in the United States in the writing of the critic Clement Greenberg, particularly in his essay "Avant-garde and Kitsch" (1939).

171 Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism*, 80.

172 Jean LeDerff, *Homosexuel? Et pourquoi pas!* (Montréal: Ferron Éditeur, 1974), 84.

173 LeDerff, *Homosexuel? Et pourquoi pas!*, 104.

174 LeDerff, *Homosexuel? Et pourquoi pas!*, 81–83.

175 LeDerff, *Homosexuel? Et pourquoi pas!*, 112.

176 LeDerff, *Homosexuel? Et pourquoi pas!*, 56–61, 154.

177 LeDerff, *Homosexuel? Et pourquoi pas!*, 145.

178 Andrée Fortin, "Paul Chamberland: Tension du je et du nous," *Nuit blanche, magazine littéraire*, no. 40 (1990): 21.

179 See Hugo Beauchemin-Lachapelle, "Ce mémoire intitulé: Paul Chamberland, de *Parti pris* à la contre-culture" (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 2012), which maps out the consistency between Chamberland's work in the 1960s and '70s, especially the ways in which he imagined a transformative utopia, 56–84, though the author generally downplays the blatant sexual dimension of Chamberland's work.

180 Paul Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour* (Montréal: L'Hexagone, 1976), 173.

181 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 240.

182 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 276–78.

183 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 297–301. He also speaks of this as a kind of monistic energy that does not comprehend good or evil. Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 129.

184 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 118.

185 Tony Duvert was an award-winning *nouveau romaniste* before becoming one of the most eloquent polemicists for pedophilia and ephebophilia. Though this ranges across a series of novels, essays, and hybrid texts across the 1970s, his arguments are most clearly made in his scathing attack on liberal sex reforms, *Le Bon sexe illustré* (1974). It is also worth mentioning in this context the work of Toronto's Gerald Hannon who, in *The Body Politic*, consistently wrote sympathetically of pedophilia, incurring a backlash in the local press in 1972 and 1974. See Donald W. McLeod, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada:*

A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964–1975 (Toronto: ECW Press/Homewood Books, 1996), 103–104, 187–88.

186 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 15, 54.
187 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 39.
188 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 55–59.
189 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 60.
190 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 49.
191 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 67–73.
192 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 106.
193 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 168–71.
194 Chamberland, *Le Prince de Sexamour*, 199–206.
195 Taylor, "La Révolution futile," 19. The insult is adopted from Hegel's attack on Schelling in *Die Phanomenlogie des Geists* (1807).
196 One can, for instance, view Jean-Pierre Lefebvre's ti-pop western *Les Maudits sauvages* (1971), which collapsed early colonial history and the contemporary into one temporal plane, in these terms.

CONCLUSION

1 Jean-Claude Dussault, *Pour une civilisation du plaisir* (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1968), 52.
2 Claire Roy, "L'Érotisme contre l'amour (Gustave Thibon)," *Le Nouvelliste*, March 29, 1968, 8. Perhaps the most complex contemporaneous Catholic account of the problem of eroticism that I have encountered was offered by the Italian philosopher Augusto Del Noce: "L'Erotismo alla conquista della società," in Augusto Del Noce et al., *Via libera alla pornografia?* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1970), 9–48. Included as "The Ascendance of Eroticism" in the collection *The Crisis of Modernity*, ed. and trans. Carlo Lancelloti (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014). Del Noce explicitly places the controversy over eroticism in the context of the surrealist break with Marxism discussed in the early chapters of this book.
3 Denis Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," *Mainmise*, no. 66 (January 1977): 44–45.
4 On another occasion, he extended this claim to travestis, writing that they were "Models of the plastic race, purifying themselves with electrolysis and make-up, according to the rites of those possessed by ecstasy." Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," 44.
5 Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," 45.
6 Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," 45.
7 Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," 45.
8 Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," 43.
9 John David Ober, "On Sexuality and Politics in the Work of Herbert Marcuse," in *Critical Interruptions: New Left Perspective on Herbert Marcuse*, ed. Paul Breines (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), 106–10; Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 11–19.

10 This was especially the case in the tantric tradition, which relied heavily on stereotypes in opposition to the illusion of personal experience.
11 Catherine Millet, *Contemporary Art in France*, trans. Charles Penwarden (Paris: Flammarion, 2006), 75. Originally published in French by Flammarion in 1987 as *L'Art contemporain en France*.
12 Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," 45.
13 Vanier, "D'ailleurs l'Amérique…," 45.
14 The installation can be read as a successor to the model of kitsch, state-sponsored art that Marylin J. McKay outlines in *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s–1930s* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).
15 Abraham A. Moles, *Le Kitsch: L'Art du bonheur* (Paris: Maison Mame, 1971), 33.
16 Jean Lorrain, "Un nouveau 'bébé sexe' pour le cinéma québécois," *Télé-radiomonde*, April 25, 1970, 8.
17 Paul Beaucage, *Gilles Groulx, le cinéaste resistant* (Montréal: Lux Éditeur, 2009), 131–32.
18 See the catalogue by Normand Thériault and Claude de Guise, *Québec 75/Arts* (Montréal: Institut d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1975). More extensively, this was debated by the curator and various authors. See Normand Thériault, "Québec 75: Six mois plus tard," *Parachute*, April–May–June 1976, 11–12; and Chantal Pontbriand, "Québec 75: Postface," *Parachute*, January–February–March 1976, 32–33.
19 Laurent-Michel Vacher, *Pamphlet sur la situation des arts au Québec* (Montréal: l'Aurore, 1975), 18.
20 Rose-Marie Arbour, *L'Art qui nous est contemporain* (Montréal: Éditions Artextes, 1999).
21 Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," *October* 9 (Summer 1979): 50–64.
22 Krauss, "Grids," 54.
23 Krauss, "Grids," 64.
24 John Bramble, *Modernism and the Occult* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
25 Georges Bataille, "The Moral Meaning of Sociology," in *The Absence of Myth: Writings on Surrealism*, ed. and trans. Michael Richardson (London: Verso Books, 1994), 106–107.
26 Georges Bataille, *Œuvres complètes*, X (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1987), 17. The passage is from *L'Érotisme*, originally published in French by Éditions de Minuit in 1957.
27 Bataille, *Œuvres complètes*, X, 18–22.
28 Bataille, *Œuvres complètes*, X, 60.
29 Bataille, *Œuvres complètes*, X, 58.
30 Bataille, *Œuvres complètes*, X, 68.
31 Georges Bataille, "The Surrealist Religion," in *The Absence of Myth: Writings on Surrealism*, ed. and trans. Michael Richardson (London: Verso Books, 1994), 77.
32 Bataille, "The Surrealist Religion," 78.
33 Bataille, "The Surrealist Religion," 73.
34 Bataille, "The Moral Meaning of Sociology," 103–104.

35 Bataille, "The Moral Meaning of Sociology," 105.
36 Bouthillette sidesteps any direct interaction with the notion of eroticism but he does tie "pancanadian depersonalization" to a sterilization programme and casts the spectacle of the internalization of "the Conquest" in the familiar terms of orphaning, schizophrenia, depression, alienation, the Fall, and mimetism. Jean Bouthillette, *Le Canadien français et son double* (Montréal: Éditions de l'hexagone, 1972), 47–56, 63.
37 Gérald Robitaille, "Au royaume de la photographie d'art," *La Patrie*, week of March 24, 1968, 2.
38 Marshall McLuhan, "Notes on Burroughs," in *Media Research: Technology, Art and Communication*, ed. Michel A. Moos (Amsterdam: G+B Arts International, 1997), 86.

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